### **CHAPTER IV**

The Exegetical anlysis type on the relation of Religion and state in the classical-conservative and Liberal-Secular Perspective

"Oh believer people you should obey your God, your prophet and ulul amri among you". See Qur'an surah al-Nisa: 59

In the intellectual Muslim circle there were many type of interpreting the Qur'anic verses, it caused that Islamic religion thinking was multiinterpretation based on the condition of each own period, because the Islamic revelation brought by prophet Muhammad saw was religion with fully content of teaching and laws, objectives to create human get the happiness in the world and life of her after. Hence, there were many kind of sect in understanding and interpreting the Qur'anic verses related with the problem of world life and the last day.

It was proven by the groups with the different interpretation in the controversial verses, does the verse show the real concept of Islamic state or not?

## I. Classical-Conservative

#### a. Rasyid Ridha

As classical scholar, rasyid Ridha believed that the institution of Usmani sultanate belong to the caliph, however they did not belong to the

Quraisys and Arabic generation. He was careless within Usmani sultanate despotism. The caliph of Usmani actually was the ordered of politic supranational who represent prophet when Abbasiyah united the Islamic member communities of the world, that should be live to arrange the shake of the world and religion. The reason was the Qur'an, Hadis, and Ijma'. In the interpretation of Qur'anic verse surah al-Nisa above, Rasyid Ridha in al-Manar interpreting the term "ulul Amri" as "imam" or the leader or (all of the matter based on him). That verse also contains the invitation to all of human being (khitab 'am). Therefore, Rasyid Ridha follows the conservative understanding which more defends the Islamic religion as the perfect state.

The Ahl al-hall wa al-'aqd, as the elected institution of caliph should be found, they were better than realist classical Islamic politic in the classic and middle age. The caliph should the fiqh expert, Rasyid Ridha advice to prepare it by the founding the state institute of Islamic studies, with the member not only came from religious expert (mujtahid) but also come from promoter of society in many kind of field.

It was different with the politic thinking before, the representative institution according to him, has the duty to maintaining the caliph, controlling the government, and prohibiting the deviation of caliph and should dropping it, even using the hardness for the common shake. However the view of rasyid Ridha difficult to accept in the future context, Roshental believed, it was in the utopist-romantic condition, moreover Rasyid Ridha was successes

formulating the tradition of making the basic idea for the follower of the next Islamic state.

He was an important connector between classical theories of the caliph, and has the idea of Islamic state in 20<sup>th</sup> century, which developed by Sayyid Qutb and Al-madudi. They both, have develop-which in the term of Madjid Khadduri, divine monocracy (state of God's law) or according to Tahir Azhari Islamic monocracy.

# b. Sayyid Qutb and Al-Madudi

Such Rasyid Ridha, Sayyid Qutb interpreted the phrase "ulil Amri" articulated with imam or the leader (all of matter related based on him). The Qur'anic verse surah al-Nisa: 59 contain the common invitation (khitobul 'am) to all of Muslim communities. Muslim has to obey their God, prophet and ulil amri among them. The unity of Islamic world, treat the religious follower, founded based on three principles: justice of authority, the obligation society of his choice, and conferences between authority and society. He did not debate the government system whatever based on social condition, but respected the supremacy of Islamic law.

Sayyid Qutb and Al-Madudi were the first one who believed that human was the caliph of God in the universe as the basic theory of state matter pertaining. Both of scholars rejected the sovereignty of citizenry such in the west politic concept. Human was the holder of sovereignty and God law,

therefore, human could not make policy contradicted with God desire. This politic concept, according to al-Madudi belongs to Theo-Democracy.

The renewal politic thinking of Madudi, on the theory of politic government based on three principles, according to him, the Islam politic system based on these three principles: the unity of god (tauhid), prophethood (risalah) and caliphate (khilafah), therefore, the aspect of Islamic politic difficult to understand without understanding those three principle.

The unity of God means God was the only creator and author, all of sovereignty of the universe held by God. Hence, all of command and prohibition were laws, therefore there is no one has the right to claimed has the sovereignty.

The prophethood according to Madudi was God's law reveled to the prophet, received to all of human being. The prophet activities, interpreted within laws by his words and activities called *sunnah* (tradition). It was called by Risalah Muhammad (prophethood of Muhammad), contain all norm and life style of human, called *syari'ah*.

He explains caliphate using expression, human of universe given position as caliph (representative), means human was vice of God in the universe. The human means include to all communities who believe and accept the principle, that the holder of leadership and the authority of universe was god, the highest sovereignty.

Therefore, each human being accepts the principle and takes the caliphate position, but the legal and right chosen caliphate did not personage, family, or certain class, but the communities who believed and accept the mentioned principle with always up righting the authority based on those principles.

## II. Liberal-Secular (Ali Abdul-Raziq)

In the contrary of Rasyid Ridha, Sayyid Qutb, and Al-Madudi, according to al-Raziq the phrase of "ulil amri" in the Qur'an surah al-Nisa': 59 mean "closed friend" of prophet or "ulama". It was clarified by reference to famous exegetes such Baidhawi and Zamakhsyari, these verse did not contain the substance of government.

Hence, al-Razi understanding Islam was religion, no different with other religion, did not teach the arrangement of social life and state life, Islam was pure religion not a state.

In March 1924, Kemal Attaruk, the head state of Turk declared the removal of caliphate official of his state, because he claimed caliphate institute proven have no any function at first time. Thirteen years of caliphate removal, explicitly in 1925, *syekh* Ali abdul Raziq, publish a controversial book, demand the removal of caliphate and deny it existence in the Islamic teaching. The publisher of book gratefully respond from Muslim communities circle of the world, the book was *al-Islam wa ushul al-Hukm*.

The thesis of prominent book is:

- Prophet Muhammad did not built the state and it authority, but were pure propagation
- 2. Islam did not established the system of definitive government, cause Islam could choose whatever the better government
- 3. The typical government after the dying of Prophet Muhammad has basic in the Islamic doctrine. The system adopted by Arabic people and rename by caliphate to give the religious legitimate
- 4. The system being trapped resource for part of Islamic world because used to legitimate of tyranny and made the decadence within Islamic communities.

In this chance ali abdul raziq try to different which one the Arab, Islamic caliphate, the Arabic state, and the politic. The basically problem of Ali Abdul Raziq's work such clarified by Muhammad Diya al-Din al-Riyas that Islam did not not have any relation with caliphate, according to him the caliphate belong to the authority of *khulaf'u al-Rasyidin*, does not Islamic system nor religiously, but basically was the worldly system.