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**The Concept Of Religious Democracy As A New Political Philosophy For
Moslem Countries**

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Concept and History of Democracy

Historically, concept of democracy started from politic tradition in classic Greek period which is firstly revealed by a famous philosopher, Plato. The content of democracy is naturally effort to accommodate vote of people maximally. Concept of democracy, likes on the United States of America and Western Europe, naturally is a liberalism that takes root from liberalist thinker such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire and many more. The concept glorifies people or citizenry as owner of actually sovereignty, which is implemented by delegation system, along with liberty imposingly in economy field, which create capitalism and colonialism.

Term of democracy, etymologically, comes from word 'demos' that means people, and 'cratein' or 'cratos' that means government. So, democracy means government by people that is in the Declaration of Independence is of the people, for the people, and by the people. Democracy is a government form that is better than absolute government, fascist, and other forms that does not appreciate human values.

Formally, a whole form of democracy is similar, but materially has difference. In the development process, concept of democracy has variety of predicate that is social democracy, liberal democracy, people democracy, guided democracy and others. According above, democracy can be categorized into two big groups those are: first, democracy based on to independence and similarity.

From structural point of view, politic system of democracy is ideally politic system which keeps balance between conflict and consensus. That means, philosophically, democracy enable opinion different, rivalry, controversy between individuals, between multiple groups, between individual and group, individual and government, group and government, even between government institutes.

Democracy, naturally, is vox vovuli vox dei: vote of people is vote of God. The term of democracy comes from Demos Kratia, that contain meaning: cogitation by people that is initially is constituted at Athena on the fifth and fourth century of SM. However, the democracy of Athena model is criticized by Plato and Aristoteles. Even though the democracy politic system of Athena is criticized by both of them and assumed dangerous, but there are some interesting principal to be observed: those are directly involvement of citizenry in collecting politic decision. There is politic and law equalities for all citizenries. Its assured of politic authorship and civilization for all people, reenacted of voting and

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balloting to know aspiration of all people. View of Abdul Karim Soroush about democracy is quite interested to be cautious.

According to Abdul Karim Soroush, democracy is indicated there is:

Separation of authority, study on duty to general citizen, independent and autonomy of press, expression liberty, council of deliberation on the various level of decision maker, politic parties, general election and parliament is method to achieve and create democracy.

There are some views about democracy and related with religion in circle of Muslim thinker. Generally, is divided into three: group who refuses democracy totally, supporter of pure democracy (nationalist-secular), and group who tries to integrate between concept of democracy and religion values. In the perusal of writer, Abdul Karim Soroush include into group third.

Dialectical of Islam and Democracy

In the Islam context, spirits of musyawarah, munazharah, substantially, have similarity with concept of democracy that in the gold era of Islam create out principal of thinking liberty. Thereby, if Islam world wants to reawaken the liberty principal then tradition of thinking in Islam need to re-alive. The brightly scientist such as Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina is products from thinking tradition of Islam at that time. Islam percepts have source on the revelation. The revelation has two dimension, those are transcendental which is Allah's decrees that can be interfered, and second dimension that enabling the decrees to be interpreted. Then, human process it when doing interpretation when recite al-Qur'an. This is that then produce variety which is fixed orifice to the one way.

Logical of democracy which is in itself contain unsure of similarity, liberty, pro-citizen, existence of delegation system, justness of social and economy, management potency of conflict and consensus through democracy mechanism; by majority of politic thinker – particularly Muslim – is appreciated mannered more secular-humanistic. However, if it is considered in a histories-academic, the presence of “Islam” and “Western” actually have many similarities of intellectual and spiritual experiences in the Mediterranean area as center of companionship “Islam” and “Western” world, where on the early enable of developing principals of humanism, democracy, munazharah, and syura. The essence of democracy and syura naturally is similar, while the form and procedural mechanism that is historic may be different. Unsure of similarity between syura and the democracy, along with wider again between “Islam” and “Western”, lately tend to sheer of even closer, as effect from developing of variety of literature in the Middle century that has ideological-theocratic character.

As an alternative of the historical dichotomy, the researcher provides concept of religious democracy, not pure democracy that is non-spirituality, or refuses at all and anti-democracy. In the researcher's idiom, democracy is developed not in the objective meaning (objective democracy), but more to subjective character (subjective democracy). Re-excavation of subjective democracy values – local democracy – will can improve progressiveness quality and autonomous mankind, in facing challenge of modern world. The facing between “Islam” and “Western” will harm Islam's mankind self that exist in either the Western or non-Muslim in the Muslim land.

In the book of Models of Democracy is suggested about the very latest dynamic from the concept of democracy that needs to be viewed by Islam world. In the 20 century, theory of democracy is much related with organization and dynamics of social economy, procedure of democracy along with the implication in the regulation application that is formulated by majority nation citizens of a country. The other focus from modern democracy is related with supporter and inhibitor aspects in a country. Thereby, destiny of a nation is fully on the nation's hand itself. The experience about still oppressed of Palestine nation by power of imperialism and colonialism such Israel, all is happened because there have not been whole internal cohesiveness if Palestine nation itself as viewed as in an internal disintegration which is delegated by Fatah or Hamas. The following citation is important to be viewed:

..... a nation has control above his destiny self, only being loyal to the together agreement, a nation must make and bound power that is burdened by the implementers, institutes of government and power which work in the territorial burden along with agents and representative of government and other countries.

Implementation of Democracy in Muslim World

Some of Muslim countries naturally have succeeded to do democratization agree with context of internal politics in each country, such as: Turkey which success with its Justify Party (theo-social democracy), Iran with its theo-democracy character (wilayah al-Faqih), al-Jazair, Malaysia which relatively have close to process of modern democracy (UMNO vs. opposition), Tunisia and Egypt. Especially Egypt lately back to military authoritarianism (Muslim of moderate and liberal vs. Ikhwan radical). While, Iraq and Syria still be busily with internal conflict between Sunni-Syiah in spite of older power (armed militia) with the new government. There is also Pakistan, Afghanistan, Moro at the Philippines, Pattani at Thailand, Muslim of Ukraine, and some other countries are still in the process of self emancipation going onto the future democracy step.

Special to context of democracy development in the latest democracy in Indonesia, procedurally has been enough sufficient where since 1998 particularly 2004, advancement of the democracy procedural is signed by general election of legislation and president election directly. Until 2014, the general election is going on well. A successful of the democracy gets on credit from international class of scholar Syaikh Dr. Yusuf Qaradlawy, which according to him Indonesia has been success to integrate between Islam and democracy. Indonesia has passed two steps of democracy: brought down authorizer regime and amendment of UUD 1945 (Indonesia constitution). However, substantively, Indonesia is still new to enter democracy step in properly behavior, where at this moment, culturally, the way of democracy in Indonesia is still perceived with democracy wanipiro/money politics and black campaign.

However there are some new hopes to cope with democracy culture which have still not in fine settle by appearing of opinion about necessary of leader candidate presence who wants to hear directly people aspiration, distributing program of Kartu Indonesia Pintar (Indonesian smart card), Kartu Indonesia Sehat (Indonesian health card), revolution mental through fulfillment akhlaq education contents to the students of Elementary School, Drone plane / without crewmen to save NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia) area, "tol laut" likes providing tanker ship special to carry things/food-and-clothing inter Island in the area or RI such as importing rice to South Sulawesi, and cows from NTT which are carrier to Jakarta (capital of RI), improving teacher and lecturer prosperities though certification program. Except that, there is still a challenge for developing democracy in Indonesia where

politics aura is are still colored by religion formality rather than orientating on the humanity value. Islam politics jargons are still normative rather than solutive-aplicative. Figure of religiousness party is still exist that involved corruption, polygamist figure, and lack of Islamic strategy politic which is designed early except only come close to election/president election merely. Another weakness of Islamic party is until now have not also appear populist figure, in contrast with still live in luxurious. Coalition of politics is still on politic “dagang sapi” or just for chairs dividing oriented. Muslim parliament members are also many involved with politics which polish APBN/APBD. The president election phenomenon is also interesting because only two candidates of president-vice president, and one of them does not come from chairman/leader of party. It also appears an opinion about “slight coalition”, auction of minister function and commitment of nation chairman candidate toward 10 promises made by KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi). General election 2014 is also marked by an existence of spirit to do not again pull dichotomist line between Java-beyond Java, civil and military, and others.

The Future of Religious Democracy

To the fore, with variety of internal and external conditions of each Muslim, likely need to be given new offering of philosophy of democracy different with concept of liberal democracy or socialist democracy that is by offering what is the writer mentioned with concept of religious democracy. There is also some points from the religious democracy that need to be discussed as following:

1. Al-Qur'an and Sunnah as source values of democracy
2. Al-Qur'an is a reference of normative-philosophical for developing of democracy value at Islamic world. The values cover up about values of divinity, humanity, nature, brotherhood, goodness, wisdom, and short of kind. There is also interpretation of bias democracy is done through an effort of contextualization.
3. Al-Qur'an and Sunnah as metaphorical source (mythical-majazy) --- sign-signal-symbol
4. The openness of Islamic texts, there is no final product of the text
5. The interplay between the text and context
6. Islamic humanism
7. Islamic criticism
8. Muslim as actor and spectator
9. Religious democracy: normativity and historicity
10. From Ahl al-Kitab to the People of the Book
11. New logocentrism
12. The interplay between text and meaning
13. System of meaning among society
14. The interconnection between: history, thought and language
15. The potentiality of local wisdom
16. Dogmatic, doctrine, theology, apologetic, scriptural, textual, bayani approach.

In the framework to realize an ideal relation between country and religion in the future, important to be effort realized of some general principal of religious democracy concept. In the Abdul Karim Soroush perspective, concept of democracy can be separated from Liberalism as Socialist democracy which separates it. Then, religious democracy naturally is two matters than can be stand together. Furthermore, Abdul Karim Soroush, revealed: “in the secular society culture, the government acts like no-God, all politic planning

is only to human satisfaction". Politics system of democracy naturally is different with leadership system of Paus Catholic and Khalifah that both of them offer politic life of mankind or society is only for God.

Furthermore, Soroush revealed about probably for Islam society to make stand on one line between politics life of democracy with still to admire the God existence, however feel hard to make realize. The difficulty, continued by Soroush, because of three matters: first, need to realize a harmony between people vote with God's blessing. Second, how to realize an uniformity between religion and non-religion. Third, how can government have an action rightly toward people and the God all at once. In here, Soroush said, the Muslim thinkers or democrats' people infrequently learns about God's rights in the study area which related to human rights.

Continuously, Soroush explained that naturally there is meeting point or similarity of values, wither in religion or beyond religion, likes: values of rightness, justness, humanity, public responsibility, and others. However, efforts of the values study need an existence of rational argument, humane, and non-religion. There is also pre-condition for materialized of the religious democracy system highly need history data more detail and collective logical reasoning (public participation), not individual logical reasoning.

According to view explanation of Soroush above, the writer concludes that there are some important points to be established a politics system or social system that has religious democracy, those are:

1. There is a harmony of rights and blessing of God with human rights.
2. Establishment of citizen which is tolerant, appreciates plurality, no truth claim, and far from attitude ethnocentrism – racist – sectarian and discriminative.
3. The important of rationalist in religious text interpretation.
4. The important of religious and politics separation, however the process of politics life, substantially, is controlled by religious value. In contrast, politics system that is going on also has to accommodate objective religious values.
5. Objectification religious which has character justify, right and humanist.
6. Having commitment toward concept of citizen safety and prosperity
7. No-violent in all struggles of personal and group aspirations. Choosing more routes of parliament and constitutional in struggling of an aspiration
8. Having independent character but still being responsible
9. Setting out religiousness substance, not religious formality
10. The important of convergence between intellect logical reasoning and vision from the God continuously

According to the writer self, in philosophic and conceptual ways, democracy has two concept, either objective democracy (vox vovuli vox dei) or subjective democracy that is democracy concept which has been stood in a line with a certain concept, such as: liberal democracy, social democracy, directed democracy, Pancasila democracy and religious democracy concept.

Implication from Above

1. From ummah to citizenship. To develop religious democracy in the future of Islam world, then need a transformation of ummah concept to citizenship concept. Ummah concept is more to internal-exclusive character of Islam, while citizenship is an extension from ummah

concept from area of citizenship internal-exclusive to citizen plurality or nation citizen in external-inclusive ways. Subjectivity of citizenship has to be transformed to the objectivity space of nationality and citizenship more widely.

2. Increasing the concept of Islamization toward the substantive of Islamic values. For example how to end the poor society, etc. in other words, Islamization concept is more to formalistic character while substance of Islamization values is more to intrinsic character in all life edge of citizen.

3. Creating the local khilafah (good governance and good government). Khilafah concept recently tends to romantic-utopist character rather than realistic-futuristic concept. Then, the realest is confronting between Islamic concept with democracy that is through realization text of local khilafah or good governance and good government especially which is related to human resource development, infrastructure maintenance, and government regulation at a country.

4. From universal shari'a to the implementative shari'a. Opinion about contextualization syariah since as-Syhatibi, Fazlur Rahman, Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, Khalid Abou el-Fadl, Jasser Auda etc. is very good to be developed in Muslim countries that want to be democracy in more rational-substantive ways. Syariat is more universal (kulliyah) while the contextualization and implementation is more fihiyyah, technique and bureaucratic procedural that is adapted with dynamic of a country without underestimate universal syariat values.

5. Subjective values of religious to the objective one. In the perspective of Dr. Kuntowijoyo, subjective religious values actually is very enabled to be transformed become canon collection or objective fihiyyah regulation so that can be accepted by all citizens included non-Muslim.

6. From normative text (Qur'an and Sunna) to the positive law or constitution. Resemble with point above, challenge of Muslim country in next day is how derive al-Qur'an normative become rational and modern law or constitution. Here also mentioned with "secularizing of Islam".

7. Minimalization of the implementing shar'ia, not like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, Aceh, etc

a. State area (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Malaysia, etc)

b. Region area (South of Sudan, Aceh in Indonesia, etc)

c. Focusing shari'a programs (Islamic tourism, jilbabers, hotel free alcohol, halal food, shari'a banking, etc).

d. Substantive shari'a. Wallahu a'lam bisshawab.-

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