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FEEDBACK ALI ABDUL RAZIQ SYSTEM OF KHLAFAH: CONCEPT ANALYSIS ALA ALI ABDUL RAZIQ STATE AND ITS RELEVANCE DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

Abstract

This journal aims to analyze the political thought of Ali Abdul Raziq, more specifically, an analysis of the criticism Ali Abdul Raziq, the caliphate system. By linking these thoughts with idiosyncratic owned by Ali Abdul Raziq. So we get the result that criticism of Ali's caliphate system comes from the influence of family background and education, as well as the influence of some figures that their views and thoughts contribute to the process of the formation of political thought Ali Abd Raziq namely Ibn Khaldun, Muhammad Abduh, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke and Plato and Aristotle. The journal also wanted to give relevance thought Ali Abdur Raziq with HTI study or Khilafah system and its relevance to the Democracy in Indonesia which in this context in grogotti by HTI in Indonesia.

Keywords: Criticism, Caliph, Ali Abdul Raziq

A. INTRODUCTION

Ali Abdul Raziq is one of Egypt's influential figure in the early 20th century.¹ He was studying at Al-Azhar University from the age of 10 years, of which Al-Azhar is the center of Islamic studies and Arabic studies in the world.² As a scholar who came from Al-Azhar, Ali Abdul Raziq famous for thinking that tends controversial, as evidenced by the historical record stating that he was the first secular Muslim cleric.³ When most Muslim scholars make religion as a reference and the main reference in looking at issues of politics and government, another case with Ali Abdul Raziq who believe that religion and politics are two things that can not be put together, these ideas evolved into criticism Ali Abdul Raziq against the system caliph rule followed by Muslims since the Prophet Muhammad died. Critics Ali Abdul Raziq, the caliphate system contained in his article titled "Islam and The Foundation of Government", this paper was published in 1925. In his work Ali Abdul Raziq said that Muslims do not need to think of ways to build a new caliphate after the collapse of the caliphate Ottoman Turkey, Ali Abdul Raziq assume that God never set procedures administration system for human beings, it is precisely God gives freedom for humanity to determine what kind of government will build on the experience and rationality.⁴

Ali Abdul Raziq political thinking which is precisely contrary to the majority of scholars of Al-Azhar other to produce a petition ending with the expulsion of Al-Azhar, raises an interesting question to be studied more deeply. This paper analyzes how political thought is formed by idiosyncratic⁵ Ali Abdul Raziq and the background to Ali Abdul Raziq criticism against the government system caliphate.

In the context of Indonesia thought performed by Ali Abdur Raziq, many done by two major community organizations that NU⁶ and this mass organization Muhammadiyah second approach to

¹Junni Nelli, Ali Abdull Raziq Political Thought, An-Nida Journal of Islamic Thought, Vol 39, No. 1 January-June 2014, case: 76

²Encyclopedia Britannica, Al-Azhar University: University, Cairo, Egypt, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/al-azhar-university>, Access date: 21 April 2016, at: 10:44 pm

³Anthony Balck, The History of Islamic Political Thought, New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 318

⁴James Broneck, The Controversy of Shaykh 'Ali Abd al-Raziq, Florida State University Library, 2012, p. 1

⁵Idiosyncratic is One of the variables that determine the political views of individuals were seen based on the characteristics and perceptions and misperceptions of the individual.

⁶Underdevelopment both mentally, and economically the nations of Indonesia, as a result of colonialism and due to the

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provide a foundation principle Religion terkiat with an assessment and acceptance of Pancasila Democracy⁷ By providing this legitimacy kedau role these organizations will also be explained further

confines of tradition, has arouse awareness of intellectuals to fight for the dignity of the nation, through the education and organization. A movement that emerged in 1908 is known as the "National Awakening". The spirit of revival is continuing to spread every where - after the indigenous people are aware of the suffering and catch up with other nations. In response, there are the educational organizations and liberation. Pesantren which has been a persistent fight against colonialism, to respond to the national revival movement by forming organizations such as Nahdlatul Wathan (Revival of the Homeland) in 1916. Then in 1918 founded Taswirul Afkar or also known as the "Nahdlatul Fikri" (awakening of thought), as a vehicle for social and political education of the people and religious students. From there then established Nahdlatul Tujjar, (the movement of the merchant). United were used as the basis to improve the people's economy. With the Nahdlatul Tujjar it, then Taswirul Afkar, in addition to performing as a study group also became educational institutions is growing very rapidly and has branches in several cities. A time of King Ibn Saud wanted to implement a single principle the Wahabi sect in Mecca, as well as to destroy all relics of Islam and pre-Islamic history, which has been widely diziarahi as heretical. The Wahhabis idea got a warm welcome from the modernists in Indonesia, both among Muhammadiyah and PSII under HOS Tjokroaminoto. In contrast, among the schools that had been defending diversity, rejecting bermazhab restrictions and destruction of the civilization heritage. With a different attitude among the schools that were excluded from Congressman Al Islam in Yogyakarta in 1925. As a result, the schools are also not included as delegates in Mu'tamar 'Alam Islami (Islamic Congress International) in Mecca which will ratify the decision. Another source said that KH Hasyim Ashari, KH Wahab Hasbullah and other NU elders walked out. Driven by a persistent passion to create bermazhab freedom and concerned with the preservation of the heritage of civilization, then the schools were forced to make their own delegation called Hejaz Committee, chaired by KH Wahab Hasbullah. Atas pesantren who gathered in Hejaz Committee, and challenges across the Muslim world, the King Ibn Saud attack. As a result, to this day in Mecca of worship performed freely in accordance with their respective schools. That is the first international role among boarding schools, which managed to fight for the freedom bermazhab and managed to save the relics of history and civilization are very valuable. Berangkan committees and organizations that are embryonic and ad hoc, then after that it is necessary to establish an organization that is more encompassing and more systematic, to anticipate the times. So after coordinating with various Kiai, finally emerging agreement to establish an organization called Nahdlatul Ulama (Ulama Awakening) on 16 Rajab 1344 AH (January 31st 1926). The organization is led by KH Hasyim Ash'ari as Rais Akbar. To affirm the basic principle of this organisasi, then KH Hasyim Ashari formulate book Qanun Rights (basic principles), then also formulate Wal Jamaat Ahl Itiqad book. The books are then embodied in khittah NU, which serve as the basis and reference NU members in thinking and acting in the field of social, religious and adopts Ahlunnah politik. NU waljama'ah, a mindset that takes a middle way between the extremes aqli (rationalist) with the extreme naqli (scripturalist). Because it is a source of ideas for the NU not only the Qur'an, Sunnah, but also use the intellect coupled with empirical reality. This way of thinking was referred from earlier thinkers such as Abu Hasan Al-Ash'ari and Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi in theology. Later in the school of Jurisprudence follows: Shafi While in the field of mysticism, develop methods of Al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi, which integrates between Sufism Law. Kekhit the idea back in 1984, is an important moment to reinterpret the ahlunnah wal Jamaah teachings, as well as redefine methods of thought, both in the field of jurisprudence and social. As well merumuskankembali NU relationship with the state. The movement succeeded again aroused thinking and social dynamics in NU. Jumlah NU members which is a support base is expected to reach more than 80 million people, majority on the island of Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Sumatra with a variety of professions, which most of them are ordinary people, both in cities and in villages. They have a high cohesiveness due socio-economically have the same problem, except that they are also very animates ahlunnah wal Jamaah teachings. In general, they have a strong emotional bond with the pesantren that is central to people's education and cultural heritage NU. Basis NU supporters have shifted, in line with the development and progress of industrialization, the population of NU in the village many who migrated to the city to enter the industrial sector. So if all this time NU stronger base in rural agricultural sector, it is currently in the labor sector in urban areas, is also quite dominant. Likewise, the opening of the education system

⁷ What is the Pancasila democracy? In general, the definition of Pancasila democracy is a notion of democracy that is based on the values contained in Pancasila ideology. Some say that democracy is a democracy based on Pancasila whose source comes from the philosophy of life of the Indonesian nation were excavated by the Indonesian people's own personality. The philosophy of life of the Indonesian nation gave birth to the philosophical basis of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila contained in the preamble of the Constitution 1945. So in summary explanation of the key points regarding democratic system can be described as follows Democracy implemented based on kinship and deliberation for the welfare of the people. state organization system implemented in accordance with the consent of the people. Individual freedom is guaranteed but not absolute and must be adjusted with the responsibility of implementing democratic social. Dalam is no domination of the majority or the minority, but must be animated by a spirit of brotherhood to realize the ideals of the nation of Indonesia. According to Drs. CST Kansil, SH., The notion of Pancasila democracy is a democracy led by the wisdom in

in beberpa cap below, and use the historical approach in delivering in-depth study and measurable.

METHODOLOGY AND FRAMEWORK THEORY

This paper uses qualitative methodology with descriptive analytical approach. Selection of qualitative methods is because the purpose of this paper is to analyze the meaning is behind the political thought of Ali Abdul Raziq who criticize the government system of caliphate. In this paper, researchers used qualitative data analysis method developed by Miles and Huberman which consists of three phases:⁸First, data reduction (data reduction) that consists of process data organization and categorization of data with a concept where the data will be compiled systematically. Second, Presentation of data (data display) The process of linking the data with the conceptual framework used third, inference and verification (conclusion drawing and verification) In the context of this paper the steps to be carried out: first, the reduction of data concerning Ali Abdul Raziq (Biography, family background, education and milieu), and political thought Ali Abdul Raziq related to the Caliphate. In this process the categorized data that are useful and that is not very relevant to this article. Second, data presentation, in this stage all descriptive data about the biographical and political thought Ali Abdul Raziq linked to one another by using theoretical a conceptual framework, which in this case is idiosyncratic theory. Third, the final step is drawing conclusions based on the results of the analysis at stage 2, which in this context as well as answering how political thought Ali Abdul Raziq who criticize the caliphate system is formed and the things that lie behind them.

In theory framework idiosyncratic One of the key elements of the establishment of policies and political thought someone at the level of individual psychological nature tends.⁹ How to construct a political figure in mind his view of the world is an important component in understanding the character of political thought.¹⁰ As for some of the idiosyncratic component that will be presented in this paper is composed of: background characters, characters and expectations and world view of characters who influence political thought. These two components are then linked to the political thinking of the leaders in this context is thought related Raziq Abd Ali caliphate system of government.

ALI ABDUL Raziq BIOGRAPHY: EDUCATION, CAREER AND the consideration

Ali Abdul Raziq is a politician, judge and political pentoori Islam. He was born in 1867 in a family of wealthy landowners in the province of Minya, Egypt.¹¹ During the first four decades of the 20th century, Raziq Abd Ali's family is known as an elite family influence in Cairo. His father Hasan d al-Raziq contribute in establishing a political party in Egypt's first secular nationalists called Umma Party in 1907. One brother named Hasan is the Governor of Alexandria, while the other brother Mustafa became rector of Al-Azhar and the third brother from Ali Abd Raziq named Mahmud is one of

deliberation and representation, which is the fourth principle of the Pancasila state basis as set out in paragraph 4 of the 1945 Constitution Preamble view, Kaelani, the State of nationality of Pancasila, Yogyakarta, paradigm, 2018 edition. but must be animated by a spirit of brotherhood to realize the ideals of the nation of Indonesia. According to Drs. CST Kansil, SH., The notion of Pancasila democracy is a democracy led by the wisdom in deliberation and representation, which is the fourth principle of the Pancasila state basis as set out in paragraph 4 of the 1945 Constitution Preamble view, Kaelani, the State of nationality of Pancasila, Yogyakarta, paradigm, 2018 edition. but must be animated by a spirit of brotherhood to realize the ideals of the nation of Indonesia. According to Drs. CST Kansil, SH., The notion of Pancasila democracy is a democracy led by the wisdom in deliberation and representation, which is the fourth principle of the Pancasila state basis as set out in paragraph 4 of the 1945 Constitution Preamble view, Kaelani, the State of nationality of Pancasila, Yogyakarta, p 37, 2018 edition.

⁸ Matthew B.Miles, A.Michael Huberman, Qualitative Data Analysis, Sage Publications: 1994, p.18

⁹ Philip E Tetlock and Charles B.McGuire, Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy, American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays, New York: Georgetown University, 2005, p: 484

¹⁰ Vertzberger, The World in Their minds: Information Processing, Cognition and Perception in decision- making Foreign Policy, p: 91

¹¹ Gerhard Bowering, The Princeton Encyclopedia of Political Thought, Princeton University Press Princeton and Oxford, p 5

the founders of other secular parties, namely the Liberal Constitutionalist after the previous party Umma party banned existence.¹² The house of Ali's father or the temple Adul Aal Abdel Raziq Raziq, a meeting place for some important intellectual elite and Egypt as Muhammad Abduh, Muhammad Rashid Rida, and also politicians like Ahmed Lutfi al-Sayyid who is the leader of Umma Party.¹³

The educational background of Ali Abdul Raziq is he studying in Egypt at Cairo University and Al-Azhar University and then graduated in 1912. Then from 1912 until 1915, he was educated at Oxford.¹⁴ In thinking Ali Abdul Raziq influenced by a famous philosopher Muslim named Ibn Khaldun, it can be seen from his thesis Ali Abdul Raziq is currently studying Political Science and Economics in the UK, in addition to Ali Abdul Raziq also has a close relationship with a famous thinker of Islam named Muhammad Abduh¹⁵ which is one of the thinkers who study both the development of European history, philosophy, and social and natural sciences. Muhammad Abduh had a view that Islamic societies are stagnant and weak even mention that Arab societies retarded.¹⁶ Besides Ali Abdul Raziq also get the influence of the ideas of some Western figures such as Aristotle, Plato, Hobbes, Locke, Thomas Arnold, who also addressed the issue of state and of government.¹⁷

Ali Abd al-Raziq formal education in alAzhar since I was about ten years old with his elder brother Mustafa Abd al-Raziq. He studied law at the Sheikh Abu Khatwah, friend and disciple Abduh al-Afghani. He did not get to learn a lot directly from Abduh, because when Abduh Ali died in 1905 was only about seventeen. He also attended following the lecture at al-Jami 'ah al-Mishriyah and learn the history of Arab civilization on Prof. Santillana. After graduating from al-Azhar, he and his brother continued their studies to Europe. Mustafa Abd al-Raziq first went to France in 1909 AD to study at the University of Sorbonne and Lyon. He is more like science than politics, and he obtained a respectable social status in the eyes of the Egyptians, and at the end of his life he was appointed as Sheikh alAzhar¹⁸

In 1913 he went to England to study at Oxford University. In this University he studied economics and politics. While studying in England Ali Abd Raziq lot of reading and studying Western theories, especially theories of politics as a field studies, such as Thomas Hobbesdan political theory of John Locke. The knowledge and experience gained while studying in Europe seem big influence on his thinking, especially in the rationality of thought, and freedom of speech. It Meru-feed characteristic of the influence of Western civilization. In 1915 he returned kenegaranya (Egypt) and later appointed as Judge Syariah Court in Al Mansurah in hi¹⁶apacity as a judge that he conducted research whose results are recorded in a paper renowned entitled *Al-Islam wa usul al Hukum* published in 1925, the core of this book is to explain the origin of the term caliphate in Islam, Ali Abd al-Raziq books written on the basis of government basics of Islam, a little more is the justification of the Turkish revolution.¹⁹

In fact, this book is a lot of criticism from scholars of Al-Azhar scholars, because it was filled with criticism of Raziq on governance implemented by a group of Muslims, for about 13 centuries and his criticism of the political theories ualama Classical and medieval times.²⁰ And somewhat a justification for revolution turkey " by defending the approach to the national assembly turkey on the

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¹² James Broucek, *The Controversy of Shaykh 'Ali' Abd al-Raziq*, The Florida State University College of Arts and Sciences, 2012, p 22

¹³ Tagelsir Souad Ali, *Ali Abd al-Raziq al-Islam wa Usul Al-Hukm: A Modern, Liberal Development of Muslim Thought*, Proquest Dissertatation and theses, 2004, p: 23

¹⁴ 45 thard Bowering, op.cit, p: 5

¹⁵ Eliane Ursula Etmueller, *Islam and Democracy*, Astrlabio Revista Internacional de filosofia, 2006, p: 19

¹⁶ Ghaffar Hussain, *Muslim Modern Political Thought: The Progressive tradition*, Quilliam, p: 7

¹⁷ Gerhard Bowering, op.cit

¹⁸ Muhammad Iqbal, Hussein Amin Nasution, *Islamic political thought from classical times hinga contemporary Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2010), p .113

¹⁹ Muji Honor, the scientific journal of Islam futura "*Social history and political thought Ali Abd al-Raziq* " 2011.h.120

²⁰ Suyuti Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyasah*, (Jakarta: King Grafindo Persada, 1994), cet 1. h. 3

separation of religious and political authority and the secularization of the institutions kekhalifahan, he tried to argue based on those texts of Islam that Muhammad did not intend to establish a state and that Islam does not specify the political system certain.²¹ And with this work makes him removed from office as a judge, due to the insistence of the Azhar scholars, even the great scholar al Asr trial he no longer recognized as the education ulama. Dilihat of history we can see that he is an expert on religion and politics, When he served as a judge²⁸ the Syariah Court in Egypt, he had conducted research on the caliphate. then recorded research into a controversial book entitled *Al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm*.²²

SOCIAL SITUATION, RELIGION AND POLITICS

Social situation, religion, and politics when the Western world reached the peak of progress in science and civilization, the Islamic world and even throughout setbacks behind it. Intellectual retardation participated in the Islamic world also hit Egypt. The setback as ignorance prevalent in all social strata and in all aspects of kehidupan. Agama even when it loses his soul and sed adi symbols that are not meaningful and value systems in-question. University of Al-Azhar itself when it becomes a static institution. Educational or teaching focused on sciences such as fiqh, tafsir, hadith only transform old ideas learned through books tertentu. Sikap commentary central empire (Ottoman) who take the attitude of isolation (shut down) against West add to miss no only in the field of intellectual property. But also in the military field. That possibility is why when Napoleon on his expedition on June 2, 1798 to easily control and break the power of the royal Mamluk army.²³

And subjecting Egypt under his control. Egypt defeat a starting point in the history of Egypt. The existence of the French nation in Egypt opened the eyes and provide awareness of the Egyptian people and clerics will miss and setbacks they experienced over the years. The arrival of the French carry significance for Egypt, not only militarily, but also in terms of socio-cultural strengths that ditimbulkannya. Semenjak arrival of Napoleon in Egypt (1798) and there is mention of the early nineteenth century, modernization (renewal) has entered the world of Islam. And the next stage of the Islamic world held intensive relations with the West through the delivery of students to the West, as did Muhammad Ali Pasha, ruler of Egypt. In addition to sending students to the Western world, Muhammad Ali Pasha also bring in experts from the West to the Muslim world to merngajar⁴⁴ schools Egypt. As a result of the Islamic world relations with the West ter said to bring changes in various aspects of life such as economic, social, educational, political and so on. Although reform has touched various linikehiduapan, but the issue of caliphate Muslims around the world still adheres to a strong belief that the caliphate is an institution that must be preserved. This is as cues given by prominent Islamic reform is very well known as, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh and Sayyid Muhammad Rashid Ridha. Umat Islam when it was their attempt to defend the caliphate system as an institution remains superior throughout the course of political history of Islam.²⁴

In Egypt when it reached a consensus that says that there is an obligation to preserve and maintain the caliphate as the only form of the Islamic empire. And when it was also Mustafa Kemal remove the caliphate system in the Ottoman Empire, in May 1924, Egypt was very surprised and reject decisions made by Mustafa Kemal. As a form of denial even initiated the International Conference of Islamic Egypt Air-places in Cairo with the main topic is to restore the caliphate institution in the Islamic world. The history of political thought teaches that political views were always inseparable from the events happening around the figure of thought.

²¹ Antony Black, thinkers of political Islam of the Prophet's time to the present, (Jakarta: PT Porch imu universe) .h.569

²² Muhammad Iqbal, Amin Nasution Hussein, Islamic political thought from classical times hinga contemporary Indonesia, (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2010), h.11.

²³ Muji Honor, futura Islamic scientific journal " The history of social and political thought Ali Abd al-Raziq " 2011.h.122.

²⁴ Arbiyah Lubis, Thought Muhammadiyah and Muhammad Abduh, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1993), p. 311.

Similarly, a situation that accompanies the mai⁵³leas contained growth in Ali Abdul Raziq and encourage him to bring it, that is the beginning of the outbreak of the first world war and its aftermath in relation to the caliphate, especially in the case Mesir. Ketika first world war, the British can me-nguasai Egypt gives not the slightest chance for Muslims to revive the caliphate system in all regions of Islam, and in a form that anyway. Because it is contrary to the political aims of colonialism and political conflict with Zionism. And the deceitfulness of England also causes the Islamic Conference to revive the caliphate system in the Islamic world has failed and a split opinion²⁷ the results of the International Conference of Islam, which was centered in Cairo, sound, Muslims are divided into three groups. The first group, maintaining the leadership of Sultan Abdul Majid II (Turkey), which has been removed by Mustafa Kemal. The second group, calling for the lifting of the Caliphate Hussein bin Ali (Hijaz), who in 1916 rebelled against Turkish rule and told him as caliph. The third group, generally comprised of Egyptian cleric and is the largest delegation congress, air-effort so that Congress decided that the king of Egypt Fu'ad recognized as khalifah. Di midst of these conditions, there are also books written by Ali Abdul Raziq the effect that the caliphate system is no longer fit the times. Deleted by Mustafa Kemal. The second group, calling for the lifting of the Caliphate Hussein bin Ali (Hijaz), who in 1916 rebelled against Turkish rule and told him as caliph. The third group, generally comprised of Egyptian cleric and is the largest delegation congress, air-effort so that Congress decided that the king of Egypt Fu'ad recognized as khalifah. Di midst of these conditions, there are also books written by Ali Abdul Raziq the effect that the caliphate system is no longer fit the times. Deleted by Mustafa Kemal. The second group, calling for the lifting of the Caliphate Hussein bin Ali (Hijaz), who in 1916 rebelled against Turkish rule and told him as caliph. The third group, generally comprised of Egyptian cleric and is the largest delegation congress, air-effort so that Congress decided that the king of Egypt Fu'ad recognized as khalifah. Di midst of these conditions, there are also books written by Ali Abdul Raziq the effect that the caliphate system is no longer fit the times. This is contrary to the conditions in the various regions of Islam that seeks to revive the caliphate system. Ali Abdul Raziq's book accused of supporting the British colonial politics the politics of colonialism against Islam. Thus we can say that the thought of Ali Abdul Raziq as outlined in his book, is associated with the development of socio-political and religious Muslims, especially Egypt when it was.²⁵

ABDUL RAZIQ PATTERNS OF THOUGHT POLITICS OF KHALIFAH²⁶ : PRELIMINARY

²⁵ Muji Honor, the scientific journal of Islam futura "Social history and political thought Ali Abd al-Raziq " 2011.h.124

²⁶ Caliphate understood as a system of Islamic government or government that is established based on Islamic law. Islamic law that governs how a country should be managed including the issue of law, public finance, relationships with people and relationships with other countries, as explained in siyasah fiqh (law in politics). No kesepakatan among political scientists of Islam, how to implement the Islamic caliphate concepts, schemes, and technical. Thus the issue of caliphate into ijtihadiyah region (thought). Patterns of thought Muslims as Ecikleman expression is always difficult to accept new ideas, yet clearly found it was in accordance with the teachings of text, including democracy and nationalism are considered new (jadid). Institution of Imamate or Khilafat for adherents at least two functions, namely to uphold Islam and implement its laws, as well as running the state politics within the limits outlined Islam. According to Al-Mawardi, Imamate needed to replace prophetic in maintaining religion and regulate the life of the world. In order for effective leadership requires countries to realize the establishment of Islamic teachings. State and religion have the same mission of building happiness, create and regulate relations benefit of human beings (minannas Minan-nas). Imamate and caliphate be building a social institution, be used as a pillar to sustain a pemerintahan. Pemerintahan that can be called Islamic caliphate or Islamic state, must meet the principles and criteria Judging from the relationship between state and religion, Indonesia with Pancasila prismatic legal system is not a religious state (theocracy), which makes one religion as the official state ideology, as well as a secular state that ignores completely the teachings of religion. Indonesia can be called religious nation state (nation-state religious) respect and nurture all religions embraced by people throughout berkemanusiaan and civilized demands for the role of religion (read: Islam) more explicitly through the legal system and constitution, the noise on each social process in which the intensity increases when the political dynamics of national upheaval. This reality is based on several reasons. First, the percentage of Muslims are so large (single majority), along with its historical factors are widespread in Indonesia. Second, Islam in view penganutanya not as a definition of religion by the West, which is a ritual between the creature and

STUDIES

Ali Abdul Raziq article about the caliphate system can be divided into three sections, the first focusing on the discussion of the Caliphate and Islam, the second part is dedicated to menjabaran Islam and governance, and the last of the Caliphate and government in history.²⁷ *Caliphate and Islam* In the first book, Ali Abdul Raziq describes two main theories about the source of authority possessed by the Caliphate. The first theory authority comes directly from God and the caliph²⁸ is the representative of

God, but also includes the concept of self-contained. system involves behaviors, relationships, rights and obligations of the individual, society and state, the Third, the role of Islam in global politics ever so coloring. Sentimental relationship between Islam and the West continue to overcome the psychology of competition, including Muslims rejectionist beliefs about everything that comes from the West and geneologinya (read: democracy) the "infidel" and should be shunned. Rise and fall of the caliphate increasingly dynamic idea when the system which has been adopted does not go to give satisfaction. Corruption, poverty, underdevelopment will be the spark that sometimes can trigger a wave of demands for the relationship between religion and state. Komarudin Hidayat outlining how the idea of a caliphate in Indonesia will continue to be controversial: 1) Khilafah is the logical consequence of a climate of freedom after the reform, 2) Means effectively achieve rationality and support, 3) a collective memory of Muslims that Prophet Muhammad bequeathed Medina, religion and state, 4) The spirit of tribalism, 5) caliphate concept evolved, and 6) Indonesian Muslims difficult to distinguish between Islamism and Arabism. Based on the explanation above, this study has important meaning in order to find the value of the existing Islamic caliphate in the Indonesian state administration system. Equality, justice, and deliberation is a list of the principal teachings of Islam which is also the core value of democracy. View Herlina

²⁷ Eliane Ursula Ettmueller, , p: 5

²⁸ The term is often used in the literature caliphate of Muslim politics, both in the pre-modern and modern. As a conception of government and power, these words become cirikhas Sunnis, whereas the hallmark of Shiite Imamate said. The concept of the caliph is based on two main elements, namely a consensus (ijma') and the legitimization of the political elite. Khilafah is mentioned in the Qur'an 17 times, in various forms. The word that shows the relationship with politics (caliphate and khalaif) 9 times, khawalif 2 times, and as much as 6 kali. 11 istakhafa From the root word khalafa (kh-lf), which means replacing, follow, or that will come later. The plural form of the word is there are two kinds of khulafa and khalaif. According to Quraish Shihab, respectively accompany the meaning of the word context. For example, when God outlines the appointment of Adam as Caliph, used a single word (Sura Baqorah (2): 30), while when talking about the appointment of David used the plural (QS Shad (38): 26). 12 From these two verses knowable existence of elements that accompany the caliphate someone, among others: (1) Khalifah, the person who is given the power or mandate, (2) the territory, and (3) the relationship between the Deputy to the region, and the relationship caliph with the giver of power, namely, God. Caliphate can be judged on the extent to which a Caliph noticed these relationships. Historically, there is no single form of state in the history of Islamic rule, which can be used as the only example. There are at least four forms of government that never applies, namely: a caliphate, mulk, daulah and Imamah. Khilafah institutions that applied at the time of Khilafat 'al Rashidin. Mulk run by the Umayyads, daulah is a political institution that was built by the Abbasid daulah, and imamah political system chosen by the Shiite community. When Muslims mention the Khilafah is the only political system of Islam, the question arises whether a theocracy or nomocracy caliphate. Does not necessarily form a caliphate, an Islamic government that can be called, is a system that meets the principles and criteria. The first principle that all power on earth is there in God. The second principle of Shariah (religious law) has been appointed by God to guide humanity in carrying khilafahnya on this earth. Based on these two principles, a state governed by Islamic law is technically called caliphate of al-Islamiya or dar al-Islam. According Qamaruddin Khan countries bound by such rules can be named as the state religion (religious state). To be a leader who holds Khalifah should also have a number of criteria. Ibn Abi Rabi put forward the requirements of a Caliph, namely: 1) a member of the royal family, 2) aspiration sublime, 3) view of the steady and solid, 4) resilience in the face of difficulties and challenges 5) vast wealth, 6) faithful servants. Al-Farabi mentions twelve requirements of a Caliph To be a leader who holds Khalifah should also have a number of criteria. Ibn Abi Rabi put forward the requirements of a Caliph, namely: 1) a member of the royal family, 2) aspiration sublime, 3) view of the steady and solid, 4) resilience in the face of difficulties and challenges 5) vast wealth, 6) faithful servants. Al-Farabi mentions twelve requirements of a Caliph To be a leader who holds Khalifah should also have a number of criteria. Ibn Abi Rabi put forward the requirements of a Caliph, namely: 1) a member of the royal family, 2) aspiration sublime, 3) view of the steady and solid, 4) resilience in the face of difficulties and challenges 5) vast wealth, 6) faithful servants. Al-Farabi mentions twelve requirements of a Caliph: 1) a full member of the body, 2) better the power fahamnya, 3) high intellectual, 4) smart opinion, 5) education and an avid lover of teaching, 6) is not grasping or greedy in terms of food, drink and women, 7) lovers and haters lies honesty, 8) high-minded and virtuous, 9) do not take seriously the richness and pleasure- worldly pleasures, 10) lovers and haters justice perbuatanzalim, 11) perceptive justice and otherwise difficult to carry out and approve cruel and dirty, and 12) a strong stance against the things that he said should be done, boldness, high spirits, not timid and weak-minded and stunted. Khalifatullah degree mark a claim on the divine right of monarchy, an authority that comes directly from God. But

God on earth.²⁹ For some Muslim Caliph became the incarnation of God. The second theory about the source of power is based on the hypothesis that the responsibility comes from the community or ummah and delegated to the caliph. Ali Abd Raziq stated that "Memorial on Caliphate and Power" issued by the Grand National assembly in Ankara confirmed the hypothesis Ali Abd Raziq about the source of power of the caliph. Raziq Abd Ali thus concluded that the justification for the source of power that is applied in the caliphate system itself exclusively is not from Islam but parallel with Western ideas presented by Thomas Hobbes and John Locke.³⁰

Where Thomas Hobbes claimed the source of power of God and John Locke emphasizes the sovereignty of the people. After outlining the two sources of legitimacy of power in general, Abul Raziq stated that there are two views of the Caliphate, the first of the caliphate as a political organization that directly require religious dogma and the second claimed the caliphate as the only political organization that may be able to maintain the way of life and Muslim religion is true.³¹ Ali Abdul Raziq assume that the Khalifah governance model adopted by the bi'in is a religious institution that is not a single evidence to support the existence of the institution both in the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. In the al-Quran and Hadith lot "proposition" that supports associated with the caliphate, for example is: expressed by Media Ummat (online media HTI) Allah says: Remember when your Lord said to the angels, "Indeed I will make the earth Khalifah ... " [TQS al-Baqarah [2]: 30]. Imam al-Qurtubi [w. 671 H], a very authoritative commentator, explains, "This verse is the origin of law is obligatory to lift the caliph." In fact, he later asserted, "There is no difference of opinion regarding the obligation (lift caliphate) is among the people and the priests schools, except for opinion narrated from al-'Asham (deaf about sharia) and anyone who argues with and follow the opinion of his opinion and his school." [See, Al-Qurtubi, Al-Jami 'li Ahkam al-Qur'an, the Section I / 264]. Other Koran postulate, among others Surat an-Nisa '(4) of paragraph 59; Surah al-Maidah (5) paragraph 48. While in the "Sunnah" Media People also stressed that there is a hadith that can be made related to the assessment and referral proposition caliphate. Among these the words of the Prophet Muhammad: "Whoever dies while on her neck no allegiance (to the priest / Deputy), then he died of ignorance." [Reported by Muslim].

Based on the above hadith, according to Shaykh ad-Dumaiji, appoint an imam (caliph) is obligatory, the Prophet also hinted that after the death of the king SAW there should be guarding this religion, and administer the affairs of the world, he khulafa', the plural of the caliph [successor to the Prophet, because there is no longer the Prophet]. The Prophet said: "Children of Israel first had taken care of their affairs by the Prophets. When a prophet [the Israelites] death, it will be replaced by another Prophet. Indeed, not a Prophet after me. There will be the caliph, so that a lot of them." [Reported by Muslim] It should be emphasized, as the proposition position Companions Consensus-Sharia after the Qur'an and Sunnah-so strong, in fact constitute definitive proof that (certain). The scholars of usul states that reject the consensus of friends can cause someone an apostate from Islam. In this case,³² [W. 483 H] asserts:

a more general interpretation of Sunni is that the caliphate is the representative or successor to the Prophet, the maintenance of moral and material heritage of the Prophet in his capacity as founder of the religion and Islamic political community builder and not in the office as a messenger of God. The title of Caliph means mandatorily, deputy, deputy, or substitute, came into use since rashidun. Initially called the Prophet then more popular Khalifah Khalifah. 21 Degrees Khalifah is also used throughout by the authorities during the Umayyad dynasty (totaling 14 caliphs), the entire ruling Abbasid (totaling 32 caliph). Instead the ruling Ottoman Empire using sultan title except the last ruler, Abdul Hamid, the title.

²⁹ Abdul Raziq writing citations to Ibn Khaldun, Al-Farazdaq, Tarihi Al-Katibi y Abd al-Hakim al-Sialakuti as proof of this hypothesis.

³⁰ Eliane Ursula ettmueller, Islam and Democracy, op.cit, p: 20

³¹ *ibid*

³² One school of Imam Shafi'i frontman highly renowned scholar in the field of Fiqh and Usul Fiqh field, works much in use in the debate and become a qualified reference material in the field of fiqh ..

"Anyone who is not recognizing Consensus as evidence that definitively produce meaningful science really has canceled the foundations of this religion ... Therefore those who deny Consensus tantamount to seek to destroy the foundations of this religion."

Therefore, the consensus of companions who establishes the obligation of Khilafah should not be ignored or discarded as worthless, because it is not the Koran or the Sunnah. In fact, the consensus of Friends essentially uncovering unexpressed postulate connection with that Imam al-Haitami asserted: "It is the Companions, may Allah be pleased with them-have agreed that raised a priest (Caliphs) after the time of prophethood ended is mandatory. In fact they make the effort to lift the imam / caliph as the most important obligation. In fact, they busied themselves with that obligation with delay (while) the duty to bury the body of the Prophet. " Moreover, according to Shaykh ad-Dumaji, the obligation to uphold the Caliphate also based on sharia rules:

"During a obligation not materialize unless something then something is also obliged. "

It is known, that many obligations sharia can not be implemented by individual base, such as the obligation to carry out hudūd (such as stoning or flogging on adultery, the punishment of hand amputation above the thief), the obligation of jihad to spread Islam, the duty to collect and distribute zakat, etc. , The implementation of all these obligations requires power (sulthah) Islam. The power is nothing but a caliphate. As a result, the rules of sharia above is also the basis for the obligations of the Khilafah.³³

³³ This view menjagkiti thought you young in parts of Indonesia, the data indicates that many college campuses general established many halaqah and on behalf of LDK build this view later gave birth to HTI, which eventually revoked its license in Indonesia, the roots of his thinking still can and develop shrouded in Indonesia, Ishomudin stated that distorts the meaning of the Caliphate HTI meaning of "caliph" in Qs. Baqarah, verse 30, according to Ibn Mas'ud, Ibn 'Abbas and the entire expert commentary is Adam' alayhi al-salam, as issued by al-Imam al-Tabari in his commentary. Adam is khalifatullah in implementing His laws and His commandments, because he is awwalu rasulin (the person who originally sent by God) to earth Fourth: this paragraph (ie a fragment of the word of God Qs. Baqarah, verse 30) is the cornerstone (proposition) in the appointment of imams and caliphs therefore he heard and obeyed, whereby in order to agree on one word and with the laws of the caliph implemented. There are no differences related to the obligations it (appointing leaders) among the people and the priests, except what is narrated by al-Asham (ie 'Abd al-Rahman bin Kaisan, Shaykh al-Mu'tazilah, died in 201 AH) in which he was deaf from Shari'ah, as well as everyone who claims that, following the opinion and madzhabnya. He (al-Asham) said, "Verily (lift) caliphate was not an obligation in the religion, so it is only the permissibility. Indeed, when people have to go for Hajj, jihad and be fair to each other in what is between them, granting the right of themselves, they share ghanimah (spoils of war), fai 'and alms to those who deserve it, they enforce al-hudud (criminal sanctions prescribed by the text of the Koran) to the person who shall bear it, then so it was enough and no compulsory for them to lift the imam (leader) to handle all of it. " As for our proposition is the word of God, "Behold, I will create a vicegerent on earth," the word of God, "O David! We have indeed make you caliphs (rulers) in the earth, "(Qs. Shad: 26) and the word of God," Allah has promised those who believe and do good deeds that He will surely make them rulers in the earth ... "(Qs. al-Nur: 55), meaning: God will make them khulafa '(caliphs) Observing the above interpretation, very clear that the word of God in Qs.al-Baqarah verse 30 mentions the word "caliphate" not in the sense nor connote or give clear instructions to create leaders (caliphate) politics, the system of government or state form of Islam. Qs. Baqarah, verse 30 above and paragraph 26 Qs.Shad the word of God means, "O David, indeed We have made you a caliph (ruler) in the earth, then give a decision (case) among men with justice and do debauched, because it will lead you astray from the path of God "are two verses most often used to legitimize the political system of Islam as done HTI activists and other caliphate. Though Qs. Baqarah, verse 30, which mentions the word "vicegerent" means as representative of Allah (God replacement) in the prosperity of the earth through the human role in a variety of perfection attached to it. While Qs. Shad paragraph 26 showed significantly more duty to provide legal decisions among human right and fair where it is addressed to the Prophet David 'peace be upon him. Thus, the second paragraph did not show the meaning of "caliph" as an entity of the political leadership to establish the Islamic caliphate system that is international (al-Khilafat al-Islamiyya al-'alamiyyah) as interpreted by HTI. "All Muslims are required to be in one state and the (mandatory) has only one caliph, no in others.

Meanwhile, if the browse view of Ali Abdul Raziq inversely proportional to the People Media assumption; To corroborate the statement of Ali using the method of comparative theology in order to obtain more objective information, in its view Ali stated that:

Jesus Christ evoked Caesar's government and commanded to give Caesar what belongs to Caesar. Nevertheless (this statement) does not lead to the recognition by Jesus Christ to Caesar's government of a base in the Law inspired by God. This does not imply that the recognition of this government forms part of Christian belief. (...) The Prophet's Hadith where you can see the allusions to the terms of Caliphate, Imamate and allegiance do not mean anything more than Christ wanted to say when he evokrd Certain dispositions of the religious Law (how to respond government).³⁴

Through the statement Raziq Abd Ali claimed that the rules contained in the caliphate associated with pagan traditions and the Prophet Muhammad did not justify their paganism. Besides, Ali Abd Raziq also assume that the Caliphate is surrender authority to a ruler who raises tyranny and regarded as a political organization that is legitimized by religion.³⁵ The second opinion Raziq Abd Ali outlined in this first book is about the importance of the existence of the caliphate system as a necessity to ensure proper Muslim way of life. Raziq Abd reject the statement that the Caliph is a model of political organization that is indispensable for the sustainability of the world's Islamic community. In the view of Ali Abd Raziq combine all men under the same religion is a thing might happen, but formed a universal rule for all nations in the world for Ali Abd Raziq is something utopian, because it is according to Ali contrary to human nature.³⁶ Human beings are created different, and naturally they perform their activity by being aware of the inequality. God even by Ali Abd Raziq providing the freedom and responsibility to the people to organize themselves.

In the view of Ali Abd-Raziq Islam is seen as a religious dogma that contains democratic ethic that all men are equal before God, however, the same soul that was born as a human being different in the state's history and culture, it is the underlying why people need a form of government different.³⁷

ISLAM AND GOVERNMENT³⁸ : PRELIMINARY STUDIES

In his second book Raziq Abd Ali analysis on whether the Prophet is equal to the King, Raziq Abd think the question is not heresy because basically did not question religious missions performed by the Prophet himself. According Raziq Abd there is a need to further emphasize the origin community structure established by the Prophet Muhammad, as interpreted by Muslim scholars in general as a model of an ideal society for all Muslims. This background Raziq Abd view that the need

According Personality 'haram for Muslims to have more than one country in the world and the (illicit) has more than one caliph. " Though none of the schools of Sunni scholars in their books, which requires only one legitimate state in this vast world that must be in the hands of power of 11 person caliph. The books of fiqh four schools only require the removal of the leader (nashb al-imam) as the liability is based on the proposition of the Qur'an, al-Sunna and al-ijma '(consensus of scholars). None of the 11 sical fiqh texts that mention the word "caliphate" as contemplated by HTI. In fact, none of the arguments of the texts (text of the Qur'an and the Sunnah) which sharih (apparent and real) state shall establish a caliphate as contemplated by HTI. In this case HTI has transferred the meaning of the word caliphate mentioned in the Qur'an and are listed in the classical fiqh books to the meaning of the caliphate as a political system and government, or form that is international Islamic state (al-Khilafat al-Islamiyya al-'alamiyyah), an iota of meaning which was not intended by the scholars in the past that, the more so for the current context in which the entire world has been divided into nation states (nation state). Thus it is quite clear, that HTI deliberately quoted texts in the form of verses in the Qur'an that mention the word caliphate and derivation,

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Ali Abderraziq, Islam and The Foundation of Government, Al-Filali-Ansary, Edition la Decouverte, Paris, 1994, p 12

³⁷ Eliane Ursula ettmueller, Islam and Democracy, P: 24

³⁸ Islam and the government are two entities that can be mutually bersimboisis mutualism, in which case many western scholars who have argued with many arguments, so even though this assessment should remain in the turn and could be developed more deeply, in a broader context.

mengkongkritkan function of Muhammad in the community.³⁹ Through elaboration, Raziq Abd classify that there are two types of Prophethood: the first is the messenger of God who has no other mission than to convey the divine message to his people, Raziq Abd in this case to make Jesus as an example. On the other hand, there is the Prophet whose role in addition to performing his duties as a messenger of God, he also runs the administrative functions like Joseph who has responsibility in the court of Pharaoh. Abdul Raziq argued that almost all Muslims either educated or do not believe that the Prophet Muhammad is the prophet of the second type, indicating an overall satisfaction academic form of the community built by Muhammad.⁴⁰

Raziq Abd Ali explained that there are two forms of power: first, the power possessed by a prophet, a spiritual one, and derived from the belief that lies in the human heart. Compliance and surrender to this power is to be honest and it also involves adherence of man. However, the second type of power, namely, the power of the prince that is material, the impact of this power is the compliance of the body without any direct contact with the heart, the main focus is directed towards the right man, the second focus is on administrative services to communities and land tenure. Power prophetic aims to establish a religion, while the second power aiming to serve the interests of the entire world. Prophetic provide spiritual and religious directives,⁴¹

With such logic Raziq Abd Ali concluded that there is a great distance between politics and religion, as well as the message delivered by the Prophet Muhammad is purely a religious message and could not be confused with his activities as a secular leader. This step does the civil and political performed by the Prophet Muhammad is not a direct command from the Lord, because the lead community Prophet Muhammad run with a democratic form and ask the opinion of his followers, if political leaders have been inspired directly from God, then he will not do consultation with anyone.⁴² While this view is also in line with the views expressed Bahtiar Efendi which states that:

One way to put this subject in comparative and historical perspective is to understand the nature of Islamic political thought. The problem of political relations between Islam expression as it is driven by a sincere intention, it can not be deny that everything I less thoughtless and in fact more to be apologetic. Gagasan- an-idea of their principal, as stated Mohammed Ar-Koun, "remain imprisoned by regional and ethnographic imagery, most shackles by the opinions classic inadequately formulated in the form of ideological slogans kontemporer." Furthermore, "their articulation is still dominated by the ideological need to legitimize Islamic regimes today's society." A holistic view of Islam as mentioned above has implications. One of them, that view has encouraged the birth of a tendency to understand Islam in the sense that "literal", which only emphasizes the dimensions of the "outside" (exterior) of his. And tendencies such as these have been developed so far that led to the neglect of the dimension of "contextual" and "inside" (interior) of the principles of Islam. Therefore, what is implied kin mung- behind "appearances textual" was almost overlooked, if not forgotten, its meaning. In an extreme example, this tendency has not impede while Muslims to be able to clearly Me- mahami messages of al-Qur'ân as a divine instrument which gives guidance on moral values and ethical right to human life. In the matter of Islam's holistic nature, Qoma- Ruddin Khan wrote There is a wrong view in mind a number of these wasa de- Muslims that al-Qur'ân contains a thorough explanation of everything. This misunderstanding is caused by a wrong view of the al-Qur'ân verse which reads thus: "And We have sent down to you the Scripture to explain everything, and guidance and mercy and glad tidings to those who

³⁹ Elinae, page 25.

⁴⁰ Eliane halaman 28.

⁴¹ Ali Abderraziq, Islam and The Foundation of Government, Al-Filali-Ansary, Edition la Decouverte, Paris, 1994, p: 119

⁴² Eliane Ursula ettmueller, Islam and Democracy, P: 26

surrender" (16:89). This clause is intended to explain bah- wa al-Qur'ân contains an explanation of all aspects of moral guide, and not an explanation to all objects of life. Al-Qur'ân it does not contain anything related to general knowledge. This misunderstanding is caused by a wrong view of the al-Qur'ân verse which reads thus: "And We have sent down to you the Scripture to explain everything, and guidance and mercy and glad tidings to those who surrender" (16:89). This clause is intended to explain bah- wa al-Qur'ân contains an explanation of all aspects of moral guide, and not an explanation to all objects of life. Al-Qur'ân it does not contain anything related to general knowledge. This misunderstanding is caused by a wrong view of the al-Qur'ân verse which reads thus: "And We have sent down to you the Scripture to explain everything, and guidance and mercy and glad tidings to those who surrender" (16:89). This clause is intended to explain bah- wa al-Qur'ân contains an explanation of all aspects of moral guide, and not an explanation to all objects of life. Al-Qur'ân it does not contain anything related to general knowledge. This clause is intended to explain bah- wa al-Qur'ân contains an explanation of all aspects of moral guide, and not an explanation to all objects of life. Al-Qur'ân it does not contain anything related to general knowledge. This clause is intended to explain bah- wa al-Qur'ân contains an explanation of all aspects of moral guide, and not an explanation to all objects of life. Al-Qur'ân it does not contain anything related to general knowledge. This clause is intended to explain bah- wa al-Qur'ân contains an explanation of all aspects of moral guide, and not an explanation to all objects of life. Al-Qur'ân it does not contain anything related to general knowledge.

See comment Bahtiar Efendi explain that religion and State *adaalah* two entities that can forge feel, in other languages may be regarded as *simbois mutualisme* exciting studied further, while the view of Ali Abdur Roziq also berekuvalen with a view Munawir sazhali in the book of legal governance of an Islamic state, regarding the state administration in the context of Indonesia Munawir found since the country's independence the issue has sparked tension, hostility, and even physical conflict between the two. In the formative period of the Muslims of this country is not only continuously voiced their aspirations to not only make Islam as the state, but also make the political system of Islam as a guide in governing the country. History becomes interesting related to the emergence of some communities that berobsesi embodies a religious state (DI TII / NII) based on the sharia in the modern age. Muslim intransigence in fighting for their political aspirations turned out to carry negative implications for the Islamic community itself, both in the Old Order and New Order. In government circles not only suspicions against Muslims, but they are also seen as a group that is not fully willing to accept Pancasila as the state ideology. Such a situation gives rise in turn behind the response. Not a few thinkers and activists of political Islam that regards the state with suspicion. In this connection it can be said that in a country that is predominantly Muslim growing mistrust between Islamic groups and countries. In the socio-political situation such as this Munawir appointed Minister of Religion. Here Munawir soon confronted with the old Islamic groups are still fighting the ideology of Islam and are a priori reject Pancasila as the sole basis; the new intellectualism that is no longer fighting the ideology of Islam or Islamic countries, but on the contrary a slogan Islam Yes, Islamic Party of No, and Islamic organizations among others are still being waited for. Developments that occurred among Indonesian Muslims can not be separated from the observation Munawir, although formally he worked at the State Department. In fact, since not directly involved in Islamic organizations, Munawir can acknowledge fully seated as an observer. Even with this position,⁴³

Problematic relations between Islam and the state in the country is actually as old as Indonesia itself. Since the post-independence debate constituent (late 1950's), this problem is tapered and never resolved. The debate revolves around the form of state to be created, whether theocratic or secular. Two extremes are difficult to reconcile. Finally, the middle way is best taken of the non-theocratic state, but

⁴³ See, Munawir sazhali, the legal system of Islamic countries,

religion is seen as a unit of denomination in the community recognized and maintained by the state. Pancasila state that is called. Basically, in the perspective of Islamic political thought, at least three paradigm of the relationship between religion and state as follows: First, integrative paradigm. In this concept of religion and the state unified (integral). Islam and the state, in this case can not be separated. Religious region also includes areas of the country (din wa Dawla). Therefore, according to this paradigm, the State is at once political and religious institutions. State government organized on the basis of divine sovereignty (devine sovereignty) because sovereignty is derived and is in the hands of God.

This paradigm embraced by the Shiite group. Only in terms of Shia politics, to mention a country (ad-Dawla) is replaced by the term imamate (leadership). As political institutions based on religious legitimacy and has the function of God's sovereignty *menyeleggarakan* state in Shiite theocratic perspective, one of which was criticized by the discourse of liberal Islam. Theocratic contains elements of understanding that absolute power is in the hands of God, and the constitutional state based on the revelation of God (syar'i). This integrative paradigm which gave birth to understand the religious state, in which the state administration system set using religious principles, thus giving birth to the concept of Islam din wa Dawla. Plus legal source is a source of religious law Besides the Shiites,

Second, Symbiotic Paradigm. According to this view of religion versus relate symbiotic state, which is a reciprocal relationship and mutual need. In this case requires a state religion as the state religion to thrive, otherwise the State requires religion, because religion, the state can develop in the moral and ethical guidance. This symbiotic paradigm can be found in Al-mawardi thinking in his book *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah*. In this book he says that the country's leadership (Imamate) is an instrument to continue the prophetic mission to maintain and regulate the world religions (*harasah wa al-din al-dunya*). Maintenance and setting world religion are two different types of activities, but it has a symbiotic relationship. Those are two dimensions of the prophetic mission.⁴⁴

Third, Paradigm sekularistik. This paradigm reject both integrative relationships and symbiotic relationship between religion and state. Instead, the paradigm of separation between religion sekularistik filed passage and state. In the Islamic context, the paradigm sekularistik reject Islamic state to the baseline, or at least ⁵⁸not reject Islam determination will be a certain form of ¹⁶tate. The proponent of this paradigm is Ali Abd al-Raziq, a Muslim scholar from Egypt. In his book *al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm*, Raziq said that Islam is just a religion and does not include state affairs; Islam has no religious connection with the Caliphate governance system, including *kekhalihan* Khulafa al-Rashideen, not a religious or Islamic political system, but a system that is worldly. Ali Abd Raziq himself explains sight of the view that Islam does not impose any specific regime, nor to the Muslims basing a particular governmental system through which they should be governed; but Islam has given us absolute freedom to organize the state in accordance with the conditions of the intellectual, social, economic we have and taking into a ³⁵unt the social development and the demands of the times.⁴⁵

Of the six political thinkers (Ibn Abi Rabi', Al-Farabi, Al-Mawardi, Al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Khadun) that is displayed to represent the mind of political Islam to the Middle Ages no one is questioning the system of government that they find in their days respectively, meaning that since the Apostle became Head of State in the first Islamic state based in Medina, he never determine the shape of an Islamic State, whether it should be, theocracy, monarchy, republic or other forms, so views of other Islamic thinkers on the upcoming era. In the Indonesian context, the polarization also occurs, but for the third Munawir after analyzing the evolving thinking he finally concluded: Having noted the fundamental flaws in the two streams (integralistik and sekularistik)

Further Munawir suggested that the Indonesian people, especially Muslims should be grateful

⁴⁴ Munawir .halamn 34

⁴⁵ Munawir see page 23.

that the founders of this country have formulated to be used as the state ideology Pancasila. Thus, the Indonesian Muslims should accept the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila as the final goal of political aspirations. In this regard, it can be argued, both in the political system and the legal system, there are similarities between the Republic of Indonesia and most of the Islamic countries in the world today, both follow the pattern of western political, with adaptations and modifications, and equal in case, other than in the areas of marriage, inheritance and perwakafan, the legal system in these countries is not fully bersumberkan Islamic law. Another reason is that in the process of drafting the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila as the state and its contents in accordance with the theories and concepts siyasah Islam that emphasizes deliberation and no one butirpun adverse or difficult, the principles of justice also reflected there as well as the spirit and soul relevant pensyariatan general principles of Islamic law. To the terms of this matter according to Ibrahim Khosen, the Indonesian government is no doubt that the existence of Islamic enough and therefore must be obeyed during his policies for the benefit the principles of justice also reflected there as well as the spirit and soul are relevant to the general principles of Islamic law pensyariatan. To the terms of this matter according to Ibrahim Khosen, the Indonesian government is no doubt that the existence of Islamic enough and therefore must be obeyed during his policies for the benefit the principles of justice also reflected there as well as the spirit and soul are relevant to the general principles of Islamic law pensyariatan. To the terms of this matter according to Ibrahim Khosen, the Indonesian government is no doubt that the existence of Islamic enough and therefore must be obeyed during his policies for the benefit.⁴⁶

Fulfillment of justice and the welfare of these are to be for a government that is supported by the community. Prophet himself actually hinted, that power is not the purpose of political Muslims. Prophet himself declared the restoration effort of political culture or the alignment of power management and urge the Muslims mainly clerical and political elites to maintain political morality.

Munawir political thought that the issue of the Islamic state is actually very modern, which means that at the time of the Prophet there was never any need to debate whether or not an Islamic state. But as soon as there is a concept of the state, and there is a new understanding of modern government, the discourse about Islam nascent state. The discourse of Islamic countries, such as, for example, are actually related to the new development of post-colonial Muslim world, not a discourse based on Sharia eternal and unchanging. Themes against theocracy is usually discussed with sharia silent way. The key to the supporters of this theme is the rejection of the so-called mythology Islamic state, a state based on a total understanding of Islamic law (sharia) and smelting monopolistic power and religion. The movement is also pressing for dialogue between religions and the struggle to create a democratic and pluralistic political society. In the context of Indonesia, according to Munawir examines political Islamic movement can not be judged a priori as a tentative form of a sphere of interests in politics. Political Islamic movement in Indonesia is not present spontaneously.

At least four melatarinya. First, globalization, the technological sophistication medium of communication, such as television, Internet and so on, have revealed veils of repression and violence experienced by some Islamic communities in various parts of the world such as Palestina, Afghanistan, Iraq, thus giving rise to the Global Muslim solidarity. Second, political Islam is actually a symptom of religious politics can not be separated from the context of the power struggle. In it occurs the perfect marriage between politics and religion. Political motives that seeks to put Islam in the circumference of state power, as the system that regulates all aspects of life, including the rule of law, socio-cultural, economic systems, and the system of international relations, gain legitimacy in religious language. Third, political experience Indonesia at the beginning of independence, regarding the rationalization of the bureaucracy that has implications for downsizing lasjkar only in army education and training of the Netherlands and Japan, while coming from away the initiative of the people like the army, under the

⁴⁶ Munawir see page 12.

command of Ibn Hajar in Kalimantan, Kahar Muzakar in Napier and so on do not get political space in the new government. As a result, this marginalized group into a rebel movement that carries the Islamic state and the enforcement of Islamic law, because from the beginning they did make Islam as a symbol of resistance against the invaders. Fourth, the experience of application of Islamic law in the times of ancient kingdoms, like never embodied in Adam Sultan Act 1835 issued by the Sultan Adam al-wathiq billah, in the kingdom of Banjar or occurring Aceh and Padang-Minangkabau. This is certainly a memory that lingers in certain social subconscious. The fourth reality is not seen within the framework of traditionalists who argue that Indonesia has historical legitimacy in the application and enforcement of Islamic law in Indonesia. Nor is it within the framework of liberals who assume that the experience of application of Islamic law has no historical roots in Indonesia.⁴⁷

As for the basis of Islamic Political Thought Munawir Sadzali is contextualization text actualization doctrine in order to conduct the teachings of Islam. Contextualization is done because the occurrence of social changes. This is the spirit of renewal of the teachings of Islam. According reactualization is the re-interpretation of the doctrine of Islam that has its own validity. He must be made to accommodate the evolving needs of life. The perspective is not the same when viewed from the point of view of history that demands the ability of Muslims to reformulate the normative values in the context of its relevance for the necessities of life. The principles of the theory of legal methodology (usul fiqh) and the rules of law (qawaid al-fiqh) will keep the process of reinterpreting it does not deviate from the principles contained in the things you want to be reinterpreted status, and does not conflict with the intent and purpose the status of the thing itself. Unconsciously, reaktualisasi process it has become natural in the life of the Muslims. Configuring the normative values and renewal of the teaching of religion will remain a real need, as long as the Muslims remained in the establishment for not overstepping the provisions of textual sources, but also not willing to withdraw from the ever-changing patterns of life. In other words, the configuration of an effort to maintain continuity (SxS tradition) in the midst of change,⁴⁸

Reaktualiasi and consequently the process of change in the provisions are the things which have been accepted as a consensus it shows the vitality of normative values of Islam. Not easy to do change it, but still there is a possibility for change. Another basis on which the political thought Munawir is ijtihad. Islamic political thought, in this case, a political ijtihad in order to find the values of Islam in the context of the system and the ongoing political process. Munawir considers that all political processes in history, including the succession of power both by Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and Ali, is a fully human initiative and ijtihad (companions of the Prophet) alone. There are no instructions from the prophet, let alone of God, how should a political system (polity) was created. In other words, the political problem is entirely rational. According Munawir, ijtihad is a form of activity is reasonable to think, which is inherent to the core teachings of Islam itself (Qur'an and Hadith). Ijtihad is not born out of the historical process, as happened in the West, but more because of the Qur'an and Hadith impetus for humans to use his mind in dealing with problems of life. The use of ijtihad is not limited to the region, both to the problems that there is no provision in the Koran and the Hadith as well as to the problems of the existing provisions in the texts, though Hadith Muadz in its history only mentions the problem is not detected in the texts. More Munawir encourage intellectual luminaries fellow Muslims to perform ijtihad honestly, to make Islam more responsive to the needs of local and temporal situation of Indonesia. According to him, in the historical development of Islamic doctrine there are many Islamic rulers who dared take legal policies that do not fit in harfiyah with the sound of Koranic verses or sayings or actions of the Prophet Muhammad. So if we try to understand the teachings of Islam with reason, and of course with the full sense of responsibility to Islam, we are not the first in the diligence. Munawir mentioned that it was no other than the pioneer Umar himself. in the historical development

⁴⁷ See munawir .halaman 32.

⁴⁸ Munawir see page 18.

of Islamic doctrine there are many Islamic rulers who dared take legal policies that do not fit in *harfiyah* with the sound of Koranic verses or sayings or actions of the Prophet Muhammad. So if we try to understand the teachings of Islam with reason, and of course with the full sense of responsibility to Islam, we are not the first in the diligence. Munawir mentioned that it was no other than the pioneer Umar himself. in the historical development of Islamic doctrine there are many Islamic rulers who dared take legal policies that do not fit in *harfiyah* with the sound of Koranic verses or sayings or actions of the Prophet Muhammad. So if we try to understand the teachings of Islam with reason, and of course with the full sense of responsibility to Islam, we are not the first in the diligence. Munawir mentioned that it was no other than the pioneer Umar himself.

Inspired by the courage and honesty Umar, Munawir state that there must be measures that bold and honest in enacting the teachings of Islam. As we believe the dynamism and vitality of the doctrine of Islam, he suggested that the Muslims carry out agendas reactualization through *ijtihad*, to make Islam more in line with local peculiarities and temporal Indonesia. Controversial idea that a lot of it did seem to be consciously raised by it in order to avoid discrimination and penomorduaan group of citizens of the nation on this earth plural Indonesia. Because, according to his belief let alone hegemony discrimination against a group of citizens openly clearly contrary to the principles of democracy. For him democracy is one of the fundamental values that exist in Islam. For him the important thing is how to fight for Islamic values, not the universe formalistiknya. Islam was seen as a source of inspiration-motivated, ethical-moral grounding, not as a social and political system prevailing in its entirety. In other words, Islam is not read from a doctrinal, but try captured the spirit and the spirit. And, Munawir vision of the future Indonesia is a democratic Indonesia, all have the same rights and no discrimination. So it will be realization of the ideals of Islam as *rahmatan lil Alamin*. but try captured the spirit and the spirit. And, Munawir vision of the future Indonesia is a democratic Indonesia, all have the same rights and no discrimination. So it will be realization of the ideals of Islam as *rahmatan lil Alamin*. but try captured the spirit and the spirit. And, Munawir vision of the future Indonesia is a democratic Indonesia, all have the same rights and no discrimination. So it will be realization of the ideals of Islam as *rahmatan lil Alamin*.⁴⁹ In the book *Islam and Tata Negara* (teachings, history and thought) by H. Munawir Sjadzali, MA clarifies the various concerns about the relevance of religion in this case is Islam with the state administration. At the end of this book exactly the discussion that the ninth, the writer H. Munawir Sjadzali, MA introduce global political system and the legal systems of a number of Islamic countries, ie countries in its constitution clearly states Islam as the state religion.

In this book also H. Munawir Sjadzali classify Islamic countries in terms of the system of govern⁵⁷ into two kinds, namely the Islamic countries that the rul⁵⁵ party and the royal monarchy form or Islamic countries which system of government is a republic. Islamic countries that the system of government in the form of monarchy or the kingdom of which is Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan, while the Islamic states with a Republican form of which is Egypt, Algeria / Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Iran and others.

APPROACH HISTORY⁵⁰ : Caliphate AND GOVERNMENT IN HISTORY

⁴⁹ ⁵e Munawir page 39.

⁵⁰ This historical approach is very necessary to understand the religion, because religion itself down in a concrete situation even related to social conditions. In this connection Kuntowijoyo has conducted a thorough study of religion, in this case Islam, according to the historical approach. When he studied the Koran, he came to the conclusion that it is essentially the content of the Koran is divided into two parts. The first part contains the concepts, and the second part contains the historical narratives and parables. The term history comes from an Arabic word meaning *syajarah* trees. In this case, Azyumardi Azra says: "taking this term relates to the fact, that the history-at least in the view of the first to use the word this- concerning, among other things, *Shajarat al-nasab*, genealogical tree which is in the present seems to be called history family. Or maybe also because the verb *syajara* also has meaning to happen, to occur and to develop. But then, history is

understood to have the same meaning as dates (Arabic), Istoria (Greece), history or geschichte (Germany). In use, the Greek philosophers used the word to describe systematically Istoria about natural phenomena. In a further development, Istoria word is used to describe the symptoms, especially matters of human in chronological order. Lexical, history is knowledge or a description of the events and kejadian-event which actually happened in the past. In terms of history is the story and the events of the past of mankind, whether related to political events, social, economic or natural phenomenon. This definition gives the sense that history is nothing more than a record of human events past with all its dimensions. What is clear, history is the fact that really the case is not supposed to happen, it is a reality and not ideals. Therefore, the historical approach is needed in our efforts to study Islam, because Islam itself down in a concrete situation with regard to social conditions even kemasyarakatan. Secara lexical, history is knowledge or a description of the events and happenings that really happened in the past. In terms of history is the story and the events of the past of mankind, whether related to political events, social, economic or natural phenomenon. This definition gives the sense that history is nothing more than a record of human events past with all its dimensions. What is clear, history is the fact that really the case is not supposed to happen, it is a reality and not ideals. Therefore, the historical approach is urgently needed in our efforts to study Islam, because Islam itself down in a concrete situation even related to social conditions. Then the field is a history of covering all the experiences manusia. Menurut Ibn Khaldun's history is not only understood as a recording peristiwa the past, but also of critical reasoning to find the truth of an event, the time constraint (ie past), the principal (ie human) and the critical power of historical researchers. with words. other in the history of the event there is an object (what), person did (WHO), the time (when), place (where) and background (why). All aspects are then arranged in a systematic and describe the close relationship. Among one part to the other part. Since the events of history is about what to think, say, felt and experienced by humans, or in the language of methodological that the painting's history is a disclosure of the facts about what, who, when, where, and how something has happened, then the approach to the history or we say history as a methodology emphasizes attention to the understanding of a variety of symptoms in the dimension of time. Aspects chronological something symptoms, including symptoms of religion or religious, is a hallmark in the history approach. Because the assessment of the symptoms of a religion based on this approach must be seen aspects of the process, changes and aspects diakronisnya. Even critically, the historical approach is not limited to see in terms of growth, development and collapse of something the events, but also able to

At the beginning of the discussion in the third, Ali Abd Raziq stated claim that Islam is not a religion of the Arabs, but a religion that is universal, God has chosen envoy of the Arab nation, and it is acceptable for the transmission of religious dogma happening in Arab and up Arab Nations to the first, but even so the message brought by the religion of Islam is universal and not limited to the Arab world.⁵¹

The Arabs themselves according to Raziq Abd Ali embraced Islam after splitting into several political groups,⁴⁹ it can be seen when the conflicts that occurred between Successors when choosing a new leader after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Since the events that Muslims are divided in religious communities who are members of a political organization different. With the establishment of the Caliphate, Arabs created a real Arab states that according to Raziq Abd Ali has nothing to do with religious beliefs, the Arabs build a religious basis with a view to memeprtahankan treatise that has delivered the Prophet Muhammad. There's no denying the enormous influence of this country in confirming and extending the new religion, namely Islam.⁵² It is very clear to be seen in the Islamic historiography.⁵³

understand the symptoms that accompany structural events. Assessment of a problem based approach to history would produce works of nature and history in two different sense. First, history in the subjective sense, which shows the historical story, knowledge of history and overview of the history, all of which contain elements and content of the subject (the author or authors). So as well as depictions of historical knowledge is the result of the reconstruction of the author, so that in it is contained the nature, style and structure of thinking. In contrast to the nature of the historical writing. The second is the history in an objective sense, ie referring to the event or the event itself, and the historical process depicted in aktualitasnya. The process depends on the actualization of the actual history disclosure form back, which is a statement (statement) about the incident. And this is actually the so-called "historical fact" that is the product of a mental process (historian) or memorizing which is the result of the construction of the subject. Keep in mind, that fact does not correspond to the data, because the latter are materials that require processing, sorting, categorizing, all of which are based on certain selection criteria, depending on the subject do the assessment. With this historical approach is certainly expected to provide lessons and role model of examples in the past, and as a means of understanding about life and death. From the above it can be said that the historical approach in Islamic studies can be developed towards a multidisciplinary approach in which the disclosure of matters behind an event can use the theories of social, political, anthropological and psychological. The importance of using an interdisciplinary approach is increasingly recognized see limitations of results of studies that use only one particular approach. For example, in studying religious texts, such as al-Qur'an and Sunnah is not enough to rely solely textual approach, but must be equipped with a sociological and historical approach as well, even still need to be supplemented with the hermeneutic approach, for example. And according to the author,

⁵¹ Munawir Page 21.

⁵² Ali Abd Raziq, t, p: 156

⁵³ In simple terms it can be said that the results of the writing of history is referred to as historiography. And if his²⁵ y is written is the history of Islam, the so-called Islamic historiography. In history, the Islamic historiography generally can be divided into three periods, namely the classical period, the Middle Ages and the modern period. In the classical period, in his book Islamic historiography, following the distribution Hussein Yatim Badri Nashar the Early Islamic historiography into three streams, namely the flow of the Medina, Iraq and stream flow Yemen. In the flow of the Medina, the writing of history is based on the hadith scholars writing style, and then began to develop specialized research on the story of the Apostle war (al-Maraghi). The first⁴⁸ compile al-Maraghi and then referred to as a symbol of transition from writing to study hadith al⁹ Maraghi, Aban is Ibn Usman Ibn Affan (w.105 H / 723 AD) and is most famous as the author of al-Maraghiadalah Muhammad Ibn Muslim al-Zuhri (w.124 H / 742 AD), from the writing of al-Maraghi then developed again and gave birth writing Nabawiyah Sirah (biography of the Prophet Muhammad). In the flow of Iraq, the disclosure of the story of al-Ayyam in pre-Islamic days, then for political fanaticism kekilahan caused by competition between clans for power here developed a model of writing pedigree. The first step that determine the development of the writing of history in Iraq is bookkeeping oral tradition. It was first performed by Ubaidullah Ibn Abi Rafi 'to write a book that contains the name of the friend who was with Amir al-mu'minin (Ali) participated in the war of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan therefore, he is seen as the first historian in Iraq's flow. In Yemen flow, which is focused on is the writing of pre-Islamic history. In this area long before Islam came has grown culture of writing events, it is a fictional stories and tales of tribal, so the news isra'iliyyat enter and influence of Islamic historiography. The authors of the tales were widely cited by Muslim historians of the next most important of which is Ka'b Ibn Wahb al-Ahbar Munabbih and 'Ubayd ibn Syariyah. Middle period was a period of decline of Islamic civilization, where political, economic and scientific Muslims are in very poor condition, especially after the attacks of Mongol Hulagu Khan ripped through the power of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad in 1258 AD Islamic

Institutions Raziq Abd caliph in view of generating confusion for Muslims themselves and eventually assume the caliphate as a religious institution. According to the Caliph Ali Abd Raziq institutions in fact very alienated from Islam, in terms of strength, respect, attractions and intimidation that is in the institution. This is the background why no religious concept that can be changed and hinder Muslims to compete with other nations in social and political science. No one forbids them to destroy a system that caused them to fall behind and fell asleep under the grasp of their own. Nothing prevents them to build their own state and forms of government in the foundation of the latest human

civilizational decline is due to many factors. According to Badri Yatim, the weakness of the caliphate is one factor decline of Islamic civilization in this period. In addition, according to Professor of History of Islamic Civilization (SPI) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, there are several factors that are related to each other, among them the existence of competition between nations in Arabic and Farsi, has been a slump in the economy, the religious conflict developed among adherents of the Sunna and the Shi'a and the threat of outsiders, whether as a result of the Crusades and the Mongol attack, In this period of history approaches in the study of religion in general not to be done by Muslims. It is caused due to the stagnation of Islamic science that is characterized by the lack of new scientific papers in various fields, including history. Meanwhile, in the countries of Europe and America are non-Muslim, in the mid-term period of Islamic history is marked by the progress of science, something that makes the study of religion among them developed rapidly in the 19th century and 20 M. Attention is characterized with the advent of various works in the fields of religion, such as: Introduction to the book The Science of religion by F. Max Muller of Germany (1873); Cernelis P. Tiele (1630-1902), PD Chantepie de la saussay (1848-1920) in the Netherlands. England gave birth figures Religious Studies like EB Taylor (1838-1919). France has Lucian Levy Bruhl (1857-1939), Louis Jassignon (d. 1958) and so on. America produces figures such as William James (1842-1910), known through his work The Varieties of Religious Experience (1902). Eastern Europe featuring Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) of Poland, Elaide Mircea from Romania. This condition makes this Western scientists were able to develop their approach to religious studies approach to history, as manifested in their works in the field of history in the modern period. But this does not mean there was a Muslim scientist who generate new scientific work during this period. The most obvious evidence of the existence of Islamic historiography of this period was phenomenal work of Ibn Khaldun called Kitabul'Ibar Wa Diwanul Muftada' Ayyamil'arab Walkhabar Fi Wal'ajami Walbarbar Waman 'Asharahum Min Dzawis Sulthanil Akbar. Which is unfortunate associated with the historical approach in the study of Islam in this period is that it stops at the figure of Ibn Khaldun without any more next scientist who follow him until well into the modern period. Ironically, in the Islamic world al-Muqaddimah book itself was not published in Cairo in 1855. Since the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258 AD, which marks the decline of Islamic civilization to the modern period, even now, the concern of Muslims is still very low on history, The disciplines of history for Muslims is the science behind compared to other disciplines, such as theology, jurisprudence and Sufism. After Al-Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun, scientific works on the history of the Islamic world which is becoming the main reference of the Muslims until now no match, whereas in Islam, human beings have a central role in history. Muhammad Iqbal in his book, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, said that the men that have a history driving forces in the form of consciousness rooted in the nature and disposition. In line with this, Muhammad Baqir Shirdar, in his book says that the human soul, mind and spirit which has an armature that moves history. In modern period, in the late 18th century early 19th century, a historian who appeared as pioneers and pioneer of Arab Islamic resurgence named Abdurrahman al-Jabarti (w.124 H / 1825 AD) by using and developing the style of writing history through hawliyat method coupled with Maudu'iyat method (thematic). Only in the 20th century, historians of Islam, especially after contact culture and science between the East and the West began to develop Islamic historiography with the method of the study of history as a whole, total or global, not just the social aspect alone with the example of the methods and approaches developed in the Western world. See Kuntowijoyo .halaman 78. 124 H / 1825 AD) by using and developing the style of writing history through hawliyat method coupled with Maudu'iyat method (thematic). 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See Kuntowijoyo .halaman 78. not only the social aspect alone with the example methods and approaches developed in the Western world. See Kuntowijoyo .halaman 78.

thought.⁵⁴

BACKGROUND FACTORS AND FEEDBACK SYSTEM IN RAZIQ ABDUR ALI KHILAFAH: STUDY OF RELEVANCE TO THE SYSTEM ANALYSIS AND DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA.

Family background of Ali Abdul Raziq dominated by the presence of politicians and academics (father and brother who built a secular party and the governor and the rector of Al-Azhar University) have constructed interest in him to study political science of the small, it is because didirong by the environment families who were making a political assessment as something natural. Political thought Ali Abdul Raziq secular can not be separated from the influence of ideology is also growing in the family Ali Abdul Raziq itself is secular. Criticize tradition and have different views have been developed within the family of Ali Abd Raziq. His father and brother, who founded the secular party boldly against the current mainstream politics in the Middle East and introduced a form of political parties that actually releases religion with government. The emergence of courageous and critical character in Ali Abd Raziq is inseparable from the environment and the atmosphere of freedom of speech which is already embedded in the family environment Raziq Abd Ali.

The history of education pursued by Ali Abd Raziq indicate that he received education from two different traditions that Islam and the West, both the educational background affect his mindset and way of looking at things. As for the criticism of the system of governance applied caliphate in the Middle East is the result of comparative political development of the two entities. Based on his observations Ali Abdul Raziq find that their keganjalan that is not growing political thought among scholars of Islam, another case that he witnessed in the West. Until finally the fact that he found was a caliphate system is considered as a system of government as prescribed in Islam cause setbacks and terkekangnya knowledge of the people in terms of reviewing the system of government. But that does not mean Ali Abd Raziq put forward the tradition of western science in its analysis, it is evident from his statement stating that there are no passages in the Koran and Hadith that justify the existence of the caliphate as a system of government in the Islamic system of government. The statement indicated that the existence of a system of government to test the caliph Ali Abd Raziq still based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. As has been discussed previously about some of the figures who took part in influencing thinking Raziq Abd Ali,

The views of Ibn Khaldun⁵⁵This inspires Ali Abd Raziq to criticism of the caliphate system

⁵⁴ 40 Abd Raziq, P: 157

⁵⁵ Ibn Khaldun's full name is Abdurrahman Abu Zaid ibn Khaldun Waliuddin. Abdurrahman his name. The name he called Abu Zaid; Waliuddin title and popular name of Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun known as associated with lineage to the ninth grandfather, namely Khalid bin Uthman, and he was the first of this clan who entered the country together with the conquerors Andalusian Arab nationals. He was known by the name Khaldun in accordance with the habits of the people of Andalusia and the Maghreb, which is used to add letters Wawu and far behind the leading names in honor and reverence, like Khalid became Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunisia at the beginning of Ramadan in 732 AH, or precisely on May 27, 1333. The house where he was born is still intact until now located on the street Turbah Bay. In recent years this house into a school center idarah "Ulya, which at its entrance Manner plastered stone engraved name and date of birth of Ibn Khaldun. Bani Khalduniah in Andalusia plays a fairly prominent role, both in the fields of science and politics. After settling in Carmona, then they moved to Seville, because of the political situation in Andalusia who suffered chaos, either because of divisions among Muslims as well as Christians in the North of the attack, the Banu Khaldun moved again to the African North. Al-Hasan Ibn Jabir Ibn Khaldun is the ancestor who first came to the African North, where Ceuta was the first time that their city of departure, before moving to Tunis in 1223. (Toto Suharto, 2003: 33) In Tunis, in the new place, Banu Khaldun continue to play an important role. Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khaldun's grandfather, was a "Hajib", the head of Hafs dynasty imperial household. He was admired and respected in court circles, repeatedly Amir Abu Yahya alLihyani (711 H), the leader of al-Muwahhid dynasty that has mastered the descendants Hafz in Tunis, offering a higher position to Muhammad Ibn Muhammad, but the offerThe rejection, in the end, the grandfather of Ibn like to pursue religious sciences until he died in 1337 AD From her family background that many engaged in politics and knowledge as this is the Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunisia at the beginning of Ramadan 732 H. According to calculations by historians , it coincided with the May 27, 1333 M. Conditions such families would have a dominant role in shaping the life of Ibn Khaldun. Politics and science have been so manifest themselves in Ibn Khaldun. Plus lag! intelligence brain also contribute to the

prevailing among Muslims, though not parallel with the thought of Ibn Khaldun who confirmed that the

development of his career. (Toto Suharto, 2003: 34) In detail the life of Ibn Khaldun will be presented in three phases, namely: Phase I; The first phase of this period traversed Education Ibn Khaldun in Tunis within a period of 18 years, ie between the years 1332 to 1350 AD As well as the tradition of the Muslims at that time, his father was his first teacher who had been educated traditionally, teaches the fundamentals of Islam. In addition to his father, Ibn Khaldun also studied various sciences of teachers in Tunis. Tunis at that time was the center of the scholars and writers, a gathering place for scholars Andalusian run to Tunis as a result of political events. As with Toto Suharto, menukilkan of Fathiyah Hasan (24) iman that mentioned some of the teachers who contributed in intellectual development. Among them was Abu Abd Muhrnas Ibn Sa "ad al-Ansari and Abu al-Abbas Ahmad (19), Muhammad al-Bathani in Qira" at; Abu Abd Allah Ibn al-Qashar in the science of Arabic grammar; Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Bahr and Abu Abd Allah ibn Jabir al-Wadiyasyi in literature; Abu Abdillah alJayyani and Abu Abd Allah ibn Abd al-Salam in the science of jurisprudence; and many more teachers. Although he had many teachers and learn a variety of disciplines, education obtained Ibn Khaldun is profound and impressed in him. Judging by the many disciplines studied by Ibn Khaldun in his youth, it is known that he had a remarkable intelligence. This shows that Ibn Khaldun is a person who has high ambitions, which is not satisfied with just one discipline. Knowledge is so vast and varied. This is an advantage which is also the shortcomings. The second phase; Practical Political Activity The second phase traversed Ibn Khaldun in various places, such as Fez, Granada, Baugie, Biskara and others, within a period of 32 years between 1350 to 1382 AD Ibn Khaldun's first career in government is as Sahib al-Alamah (storage signatures), the government of Abu Muhammad Ibn Tafaqqh in Tunis at the age of 20 years. (Mukti Ali, 1970: 17) Early this career only lived Ibn Khaldun for (24) roximately 2 years, then he traveled to the Biskara because in the year 1352 AD Tunis was attacked and occupied by Amir Abu Za "id, ruler Konstantin once grandson of Sultan Abu Yahya al -Hafsh. At the time of Abu Inan became king of Morocco, Ibn Khaldun tried to approach him to promote him to a higher position. Sultan Abu Inan he even appointed him as secretary of the empire in Fez, Morocco. In this city, Ibn Khaldun began his career in the world of practical politics, ie in the year 1354 AD During the eight-year stay in Fez, many political perilikuperilaku he did. So recently served as secretary of the empire, he was suspected by Abu 'Inan as traitors together prince of Abu' Abd Allah Muhammad of the sons Hafs who undertakes a political plot. The political climate of intrigue led to Ibn Khaldun left North Africa and the sake of his career as a politician and observer, he finally solidify went to Spain and arrived in Granada on December 26, 1362 M. Ibn Khaldun well received by the king of Granada, Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Yusuf. A year after that Ibn Khaldun was appointed ambassador to the court of the king Pedro El Cruel, Christian king of Castilla in Sevilla, as a diplomat assigned to hold a peace agreement between Granada and Sevilla. Because of its success, V king gave Ibn Khaldun place and an increasingly important position in Granada. This created jealousy in the kingdom, he finally decided to return to North Africa. After crisscrossing the practical political life, forcing her scholarly instincts entering a new stage of life that is into seclusion. In the period 1374-1378 the seclusion of the year, he completed the work of al-Muqaddimah Muqadimah popularly known as Ibn Khaldun, a work that is entirely based on good research. In the year 178 AD, then he left Qal "at towards Tunis. In Tunis he received the assignment to Mecca October 24, 1382 for a pilgrimage and a stopover in Cairo. Up here, the adventure ended Ibn Khaldun in the political intrigues which sometimes makes it an opportunist. The third phase: Academic Activities and Future Justice mi is the final phase of the stages of the trip to Ibn Khaldun, this phase was spent in Egypt approximately 20 years between 1382 to 1406 AD Arrive in Cairo, Egypt on January 06, 1383. During this period the Mamluks were in power , The progress of civilization and political stability when it makes more interested Ibn Khaldun and his al-Muqaddimah is his magnum opus or the arrival of the former more than the author that his arrival was welcomed dikalarigan academics, this is where his new job as a teacher of Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun gave lectures in educational institutions of Egypt, such as al-Azhar University, College of Law Qamhiyah, College and high school Zhahiriyyah Sharghat Musyiyyah. The course is delivered is jurisprudence, Hadith and some theories about the history of sociology who has written in Muqadimah. In addition to fighting in the academic world, Ibn Khaldun also carry out activities related to the legal world. (Munawir Syadzali, 1993: 97) On August 8, 1384 AD, Ibn Khaldun was appointed by the Sultan of Egypt, al-Zahir Barqa, as a judge Supreme madhhab Maliki at the court of Egypt, a position assumed with enthusiasm is used by Ibn Khaldun to reform law. He seeks to eradicate corruption and the things that went wrong in the Court's more. However, this reform was to make people feel aggrieved became angry and spiteful. They then tried to defame Ibn Khaldun with various charges, so he was removed from this position after one year of his lap. Slander addressed to Ibn Khaldun in fact can not be proven, but he was determined to resign from that post in 1387 AD In Ibn Khaldun pilgrimage later he was appointed again as the chief justice of Egypt by Sultan of Egypt's Supreme Nasir Faraj, son of Sultan Burquq. During this period, Ibn Khaldun had visited Damascus and Palestine in order to defend Egypt from Mongol attacks. And meetings for 35 days in Damascus, Syria is an important event last for Ibn Khaldun in the course of a life full of tension, pain behind kesuksesanya. After that (31) continued profesinyasebagai Maliki madh (31) Court judge until his death pad F dated March 16, 1406 (26 Ramadan 808 H) at the age of 74 years in Egypt, his body was buried in the cemetery of the Sufi outside Bab al-Nasir, Cairo. See Munawir Syadzali, ..halaman 95.

caliphate system during the khalifahurasyidin regarded as a religious institution, while Ali Abd Raziq criticized all the caliphate system was formed after the death Prophet. Egyptian figure this one generates article titled treatise al-Tawhid, Muhammad Abduh's work introduces a new methodology in studying Islam, according to Abduh knowledge about Islam was rational. Islam is a religion that is based on logic. Muhammad Abduh issued two important concepts of logic:⁵⁶

1. logic (aql) is always in line with shariah
2. logic (aql) contrary to tradition

Emphasis Muhammad Abduh in the use of logic or rationality is also believed by Ali Abdul Raziq who think that human beings are given freedom by God to think and develop their own system of government is best suited to the conditions and situations that exist in the community, without having to maintain the tradition of the caliphate system inherited by the successors.⁵⁷

Aristoteles influence, Plato, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke Plato which is a scientist of Greece's pouring his political thought in several works such as the Republic, the State man, the Laws.⁵⁸ The core political thought of Plato is about an ideal form of government based on the observation of Plato that is characteristic consists of three classes: the ruling class, and the class that produces knight. Good country is a reflection of the best of human nature and Plato believed that humans find perfection from himself only in the ideal state.⁵⁹ The form of government that is desired by Plato is a hierarchy in the composition and function, the ideal state leaders, according to Plato is the Philosopher King, the person who has kapabilitas in leading the country under any circumstances. To ensure the supply of the philosophers to become future leaders, Plato advocated state control of the scheme compulsory education for children.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Jam 13roucek, The Controversy of Shaykh 'Ali' Abd al-Raziq, Florida State University Libraries, 2012, p:

⁵⁷ His full name is Muhammad Abduh bin Hasan bin Khairullah. Mahallat Nasr was born in the village in the district of al-Bahira, Egypt in 1849 AD and died in 1905 AD His father, Abduh bin Hasan Khairullah, has a lineage with the Turks. While his mother, has a lineage with the great figures of Islam, Umar ibn al-Khattab. The first education ditekuni Muhammad Abduh was studying the Qur'an, and thanks to a brilliant brain then within two years, he had memorized the holy book at the age of 12 years. His formal education began when he was sent by his father to a religious college in Ahmadi mosque located in the village. Tanta. However, because the learning system which is considered very boring, he eventually chose to gain knowledge of his uncle, Sheikh Darweesh Syibral Khit Khidr ⁵⁶ age which is someone who is knowledgeable and Sufism Saxon. Furthermore, Muha ²⁰ ad Abduh continued his studies at Al Azhar University, in Cairo and successfully completing his studies ²⁰ 877. While a student at Al-Azhar, in 1869 Abduh met by a cleric 'big well as reformers within the Islamic world, Said Jamaluddin Al Afghany, in a discussion. Since then Abduh attracted to Jamaluddin Al Afghany and learned from him. Al Afghany is a modern thinker who has a high spirit to break the chains of orthodoxy and ways of thinking are fanatics. New air is blown by Al Afghany, developing rapidly in Egypt, especially among students of Al Azhar pioneered by Muhammad Abduh. Because thinking Abduh more advanced and often come into contact with the rationalist thought of Islam (Mutazilis), then many who claimed he had left Asy'ariyah schools. Against accusations he replied: "If I had clearly left the imitation to Asy'ary, then why should I bertaklid to Mu'tazila? I'll leave imitation to anyone and just stick to the proposition that there is a". See in Quraish Shihab, Interpretation Studies Al-Manar Rashid Rida (Jakarta, Lantern Heart 2004) page 45. Because thinking Abduh more advanced and often come into contact with the rationalist thought of Islam (Mutazilis), then many who claimed he had left Asy'ariyah schools. Against accusations he replied: "If I had clearly left the imitation to Asy'ary, then why should I bertaklid to Mu'tazila? I'll leave imitation to anyone and just stick to the proposition that there is a". See in Quraish Shihab, Interpretation Studies Al-Manar Rashid Rida (Jakarta, Lantern Heart 2004) page 45. Because thinking Abduh more advanced and often come into contact with the rationalist thought of Islam (Mutazilis), then many who claimed he had left Asy'ariyah schools. Against accusations he replied: "If I had clearly left the imitation to Asy'ary, then why should I bertaklid to Mu'tazila? I'll leave imitation to anyone and just stick to the proposition that there is a". See in Quraish Shihab, Tafsir Al-Manar Studies Rashid Rida (Jakarta, Lantern Heart 2004) page 45. tazilah? I will leave the imitation to anyone and just stick to the proposition that there is a ".See in Quraish Shihab, Tafsir Al-Manar Studies Rashid Rida (Jakarta, Lantern Heart 2004) page 45. tazilah? I will leave the imitation to anyone and just stick to the proposition that there is a ".See in Quraish Shihab, Tafsir Al-Manar Studies Rashid Rida (Jakarta, Lantern Heart 2004) page 45.

⁵⁸ Dr.G. Sadanandan, Study Material: Western Political Thought for MA Political Science, 2013, p: 4

⁵⁹ Sadanandan, halaman 5.

⁶⁰ Sadanandan, page 7

Other Greek thinkers who inspire thought Ali Abdul Raziq was Aristotle who was a disciple of Plato. Aristotle's political thought begins with a discussion of human nature or *human nature* which is referred to as a social animal that is able to live in the community regardless of the good or bad man. Country of origin according to Aristotle is the emergence of the human desire to meet the needs of economic and racial instinct, to fulfill the desire of both men and women, masters and slaves lived together and form families. In the family tersebutlah three important elements in building the emerging countries, namely friendship, politics and justice organizations.⁶¹ Aristotle believed that humans are both the essence and the function of the state is to develop the goodness into good actions.⁶² Another case with Thomas Hobbes precisely Aristotle thought that human nature is selfish selfish self-interest and the people they use to achieve their goals are. These interests are then made man hostile to one another, when people have properties that egoism aka state institutions, too selfish and mementingan interest for the country, because the country was built and run by men.

A significant difference was also seen in John Locke's view *human nature* and state, John Locke thought that people naturally have the desire to be free which gave birth to the concept of freedom to choose. Humans are believed as a rational actor and social beings capable of living in a manner that emphasizes morality.⁶³ Both Aristotle, Hobbes and John Locke had his own views on how human nature of an individual, but three characters using the same basis in assessing the state and the system of government that is human nature. It was also later used by Ali Abd Raziq while delivering a statement that the system is something utopian caliphate based on the human nature of man different and can not be incorporated in a universal system of government throughout the world.

While Plato who want the ideal form of government for the people, led by a philosopher, as well as the expectations of John Locke⁶⁴ in order to promote freedom and cooperation between people in a country resulted in the conclusion to Ali Abdul Raziq that man is free to think and build construction of what the government ideal that is in accordance with the social conditions of a society, so too should the Muslim community because essentially according to Ali Abdul Raziq Islam is the religion of the democratic ethic that gives freedom for the individual.

If in view with democracy is applied in Indonesia is almost like the same, in Indonesia Democracy in Indonesia has made progress. This can be proved by freed organizing press freedom, freedom of the people in belief, speech, assembly, expression, criticizes even oversees governance. But it does not mean that democracy in Indonesia is now running perfectly. There are still many issues that arise in the government who can not fully guarantee the freedom of its citizens. Such as rising unemployment, increasing congestion on the roads, the more severe floods, and the problem of corruption.

In political life in each country who often always enjoy political freedom but not all political freedom goes as expected, because essentially all political systems have strengths and weaknesses of each. Democracy is an ongoing process is a dynamic notion that is closely associated with the change. If a country is able to implement freedom, justice, and prosperity perfectly, then the country is a country that successfully run a democratic system. Conversely, if a country failed to use the system of democratic government, that country does not deserve to be called a democracy. Therefore, we as Indonesian citizens who embrace the democratic system of government, we have been duly to continue to maintain, repair, and complementary qualities of existing democracies. In order to achieve a well-being, the purpose of the ideals of true democracy will lift Indonesia into a change.

This is in line with the thinking of Ali Abdur Raziq, and also in amini by Ishomudin that a caliphate does not match the shape of democracy in Indonesia Homeland is the result of a final

⁶¹ Sadanandam case: 16

⁶² Sadanandan, ..halaman 17.

⁶³ Sadanandan, ..halaman 18.

⁶⁴

agreement with all the people of Indonesia in establishing the state. The idea and purpose of HTI are struggling to establish a state in the form of the Islamic caliphate is a form of betrayal of national consensus (al-mu'ahadah al Wathaniyyah) and evidence of resistance to all the people of Indonesia a final agreement on the shape of our country, the Republic of Indonesia (Republic of Indonesia) that. HTI attitude clearly opposed to the attitude of the whole nation and state, the founder of the nation, especially the struggle of establishing the Homeland that can not be completely separated from the struggle of the Ulama / NU clerics, the students and citizens of NU. This statement is not nonsense because it can be proved by the number of NU leaders who hold a national hero like Hadrat al-Shaykh Hashim Ash'ari, KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim, KH. Mustafa Zainul from Tasik Malaya, West Java, KH. Wahhab Hasbullah¹⁹, KH. Idham and KH. As'ad Syamsul Arifin from Situbondo, East Java.

Therefore, after the Indonesia³⁹ independence of the scholars of all time NU tireless struggle for independence to build the nation, maintaining the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. This is in line with the orders and the purpose of religion is to realize the public good and keep them from all sorts of kemafsadatan. And the most important is that³⁴ the scholars, NU leaders and citizens has always been at the forefront guard and helped maintain the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia as NU ulama heritage and the founding fathers selainnya forever should be protected from all threats that arise from within and from outside. Learning the history of the struggle and the establishment of the Homeland we need to refer to Resolution Jihad October 22, 1945⁶⁵ which basically stated that according to Islamic law enforcing Homeland obligatory 'ain (compulsory for every Muslim) and includes a jihad fi sabilillah. According to Islamic law, the Homeland is a legitimate state. Homeland is a large container to live together in harmony for all people who have a very diverse identity. In it guaranteed freedom of religion. Every Muslim may freely secure the teaching of religion, freedom of worship, be cautious as²⁷fect as possible and also not prevented from preaching. Aspire and seek the establishment of a system of government and the return of the Islamic caliphate state forms in the Earth Indonesia - albeit wrapped in propaganda reasons as those done by HTI and the like - to replace the Homeland nothing else is a form of real betrayal of the national consensus (al-mu 'ahadah al-Wathaniyyah) from its founders and the entire people of Indonesia and can only be done by dissolving the Homeland beforehand. Vision revive al-Khilafat al-Islamiyya in the face of the earth Indonesia categorized as prohibited difference Islam because it creates a great danger of division and diametrically opposed to the basic ideology of the state and the nation of Indonesia, Pancasila.

According to Islamic law, the Homeland is a legitimate state and government also legitimate government. Islamic teachings forbid people did revolt against the legitimate government. The teachings of Islam actually provide a statement the need to obey creatures, including the legitimate government, to the extent not ordered to sinners (ungodly) to God. Al-Imam al-Nawawi confirms the existence of ijma '(consensus) of scholars, that the act of treason or rebellion against a legitimate government is illegitimate, even though the wicked or unjust government.

Muslims in Indonesia have framework in understanding Democracy ala Indonesia, among

⁶⁵ It is a resolution that is in the¹¹ad propounded by KH Hasyim Asy ari and a milestone in the Indonesian people specifically Muslim resistance to defend the independence of the Republic of Indonesia original sound of the text are: government of the republic, Soepaya take action which sepadanResoloesi Nahdlatol regional representatives Oelama Seloeroeh Java-MadoeraBismillahirrochmanir RochimResoloesi: large meeting regional representatives (Konsoel2) Perhimpoean Nahdlatol Oelama seloeroeh Java-Madoera on 21-22 October 1945 in Soerabaja.Mendengar: That in each The area seloeroeh Java-Madoera turned out how besanja desire Oemmat Islam and 'Alim Oelama in its place each oentoek maintain and enforce RELIGION, STATE KEDAOELATAN Repoebliek INDONESIA MERDEKA.Menimbang: a. Oentoek that maintain and enforce the Code in the State Indonesian republic according to Islam, termasoe as Satoe tiap2 duty for Muslims. b. That in Indonesia, the residents negaranja is largely composed of Oemmat Islam.Mengingat: Proof that Muslims are very concerned with the independence of Indonesia and the democratic system in Indonesia, seen in Saifuddin Zuhri, History of People boarding, LP3S 1988 page 67,

others, first, Islam as a comprehensive (din syâmil Kamil) could not miss the problems of state and government of the agenda of the discussion, although not in the concept of the whole, but in the form of values and the basic principles (mabadi 'asasiyyah). In this respect Islam has provided guidance (guidance) which is sufficient for his people. Second, Lifting leader (nashb al-imam) is obligatory, because human life will be chaotic (fawdla / chaos) without their leader. This was reinforced by statement leading scholars, among others Hujjat al-Islam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali⁶⁶ in Ihya 'Ulum al-Din and Shaykh al-Islam Taqiy al-Din Ibn Taymiyyah in al-Siyasah Syar'iyah fi al-Islah al-Ra'i wa al-Ra'iyyah:

"Indeed, the task of organizing and managing the affairs of the people (in a government and a country) are among the greatest religious duty. This was caused by the impossibility of religion to erect firmly in the absence of state support. "

Thirdly, Islam does not determine what requires some form of state and government systems specific for adherents. Beings are given the authority itself to organize and design a system of government in accordance with the demands of the development progress of time and place. But the most important thing a government should be able to protect and guarantee its citizens to practice and apply the teachings of his religion and became a place that is conducive to the prosperity, well-being and justice. Fourth, the Caliphate as one system of government is a historical fact that once practiced al-Khilafat al-Righteous. Al-Khilafah al-Rasyidah is the model that corresponds to the era, when human life is not under the auspices of states (nation states). At that time, Muslims are very possible to live in the caliphate system. At a time when humanity is ruled under the states (nation states) then the caliphate system for Muslims around the world lost its relevance. Even revive the idea of a caliphate in our own day this is a utopia. Fifth, the Unitary Republic of Indonesia is the result of an agreement between the sublime nationality of the nation's founding. Homeland was set up to accommodate all elements of the nation is very diverse in terms of ethnicity, language, culture and religion. It is incumbent national elements to retain and strengthen the integrity of the Republic. Therefore, every street and the emergence of movements that threaten the integrity the Republic shall be resisted. Because it would cause a great mafsadah and split the people. Sixth, Muslims should not be trapped in symbols and formalities name that seems un-Islamic, but shall be committed to the substance of everything. In the popular adage among scholars say

"What is the fundamental guide is substance and not symbols or outward appearances".

"What is the fundamental guide is something that is given the name and not the name itself"

33

⁶⁶ Imam Al-Ghazali's full name is Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad Al-Ghazali, known with Islamic Hujjatul (argumentator Islam) for his services to be significant in keeping Islam out of the influence of heretical teachings and Greek rationalism. He was born in 450 AH, coincided with 1059 AD in Ghazalah a small town terlelak in Tus region Khurasah that time it was one of the science center in the world isBeliau born from very simple family, his father was a craftsman wool as well as marketers of weaving, and religious, have a high religious fervor, as seen in the sympathetic to the 'ulama and expect their children to be scholars who always give advice to people. That is why, his father before his death entrust their children (imam al-Ghazali) and saudarnya (Ahmad), when it was still small deposited at his father's friend, an expert on Sufism for guidance and upbringing. Although raised in a family of modest circumstances did not make him feel inferior or lazy, he is precisely the spirit in studying a wide range of science, he later transformed into a 'great scholar and a mystic. And estimated Ghazali lived in simplicity as a Sufi until the age of 15 years (450-456). See Imam Al Ghazali Ihya Ulumudin, Dar al-Fikr, 1988, page 12. His precisely the spirit in studying a wide range of science, he later transformed into a 'great scholar and a mystic. And estimated Ghazali lived in simplicity as a Sufi until the age of 15 years (450-456). See Imam Al Ghazali Ihya Ulumudin, Dar al-Fikr, 1988, page 12. His precisely the spirit in studying a wide range of science, he later transformed into a 'great scholar and a mystic. And estimated Ghazali lived in simplicity as a Sufi until the age of 15 years (450-456). See Imam Al Ghazali Ihya Ulumudin, Dar al-Fikr, 1988, page 12.

Thus, the fight for the substantive values of Islam in a country-whatever the name of the country, Islam or not-is far more important than the fight for the establishment of the Islamic state symbols.

CONCLUSION

Thought Ali Abdul Raziq who consider important the separation between religion and state in his time was considered controversial and is thinking even labeled heretic and infidel by some quarters. But the political thinking is the result of a long construction in the life of Ali Abdul Raziq from childhood to adulthood, built by several factors derived from the subjectivity and idiosyncratic to him, whether it is through the family environment education and some figures of thought and vision inspire him. His criticism of the caliphate system is a reflection of what he gained in a family environment, education both in Egypt and in the UK as well as his response to the thoughts of figures such as Muhammad Abduh, Ibn Khaldun, Aristotle, Plato and John Locke and Thomas Hobbes. Critics Ali Abdul Raziq, the caliphate system is not a heresy or heretical, while that which is done by Raziq Abd just tried to use regardless of religion and rationality in government. Religions and all teachings are always regarded by the majority of scholars as a thing given and must be accepted by humans for granted. When at that time the caliphate system using religion as a means of maintaining its existence Ali saw the potential for kezhaliman and human tyranny will do with religion, it is felt necessary for him to use logic in view of the caliphate system as a system of governance for Muslims. In his writings Raziq Abd Ali also did not justify and glorify governance system adopted in the West, but he was trying to raise awareness for Muslims to think critically and assess innovative in politics, so that the values espoused Islam is not an obstacle to the development of political science in the midst of the Muslims. God Himself also tells them to think and pay attention to what happens in nature and make people earlier as learning. If the results of such rationality is found that the caliphate system is the best and ideal for Muslims, it means that it is the most appropriate choice for Muslims. However, if the results of the rationality of the system of government in Islam is found that the caliphate system can not be realized in the community,

The relevance to democracy in Indonesia, that the thought of Ali Abdur Raziq has strong ties in substantib with studies and the main content of the Homeland and having axes the same thought, that the State and Islam can be mutually compatible and mutually supportive, the concept of the caliphate could not in established in Indonesia because the country Homeland have diversity in the stand and struggle in running the country above all the differences, the Homeland is a place for every race, religion and culture in menanamkam nationalism and Education nationalism to set up a national character in harmony and mutual respect and protect the child nation with other nation's children in maintaining the integrity bangasa.

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