

## The Relation between Islam and The State from Islamic Education Perspective: Al-Banna, Haikal and Raziq' Thought

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### **Abstract:**

*This research discusses the relation between Islam and the State among Muslim scholars. Many discuss the relation between Islam and the State from Sharia and historical viewpoints. However, this study examines the relation from education standpoint. The literature research looks at academic publications from prominent Muslim scholars around the world. This research asserts that the study on relation between Islam dan the State can be divided into three main categories: integrative, substantive and secular. In relation to education, those studies reveal that educational institutions attempt to align their teaching ideology with the ideology of its founder or stakeholders. Despite their significant differences, all Muslim scholars derive their thought and discussion from theological foundation of Al-Qur'an and Hadith. They also seem to show a common ground in defining Islamic Education. Nevertheless, Islamic education institutions present various views on teaching the ideology in relation between Islam and the State, from moderate teaching to radical teaching or understanding.*

**Keywords:** Hasan Al-Banna, Muhammad Husein Haikal, Ali Abdul Raziq, Islamic Education, The Relation between Islam and The State

## INTRODUCTION

Relation between religion (including Islam) and the State is often found in public debate, or even in social conflict between religious nations, including Indonesia (Shaleh & Wisnaeni, 2019: 239). Relation between Islam and the State among muslim scholars can be looked at into three major categories, integrative (represented by Al-Banna), substantive (represented by Haikal), and secular views (represented by Raziq) (Dahlan, 2014: 11; Abdullah, 2014: 24; Hasan, 2015: 19; Zaprulkhan, 2014: 106; Zainuddin, 2015: 158). From Islamic education perspective, the three categories are easily found through the teachings at the educational institutons. It is undoubtedly since education is the most effective means to spread the ideologies (Ahmad, 2006). This literature research aims at discussing theoretical framework of those differences from the perspective of Islamic education.

Several research on the relation between Islam and the State commonly look at the aspect of Islamic Law (*Sharia*). Dahlan, Gunawan and Abdullah for instance, state that democratic system, human rights, and Pancasila (the Five National Pillars) are substantively well-aligned with Islamic Law (Dahlan, 2014: 11; Abdullah, 2014: 24; Gunawan, 2014). Meanwhile, Fadly views relation between Islam and the State in Indonesia from historical perspective. He states that *Pancasila* (the Five National Pillars) and *UUD 1945* (1945 National Constitution) are integral part of the nation history and relation between religious and nationalist group (Fadhly, 2017: 86). Similar to this literature research is the study from Zaprulkhan. He compares 3 different Muslim scholars who discuss about the relation between Islam and the state that divided into three different categories such as integrative, substantive and secular thinking (Zaprulkhan, 2014: 106). This study found that there is a basic difference between one and another although its looks similar. Eventhough education is an effective way to spread the ideology, but Zaprulkhan's study didn't relate to any educational aspects. (Abdallah, 2019: 409). In other word, education can be a medium to transmit and ideology (Astuti, 2016). Thus, this research tries to analyze Muslim scholar about the relation between Islam and the state from educational sector.

This is a literature review study that tries to find out various Muslim scholar who discuss about the relation between Islam and the state. This study will focus on the main figures of Muslim scholar. For example, Integrative thinking will relate with Hasan Al-Banna as a charismatic figure of the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*) who known with its Islamisme movement. Then, for the substantive thinking will focus on Muhammad Husein Haikal as a main figure. And for the secular thinking will be derived from the thinking of Ali Abdul Raziq. Thereby, this study will analyze those 3 different Muslim scholars with its thought.

## DISCUSSION

### **The Relation between Islam and The State: Al-Banna, Haikal and Raziq' Thought**

Darajat mentions that education derives from the word "*tarbiyah*", while teaching comes from the word "*ta'lim*" (Daradjat, 2000: 25). The word *ta'dib* reflect the same meaning as both *Tarbiyah dan Ta'lim*, reflect the education. Therefore, Daradjat states that Islamic education relates with how to create a character of a Muslim (*tarbiyatul Islamiya*) (Daradjat, 2000: 27-28). Islamic education is a process of learning with a focus on how to create a moral character of its learner based on the Qur'an and the hadith (Arifin, 2014: 129).

The definition above similar to other definitions mentioned by other calsic and contemporary Muslim scholars such as Al-Syaibany, Al-Nahlawy, Al-Jamaly, D. Marimba,

M. Miftah, A. Tafsir, and so forth. The similarity of each definition is in its focus on how to provide guidance to gain a good ethic (*akhlak mulia*) based on the values from the Quran and hadith (Rahman, 2012: 55). Should this definition be correlated to Muslim views on relation between Islam and the State, this definition can serve as the source for Islamic education. Needless to say that those definitions of integralistic, substatantive and secular are derived from Al-Qur'an and Hadith.

We have covered briefly in the above introduction and now we will discuss each aspect in more details. In addition to Shi'ite, Zulkifli (2018: 176) argues that another group that uphold integralistic view is Ikhwanul Muslimin (IM) in Egypt under the reign of Hasan Al-Bana and Al-Maududi's Jama'at Islami in Pakistan. Both of these political movement groups founded to fight against Western domination in Islamic countries and echoed all Muslims to revisit the teaching (Al-Qur'an and Hadith) to free them from Western's occupation. For the purpose of this paper, we specifically focus on ideas from Hasan Al-Banna as the prominent leader.

Hasan Al-Banna is the founder and key leader in IM movement, whom his legacies still exist until today. He was born in Mahmudiyah, a district in the northeast of Kairo, Egypt in 1906. He was familiar with the ideas of Islamic reform movement since childhood from his father Syekh Ahmad Abdul Rahman Al-Banna. His father was a disciple of Muhammad Abduh when he studied in the Al-Azhar university. His father's zeal for Islamic reform through which Al-Banna inherited originally came from two prominent scholars Jamaludin Al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh. This spirit developed further when he was a direct disciple of Rasyid Ridha at the University of *Darul Ulum* Kairo (Sanusi, 2018: 6-7).

In 1919, when he was 13 years old, he was actively involved in the civilin surgency against British occupation. His ideas of anti-western continued to grow when he travelled through Suez Canal, which was also under British occupation at that time. Al-Banna was also unsettled when witnessing the fall of the Ottoman Empire (Caliphate) and the adoption of Western secularism in 1924 (Ammariah, 2018: 156). The Islamic reform ideas he received from his father and Rasyid Ridha combined with his personal experience, has shaped his militancy towards his religion and utilized his belief as an identity strength to fight against colonialism (Triantini, 2007: 41; Ruslan, 2000: 72).

In 1928, at the age of 23, Al-Banna founded IM which would be known as a prominent Islamism movement later today (Ottoman, 2015: 54-55). His Islamic views on social and cultural context had shaped its establishment and continue to influence the movement of this organization (Avsar, 2008: 28). For Al-Banna, muslim must implement shari's (Islamic law) fully in all aspects of their life, including in relation to the State to escape from Western domination.

Al Banna believed that Islam is not only religion but comprehensive system which covers all aspects of human life. Therefore, Islam exists in the State, power and morality, citizenship and administration, constitutions and discourse, justice and welfare, law and knowledge, preaching as well as Jihad (Al-Banna, 2018: 52-54). Additionally, Al Banna also stated that being a muslim is a serious commitment to address the issues within communities. Islam includes worship and beliefs, citizenship and the State, and also costituions and civilization (Al-Banna, 2018).

As a comprehensive system, Islam covers all aspect of human life including political system (Al-Banna, 2018: 54-61). This comprehensive coverage of Islam is calles cohesiveness (Miftah, 2017). Al-Banna asserts that being involved in political movement

and care a out issues in communities is to complete the purpose of being a perfect muslim. Islam is not only about rituals and worship. It has social, political, economical, cultural, and other aspects of life. He said further that the success of prophet Muhammad in spreading Islam globally was through political means. This referred to the early prophetic period when Islam was a minority in Mecca and when Muslims received tortures and unjust from local people. The prophet then developed a diplomacy with people of Yastrib (noe Medina) which result in the the creation of *Hudaibiyah Treaty*. Soon after the prophet took over the power in Medina, he develop *Medina Charter* (Al-Banna, 2018: 54-61; (Ruslan, 2000: 72).

Al-Banna believed that political movement is a stepping to change the world order based on Islamic values. Therefore, it can be understood that a good muslim should be good politician with way forward thinking and strong determination to solve communities' problems. Muslims cannot let the communitis into chaos otherwise they will carry a burden for being a sinner (Al-Banna, 2018: 54-61). Al-Banna asserts an administration should stand on social norms according to Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. Al-Qur'an is a comprehensive gude to carry out social reform towards justice, prosper and welfare society (Al-Banna, 2018: 300-301).

Al-Banna's ideological belief on integralistic Islam and the state is strongly influenced by social and cultural conext of his country as well as internationally where most Islamic countries were colonized by Western civilization. Al-Banna was very concerned the influence of Western modernity and secularism. This has caused Muslim countries are under the shadow of Western culture, and some even stated that Muslims are well behind in science and technology ((Fakhrina, 2017). Islam is well insulted by the Western and tthere were only two opitons that al-Banna proposed for actions: following the Western paths or fighting them by upholding Islamic sharia. Al-Banna then called out for all Muslims to rise from misery to uphold justice and fight against evil. (Al-Banna, 2018: 244-247).

Al-Banna called for international muslim alliance to fight for Sharia together under the flag of caliphate. He argued that nationalism based on geographical location and countey-based is too narrow-minded, including Arabic nationalis. Nationalism should be universal. Nationalism based on tribe (including Pan-Arabisme) cannot be accepted as this has caused frictions among Muslims. According to Al-Banna, the concept of nationalism should cover all Muslim lands (*nation*). Consequently, all Muslims around the world are brothers and sisters, therefore should look out for each other (Al-Banna, 2018: 19-20). Therefore, Al-Banna is against political parties as they have potential to separate the nations (Al-Banna, 2018: 67).

Any efforts to uplod Isamic Sharia on earth cannot be sepafrated from the process of da'wah (preaching). As the founder of IM, Hasan Al-Banna also paid attention to the process of da'wah. The term da'wah later become the generic language used by the IM to define their movement. According to Al-Banna, da'wah is the most important strength of Islam. Therefore, daulah Islamiyah has to be established gradually through da'wah (Al-Banna, 2018: 183-184).

The concept of da'wah from Al-Banna sould be disseminated in every aspect os muslim's life comprehensively to implement Khilafah. This style of da'wah is popular among muslims brotherhood (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*) as the movement is borderless, and not limited by groups and geographical location, and has not finish line to create just and welfare society (Al-Banna, 2018: 185). The process starts from the smallest unit of human

life or muslim as individual., then move to family, community, and societies, and in turn create a a strong muslim countries for solid caliphate (Al-Banna, 2018: 153-156).

Al-Banna started to implement his da'wah strategies through IM, and of examples was in economic. He suggested for economic independence from Western's domination. He also created special constitution for all IM members to develope national economy and instructed them to use local products. Togteher with Ikhwan, Al-Banna created few enterprises (Al-Banna, 175-187), which has been developing not only in Egypt but worldwide including Indonesia.

To achieve the goal of da'wah, IM developed to become one of well-organised organisation. IM has stages or classes with different curriculum in each level in cadre training. Each person must master all study materials at their level before moving up t classed. Cadres are also separated or defined based on their expertise to expan their da'wah, and they must take an oath to be loyal to IM. They are trained to recite and memorize Al-Qur'an, perform prayer together in congregation, and study other Islamic teaching. All of these processes occur voluntarily without coercion (Jannah, 2017: 68).

The ideas of Al-Banna on the relation between Islam and the State has been a foundation for the establishment of IM. In the context of Indonesia, some scholars state that the emergence of integrated Islamic school (Sekolah Islam Terpadu/SIT) cannot be separated from IM and Hasan al-Banna. Noorhaidi states that the willingness of integrated Islamic school to adopt national curriculum have resulted in a massive growth of Islamism in Indonesia (Hasan, 2009). Some research also show the tendency for IM to becobe an exclusive group of muslim (Yusup, 2018). On the other hand, Noorhaidi mentions that the emergene of SIT could be the answer of the failure of national education system to protect young generation from any mischieveonous conducts such as fre-sex and drugs. (Hasan, 2012).

This theory states that the relation between Islam and the State is dialectical symbiosis which has been echoed by several scholars such as Muhammad Husein Haikal, Abdullah Ahmed An-Na'im, Muhammad Syahrur, and Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid. However, for the purpose of this paper, we will be focusing on Haikal's ideas. Muhammad Husein Haikal (or Haikal), was born in 30 Agustus 1888, in a small village of Kafr Ghanam, Egypt. He received religious education from within the family and completed graduate degree in Egypt. He continued to study postgraduate degree in Sorbonne, France from 1909 to 1912 (Susfita, 2015: 151).

His life history evolved around political environment. He once joined al-Ahrar al-Dusturiyin, a political party that assisted him to become the State Miniester and Minister for Education until 1945. Haikal was also a Chief of Senate until 1950. After a revolution in Egypt in 1952, Haikal started to distance himself from political activities and focused more on academic reading and writing until he passed in 1956. (Kesuma, 2013: 463).

His life experience in politic, religious as well as Western education had shaped his views on the relation between Islam and the state. He asserted that religion (Islam) cannot be separated from state administration. He criticized the secular view of Ali Abdul Razik. The democracy principles are aligned with Islamic values. Therefore, if a country does not implement the principles of democracy, they do not actually implement Islamic principles.

The administration of state cannot leave the religious (Islamic) principles behind. An ideology is very crucial for a country. In more details, Haikal further explains that the administration of the State has to be based on three principles, faith (belief), natural destiny (*fītrah*) and equity (Haikal, 1990: 21). According to Haikal, faith to Allah is an important

ideology to run a State and country. Faith is also a foundation for equity, freedom, and brotherhood which inspired French revolution and later being adopted as the important values in democracy. A country must have strong ideology, and for muslim it is a faith to Allah. This strong ideology encourages its citizen to give everything for their country (Haikal, 1990b: 531).

The next principle is natural destint, which is the belief of people to the natural law. According to Haikal, Al-Qur'an mentions that human being cannot escape from the definite natural law or power. Therefore, administration of the State has to be aligned with the spirit of natural law which is also imperative in Islam (Haikal, 1990a: 36).

The last principle is equality. According to Haikal, the Islamic principle of equality before God could develop collective compliancy among citizens. In this context, this equality does not mean to coerce citizens to embrace Islam as their religion, hence this principle teaches everyone to respect all citizens as they are creation of Allah. Citizens deserve respect and their need to be fulfilled by the state (Haikal, 1990a: 37-39).

Some popular principles during French revolution such as brotherhood/sisterhood, equality, and freedom, are well aligned with Islamic principles. Haikal argued that these principles must be implemented when administering the country. Brotherhood principle is found within Islamic teaching (QS. Al-Hujarat: 49). Islam puts strong emphasis on *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, sincere brotherhood with the absence of veste interest (Haikal, 1990a: 37-39). Brotherhood should encompass all citizen, not only to Muslims. The prophet Muhammad pbuh had provided clear example of unifying different tribes from Muhajirin and Anshor, regardless of their religion, groups, and affiliations. This type of brotherhood and unity are important for the state. He also included brotherhood spirit in Madinah Chapter (Haikal, 1990a: 25). Under this principle, the prophet successfully develop Madinah as unified state to defend their sovereignty (Haikal, 1990b: 206). In addition to this, the equality principle is also important for Muslim to rule a country. Everyone is the same before the law with no exception. This principle in trun could lead to unity and peace discussed above.

Another principle is freedom. According to Haikal, freedom is the basic human right, and a differentiator between human being and other creatures. Haikal futher explores four types of freedom: freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of thinking and freedom from hunger and fear. This freedom is not unlimited, but it is governed by religious values. In Islam, the head of state cannot restrict this freedom. Head os state is not a king, hence he is a representation of their citizen. Therefore, Islam does not recognize dictatorship which pvides unlimited power to the head of state, such as Rome and Persia. The authority is bound by the the principle of collegiate (consensus) (Haikal, 1990a: 45).

Related to the form of state, Haikal does not provide detail desciprion. Islam does not suggest any specific form of state such as republic, parliamentary, theocracy, monarchy, etc. Further Haikal criticized the kingdom of Abbasiyah and Umayyah as they are not based on Islam for ignoring collegiate/consensus (Al-Imron: 159; As-Syuro: 38), as practiced by the caliphates (*khulafaurasyidin*). According to Haikal, any costituion has to be based on Islamic values and teaching (Sharia), rather than man-made, for the welfare of society. (Haikal, 1990a: 45).

In Indonesia, we could find several scholars who have echoed similar ideas to Haikal's such as Nurcholosh Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, etc. Besides, Indonesia has Pancasila (Five Pillars) as the national ideology which is also aligned with Haikal's ideas of

the state. Needless to say, many educational institutions have advocated the marriage between Islam and the states, such as institutions under Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). In practice, there is still ongoing tension amongst ideologies in educational system. Based on survey from PPIM, Setara Institut and LaKIP, several teachers in public and private schools have advocated for radical Islamic views (Maulana, Dirga, 2017).

As found in previous theorise, we can also find several scholars who advocate for this theory. However, for the purpose of this paper, we will discuss about Ali Abdul Raziq (Raziq), as the key figure of this theory. Raziq was born in Menia, Egypt in 1888. His came from affluent and well-educated family. He received education from family and religious community in Egypt, and he has a strong influence from Muhammad Abduh. After graduated from Al-Azhar University in 1911, Raziq continued his study to Oxford University, where he studied economic and politic. He also studied about Western ideas on democracy and government, which influenced his views on relation between Islam and the State. (Putra, 2020: 65).

Although his basic idea is a separation between religion and politic, yet his concept is slightly different from the Western concept of secularism. Western concept of secularization states that religious is a private domain whereas a state governance is a public domain (Boldea, Iulian, 2017: 105). Raziq argued that secularization is based on religious teaching itself. This unique view has received significant attention from other scholars as his concept is still based on religious teaching.

In 1925, a year after the fall of Ottoman Caliphate in Turkey by Musthofa Kemal At-Taturk, Raziq published a book *Al-Islam wa Ushul Al-Hukmi*. In this book, he supports At-Taturk by providing theological reasoning for his action. This book has received significant responses many scholars (Hidayat, 2003: 159).

According to Raziq, caliphate (*khilafah*) which has theological justification as it is part of religious, evidently have caused many sufferings than benefits to the society. It is evidence that Yazid bin Mu'awiyah assassinated Husain bin Abi Thalib, Malik bin Marwan also destroyed Ka'bah, Abu Abas Assafah was a blood-thirsty individual towards Umayyah (Al-Raziq, 1966: 99).

According to Raziq, there is no single concept of State in Islam (eg. Khilafah), whether in Al-Qur'an or Hadith. Raziq states that the verse from Annisa: 59 is often misinterpreted to justify the establishment of khilafah. The word *Ulil Amri* in the verse is not about the Muslim authority. Hence, a group of people for a reference should there be any issues in the community (Al-Raziq, 1966: 15). Therefore, referring to such Islamic scholars as Baidhawi and Zamakhsyari, menurut Raziq, the word *Ulil Amri* should be interpreted as "*Ulama*" (Muslim clerics) or "The Companions of the Prophet", instead of Muslim authority.

Raziq maintained when prophet Muhammad established Islamic State in Madinah, it was not an example for all Muslim to establish the same model of state, since the prophet is the Messenger of Allah, and not a political leader. The caliphate system is a concept coming from intellectual Muslim in early era. Therefore, there are differences between the caliphate system during the period of *khulafaurasyidin* and the caliphate after this period. He suggested that the view of caliphate as the prototype for Islamic state is not appropriate. The history suggested that the Caliphate tends to exercise an absolute power, during the period of Abbasiyah and Umayyah (Al-Raziq, 1966: 196-198).

Secularism has received significant challenge in Indonesia and the word is often associated with a negative stigma, especially during election and other political events. The idea of secularism is used loosely to attack political opponents. In the context of education institution, the dissemination of this idea has been quite subtle. One of the examples is the emergence of liberal Muslim network or (Jaringan Islam Liberal/JIL). Due to this negative stigma, educational institutions tend to distance themselves from this stigma at best.

### **Islamic Scholars on The Relation of Islam and The State: from The Perspective of Islamic Education**

The diversity in the interpretation of Al-Qur'an and Hadith has caused diversity in the development of Islamic education. Generally, people associate education in Islam with the term *da'wah* (Fadli, 2017: 35). Therefore, the development of Islamic education through *da'wah* varies accordingly. In the context of relation between Islam and the State, some tend to use integrative approach to their students (to form Islamic State). Meanwhile, others prefer to use the spirit or value of Islam in governance (substantive), and the rest may leave Islamic values in governance (secular).

Education is the most effective means to educate or disseminate ideas, including the ideas on the relation between Islam and the State. A survey from LSI, the call out for the implementation of Sharia in Indonesian continues to rise. In 2005, there was only 4.6 %, and increase to 7.3 % in 2010, 9.8% in 2015 and 13.2 % in 2018 (Setiawan, 2018). This increase may be attributed to the role of educational system in spreading the ideology of Islamic shari' in Indonesia. Added to this, many people still remember that people were divided significantly during the gubernatorial election of Jakarta in 2017 and presidential election in 2019 between moderate and conservative groups, which can be understood as the outcome of education system (Fossati, 2019).

The seeds for radicalism often comes from the integrative view of state. The belief of *Syumuliatul Islam* (comprehensive guidance of Islam in all aspects of human life, including system of state) has contributed to some radical actions to uphold the law of God (*hakimiyatullah*). The dissemination of this ideology has been undoubtedly from educational system, either formal or community-based (Haris, 2006: 163). Therefore, there is a compelling need to address this religious radicalism, especially in education system. (Susanto, 2018: 65).

Added to this, Islamism movement has also allegedly received financial support from Middle-Eastern countries towards Indonesian Islamic scholars (Jahroni, 2020), and many of modern Islamic educations often amplify the idea to return to Al-Qur'an and Hadith. This type of education slowly replaces the traditional education systems that are rich of local wisdom (Warnk, 2006); (Mas'ud, 2006). This phenomena challenges the claim from Geertz stating that Indonesian educational system was inspired by Hinduism or Buddhism (Geertz, 1960). According to Heffner as cited by Warnk, current education system in Indonesia is more like Middle-Eastern models (Warnk, 2009).

It is interesting to note that education is not only used to disseminate the idea of radicalism, but also moderatism at the same time. Some scholars have shown their efforts to disseminate inclusive Islam through educational system, such as Harun Nasution, Nurcholish Madjid, and Abdurrahman Wahid. Some argue that the role of these scholars are crucial to transform Post-Islamism in Indonesia (Künkler, 2013: 69; (Harmakaputra, 2015). In the context of relation between Islam and the State, whether Islamism or post-Islamism, can be associated into three poles: integrative, substantive and secular. Islamism



comes from integrative viewpoint, whereas post-Islamism originates from substantive and secular viewpoints.

Based on the discussion above, it can be understood that Islamic education has a very large dimension and very dynamic. All muslim scholars agree that Islamic education is the means to create a good Muslim according to Al-Qur'an and Hadith. However, the diversity in understanding Islamic teaching has resulted in the diversity of education system. In the context of relation between Islam and the state, the differences can be traced baack to the group that advocate Islamic state (integrative), or to the group that use Islamic values as foundation for governance (substantive), and to those who do not want to include religion in the government (secular). In addition to the diversity in the interpretation of Islamic teaching, there is also differences in the social and cultural context.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the above critical analysis, we now understand that there is multi faceted Islamic movement. In the context of idea, several movements jusually base their argument on the relation between Islam and the state which can be categorized into three types: integrative, substantive and secular. However, in the context of movement, several factors such as social and cultural play important role in determining the strategy.

Within the context of Islamic education, the diversity of view on the relation between Islam and the state has caused a unique dynamic in education. Although muslim scholars, classic and modern, generally agree to refer the taching back to Al-Qur'an and hadits, the diversity undoubtedly occur overtime due to different understanding and interpretation. Education is the most effective means to disseminate religious ideas and concepts. As stated in the urvery by LSI, the increasing demand for the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia is closely linked to the role of the education which occurs massively, gradually and systemic.

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