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Problems of the Secular State and Its Impact on Justice

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Abstract: *Every country has a goal to create prosperity for the whole society. Islam has exemplified that religion is closely related to the state. The implication of this relationship between ritual and politics has a very close relationship, it could be inseparable. But over time, the opinion emerged that religion and state should not unite, they argued that this separation could become active with modernization since religion can focus on spiritual affairs and political affairs can specifically regulate society. However, in practice it turns out that separation like a secular state has some significant impact on society. Therefore this article seeks to examine these problems through a literature review that is descriptive-analytical with an interdisciplinary approach, the analysis used is inductive analysis and content analysis. The results of this study show that the conception of a secular state aimed at making a Muslim better, seems to be a mere utopia. The impact of a secular state such as racism and capitalism is very detrimental to the people who are excluded. Ideologically and practically, the conception of a secular state is incompatible with*

Islamic values, because the Prophet Muhammad did not only teach religious affairs, but also taught political issues, even the Prophet Muhammad gave an example as a politician while in Medina and became a state administrator.

Keywords: *Secular State, Justice, Islam, West.*

A. Introduction

The discourse on the relationship between religion and the state is still hotly discussed from time to time. Since the time of the Prophet Muhammad until now, Muslims believe and are convinced in the term *al-Islam huwa al-din wa al-dawlah*.[1] Islam is a religion as well as a state, the implications of ritual and politics have a very close relationship, perhaps they cannot be separated.[2] However, over time, thinkers emerged that religion and state did not have to unite. Not a few Muslims are affected by this thinking, they argue that the separation of religion and state is adaptive to modernization. Even though Islam covers all aspects of life including politics, a figure named Thaha Husein made the slogan "Islam is a religion and does not side with the state",[3] this thought was agreed upon by Ali Abdur Raziq and Jamal al-Banna, they thought that by separating religion and the state, the state could become advanced and modern.[4]

Religion serves as a guideline for human life given by God to achieve happiness in this world and the hereafter.[5] As has been formulated by some scholars that religion is God's law that directs humans towards truth in belief, and encourages humans to behave well and establish positive social relations. While the state aims to protect the rights of its citizens in an effort to achieve a common goal,

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[1] Husein Muhammad, *Islam yang Mencerahkan dan Mencerdaskan* (Yogyakarta: IRCISOD, 2020), 195.

[2] Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *Islam dan Negara Sekular: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah*, trans. oleh Sri Murniati (Bandung: PT. Mizan Pustaka, 2007), 6.

[3] Thaha Husein, *Mustaqbal Al-Tsaqafah Fi Misr* (Beirut: Darul Kitab al-Lubnani, 1973), 9.

[4] Ali Abdul Raziq, *Al-Islām Wa Usūl al-Hukm, Bahts Fi al-Khilāfah Wa al-Hukūmah fi al-Islām* (al-Qahirah: Dar al-Kutub al-Misri, 1925), 12.

[5] M. Ridwan Lubis, *Agama dan Perdamaian: Landasan, Tujuan, dan Realitas Kehidupan* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017), 62.

social justice.[6] The state also has the task of controlling, organizing and integrating citizens' activities towards achieving common goals.[7]

Religion and the state have seized a lot of attention from experts in various discourses and debates. There are at least three theories that describe the relationship between religion and the state: Theocratic theory, Secular theory and Communist theory. Theocratic theory is a theory that considers that the state is the power of God, therefore the state cannot be separated from religion.[8] Secular theory is a theory that explains that religion and state must be separated,[9] because the state is a public affair and religion is an individual matter. While the communist theory states that religion is only for the oppressed, thus it has nothing to do with the state.

The separation of religion and state has at least several impacts, one of which is racism in France. The most conspicuous racism is the practice of enslavement,[10] where the victims were mostly black. According to adherents of *secularism* that the black is a practice of slavery, the victims are treated like livestock, this proves that in a secular state there is no comprehensive justice for its people. The second impact of a secular state is capitalism as happened in England. Where the ruling institution dominates the system of production, distribution and consumption of wealth. Justice is not found because the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

Examining the case above, it can be understood that the framework of Western thought, consciously or unconsciously, has

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[6] Budhy Munawar and Rachman, dkk., *Pemikiran Islam Nurcholish Madjid* (Bandung: Prodi S2 Studi Agama-Agama UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2022), 396; See also Shanti Dwi Kartika and Noverdi Puja Saputra, *Tanggung Jawab Negara dalam Penanganan Aset Tindak Pidana* (Jakarta: Publica Indonesia Utama, 2021), 40.

[7] Kabul Budiono, *Teori dan Filsafat Ilmu Politik*, Cet. Ke-1 (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012), 30.

[8] Bakhtiar Efendi, *Islam dan Negara Transformasi Gagasan dan Politik Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Demokracy Project, 2011), 6; See also Robert. N. Bellah, *Beyond Belief: Esay On Religion in a Post Traditional Word* (Los Angles: Univercity of California Press, 1991), 146.

[9] Mohamad Hudaeri, "Sekularisme dan Deprivatisasi Agama di Era Kontemporer," *Aqlania* 9, no. 1 (June 23, 2018): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.32678/aqlania.v9i01.2060.

[10] Steve Bruce, *God Is Dead, Secularization in the West* (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 2002), 34.

made the Western political system such as a secular state the best model, but in fact it has not created justice for society in general. Application of the secular state causes social inequality in society. Therefore, this study will examine further the problems of a secular state and its impact on social justice and provide solutions with an Islamic worldview.

This study is a follow-up study to obtain an element of novelty in the same study with a focus on studying the problems of the secular state and its impact on social justice. Related research is Fadlurrahman Ashidqi's research. Among Ashidqi's research results, it illustrates that the separation of religion from politics has implications for the erosion of human morality, because the essence of religion is to increase human morality, so it is not surprising to see people commit crimes in politics, even though they are highly educated.[11] Likewise Muhammad Ridha Basri's research which concludes that at first, secularism was built on the foundation of a mission to celebrate equality and freedom for all citizens, but in practice, the concept of secularism carries with it a Eurocentrism bias which has a dark history in the past. Basri quoted Alfred Stepan's opinion that there is no one model of secularism that applies universally, but *multiple secularisms*.[12]

Based on the literature review, this study is a qualitative descriptive-analytic research, the aim is to describe factually and carefully regarding facts that are directly related to the problem under study.[13] The approach used is an interdisciplinary approach with sociological, historical and theological approaches. Data sources come from primary and secondary data with the collection procedure through the orientation stage, the exploration stage and the focused

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[11] Fadlurrahman Ashidqi, "Problem Doktrin Sekulerisme," *Kalimah: Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (September 15, 2014): 213–236, https://doi.org/10.21111/klm.v12i2.236.

[12] Muhammad Ridha Basri, "Dilema Negara Sekuler Prancis: di Antara Tarikan Islamofobia dan Fundamentalisme Agama," *Zawiyah: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 8, no. 1 (July 31, 2022): 143–59, https://doi.org/10.31332/zjpi.v8i1.3127.

[13] Ajat Rukajat, *Pendekatan Penelitian Kuantitatif: Quantitative Research Approach* (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2018), 1; See also Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Metode Penggunaan Bahan Dokumenter, dalam Metode-Metode Penelitian Masyarakat*, Ed. Koentjaraningrat, Cet. xiv (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1997), 44.

research stage.[14] While the analysis used is in the form of descriptive-analysis, inductive analysis and content analysis or also called *Content analysis*.[15]

B. Problems of the Secular State

Countries based on *humanism* assume that the state is not obliged to take care of religion.[16] This turned out to bring many negative impacts on society. So a secular state that applies the concepts and teachings of secularism, and makes a country neutral in matters of religion. This school also claims that they treat all citizens equally, even though their religion is different, and also argues that they do not discriminate against people of certain religions. A secular state also does not have a national religion.

The application of the secular state contains the accumulation of patterns of knowledge awareness, ethical values, social behavior, and political behavior prevailing in society.[17] Therefore the state consists of superstructures and superstructures that describe social relations, economics, and levels of knowledge. Among these patterns of relations, politics is the culmination of the accumulation of all patterns of relations which include other patterns of relations which are then reflected and formed state institutions.

The rulers who sat in the upper circles called for the idea of a secular state, one of which was by applying the separation between religious and state affairs, in which the state became neutral in religious matters and did not support people with specific religions.

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[14] Sumadi Subrata, *Metodologi Penelitian* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006), 47–49.

[15] Subrata, *Metodologi Penelitian*, 108; See also Hudzaifah Achmad Qotadah, *et.al.*, "Problems With the Implementation of Qanun Aceh Number 6 of 2014 Concerning Jinayat Law," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 22, no. 1 (June 30, 2022): 111–132, https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v22i1.6556.

[16] Mohamad Latief *et.al.*, "The Problem of Religious Freedom In the Practice of Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 22, no. 1 (June 30, 2022): 95–110, https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v22i1.12274.

[17] Moh. Kusnadi, *Ilmu Negara* (Jakarta: Perintis Press, 1985), 60; See also Tomi Setiawan and Asep Risnandar, "Negara Modern, Dan Utopia Negara Khilafah(?)," *Islamic Research* 2, no. 2 (August 10, 2019): 6–12, https://doi.org/10.47076/jkpis.v2i2.14.

The separation of the religious spirit is followed by *the desacralization of politics*, which means that politics is not sacred. In a sense, spiritual and religious elements must be removed from politics.[18] Therefore, according to David Martin[19] the role of religion in political institutions must be removed, because according to them this is a condition for carrying out political and social changes. So all kinds of links between politics and religion in society should not apply.[20] Thus the secularists clearly reject the application of Islamic law in the life of the political sphere, arguing that religious government will only hinder change, modernity and progress.

Secularism is a concept that separates the state (*politics*) and religion (*state and religion*).[21] The state is an institution that takes care of worldly order of life and has nothing to do with the afterlife, while religion is an institution that only regulates human relations with things that are metaphysical and spiritual in nature, such as the relationship between humans and God. So, according to secularists, the state and religion have different poles that cannot be united, each is on its own path.[22]

This secular understanding first started worldwide when Harvey Cox wrote a book entitled "*The Secular City*", Cox explained that secularization is a logical result of the impact of Bible beliefs on history. There are three important components in the Bible that form the basic framework for secularization: "*disentchantmen of nature*" which is associated with *creation*, "*desacralization of politics*" with the massive migration *(exodus)* of Jews from Egypt, and "*deconsecration of values*" "with *the Sinai Covenant*.[23]

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18 Syed Naquib Al-Attas, *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: Istac, 1993), 50.

19 David Martin, *The Religious and the Secular* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 15.

20 Happy Susanto, "Sekularisasi Dan Ancaman Bagi Agama," *Tsaqafah* 3, no. 1 (2009).

21 David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1978), 4.

22 Martin, *The Religious and the Secular*, 9.

23 Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 4.

According to Cox, secularization is human liberation from matters of religion and metaphysics, diverting attention from the other world to the present world. Because it has become a must,[24] then Christians should not reject secularization. Because secularization is an authentic consequence of Bible beliefs.[25] Thus, the task of Christians is to support and maintain secularization.

A striking case in point is Türkiye. The defeat in the war against Russia in 1774 and the failure to defend Egypt from Napoleon's invasion in 1798 had forced the Ottoman Empire to carry out military, economic and social modernization through a series of programs called *Tanzimat* from the abolition of special forces (*Janissaries*), dissolution of the Bektashi order, regulation direct taxes, to civil anti-discrimination laws (abolition of *dzimmi* status for non-Muslims).[26] This modernization was continued by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. After successfully seizing power in 1923, Ataturk de-Islamized on a large scale in six ways.[27] *First:* the principle of republicanism, implementing a parliamentary democratic system led by the president. *Second:* Nationalism, that it is not a particular religion or school of thought that determines citizenship. *Third:* the state principle, where the government has full authority in managing the economy. *Fourth:* the principle of populism which is interpreted as the protection of human rights and equality before the law. *Fifth:* secularism, and *Sixth:* the principle of revolutionism.

Referring to the existing opinion, a secular state has several characteristics and features, including *First*: a secular state is neutral in matters of religion, in the sense that it does not take sides with religion and does not support religious people or people who have no religion. *Second*: freedom of religion (*religious freedom*), where every citizen is guaranteed to be free to practice the religion he want, the state cannot intervene in individual relations with his religious

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[24] Cox, 27.

[25] Adnin Armas, *Sekulerisme dan Sekulerisasi Tantangan Pemikiran Islam* (Jakarta: Insist, 2018), 5.

[26] Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Islamic History* (Jerussalem: Magnes Press, 1991), 63.

[27] M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 36.

beliefs.[28] *Third:* the separation between state affairs and religious affairs. Here the government is not influenced by religious organizations or groups, because the government will not use tax money to fund religious affairs, may not use officials of religious organizations to carry out state work, and so on.[29]

C.   The Impact of Secularism on Justice

Indeed, in the beginning, Muslims believed that Islam was entirely political. However, when the concepts and understandings of secular Western politics mixed and replaced the concepts and understandings that were already owned by the Eastern world, Muslims experienced conceptual confusion, exhausted internal conflicts and an identity crisis. Internal conflicts occur because Western ideas affect a group of Muslims and are accepted uncritically *(taken for granted)*, while other groups are rejected outright or critically accepted. The result is an internal conflict but the cause is an external factor.[30]

An identity crisis also occurs when Muslims no longer recognize the body of the Islamic political system and its key concepts contained therein. Finally, among Muslim intellectuals there is a tendency to identify Islam with modern forms of political theory, even though there are various confusions and discrepancies in its substance. Even more extreme, Muslim scholars actually glorify the Western political system and throw away the legacy of the Islamic political system for reasons including because what is in the West also comes from Islam or is developed from what Muslims have.[31] Evidence of the inclusion of Western political concepts and

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[28] Nirhamna Hanif Fadillah, Amir Reza Kusuma, and Rofiqul Anwar Anwar, Comparative Study of Ijtihad Methods Between Ahlussunnah and Syiah," *Tasfiyah: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 6, no. 1 (June 5, 2022): 83, https://doi.org/10.21111/tasfiyah.v6i1.6837.

[29] Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *Islam dan Negara Sekular: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah*, Penerjemah: Sri Murniati (Bandung: PT. Mizan Pustaka, 2007), 13.

[30] Sofyan, *Etika Politik Islam* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2010), 37.

[31] Khalif Muammar, *Politik Islam : Antara Demokrasi dan Teokrasi*, Vol. 6 (Jakarta: Majalah Islamia, 2005), 91.

understandings can be seen from Muslim scholars who experience confusion in understanding their own concepts and experience internal conflicts.

When the discourse of a secular modern state dominates Muslim thought, they only respond by stating that an Islamic state is an ocratic system and there is no explanation of how that system is. While other systems state that there is no Islamic political system, there is no command to establish a state in the Koran. It's all just in the form of emotional and apologetic responses.[32]

If examined further, Democracy in the West does not even have specific standards, democracy which later developed into a liberal democracy is now considered the ultimate system that is no longer unrivaled, therefore Fukuyama in his work The End History and The Last Man, is considered a final system.[33]

Then in terms of politics and government, religion should not interfere in the life of the state. The meaning of politics is misinterpreted even though politics is something that cannot be separated from religion, and vice versa. Politics in Islam means taking care of people's affairs. For example, the French state, which carries out the practice of state secularism *(laicite)*, is carried out on the principles of state neutrality, freedom of religion, and freedom of thought, opinion and expression of citizens in order to protect a national ideology based on freedom, equality and brotherhood (*liberte, egalite et fraternite*).[34]

In addition, one of the impacts of a secular state is racism. The term racism is generally understood as a view or awareness that my race is superior to other races, that one's intelligence, skills, tendencies and behavior are caused and determined by one's race. The secular state has very visible impacts, including racism, groups that are very detrimental to the grassroots community, it turns out that

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[32] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 43.

[33] Francis Fukuyama, *The End History and the Last Man* (London: The Philosophical Quarterly, 1999), 29.

[34] Jeffery Cox, *English Churches in a Secular Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 43.

there are personal interests among officials. This is closely related to political power or domination, structure and hierarchy as well as the long history of human journey,[35] especially the relationships and interactions between groups with one another. Racism here is a systematic method used by a group to control natural resources and limit or even completely limit the access of other groups. Racism here is a systematic method used by a group to control natural resources and limit other people, the dominant group then considers themselves entitled to the lion's share and enjoys various privileges above the suffering of other groups with the support of a number of institutions and a set of legal rules that are deliberately created to support and perpetuate the racist system.[36]

The most striking manifestation of racism is the practice of slavery, in which the victims are mostly if not all black according to adherents of secularism. The word black has connotations of ugly, dirty, cunning sin and death. This bad opinion is reflected in the terms black death, black magic, black market which in English is called bete noir. The myth it tries to confirm is that black people are wild and mindless, savage and eat human flesh.[37] If referring to the opinion of William J. Wilson[38] a sociologist with his book *The Declining Significance of Race,*[39] among other things, he concluded that in this modern era, the fate of American Negroes are determined more by their social class than their skin color. According to him, if black people are rejected when applying for jobs, this is more due to their family background (coming from the lower class) not because of their race.

The peak occurred in the 20th century when cases of racism increased in major world countries, such as the Nazi case in Germany, Apertheid politics in South Africa and the application of

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[35] Michel Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States From 1960 to the 1990* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 20.

[36] Omi and Winant, 26.

[37] Fran Snowden Jr., *Black in Antiquity: Ethiopinas in the Greco—Roman Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1970), 13.

[38] William J. Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race: Black Changing American Institutions* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1980), 32.

[39] William J. Wilson, *The Declining Signifiance of Race* (London: Falling Wall Press, 2001), 63.

Jim Crow theory that emerged in America.[40] According to Frederickson, the theory or concept of racism has two components, difference and power.[41] Racism in a nutshell can be interpreted as the practice of labeling and judging other individuals through racial characteristics.

If racism is not caused by racial issues, then the solution according to Wilson is to encourage black people to want to enter and mingle with the middle class, or the majority consists of white people.[42] Harassment can take the form of discriminatory behavior at work, different attitudes or services at work, different attitudes or services at shopping centers, to insulting remarks or words.[43] In fact, in Islam we must act fairly and kindly to humans regardless of their race, and must not act unjustly, evilly, heinously and transgressing limits. Islam is the only religion that firmly opposes and seeks to free humans from the shackles of slavery. This human mission campaign has started since the Prophet Muhammad SAW carried out his preaching in Mecca, as implied in the Qur'an sura al-Balad verse 13.

Based on this, it can be analyzed that these things are seen as stages of the formation of racist attitudes in secular countries as an implication of racism which is influenced by the rise of the right-wing movement which has begun to be indicated in government as stated in several interests, a country that implements a system of Laicite law (secularism). So that the application of the concept of winning power

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[40] Rafael Barracuda, *Bagaimana Cara Memperbaiki Dunia* (Belanda: Smashwords, 2022), 160; See also Dame Afrina Sihombing *et.al.*, "Stop Rasisme dan Tegakkan Keadilan di Kalangan Mahasiswa Universitas Internasional Batam," *The 2nd National Conference of Community Service Project 2020* 2, no. 1 (September 12, 2020): 276–282, http://dx.doi.org/10.37253/nacospro.v2i1.1194.

[41] Cindy Zahra Devita, "Rasisme dalam Novel Sing, Unburied, Sing Oleh Jesmyn Ward dan An American Marriage oleh Tayari Jones," *Jurnal Sastra - Studi Ilmiah Sastra* 12, no. 2 (December 28, 2022): 37–48, https://doi.org/10.56413/studi; See also Muhammad Al Hafizh, "Racism In The Post-Colonial Society: A Critical Discourse Analysis to Jacqueline Woodson's Novels," *Humanus: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-ilmu Humaniora* 15, no. 2 (February 17, 2017): 177–194, https://doi.org/10.24036/jh.v15i2.6355.

[42] Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race: Black Changing American Institutions*, 35.

[43] Nur Hadi Ihsan *et.al.*, "Worldview sebagai Landasan Sains dan Filsafat: Perspektif Barat dan Islam," *Reflektika* 17, no. 1 (May 15, 2022): 31, https://doi.org/10.28944/reflektika.v17i1.445.

in a secular state has an impact on freedom and neutrality, both official religion and atheism. Even so, only Islamic symbols continued to be attacked by the government. Therefore, it can be said that currently the Laicite principle is identified with the existence of religion which later developed into politics. The presence of Muslim groups in Europe is a reality that can threaten the future of secularism.

D. The State in Islamic Perspective and Islamic Worldview to Create Justice

As a religion that pays attention to every side of human life, Islam does not allow its followers to behave without clear rules, so that from the beginning Islam has provided political guide and guidance.[44] Siyasa is very closely related to leadership, orders and prohibitions of a leader against something that can bring benefit. At least there are several keys that concern Islam in political affairs, namely leaders, people, rules and benefit. This has become a major concern of the scholars and has become an important theme in each of their works. For example, Imam al-Juwayni (w 478 H) started a discussion regarding the obligation to choose leaders in order to create justice in a community. In fact, this obligation is stipulated by law and reason, because Allah SWT cannot possibly leave all of His creation without regularity carried out by a leader.[45]

This is where the role of the leader must uphold the law so that violations can be avoided and the people get the right instructions. In order to achieve this goal, a leader must have several main characteristics, including *ilm* (knowledge), *taqwa* (piety), *wara* (piety) and *dhaka'* (intelligence). In addition, Imam al-Juwayni explained that leaders such as the People's Representative Council (DPR) should be elected as representatives of the community who have advantages and superior characteristics in the midst of other communities.[46]

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[44] Abu Hasan al-Asyari, *Maqalatu Al-Islamiyyin Wa Ikhtilafu al-Mushallin* (Beirut: Maktbah al-Ashriyyah, 1430H), 117.

[45] Sofyan, *Etika Politik Islam*, 39.

[46] Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni, *Ghiyats Al-Umam Fi Iltiyas Az-Zulam*, ed. Abd al-azim ad-Dib (Qatar: as-Syuun ad-Diniyah, 1400H), 62–69.

Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 505 H) focused his attention on the traits and characteristics that a leader must possess. According to him, leaders are chosen with the aim of protecting humans from other human tyranny, this is where the role of religion can be seen when governing the state, so that a leader can act fairly, because leaders must always act fairly among humans and avoid themselves from tyranny and destruction. His justice must always be followed by the height of determination. If a leader has a just nature followed by high determination, then it is obligatory for the people to obey him.[47] Al-Ghazali also emphasized the nature of piety, decency and justice for *wuzara* ministers as parties who always help leaders. The presence of ministers with these characteristics is very important considering that a leader will always consult and exchange ideas in issuing policies.[48]

Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728) emphasizes the importance of the nature of trust for a leader, even the nature of trustworthiness apart from being a qualified force is the two foundations in creating justice. Trustworthy leaders can make justice for their goals and are assisted by ministers, judges and assistants. Here, according to Ibn Taymiyah, the intelligence of the leader is needed in choosing trustworthy people around him. In the end he reminded that leadership is not for accumulating wealth, but for religion and self-approach to Allah SWT.[49]

Referring to the opinions of the scholars regarding politics, we can understand that they are very concerned about the central role of a leader who is a role model when creating justice in an area. Justice can be created if leaders pay attention to their people.[50] Apart from that, the previous scholars also thought about the importance of the integration of the unification of religion and the state. Politics is very important in Islam. Imam al-Ghazali said religion and politics are like

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[47] Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *At-Tibr al-Masbuk Fi Nasīhat al-Muluk* (Beirut: al-Mu'asasat Jami'iyat, 1986), 200.

[48] Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *Tahafut Al-Falasifah* (Kairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1990).

[49] Abdul Wahab Khalaf, *Al-Siyāsah al-Syar'iyyah* (Mesir: Darul Qalam, 1988), 68.

[50] Muammar, *Politik Islam : Antara Demokrasi dan Teokrasi*.

twins, which will not be perfect without the other.[51] Likewise, Ibn Taymiyyah said that government is one of the greatest religious obligations.[52] When these great scholars emphasize political interests, they do not mean that politics is everything. So that Muslims must focus all their efforts to seize political power.

Indeed, in the beginning, Muslims believed that Islam was entirely political.[53] However, when the concepts and understandings of secular Western politics were mixed up, they replaced the concepts and understandings that were already owned by the Eastern world. Muslims experience conceptual confusion, internal conflicts and identity crises. Internal conflicts occur because Western ideas are accepted by a group of affected Muslims uncritically (*taken for granted*). Meanwhile, other groups rejected or critically accepted. The result is an internal conflict but the cause is an external factor. An identity crisis also occurs, when Muslims no longer recognize the body of the Islamic political system and the basic concepts contained therein. Finally, there is a tendency among Muslim intellectuals to identify Islam with every form of modern political theory.[54]

However, political westernization and its secularization is not a racist act nor is it a prejudiced attitude, but an epistemological process that focuses on conceptual issues.[55] Therefore Muslims should not reject or accept any foreign concept unless they really know these concepts and have mastered the fundamental concepts in Islam. The problem is that these key concepts in Islamic political theory are not widely mastered by Muslim political scholars. While on the other hand those who master key and important concepts of the Islamic

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[51] Syamsul Anwar, *Antologi Pemikiran Hukum Islam di Indonesia: Antara Idealitas dan Realitas* (Yogyakarta: Fakultas Syari'ah, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2008), 75.

[52] Emillia, *Etika Membentuk Karakter Warga Negara Milenial 4.0* (Makassar: Nas Media Pustaka, 2022), 173.

[53] Muhammad bin Khaldun Al-'Allamah 'Abdu al-Rahman, *Muqaddimah Ibnu Khaldun* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arābī, 2001), 28.

[54] Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, "Liberalisasi Pemikiran Islam: Gerakan Bersama Missionaris, Orientalis dan Kolonialis," *Tsaqafah* 5, no. 1 (2009): 15, https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v5i1.145.

[55] Syamsuddin Arif, *Orientalis & diabolisme pemikiran* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2008), 62.

political system do not master modern political concepts which are now applied almost all over the world. Muslim scholars who master modern political theory seem to drift into *the status quo* of the Western political system.

In short, identification of the Islamic political system can only be done by referring to the *Islamic worldview* emitted by the Koran and clarified by the Prophet and its practice.[56] All of this was enriched by the practice of the Companions and the discourses of the later scholars. If the identity of the Islamic political system has been found, the next step is to develop it conceptually. The initial process is to critically evaluate the secular Western political system, then analyze aspects that are not compatible with Islam to be discarded and compatible aspects to be adopted. Those aspects that are compatible are then integrated with political aspects of Islam, tested for validity and finally an Islamization process is carried out where the central concept is really dominant so that it can no longer be called anything but an Islamic political system or theory.

Justice applied in a secular state must be responded to with the above understanding. Putting something in its place, in the process of implementing the law, justice must be interpreted as favoring the right party based on all the evidence presented in court. Justice in this context does not mean not taking sides with any party. If this is the case, it is actually an injustice. In Islam, political power is based on *Divine Authority* and the holy power of the Prophet Muhammad. reflecting the power of God. The same power also exists in those who imitate and follow the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad. In fact, every Muslim must reject the claim of holy power by anyone except the ruler who follows the sunnah of Rasulullah SAW and obeys God's laws.[57]

Actually a Muslim only needs to obey Allah, Rasulullah SAW and leaders who follow the sunnah of Rasulullah SAW. Political

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[56] Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, "Worldview Islam dan Kapitalisme Barat," *Tsaqafah* 9, no. 1 (2013): 5, https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v9i1.36.
[57] Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, "Tamaddun Sebagai Konsep Peradaban Islam," *Tsaqafah* 11, no. 1 (2015): 1, https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v11i1.251.

desacralization clearly denies the authoritative role of the clergy in the government system. In fact, Rasulullah SAW himself has set an example as a leader of the country. This was also followed by his successors, *Khulafa al-Rasyidin*, all of whom were wise in matters of religion. Separating Islam from politics will prevent the role of the Islamic worldview from spreading in society. Religion is a private matter, not a public one. So, if politics is not filled with truth and spiritual values, then the forms and values of these politics will become wild. Therefore, Islam, as something full of spiritual values, cannot be separated from politics. Islamic values really need to be given a role in matters of governance and leadership.

Islam itself does not actually separate religion and state. In Islam, religion and state can unite and even the Prophet likens them to twins, from the Hadith of the Prophet "*Islam and government are like twins, one is not perfect unless it is supported by the other. Islam is also like a big building and government is its support. A building without a foundation will collapse and without any support thieves and robbers will enter it.*"[58]

So is the opinion of Yusuf Qardawi[59] that the process of secularization tantamount to abolishing Islam as a creed that lives and shines and as the eternal human religion. In fact, no one practices human beings with this kind of power in the Islamic community, this kind of practice has no other meaning than the total annihilation of Islamic religious power. In short, a secular state that gave sweet promises of justice at the beginning of its spread and would become a stable country turned out to be a country that could not imitate what was done by Islamic advances like during the heyday of the Ottoman Turks.

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[58] Maryam Jameelah, *Islam and Modernism*, Penerjemah: A. Jabari dan Syafiq A. Mughni (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, tt.), 206; See also Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*, Penerjemah: Abdullah Ali dan Mariana Ariestyawati (Jakarta: Penerbit Serambi, 2006), 57.

[59] Yusuf Al-Qaradlawi, *Ri`Ayah Al-Bi`ah Fi Syari`ah Al-Islam* (Kairo: Dar as-Syuruq, 2001), 50.

E.   Conclusion

The conception of a secular state aimed at making a Muslim better, seems to be a mere utopia. The secular state that promised justice and benefit at the beginning of its implementation failed to provide society with the rights that must be fulfilled. The impact of a secular state such as racism and capitalism is very detrimental to society which is ostracized, this is due to several factors: The biggest problem with the concept of a secular state lies in its relativistic view of Islamic law. Thus, the sacred elements in it are removed. Sharia is nothing more than the fruit of human interpretation of the text. The thought of a secular state that is liberalistic, post-secularistic and relativistic-anthropocentric is very problematic with sharia principles, and is far from the true nature of Islam which makes sharia the normative basis of everything and the actions of Muslims. Ideologically and practically, the conception of a secular state is incompatible with Islamic values, because the Prophet Muhammad did not only teach religious affairs, but also taught political issues, even the Prophet Muhammad gave an example as a politician for ten years while in Medina, became the head of the state, interact with the entire community, both Muslims and non-Muslims.

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