

**REVIVALIZATION OF ISLAMIC SCIENCES
TOWARDS THE REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC
CIVILIZATION**
With A Little Context on Islamic Polity

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Speech Delivered

On the Conferment of Doctor Honoris Causa
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VOTE OF THANKS AND APPRECIATION

All praises be to Allah God The Almighty for all His mercies and blessings bestowed upon us. I received the honor conferred to me by the Fatoni University, Thailand, with indeed heartfelt gratitude and happiness; I feel I am really honored and delighted to be here. I was never thinking before to receive a such great honor as this Honorary Doctor Degree from this great Islamic university. I have been following the university, and I feel I am a part of it, with proud as it is one of the rising centres of academic excellence among the Muslim Ummah in South East Asia Region.

Therefore, allow me to extend my gratitude and appreciation, first of all, to President of Fatoni University Senat, Yang Amat Berbahagia Bapak Wan Muhammad Nor Matha, as well as to Rector of Fatoni University, Yang Amat Berbahagia Syeikh Prof. Ismail Lutfee Japakiya, for their wisdom and decision to confer to me this honor.

My gratitude and appreciation go also to all knowledge loving people, men and women, here at the Fatoni University without mentioning their names one by one.

May Allah The Almighty accept the tireless works and struggle you all have been performing in the cause of Allah and for the glory of Islam and the Muslims.

For this great occasion, I would like to present a humble conferment speech entitled "Revivalization of Islamic Sciences Towards the Revival of Islamic Civilizations, With a Litte Context on Islamic Polity".

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Bismillahirrahmanirrahim

Introduction

Almost ten centuries ago the Great Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, well known as Imam al- Ghazali (d. 1111), wrote his monumental work, *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din* or Revivalization of Religious Sciences. The voluminous books, as their name, have given rise to religious sciences, in its strict sense, Islamic knowledge and thought. That was shown by the emergence of spiritual awareness among Muslim communities that prolonged until the modern era. In many Muslim countries Ghazali's effect continued becoming a favorite orientation of Islamic mysticism (sufism or *tasawwuf*), and Imam al- Ghazali became an influential reference.

Indeed, al- Ghazali with the *Ihya* (and later on with *Tahafut al-Falasifah* or the Incoherence of Philosophers) was intending to challenge the widespread of rational philosophical tendency in

Islamic thought developed earlier by Muslim philosophers, like Ibn Sina or Avicenna (d.1037) and al- Farabi (d. 950). Both the *Ihya* and the *Tahafut* strongly denounced the philosophers and criticized the rise of rationalism among the Muslim community, which he believed was destructing their religious life as well as knowledge about religion. Al- Ghazali was a subtle critic to rationalist philosophy. The *Ihya 'Ulum al- Din* is indeed a comprehensive compilation of Islamic sciences, as it combined between orthodox theology and Islamic mysticism or sufism. Its four sections (*'ibadat* or worship, *'adat* or customs, *muhlikat* or things that lead to perdition, and *munjiat* or things that lead to salvation) are indeed a comprehensive guide of ethical behavior in Muslim daily life. Yet, the book has put orthodox theology along with Islamic mysticism or sufism into the core of Muslims' consciousness and make reason is merely a complimentary tool to the Islamic belief and sciences. By the same way in the *Tahafut* al- Ghazali strongly criticized absolutism in rationalization of belief. He maintained that all creations and causal happening are created by the immediate Will of God, not as the products of material process as resulted by reason.¹

Indeed, the *Tahafut* served as a systematic rebuttal of al- Ghazali against the melange Greco-Muslim philosophers. It is

aimed at pursuing the critique of reason which led to scepticism and that reason is not sufficient to realize the mystery of metaphysics. According to Abdurrahman Badawi, an Egyptian scholar, "Al-Gazali argued with the philosophers using their own method, that is a logical, rational and rigorous method. But in the depth of his soul he felt that reason was not enough to attain the supreme truths of religion. He realized that he needed to use quite another faculty in order to penetrate directly to the heart of the mystery of being."ⁱⁱ

Al- Ghazali's criticism to Islamic philosophy and Muslim philosophers since that time has obviously given rise to dialectical discourse among Muslim scholars or ulama, namely the theologians and the philosophers, which, in turn, brought about two distinct paradigms in Islamic thought and sciences, namely spiritualism and theological orthodoxism on the one hand and rationalism on the other. Though there are other paradigms on the spectra, however the two paradigms have become noteworthy undertaking to observe the development of Islamic sciences as well as Islamic civilization, both in term of emergence and decline.

The dialectical polemics among Muslim scholars with regard to the use of reason, namely between the conservative wing and rationalist wing, with the dominance of the former who gained

massive support from the community, however, has brought a significant impact on the decline of Islamic civilization. Concluding this dialectical discourses, M. Umar Chapra, a senior economic advisor to the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (SAMA), has correctly commented that

this negative image proved to be tragic for the Muslim world. It not only weakened the rationalist movement but gradually drove the Muslim world more and more toward greater conservatism through the operation of path dependence and self-reinforcing mechanisms. The vigor and dynamism that characterized Muslim scholarship during the late Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, when no discussion was considered to be a taboo, became substantially diluted. Not just philosophy but also the associated physical sciences got totally excluded from the syllabi of religious schools. Since the governments also did not pay as much attention to science education and research as they did in the earlier centuries, the stage was set for the neglect of science education, without which it was difficult to strengthen the roots of rationalism in society.ⁱⁱⁱ

It is indeed pertinent to analyze the two paradigms in their impacts on the condition of Muslims' life nowadays locally and globally, and the degree of Muslim countries competitiveness in this globalised world. While globalization is continuing in many parts of the world, without exception of the Muslim World, the dominance of the Western Culture in many facets has given challenge as well as opportunity to the revival of

Islamic civilization on the basis of revivalisation of Islamic sciences.

Glorious Past of Islamic Civilization

The emergence of Islamic civilization in the Middle Ages coincided with and became evident of the emergence of Islam on civilizational sphere. Islamic civilization experienced a golden age under the Abbassid Dynasti, who ruled from the mid 8th Century until the mid 13th Century. Under the Abbassids, Islamic civilization came into being with great achievements. The period was considered as an era of great scientific and intellectual achievements.

The present of Islam to world in the sixth century may well be observed, historically, as a challenger to two categories of world "super powers", they are two great religions, namely Judaims and Christianity, and two big political, military, and economic powers, namely the Persian Emperor in the East and the Roman Emperor in the West, who had involved in a prolonged "Cold War". Each group is rivalry and contender to the other. Theoritically, it is not easy for Islam to win the situation and come out as a champion. Yet, historical and empirical fact has evidenced that Islam grew up as a great religion and came out as a great civilization. Hamilton Gibb

decades ago described it in a good phrase "that Islam is more than a system of theology, it is indeed a complete civilization".^{iv} This means that Islam is a religion and civilization in combination, or, in another word is a religion of civilization.

The success of Islam to champion both world religions and civilizations stemmed from its central and fundamental tenet, which is tawhid (literally means unity and unification). Tawhid serves as the very basis of Islamic teachings and values that brought unificative treatment and implication to human life in sense of both culture and civilization. Tawhid, while embracing all aspect of human culture and civilization, reconcile between religion and culture or civilization. According to Ismail al-Faruqi (d. 1986), as can be concluded from his masterpiece "Al-Tawhid: Its Implications for Thought and Life", under the principle of Tauhid exists unity of creation, unity of knowledge, unity of ethics, and unity of mankind.^v Hence, the principle of Tawhid should be posited as the ontological foundation of Islamic epistemology and axiology of sciences. On another perspective, the principle of Tawhid is the basis for two other main concepts of Islam which are close orderly related, they are *Khilafah* or vicegerency (derived from man as *khalifat Allah fi al- ardh* or God's vicegerent on Earth) and

Islah or promotion of par excellent actions on Earth for the human well being and high civilization. *Tawhid* functions as a fondament, and *khilafah* as an instrument to the axiological and teleological goal, which is *islah* in the forms of restoration of the world, and creation of human well being, universal goods, excellent deeds, and achievements in life on earth. Corelative linkage of the trilogy of *Tauhid* --> *Khilafah* --> *Islah* may result in the emergence of an enlightening civilization (*al-tamaddun al- munawwar or al- hadharat al- munawwarah*) as has been exemplied by Prophet Muhammad in Yathrib in 622 through the creation of *al-Madinat al- Munawwarah* as the cradle and domicile of a great and high civilization that enlighten the world. In verbal sense, al- Madinat al- Munawwarah is indeed in lines with modern sustainable development.

Prophet Muhammad's choosing of *al- Madinat al- Munawwarah* was not without meaning. The term Madinah, in modern Arabic means city, implies the sense of an urban, modern society. It is more probable intended as an Arabic term for the Greek "polis", which also literally means city. Polis literally means city in Greek. It can also mean a body of citizens. In modern historiography, polis is normally used to indicate the ancient Greek city-states, like Classical Athens and

its contemporaries, and thus is often translated as "city-state".^{vi} Thus, *Madinah* may well be conceived as an urban, modern society with a multicultural setting based on religion, race, ethnicity, etc. And the term *munawwarah*, literally means enlightened or enlightening, is an imperative predicate of that society, that is a society par excellence that can be a role-model for other societies to come. It is observable that the term *madinah* is closely associated with the Arabic term *tamaddun*, which is indeed an English civilization. The enlightened ummatic society and civilization Prophet Muhammad built during the Qur'anic development period about two decades in Madinah was inspired by the light of revelation (the Holy Qur'an). This inspiration began with the command to read both the Qur'anic verses (*ayat qauliyah*) and cosmic verses (*ayat kauniyah*) and proceeded to the materialization of imperative fulfillment of the command to restore the world furthermore after being destroyed and ruined or (*islah al-ard*). The Madinah Munawwarah is, by design, an exemplar for the ummatic society and civilization the Muslims should build in different time and space dimensions.

And that exemplar was evidenced in the next century when Muslims began to engage in two-way-traffic approach in reading both the Scripture and the Creature (either through

deductive method in contextualizing the Sacred Text to the profan nature or inductive method by relating the secrets of nature to the revelation). This approach has constituted the Islamic epistemological framework of sciences. The so called Islamic sciences, as results from utilizing that kind of epistemology, are also constructed on a metaphysical foundation or an ontological basis which basically based on the tawhidic principles of unity in creation and unity of knowledge. Consequently, in the Islamic scientific paradigm there is no separation between all kinds of sciences. They are all integrated, unified, and corelated between each other, as no separation between the so called religious sciences and the so called mundane or material sciences, as well as no separation between sciences, such between natural sciences and social sciences or humanity.

The integration or unification of sciences had indeed been fulfilled in the formative years of history of Islamic civilization. During that period Muslim scholars (singular '*alim* and plural '*ulama*) embodied in themselves dual capacities, i.e, being scholars of religious sciences and mundane sciences at once, or, in another word, they are both '*ulama* and '*alimin*. This dual-function in the field of sciences was practiced also in other fields including politics. At the beginning a caliph was a

political leader and a religious leader as well, yet later on there was a need to separate the two functions by giving an authority of religious matters to another person (*qadi* or *qadi al-qudat*, the judge or the supreme judge). Furthermore, mastery of science was not limited to one discipline only, but to more disciplines. The term *faqih* or the one who has adequate understanding of religion, for example, at the beginning was a person who has knowledge on theology (*kalam*) and jurisprudence (*fiqh*), but later on the term *faqih* or a jurist (plural *fuqaha*) is closely associated to the jurist (not the *mutakallim* or theologian). By the same token, outside religious sciences domain, there was no strict categorical distinct as between philosopher and scientist. As matter of fact, according to Fuad al-Ahwani, once Dean of Faculty of Philosophy at Cairo University, "those (Muslim) philosophers were scientists before becoming philosophers".^{vii} It is true, many Muslim philosophers were scientists of one or more subjects, such as Ibn Sina was a mathematician and medical doctor before becoming a emanationist philosopher, and Ibn Rushd was a theologian and jurist before becoming a philosopher.

The history Islamic civilization has shown the emergence of so many scientific inventors and philosophers, whose inventions and works shed the light to the development of sciences,

technology, and philosophy until the modern era, and in particular contributed to the awakening of Western scholarship and civilization. Among prominent Muslim scientists and philosophers in many fields were:

1. Muhammad Ibn Musa al- Khwarizmi (780 – 850), a Persian mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, geographer and a scholar in the House of Wisdom (*Bait al-Hikmah*) or Scientific and Research Centre in Baghdad. Al-Khwarizmi developed the concept of the algorithm in mathematics (which is a reason for his being called the grandfather of computer science by some people). Al-Khwarizmi's algebra is regarded as the foundation and cornerstone of the sciences.
2. Abu Bakr al- Razi (865 – 925), known in the West as Rhazes; Persian alchemist and philosopher, who was one of the greatest physicians in history.
3. Jabir ibn Hayyan (722 – 804), known in the West as Geber. The father of Arab chemistry known for his highly influential works on alchemy and metallurgy.
4. Ibn Ishaq al- Kindi (801 – 873)! known as Alkindus, an Arab philosopher and scientist, who is known as the first of the Muslim peripatetic philosophers.
5. Ibn al- Haytam (965 – 1040), known as Alhazen. An Arab astronomer and mathematician, known for his important

contributions to the principles of optics and the use of scientific experiments.

6. Ibn Sina (980-1037), popularly known as 'Avicenna', was indeed a true polymath with his contributions ranging from medicine, psychology and pharmacology to geology, physics, astronomy, chemistry and philosophy. He was also a poet and an Islamic scholar and theologian. His most important contribution to medical science was his famous book *al-Qanun fi al-Tibb*, known as the "Canon" in the West. This book is an immense encyclopedia of medicine.

7. Abu Nasr al- Farabi (872–950), known as Farabius. He was an outstanding linguist who translated the Greek works on Aristotle and Plato into Arabic. He contributed considerably to science, philosophy, logic, sociology, medicine, mathematics and music, but the major ones are in philosophy, logic and sociology and for which he stands out as an Encyclopedist. As a philosopher, Farabi was the first to separate philosophy from theology. He gave more attention to political theory as compared to any Muslim philosophers as he wrote the famous book "*al- Madinat al- Fadilah*" or The Ideal State. He also participated in writing books on early Muslim sociology and a notable book on music titled *Kitab al-Musiqa Al-Kubro* (The Book of Grand Music).

8. Abu Raihan Muhammad Al- Biruni (973-1048), was a scientist and physicist, an anthropologist and comparative sociologist, an astronomer and chemist, a critic of alchemy and astrology, an encyclopedist and historian, a geographer and traveler, a geodesist and geologist, a mathematician, a pharmacist and psychologist, an Islamic philosopher and theologian, and an scholar and teacher.

9. Ibn Rushd (1126-1198), known in the West as Averroes, has probably had a bigger impact on Western religion and philosophy than on Islamic thought. Some Muslim historians have described the modern enlightened West as the imagination of Averroes. Ibn Rushd was a remarkable thinker. He was a judge, expert in Islamic law (Maliki), a physician and a philosopher.

10. Ibn Zuhri (1091–1161), known as Avenzoar. An Arab physician and surgeon, known for his influential book *Al-Taisir fi al-Mudawat wa al-Tadbir* (Book of Simplification Concerning Therapeutics and Diet).

11. Ibn Khaldun (1332 – 1406), an Arab historiographer and historian who developed one of the earliest non-religious philosophies of history. Often considered as one of the forerunners of modern historiography, sociology and economics.

The list above is just to name a few among so many figures and is intended to show that there was an unified treatment of religion and civilization, in particular science and philosophy, in Islamic history. The unified treatment was a consequential outcome of the principle of unity or unification brought by Islam, and along with Islamic ideal, it is crucial in the establishment of a high civilization of mankind. It is empirical that the development of civilization necessitated a strong scientific foundation, which was based on a strong research and development.

Success story of Islamic civilization in scientific and intellectual inventions was derived from the ability of Muslim scholars to harmonize between religious belief and scientific logic. Abd al- 'Aziz al- Azmeh, a Muslim scholar, in his book entitled "Arabic Thoughts in Islamic Societies", implies that there are two main principles in Islamic philosophy of sciences. The first is that there is an intimate relation between the Creator and the Creature (*al- 'alaqat bayn al- Khaliq wa al- Makhluq*, or Relation between the Creator and the Creatures). which was proceeded through the process of emanation. Everything in the universe was emanated from God and, therefore, it has a divine dimension. This not only apply to microcosm (human being), but also to the universe

(macrocosm). Both human being and nature, as God's created beings, have their own physics or soul, and therefore they are both object and subject. The Arabic term for nature, for instance, was not called *matbu'* (an created, in the sense of object or *maf'ul*), but it is called *tabi'ah* (an created creator, in the sense of subject or *fa'il*). From this cosmological doctrine derived an ethical value human being should follow. Because nature is a subject and has a divine dimension, so that is indeed sacred, human being should not exploit the nature, a behavior which only spread corruption on earth. Instead, human being should respect and protect nature as God's creature in order to make it a better place for living.

And the second principle is the analogy between macrocosm or nature (*al- tabi'ah* as *al- 'alam al- kabir*) and microcosm or man (*al- insan* as *al- 'alam al- saghir*). This analogy between man and nature two God's created beings, serves as a basis for inseparateness between natural sciences and sciences of humanity. Because their creation is inseparated from the Creator, the Supreme Being, their existence is embeded with a divine dimension or spiritual power. Therefore, both natural sciences and social sciences or sciences of humanity are linkaged to theology and philosophy with a definite teleology that is an orientation to God (theocentrism).^{viii}

The two principles of Islamic sciences briefly elaborated above affirms an integrated relation within the trilogy of being, namely ontology, epistemology, and axiology of sciences, that they are needed to stick to theocentrism. This is the main principle of Islamic sciences that paves the way to the revival of Islamic civilization. There is an urgency to revitalize this worldview in the context of revivalization of Islamic sciences towards the revival of Islamic civilizations (putting it in plural sense is meant that there are many possible manifestations of Islamic civilization with regard to different socio-historical and socio-cultural settings of Muslim societies. Though they are different in forms, but they are same in substance). The Muslim world has a historical responsibility to overcome the accumulative global damages and the great disruption in the world today by bringing about Islamic civilization as an alternative civilization (*al- badil al- thaqafy*).

The Globalized World

The world today is currently experiencing an unprecedented speed of change in almost all aspects of life in almost all corners of the globe. Globalization has promoted advancement of human's civilization, especially in its material aspect. Due to the information technology revolution in the last a few decades

people in different countries can easily communicate between each other in different time and space dimension. The wave of globalization has created the globalized world and the global society. As a result, the world is shrinking and creating a global village with borderless society.

We are now living in a fundamentally interconnected world, integrated by complex pattern of global-supply-chain of trading goods and services –which are increasingly interdependent, yet paved the way for certain countries and regions to develop more than the others. This development is further accelerated by the advancement of information technology devices that has brought people interconnected and easily communicated with others.

Since the last decade, the world has shown rapid change economically and politically. Since 2007, the global recession affected the entire world economy with greater detriment to some countries than others. The crisis endangers many members of the European Union (EU) in the form of economic and political bankruptcy. Countries such as Greece, Spain, Italy, and Eastern Europeans are painstakingly trying to overcome this crisis. Even, Greece is one of European States, which has been classified as a failed state.

The European debt crisis, high level of household debt, trade imbalances, national budget cutting, widespread unemployment, and limited prospects for global growth in 2013 and 2014 continue to provide obstacle of full recovery from this Great Recession.^{ix} While Europe and the U.S are hit by global economic crisis, the world is witnessing the rise of "The Rest" Brazil, Russia, India, and China. This group, which is called BRIC (and there is a tendency to include Indonesia which has shown significant economic growth amid global recession, so that becomes BRIIC), experiences a significant economic growth.

Center of world economic gravity is now shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific basin. It is remarkable that Asia, particularly East Asia, is showing significant economic development and progress. The emergence of East Asia with the rise of China and India, two biggest countries in the world, is now observable. East Asia is now the only region that can challenge the economic domination of the Western countries. Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, for example, are still showing their high economic growth. China and India are expected to become the second and the third biggest economy of the world in the near future.

Globalization, which was at the beginning intended to assert the monolithic tendency of the world both in a more liberalistic economy and democracy, has subsequently paved the way for the emergence of many new countries especially in East Asia. That is derived from the fact that giving liberty through free trade areas, such as APEC, AFTA, NAFTA, or CAFTA, is indeed giving ways for economic growth and cooperation. Globalization has created a blundering result to major power. On the other side, globalization has given much benefits to countries outside the old major power, as in the beginning of the twentieth centuries some new countries are emerging, as shown by the rise of BRIC countries as new emerging countries economically.

Whereas the Muslim World, though was not exempted from globalization, has not received much benefit. Only a few countries of the 57 OIC members who enjoyed economic growth, like the Gulf countries, while the rest pertain their condition without significant progress. Ali A. Allawi, former Minister of Defence and Minister of Finance in the Iraqi post-war governments, gave an autocritical statement by saying that the Muslim World combines the extremes of wealth and poverty. On the one hand there are the oil producing countries in the Gulf, whose official overseas assets alone are estimated

at nearly \$ 2 trillion, while at the same time some other countries are crowded with people under poverty line with daily earning less than \$ 2.^x

It is true that the Muslim World is embedding a paradox between potentiality and actuality, between ideality and reality. Theoretically the Muslim World has great potentials in at least four resources. First, it has great human resources though still in quantitative sense, as it consists of about 1, 6 billion followers. There is an indication of numerical growth of Muslims especially in countries where now Muslims are still minority. Second, the Muslim World has rich natural resources. Many Muslim countries deposit abundant oil, gas, and minerals that are needed by the people on Earth. Third, the Muslim World has value resources, which are strong religio-ethical values imperative from the Holy Scripture and pertinent to progress and development, such as being productive, discipline, time honor, and effective-efficient. And fourth, the Muslim World has a glorious past, which is the experience of being a developed world in the Middle Ages, when the Muslim World was supersiding other parts of the world by being the holder of world civilization supremacy. During that time the Muslim World was performing the advancement of sciences and

technology by the hand of many Muslim scientists, techocians, and philosophers.

Yet, those ideal potentials are not manifests in Muslim cultures and civilization. Reality of the Muslim World has shown otherwise. If Muslims constitute about 23 percent of total world population,

its contribution to the world's GDP is only 6 percent, and 9 percent of its total export. On a purchasing power parity basis, the per capita gross national income of the OIC countries in 2006 reached only \$3,600 per annum, compared to \$35,500 in the rich world (and an everage of \$5,600 in the rest of the developing world.

The total ouput (GDP) of the fifty-seven OIC countries in 2007 approached \$32 trillion, compared to a 2007 GDP figure of nearly \$14 trillion for the US alone. The entire Islamic economy accounts less for 23 percent of the US economy. The output of the Muslim world is less than 10 percent of that of the West, defined in economic terms as the US and the EU. If the economies of the OIC countries which export fuel are excluded from the tally, the total GDP of the non-oil OIC countries amounted to a paltry \$1,9 trillion in 2007 - that is, less than 13 percent of the US economy and less than 6 percent of the economy of the West. The scale of the economic imbalance between the Western world and the Muslim world is glaring.^{xi}

Another feature that may show the reality of the Muslim world is in the field of science and technology as well as research and development. As it has been indicated, the two variables are

determinant factors for a country to reach development and progress. In this regard, the Muslim world is still left behind and facing a serious challenge. While the Muslim world continued to revive its glorious past, it remains showing the decline of creativity and innovation. Strives for revitalizing Islamic sciences especially by those petro-dollar countries have not yet brought significant achievements. Their projects to build centres for academic excellence stagnated in being scientech consumptive. Degree of transfer or transformation of science and technology in almost all universities in the Muslim world is very low. Again, Ali A. Allawi gave as strong auto-criticism by saying "to a large extent, therefore, the observation that Islamic civilization did not 'progress' into a modern world order based on technology is immaterial. Its trajectory in pre modern times did not entail the dramatic shift which have made the industrial revolution possible in the West".^{xii}

The Muslim world was not able to cope with continuity and change in the course of history through the remaking of sustainable innovation and creativity in the field of science and technology. A Pakistani nuclear-physician and mathematician, Perves Hoodbhoy, has released data that

a useful, if imperfect, indicator of scientific output is the number of published scientific research papers, together with the citations to them. . . A study by academics at the International Islamic University Malaysia showed that OIC countries have 8.5 scientists, engineers, and technicians per 1000 population, compared with a world average of 40.7, and 139.3 for countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.^{xiii} Forty-six Muslim countries contributed 1.17% of the world's science literature, whereas 1.66% came from India alone and 1.48% from Spain. Twenty Arab countries contributed 0.55%, compared with 0.89% by Israel alone. The US NSF records that of the 28 lowest producers of scientific articles in 2003, half belong to the OIC. The situation may be even grimmer than the publication numbers or perhaps even the citation counts suggest. The listing goes on to include the paucity of published journal articles, university science faculty ranking and patents.^{xiv}

Drawbacks of the Muslim world in two important sectors, namely economy and science and technology, have made the Muslim world lacking of infrastructural power to revive a new Islamic civilization. Theoretically, according to a saying attributed to 'Ali ibn Talib, that the mastery of the world civilization depends very much on the mastery of science and technology. Moreover, those drawbacks are exacerbated by the condition of politics in many Muslim countries. Certainly, politics has a vital and crucial role in directing civilizational development, because political authority through economic

policies may serve as a prime mover of economic growth, and economic growth is a prime mover of national development. The advancement of science and technology becomes the pillar of all aspects of that development.

Yet, it is phenomenal in many Muslim countries that the quality of education is low. None of higher learning institutions in Muslim countries are included among the 200 best universities in the world.^{xv}

At the lower education level, schools in many Muslim countries, particularly in religious schools or *madrasahs*, both elementary and high schools, face a backwardness in teaching sciences (in Indonesian often acronymised as FIKIB or Fisika (Physics), Kimia (Chemistry), and Biologi (Biology)). Those schools emphasize heavily the teaching of religious sciences (Fikih), while in Islam, there is no indeed separation between religious sciences and general sciences.

As it has been indicated earlier that the development of Islamic civilization in the Middle Ages was due very much by the development of sciences. Even, Muslim scientist were not only transmitting Greece sciences and philosophy, but they were also inventing and developing new sciences.

The Muslim World and Democratization

The Muslim World, in the last a few decades, has been facing a problem of how to respond to the stream of democratization that is sweeping many parts of the globe. The thesis that democracy is the best and even final form of human governance, which is believed by many in the West, has influenced Muslims and many Muslim countries, and has created both pros and cons groups. Arab Spring that hit the Middle East and North Africa region in the last seven years, for instance, may well be perceived as a political drive to democratization, and therefore it is also called as democratic spring. This is a part of inevitable process of political liberalization in the globalized world.

The Muslim World has witnessed a tendency of change. The emergence of a new generation, who has access to information technology and social media, has created a digital generation and a cyber community. This, in turn, has brought about a new worldview and culture. The Arab Spring, which is mostly supported by this new generation, has brought about change in the political atmosphere and configuration in the Middle East and North Africa. Fifteen years ago, Indonesia, the fourth most populous country and the largest Muslim country in the world, has begun to experience such a change in name of *Reformasi*

(or Reform). Reformasi has succeeded to replace the authoritarian political system with the democratic one. As the implementation of democracy since 1999, Indonesia conducted three legislative and executive general elections. Indonesian people also have enjoyed freedom in their private and public life. Though there are still drawbacks and negative impacts of democratization in the country, yet democracy is believed as a good way for the nation to achieve its ideals. That is why Muslim organizations in Indonesia (there are about 70 nationwide Muslim organizations) have been supporting democratization and become a determinant and effective factor for Indonesia's democracy. Together with other elements of the nation they have been working to consolidate democracy to be a multicultural one based on moral and ethical values. Democracy can be utilized as an instrumental and functional way to the making or remaking of a nation-state.

Stream of democratization is also happening in many other parts of the Muslim world, such as Tunisia, Turkey, Pakistan, or Malaysia, by giving a little political liberty to their citizens and opening public sphere for freedom of speech and expression. Even in countries with monarchy system political will is observable in adopting certain aspects of democracy especially in creating a house of representative and exercising

consultative process (or *shura*). In this regard, there is need to reformulate Islamic political ideas into a new form of Islamic polity

The other feature of the global society remains in its very nature of being multicultural. The global society embedding diversity of race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, culture, and language is now inevitably pushed to maintain multiculturalism. Multiculturalism has now become a world ideology, any country or religious community must engage in. Multiculturalism is closely related reciprocally to the emergence of borderless global society. This, in turn, has paved the way for not only liberalization of trade and economy that created free trade areas, but also liberalization of religion and culture that created free areas of religion and culture. Together with the imposition of the principles of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, implementation of multiculturalism has imposed the exercising of political freedom and freedom of expression.

It is pertinent, in this context, to see the need for a sustainable and viable Islamic state in the modern era. Though the concept of the “state” or “nation-state” is a modern concept since post-colonial period, and has no exemplary precedent in the Muslim history of political authority, but the making of a nation-state

based on Islamic principles may well be in lines with Islam. By the same token, though an Islamic concept of “*shura*” is not identical with democracy, yet exercising democracy, of course based on Islamic ethical and moral values, may be perceived as an application of “*shura*” in the modern era. Thus, our problem now is more on the methodology rather than substances. Therefore, it is relevant to raise a question of how to establish viable and sustainable Islamic state?

Nation State and the *Ummah*

The nation-state is a Western political concept, developed in France, Italy and Germany in the 18 or 19th century. Weber said that the nation-state is a by product of 15th-century advances in map-making technologies. The nation state derives its political legitimacy by establishing itself as a sovereign territorial unit. While the state is a political and geopolitical entity, the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic entity. The term "nation state" implies that the two geographically coincide. Nation-state formation took place at different times in different parts of the world, but it then had become the dominant form of state organization.

The formation of nation-state in Europe was firstly initiated by the birth of countries such as France, Italy, and Germany. To

hold political power, domestically and geopolitically, the state used a local culture and language to unify its political territory. In France, according to Erick Hobsbawm, at the time of the 1789 French Revolution, only half of the French people spoke French, and 12-13 % spoke it "fairly". Franch promoted the unification of various dialects and languages into French language. The introduction of conscription and laws on public instruction by Third Republic in 1880s facilitated the creation of national identity.^{xvi}

Unlike initial development of nation-state in Europe, the concept of nation-state in other parts of the world was further developed on the ground of common feelings, spirituality, soul, and goals among certain peoples. In line with opinion of French philosopher, Ernest Renan,^{xvii} Benedict Anderson said that nation-state is an imagined community, where citizens are united by an imaginary community and have common goals, as the members are not possibly able to know each other.^{xviii} Thus, the concept of nation-state evolved from identification of physical, cultural, and geopolitical similarities. The diversity of ethnic, linguistic, and religious background are considered as enrichment of national identity. For example, the creation of Republic of Indonesia as a nation-state in which many languages, religions, and ethnicities live in harmony.

Seeking a conceptual parallel in Islamic political thought to the Western concept of nation-state is not an easy task. There have been polemics among Muslim scholars regarding what is the most appropriate concept of Islamic social ideals. The concept of *ummah*, for example, received two perceptions among Muslim scholars, that is whether *ummah* is “a social religious community” or “a political religious community”. If the first believes that Prophet Muhammad is merely a prophet or spiritual and moral leader and his community in Medina is a social community, the latter believes that the Prophet is a political leader or head of state ruling the Medinan state. The two propositions have brought consequences to the Muslims throughout history, especially in the exercising of the idea of state or nation-state.

The problem becomes crucial when one needs to seek the basis of state in the main sources of Islam, the Qur’an and the Hadiths. As a matter of fact, there are no clear-cut explanations of the state in the two sources. In the Holy Qur’an there are two mentions of word relating to *dawlah* (an Arabic term for state or nation-state), but not in the form of *dawlah*, or even an imperative to establish *dawlah* or the state. The first mentions is the verb “*nudawilu*” (Q.S 3: 140), meaning to rotate in the verse “that We rotate the time among mankind”, and the second

is the verbal noun “*dulatan*” (Q.S 59:7) meaning circulation in the verse regarding almsgiving “so that the wealth will not be circulated between the rich people among you”. The Prophet traditions, too, are silent about the idea of the state, and the creation of the state was not put as a central imperative for the Muslims, like prayer, zakat, or jihad.

As a result, there are at least two main contrasting ideas about the creation of the state, namely the nation-state of the Western concept. First, creation of the state is an obligation for the Muslims, and therefore an Islamic state, or a state based on Islam, like the Medinan state should be established. Second, creation of the state is not obligatory, or it is important but only as an instrument to the establishment of an Islamic society.

Modern Paradigms of Islamic Polity

In the modern time Islamic political thought recognized at least three paradigms, namely, traditionalist, modernist, and fundamentalist. Islamic traditionalism inclined to “institutionalization” of religious practices that came to be believed, in the course of history, to have stemmed from the revelation, traditional Islam is believed to be the authentic Islam.

The first paradigm is a traditionalist one, which tends to revive the traditionalist form of government, the caliphate. Rashid Rida (d. 1935), one traditionalist thinker, in meeting the challenge of modernity, called for the need to return to Islam through the discovery of the true principles of Islam. Therefore, he saw the need to reform the Islamic legal system and to restore an Islamic government, i.e., the caliphate. In his *al- Khilafat aw al- Imamat al- 'Uzma*, reexamined the constitutional theory of the caliphate and sought to restore this political institution in its proper form and within the framework of the rehabilitation of the Muslim community. Rida maintained that the caliphate is obligatory based on the *shari'ah* and the consensus (*ijma'*) of the companions. Following the line of the Sunni paradigm, Rashid Rida sought to advocate a type of government that was characterized by sovereignty of the community; a government that is constituted by representation and consultation through the *ahl al- hall wa al- 'aqd* and the allegiance of the community (*bay'ah*).^{xix} Unlike his predecessors, the first Muslim political theorist Mawardi (d. 1057), who tended to attribute to the *ahl al- hall wa al- 'aqd* qualifications of knowledge, popularity, and leadership,^{xx} Rida emphasized the qualification of influence. To him, it was more important for the members of the council to possess the quality of effective

influence, because by being so, they would have the final authority and be able to enforce their decision within the community as a whole.

The caliphate revivalism is an answer to the quest of political authority and form of government suitable to the Muslims in the modern era, yet without leaving aside Islamic principles and the *shari'ah*. The decline of the Ottoman caliphate and the domination of the Western powers over the Muslim countries, led to the emergence of various responses among Muslim political thinkers and leaders.

The modernist paradigm maintains that the civilizational backwardness of the Muslim societies was due to intellectual stagnation and the rigidity of the ulama in understanding Islam and in responding to the dynamic of modern life. Therefore, modernist thinkers called for the reopening of the gates of *ijtihad*, through which the revitalization of Islam would ensue. For this revitalization—which may be described as a project that includes the notion of *tajdid* (renewal) and *islah* (reform)—modernist thinkers proposed a variety of approaches, which included rationalization and secularization. One prominent modernist thinker, Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905) sought to reconcile Islamic belief with modern science, because he believed that there was no conflict between Islam and reason

neither between Islam and modern science. In response to modern (Western) political theories and institutions, such as the ideas of form of government, democracy, and constitutional system, Abduh gave assertion that Islam does not recognize any kind of religious sovereignty (*al- sultah al- diniyyah*). In other words, Abduh maintained that the nature of Islamic government is not “religious” but purely “mundane” (*al- sultah al- madaniyyah*). According to Abduh, the historic caliphate was not a theocratic political regime, in the sense that the caliph receives the Law directly from God. The people’s allegiance and obedience to the caliph was due to their religious faith. In his *al- Islam wa al- Nasraniyyah ma’a al- ‘ilmi wa al- Madaniyyah*, Muhammad Abduh stated: “(the caliph is) . . . entitled to obedience from the people not by virtue of the bay’ah, with its requirement of justice and protection, but by virtue of religious faith, so that the believer can never oppose him even if he believes him to be an enemy of God’s religion . . . for the deeds of a ruler with religious authority, in whatever manifestation, are religion and law”.^{xxi} According to Malcolm Kerr, the above passage is significant since Abduh attempted to demonstrate that the traditional theory of the caliphate was similar to a system of civil law in

the Western secular system, and that his system of government is explicitly Islamic.^{xxii}

Abduh continued to assert that political power had to be based on people's will (the public will). This community sovereignty, in his term of reference, would be established within the integral principles of freedom (*hurriyyah*), consultation (*shura*), and constitution (*qanun*), would which serve as the pillars of that political system. Abduh's conception of freedom included both political and social freedom. This freedom included freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, freedom of choice.

Out of the principles of social and political freedom, Abduh developed his theory of consultation. As the consequence of this freedom, particularly political freedom, a collective interest in the form of public opinion (*al- ra'y al- 'am*) would arise within the community. To prevent the occurrence of any conflict of interest within the community, Abduh proposed the criterion of a representative government, which in Malcolm Kerr's interpretation, was not a democracy.

The essence of Abduh modernistic ideas is his conclusion that Islam had not determined upon any form of consultation. The two verses concerning the principle of consultation in the Qur'an (Chapter 3: 159 and 42: 38) only affirmed the

importance of consultation for Muslims in solving their affairs, but did not describe its mechanism. Therefore Abduh left it to the Muslim community to choose and exercise a certain form of consultation in order to achieve their social welfare.

Another modernist thinker, ‘Ali ‘Abd al- Raziq (d. 1966) in his controversial *al- Islam wa usul al- hukm* Raziq introduced a theory in which he not only criticized the validity of the caliphate, but also questioned the bases of authority in Islam. The core of this theory was his denial of the bases of government in Islam, or, more moderately, Islam’s determination of a certain form of government. He explained the main point of his book as being “ . . . that Islam did not determine a specific regime, nor did it impose on the Muslims a particular system according to the requirements by which they must be governed; rather it has allowed us absolute freedom to organize the state in accordance with the intellectual, social and economic conditions in which we are found, taking into consideration our social development and the requirements of the times”^{xxiii}.

‘Abd al- Raziq strongly rejected the view that the Prophet Muhammad had established an Islamic state in Medina. Instead, he insisted that Muhammad was merely God’s messenger, not a king or a political leader. According to him

“Muhammad was solely an apostle. He dedicated himself to purely religious propaganda without any tendency whatever towards temporal sovereignty, since he made no appeal in favor of a government . . . the Prophet had neither temporal sovereignty nor government. He established no kingdom in the political sense of the word nor anything synonymous with it; . . . he was a prophet only, like his brother prophets who preceded him. He was neither a king nor the founder of a state, nor did he make any appeal for temporal empire”^{xxiv}.

Yet, ‘Abd al- Raziq, in fact, did not mean to say that Islam does not require the creation of any form of government whatsoever. On the contrary, he explained that Islam does indeed not neglect the necessity for a political authority. In the Qur’an, he maintained, God implied the necessity of establishing a government as an essential agency for Muslims in their struggle to protect their religion and conduct their affairs. But this did not imply that the creation of a government became a basic tenet of Islam. His final definitive statement in *al- Islam wa Usul al- Hukm* said: “There is nothing in the religion which prevents Muslims from competing with other nations in the field of social and political sciences, and from demolishing that antiquated order which has subjugated and humiliated them, and to build up rules of their state and the organization of their

government on the basis of the most modern achievement of human reason, and on the most solid experiences of nations as to the best principles of government.”

The fundamentalist paradigm emphasizes the totality of Islam, that is, that Islam, as a system, covers all cultural universals. Yet Islamic fundamentalism also emphasizes the distinctiveness of Islam as opposed to Western culture, and clings to Islam’s authenticity upon encountering the challenges of the West. In the political domain, the fundamentalists tended to avoid any ideas deemed to be Westernized, and consequently non-Islamic. Fundamentalist thinkers brought about the idea of the Islamic system (*nizam-i Islami* by Mawdudi), or (*al- nizam al- Islami* by Sayyid Qutb). In this perspective, Islamic state is universal and ideological. It is universal in that its many spheres of activity embrace very aspect of life and is totalitarian in nature. It is ideological in that this Islamic state is based on, and works fro, a single ideology: the ideology of Islam.

Mawdudi’s conception of the Islamic state is, thus, based on the shari’ah, which provides the basic principles of its nature. In the shar’i perspective, according to Mawdudi (d. 1979), there are four principles on which the Islamic state is to be based. They are that it: recognizes the sovereignty of God,

accepts the authority of the Prophet, has the status of God's vicegerency, and utilizes mutual consultation.

If that is the case, Mawdudi's Islamic state is a theocratic state. Yet, since he also emphasized the Islamic requirement for mutual consultation (*shura*) among all Muslims in conducting state affairs, this state also has a democratic characteristic. This kind of state may be best characterized, as Mawdudi himself suggested, under the term "theo-democracy", that is "a divine democratic government, . . . under which . . . the Muslims have been given a limited popular sovereignty under the suzerainty of God".^{xxv}

Similarly, Sayyid Qutb (d. 1966) put shari'ah a central position in the state's terms of reference. He believed that, in the Islamic state, the real sovereignty and legislation belonged to God alone, and, consequently, that the shari'ah was its fundamental constitution. This belief gave birth to Qutb's theory of ultimate divine sovereignty of *hakimiyyah* –the outcome of his textual interpretation of such Qur'anic verses as "anyone who governs not in accordance with God's revelation is an infidel, or evildoer, or hypocrite" (Chapter 5: 34, 35, 36).

From the discussion above, though they differ fundamentally from each other, especially in the mode of response to Western political paradigm, the three paradigms of modern Islamic

political thought share a meeting of mind in the need to base the Islamic political institution, or Islamic state, on Islamic values and principles. Yet, the main differences are in the ideas, as whether that political institution or state to be formalistic or substantive with regard to Islam.

Islamic Polity and Democracy

The form of government in Muslim countries varies from monarchism, republicanism, to democracy. Yet, whatever form of government or political system exercised by Muslim countries, stream of democratization seems inevitable. The phenomenon of the Arab Spring that has swept the Middle East and North Africa shows that the people of the region expect a social and political change. Pew Research Center published in 2012 the trends and expectations of Muslims in Islamic countries.^{xxvi}

According to that survey, the people of Lebanon, Turkey, Egypt, Tunisia, and Pakistan considers democracy as the best form of government. The appeal of democracy is especially strong in Lebanon, where 84% say democracy is preferable to any other kind of government, just 7% think that there are circumstances in which a non-democratic government can be

preferable, and 9% believe that it does not really matter what kind of government rules the country.

Large majorities also prefer democracy in Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia. Pakistanis express the least enthusiasm for the idea of democracy, with just 42% saying it is preferable. Still, only 17% believe other approaches are better, while 22% say it does not matter. Almost one-in-five Pakistanis (18%) do not offer any opinion.

It is interesting to observe the growing awareness among Muslims of the necessity for a democratic system of government. This development also shows that Muslims need to be more involved in a wider political, economical and social life.

In the changing Muslim world, the people's demand to be involved and engaged in every step of policy making and democratization of state and society is greater than ever. By cooperating with civil society as an equal partner, the state is not longer a single actor in administrating the country. The state and civil society (represented by mass organizations, non-governmental organization, professionals, etc) must work hand in hand to ensure and guarantee the enactment of civil rights, freedom and democracy. The existence of public sphere in which civil society has enough space to express its civil rights

is an absolute prerequisite for democracy. Democracy without an independent public space has no signification.

The public sphere developed by civil society may initiate public dialogue and action by bridging and expressing people's opinions, aspirations, and general rights to the State. This means, civil society may participate actively in state policy making. And for that reason, the independence of public sphere from political and economic conflict of interest is very essential, in order that equal dialogue and debate might be built on a foundation of critical rationality, where everyone can equally express their opinions and rights.

Those ideas exposed in length above are indeed not peculiar to Western political paradigm. Islamic political thought had a long before discussed such issues as *bay'ah wa al- mubaya'ah* (giving oath and allegiance) which is comparable to the idea of social and political contract; *al- siyasah al- shar'iyah* (the divine polity) or *al- madinah al- fadilah* (the ideal state) which are parallel to the notion of good governance, because that polity emphasizes both strong and clean government. These paralleled issues are important and are intrinsic features of good governance and state affairs, and therefore may be taken into consideration in the making of viable and sustainable Islamic state in this modern era.

In the changing world with the increasing demand for democratization it is felt the need for developing a new paradigm of Islamic polity in both countries where Muslims are majority and countries where they are minorities. In both cases more importantly is how to maintain Islamic values to instill into national political life while, at the same time, making self adjustment to the given real-politik with its certain socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural setting. By so doing, the Islamic civil society organizations may well emphasize on substantiation of Islamic moral and ethical values into political life, rather than formalization of political life with Islamic formalism and symbolism. Though democracy is not an Islamic idea and institution, yet it could be materialized within the Islamic worldview.

Concluding Remarks

The creation of the state is important as an instrument by which the Muslim community can achieve their social ideal that is the establishment of the best Islamic community (*khayru ummah*). The state is a manifestation of the Prophetic exemplary in order to protect religion and to govern mundane life.^{xxvii} There is a symbiotic relationship between Islam and politics and the state. The state, in this regard, is more as a mean rather than an end.

Since there are no clear-cut explanations from the Qur'an and the hadith, the creation of the state as instrumental to the achievement of Islam's social ideal --the establishment of the best society-- is a matter of sustainable innovations and adjustment to the given socio-historical, cultural, and political setting of respective Muslim countries. The form of government and mode of bureaucracy are, thus, optional based on consensus of the community and their historical background. The existence of the nation-state based on a particular primordial orientation in various Muslim societies is realistic, as far as those Muslim nation-states need to be bound in a global network, and universal cooperation.

Of most important in the making of statehood among the Muslim people is the necessity to instill Islamic moral and ethical values in order to establish an ideal state (*al- madinah al- fadilah*). Among those values are justice, accountability, trust, and credibility.

Accommodation of democracy is inevitable. Since democracy is not a monolithic system, there is need to choose its most relevant doctrines with Islamic values and socio-cultural and political setting of respective Muslim countries. There is need for Muslims to bring democracy into a moral and ethical paradigm. Moreover, the Muslim world should think hard by

utilizing *ijtihad* in finding the most viable Islamic state beyond democracy and in the post-democratic world.

There is always art of the possibles for Muslims to engage in national polity in their respective countries, be they are most populous Muslim countries or countries where Muslims are minority. The important thing is that the Muslim community should have an adequate political leverage and bargaining power to integrate their subjective liberty into the framework of objective liberty of the entire nation. One thing should be borne in mind is that politics is only a vehicle and, thus, need to be used as instrumental for developing sciences and building human capacity. In certain cases where Muslims have freedom to exercise Islamic polity, national strategic planning should be put by putting education, human resources development, and science and technology advancement as a top priority. The role of polity in revivalization of sciences for the revival of civilization is central and vital, as it was the case of the Abbasid caliphs in engineering the scientific awakening project in the Middle Ages.

Political will as well as material supports are needed for decisive actions, especially to encourage scholarship, mobilize scholars, intensify transferring of knowledge, and glorify researchs and debelolments, in the framework of

institutionalization of strategic plans in materializing the realms. "Power --whichever power-- is therefore correlative with the popular as well as the scientific modes of knowledge. Just as God stands at the apex of the universe and the king at the body politics . . ." ^{xxviii}

Therefore, "allegiance to Islam has not only survived the modern period but has in fact strengthened. But this is a long way from asserting that the seeds for a rebirth of Islamic civilization are there simply because most Muslims continue to exhibit an extraordinary commitment to their religion". ^{xxix}
"Verily, Allah will not change condition of a community, unless they change what are in themselves".

ⁱ Al- Ghazali, *Tahafut Al- Falasifah*, Brigham Young University Press, Utah, 2000.

ⁱⁱ Abdurrahman Badawi, *The Spiritual Quest of al- Ghazali*, <http://www.ghazali.org/articles/gz2.htm>

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- ⁱⁱⁱ M. Umar Chapra, *Is Rationalism Possible in the Muslim World?*, <http://www.kantakji.com/media/5335/y108.pdf>
- ^{iv} Hamilton Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982.
- ^v Ismail R. Al- Faruqi, *Tawhid: Its Implication for Thought and Life*, International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon, Virginia, 1982.
- ^{vi} Medina <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina>
- ^{vii} Fuad al-Ahwani, *al- Falsafat al- Islamiyah*, Maktaba al-Saqafiyyat, Cairo, 1962.
- ^{viii} Abd al- 'Aziz al- Azmeh, *Arabic Thoughts and Islamic Societies*, Routledge, London, 1986.
- ^{ix} Rick Gladstone, "UN Presents Grim Prognosis on the World Economy", New York Times, December 18th, 2012.
- ^x European Central Bank, "The Impact of Sovereign Wealth Funds on Global Financial Markets", Occasional Paper, No. 91, July 2008, cited in Ali A. Allawi, *The Crisis of Islamic Civilization*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 2009.
- ^{xi} OIC, SESTRIC Report 2007, cited in Ali A. Allawi, *The Crisis of Islamic Civilization*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 2009), p. 223.
- ^{xii} *ibid.*, Allawi, p. 232.
- ^{xiii} For more on the OECD, see <http://www.oecd.org/>

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- ^{xiv} Perves Hoodbhoy, "Science and the Islamic World - The Quest for Rapprochement", *Physic Today*, Vol. 60, issue 8 August 2007.
- ^{xv} The Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2015-2016, list the best global universities and are the only international university performance tables to judge world class universities across all of their core missions - teaching, research, knowledge transfer and international outlook.
- ^{xvi} Nation State <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation-state>.
- ^{xvii} Ernest Renan, "Quest -ce qu 'une nation?", presented at University of Sorbone, Paris, Mars, 11, 1988.
- ^{xviii} Benedict R. O G Anderson, *Imagined Community: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso/New Left Book, London, 1996.
- ^{xix} Rashid Ridha, *al- Khilafat aw al- Imamat al- 'Uzma*, Matba'at al-Manar bi-Misr, Cairo, 1934.
- ^{xx} Al- Mawardi, *Al- Ahkam al- Sultaniyyah wal- Wilayat al- Diniyyah*, Mustafa al-Babi al- Halabi, Kairo, 1973.
- ^{xxi} Muhammad Abduh, *al- Islam wa al- Nasraniyyah ma'a al- 'ilmi wa al- Madaniyyah*
- ^{xxii} Malcomm H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Ridha*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966.
- ^{xxiii} 'Ali 'Abd al- Raziq, *al- Islam wa usul al- hukm, Bath ft al- Khilafah wal- hukumah ft al- Islam*, Cairo, 1925.

^{xxiv} Ibid.

^{xxv} Abul A'la Mawdudi, *First Principle of Islamic State*, Islamic Publications, Lahore, 1960.

^{xxvi} Pew Research Center, "Most Muslims Want Democracy, Personal Freedoms, and Islam in Political Life Few Believe U.S. Backs Democracy", *Global Attitude Project*, July 10, 2012.

^{xxvii} As told by al- Mawardi: *al- imamah mawdu'atun li khilafat al- nubuwwah li harathat al- din wa siyasat al- dunya*

^{xxviii} *ibid.*, Al- Azmeh, p. 273.

^{xxix} *Ibid.*, Allawi, p. 252

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