



Islamic Epistemology And Political Dynamics In Indonesia Study Of The Thought Of Nurcholish Madjid

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Abstract. This article explores the correlation between Islamic epistemology and political dynamics in Indonesia with a focus on an in-depth examination of the ideas of Nurcholish Madjid, affectionately known as "Cak Nur." Nurcholish Madjid, as a renowned Muslim intellectual from Indonesia, has had a significant influence in developing innovative perspectives on the relationship between Islamic teachings and the political arena. The purpose of this paper is to reveal how Nurcholish Madjid's Islamic epistemology influences his perspective on the political sphere in Indonesia. Through an interdisciplinary approach that embraces the fields of Islamic studies, philosophy, and social sciences, a comprehensive analysis of Nurcholish Madjid's thought is conducted. Initially, the article details Nurcholish Madjid's views on Islamic epistemology, including elements such as *ijtihad*, contextual interpretation, and the relationship between reason and revelation. Next, there is an in-depth analysis of how Nurcholish Madjid epistemological foundation shapes his adopted approach to dealing with political issues in Indonesia, including but not limited to democracy, pluralism, and the role of religion in the public sphere. The analysis clearly shows that the Islamic epistemology that underpins Nurcholish Madjid's thinking plays a fundamental role in shaping his inclusive and innovative views on Indonesian politics. Nurcholish Madjid encouraged ideas such as democracy united by Islamic values, which is able to provide opportunities for all citizens regardless of religious or cultural backgrounds. His thinking also emphasized the urgency of contextual interpretation of Islamic teachings in response to the challenges of his time.

Keywords: Epistemology; Islam and Politics; Nurcholish Madjid

1. Introduction

Islamic epistemology and political dynamics are two vital fields interconnected within Indonesia's distinctive cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. Nurcholish Madjid, a prominent Muslim scholar, significantly contributed to initiating the relationship between Islamic epistemology and political dynamics in Indonesia. Islamic epistemology entails studying the sources, nature, and methodology of knowledge within the Islamic tradition. Understanding this epistemology is crucial due to its influence on shaping individuals' and society's worldviews and actions. On the other hand, political dynamics involve changes, conflicts, collaborations, and interactions within a country's political sphere. Indonesia, as a democratic nation with religious and cultural plurality, faces unique challenges in managing its political dynamics (Suryadi, 2017).

The political dynamics in Indonesia over the past few decades have faced various challenges and changes. In the face of these challenges and changes, inclusive and dialogical thinking as proposed by Nurcholish Madjid can be an important guide. Building awareness of the importance of tolerance, pluralism and active participation from different walks of life can help create a more stable and harmonious political environment in Indonesia. One of the central concepts in Nurcholish Madjid's thought is "Islam yes, Islamic party no" which

emphasises Islamic values that are harmonious with local culture and diversity in Indonesia. This concept proposes the view that Islam can synergise with the diversity of cultures and religions that exist in Indonesia, without ignoring the underlying roots of Islam. Nurcholish Madjid's inclusive and dialogical approach is reflected in his efforts to establish interfaith and intercultural dialogue. He understands the importance of respecting differences and working together in order to create a harmonious society. His views on democracy, tolerance and pluralism are also very relevant, given that Indonesia is a country with diverse ethnicities, religions and cultures. These concepts provide the basis for building a society that values human rights, respects differences, and encourages active participation from all levels of society.(Ironi, 2018) In analysing political issues, Nurcholish Madjid encourages a scientific and academic approach. He does not rely solely on religious dogma, but also combines religious understanding with complex socio-political realities. His research-based approach and in-depth analyses allow him to make better and more informed decisions. Critical thinking is also one of the aspects emphasised by Nurcholish Madjid. He encouraged people not to passively receive information, but to develop the ability to think critically about various political issues. This critical thinking is important to keep political policies in fa-vour of justice and the common good.(Moko, 2017).

There are several studies that discuss Nurcholish Madjid's Political Islam, but none specifically reviews Islamic epistemology and the dynamics of Islamic politics in Indonesia, a study of Nurcholish Madjid's thought. The study undertaken by Adiwilaga is one of these studies. His research only traces the political Islam movement and the historical objective of maintaining Islamism in Indonesia. According to this study, Islamism has evolved into a social movement as a representative of modern society since the Indonesian reform era.(Adiwilaga, 2017)The Fanani study displays the survey results of many survey institutes, which say that the prospects of Islamic parties are deteriorating, as seen by the ongoing drop in Islamic party vote acquisition. According to him, the decline in performance and loss of votes of Islamic parties is caused by a number of fundamental issues that must be addressed immediately, including the need to develop a national strategic vision, the need for Islamic parties to be actively involved in the formulation of public policies, the importance of Islamic parties in building a mass base at the local and grassroots levels, and the willingness of Islamic parties to become supporting parties.(Fanani, 2013)According to Abdillah research, the fight of Indonesian Muslims in national politics has reached a critical juncture. In every election, the vote share of Islamic parties has decreased dramatically. According to the survey, Islamic ideals are no longer heard. Secularists who wish to remove the state from religion or Islamic law are raising their voices louder. These two data demonstrate that political Islam in Indonesia is declining.(Abdillah, 2018)In his research Latief discovered that political secularization in Indonesia has been longstanding and repressive by the government. Top-down secularisation, according to the report, will fail due to its elitist orientation.(Latief, 2017)Prayetno examines Cak Nur's thesis of secularisation in depth. He claims that Cak Nur's secularisation differs from the fundamental principle of secularism. Cak Nur's concept of secularisation is a process of freedom. Muslims require this liberating process because they can no longer discriminate between the transcendent and the temporal.(Prayetno, 2017a)

In this article, we will explore Nurcholish Madjid's thoughts on Islamic epistemology and political dynamics in Indonesia. We will examine how his epistemological views shape people's understanding of knowledge and truth, as well as its impact on political thinking. In addition, we will also analyse how his views on the relationship between religion and the state shape an inclusive and harmonious political outlook in the midst of Indonesia's diversity. This study is expected to provide deeper insights into the relevance of Nurcholish Madjid's

thought in the context of Islamic epistemology and political dynamics in Indonesia. By analysing and exploring Cak Nur's ideas, we can better understand how an inclusive and moderate perspective on religion can contribute to building a just and harmonious society amidst complex political dynamics (Afriani et al., 2023).

2. Method

This research examines Islamic epistemology in the context of political dynamics, focusing on the views of Nurcholish Madjid. The purpose of this study is to understand Nurcholish Madjid's perspective on the relationship between political Islamic law and epistemology, as well as how he faces the challenges of religious thought in the face of changing times. The approach used in this research is a qualitative approach with a library research method, which involves the use of written sources such as books and journals that are relevant to analyse Nurcholish Madjid's views on the politics of Islamic law and epistemology. (Fadli, 2021)

The data collection process is conducted through documentation studies, where relevant data is taken from various sources related to Nurcholish Madjid's views. The steps of data analysis follow the method developed by Miles and Huberman, which consists of three stages. Data reduction, the researcher selects relevant data and eliminates those that are less relevant. The selected data were then further analysed to identify the core information to be explained in the research. Data Presentation, After the data has been reduced, the resulting information is presented in the form of narrative text. This involves creating summaries or descriptions that illustrate Nurcholish Madjid's views on the politics of Islamic law and epistemology. Drawing Conclusions, The final stage involves drawing conclusions based on the data that has been reduced and presented. The researcher formulates conclusions related to Nurcholish Madjid's views, how he views the relationship between Islam and Postmodernism, and how he accommodates the changing times without ignoring religious principles.

The final result of this research will provide a deeper insight into Nurcholish Madjid's views on the politics of Islamic law and epistemology in the context of political dynamics. The resulting conclusions can serve to enrich the understanding of how Muslim thinkers like Nurcholish Madjid face challenges and changes in the realm of religion and the context of changing times. (Zuchdi & Afifah, 2019)

3. Discuss

3.1 Discourses on Religious and State Thought in Indonesia

The link between religion and state in the constitutional political system in the trajectory of Islamic history reveals extremely various facts. The discussion varies from the mainstream concept that Islam is a comprehensive living system that governs everything, including political matters. According to this viewpoint, there is no separation between religion and the state in Islam. The argument is frequently linked to the Prophet Muhammad's position in Medina. In the city-state, the Prophet Muhammad served as both a religious leader and as the state's ruler. Furthermore, others argue that Islam does not have a constitutional structure, but rather a set of ethical ideals for state life. (Prayetno, 2017b)

Experts addressed the Prophet Muhammad's dual position in Medina in a variety of ways. Broadly speaking, the disagreement stems from whether Islam is synonymous with politics or, on the contrary, Islam does not leave a firm concept of the form of the state, given that no one can replace the Prophet Muhammad's dual role as the leader of the secular world

and the recipient of revelation at the same time after his death.(Naim, 2015) Beginning with a reference to the text's foundation, numerous interpretations of the text's existence emerge, which in Ushul words fall into the category. There are three groups regarding Islam and the State, according to dzaniyud dilalah (unclear statement):

3.1.1 Integralistic Paradigm

This group argues that Islam is not just a religion philosophy that guides humans spiritually, but also an attempt to establish a governmental structure. According to this paradigm, Islam as a religion can also be interpreted as a political and state institution, regulating not only human relations with God but also human relations with one another, both in social and political aspects of the state, with the doctrine of Inna al-Islam Dn wa Daulah. Islam is viewed as political theology according to this philosophy(Sundari et al., 2023). Finally, Islam becomes a need, especially in an endeavor to establish Islam as the foundation of the state, so that religion and politics cannot be separated, and it must be formed in a formalistic-legalistic. (Arieanto, 2020)

3.1.2 Secularistic Paradigm

Muslim communities that emphasize the separation of church and state. This group's political purpose is to secularize the state. They follow a theoretical paradigm that holds that religion does not place any stress on the responsibility to build a state. Religion, according to them, simply supplies ethical-moral principles in the construction of social and political order. This group's theological framework holds that the construction of an Islamic government and state is not part of the mandate presented by God to the Prophet Muhammad SAW.(Rosman, 2017)

Abd Ar-Raziq demands a complete separation of the state and Islam. Islam did not come to build a state, and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was just a messenger tasked with communicating his message; he was under no responsibility to construct a state. Islam does not recognize the caliphate as it is often perceived by Muslims. The caliphate has nothing to do with religious obligations. Islam neither commands nor bans the establishment of a caliphate. Religion (Islam) gives us the freedom to choose. For Raziq, the source of legitimacy of power cannot be mixed up between that which comes from the people (ascending of power) and that which comes from God (descending of power), which is clearly different from Ibn Khaldun, even though both provide an entrance to accept the power of the king or secular groups that separate Islam from government affairs, because they believe that Islam does not regulate worldly matters including government and state. The most renowned and outspoken figure of this school is 'Ali 'Abd ar-Raziq, who advocates secular governance rather than the caliphate while still promoting divine morality(Maidasmi & Amin, 2023).

Muhammad was a messenger for a religious mission that was diverse, free of any inclination toward kingship and government, and he did not have a government, nor did he rule, and he did not establish a kingdom in the political sense of the term or anything similar, because he was simply a messenger like the messengers before him. He was neither a monarch nor the foundation of a state, and he never sought power. Methodologically, this group claims that there is no reference in the Qur'an or Hadith to justify the need for a caliphate. The well-known Qur'anic verse "Obey Allah, the Messenger, and Ulil Amri" does not always relate to a new political ruler. Raziq claims that the words Ulil Amri are interpreted as associates of the Prophet or scholars by mufassirs such as Baidlawi and Zamakhshari. As a result, he rejected that the Prophet Muhammad founded an Islamic state in Medina. He

declared that the Prophet was merely a Messenger and not a king or political leader (Alkaf et al., 2023):

The following argument is based on Surat al-Baqarah verse: 188, which is interpreted to suggest that Muhammad the Prophet had no rights over his people other than the right to deliver the message. If the Prophet had been a king, he would have had kingly authority over his people. And, in response to the phenomena of the king's power after the Prophet's death, he stated unequivocally: "A king does not have the right to the message; his virtue is not the virtue of the message, and his majesty is not the majesty of the message."

The transfer of political legitimacy from the Prophet to the caliph did not exist because the caliph insisted that the Prophet was not a political leader and that the caliph was not the Prophet's successor. Many countries' secular states elicit diverse responses, particularly when it comes to religion. A country is regarded to be secular if it meets at least four criteria, which are as follows: 1) Separation of government and religious ideology; 2) Government growth to better carry out its job and function in regulating religious problems; 3) Political culture revaluation by replacing religious values with secular political culture; 4) In terms of authority, the state is tasked with destroying religious values and behaviors. The link between religion and the state that accepts secularism has historically been demonstrated by the government of Mustafa Kamal (Kamal Attaturk) in Turkey. (Ahida, 2019)

Turkey was managed under his authority on the basis of a secular state ideology. However, the evolution of the government, despite the Kemalists' strong organization since the early 1920s, resulted in a political configuration that was unproductive for the preservation of secular state goals.

3.1.3 Substantive-Symbiotic Paradigm

The connection between religion and the state, according to proponents of this school, should be different in a symbiotic relationship, i.e. a mutual relationship of mutual necessity between the two. According to this perspective, the state need religiously taught ethical and moral guidance. Meanwhile, religion requires governmental authority for its survival and existence, or religion (Islam) need a "sword of help," meaning the state. Islam, with all of its perfect and comprehensive teachings, will be unable to be embedded in social reality without the 'sword of the helper' that supports it. This type of relationship has a symbiotic-mutualistic dimension and does not degrade religion or equate the tool with the message. (Medani, 2018)

The style of political theology of this group is that the relationship between religion and the state is based on ethical principles, therefore they state that the demands or strong indications of a standard reference about the political system and government in Islam are simply not found and proven, meaning that argumentatively there is no conception that clearly contains provisions about the source of state power, the executor of power, how power is obtained, to whom the implementation is responsible. With such logic, this group firmly states that Islam in no way obliges its people to make Islam a state ideology. The holistic nature of Islam, according to this group, does not automatically mix the sacred and the profane (organisation, ideology, state formation and so on) in the life of the nation and state.

This faction (the modernists) believes that Islam only regulates worldly things (including government and state) at the level of values and foundations, and that the ummah can technically accept other systems that are regarded worthwhile and beneficial (Rahmana, 2023).

3.2 Politicizations of Religion: Islam Yes, Islamic Party No

Cak Nur published one of his most important works, "Islam, Yes; Islamic Party, No!" in the early 1970s. Cak Nur hoped that by using this language, he might disrupt the symbolic thinking model of some Muslims regarding Islam and politics, as well as break the monotony of thinking, so that Indonesian Muslims may advance and compete with other nations across the world. Cak Nur did not say this to oppose Islam and politics, but rather to criticize the actions of Islamic parties that did not contribute to the advancement of Muslims.(Munir, 2017)

At the time Islamic parties were not aspirational and became the hope of the nation's population. Even at the time, Islamic parties had failed to effectively 'root' religious language in multicultural Indonesian culture. To break the quiet, Muslims must engage in what Cak Nur refers to as secularisation, a cognitive process that separates religious and political issues.(Latif, 2018) In early 1970 then-PB HMI Chairman Nurcholish Madjid observed symptoms that reflected the attitude of "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" in a *halalbihalal* speech with the Islamic Youth Movement (GPI), the Islamic Student Association (HMI), and the Indonesian Islamic Students (PII) titled "The Necessity of Renewal of Islamic Thought and the Problem of Integration of the Ummah."

The context is that, during the New Order, the Islamic party Masyumi was refused rehabilitation after being dissolved in 1960, which was regarded as a containment of the political movement that desired to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. Muslims were afraid to participate in the political Islam movement as a result of the New Order's Islamic policies. Political Islam's position was generalized as a symptom of rejection of Islamic political parties.

At the time, the observation that had previously received direct rejection from two figures of the former Chairman of PB HMI, namely Ismail Hasan Metareum and Sulastomo, both PPP activists who replaced Cak Nur's conclusion with the view "Islam Yes, Islamic Party (also) Yes," was replaced with the view "Islam Yes, Islamic Party (also) Yes." Islamic parties are required as a method of struggle and a medium of *da'wah* for these two individuals, which NU figure and former Minister of Religious Affairs KH Saefuddin Zuhri refers to as "political *da'wah*." Cak Nur did not resist the emergence of new Islamic parties during the Reformation period, despite the fact that he was not active in any of them.

The perception of rejection of Islamic parties is related to the goal of the political Islam movement, namely the establishment of an Islamic state through the application of Islamic law in personal, family, community, and state life, as stated in the Masyumi Party's Articles of Association, which was also fought for by all Islamic parties in the 1958-1959 Constituent Assembly. Islamic parties have genuinely struggled through political methods during the Liberal Democracy period.

Cak Nur's observation was misinterpreted as expressing his rejection of Islamic parties. In reality, he was intimately involved in the campaign to promote the PPP in the 1977 General Election, with the platform "Pumping up Flat Tyres." However, in a cultural address at TIM 1972 titled "Refreshing the Understanding of Islamic Thought," he rejected the vocabulary of a "Islamic state" in favor of a discourse on "social justice."

Cak Nur's ideas virtually corresponded with the moment of the 1971 election. Cak Nur's ideas appear to be in line with what the people are thinking, whether by accident or not. The results of people's selections in the 1971 elections demonstrate this. The election results showed that Islamic parties were overwhelmingly defeated. This marked the end of Islamic parties' lengthy journey since 1955. On the contrary, it marked the beginning of Indonesia's Islamic revival.

Cak Nur's opinions, according to Ulil Abshar Abdalla, were a description of the age. Ulil contended that Cak Nur's remarks were not intended to oppose politics or Islam. Cak Nur's statements, according to Ulil, were a sort of critique of what happened in Islamic parties in the 1970s. "Cak Nur's statement at the time was actually a description of the era." Cak Nur presented a substantial vision of Islam at the time, not one based solely on symbols. So if it's relevant now, it's still relevant," he says. Islam and politics, according to Ulil, may coexist. However, he contends that symbolizing Islam as a political party is not a step forward. according to Ulil Islam and politics may coexist. However, he contends that symbolizing Islam as a political party is not a step forward. According to him, it would be preferable if Islam could demonstrate its essence rather than its form as an Islamic party. (Latif, 2018).

Cak Nur asserted that he was not anti-Islam as a religion, but rather anti-Islamic politicization. He was opposed to the politicization of Islam for the benefit of ideological-political groups affiliated with Islamic parties. Throughout the 1970s, he and his group battled against Islamic parties. His catchphrase at the time was "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No!" According to Cak Nur, Islamic political dominance is not always synonymous with Islamic parties, especially when political institutions are afflicted by corruption, nepotism, and never-ending rivalries among party elites. He fiercely opposes Indonesia as an Islamic state since the Pancasila State adheres to Islamic political ethics norms.

3.3 Epistemology of the Internationalisation of Islam in Indonesia

Epistemology is the study of evidence, consciousness, and doctrine regarding how one knows or believes something to be true. Epistemology can also be concerned with the logic, procedures, and constraints that govern how people think about their knowledge, how deeply they store it, and how much knowledge is regarded to be attainable. (Sandimula, 2019)

The process of disseminating the outcomes of scientific disciplinary testing, philosophy, and theory from one country to another is known as epistemological internationalisation. This can be accomplished by exchanging ideas, research, or ways of thinking from one country to the next. It can also happen when specialists from different countries work together on research, viewpoints, or methods to create new, broader, and more comprehensive ideas than a single country could produce. The purpose of epistemological internationalisation is to enhance complete science by increasing the applicability and validation of research results and views from one to another. It also improves information accessible for people all over the world, as well as fosters greater networks of thought among various subjects. Internationalised epistemology also intends to contribute to the creation of This means that the paths taken in researching a topic can be expanded beyond traditional disciplines, allowing mutually beneficial research from different fields in different locations to be brought together, or making room for new synergies of old and new ideas. It can also enable scientists to share their locally-based concepts with the larger scientific community in order to produce ideas that benefit everyone involved. (Zainuri, 2019).

In Indonesia, the epistemology of Islam's internationalisation is primarily an endeavor to mix and apply Islamic religious understandings and norms with modern means and principles of scientific and technological progress, democracy, and human rights. This is especially relevant in Indonesia, where religious traditions and modern natural resources contrast greatly.

This epistemology emphasizes Islam as an inseparable aspect of Indonesian identity in the international community by taking a critical and comprehensive approach. In Indonesia, the epistemology of Islam's internationalization seeks to produce a synthesis of Western worldviews (romanticism and humanism) with Islam (intellectual and spiritual traditions). By

striking a balance between the two, this will help to create harmony between religion and science in Indonesia. This epistemology will promote equality and agreement among Indonesians by combining the foundations of religion and science.

Internationalised Islamic epistemology in Indonesia also imports and develops Islamic ideals from elsewhere. As a result, the process of internationalisation has ramifications for the development of Islamic thought, and the phrase is used to characterize efforts in Indonesia to develop, modernize, and promote Islamic values. At the same time, the approach emphasizes the ability to adapt to changes in Indonesia's social, political, and cultural environments. Internationalisation is an iterative process that aims to update, improve, and establish a new understanding of religious beliefs and practices. This can be evident in the embrace of new values or the decrease of values from old traditions in order to adapt to societal cultural changes.(Ahyani & Naeli, 2021)

An internationalised epistemology of Islam can be effective in improving knowledge of Islamic history and achieving a cohesive Islamic identity in a universal and sharia-compliant manner. This indicates that Islamic culture will be more humanitarian, tolerant, and just. This will aid efforts in Indonesia to fight for human rights and end ethnic and religious strife. It will also foster a global understanding of Islamic values and conventions, improving knowledge and perspectives on religion around the world. It will also improve interfaith communication in Indonesia by creating an inclusive and peaceful environment.

Since the 1990s, academic networks and the government in Indonesia have been paying close attention to the development of an internationalised epistemology of Islam. According to existing statistics and research, this is attributable to an increase in the number of Islamic students studying in overseas educational institutions, as well as increased global political awareness and opportunities to contact with Islamic thought abroad. Furthermore, interaction and exchange of texts and concepts between Indonesians and international academics, politicians, and activists has aided in the development of Islamic epistemology in Indonesia. The majority of the concepts learned and referenced are pan-Islamic in nature or are related to the larger Islamic intellectual repertoire. Islamic thinking reform and democratic models are two examples, as is the deconstruction of Islam and the concept of humanity.(Suhada et al., 2021)

The process through which Islamic beliefs, practices, and cultural elements become better understood and become part of life in diverse places around the world, including Indonesia, is an example of the epistemology of the Internationalisation of Islam in Indonesia. This occurs as a result of the rise and globalization of the commons brought about by information technology and trade, as well as worldwide mobility, which enhances social interaction between people and cultures. This process has resulted in a tendency to seek universal ideals that are broadly applicable and designed to bring about international order. The values and beliefs of various Islamic religions found their home in Indonesia as intercultural interaction developed. This approach has expanded Indonesian attitudes toward freedom and tolerance, both of which are evident manifestations of internationalisation.(Wahyudi, 2021)

3.4 The Concept of Neo Modernism in Substantive Islamic Movement in Indonesia according Nurcholish Madjid

The new era of the rise of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals is marked, at the very least, by the emergence of several literatures that attempt to systematically examine the development of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals, particularly in relation to the style and vision of thought that they develop, as well as their position among intellectual communities that are still

evolving. There are several stages that attempt to capture the new map of Islamic thought in Indonesia in the 1980s.

According to their findings, four kinds of Islamic thought are emerging among Muslim intellectuals. To begin, Neo-Modernism is a school of thinking that combines two fundamental elements: modernism and traditionalism. This group includes Muhammad Dawam Rahardjo, Adi Sasono, and Kuntowijoyo. Third, universalism is an Islamic philosophy movement that regards Islam as a universal message. Muhammad Amien Rais, Jalaluddin Rakhmat, and A.M. Saefuddin are among its supporters. Fourth, there is modernism, which is a school of thought that incorporates Islam into larger sociopolitical issues. Djohan Effendi and Ahmad Syafii Maarif are the school's leaders. Berton, an Australian educator, commented on this school of thought, saying, "Moreover, this new school of thought represents a genuine attempt to combine progressive liberal ideals."

Berton categorizes Djohan Effendi as Neo-Modernism. "However, the thinkers at the vanguard of this intellectual movement, Djohan Effendi, Nurcholish Madjid, and Abdurrahman Wahid, consider the term neo-modernism to be the only term suitable to properly describe their position," he writes.(Fitri et al., 2022)

3.4.1 Tawhid: A Basic Principle for the Renewal of Islamic Thought

The speaker and I both believe that Islamic thought needs to be revitalized. The topic and substance of the discussion, however, is about the corridors or borders that are utilized as a vehicle to construct the foundations of modernism in Islamic thinking. If the corridor is violated, there will be intellectual, religious, and social upheaval. Making judgments with wisdom is a necessary step toward achieving the effectiveness and efficiency of the goals that have been set. But what happened was that Cak Nur was seen by some to have burst through the established corridors, that the previous criteria were violated for the purpose of thinking renewal. This then leads to horizontal conflicts between(Sumantri, 2019)

Nurcholish goes into great detail about how tawhid can affect democracy, freedom, secularization, and the growth of human civilisation. Tawhid's liberating spirit is acquired through the premise that this ideology attempts to abolish divine awareness of the non-divine, which is frequently a shackle for humans. Tawhid is founded on the notion of "al nafy wa al-itsbat," or negation-confirmation. The expression "there is no god but Allah" is an assertion of human emancipation from the chains of mistaken belief, according to Nurcholish. Being free of false things in politics includes authoritarian leaders that pretend to have perfect knowledge and are anti-criticism. Anything that is not God is mortal and flawed. As a result, no state leader should act as if he or she is God. Tyranny(Abidin, 2014)

3.4.2 Islamic Universalism

The attitude of surrender to God as a natural and true part of mankind, the unity of prophethood, and the prophets' teachings for all peoples and nationalities, all of these constitute the foundation of the true and honest teaching, namely al-islam. This is also the foundation of Islam's universalism (with a capital "I"), which became the name of the doctrine "al-islam" brought by the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, both historically and sociologically, as well as theologically (contained in the Qur'an). The term is appropriate since the Prophet Muhammad's doctrine is the epitome of surrender to God ("al-islam").

According to Cak Nur, the foundation of the idea of Islam's universality is the meaning of the term "islâm" itself, which means "surrender to God." As previously stated, the true religion of al-dîn, submission, compliance, or obedience, cannot be anything other than the attitude of

surrender to God (al-islam). Without submission, there is no religion. According to this theology, all authentic religions are religions that teach an attitude of surrender to God, or alislam in its broadest sense.

The faiths of the preceding prophets were all Islam, according to the Quran, as described by Cak Nur. That is, surrender to God is at the heart of all religious doctrines. This is why the Prophet Muhammad's religion is known as islâm, because he "consciously and deliberately taught surrender to God," as Cak Nur puts it. The supreme religion of Islam appears in a series with other al-islâm faiths. Although, in actuality, these other religions are not known as islâm, according to Cak Nur's words, environment, language, and even manner of thought.

The universal values of the teachings, which apply in any time and location and are applicable for any group of people, cannot be confined by a formalism, such as "facing east or west" formalism (i.e. ceremonial formalism in general). Linguistic formalism is akin to this. From this vantage point, we may appreciate the multiple affirmations in both the Qur'an and the Sunnah that linguistic and national features are immaterial to the matter of morality. A well-known hadith, for example, quotes the Prophet as saying, "There is no superiority of an Arab over a non-Arab except by piety."

So "Islam" has become the name of a religion, Rasul Pungkasan's religion. However, it is more than just a name; it is a name derived from the essence and essential teachings of that religion, namely obedience to God ("al-islam"). In this sense, a follower of the Prophet Muhammad is a Muslim par excellence, essentially without excluding others, who in adhering to his faith (should) constantly be conscious of what the essence of his religion is, namely "al-islam", an attitude of surrender to God. Because of this awareness of the ultimate meaning of religion, the "religion of Islam," as well as "Muslims" or "Muslims," will always have a universalism urge, which manifests itself in its cosmopolitan cultural insight.

3.4.3 Islam is a religion of civilization

This first and foremost principle is then followed by several other instructions to strengthen and reinforce its meaning, such as belittling each other, calling fellow believers with unsympathetic calls, being prejudiced, finding fault with others, and swearing (ghbah, which refers to the badness of someone who is not present at the time).

In fact, the series of Allah's words about brotherhood based on faith is followed by an affirmation of the principle that all human beings are brothers, and that the division of humanity into nations and tribes is intended as a sign of self-recognition (identity), all of which must be carried out in a larger humanitarian environment with mutual respect. It is also stated that a person's dignity cannot be assessed in terms of exterior characteristics such as nationality or language. This is due to the fact that dignity is found in the true attitude of life, which is found in the deepest portion of the human self, namely piety, and that only God understands and can measure piety as it is found in the Bible.

3.4.4 Islam and the Problem of Modernity

For a Muslim who completely believes in the truth of Islam as a way of life, the Holy Qur'an contains all of the fundamental values of this comprehensive way of life. However, it is unnecessary to detail all of them here, even though it is important for a complete comprehension. As a result, as a follower of the Islamic way of life (in the framework of the religion of "Islam"), one automatically embraces the Islamic way of thinking. As a result, when passing judgment on modernists, it is also guided by Islam's noble ideals. In short, the author,

like many of his countrymen, believes that modernization is a must, if not an absolute requirement.

As a result, our conviction grows that modernisation, which means rationalisation in order to achieve maximum effectiveness in thinking and working for the welfare of mankind, is an imperative and fundamental demand of God. Modernisation entails thinking and acting in accordance with fitrah or sunnatullah (divine law), both of which are haqq (since nature is haqq).

3.4.5 Islamicity and Indonesianness

The evolution of current Islamic philosophy cannot be divorced from the mainstream agenda of how Islam deals with the growth of modernity or modernism - or the presently more popular phrase, liberalism or liberal democracy - or another term that is gaining popularity: globalisation. The fight of Islamic thought with empirical fact is nothing other than how Islam constructs its self-image (Islam's self-image) in the middle of a changing and developing world reality (due to globalization). This makes it difficult for Islamic scholars, such as Nurcholish Madjid, to create and propose intellectual solutions to modern or global challenges. The reality of Islamic thought's struggle then leads to many schools of Islamic thought. (Madjid, 2020).

3.4.6 Locality of Islamic Culture

According to Geertz's perspective, there appears to be a cultural environment influence on one's religious expression. While Kalijaga presents an all-peaceful and harmonious persona, while Lyusi is far more oppositional in spirit, both are recognized as valid leaders of their respective communities' version of Islam. This is symbolized by one being recognized as a member of the wali songo and the other as a sidi. Both exhibit a strong clericalism and are thought to have supernatural ("keramat") skills derived from Sufi teachings. However, whereas Kalijaga is accompanied by a syncretic spirit, Lyusi represents moral rigour and ferocity.

Geertz relates this to the fact that Morocco is a desert country with a tribal mentality in its social life when discussing the varied cultural contexts. Java, on the other hand, is an agricultural area that is highly productive, serene, and tranquil. "In Morocco, civilisation was built on nerve; in Indonesia, on diligence," writes Geertz.

If what Ibn Khaldun and Shahrastani say is correct, we should expect certain affects on a group's environment on their religion. This does not preclude the universal characteristics of any religion, let alone Islam. It only brings about the reality of variety in the application of a religion's broad and universal precepts, especially diversity in technicalities.

Apart from reaching such a high level of abstraction, the cultural environment's influence on religious expression can be found even more in practical and tangible problems. The sarong is an apparent example that can be simply pointed out for our country and cultural context. The sarong is not universal, but it has culturally become a local icon of Islam. So it wasn't too surprising when the late Hadisubeno, a PNI official who was dissatisfied with Muslims (Santri), referred to them as "kaum sarungan," whatever political overtones he may have meant.

This cultural influence factor expressed itself on a wider scale and with a more profound influence in the shape of the influence of Arabic culture and Persian culture. It is widely assumed that Muslims should be able to discriminate between what is truly universal Islam and what is specific Arabic. Although identifying what is "Islamic" and what is "Arabic" and

hence problematic will always be difficult in practice, there is a clear distinction between the two.

The debate surrounding the hijab is contentious, as demonstrated by H. Agus Salim's impassioned arguments at a JIB (Jong Islamieten Bond) congress. Ironically, however, consensus emerges regarding the sarong mentioned earlier. The sarong symbolizes Islam's universal intrinsic value, specifically the obligation to cover the aurat, while also serving a practical purpose as clothing. Different cultures express the Islamic principle of aurat coverage through various garments such as the gamis (qamish) in Arabia, siruwal (seruwal) in India, and pantaloons (pants) in Western or westernized societies (Bourchier, 2019).

4. Conclusion

Islamic epistemology holds a central place in the philosophy of Nurcholish Madjid and carries significant implications for the political landscape in Indonesia. Cak Nur suggests that Islamic epistemology offers intellectual resources to address contemporary political complexities. His inclusive and dialogical approach has profoundly influenced a mindset that values religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity within the political sphere. Indonesia has undergone notable political transformations over recent decades, transitioning towards a more inclusive democracy and accommodating a more diverse society. Nurcholish Madjid's principles of tolerance, pluralism, and democracy have guided the nation in establishing a sturdy framework for sustained political harmony and stability. His ideas have helped shape an approach capable of addressing conflicts constructively. Nonetheless, challenges persist in applying his principles, including socio-economic disparities, corruption, and radicalized movements, which continue to affect Indonesia's political landscape. To fully harness Nurcholish Madjid's ideas, collective efforts from society, government, and educational institutions are essential. As Indonesia confronts a future marked by change and challenge, Nurcholish Madjid's philosophy remains pertinent, providing a robust foundation for fostering an inclusive, self-sustaining, and harmonious society. By honoring cultural and religious diversity and embracing the principles of Islamic epistemology, Indonesia can advance towards higher political and social ideals.

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