Reinterpretation Of Political Islamic Movement In Indonesia Within The Social Ethics Perspective Of Abid Al-Jabiri

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Abstract: Radical Islam, as the basis of political movements, has been widely studied by scholars and political observers. The existing study efforts have produced many findings based on the perspectives and approaches used from an economic, social, cultural, to theological point of view. However, there still needs to be an Islamic ethical perspective to examine the model of the Islamic political movement. This article examines the thoughts of Abid Al-Jabiri regarding the concept of social ethics from a new point of view. This library research describes Al-Jabiri's ethical thinking based on his works. The results of this study indicate 1) The roots of the emergence of the political Islam movement departed from a literalist understanding of Islamic teachings so that the political goal to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia was born from a misinterpretation of Islamic teachings 2) The contours of the movement were identity politics born of the dichotomous paradigm 3) and the consequences This movement contradicts Al-Jabiri's Islamic ethical thought which emphasizes the public benefit and goodness because the acts of terror carried out have no implications for the benefit of the Indonesian people.

Keywords: Political Islam, Movement, Social Ethics, Abid Al-Jabiri

Introduction

The development of political Islam (Kumar, 2016) at the end of the twentieth century managed to captivate the world and attracted the attention of socio-political analysts to trace the determination of its development, including in academic circles. The result of this phenomenon has become very indelicate and actual to be investigated. Uniquely, the rightist populism party (another term for political Islam), as shown in a study, can be perceived from different perspectives and some varied approaches (paradigmatic). For example, the research results of Deepa Kumar assess the emergence of 'political Islam' using a socio-economic method from the perspective of Marxism theory, in which it concludes that political Islam is a phenomenon of urban society born from the global economic crisis (Kumar, 2016).

Kumar's findings, at the same time, refute the "liberal and moderate Islam" belief which is often used as the main reference in questioning the issue of rightist populism, which both groups, according to Kumar, are too focusing on trivial matters in viewing "Political Islam" as a group that has a theocratic political view, a textualist paradigm (scripture), and play a dichotomous narrative. It has been impeded by imperialism and capitalism, are capable of taking advantage of false Islamic leaders and corrupt regimes that do not care about their people's fate. For example, it has been used as a political weapon in facing left secularism.

Unlike Kumar, Chantal Mouffe, in her magnum opus entitled "Left Populism," views the existence of 'political Islam' with a political approach; Mouffe considers its existence a new threat to countries that adhere to a democratic system. (Mouffe, 2020) Likewise, Ahmad Syafii Maarif, Budiman Sudjatmiko, and Martin Lukito Sinaga called them a group that plays the political narrative identity and threatens the future of Indonesian pluralism (Maarif, 2012). This political strategy targets the sensitivity of Muslims in religious acts because, statistically, the religion of Islam in Indonesia is perceived as a majority that can be easily drawn into false hegemony by Islamic-revolutionary rhetoric as well as a beneficial area to hoard votes. However, the interactive approach practiced is undemocratic, glorifying primordial racism, intolerance, xenophobia, native-foreign, and echoing the wording of "Islam is the solution, *Allahu Akbar, Jihad Fi Sabilillah, Haram-Halal*", in each of his orations (Anditya, 2017).

The portrait of the political Islam group previously mentioned is a model of the movement that we often find in democratic public spaces. When observed based on scientific disciplines, such practices become ethical projects (axiological philosophy). As

a discipline that examines human actions individually and socially, the discussion of ethics is divided into two; "descriptive and normative". In Endang Daruni Asdi's research, he explained that descriptive ethics is a rational critical study of human attitudes and behavior and what is pursued and aimed at by humans or groups as something valuable, such as customs, habits of a community or a group, good and bad deeds, as well as do's and don'ts. Meanwhile, normative ethics is not only described, but also establishes and evaluates ideal behavior patterns from daily routines, such as honesty, discipline, and respect for fellow human beings (Asdi, 2007).

The pattern of human attitudes studied is a moral law applied in social life regardless of religion and primordial identity. This attachment becomes a social consensus not formulated unilaterally (Dewantara, 2017). Thus, all narratives and political Islam movements must have an ethical orientation as a moral attitude among the Indonesian people. In other words, ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity must remain harmonious, avoiding offending other human feelings or other groups, and it must spread benefits. In particular, this discussion in ethical studies is categorized as 'teleological ethics', that the assessment of human actions is seen from their efficacy toward others.

Another category that is also discussed is that human attitudes or actions are judged based on good principles or intentions. The such evaluating process is called a 'deontology ethic' study. Immanuel Kant discusses it in the sub-chapter on 'Goodwill' (Gregor & Reath, 2015). To give a valuation of the phenomenon within political Islam, if it is examined based on ethical deontology, it does not look at the pattern of movement or the impact of its ideological activities. However, it focuses on the goals of this group's 'hidden agenda'; for example, political Islam aspires to a sharia-based Islamic state as its constitution, which openly offers a religious state system in Indonesia.

To interpret the intentions or the ultimate goals of the political Islam movement, of course, there will be ideological doctrines (core values) born from interpretations of Islamic religious texts (Al-Qur'an, hadith, and Islamic traditions), in which it is seen as normative legitimacy which also needs to be reexamined in viewing the meaning of the sacred text "scripture" to give birth to literal social activities, such as jihad and the mission of the Caliphate that relies on the Qur'an. To portray a more inner point of view, in this article, the author desires to proclaim the idea of Mohammad Abid

Aljabiri's social ethics as the antithesis of ethical (profane) interpretations in the verses of the Qur'an, hadith, and Islamic traditions, which are shown to be in contrary to the theology of Islamic jihad extremism and its views on the Caliphate.

The social ethics offered by Abid Al-Jabiri has two ethical orientations, namely, "*amal ma'ruf* and *maslahah mursalah*" as a correspondence of the faith of the Muslims (Al-Jabiri, 1987). Some of the verses in the Qur'an compare the level of faith of a Muslim with good deeds (*Yā ayyuhalladzīna āmanū wa 'amilusshālihāti*). This verse is a commandment to people who believe in an identity attached to good deeds (Chabibi, 2016); these two variables are verses considered to be an ultimatum proposed in one breath. On the other hand, Al-Jabiri's ethical concept is also a critique of the ethical heritage in Arab Islam considered to be too textual and exclusive. Therefore, it does not lead to the progress of Islamic civilization (Al-Jabiri, 2009). Some of his criticism includes the ethics of Persian Sufism, which is considered more authoritative than the sultanate system, refuses to be criticized, and makes people eager to face the problems of social life (Romhanu, 2014). Based on the explanation above, Jabiri's attempt to critically read the ethical heritage in Islam gave birth to a new synthesis (Social Ethics) to answer the moral problems of modern life and is ukhrawi-oriented (Escatologhycal Oriented). Jabiri's ethical concept that is closer to today's life can be an ethical perspective to find out the motives, movement models, and goals of the political Islam movement in Indonesia.

Result and Discussion

Al-Jabiri Social Ethics Practice As Theoretical Framework

The concept of social ethics as a theoretical framework is offered by Abid Al-Jabiri in his critical project (Romhanu, 2014) to develop the body of knowledge within Islamic thought. His ethical idea is a residue of his major project on the criticism of Arabic reasoning (*Al-'Naqd al-'Aql al-'Araby*) (Dewantara, 2017), as a critical-analytical effort towards Arab Islamic civilization that uses the epistemological style of bayani (scripture) as a valued standardization. Such way of thinking is further developed to the study of the structure of the text (intrinsic) practiced separately from the socio-historical aspect (extrinsic) (Ro'uf, 2018). In this particular case, related to the study of ethics, the valuation of good and bad deeds as well as right and wrong depend on the supremacy of the sacred text that contains past precedents (*mithal sabiq*). Therefore, the ethical truth in Islamic law is not adequate to cover contemporary problems (Romhanu, 2014).

The legal logic previously mentioned has essentially held back the nature of reasoning (discursive-demonstrative) and obliged to yield on the supremacy of the text. The systematics used are syllogistic deduction (Utama, 2013) which, according to Al-Jabiri, has been practiced inaccurately (truth bias), a thinking complexion aspire to minimize the subjectivity in the reasoning process against cases-based facts (*furu'*), and focusing more on the objectivity of the text (*asl*). Whereas the logical conclusion as the final justification in the syllogism is indeed interrelated between the principle of universal truth (major premise/original) and specific one (minor premise/furu'). Moreover, in the theory of certainty, there is what is called as correspondence certainty/truth that requires synchronization between the statement of ideas and reality, while reality is the realization meaning of social phenomena. Thus, the working scheme of the syllogistic theory are very dependent on socio-empirical insight.(Romhanu, 2014)

Because of this reason, the main starting point in social ethics according to Al-Jabiri, is depicted as he wants to restore the role of proportionally reasoning system by using a *burhani* (critical-discursive) epistemology as an analytical instrument for dynamic social problems. In this case, the working scheme of philosophy in exploring the truth is considered to be the human mind's activity. Humans can judge actions as good or bad thing, right or wrong doing by using standardization of material logic that considers the ethical dimension of the social facts occurred, which is not only considered to be right based on the conservative syllogistic thinking (formal logic) (Utama, 2013).

To visualize the difference between "formal logic" and "material logic", some of its principles to consider are; 1) syllogism or formal logic, a sentence can be logically meaningful when it is viewed from the legal reasoning point of view, ex; "If everyone who is not attentive is believed to not sin (major premise), the sleeping person is an insentient person (minor premise), then the sleeping person has not sinned (conclusion)". 2) material logic, a sentence must be viewed from several categories, including a comprehensive meaning point of view that also considers ethical dimensions, ex; "If everyone who thinks is sane (major premise), cheating people are people who think (minor premise), then cheating people have common sense (conclusion)".

The first example is used by classical Islamic juridical (*faqih*) in formulating Islamic shariah, but Al-Jabiri reformulates this deductive syllogism method in a different way in reading religious verses, providing a dialogical dimension between text and context so

that the result becomes a universal truth considered to be more discursively. In this case, the philosophical working scheme born of Greek civilization. While the second example, Al-Jabiri takes the valuable standardization based on the Al-Qur'an, Hadith, and *Turats* (Al-Jabiri, 2009). Hence, the highlight points in the second example is that whether the reasoning process is valid or not, giving *maslahah* or *mafsadat*. Thus, the most important thing is whether the individual using his mind for noble purposes or not. The indicator for this matter is the aspect of benefit as well as goodwill, which in ethical discipline consists of deontological (goodwill) and teleological (impact given) (R. Mervyn Hare, 1972).

However, in ethical discourse, deontology and teleology often overlap. Sometimes individual's good intentions will have a bad impact on others, or bad intentions actually have a good impact on others. Mervyn Hare in his collection of essays explains the occurrence of problems in moral-ethical studies caused by several incidents; 1) moral dilemmas, 2) Fundamental ambiguity of human existence, 3) the need for social order, 4) and the need for fulfillment of human nature (R. Mervyn Hare, 1972). Viewing such problems, Al-Jabiri from the perspective of his social ethics provides an Islamic formulation based on Islamic teachings to overcome ethical problems, by integrating one's good intentions, acting it out in a good way, and also having a good impact on others (Al-Jabiri, 1987).

In details, the solution offered by Al-Jabiri is by subliming the value of rationality (*burhani*) as an effort toward critical quest to determine the right and wrong doing of human actions (*amal ma'ruf*), with the value of teachings in Islam based on the Qur'an, Hadith and Islamic Traditions as a guideline to determine the principle of human action seen from goodwill (good intentions) and beneficial impacts for the general public interest (*maslahah mursalah*) (Al-Jabiri, 1991). Therefore, in ethical discipline, Al-Jabiri wants to eliminate the hierarchy of values between the truth that comes from the textual source (*bayani*) and the discursive truth (*burhani*) as the practice carried out by conservative Islam. The integration between Greek and Islamic traditions can be illustrated in the following contextual framework:

Tabel.1: *This chart is a summary of the conceptual framework of Al Jabiri's "Social Ethics".*
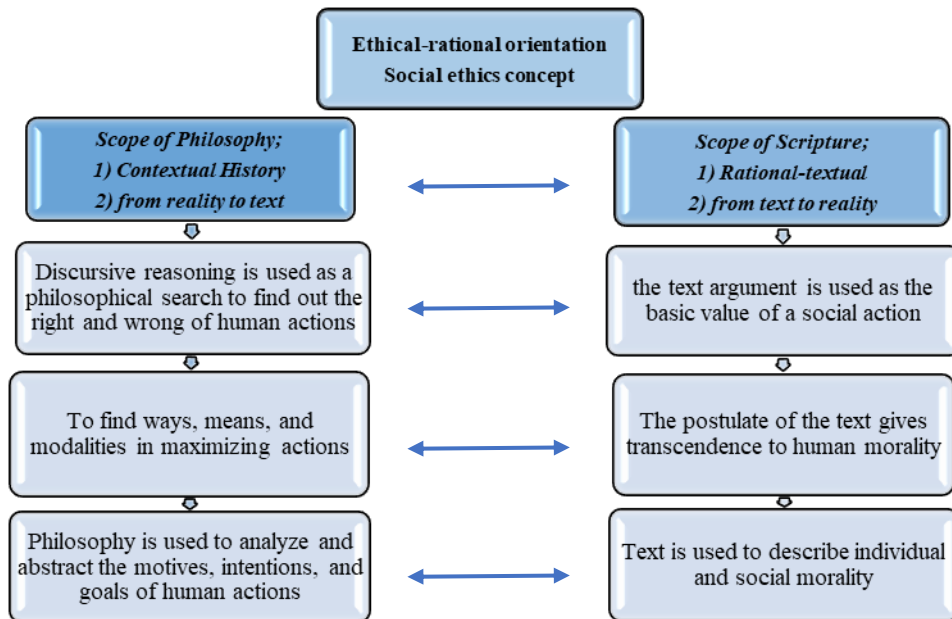
Based on the workings scheme of the theory above, both *bayani* and *burhani* epistemologies in Al-Jabiri's ethical view have a proportional space, equating and approaching two functions (*Al-muqarabah*). Philosophy is a philosophical quest along with a critical-analytical of working scheme to understand people's daily routines, while the holy book 'scripture' is seen as the moral encouragement of the Moslems (Al-Jabiri, 2006). Even, Al-Jabiri in his magnum opus affirms (*itsbat*) that one's level of faith must be correlated with good deeds (*amal ma'ruf*) and the general benefit (*maslahah mursalah*) (Al-Jabiri, 1987). Another important factor in discussing ethics, Al-Jabiri productively criticizes the variety of ethics inherited in Islam, both Arabic which tends to be 'bayani', Greek with a 'burhani' style, as well as Persian ethics and Sufism 'irfani's.

Al-Jabiri's Criticism Toward Islamic Ethics Heritage

Al-Jabiri's critique project on the ethical heritage in Islam is embodied in his great work "Al-'Aql Akhlaq Araby", as well as being the culmination of his research on the Arabic reasoning formulation (*Takwin aql Araby*) written for twenty years (Al-Jabiri, 1991). As the great work of Islamic thinkers, this critical work is not only written for certain conditions and authorities or Islamic civilization during AL-Jabiri's life, but also as a theoretical contribution to the concept of ethics in Islam written systematically and holistically. This work has been viewed as a residue for future generations of Islam. In

any case, today's Muslim scholars do not presume that "Islam developed without ethical traditions", such as the influence of Greek civilization which seemed to negate the concept of ethics in Islam.

In his fourth work, "Al-'Aql Akhlaq Arabi", Al-Jabiri reports various ethical perspectives adopted by Islam into four categories; *first*, the ethical concept applied by the Persian sultanate called as "the ethics of obedience". *Second*, Al-Jabiri also wrote down the ethical concept applied by the Sufis called as "mortal ethics". *Third*, the ethical concept inherited from the Greeks called as "ethics of happiness", and *fourth*, "*muru'ah ethics*" which is the moral practice of the Arab-Islamic nation. The perception of the origin of this ethical value cannot be separated from the epistemic reasoning style of each civilization that works differently, both Greek, Arabic, Persian, and Sufi circles (Chabibi, 2016).

1. 'Al-Muru'ah' (self-esteem) Ethical Perspective and Al-Jabiri's Critique

Muru'ah ethics as the basis of Arab social, cultural and political values, shaped by *bayan's* logical reasoning which views the text of the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad as an absolute core value. As in His hadith, the Prophet was sent to refine the morals "*innama buistu liutammimaa makaarimal akhlaq* (Al-Jabiri, 2009) ", but still there are thousands of Hadith and verses of Qur'an containing ethical rules in Islam before the establishment of shariah (visualization of normative ethics) by the *fuqaha* (Al-Jabiri, 2006). In the early outlook of Islamic Arabia, the Prophet Muhammad became the highest source of law whenever there were problems in regards to the religious affair and the state. Apart from being a religious leader, the Prophet Muhammad was also function as the leader of the state. However, after the Prophet Muhammad passed away, socio-religious problems were no longer centralized.

However, even though the Prophet's life span was short, the internalization of the values of his teachings originate the principle values that must be implied in social life. For example, an attitude to stay away from the bad behavior and take good actions, being generous (*al-jud*), honest, sharing, being polite in socializing with other (*busn al-'usyrah*), keeping promises, likes to use fragrances, and being devoted to Allah. This construction then inspired the authority of the Umayyad dynasty to apply the attitude of *muru'ah* in all its policies (Al-Jabiri, 2009).

Abid Al-Jabiri's criticism of *Muru'ah* ethics is in line with Al-Mawardi's opinion that there are ethical guidelines about the prohibition of building relations with the Persians. This political relationship is believed to be an indication that undermines the

value of Arabism and is considered to reduce the dignity of the Arab nation. This dichotomous perspective was criticized by Al-Jabiri because it became the rigid paradigm of the Arabs (Al-Jabiri, 2009). Closing social access is considered to isolate oneself to develop.

2. Ethical Perspective "Al-fana' (illumination) and Al-Jabiri's Critique

Fana's ethics are formed from *Irfani*'s epistemological reasoning; this intuitive reasoning style is promoted by Sufi circles that have a psychological view of mystical *tasawwuf*. The ethics applied by the Sufis are basically based on pre-Islamic teachings, namely the *al-Saihin* and *al-Ibad* (Al-Jabiri, 2009) groups which were developed by al-Junayd and Hasan al-Bashri as Sufism figures. It is customary for *tasawwuf* ethics to refer to the event of the student (Moses AS) and the sheikh (Prophet Khidir), in which it was found compliance attitude required by the student to the teacher, even though the instruction violates the rules of the sharia.

Within the discipline of Sufism, the application of the values of its teachings is realized through a spiritual mechanism by means of performing *muhasabah* or *muraqabah*. This act of worship must be done within three concepts, such as; 1) self-control "Siyasah al-Nafs", 2) self-introspection "muhasabah al-nafs", 3) and self-concentration "muraqabah al-nafs".Al-Jabiri, Al-'Aql Akhlaq Araby. page. 501. The benefits of this Sufistic series activities are personal purifiers from all forms of sin and immorality committed in the world. Leaving a bad past requires the stability of the soul and heart to not return to immorality.

Abid Al-Jabiri's critique toward the concept of "mortal ethics" developed by the Sufis, he is more concern about its zeal. Further, he said that the application of *fana*'s ethics with its esoteric experience has the potential to turn a blind eye toward social problems (Al-Jabiri, 2009). The ethical order within Islamic law, which has been considered to the guideline, has the potential to be ignored. For example, in the teachings of *Tajalli* (union with Allah) humans experience a sense of being mortal about life in the world because of their devotion and are free from the responsibilities for sharia-based activities (*ubudiyyah*). Another example is the obedience of students to the teacher, as what it was done in the meeting of Prophet Musa with Prophet Hidir which also has an impact on moral-social responsibilities and tends to be closed to worldly affairs, such as those who view humans as noble creature when they are not married (Nasution, 2015). Obviously this ethic makes Muslims continue to be indolent and

refuse to continue to develop as a result of "leaving the affairs of the world". Al-Jabiri's argument is proven by the social facts that the Islamic community in the Al-Gozali era fell into backwardness and poverty (Al-Jabiri, 2009).

3. Ethical Perspective As-sa'adah (happiness) and Al-Jabiri's Critique

Burhani's epistemology, a demonstrative reasoning adopted from Greek culture, has the concept of "ethics of happiness" which is then widely used as an ethical reference in Islam. Ibn al-Miskawaih and Al-Farabi are the promoters in the internalization of ethical values from Greece. Ibn Miskawaih wrote in his book on the ethics of happiness entitled (Tahzhib al-Akhlaq), and Al-Farabi with his masterpiece (Al-Madinah Al-Fadilah). Ibn Miskawih in writing his book on ethics adopted many of the thoughts of Aristotle, Plato, and Galen which were combined with Islamic norms, as in the Sermon of Al-Bin Abi Talib. For Al-Jabiri, the efforts made by Miskawaih tend to be eclectic and have an impact on the blurring of different values for they are sublime into one.

The reasoning attempt of Miskawaih's ethical concept, having the highest measure of the meaning toward happiness (eudaimon) with the highest goodness, is then combined with the concept of virtue. In his view, the virtues of ethics generate ethical human attitudes and actions. Miskawaih does not view the function of pure judgment as a theoretical basis for seeing the right and wrong of an action. In Aristotle's view, as a theoretician of the Greek ethics of happiness, he assumed that happiness would be achieved by the comprehensive thought of a philosopher and leader, when the socio-political conditions are stable.Al-Jabiri. page. 564.

Meanwhile, Al-Farabi in his book entitled *Al-Madinah Al-Fadilah* promoted the classification of the central state up to the damaging state. Al-Jabir emphasizes in his criticism more on the obligation of a philosopher or prophet as a standard to be a leader for having wisdom (ra'yu). Sahih), and the leader must grasp the totality concept called as the *fa'al* sense (tenth intellect). For Jabiri, this standard is the legacy of hermeticism.

4. Ethical Perspective At-ta'ah (obedience) and Al-Jabiri's Critique

The ethics of obedience (*Akhlaq Al-Tha'ah*) was used by the Persian Sultanate or other kingdoms as the legitimacy of God's right hand. From this concept, the Sultan's instruction perceived as God's instruction. This ethic in its transmission to the political realm makes the government an authoritative source that is immune to criticism. They perceived the ruler as God, as in the book project of the Persian Empire written by Ibn Arabi, Alim bin Abd al-Rahman, and Abd Hamid al-Katib. As royal writers, they made

books on the orders of the court such as "Al-durrah al-yatimah" to be used as a source of moral knowledge which contained the authoritarian creed of the sultans which the people had to obey in order to be considered as good thing.

This ethic of obedience inherited the totalitarian culture in the Umayyad Caliphate system since the royal writers named Salim and Abd al-Hamid became the knowledge advisor in writing ethical books that more or less adopted the Persian version. In addition to geographic factors that link his proximity to Persian cycles, the author of this work is also Persian. That is why the concept of *irada* and Allah's will which has long been rooted in Persian civilization, is intertwined with the system of Caliphate in Islam. Most of the time, the supremacy at that time played the rhetoric subject of "I am the sultan of Allah" in every verbalistic oration.

Ibn Muqaffah transmits this value into the political realm to be obedient and compliant to the government. The concepts built by him are; 1) self-control, 2) self-introspection, 3) and self-concentration, defined as self-control of the rulers, self-introspection of the rulers. If the concept of self-control is successful, the sultans are believed to be able to control their people. Thus, what became Al-Jabiri's criticism toward the order of ethical values lies in the individualistic style which corners the social class of populist society (workers, farmers, traders, educators and sodagars) being subordinated to the sultanate. A government that is immune to criticism, closes the communication space between classes. This is in contrary to his view of democratic life today which is open and should be free from any intervention.Al-Jabiri. hal, 440. To further explain the variety of Islamic ethical heritage, it can be simplified as follows:

Table 2. Al-Jabri's Model of Islamic Ethical Heritage

Islamic ethical heritage	Epistemological Reasoning	Civilization Model
Muru'ah	Bayani	Arab-Islam
Tha'ah	Bayani	Persian Sultanate
Fana'	Irfani	Sufism's Circle
Sa'adah	Burhani	Adopted from Greece

Evaluating Political Islam In Indonesia From Al-Jabiri's Social Ethics View

To understand the term "political Islam" in a study, it is necessary to have a problem definition and a non-categorical scope of discussion according to the research gap investigated. Such concept is attributed to groups that are not singular or loaded with plenty point of view, some of which are; "Islamic fundamentalism, right-wing populism, radical Islam, terrorist Islam, and including political Islam." Not only stipulating terms, but they have formed alliances into groups. In Indonesia, this group is fragmented into many groups, including "PKS, FPI, HTI, MMI, JAT, and FUI", which operate separately and work in different ways. However, from those differences, there is an interrelation that unites the core of the spirit and sharing the same grand mission, the realization of a "caliphate" in countries where Muslims are a minority, marginalized, and alienated, especially in secular countries, like Europe, and countries with democracy (Azmy, 2020).

This article uses the term political Islam as its material object, for it is more representative and close to the literal grand mission and cover all of the above mentioned categories, Islamic groups that have a desire for a union between religion and state, between Islam and politics. That is why the term "political Islam" is more capable to converge the various definitions. The origin of the political view of 'theocracy' certainly has a political strategy and movement tactics to be realized. In order to understand more deeply and scientifically of the political Islam movement in Indonesia from the perspective of "social ethics" Abid Al-Jabiri, it is necessary to have categorization based on ethical discourse by means of; 1) *understanding the motives and goals*, 2) *understanding the actions*, 3) and *understanding the practicality of the work*. (Al-Jabiri, 1991). To describe this concept, the following is the explanation of each category.

1. The Grand Mission of Political Islam: *Theocratic Politics and the Postulate of Jihadist Doctrine*

According to Abdurrahman Wahid, the great mission of this movement in two years-research conducted by *LibForAll* reveals that this *textualist* group openly desires to change a democratic country into an Islamic state.(Wahid, 2009) This discourse received a strong response from the Indonesian people, especially state institutions that sensed threatened by changing the form of the state, from a nation state to a religion state (Azmy, 2020). Through Law No. 17 of 2013 (Regarding mass organizations), then Law No. 16 of 2017 "on mass organizations" which aims to protect the ideology of the State 'Pancasila', the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and

Binneka Tunggal Ika (Azmy, 2020), the government is very firm in taking action against groups that often proposing rhetoric of Islam as a solution with the ultimate goal of an Islamic state.

Nevertheless, the political ideology of theocracy model has become an obsession that continues to be romanticized. Restoring the outlook of the Islamic caliphate system (Kumar, 2016) which is considered to be successful ways in spreading its wings to Europe. Over and over again, their version of historical perception is used as a hegemonic instrument in Indonesia to argue about the future of the country (Azmy, 2020). The concrete form offered in the Islamic state system is by making sharia as the highest authority perceived as God's law and then made into the principle of high justice through God's revelation, while the constitution is a *bashari* verse, a product of human thought (Ahda, 2017).

Such opinion is then transmitted into his political strategy as a means of resistance against the political system dominated in Indonesia, not as an identity of a Muslim's devotion in the worshiping acts.(Ratnasari, 2010) This model of politicization of religion is repeatedly found in a series of religious and social activities, like Aceh with its separatist group "Gerakan Aceh Merdeka" that wants to separate itself from the state by adopting Islamic law autonomously. Based on the results of research from *LibForAll* led by Abdurrahman Wahid, it was also found in other areas such as Padang, through the Committee for the Preparation of Islamic Sharia Enforcement (KPPSI) spearheaded a meeting in a campaign forum to fight for religious sharia as the state constitution. Then in Palembang, there was an alliance of FU3- SS also declared the same agenda through recitation forums and other consolidations.Wahid. page, 120. Then in his political rhetoric, the slogans like 'Islam is the solution' (PKS), 'Sharia saves Indonesia' (HTI), 'to overcome the national problem, sharia is the only solution as the constitution' (MMI), and 'multidimensionality crisis can be overcome through sharia' (FPI).Wahid. page, 130.

Nonetheless, it is certainly in contrary to the view of Abid Al-Jabiri, implementing the "Khilafah" (caliphate) system means bringing Islam back to the outlook of Arab Islam implementing the ethical tradition of *muru'ah*, M.Abid Al-Jabiri, Al-'Aql Akhlaq Araby. page.390. when the political goal is the caliphate. As the continuation of the caliphate system only lasted for a short time, since the Prophet Muhammad became a religious leader as well as the state leader, all the problems of the Muslim's life at that time were only centered on the Prophet Muhammad (centralistic). However, after the

Prophet passed away, it became the end of the caliphate system (Kumar, 2016). The replacement of the leader by the *Khulafah Urrasyidin* to the Ottoman Empire (Ottoman dynasty), gave birth to a hierarchical separation between the religious work area (held by the Islamic scholar) and the authority in charge of making policies and administration area (the Sultan).(Achmad Bahrur Rozi, 2020) Then religious academics (*ulama'*) were formed as Islamic law makers implementing *bayani* reasoning.

Al-Jabiri, in his critical project, decisively considers Islamic foundations that are practiced literally, using *qiyas* and syllogisms used incorrectly, will lead to a triviality in establishing a law.M.Abid Al-Jabiri, Naqd Aql Al- Siasyi. page, 502. Because the way *bayani* works is only to understand the meaning of sentence structure, without involving reading complex historical realities.M.Abid Al-Jabiri, Al-'Aql Akhlaq Araby. page.480. The logical reasoning as another source of knowledge will be negated under the framework of sacred texts. Then normalization is made by royal writers as legitimacy in carrying out a power.

If they make the sultanate as a pure teaching that implements the caliphate, this becomes a fatal historical distortion. Because the application of the political system in the era of the Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, and Ottoman dynasties was tribal (*mamlakah*). This is in line with orientalist propaganda, which assesses the political mission of Islam to unite the state and religion, is a pure heritage in Islamic teachings, even though historically the orientalists describe historical facts partially.

The textualist perspective is also born of a twisted interpretation on the meaning of Jihad. Political Islam groups often interpret their struggles as *jihad fii sabililah*. As a postulate of jihadists (people who carry out jihad), this understanding is spread as an infusion toward the continuity of their ideology. The controversy over the meaning of Jihad was originated from the battle of discourses on the interpretation of the Qur'an in regards with the meaning of jihad.(Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020) To simplify, there are two patterned different interpretations of understanding; textualist and contextualist (the historical reality approach or *asbabun nuzul*). The first understanding tends to reduce its meaning as the '*qital*' as a war, implementing violence. While the second one views the concept at the derivation which has two different estuaries between the jihad verse revealed in Mecca (before the *Hijrah*) and the jihad verse revealed in Medina (after the *Hijrah*).(Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020)

In the Mecca period, the verses explaining about 'Jihad' had the connotation of an order to preach in a good way as an approach to attract non-Muslims, because this an

era in the early struggle of the prophet Muhammad in spreading Islamic teachings, as in Qs; Al-Furqan (52), and jihad are also interpreted as debates in Qs: 29: (8), in the Mecca period, Jihad verse was revealed symbolizes patience, as in Qs: An-Nahl (10) (Al-Jabiri, 2006). Then, in the Medina period, the visualization of Jihad is described as war as in Qs. 9: 73, and Qs. 66:9, which means: "O Prophet, fight against the disbelievers and the hypocrites and be strict with them. Their place is Hell and that is the worst place." In the Medina period, the war practiced by the Prophet and it is related to jihad. However, it needs to be noted that there was no inducement to fight the infidels unless the Muslims were opposed, because being defensive was the main logical reason for the necessity of jihad (Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020).

Ibn Mandzur (630-711 H) interprets the word Jihad based on all the verses that explain jihad literally, concluding that there are two meanings; *al-jahd* (strong determination to overcome obstacles) and *al-juhd* (effort in earnest). Overall, there is no single explanation of Jihad that is oriented towards fighting all non-Muslims, let alone interpreting the practice of violence in the name of religion in a terror approach such as suicide bombings as part of jihad believed to be rewarded with heaven as a martyr (*syahid*).

Based on all the explanations above, according to Al-Jabiri's idea, it is very clear that there are groups who interpret the scriptures with *bayani* reasoning, and groups that use a *burhani* epistemology approach by considering the historical social context based on the reality of the revelation of the verse, as well as Islamic life within the current era. An understanding developed textually will originate actions that are based on the textual sense of meaningM.Abid Al-Jabiri, Takwiin Al-`Aql Al-`Araby, 380., as well as political Islam groups that project their movement on a rigid interpretation, refuse to develop, and are reluctant to answer the more complex challenges of modernity.

2. Image of Political Islam Movement: *dichotomous paradigm and identity politics*

To understand the image of the political Islam movement, it is necessary to know the actions that are often found in the democratic public spaces. An action is a correspondence toward the truth of ideas (Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020). Because of this reason, understanding their logical perception is the first step that must be known. This group paradigm uses binary oppositional logic (dichotomous) which views two contradictory differences. No wonder fanaticism embraces the thoughts of its followers that only their group is right, while the views of groups that do not support or even

reject their thoughts or idea are considered wrong. It can be proven by the issues encountered in the Indonesian public spaces. They are fond of doing rhetorical speech about; Pancasila and anti-Pancasilais, intolerance, primordialistic, native and foreign, Islam-*kafir*, halal-haram, and so on.

Al-Jabiri's criticism is very clear in responding to an exclusive way of thinking, that this dichotomy event does not direct the development of Islamic teachings in the midst of an open democratic climate.M.Abid Al-Jabiri, Al-'Aql Akhlaq Araby. page.419. The inaccessible state of political Islamic groups in social life does not necessarily mean to be anti-social, but it is socially selective. According to Weber, quoted by Kristeva in her book "School of Social Movements", extreme social groups, in certain situations tend to be closed, and will be opened in other occasion (Kristeva, 2013).

Such construction of logical reasoning, emphasized by Al-Jabiri in his concept of social suggested that good deeds do not have certain limits or categories, because basically good deeds are recommended by religion that has a high social attitude. However, what is promoted by political Islam in Indonesia is on the contrary, selective slashing has become the habitus of this group because it likes to confer with identity, ethnicity, religion, and political ideology, which are broadly in contrast to the pluralistic entity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The tendency of this individual attitude pattern comprises anti-Pancasila, anti-democratic and anti-pluralism. According to research conducted by the "Democracy Project", the origin of the DI (Darul Islam) movement, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) at various points in Indonesia was born from different political views, and view religion as the umbrella of their identity politics ideology (Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020).

According to Fareed Zakaria quoted by Syafi'i Ma'aif in his book "Identity Politics and the Future of our Pluralism", he said that the extreme form of this identity politics splinter act, which often commits suicide bombing terror acts in Indonesia, has transnational roots from al-Qaeda through its main characters like Osman bin Laden (Saudi) and al-Zawahiri from Egypt (Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020). Therefore, within the view of Al-Jabiri's social ethics which emphasizes the usefulness aspect of a individual's actions, it is in contrary toward political Islam which gives birth to many works of death, worry, fear, and so on (Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020).

3. The Work of the Political Islam Movement: separatism and terror acts

The final part to discuss is the work of the political Islam movement which needs to be analyzed based on rational ethical considerations, which becomes the most

important point in the study of al-Jabiri's social ethics. Many of the actions of separatism have been described above, how groups such as GAM, DI, and KPPSI, that have been described in the previous chapter, whose the ethical review has an impact similar to terrorism. The suicide bombing using religious robes is the largest and most controversial work in contemporary Islamic studies. To take a closer look, that there is no truly naked violence, there must be a motive behind one's violence. For example, interpreting *Jihad fisabiillah* as a metaphysical estuary with desiring to get heaven. This theology of Jihad is the root of the construction of violence in the name of religion in Islam, which of course it is interpreted within twisted interpretation (Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020).

Several incidents have occurred in Indonesia. In the case of the Bali bombing (2002) which was carried out on Saturday night, October 12, 2002, claimed 202 lives and 209 victims were burned. The incident targeted Kuta beach, and the US embassy (Alfi Qonita Badi'ati, 2020). Moreover, the bombing acts at the Surabaya church exploded simultaneously at three different areas, then bombing acts at the church in Makassar. All these actions succeeded in giving a sense of tragedy to many people. Psychological pressure as a result of this violence assessed based on Abid-Al-Jabiri's social ethics, is considered to be a wrong doing and an immoral act. Al-Jabiri in his great work "Al-'Aql Akhlaq Arabi" emphasizes aspects of social benefit as human morality, especially Muslims.M.Abid Al-Jabiri, Al-'Aql Akhlaq Araby. hal.370. Two important standards are charity and the common good which for Al-Jabiri is a representation of rational reason as a human being and faith as part of the identity of a Muslim.

Thus, this ethical terminology purely takes its principles based on the teachings of the Qur'an, God's advice to his servants to be obedient and compliant, or in regards to the discussion of faiths in His verses are directly related with virtuous deeds (Al-Jabiri, 2009). Simply put, if someone has faith, then it must be useful to others. Hence, with this working scheme of this social ethical concept, Islamic terminology is not only interpreted as a collection of teachings or guidelines for Muslims in carrying out worship rituals between *khali* and *makhluq* (vertical), but it also encourages and regulates human relations toward others (horizontally). The absence of the benefits of political Islamic groups in social life in Indonesia, actually gives the wickedness of "*mafsadat*" which cannot be justified, let alone used as a moral example of Islam practice today. From all

these explanations, the political Islam movement in Indonesia reviewed from Al-Jabiri's social ethics with the approach used above, can be visualized based on the chart below:

Figure 3. *The Model of Radical Islamic Movement in Aj-Jabiri's Social Ethics Reasoning*

Based on the diagram (3) above, it can be described that the political Islam movement in Indonesia if examined based on Al-Jabiri's social ethical thinking gave birth to a classification based on; 1) Motives and goals, the political Islam movement dreams of a form of Indonesia becoming a Darul Islam (Islamic state), meaning changing the legal principles of the state from the constitution to Islamic Shari'ah, 2) The movement model, political Islam often plays identity politics with a dichotomous paradigm, in addition to it also carries out acts of terror and separatist actions 3) and the consequences of the above actions lead to the destruction of social order and threaten peace for the people of Indonesia. To explain more clearly the ethical construct of Al-Jabiri in the conceptual framework chart, based on these categories, then; 1) Epistemological reasoning developed by political Islam as a whole based on motives, actions and consequences, political Islam grows with Bayani reasoning. 2) the goals of morality that are expected in the concept of social ethics, based on motives, actions, and consequences, political Islam does not reflect Al-Jabiri's ethical orientation "intentions, actions and results, does not realize the goals of good deeds and the common good", that's why political Islam is the same as it never apply morality in Islamic teachings.

Conclusion

The political Islam movement in Indonesia was born from a misinterpretation of Islamic teachings, that is why the understanding of the concept of "*jihad fisabilillah*"

and "*caliphate system*" was also born of narrow and obsolete textual interpretations. As the Arab-Islamic civilization, with its structure of Islamic insight eliminates the function of reasoning, negates reality, and does not involve a historical approach in producing Islamic law from the holy book. This way of thinking will not be able to bring forward Islamic civilization in the future, with all the complexity of the problems that continue to be dynamic. Burhani Abid Al-Jabiri's offer of reasoning in face of the formulation on Arabic reasoning seems to be an oasis for the development of Islamic scientific studies today.

The image of the political Islam movement in Indonesia can threaten the stability of the democratic system, values, and national principles. By glorifying identity politics, political Islam gave birth to many controversial slogans, such as; "*anti-Pancasila, anti-NKRI, and anti-pluralism*". In addition, they also often demonstrate the dichotomy paradigm, easy to compartmentalize everything that is dissimilar, both in terms of knowledge to faith. The halal-haram, right-wrong, native-foreign narratives are not the morality on the teaching of Islam. Al-Jabiri views human morality based on good deeds towards other fellow human beings. In addition to good deeds, Al-Jabiri also underlies the concept of social ethics that is oriented towards the shared good of "*maslahah mursalah*". However, the actions taken by political Islam are not even beneficial for the Indonesian people. They promotes the acts of terror, violence in the name of religion, even separatism that create fear in the Indonesian people, for the integrity of the country, for being survive in the social order, and for the personal safety of the Indonesian people. With all of these images of this movement, the existence of political Islam is very much against the teachings of Islam which not only regulates the issue of the spiritual relationship between humans and God (vertical), but also encourages the value of worshiping act in social relations (horizontally) by making oneself more useful for many people.

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