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A decorative border composed of repeating geometric patterns, resembling stylized Arabic calligraphy or Islamic architectural motifs, framing the title text.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
CRITICAL ISLAMIC  
THOUGHT IN INDONESIA**



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## FOREWORD

I am debted to thank Allah for the completion of this book. The main material of this book derives from my doctoral theses at the State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta that was published in the Indonesian version entitled “PEMIKIRAN ISLAM KRITIS DI INDONESIA AKHIR ABAD XX (Studi terhadap Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman dan Mansour Fakih)”. However, this book is enriched with data and analysis to improve it. This book is a revision and improvement of the results of my dissertation by considering the inputs from my dissertation examiners and my supervisor of the International Dissemination of Scholarly Works (Idischow) Program, Mr. Fuad Jabali, Ph.d. The completion of this book is possible due to the grace and assistance from Allah SWT who has given the author physical and psychological strength to accomplish it. The book is entitled “The Development of Critical Islam Thoughts in Indonesia”. This book can be completed through a very long journey from 2009 to 2015 when the author was taking the doctoral program and in 2016 when attending the Idischow program.

The completion of this book is also because of the pray and encouragement from my parents, my late father and mother, Mr. Abdul Rochim and Mrs. Chumaiyah, who have supported my education from primary school level to the Postgraduate level. May their struggle and sincerity be good deeds and charity for them, and will send them to the heaven of Allah SWT, amin yā rabbal-ālamīn.

My sincere gratitude also goes to my parent in-law, my father Sudarlan and my mother Muchoyyaroh, who endlessly prayed for their son. My great thanks also go to my brothers and sisters who have prayed and supported for the completion of this book.

I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to my promoters whom I respect most, Prof. Dr. H. Djoko Suryo and Prof. Dr. H. Djam'annuri, M.A. They both had patiently supervised and motivated the author to complete the entire dissertation and provide very constructive guidance, inputs, and advice. Based on their advice, I felt that I had a clear methodological perspective in conducting this research. In addition, their role was very important in my intellectual journey. Hopefully, all their efforts and sincerity will be a charity for them that has never been broken until later in hereafter, Ameen. I don't forget to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor of the Idischow program, Mr. Fuad Jabali, Ph.D. who has given me extraordinary enlightenment related to how to do critical thinking and display a quality writing. He has become a very inspiring discussion friend.

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Surakarta, December 2018

Author

Dr. Zainul Abas, M.Ag.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Why Is Critical Islamic Thoughts?

Islamic thoughts in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Indonesia were a continuation of Islamic thoughts that had developed since the classical period. In the field of *kalam* for example, during the period of classical Islam there were various schools of thoughts among the *ummah* such as the Khawarij, Shia, Murjiah, Jabariyah, Qodariyah, Mu'tazilah, Ahlussunnah and Salafiyah.<sup>1</sup> The *Kalam* schools experienced continuous development until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century Islamic thoughts emerged with various religious patterns such as revivalism, modernism, neo-revivalism and neo-modernism as classified by Fazlur Rahman.<sup>2</sup>

In Indonesia, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two major religious organizations were born, Muhammadiyah in 1912, based in Yogyakarta and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in 1926, based in East Java. These two religious organizations became mainstems in Indonesia with their modern and traditional

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1 As-Syahrastani, *Al-Milal wa an-Nihal*, 1st publication (Beirut: Darul Fikr, 1997), p. 34-159.

2 Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 2-4. See also Taufik Adnan Amal (eds.), *Metode dan Alternatif Neomodernisme Islam Fazlur Rahman* (Bandung: Mizan, 1990), p. 17-20.

Islamic models as categorized by Deliar Noer when portraying Indonesian Muslim diversity in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup>

Islamic thoughts in Indonesia experienced rapid development in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The event of the Indonesian Independence Proclamation in 1945 which was then continued with the Old Order leadership, followed by the New Order leadership, and the development of diversified Muslims rised to responses and reactions of Muslims' thoughts and movements. The development of Islamic thoughts experienced wake and wane with various social and political challenges experienced by Muslims in Indonesia. These developments manifested in various forms and patterns, i.e. scriptural Islamic style, ideological Islam, modernist Islam and emancipatory Islam, as described by Masdar F. Mas'udi.<sup>4</sup> The development of Islamic thoughts also manifested themselves in the Puritan Islam and moderate Islam as described by Khaled M. Abou Fadl.<sup>5</sup>

In assosiation with the development of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia, Azyumardi Azra stated that the development of Islam in Indonesia, at least in the last three decades of the 20th century presents various interesting phenomena. Developments that occur in certain aspects can even be said to be "new" at all. As a result, approaches, paradigms and perspectives on religion in Indonesia, which were considered established and applied among scholars in many aspects, were reviewed and

3 Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1990-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990).

4 Masdar F. Mas'udi "Paradigma dan Metodologi Islam Emansipatoris" in Very Verdiansyah, *Islam Emansipatoris: Menafsir Agama untuk Praksis Pembebasan* (Jakarta: P3M, 2004), p. ix-xviii.

5 Khaled M. Abou el-Fadl, *Selamatkan Islam dari Muslim Puritan*, transl.. Helmi Musthofa (Jakarta: Serambi, 2005), p. 221-224.

reinvestigated.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the development of religious life in Indonesia in the last three decades of the 20th century showed extraordinary dynamics. Religious life seemed to have new passion and momentum. Islam returned as an important factor in the socio-political life in Indonesia.

Azra divided the patterns of religious articulation of the last three decades of the 20th century into three typologies, namely substancialism, legalism/formalism, and spiritualism. First, substancialism is essentially a paradigm of religious understanding that is more concerned with substance or content than attributes or certain explicit symbols relating to religion. In the social context, supporters of Islamic substancialism, for example, are more concerned about the development and application of implicit Islamic values in various social aspects. In this case, Azra showed a concrete example as seen in the principle of “Islam yes, Islamic party no” which was introduced by Nurcholish Madjid in the renewal movement which was introduced in the early 1970s. The supporters of substancialism strongly emphasize religious inclusiveness, tolerance and diversity (pluralism).

Second, formalism/legalism emphasizes more on the exclusive nature that is basically inherent in every religion. This emphasis on religious understanding or movement also lies on formal obedience and religious law, which is in the social context is often expressed in very outward forms of religious attributes or symbols. For the supporters of formalism, religious expressions must be manifested explicitly in every aspects of life, such as the emergence of Islamic banks, Islamic insurance,

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6 Azyumardi Azra, *Konteks Berteologi di Indonesia: Pengalaman Islam* (Jakarta: Penerbit Paramadina, 1999), p. 3.

and even Islamic housing. Other forms can be seen through the adoption of Arabic-style clothing such as *jalābiyah*, or even keeping beards and so forth. The understanding of the formalism supporters seems to be very literal, and because of that, rejects the interpretation of the substantialism supporters whom they see as liberal. Therefore, at a certain level, this formalism/legalism can lead to fundamentalism, which subsequently can take various expressions, from peaceful to radical.

Third, spiritualism is an understanding that emphasizes on the development of inner attitudes, which can be achieved through participation in exclusive groups of spiritual-mystic, Sufism and *tarekat*, or even through groups that can be called cults. The movements of spiritualism tend to be non-political and, therefore, rarely come to the surface. They become mass media headlines only when religious understandings of such groups are known or allegedly “deviant” from prevailing mainstream religious ideas. Symptoms of the emergence of such groups in Indonesia by the fact of the rapid socio-economic changes that lead to disruption, disorientation, or psychological dislocation in certain circles of society. In addition, their emergence can also be driven by dissatisfaction with established religious understandings, movements or organizations, which they see as being unable to accommodate their religious wandering.<sup>7</sup>

The 1970s is believed by many people as the new gateway to the Islamic thoughts in Indonesia. The patterns of Islamic thoughts began to be colored by new symptoms of renewal when Harun Nasution socialized rational thoughts and Nurcholish Madjid wrote on the need for renewal of Islamic thoughts, as well as other intellectuals offered new ideas. Harun Nasution

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7 *Ibid.*, p. 8-10.

and Nurcholish Madjid inadvertently became the opening locomotive for introducing Islamic neo-modernism discourses. Since then, this model thinking movement had flourished and had a place in the Islamic scientific constellation in the country.

Yudi Latif stated that throughout the 20th century there was the so-called “islamization of the educated”, which was the efforts of Muslim intelligentsia in the contestation of political struggle so that influence Indonesian scholars. Especially until the 1970s, this project was carried out primarily through “modernization” efforts towards institutions and ways how to express Islam. However, in the early 1980s, with the advancement of technology and modern civilizations in the Muslim world which was running with the deep penetration of Islamic fundamentalism globally had made several segments of the intellectuals generation shift from the “Islamic modernization” approach to “modernity islamization”.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, according to Zuly Qadir, the initial wave of Indonesian Islamic thought struggle was in the 1960s. The thinking of this era was continued by the era of the 1970s and 1980s with patterns of thought that was far different from the emerging new actors, such as Nurcholish Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, Djohan Effendy, Ahmad Wahib, Kuntowijoyo, Moeslim Abdurrahman, Amien Rais, Jalaluddin Rahmat, Dawam Rahardjo, and Munawir Syadzali. Whereas new actors in the 1990s include Mansour Fakhri, Azyumardi Azra, Komaruddin Hidayat, Kautsar Azhari Noer, Quraish Shihab, Amin Abdullah, and Budi Munawar Rachman.<sup>9</sup> Zuly said that their thoughts are

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8 Yudi Latif, *Inteligensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Abad ke-20* (Jakarta: Penerbit Mizan, 2012) p. 730.

9 Zuly Qadir, *Islam Liberal: Varian-Varian Liberalisme Islam di Indonesia 1991-2002* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2012), p. 87.

an example of how to present Islam as a social movement.<sup>10</sup>

The pioneers of Islamic thoughts are also classified by Budhy Munawar-Rahman. Budhy Munawar-Rahman divided the Islamic discourses in Islamic thoughts in Indonesia into three categories, namely Rational Islam, Islamic Civilization and Transformative Islam.<sup>11</sup> Budhy included Harun Nasution and Djohan Effendi as representatives of Rational Islam. Then, Nurcholish Majid, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Kuntowijoyo<sup>12</sup> as a representation of Islamic Civilization. While the representation of Transformative Islam is Dawam Rahardjo and Adi Sasono. Budhy included all these figures in the framework of Islamic “neo-modernism”. The inclusion of these figures in the context of Islamic “neo-modernism” thinkers has in common with Greg Barton’s typology which also included Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi and Abdurrahman Wahid as pioneers of the Islamic “neo-modernism” movements in Indonesia.

Among the figures mentioned by Zuly Qadir, Budhy Munawar-Rahman, and Greg Barton above, there are figures who can paradigmatically offered a critical pattern of Islamic thoughts. As discussed in previous descriptions that after the beginning of the emergence of renewal of Islamic thoughts introduced by Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid, Islamic thoughts in Indonesia experienced significant development and progress not only in its classical form but in its critical form. This is what then generated critical Islamic thoughts. The construction

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10 Zuly Qadir, *Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam: Wacana dan Aksi Islam Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006), p. 34.

11 Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Islam Pluralis* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001), p. 267.

12 See Kuntowijoyo, *Islam Sebagai Ilmu: Metodologi dan Etika* (Jakarta: Penerbit Teraju, 2004) and Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi*, 8<sup>th</sup> publication (Bandung: Mizan, 1998).

of this thought developed not only on the debate within the scope of the *Kalam* schools and the interpretation of the verses of the Koran, but rather relates to various local and global socio-cultural developments along with the rise of critical theoretical thinking in Europe and liberation theology in Latin America. Critical Islamic thought is an Islamic thought that develops a paradigm for liberation and social change as the ideals of the struggle for critical social theory and liberation theology.

The scholars who belong to the pioneers of the development of critical Islamic thoughts include Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih. They consistently offered critical thoughts in response to the development of social life in Indonesia. Their thinking had developed in such a way that it has a significant influence on the thoughts and movements carried out by Muslims in Indonesia.

The development of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia is interesting to study. This is because critical Islamic thoughts are Muslims' intellectual treasure that is very important to the development of Islamic thoughts in general. Critical Islamic thought is a model of Islamic thought which is unique as it adopts analytical methods of social theories, especially critical social theory.

Based on the descriptions above, some questions can be addressed: (1) why do critical Islamic thoughts emerge in Indonesia? (2) how does the paradigmatic form or construction of critical Islamic thinking develop in Indonesia? (3) what are the influences of critical Islamic thinking on the process of Muslim social change in Indonesia?

The critical Islamic thinking of this study is the thinking offered by Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and

Mansour Fakih. These three figures may represent critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia. These three figures offered their critical thoughts in a different way and manner which includes the liberation Islam of Abdurrahman Wahid, transformative Islam of Moeslim Abdurrahman and the theology of the oppressed of Mansour Fakih. Abdurrahman Wahid is a scholar and a leading figure of Nahdathul Ulama (NU: the biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia) who had a traditional and modern education background. He has a tremendous influence both in NU and outside NU. Moeslim Abdurrahman is a scholar of Muhammadiyah who had a strict Muhammadiyah educational background and also had a modern education both in Indonesia and abroad. Moeslim Abdurrahman is an extraordinary Muhammadiyah asset in elaborating the idea of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan and has a great influence on the development of Muhammadiyah young intellectuals. Meanwhile Mansour Fakih is a scholar who attended modern education both in Indonesia and abroad and pursued his field in thought movements in non-governmental organizations. His influence is very remarkable for praxis work among non-governmental organizations.

The Islamic thoughts that were presented by these figures/actors were thoughts that emerged in the late 20th century. The end of the 20th century means the last three decades of the 20th century that began from the 1970s as a new era in the Islamic thoughts in Indonesia. The period of the 1970s was an important period in the development of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia as described above.<sup>13</sup>

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13 See Azyumardi Azra, *Konteks Berteologi di Indonesia: Pengalaman Islam* (Jakarta: Penerbit Paramadina, 1999), p. lx.



This study is aimed to investigate and describe the development of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia, especially in the field of *kalam*. This study is limited to critical Islamic thinking in the field of *kalam*, so that it does not go too wide to other fields such as law, quranic exegesis, Sufism, etc.

The tracking and writing of critical Islamic thoughts are expected to contribute to complementing the reconstruction of Islamic intellectual property, especially in Indonesia. The writing of the history of Critical Islamic Thoughts shows that Islam is actually a revolutionary religion, a religion that liberates the problems faced by humanity. Critical Islamic thought is one of the Muslim intellectual treasures that deserves to be considered as a useful thought for social change.

This study is very significant and relevant to be carried out in order to reveal the models of Islamic thought that show the defense for justice, independence, tolerance, community development, community empowerment and social change in society. In this pluralistic Indonesian life, the presence of the thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih is highly relevant.

The theoretical contribution of this study is the findings, explaining that a thought is strongly influenced by a socio-cultural, educational, reading and social background of the scholars. Academic anxiety or social anxiety of an actor can be different from others, even though they have the same purpose. Theoretically, the anxieties of Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih showed their uniqueness. Likewise, the paradigmatic construction offered also shows the uniqueness that enrich the forms or models of Islamic thoughts.

The study of critical Islamic thoughts cannot be separated from the study of Islamic thoughts in general in Indonesia. Studies that discuss the maps of thinking of Muslim scholars have been carried out by many scholars. Such studies usually concern thinking in general. Some studies on the modern Islamic movements include the studies conducted by Deliar Noer, Hamka, Azyumardi Azra and Greg Barton. Deliar Noer tried to find the roots of modern thoughts in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century, precisely with the establishment of Sarikat Islam, which later generated modernist and traditionalist typologies.<sup>14</sup> Hamka found that the movements had existed in the 19th century, particularly with the event of the Padri war.<sup>15</sup>

Azyumardi Azra then found a different finding. He suggested that the roots of modern Islamic thoughts in Indonesia had existed in the 17th/18th century in evidence with the existence of Indonesian ulama networks with Middle Eastern scholars.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, Greg Barton studied the development of Islamic thoughts through the role of four Muslim scholars which include Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib, and Abdurrahman Wahid. According to Barton, they are the pioneers of Islamic Neo-Modernism through the idea of liberal Islam in Indonesia.<sup>17</sup>

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14 Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1990-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990).

15 See Karel Steenbrink, "Hamka (1908-1981) and the Integration of the Islamic Ummah of Indonesia", in *Jurnal Islamika*. Vol. 1, No. 3, 1994, p. 119-147.

16 Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama* (Bandung: Mizan, 1997).

17 Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995). See also Munawar Ahmad "Kajian Kritis terhadap Pemikiran KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur) 1970-2000", *Dissertation*. See Munawar Ahmad, *Ijtihad Politik Gus Dur: Analisis Wacana Kritis* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2010).

More specific studies focus most on political thinking (the relationship between Islam and the state). One of them as conducted by M. Syafi'i Anwar, which was later published into a book entitled "*Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Politik tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru* (The Thoughts and Actions of Indonesian Islam: A Political Study of New Order Muslim Scholars).<sup>18</sup> To do political mapping and its analysis towards the form of the relationship between Islam and the New Order bureaucracy, he noticed that there are many typologies of the thinking paradigm of Indonesian Muslim scholars such as formalistic, substancialistic, transformative, totalistic, idealistic and realistic.

Another study that also explicitly carried out the reconstruction of Indonesian Islamic thoughts (New Order) was published by Fachry Ali and Bahtiar Effendy entitled *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru* (Reaching the New Way of Islam: The Reconstruction of Indonesian Islamic Thoughts during the New Order). This book was later "refined" by Bachtiar Effendi in his dissertation entitled "Islam and The State: The Transformation of Islamic Political Ideas and Practices in Indonesia".<sup>19</sup> The study focuses more on the thoughts of the political, social and economic fields. The study tried to reconstruct the journey of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia by making periodization of Islamic thoughts. The study also tried to map the patterns of Muslim intellectual thoughts into "neo-modernism (Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman

18 M. Syafi'i Anwar, *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Politik tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), p. 327-329.

19 Fachry Ali and Bachtiar Effendi, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992). See also Bachtiar Effendi, "Islam and the State: the Transformation of Islamic Political Ideas and Practices in Indonesia", *Dissertation*, Ohio University Press, 1994.

Wahid), socialism-democrats (M. Dawam Rahardjo, Adi Sasono and Kuntowijoyo), universalism (M. Amien Rais, Jalaluddin Rakhmat and AM Saefuddin) and modernism (Djohan Effendy and Achmad Syafi'I Ma'arif). Then, Dawam Raharjo in his book *Intelektual, Inteligensia dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa: Risalah Cendekiawan Muslim* (Intellectual, Intelligence, and Political Behaviour of the Nation: The Treatise of Muslim Scholars) has also done sociological maps of Indonesian Muslim scholars. This intellectuals mapping is also seen from the perspective of political and socio-economic issues.<sup>20</sup>

Yudi Latif, on the other hand, conducted a research investigating Muslim intelligence genealogy in relation to the "power" struggle in the 20th century in Indonesia. Yudi mapped the pattern of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia in the fields of political sociology and history. Yudi uses genealogical methods to see the power relations that occur in the domain of education, public space, discourse practices, and power play. Yudi distinguishes between intellectual and intelligence terminology. In his opinion, intelligence refers to a social strata and indicates a "collective response" from the system of values, habitus and certain collective memories. While intellectual refers to "individuality" of thinkers and indicates individual responses of thinkers to a historical "call" or a particular social function.<sup>21</sup>

Yudi's terminology is different from Dawam Raharjo. Dawam, stated that "intellectuals are educated groups who are either school graduate or drop outs, whose role is not necessarily

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20 M. Dawam Raharjo, *Intelektual, Inteligensia dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa: Risalah Cendekiawan Muslim* (Bandung: Mizan, 1993).

21 Yudi Latif, *Inteligensia...*, p 1-10.

related to the knowledge they learn or the profession they have. They usually act as social critics, emancipatory, and often political. whereas, intelligence is educated people who use their scientific discipline professionally, and because of that the role they play is closely related to the discipline they learn. ”<sup>22</sup>

In more detail, based on time, Yudi divides Muslim scholars into six generations who have developed to the present. The first generation is the generation of Agus Salim, Cokroaminoto and others. The second is the generation of Wahid Hasyim and Kafrawi, who represent the traditional group. The third is the generation of Mukti Ali, Deliar Noer, Zakiah Darajat and others. This generation was alleged by Yudi to have pioneered the birth of organizations such as HMI (Islamic Student Association), PII (Indonesian Islamic Students), and GPII (Indonesian Islamic Students Association). The fourth is the generation of Imadudin Abdul Rahim, Ismail Hasan Metareum, and Cak Nur. The fifth is the generation represented by Azyumardi Azra, Fahri Ali, Masdar F. Masudi and Marwah Daud Ibrahim. While Hidayat Nurwahid, Nurmahmudi Ismail, and Ismail Mutammimul Ula represent the activists of dakwah. The fourth and fifth generations have succeeded in creating ICMI (Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association). The sixth is the current generation represented by activists who have been actively voicing Islamic liberalism, such as Ulil Abshar-Abdalla, Hamid Basyaib, Saiful Mujani, Burhanudin, and Nong Darol Mahmada. Not only did they represent the sixth generation, but the liberalism movement they carried out was also considered the most colorful generation of Muslim intellectuals at this time. On the other side, there are names, such as Anis Matta and

22 M. Dawam Raharjo, *Intelektual, Inteligensia dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa: Risalah Cendekiawan Muslim* (Bandung: Mizan, 1993).

Adian Husaini who represent “fundamentalists”.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, some studies on *kalam* have been conducted by moslem scholars. These studies can be classified into two areas; studies on the thoughts of the figures in *kalam* (Islamic theology), and the history of the *mazhab* (schools) associated with the issues of *kalam*. *Kalam* figures who are widely studied are the figures of Ahlussunnah (Asy’ariyah and Maturidiyah) and the figures of Mu’tazilah (rationalist schools in Islam).

Nukman Abbas conducted a research which was later published with the title: *Al-Asy’ari: Misteri Perbuatan Manusia dan Takdir Tuhan* (Al-Ash’ari: The Mystery of Human Action and God’s Destiny). He focused his study on the thoughts of Al-Ash’ari and some of the main figures of Ash’ariyah (al-Ash’ari, al-Baqillani, al-Juwaini, and al-Ghazali), focusing more on their thinking concerning human actions which are associated with the absolute power of God.<sup>24</sup> Tsuroya Kiswali wrote a dissertation which was later published into a book entitled “*Al-Juwaini: Peletak Dasar Teologi Rasional dalam Islam*” (Al-Juwaini: the Founder of Rational Theology in Islam). Tsuroya discussed the thoughts of Al-Juwaini, a figure who grew up in the Asy’ariyah sect, but he had a very diverse way of thinking. According to Tsuroya, Al-Juwaini’s thinking is relevant and in accordance with the situation of the Indonesian people, both in the field of religious faith and in the field of nation and state development.<sup>25</sup>

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23 Yudi Latif, *Inteligensia...*, p. 730-743.

24 Nukman Abbas, *Al-Asy’ari: Misteri Perbuatan Manusia dan Takdir Tuhan* (Surabaya: Erlangga, no year).

25 Tsuroya Kiswali, *Al-Juwaini: Peletak Dasar Teologi Rasional dalam Islam* (Surabaya: Erlangga, no year).

Ahmad Jainuri wrote a dissertation entitled: *The Formation of the Muhammadiyah's Ideology from 1912-1942* in 1997. In 2002, the dissertation was published in Indonesian under the title *Ideologi Kaum Reformis: Melacak Pandangan Keagamaan Muhammadiyah Periode Awal* (Ideology of the Reformers: Tracking the Religious Views of Muhammadiyah of the Early Period). Ahmad Jainuri offered a new perspective on the theological doctrine of the religious movement as a means to arouse social enthusiasm for its supporters. Jainuri put it in a sociological context and limited his discussion to Muhammadiyah. Federspiel also wrote about *Persatuan Islam* (Islamic Unity) in 1970. He unraveled the theological debates that occurred among Indonesian scholars in the 1950s, but was limited to the point of view of followers of *Persatuan Islam* (Islamic Unity). In addition, Thoha Hamim wrote a dissertation entitled *Moenawar Chalil's Reformist Thought: A Study of an Indonesian Religious Scholar (1908-1961)*, written in 1996. Hamim discussed how Moenawar Chalil is a respected figure, both within the Muhammadiyah and Islamic Union, who tried to purify Islamic teachings. Hamim emphasizes specifically the ideas of Chalil puritanism in faith and worship. According to Fauzan Saleh, Hamim's dissertation is an important academic contribution in the field of theological discourse development in Indonesia, but remains limited to certain circles. Richard C. Martin and his colleagues, however, wrote a book entitled *Defenders of Reason in Islam: Mu'tazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol*. The book was written in 1997. Martin offers a new perspective on the development of Islamic theological thinking today where Nasution's influence received special attention. Martin tried to study how the doctrine of mu'tazilism and rational theology had special implications on the ideas

of modernity in the context of the ongoing dialogue between revelation and reasoning in Indonesia. The work of Martin did not discuss the development of previous theological thoughts that had been developed by Indonesian Muslim scholars.<sup>26</sup>

Fauzan Saleh wrote a dissertation entitled *Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in Twentieth Century Indonesia: A Critical Survey*, which was published in Indonesian under the title *Teologi Pembaruan: Pergeseran Wacana Islam Sunni di Indonesia Abad XX* (Theology of Renewal: Shifting Discourse of Sunni Islam in the Twentieth Century in Indonesia). Fauzan focused on the reformist theological thinking which joined the Muhammadiyah movement and Islamic Unity (*Persatuan Islam*). Fauzan reevaluated Federspiel's thesis which considered that Muhammadiyah supporters belong to the orthodox group which is reflected in their acts in maintaining monotheistic purity, moral perfection, and the implementation of Shari'a in daily life. Fauzan also evaluated the B.J. Bolan thesis which is more likely called as traditional groups as orthodox.<sup>27</sup>

In addition, there is a study on the Asghar Ali Engineer Liberation Theology conducted by the lecturer of IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Muhammad Agus Nuryatno, who pursued a master's program at McGill University, entitled: *Asghar Ali Engineer Views on Liberation Theology and Women Issues in Islam: An Analysis*. The study investigates the conception of the theology of the liberation of Asghar Ali Engineer and its relationship to women's issues. Then, there was also a thesis research conducted by Nasihun Amin entitled *Teologi Pembebasan Islam sebagai*

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26 Author asked some information on this study or works from Fauzan Saleh dissertation. See Fauzan Saleh, *Teologi Pembaruan: Pergeseran Wacana Islam Sunni di Indonesia Abad XX* (Jakarta: PT. Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2004), p. 31-32.

27 *Ibid.*



*Alternatif: Telaah terhadap Pemikiran Asghar Ali Engineer* (The Liberation Theology of Islam as an Alternative: A Study of the Asghar Ali Engineer's Thought), and Mansur's research entitled *Teologi Pembebasan Kristen dan Islam: Studi Komparasi Pemikiran Gustavo Guitierrez dan Asghar Ali Engineer* (Christian Liberation and Islamic Theology: Comparative Study of the Thought of Gustavo Guitierrez and Asghar Ali Engineer).

There is also research conducted by Zuly Qodir, which was later published as a book entitled *Islam Liberal: Varian-Varian Liberalisme Islam di Indonesia 1991-2002* (Liberal Islam: Variants of Islamic Liberalism in Indonesia 1991-2002). The study tried to study and photograph the new generation of Islamic thought movements and Indonesian Muslim intellectuals. The book can be seen as a follow-up study of several previous books that investigate Indonesian Islamic thoughts. The study uses a sociology of knowledge approach. Zuly limited his study from 1991 to 2002 as it was the period the young generation of progressive Indonesian Muslims moved dynamically with their new brilliant ideas and and to some extent are also controversial. Zuly mapped the new generation of intellectuals into several typologies, namely progressive liberals, exclusive liberals, moderate liberals, radical liberals, to transformative liberals. According to Zuly Qodir, the emergence of a liberal Islamic thought movement cannot be separated from various factors such as globalization, modernization, the attitude of the government that is relatively accomodative to Muslims, and the emergence of new Islamic movements that seems radical which is fighting for the implementation of Islamic law and is trying to change Indonesia to an Islamic state.<sup>28</sup>

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28 See Zuly Qodir, *Islam...*, p. vi.

None of these studies focusing on the study of Critical Islamic Thoughts in relation to tracking the history of its development, factors that influence to the development of Critical Islamic Thoughts in Indonesia, and the intellectuals who play a role and as well as their paradigmatic construction. Therefore, it is interesting for the author discuss those issues in this book.

To understand and analyze Critical Islamic Thoughts in Indonesia, the author uses the theory of Gustavo Gutierrez and Asghar Ali Engineer on liberation theology. Gutierrez is one of the main intellectuals who offer liberation theology in Latin America. In this case, the term used by Gutierrez is the theology of liberation. Asghar Ali Engineer, however, is a Muslim intellectual who is concerned about writing liberation theology in Islam.

The important thing raised by Gutierrez is the theological function. Gutierrez asserted that the function of theology is as a critical reflection on the practical matters that take place in everyday life (historical Praxis). In the historical praxis, a very important foundation is charity. Charity is a form of love. Love is nourishment and fullness of faith (Love is food and perfection of faith). In relation to this, there are two important things, namely the mixed life (contemplation and active), that is fruitful synthesis between contemplation and action, and in action contemplation (contemplative in action). Here, great sensitivity is needed on the anthropological aspects of revelation.<sup>29</sup>

In this context, theology means critical reflection on the praxis of the history of liberation. According to Gutierrez, the

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29 Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, New York : Orbis Books, 1996), p. 5-6.

motivation for liberation theology is not to create an ideology that justifies a status quo. For Gutierrez, by thinking through faith someone strengthens love and gives reasons to hope from the results of an increasingly radical, thoroughly, and efficient commitment.<sup>30</sup>

Liberation theology is not only fighting for orthodoxy (establishing doctrine) and orthopraxis (demanding to be carried out in a global and God-directed manner), but also heteropraxis that is orthodoxy as far as orthopraxis is derived (the teaching formula is based on concrete experience and return newly to the actions demanded by the formulation of the teachings).<sup>31</sup>

Accordingly, Asghar Ali Engineer stated that if religion is seriously regarded as good and stands unilaterally with revolution, progress and change, then religion must be freed from philosophically theological aspects which are developing to its peak until this philosophical aspect becomes a major part of religion rather than supporting the oppressed, but rather supporting the oppressor group. Liberation theology must cleanse the elements of theology that support the status quo, which are only ritualistic, dogmatic and solely metaphysical. Religion must not only stop at the afterlife, should not merely deal with worldly matters. Religion must maintain its relevance. The historicity and contemporary of religion on one hand, and worldly and afterlife affairs on the other hand, must be united to become a living and dynamic religion. Religion must be a source of motivation for the oppressed to change their situation, and become a spiritual force to communicate themselves

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30 Fr. Wahono Nitiprawira, *Teologi Pembebasan: Sejarah, Metode, Praksis, dan Isinya* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2000), p. 34.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

meaningfully and understand spiritual aspects that are higher than this reality.<sup>32</sup>

According to Asghar,<sup>33</sup> to develop social structures that liberate humans from all kinds of slavery, *tawheed*/monotheism (an important part of theology) must be seen from a social perspective. *Tawheed* is the essence of Islamic theology. *Tawheed* must be interpreted not only as the oneness of God, like classical theology suggests, but also as a unity of mankind which will not be truly understood without the creation of a classless society. Such a concept of monotheism encourages the creation of justice and good deeds (*al-'adl wa al-aḥsan*). When the world is split into a developing country and an oppressive class (developed countries), real human unity is impossible. Therefore, monotheism must be able to create structures that are free from exploitation.

Islam emphasizes on human unity (unity of mankind). Islam opposes the concept of racial, ethnic, national or family superiority. This has been confirmed in the Qur'an. "O humans! We created you from men and women. We made you nations and tribes, so that you know each other. Indeed, the noblest of you in the sight of Allah are the most pious. Indeed Allah is All-Knowing." (49:13)

Islam in the technical and social-revolutionary definition is a religion that becomes a challenge that threatens the oppressive structure inside and outside of Arab today. The basic purpose is universal brotherhood, equality and social justice. First, Islam emphasizes the unity of mankind which is affirmed in the

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32 Asghar Ali Engineer, *Islam dan Teologi Pembebasan*, transl. Agung Prihantoro, 4<sup>th</sup> publication (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006), p. 32.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 14

verse of the Qur'an (49:13) above. This verse clearly refutes all concepts of racial superiority, ethnicity, nationality or family, with one affirmation and a call for the importance of piety. The piety mentioned in the Qur'an is not only ritual piety, but also social piety, "Do justice, because it is closer to *taqwa* (5:8)."

Second, as stated in the verse, Islam places great emphasis on justice in all aspects of life. This justice will not be created without freeing the weak and marginal groups of people from suffering, and giving them the opportunity to become leaders. The Qur'an does not hesitate to entrust the leadership of the whole world to *mustad'afin*, which is the weak people. According to the Qur'an, they are the leaders and heirs of the world. The Qur'an also commands believers to struggle to free the weak and oppressed groups of people. "Why don't you fight in the way of Allah and defend the oppressed, men, women and children who say," Our Lord! Take us out of this city where the people did wrong. Give us protection and help from you (4:75)."<sup>34</sup>

According to Farid Esack, an expert in Al-Qur'an hermeneutics, the discussions begin from liberating the oppressed to the realization of the themes of pluralism, justice, and social solidarity (between religions). According to Esack, the basis of recognition to other religions is clearly not a reciprocal acceptance in Islam and the prophetic of Muhammad with all its implications; nor does it have it at all. In fact, the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslims have defined the basics of coexistence, and have mapped the forms of submission as the right for the community. Al-Qur'an has clearly confirmed the ideological leadership role it carries. Likewise, the pious charity does not mean a permanent superior socio-religious

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

position for the Muslim community. Muslims as a social entity are not superior to others, because such position will put them and their parochial God into the same category as those who are denounced by the Qur'an for their pride and lust to possess God to a narrow community. Al-Qur'an suggests that independence does not the basis for people to claim for superiority over others on the achievements of their ancestors.<sup>35</sup>

Esack added that the Qur'an does not equate everyone and their ideas, but departs from the premise that the idea of inclusiveness is superior to exclusivism. Related to this issue, supporters of pluralism "must be above" those who insist that the expression of other religions has no value and that the expression of their religion is the only way to achieve salvation. Inclusiveness is not only in the form of a desire to accept the existence of any ideas and practices, but also leads to certain goals, such as freeing people from injustice and slavery from other humans so that they can freely worship God.<sup>36</sup>

The principles of inclusivism and justice, at the next stages, can generate attitudes of social solidarity against oppressors and defend the oppressed. According to Esack, al-Qur'an roots its pluralism in the struggle against oppression and injustice. Not in the form of interfaith dialogue like now, we witness an unspoken solidarity with marginal and exploited people that cross narrow doctrinal lines. One can say that the basis of pluralism proposed by the Qur'an is liberative praxis.<sup>37</sup>

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35 Farid Esack, *Membebaskan Kaum Tertindas*, (translated) Watung A. Budiman (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 2000), p. 223.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

From the descriptions above, there are several important points that will be used to understand what related to the characteristics of critical Islamic thought derived from the critical theory and liberation theology, namely:

1. Islamic thought which departs from the point of praxis of the suffering of the community, tries to critically reflect on the praxis that takes place in everyday life (historical praxis)
2. thought that elaborate the transformation of revelations from text theory to practice;
3. Emancipatory Islamic thought, human emancipation in the fields of economics, politics and culture, starting from the reaction against an unjust society system, developing a social structure that frees people from all kinds of slavery, status quo and hegemony.

So, critical Islamic thought is a thought that not only ontologically talks about the issues of faith and eschatological concepts that are far from the problems of life, but also talks about the actual issues that are being faced by humans. The main concern is the condition of inequality or injustice that exists in human life. Epistemologically, critical Islamic thought is a thought that sees the truth of religion not only from the truth of the text but also by seeing the truth in the daily practices (historical praxis). In historical praxis, there is an attempt to carry out human emancipation. The truth of religion lies on his defense of human emancipation.

## **B. Brief Description of the Study**

The object of this study is the development of critical Islamic thoughts of Muslim intellectuals which include the

thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih. The analysis component is the role of the three figures and their thoughts.<sup>38</sup> To analyze this component, author used two approaches; historical and hermeneutic approaches.

This study uses a historical study in the field of critical Islamic thought in Indonesia. This study takes the history of thought or the history of ideas. Kuntowijoyo suggested that the history of thought is the study of the role of ideas in historical events and processes. Therefore, related to the history of this thought, there are two important things to notice. First, the actors of the history of thought (the role of the actor) and the historical tasks of thought (process).

First, those relate to the history's actors. The historical actors in the context of this study are Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih. Here, the actors' role is in the sense of individual or personal, not a collective thinking or ideas. Second, those relate to the history tasks. The history of thought has various tasks, such as: (1) discussing the great thoughts that influence historical events, (2) looking at the historical context in which it emerged, grew, and developed (history on the surface ), and (3) the influence of thought in the lower community. This study looks at the great thoughts of the three figures above, their historical context and their influence to society.

To be able to see a big thought, its historical context and influence to society, there are three approaches that can be done. The First is text studies, the study of historical context and the study of the relationship between text and society. The text

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38 See M. Atho Mudzhar, *Pendekatan Studi Islam dalam Praktek dan Teori* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998), p. 13-14.



study approach includes a variety of thoughts which comprises genesis of thought, consistency of thought, evolution of thought, systemic thinking, development and change, variants of thought, communication of thought, and internal dialectics and continuity of thought, and intertextuality.

Second, the historical context study approach covers several aspects which include the historical context, political context, cultural context and social context. Historical context is a thought that is usually motivated by a large historical event. The political context is a thought that is usually motivated by the actual political events that take place. Cultural context is a thought that is usually also motivated by a culture that applies in a particular society. The social context is a thought that emerges as a consequence of taking over the sociology of knowledge approach.

Third, a study approach to the relationship between text and society. Regarding this relationship there is a difficulty in discussing the relationship between the thoughts above and the community below. The first difficulty lies on the lack of clarity about intermediaries: who is the bearer of the relationship? The second difficulty is regarding the source of transmission, the lower society must receive transmission of thought from various sources, not only from one source.

Something very important in the history of thought in this study is about evidence. Regarding the issue of this evidence there are several types of evidence used. First, written evidence in the form of autobiographies, memoirs, books, articles, pamphlets, literature, and correspondence. Second, behavior intended to fight for an ideology or thought. Third, words, that is a word that shows an attitude or thought of a person or

group. Fourth, a symbol system, that is symbol that strengthen a thought. Fifth, oral traditions, that is a tradition that shows and strengthens a thought.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, as Taufik Abdullah and M Rusli Karim suggested that to understand a thought in the perspective of historical studies requires an understanding of the social situation experienced by the scholars. There are three classifications of religion as a phenomenon which are object of this study; religion as doctrine (religion *wissenschaft* discipline, religious science, history of religion), dynamics and structure of society “shaped” by religion (sociology, anthropology, history etc.), and attitude of adherent society to doctrine (a problem that is complex and level of diversity, or religiosity, can be qualitative and quantitative research).<sup>40</sup>

According to Mattulada, studying religious phenomena means studying human behavior in religious life. The religious phenomenon itself is a manifestation of human attitudes and behavior in relation with something that are considered sacred, and reasonable from an occultation. In this case, the method of history pays more attention to the process of events that occur in human behavior in its society. This process explains the beginning of the event and the factors that contribute to the process. Historical methods observe a socio-cultural process. The process eventually comes to a state that has been integrated into the system of social and cultural behavior, and expresses

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39 Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003), p. 189-197 and 202.

40 Taufik Abdullah & M. Rusli Karim (eds.), *Metodologi Penelitian Agama: Suatu Pengantar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> publication (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 1991), p xi-xv.

itself as patterned behavior.<sup>41</sup>

Accordingly, Nourouzzaman stated that historical knowledge is not just a date, a story of a good past. As Ibn Khaldun (w.808 / 1406) stated that the essential meaning of history is to involve speculation and attempt to find critical explanatory truths about the causes and genesis of the truth and the depth to knowledge about “how” and “why” the events occur.<sup>42</sup>

In relation to the importance of mentioning the periods in the history is that everyone is a product of the past and always undergoes a process of continuous change and development in unbroken chains. It means that human life should be understood through the mission of continuity, diversity and change. In this case, the same cause does not have to cause the same effect. The emergence of an event or idea is not necessarily caused by one factor, but it can be caused by many factors both internal and external. Therefore, a study is required to find the dominant internal and external factors which are the prime cause of the process. The search of this prime cause is the work scope of historical analysis. It is what is called “the historical context”.

According to Thomas Michel S.J, a thought cannot rise without a context as thinking about monotheism or theology. There are several factors that can be questioned, for example the question about the background of thought in the history of his day, what theological disputes were being talked at the

41 Mattulada, “Studi Islam Kontemporer : Sintesis Pendekatan Sejarah, Sosiologi dan Antropologi dalam Mengkaji Fenomena Keagamaan” in Taufik Abdullah & M. Rusli Karim (eds), *Metodologi...*, p. 1 and 7.

42 Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi, “Sejarah: Pisau Bedah Ilmu Keislaman” in Taufik Abdullah & M. Rusli Karim (eds.), *Metodologi...*, p. 70, quoted from Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, which is translated to Indonesian language by Ismail Djamil, *Islam dan Dunia Modern di Mesir* (Jakarta: Pustaka Rakyat, 1947), p. 37.

time, whether the initiator of the thought answered the thoughts of others, or the initiator responded to the events that were happening. Therefore, the author is to look at the historical background that influenced the creation of the thought that was investigated. With the historical background knowledge of an essay, the author can understand the historical atmosphere that colored the mind of a person who initiated an idea about theology or monotheism.<sup>43</sup>

So, based on the descriptions above, it is clear that a history is a science that represents past events, with certain methods as if it happens again at this time.<sup>44</sup> With this historical approach, the author emphasizes the processes that occur in the emergence and development of the idea of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia. The process explains the beginning of the event and the factors that contribute to the process.<sup>45</sup>

The same cause does not necessarily cause the same effect. Accordingly, the emergence of an event or idea is not always caused by one factor. There can be many internal and external factors that can influence the process of birth, change and development. In this case, there are dominant factors both internal and external. Therefore, this historical approach is expected to be able to reconstruct the process of genesis, change and development, so that it can identify the origin of the

43 Thomas Michel S.J., "Study Mengenai Ibnu Taymiyya : Sebuah Model Penelitian atas Tauhid Klasik" in Mulyanto Sumardi (eds.), *Penelitian Agama: Masalah dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1982), p. 99-100 and 106-107.

44 This statement is stated by Umar Faruq Thohir and Anis Hidayatul Imthannah when delivering a foreword in Mahfud Syaefuddin et al, (eds), *Dinamika Peradaban Islam: Perspektif Historis* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ilmu, 2013), p. vii. This statement is quoted from Ahmad Minhaji, 2009:77-83, 85-89.

45 Mattulada "Studi Islam Kontemporer: Sintesis Pendekatan Sejarah, Sosiologi dan Antropologi dalam Mengkaji Fenomena Keagamaan" in Taufik Abdullah et al. (ed), *Metodologi...*, p. 7.

emergence of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia, as well as its developments.<sup>46</sup>

In other words, the author tried to reveal the facts about what, who, when, where, and how something happened and its consequences. The author traced further the roles played by specific factors or events that have led to the development of critical Islamic thoughts as recorded in the works of Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih which were studied. This can provide a clear picture of the various issues that underlie the emergence of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia in the late twentieth century.<sup>47</sup>

As it is believed in anthropological studies that social practices must be studied in its contexts and they are essentially seen as practices related to others in society. In this context, the author sees that a religion and other life practices such as politics, economics, culture and others are practices that go together. Therefore, the ideas developed by Indonesian Muslim scholars cannot be seen as autonomous systems that are not affected by other social practices. In the study of anthropology, this way of working is called holistic. Even though the social world is in fact not organized into organic entities that are interrelated regularly, it is still a good anthropological practice to seek its interconnection. In reality, it might happen that some values and practices in a society are contradicted each other than supporting one to another. Communities often live in unsolved

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46 Nourouzzaman Shiddiqi "Sejarah, Pisau Bedah Ilmu Keislaman" in Taufik Abdullah dkk. (ed), *Metodologi...*, p. 73. See also Fauzan Saleh, *Teologi...*, p. 37.

47 Kaelan M.S., *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif bidang Filsafat* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Paradigma Yogyakarta, 2005), p. 60-61.

tensions, competing values, and problematic choices.<sup>48</sup>

The second approach used in this study is a hermeneutic approach. The definition of hermeneutics approach in this study is an approach that interprets the literature. The literature here is the works or critical Islamic thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih as outlined in their books.

Hermeneutics comes from the Greek term *hermeneuein*, which means “to interpret”, and *hermeneia* which means “interpretation”. The word *hermeneuein* or *hermeneia* contains three basic meanings; (1) to express words, for example, “to say”; (2) to explain, like explaining a situation; (3) to translate, as in a foreign language transliteration. These three meanings can be represented in the English verb “to interpret”, but each of the three meanings has an independent meaning and is significant for interpretation. Thus, the interpretation can refer to three different issues: oral pronunciation, reasonable explanation, and transliteration from other languages. From the meaning of the term, so what is meant by hermeneutics is the process of bringing something to understand by involving languages as languages are the most effective mediation tools in the process.<sup>49</sup>

In relation to this hermeneutic approach, the author is interested in looking at the theory offered by Gadamer that is the theory of fusion of horizons or *dirāsāt ma haula al-naṣ*. Sahiron Syamsuddin suggested that this theory, Gadamer asserts that in

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48 Peter Connolly (eds.), *Aneka Pendekatan Studi Agama* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002), p. 34. See also Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 6, and Daniel L.Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (New York: Oxford University, 1996), p. 241.

49 Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutika: Teori Baru Mengenai Interpretasi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), p. 14-16.

the process of interpretation there are two main horizons that must be considered and assimilated, namely the text horizon and the interpreter horizon. The text horizon or the worldview of the text can only be known through studying what is in the text and what surrounding it. The study of what is in the text is done by analyzing the linguistic aspects of the text, while the study of what surrounding the text is by analyzing the historical aspects surrounding it such as the micro-historical aspects (*asbab an-nuzul*) and the macro-historical aspects, like conditions of Arabs when the Qur'an was revealed. The next, when one has analyzed these steps, he/she will get the text horizon clearly. This horizon then is combined with the interpreter horizon in the form of interpretation re-actualization.<sup>50</sup>

This theory is related to application theory (*Anwendung*) and the Interpretation of *Ma'na cum-Maghza*. As Sahiron Syamsuddin suggested that Gadamer offered this theory by asserting that when an interpreter finds the intended meaning of a text at the time the text arises, he then develops interpretation or re-actualization/reinterpretation with still paying attention to the continuity of this "new meaning" with the original meaning of the text. With this theory, it is expected that the text messages can be applied at the time of interpretation.<sup>51</sup>

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50 Sahiron Syamsuddin "Hermeneutika Hans-Georg Gadamer dan Pengembangan Ulumul Qur'an dan Pembacaan Al-Qur'an pada Masa Kontemporer" in Syafa'atun Almirzanah & Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Upaya Integrasi Hermeneutika dalam Kajian Qur'an dan Hadits: Teori dan Aplikasi* (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Penelitian UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2009), p. 45.

51 See M. Amin Abdullah "Foreword" in Syafa'atun Almirzanah & Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Upaya...* p. x. See also M. Nur Kholis Setiawan "Emilio Betti dan Hermeneutika sebagai *Auslegung* in Syafa'atun Almirzanah & Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Upaya...*, p.9.

By using the historical and hermeneutic approach, the author analyzes the critical Islamic roles and thoughts of Abdurahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih. For this reason, this study applied two steps; data collection and analysis. To obtain data relating to the object of this study, the author searches data from library sources in the field of critical Islamic thoughts. The author collected information or data on their thoughts which they had written in the books, magazines, journals, newspapers, papers and so forth. In addition, the author also conducted interviews with those who are still alive or with people who are competent with the issues studied. The interviews used were unstructured and semi-structured interviews.<sup>52</sup>

This study uses qualitative data analysis.<sup>53</sup> The data analysis method used is an interactive model of Miles and Huberman which includes three stages; data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.<sup>54</sup> The activities of these three stages are interactive during the data collection. When data is collected, they are then reduced, displayed, and concluded continuously until the final conclusion is drawn.

### C. Book Chapters

The discussion of this book consists of 7 chapters. Chapter I elaborate the arguments why this topic is interesting and

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52 Catherine Dawson, *Practical Research Methods: A user-friendly guide to mastering research* (Oxford: Howtobook, no year), p. 27-28.

53 Earle Babbie, *The Basics of Social Research*, ed. II (Belmont USA: Wadsworth, 2002), p. 369-370. See also Miles, M.B & Huberman, A.M., *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Source of New Method* (Beverly Hill: Sage Publications, 1984).

54 "The three components" is quoted from Heribertus Sutopo, M.Sc. Ph.D, *Pengantar Penelitian Kualitatif: Dasar-Dasar Teoritis dan Praktis* (Surakarta: Pusat Penelitian UNS, 1988).



important to study. This discussion reveals the development and the shift of Islamic thoughts with the anxieties of Muslim scholars. From there, various issues are identified, so that they can direct this study on specific issues to address. With the existing theories and several previous studies, the discussion of this chapter will be meaningful as the foundation of analysis in the following chapters.

Chapter II discusses the discourses on critical Islamic thoughts. This chapter discusses the meaning of the keywords of the study namely the term of critical and critical Islamic thoughts.

Chapter III-V discusses the critical Islamic thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih. This chapter exposed the background, the paradigmatic construction which includes the ontological and epistemological foundations, and the influence of their thoughts.

Chapter VI presents various findings obtained in the previous chapters. They are analyzed with the possibility to offer Islamic thought that is capable of doing social changes.

Chapter VII presents conclusions and recommendations. The conclusions are drawn from the findings discussed in the previous chapters. The recommendations suggested are related to the continuation of the study on this theme and the benefits that can be taken from it.



## CHAPTER II

### DISCOURSES OF CRITICAL ISLAMIC THOUGHTS

#### A. Discourse on the Term “Critical”

An important concept that needs to be understood in this study is the term “critical”. The term “critical” is a term that can be understood from the word “critical”, “critique” and “criticism”. The term “critical” developed especially when used by critical philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, Hegel, Karl Marx. However, the term “criticism” has actually been used since the time of classical philosophers. The term “critical” was originally used in the Socratic methods in the West. Critical in the Socratic methods is a philosophy that follows the dialectic argument. The dialectical term shows this thought process originating in Socrates. In the dialogue process, Socrates uses dialectical methods. He involved himself in the arguments, in a tireless analysis of anything. Socrates believes that the best way to get reliable knowledge is by a disciplined conversation through playing the role of a midwife intellectual (someone who gives encouragement to someone to generate hidden knowledge in his mind). The method used by Socrates is called dialectic. The dialectical process is a dialogue between two opposing positions. Dialectic is the development of thought by using interplay among ideas.

Dialectical thinking or dialectical methods try to develop an example of an argument in which the implications of various processes (attitudes) influence each other. The argument will show that each process (attitude) does not present a perfect understanding of truth. Therefore new views and alternatives arise. Each stage of our dialectic goes deeper into the original problem, and thus it is possible to get closer to the truth. By using dialectical method we will be closer to the truth, but actually it is common for the philosophical problems that were previously not yet solved. With the dialectical method we can come to a temporary solution; there are answers that seem more satisfying, but there are also answers that we must be thrown away.

With Socrates' way, philosophy works by trying to correct imperfect or improper thoughts, by coaxing the truth of the situation. Socrates is famous because his thought that life which is not investigated is not worth living. Accordingly, philosophy runs with the belief that ideas that are not investigated are not worth possession. Thus dialectics requires critical thinking.<sup>1</sup>

Socrates was a Greek philosopher from Athens who lived in 469-399 BC. Socrates was known as the wisest person in Greece. He was sure that his task was to seek wisdom about the right behavior that could be used to direct the moral and intellectual development of Athenian citizens.<sup>2</sup>

In the Socrates method, it is stated that truth is still and must be sought. Its aim is to seek the truth that applies forever. To seek the truth, Socrates did not think of himself, but every

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1 Harold H Titus et al., *Persoalan-Persoalan Filsafat*, transl. M. Rasjidi (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), p. 9.

2 Harold H Titus et al., *Persoalan-Persoalan Filsafat*, p. 16.

time he is with others through questioning and answering. The second person was not seen as his opponent, but as a friend who was invited to jointly seek the truth. Truth must be born from the soul of friends as he is talking to himself. He does not teach, but helps to bring out what is stored in people's souls. Therefore, his method is called "*maieutics*", which means describing.

Socrates sought understanding, which is a fixed form rather than something. Therefore he always asks: what is it? What is bold, what is called beautiful, what is fair? The question of "what is it" must be ahead of "cause". Because the answers to "what is" must be sought with questions that increasingly grow and profound. Socrates is also recognized as a builder of dialectical knowledge. Questioning and answering that is done in an increasing and profound manner generate a critical mind.<sup>3</sup>

The results of questioning and answering are then followed with an understanding. For this reason, the way used by Socrates is the induction method and definition. What is meant by induction in the Socrates method is to compare critically. He did not try to achieve the common features from one thing. He tried to reach with examples and similarities, and also tested with the witness and the contrary of witness. The understanding obtained is then tested on several real conditions or events. If in that pair the understanding is not sufficient, then from the examination a definition improvement is sought. The definition achieved in this way is also tested once again to achieve a more perfect improvement. That's how Socrates reached understanding by induction to the definition.<sup>4</sup>

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3 Mohammad Hatta, *Alam Pikiran Yunani* (Jakarta: Penerbit Tintamas, 1986), p. 81.

4 Mohammad Hatta, *Alam Pikiran Yunani*, p. 82.

The critical thinking in philosophy was then continued by Plato, Socrates' student, by producing another concept of ideas with deductive idealist epistemology. This is like what initiated by Aristotle with the concept of nature realistically inductive. Since the Socrates era, critical thinking has developed in the form of developments in Western and Eastern scholastic philosophy. In the Eastern context, the development of scholastic philosophy of Islam flourished during the Mu'tazilah period from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century. Mu'tazilah borrowed many concepts of Greek thought and reasoning as a supporter of faith. The recognition of mind or reasoning as a source of knowledge (in addition to sources of revelation) is an important point in critical thinking. Then, great figures emerge such as al-Kindi (800-870 AD), al-Razi (865 - 925 AD), al-Farabi (872 - 950 AD) and Ibn-Sina (980-1037 AD), Al-Ghazali ( 1065-1111 AD), Ibn Bajjah (1100-1138 AD), Ibn Tufail (? - 1185), and Ibn Rushd ("Averroes") (1126-1198 AD).

The term critical thinking then develops with the term critical philosophy which is addressed to the thought of Immanuel Kant. In philosophy, the development of thought always comes with antitheses. In these antitheses, there is always mutual criticism between one thought and another. In the development of epistemology, we recognize the development of rationalism (Rene Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz et al) which was later criticized by empiricism (John Lock, David Hume et al), and vice versa. Then, rationalism and empiricism were criticized by Immanuel Kant with his (phenomenology) criticism.

What is interesting in this context is the criticism of Immanuel Kant, also called phenomenology. Critical in phenomenology lies on the third aspect of the stage: historical

consciousness, eidetic consciousness, praxis consciousness. Praxis is the application of Logos. Dogma as an idea or motivation does not arise by itself, but to be practiced because dogma aims to be practiced. There is no theoretical truth in dogma that can be easily achieved by the human mind except its ability to be a driver in doing and acting. Dogma can exist if it is realized in life as an ideal system through human actions. The only proof of the truth of dogma is to realize God's word in life in this world. In other words, the transformation of revelation from theory to practice. Realization of revelation takes place by realizing God's command.<sup>5</sup>

In phenomenology, the term "critical" (which is then called criticism) is a term that is in the realm of ontology and epistemology. Ontologically, critical means disagreement with extreme tendencies in one of the two schools of thought, namely realism and idealism. Epistemologically it is between rationalism and empiricism, or in other words, between objectivity and subjectivity, refusing one but at the same time not taking the other side.

However, the term "critical" is not always used in this meaning. Some other philosophers use other meaning. Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1906-1961) for example, used "critical" as "ambiguity", which was interpreted as "*kedwiantian*" (Indonesia). Ambiguity here is used not in the sense of English, but in the sense of French, which is *ambiguïté* which have a different meaning from ambiguity in English. Ambiguity in English has a bad meaning and because of that it is often translated as "vagueness". In French, the term ambiguity is more neutral

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5 Hasan Hanafi, *Hermeneutika Al-Quran?*, transl. Yudian Wahyudi, (Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawasea Press, 2009), p. 60-61.

and translated as “ambiguity”, which means a refusal to take a one-sided attitude.<sup>6</sup> According to Ponty, this reality can never be reduced into a meaning. Reality is tortuous and has many dimensions. The dialectics that takes place in history never ends and because of that it will never be stopped again.<sup>7</sup> Truth is never definitive and absolute. In this case, truth does not only belong to one of two extreme views, realism or idealism.

In realism for example, it is believed that reality can be known objectively. Reality is understood as a closed whole, and is dependent on humans. Someone understands and reaches the truth as far as the objective world is reflected in consciousness. When a realism describes perception for example, then for him the subject is not important. He considers perception to be an objective event which can also be objectively described. In idealism, however, all reality comes from a human spirit. There is no reality that is apart from thoughts. It starts from the absolute cogito. Everything must be understood according to the cogito, which means based on absolute subjectivity. So, the world exists to the extent that it depends on absolute consciousness. Reality is the same as the reality that is thought.<sup>8</sup>

Ponty rejects the establishment of concepts in realism and idealism which presupposes the same things, namely that reality can be fully understood. To Ponty, our thinking never understands reality completely; and a subject who knows never is a subject who knows nothing. Both realism and idealism

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6 K. Bertens, *Filsafat Barat Kontemporer: Perancis* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2006), p. 142.

7 See John Lechte, *50 Filosof Kontemporer: dari Strukturalisme sampai Postmodernisme* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2001), p. 59-64.

8 See Harun Hadiwijono, *Sari Sejarah Filsafat Barat*, print. 7<sup>th</sup> (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1992), p. 21. See also K. Bertens, *Filsafat Barat Kontemporer...* p. 144.



biased in describing the relationship between the subject and the world. He refused to sacrifice the subject to the world or the world to the subject. He emphasized the dialectical relationship between the subject and his world; there is no subject without the world and there is no world without a subject.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, Edmund Husserl uses the term “intentionality”, the relationship between consciousness and its object (especially in the context of introduction). Husserl introduced the slogan “back to the objects themselves” by trying various reductions. Reduction means returning to the world of experience. Experience is the realm from which all meaning and truth can grow. A world that appears to us cannot give certainty. The world cannot give us the truth.<sup>10</sup> So that, there is a certainty about the truth of our understanding. According to Husserl, we must look for it in *Erlebnisse*, which is a conscious experience. In the experience that we consciously experience ourselves. We are always in touch with the world outside of us. Therefore, efforts to achieve the essence of everything are reductions or “filtering”<sup>11</sup>

In next development, the term “critical” can also be understood in terms of critical theory in social sciences as popularized by Max Horkheimer (1885-1973), Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas (Frankfurt School). The term Critical Theory for the first time was called by Max Horkheimer in his article entitled “Traditional and Critical Theory”, in 1972. Horkheimer’s Critical Theory was a criticism of traditional theory. Horkheimer disagrees with many traditional

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9 Bertens, *Filsafat Barat Kontemporer...* p. 144.

10 Bertens, *Filsafat Barat Kontemporer...* p. 146.

11 Harun Hadiwijono, *Sari Sejarah Filsafat Barat*, p. 143-144.

theoretical assumptions that are objective.<sup>12</sup> Traditional theory is a theory that starts from the idea of Enlightenment (Enlightenment). The idea of Enlightenment stems from the victory of Rene Descartes, Francis Bacon and other rational philosophers and philosophers of empiricism such as David Hume, whose thought later became a very dominating theory in the development of science and the development of social theories. According to Horkheimer and Adorno, Enlightenment has become a new myth and has failed to answer the various problems of human life.<sup>13</sup>

In the book *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* Habermas states:

Reason itself destroys the humanity as it first made possible – this far-reaching thesis, as we have seen, is grounded in the first excursus by the fact that from the very start the process of enlightenment is the result of a drive to self-preservation that mutilates reason, because it lays claim to it only in the form of a purposive-rational mastery of nature and instinct – precisely as instrumental reason. This does not yet prove that reason remains subordinated to the dictates of purposive rationality right into its most recent products – modern science, universalistic ideas of justice and morality, autonomous art. The title essay on the concept of enlightenment, the excursus on enlightenment and morality, and the appendix on the culture industry are devoted to demonstrating just this.<sup>14</sup>

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12 See article Sunarto "Konstruksi Epistemologi Max Horkheimer: Kritik atas Masyarakat Modern" in Listiyono Santoso, et al., *Epistemologi Kiri* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz, 2006), p. 95.

13 See Max Horkheimer & Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragment* (California : Stanford University Press, 2002), p 1-34.

14 Jurgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. 110-111.

From the descriptions, there are several important things that can be understood concerning critical theory. First, that critical theory is different from traditional theories that rely on rationalism. Critical theory seeks to promote human emancipation from an oppressive environment. It aims to explain and transform the oppressive environment. Second, critical theory is related to social movements. It identifies the dimensions of dominance in society. Third, critical theory provides a descriptive and normative basis for social studies that seek to eliminate domination and promote liberation in society. Therefore, criticism in this context is directed at various fields of life in modern society, such as: art, science, economics, politics, and culture in general which have become ambiguous because they are shrouded in ideologies that benefit certain parties while alienating individual human beings in the community. The term "criticism" has its roots in the philosophical tradition.<sup>15</sup>

The Frankfurt School distinguishes between critical theory and traditional theory.<sup>16</sup> Traditional theory is the formulation of general and final principles that describe and interpret reality. In traditional theory is considered as a whole proposition about something. The propositions are integrated, consisting of basic propositions, and derivative propositions. Normally, traditional theory is associated with Descartes, because he seeks to achieve general propositions by deductive work based on the method of natural science. The natural science definitely tried to be used in other sciences. Traditional theory separates facts from values and only analyzes facts with their laws and methods.

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15 See Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektika....* See also Listiyono Santoso, et al., *Epistemologi...* p. 98.

16 See Ben Agger, *Teori Sosial Kritis: Kritik, Penerapan dan Implikasinya*, print. 6<sup>th</sup> (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2009), p. 1-18.

Traditional theory is neutral to the facts outside of itself. Some that characterized as traditional theories are:<sup>17</sup>

1. Neutral attitudes preserve existing conditions. Neutrality does not question reality, but only accepts and justifies it; then the general principles are the same with ideology;
2. Traditional theories are a history. By justifying universal science, traditional theories forget society in its historical process; science is only one of the activities in society;
3. Traditional theory separates theory and praxis; it does not engage the practical application of conceptual theoretical systems; it does not think about the social implications of the theory.

Meanwhile, critical theory does not deal with general principles, it does not form a system of ideas, but provides awareness to liberate humans from irrationalism. Therefore, the function of theory is emancipatory. Critical theory has several characteristics.<sup>18</sup>

1. Critical toward the community. As Karl Marx did, he criticized the economy and politics of his time. Likewise, the Frankfurt School also questioned the causes resulting in abuses in society. Because the structure of society is fragile, the structure must be changed.
2. Critical theory thinks of on historical processes of society. In this case critical theory continues the basic positions of Hegel and Marx, namely the theory that is always rooted in a particular situation of thought and social situations, for example material-economic.

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17 Listiyono Santoso, et al., *Epistemologi...* p. 100, quoted from Horkheimer (1972 : 92-203).

18 See also Jurgen Habermas, *Kritik atas Rasio Fungsional*, first print. (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2007).

3. Theory must have the power, value and freedom to criticize itself and avoid the possibility of becoming an ideology. As many have happened, every theory falls in an ideological form that is owned by the basic structure of society. Such conditions occur in modern philosophical thinking. In its development, this thought has changed into a capitalist ideology. This risk is anticipated by critical theory. Critical theory tries not to separate theory and practice, knowledge and action, theoretical ratio and practical ratio. Theory or science is not value-free. Theory or science should always be related to the practical transformation of society.<sup>19</sup>

The description of critical theory above is also written by Thomas McCarthy in his book “The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas.” In the book, McCarthy describes Habermas’s critical theory about the position of theory and practice in scientific civilization, human knowledge and interests in breaking down technical interests, practical interests, and the emancipatory interests in science, also how to lead to critical theory methodology.<sup>20</sup>

As mentioned before, the term “critical” also developed in the tradition of liberation theology, especially those that developed in Latin America and also the theology of liberation that developed among Muslims themselves. The method of Latin American liberation theology is centered on Gutierrez (1973), Segundo (1977), Sobriono (1978), and Galilee (1973). In general, they think that theology is not a policy, nor a rational

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19 Se Jurgen Habermas, *Theory and Practice* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1974).

20 Thomas McCarthy, *The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985), p. vi-vii.

knowledge, but a critical reflection on the praxis of life. Theology means critical reflection on the praxis of liberation history. The motivation for liberation theology is not to create an ideology that justifies a status quo, nor as a sedative at a time when faith is challenged by secularism and consumerism. In their view, by thinking through faith one can strengthen love and give reasons to hope from the results of commitment that are more radical, thorough, and efficient.<sup>21</sup>

Gutierrez asserted that the function of theology is a critical reflection on the practical matters that take place in daily life (historical praxis).<sup>22</sup> A very important thing was conveyed by Gutierrez that liberation theology is not only orthodoxy (establishing doctrine) and orthopraxis (demanding to be carried out in a global and towards God), but also *hetero praxis*. It is orthodoxy that is also orthopraxis (teaching formulation as far as concrete experience and return to the actions demanded by the formulation of the teachings).<sup>23</sup>

In other word, Paulo Freire uses the term “pedagogy of the oppressed”. Freire asserted that liberation is not a gift, nor is it the achievement of an individual itself, but it a process of each other (mutual process). Therefore, Freire had a notion of the concept of “banking model education” as an instrument of oppression, in contrast to the “critique” model of education as a model of liberation education. In the banking education model, the position of teachers and students is very different and distant. Meanwhile, the critique education model emphasizes

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21 Fr. Wahono Nitiprawira, *Teologi Pembebasan: Sejarah, Metode, Praksis, dan Isinya* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2000), p. 34.

22 Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996), p. 5.

23 Fr. Wahono Nitiprawira, *Teologi Pembebasan...* p. 35.

the process of dialogue as the practice of freedom in which the human-world relationship occurs.<sup>24</sup>

Implementation of the pedagogy of the oppressed is how to design education for the urban community or urban society and how to carry out illiteracy eradication for young people and adults.<sup>25</sup>

## **B. Discourses on Critical Islamic Thoughts**

As explained before that critical Islamic thought is a thought that is only ontologically speaks about matters on faith and eschatological concepts that are far from the problems of life, but it speaks about the actual problem faced by humans as well. The emphasis is the condition of inequality or injustice that exists in human life. Epistemologically, critical Islamic thought is a thought that sees the truth of religion not only from the truth of the text but also by seeing the truth in the practice of daily life (historical praxis). In historical praxis, there is an attempt to carry out human emancipation. The truth of religion lies on his defense of human emancipation.

Critical Islamic thought in Indonesia began to develop in the 1970s. However, the embryo of critical Islamic thought actually emerged in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Indonesia, a movement of community development was pioneered by H. Oemar Said Cokroaminoto. Through “the Sarikat Islam” organization (SI) which was established in 1912 (continuing the Sarekat Dagang Islam), Cokroaminoto fought against colonialism and injustice executed by Dutch colonizers.

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24 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1993), p. 7-8.

25 Paulo Freire, *Pendidikan Masyarakat Kota* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003), p. 1-57.

Through his speeches, Cokroaminoto defended the indigenous people and against the colonials. He demanded that the colonial return the people's lands that they seized, and demanded that indigenous doctors be equalized with Dutch doctors. He had deserved as a pioneer in struggling for independence in the context of nationality. The independence that is fought for is the independence of a nation, not just to liberate some areas from oppression.<sup>26</sup>

Besides Cokroaminoto, there was also another figure from Surakarta who fought against the unjust practices and oppression of the colonizers, namely Haji Mohamad Misbah (known as Haji Misbah). He fought harder to colonial than the Cokroaminoto did. He even disagreed with Cokroaminoto (Sarekat Islam) in dealing with Dutch colonizers, because SI was considered too soft for the Dutch. He then left the SI and founded a reformist *tabligh* group called *Sidik, Amanah, Tabligh* and *Vathonah* (SATV). Haji Misbah was a *muballigh* figure who had a pesantren background who opposed a feudal and colonial ruler which was considered exploitative. Haji Misbah was the editor of the influential Medan Muslim and Moving Islam daily in the early the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Surakarta.<sup>27</sup>

K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, however, developed a community empowerment movement through Muhammadiyah by reviewing and implementing surah al-Ma'un.<sup>28</sup> That is one of the most important legacies of Ahmad Dahlan's teachings that is implementing surah al-Ma'un by building the ethics of civil society. Ahmad Dahlan always promoted the implementation of

26 Bibit Suprpto, *Ensiklopedi Ulama Nusantara* (Jakarta: Gelegar Media Indonesia, 2010), p. 797-802.

27 M. Hari Mulyadi dkk., *Runtuhnya Kekuasaan "Kraton Alit"* (Solo: LPTP, 1999), p. 35.

28 See Bibit Suprpto, *Ensiklopedi...*, p. 179 and 183.



the contents of the *Sura al-Ma'un*. The implementation of *surah al-Ma'un* is how to pay attention to and look after the poor and orphans (fatherless child). This is what to generate the Islamic faith which begins from the personal faith and subsequently lead to real action.<sup>29</sup>

An example of the concrete action from this view of *surah al-Ma'un* is that Ahmad Dahlan invited his students (*santri*) to Pasar Beringharjo, Malioboro or the square north of Yogyakarta to visit beggars and poor people who were hanging around. He ordered every student to bring the poor to the Grand Mosque. Ahmad Dahlan then distributed soap, food, and clothing to the poor. Ahmad Dahlan then brought this to Muhammadiyah. It is what we can see when we talk about Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah actively support the poor and orphans, by initiating a team called the Public Misery Helper (PKU). This is the realization of *Surat al-Ma'un* understood by Ahmad Dahlan. He did not want to be trapped in mere rhetoric. He understands that the *Qur'an* is not just to be recited but must be practiced.<sup>30</sup>

In addition, there is also a figure who developed thoughts and movements to reject the colonial and oppressive practices carried out by the Dutch and also the allies that is K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. To maintain and fight for the independence of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, K.H. Asy'ari even issued a jihad resolution to fight all forms of colonization in the country. Jihad resolution is a religion conception that is used in the political

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29 M. Nasruddin Anshory Ch., *Matahari Pembaruan: Rekam Jejak K.H. Ahmad Dahlan* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Jogja Bangkit, 2010), p. 29 and 68.

30 Nadjamuddin Ramly and Hery Sucipto, *Ensiklopedi Tokoh Muhammadiyah: Pemikiran dan Kiprah dalam Panggung Sejarah Muhammadiyah* (Jakarta: Best Media Utama, 2010), p. 64. See also Jajat Burhanuddin, *Ulama & Kekuasaan: Pergumulan Elite Muslim dalam Sejarah Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2012), p. 291-293.

realm in order to free from all forms of colonization.<sup>31</sup>

As mentioned by Zuhairi Misrawi:

*Kiai Hasyim menentang keras segala bentuk penjajahan asing terhadap negeri tercinta. Pada masa kolonialisme, ia mengimbau segenap umat Islam agar tidak melakukan donor darah kepada Belanda. Selain itu, ia juga melarang para ulama mendukung Belanda dalam pertempuran melawan Jepang. Haram hukumnya berkongsi dengan pejahah karena penjajahan dalam bentuk apapun tidak dibenarkan dalam Islam. Membela Belanda dalam peperangan melawan Jepang tidak termasuk jihad. Sebaliknya, ia justru mendorong terciptanya kemerdekaan yang dikenal dngan istilah "Indonesia Berparlemen"*<sup>32</sup>

Kiai Hasyim strongly opposed all forms of foreign occupation of his beloved country. During colonialism, he appealed to all Muslims not to make blood donations to the Netherlands. In addition, he also forbade scholars to support the Dutch in fighting against Japan. It was forbidden to join force with the occupiers because colonialism in any form is not justified in Islam. Defending the Netherlands in the war against Japan does not include jihad. Instead, he actually encouraged the creation of independence known as the term "Indonesia with Parliament.

There is no doubt that Kiai Hasyim is a figure who is at the forefront in order to oppose all kinds of oppression carried out by the invaders. Kiai Hasyim issued a fatwa against the Netherlands which consisted of three points. First, the war against the Netherlands is a mandatory and asked all Indonesian

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31 See Lathiful Khuluq, *Fajar Kebangunan Ulama, Biografi K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), p. 14-15.

32 Zuhairi Misrawi, *Hadratussyaiikh Hasyim Asy'ari: Moderasi, Keumatan, dan Kebangsaan* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2010), p. 84.

Muslims to do jihad. Second, Muslims were forbidden to use Dutch ships during the pilgrimage to Mecca. Third, Muslims were prohibited to wear clothing or attributes that resemble invaders. In addition, on October 22, 1945, Kiai Hasyim together with a number of scholars in the East Java NU office issued a jihad resolution to fight the combined forces of the Netherlands and Britain. The effect was that all Muslims were burned with enthusiasm to fight on November 10, 1945 which was later enshrined into the day of National Heroes.<sup>33</sup>

The embryo of Critical Islamic Thoughts in Indonesia was later developed by Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid. Their thoughts have given a broader picture of the early development of critical Islamic thought in Indonesia. Each character plays an important role in accordance with his time. The terminology and paradigm used by each figure shows the peculiarities of their thinking in the context of critical Islamic thinking.

Harun Nasution (full name Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution, M.A, Professor in Islamic Philosophy at IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta) developed Rational Islamic thought. Rational Islamic thought is an Islamic thought which places the ratio or reasoning in a high position. Rational Islam is an Islamic thought whose epistemological basis is a belief that Islam is rational. That is, it contains a great appreciation for the role of reasoning (ratio).<sup>34</sup> Rational Islam offers a change of view of Muslims from the view of traditional Islamic thought to rational Islamic thought.

The critical position of Rational Islam is very visible in its critique of traditional thinking. What is meant by traditional

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33 Zuhairi Misrawi, *Hadratussyaikh Hasyim Asy'ari...* p. 85-90.

34 Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Islam Pluralis* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001), p. 271.

*Kalam* thinking in this context is the thought of *Kalam Ash'ariyah* which is embraced by most Indonesian Muslims. Al-Ashariyah is considered to have a doctrine that is very close to the fatalistic Jabariyah teachings, which only surrenders everything to *taqdir* (destiny). This view has resulted in Muslims life as not being creative and always left behind.<sup>35</sup>

The fundamental structure of Rational Islam is the dialectic between reasoning and revelation. As we know that the debate on reasoning and revelation in Islam has been going on for a long time, since the time of classical Islam when Islamic schools such as Mu'tazilah, Salafiyah and Ahlussunnah began to develop in the 8th century to the 12th century. Over the centuries, this debate over reasoning and revelation was splendid when the pioneers of eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century modern Islamic thought, such as Muhammad Abduh in Egypt, Muhammad Iqbal in Pakistan and Ahmad Khan in India, reopened the discussion with a view to arousing the passion of the people of Islam. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the condition of the *ummah* was very lagging and largely under Western imperialism. They were among those who developed rational thought in Islam at that time.

Discussions about the dialectic between reasoning and revelation in Indonesia began to be excited when Harun Nasution expressed his thoughts. Harun initiated Rational Islamic thought through his books. He wrote a book that discussed the problem of reasoning and revelation entitled "*Akal dan Wahyu dalam Islam* (reasoning and Revelation in Islam). In the book, Harun explained that there are two ways to gain knowledge. First, the way of revelation in the sense of communication from

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35 Bibit Suprpto, *Ensiklopedi...*, p. 346.

God to human. Second, the way of reasoning, which is given by God to human, by using impressions obtained by the senses as a material to come to conclusions. The knowledge gained from these two ways has their own characteristics. The knowledge produced through revelation is believed to be absolute and absolutely true, while the knowledge gained through reasoning is relative, might be true and might be wrong.<sup>36</sup>

This explanation implies that in order gain a truth, one can achieve it through revelation, and reasoning. The existence of these two sources of knowledge raises various questions. (1) How is the position of knowledge gained through reason toward knowledge brought by revelation? (2) Can reasoning be equal to revelation? (3) Should reasoning be bent in submission to revelation? (4) how if there is a conflict between knowledge through reasoning and knowledge through revelation, which one should be taken?<sup>37</sup>

The questions above must, of course, should be answered so that the clarity of the position of each can be known. To answer that, Harun made the subject of *Kalam* into four categories which include: (1) human ability to know God, (2) the obligation to know God, (3) to know good and evil, and (4) the obligation to do good and stay away from evil. In explaining these four issues, Harun Nasution was influenced by the classical rationalist school, Mu'tazilah. "Mu'tazilah believes that the obligation to know and thank God, and the obligation to do goods and stay

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36 Harun Nasution, *Akal dan Wahyu dalam Islam* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1986), p. 1.

37 Harun Nasution, *Akal dan Wahyu dalam Islam*, p. 1. See Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Islam...*, p. 282. See also Harun Nasution, *Muhammad Abduh dan Teologi Rasional Mu'tazilah* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, no year), p. 71-83.

away from the bad can be known by reason."<sup>38</sup> That is, reasoning has the ability to meet the demands of the four issues above.

An important thing conveyed by Harun is that reasoning in Islam is not the brain as understood by many people. Reasoning in this context is the power of thinking that embedded in the human soul; the power to gain knowledge by observing to the surroundings. Reasoning in this sense is contradicted with revelation. Revelation is knowledge from outside the human being that is from God.<sup>39</sup> Harun's conception of this reasoning refers to the concept that was put forward by the Mu'azazilah theologian, Abu al-Hudzail.<sup>40</sup> According to Al-Hudzail, reasoning is "the power to acquire knowledge, and also the power that makes one able to distinguish himself from other objects and distinguish something from another."<sup>41</sup> Reasoning has the power to extract objects that are captured by the senses. Besides gaining knowledge, reasoning also has the power to distinguish between good and evil. Reasoning has moral functions and duties. Reasoning is "the way to guide human and that makes human the creators of their actions."<sup>42</sup>

However, Harun's opinion on the relationship of reasoning and revelation is actually more liberal than the Mu'tazilites. There are still two things that are believed to be the ability of the human mind in terms of answering the basic problems of religion,

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38 Budhy Munawar-Rahman, *Islam...*, p. 282. See Harun Nasution, *Muhammad Abduh...*, p. 84-88.

39 Harun Nasution, *Akal...*, p. 13.

40 See Abdul Rozak & Rosihon Anwar, *Ilmu Kalam* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2007), p. 81.

41 Harun Nasution, *Akal...* p. 12. Harun quoted from A.N. Nader, *Le Systime Philosophique des Mu'tazilah* (Beirut, Les Letres Orientales, 1956), p. 239.

42 Harun Nasution, *Akal...*, p. 12.

namely: (1) the ability of the mind to know the existence of the afterlife, and (2) make laws. Harun's conception was influenced by the work of Muhammad Abduh *Risālah al-Tauḥīd*. This is seen in Harun's book entitled *Muhammad Abduh dan Teologi Rasional Mu'tazilah (Muhammad Abduh and Mu'tazilah's Rational Theology)*, most of which base his analysis on *Risālah al-Tauḥīd*. It was through of this Abduh's book, Harun gained the conviction that "reasoning is the final determinant of truth and establishes its moral commands on established rational grounds."<sup>43</sup>

In building the basis of rational theology, Harun explored the main themes of Abduh's Islamic theology, which included his views on: (1) the functions of revelation, (2) the attributes of God, (3) the deeds of God, (4) the concept of faith, and (5) the freedom and human responsibility. In the case of "the functions of revelation", for example, Harun argues that there are two main functions of revelation; first, delivering a belief in the existence of life after death. Revelation explains the details about life after death. Life after death will not be known by human reasoning in detail. For example, the issue of the nature of pleasure in the afterlife, angels, and so on. Secondly, the revelation will help the mind in regulating society on the basis of the general principles it carries, and the Shari'a which will guide humanity to true morality.<sup>44</sup>

Both of these functions according to Harun will complement whatever human beings know through the use of their mind. Therefore, Harun did not argue that the ability of the human mind - even though he could know the six basic problems of human religious life - revelation was no longer

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43 Budhy Munawar-Rahman, *Islam...*, p. 283.

44 Budhy Munawar-Rahman, *Islam...*, p. 283.

needed, because reasoning was also limited. Here reasoning and revelation complement each other and have equal positions in achieving the truth.<sup>45</sup>

According to Harun, in Islamic teachings reasoning has a high position and is widely used, not only in the development of cultural knowledge, but also in the development of Islamic religious teachings themselves. The use of reasoning in Islam is commanded by the Qur'an itself. Therefore, it is not wrong to say that Islam is a rational religion, or Islamic rationalism. However, the use of the word rational or rationalism in Islam must come from the true meaning of the word, which is to believe in reasoning solely and abandoning the revelation, or placing reasoning higher than revelation, so that revelation can be canceled by reasoning. In Islamic thought, both in the fields of philosophy, science and jurisprudence, reasoning never cancels revelation. Reasoning is subject to the revelation. The revelation is still considered absolutely true. Reasoning is used only to understand the text of revelation and not to oppose revelation from time to time. Reasoning only gives an interpretation of the revelation text in accordance with the tendency and ability of the interpreter.<sup>46</sup>

What is contradictory in the history of Islamic thought is actually not reasoning with revelation, both by the Mu'tazilah and by Islamic philosophers. What is contradicted is certain interpretations of the revelation texts with other interpretations of the revelation text. What is contradictory in Islam is actually the opinion of certain *ulama* with the opinions of other *ulama* about the interpretation of revelation, or *ijtihad* of *ulama* with

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45 See also Harun Nasution, *Muhammad Abduh...*, p. 64-70.

46 Harun Nasution, *Akal...*, p. 101.



other *ijtihad* of *ulama*. What is contested in Islam is not reasoning with revelation. In Islam reasoning is not higher than revelation both to the Muslim community and Western scholars. According to Harun, there is still a sense of suspicion and fear to the opinions of Mu'tazilah and Moslem philosophers, because they are considered ignorant of revelation, even they do not believe in revelation.<sup>47</sup>

According to Harun, the differences occur among Muslims in relation to Mu'tazilah and Moslem philosophers is because they do not study the thoughts of the Mu'tazilah and the philosophers from the original source but much on the books written by people outside Mu'tazilah and philosophers. Some writers of these books disagree, some other even oppose the opinions of the Mu'tazilah and the philosophers. On the other hand, the different judgments of Western scholars seem to arise because they are not able to grasp the true meaning of revelation and the notion of *qat'iy al-wurūd*, *qat'y al-dalālah*, *ẓanniy al-wurūd* and *ẓanny al-dalālah*. When the interpretation given is far from the meaning of the *lafzi* (revelation text), with an emphasis on metaphorical meaning, it is considered by some Western scholars that it has the meaning to reject revelation. According to Harun, this is what Dr. D.C. Mulder seems to be considered unsuccessful in explaining conclusively the harmony between philosophical concepts and the Qur'an.<sup>48</sup>

According to Harun, the teachings of Islam concerning the use of reasoning indeed do not give Moslems absolute freedom so that Islamic scholars can break the lines that have been determined by the Qur'an and Hadith. Islam also does not

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47 Harun Nasution, *Akal...*, p. 102.

48 Harun Nasution, *Akal...*, p. 103.

strictly forbid the use of reasoning, so that thoughts of Islam are cannot develop. Thought in Islam is limited by the text which *qat'iy al-wurūd* and *qat'iy al-dalālah*, absolutely true comes from Allah and is has absolute meaning. Similar texts are few in number. These make the Islamic thoughts develop and its development does not come out of the basic teachings of Islam.<sup>49</sup>

According to Harun, the use of reasoning which is commanded by the Qur'an as stated in the Qur'anic verses encourages people to observe and study the universe and develop knowledge. This use of reasoning makes human as a caliph on earth.<sup>50</sup>

What is interesting from Harun's rational Islamic thinking is its implications for all which are tols by revelation and human faith. If it is said that the revelation (and the prophet or messenger who brought it) is a sign of God's justice, the goodness and obligation of God towards humans, then from a human perspective, faith is a human response to God's revelation. Therefore, revelation and faith are two entities that respond to each other. God's revelation does has a meaning when it is responded to by human faith.<sup>51</sup>

According to Harun, faith is closely related to reasoning and revelation. Faith based on revelation is called *taṣḍīq*, which is to accept the truth as it is heard. Faith based on reasoning is called *ma'rifah*, which is knowing exactly what is believed. What Harun was trying to say is that *taṣḍīq* is more based on preaching, while *ma'rifah* is more on deep knowledge. Harun puts his mind in a very high position, parallel to revelation, and

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49 Harun Nasution, *Akal...*, p. 104.

50 Harun Nasution, *Akal...*, p. 105.

51 Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Islam...*, p. 285.

reasoning as the road guide for humans.

After the emergence of rational Islamic thought raised by Harun Nasution in the 1970s and 1980s, there was what is called the Emancipative Islamic Thought. The pioneer of Emancipative Islamic thought is Nurcholish Madjid.

Nurcholish wrote emancipatory themes at in his book *“Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan, dan Kemoderenan* (Islam, Doctrine and Civilization: A Critical Study of the issues of Faith, Humanity, and Modernity). The term emancipation is used by Nurcholish Madjid in many paragraphs of the book. In part one of the book, Nurcholish discusses the topic “Tawheed and Emancipation of Human Rights”.

To explain this emancipatory concept, Nurcholish had several frameworks as follows:

First, faith will express values based on the Supreme Godhead (*rabbāniyah*), which is a value system imbued by the awareness that life is from God and leads to God (*Innā lillāhi wa innā ilayhi rāji’ūn*, meaning actually ‘we are from God and we will return to Him’). God is “*sangkan paran*” (origin and purpose) living (*hurip*) even all beings (*dumadi*).<sup>52</sup> God is the creator of all beings that are born. He has created man as the peak of His creation, appointed as a representative (*khalifah*) on earth. God is the Absolute Being, which is the source of all other beings. All other forms are merely relative, as opposed to Being and Absolute Essence or Essence. Therefore, God is not to be known,

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52 Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan, Keislaman dan Kemoderenan*, print. 3<sup>th</sup> (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1995), p. 1. See also Nurcholish Madjid, *Dialog Keterbukaan: Artikulasi Nilai Islam dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998), p. 261-264.

as “knowing God”. There is an in terminus contradiction is the contradiction between “knowing”, which implies mastery and limitation, and “God”, which implies absolute and infinite.<sup>53</sup>

According to Nurcholish, because of His unity and His absoluteness, the texture of God is a form of certainty. The Lord is the only definite being. All but God is uncertain, mere substance, including human beings themselves. However, the highest position of humans is that they are the peak of God’s creation. Therefore, the attitude to absolve human values, whether it is done by someone to himself or to others, is contrary to the principle of the One God Almighty, or *Tauḥīd*, Monotheism.<sup>54</sup>

Second, talking about God has important meaning for humans that is “Principles of Human Equality” as a logical continuation of the principle of God. What is meant by the principle of human equality is that all human beings are equal. No one from a fellow human being has the right to demean or master other human dignity, for example by imposing his willing and views on others. Nurcholish asserted, even a messenger of God is not entitled to impose it. A messenger of God only gets the messages and delivers the truth (*balāg, tablīg*) to human, not to force the truth.<sup>55</sup>

Third, talking about human equality requires the freedom of the human person. With freedom, human beings become moral beings, beings who are fully responsible for all their chosen acts consciously, good or evil. God also gives freedom to humans to accept or reject His commands, surely with the consequences which must be taken by humans according to

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53 Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, p. 1-2.

54 *Ibid.* p. 3.

55 *Ibid.* p. 4.

their choice.<sup>56</sup> According to Nurcholish, *tauḥīd* produces a form of human social relations that fosters freedom of expression of mind and willingness to hear opinions, so that there is also a relationship of mutual reminding of what is right and good, and the necessity of realizing the right and good with steadfast and patience.<sup>57</sup>

Fourth, in the framework of building interfaith brotherhood, it is necessary to base on the concept of internal relativism so that faith will come with an understanding of pluralism. According to Nurcholish, human beings have freedom as it has been given by God as a basis for living as reflected in QS. al-Baqarah (2): 35. There is an awareness that in this way moves their religious instincts. Believing in one God is something that can be said to be taken for granted, fully humane, so that the efforts to encourage people to believe in God is actually an excessive act.<sup>58</sup>

Fifth, all human actions must be accountable to God. This starts from the understanding that God is an absolute being, and is the source of all other beings. God is the creator of all forms, including humans as the peak form of His creation and as the caliph on earth. Because of this, all human actions must be accountable to God. Accountability will be largely determined by as far as human actions surrender fully (al-Islām) to Him, namely the sincere recognition that God is the only source of absolute authority and a harmonious pattern of relations between humans and the universe.<sup>59</sup>

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56 *Ibid.* p. 4.

57 *Ibid.* p. 5.

58 *Ibid.* p. xxii.

59 *Ibid.* p. 2-3.

The explanation of emancipation theology of Nurcholish Madjid is based on two important things, namely the concept of monotheism and the concept of Islam. The true concept of monotheism and Islam will result in recognition of the equality of human dignity. Humans have freedom, so with that freedom, human beings become moral beings, namely beings who are fully responsible for all actions they choose consciously, both good and bad. God also gives freedom to humans to accept or reject His commands with the consequences that they must take according to their choice. Humans exist through and in their charitable activities. It is in charity that humans get their existence and essence. Human knowledge is very limited, but knowledge is unlimited, and overcomes all who know. The principle of monotheism encourages the existence of a form of human social relations that fosters freedom of expression.

The concept of monotheism in the view of Nurcholish Madjid is understood as the core of all forms of teachings of God's prophets and messengers. And it has an impact on the form of human liberation. The intended liberation is a form of disengagement from human bondage from false beliefs and false things. According to Nurkholis, monotheism is able to determine its own views, and way of life according to common senses. It tells what is right and wrong, good and bad. Therefore, monotheism contains positive values for individuals such as true faith, critical attitude, common sense, independence, openness, honesty, self-confidence, courage because of righteousness, freedom and a sense of responsibility. All of these positive values arise from a sense of justice (*al-'adl*) and positive views and actions to fellow human beings (*al-ihsān*).

Understanding monotheism does not stop at the aspect of faith alone, but must be used to create social liberation. According

to Nurcholish Madjid that personal qualities always underlie the quality of society. Personal qualities that are embedded through monotheism will also manifest in the quality of community life. Then the liberation effect of the spirit of monotheism at the level of society can be seen as a continuation of the effect of liberation at the individual level. The principle of monotheism generally rejects *thaghut* - certain with the broadest understanding. The ability of a person to break away from the shackles of tyrannical power from the outside is one of the basic effects of the social liberation of monotheism. In the social context *-tawhid* has a big impact in encouraging social liberation, namely the aspect of egalitarianism. The principle of egalitarianism based on the creation of a democratic social system based on deliberation, openness, love and feelings for sharing. The basic principle of monotheism is to free humanity from the confines and shackles of religious institutions, which are realized through humans. The *Tawhid* system rejects representation because it will only create new hegemony and domination in the religious context. Therefore, the core of monotheism is liberation from beliefs, followed by belief in God - the true God for the strength and sustainability of freedom itself.<sup>60</sup>

Related to Islam, Nurcholish interprets Islam as a compliance or defensiveness based on QS. Ali Imran (3): 19 and 85. Islam in this sense is a generic word, which means "surrender to God". The religion that is allowed or accepted by God is a religion that surrenders to Allah. This can be seen from the religious teachings delivered by the Prophets as it is in *Islam*. It is because the core teaching is to surrender to Allah. In the sense of obedience or defensiveness, Islam is constructed

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60 *Ibid.* p. 74-88.

by *taqwa*, *tawakal* and *ikhlas*. *taqwa* is a form of true and pure faith. Humans must be ready to radiate faith outward, in the form of humanitarian actions, such as being a good citizen by supporting community life and having a strong soul and personality in every situation. In other words, *taqwa* is a divined consciousness that is an awareness of the existence of God who is omnipresent in our lives. According to him, the term *taqwa* is in line with *rabbaniyah* that is attitudes or individuals who try to understand God and understand him.

In relation to *tawakal*, Nurcholish that it means to be dependent on or confide themselves. He interpreted *tawakal* as an active attitude and only grows from a person who understand life correctly and accepted the reality properly. *Tawakal* is self-awareness of the journey of human experience as a whole which cannot be found in history. In the teachings of Islam, there are several values associated with *tawakal*. First, *tawakal* with an attitude of belief or faith in God and surrender (*Islam*) to Him. Second, *tawakal* to Allah is needed every time after making a decision. Third, *tawakal* is needed as a form of defensiveness to God when facing an enemy. Fourth, *tawakal* is needed to support peace between people. Fifth, the attitude of entrusting itself to God is also a consistency in the belief that everything will return to God. Sixth, *tawakal* is carried out as a form of belief that God is an absolute and holy reality. Seventh, trust in God because we are aware that He is the most noble, all-wise and omnipotent over all. Eighth, *tawakal* is needed as a form of affirmation of heart that man is always in the line of nature, namely truth.<sup>61</sup>

An important thing explained by Nurcholish concerning emancipation is the term of *taubat* (repentance). Referring to

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61 *Ibid.* p. 41-56.



Adam's experience, the picture of emancipation is Adam's repentance from to God after his fall with his release from heaven. According to Nurkholis, to promote emancipation people must have the teachings of God and repent - that is teaching about living in faith and doing good deeds. Because faith is a life attitude that views God as a place to rely on and depend on. Humans need to be kind, optimistic, open and so forth. For Nurkholish Madjid, saving faith is a faith that is able to encourage people to find their whole and integral personality only if they focus their transcendental orientation on God. In addition, faith must direct humans to have an authentic life, to do good for good continuously at all times. In other words, the process is endless to reach the maximum point that is God. It is true faith.<sup>62</sup>

Because of that, according to Nurkholish Madjid, one's faith is closely related to the effort to create a just, democratic and open society. Fair action is a form of witnessing for God. Humans always move to approach the values of goodness, as a way to God. Humans are required to have a dynamic attitude, mutual respect, cooperation and develop a tolerant culture. From these, there will be an open, democratic and just society. Openness, democracy and justice are three interrelated things. The principle of democracy and justice is a form of arrangement of the order of life on the basis of humanity - that is the collective will. Faith in God demands that all problems be solved by deliberation so that mutual relations arise with the form of justice.<sup>63</sup>

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62 *Ibid.* p. 90-103.

63 *Ibid.* p. 103-120.



### CHAPTER III

## THE LIBERATION ISLAMIC THOUGHT OF ABDURRAHMAN GUS DUR

This chapter discusses the liberation Islamic thought of Abdurrahman Wahid (known as Gus Dur). The liberation Islamic thought of Gus Dur began with several basic questions; why did Gus Dur put forward the liberation Islamic thought? How was its paradigmatic construction developed? And how it affected to the development of Islamic thoughts and movements in Indonesia? To find the answers to those questions, it is better to look at the anxieties or critics of Gus Dur on various issues which occurred at his time. The construction of Gus Dur's thoughts which is discussed here is based on the paradigmatic framework including the ontological and epistemological framework, and the influence of Gus Dur's thoughts for the development of thoughts and movements in Indonesia.

### **A. Criticism Against Hegemony and Discrimination**

As recognized by many, both nationally and internationally, Gus Dur is one of the most influential Indonesian intellectuals. His role has been very prominent especially since the 1970s. Besides as an intellectual, Gus Dur is also a great Muslim scholar with a huge mass basis. Gus Dur, with his role

in the area of culture, is also a great humanist. He is a leading figure for democracy in Indonesia with his moderate views. His defense to the process of democratization and protection of human rights often makes him a controversial person due to his thoughts and acts which were often different from the views of the state and the majority of people.

Gus Dur is a world figure who was born in a small town, Denanyar, a district in Jombang Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. He was born on August 4, 1940 under the name Abdurrahman ad-Dakhil. He is the eldest son of K.H. Abdul Wahid Hasyim and Mrs. Shalihah binti K.H. Bishri Syansuri. Gus Dur was the grandson of two great scholars who founded Nahdlatul Ulama, namely K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari from Pesantren of Tebuireng and K.H. Bisri Syansuri from Pesantren Denanyar. For this reason, little Gus Dur got an extraordinary education from his two grandfathers.

According to Greg Barton, although Gus Dur frequently celebrated his birthday on August 4, it seems that his friends and family who attended his birthday party at the Bogor Palace on Friday 4 August 2000 did not realize that Gus Dur's birthday was actually not on that date. Many aspects of his life and personality are not what they seem to be. Indeed, Gus Dur was born in the eighth month, but according to the Islamic calendar, which was the month of Sya'ban, not August. The fourth of Sya'ban 4<sup>th</sup> in 1940 was September 7<sup>th</sup>, not August 1940. Gus Dur was born in the pesantren owned by his grandfather (from his mother side), Kiai Bisri Syansuri.<sup>1</sup>

In 1949, Gus Dur followed his father, K.H. Wahid Hasyim to live in Jakarta in which his father became the Minister of

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1 Greg Barton, *Biografi Gus Dur* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), p. 25.

Religious Affairs. At first, Gus Dur attended KRIS Elementary School in Central Jakarta, but later in grade 4 he moved to Matraman Perwari Elementary School until he graduated in 1953. Gus Dur then continued his education in Yogyakarta, he attended SMEP (First Economic High School) until he graduated in 1956. He also studied at Pesantren Krapyak, in Bantul Yogyakarta under the supervision of K.H. Ali Maksum. After graduating from SMEP, he then attended Pesantren Tegalrejo in Magelang from 1956 to 1958 under the supervision K.H. Khudlori. He was a good friend of Abdurrahman Khudlori (the son of K.H. Khudlori). Then, he learned to his grandfather, K.H. Bisri Syansuri at Pesantren Mambaul Maarif Denanyar, Jombang from 1959 to 1963 while teaching in the Madrasah Mualimin at this pesantren. It was there that Gus Dur met Sinta Nuriyah (one of his students), whom eventually he married with in 1968 and had four daughters.<sup>2</sup>

Then, in 1963 Gus Dur departed to Cairo to continue his study with the scholarship from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Gus Dur attended the Higher Institute for Islamic and Arabic Law at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt, but later moved to Iraq and studied Arabic literature at the Faculty of Letters, Baghdad University until graduated in 1970 in Language Arabic Science.<sup>3</sup>

According to Greg Barton, when Gus Dur left for Jombang to study abroad, he was a young man who was struggling with the issue of how Islam could make changes in the world. approaching to his adultery, he was once fascinated by radical

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2 *Ibid.* p. 40. See also Bibit Suprpto, *Ensiklopedi Ulama Nusantara* (Jakarta: Gelegar Media Indonesia, 2010), p. 110.

3 Bibit Suprpto, *Ensiklopedi...*, p. 110.

Islamism. Seven years later he returned to his homeland as a committed person to a liberal understanding of Islam. The influences that shape his liberalism are not difficult to identify, and it is not surprising that his interest in radicalism of Islam was not long-lived. The first influence is his family. In the family environment, he was educated to be open-minded and was taught to always question things critically. Secondly, he grew up in Islamic traditional Indonesian sufistic. Third, he was influenced by the cultural orientation of modern Indonesian society which led to pluralism and egalitarianism. The last, he was influenced by what he read and learned as both activities provided him the opportunity to try to synthesize modern Western thoughts with Islam. He was not alone concerning with his thing to this matter. And when he returned to his homeland, he joined a small group of young scholars who were struggling to understand and develop Islamic thoughts. To be able to properly understand the journey to liberalism, it is important for us to understand the world of Gus Dur's residence.<sup>4</sup>

Gus Dur admitted that in his youth, in the 1950s he followed the thought of the Ikhwanul Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood, a radical Islam movement in Egypt) whose influences also went to Jombang, East Java, Indonesia. Even, Gus Dur was also active in this movement in his hometown. Then in the 1960s, Gus Dur was interested in exploring Arab nationalism and socialism in Egypt and Iraq, particularly when he was a student at Al-Azhar University, Cairo and Baghdad University, Iraq. The experience of studying in both countries certainly affected the development of his thinking. However, after returning to Indonesia in the 1970s, Gus Dur observed the development and new dynamics of

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4 Greg Barton, *Biografi...*, p. 131.

Islam that were different from those in the Middle East. He saw the reality that Islam as a way of life (*shari'a*) could learn and take various non-religious ideologies, even the views of other religions.<sup>5</sup>

The intellectual journey of Gus Dur is more of a “process of becoming” than the “process of being”. What is interesting and hardly known is that Gus Dur, whom we know as a liberal intellectual, in his youth was also interested in the thoughts of Ikhwanul Muslimin which was generally concerned with the ideology of Islam. But after he passed through his education and personal experience, he finally became a liberal Muslim scholar, who consciously rejected the conception or movement of radical Islam.<sup>6</sup>

As chairman of PBNU, a traditional Islamic organization, in 1984 and as the grandson of two of NU's founding fathers, Hasyim Asy'ari and Bisri Sjansuri, as well as the son of a highly respected NU figure, Wahid Hasyim, Gus Dur had a very strong traditional charisma. However, his characteristic and reading interests were not limited, ranging from Western libraries, Middle East to Asia. His writings also discussed various themes and issues, as well as his extraordinary way of thinking, all of which aborted a “traditionalist” call for Gus Dur.<sup>7</sup>

The development of Gus Dur's intellectual was shaped by classical Islamic education and modern Western education. These factors are a prerequisite for him to develop his liberal

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5 M. Syafi'i Anwar “Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita: Membingkai Potret Pemikiran Politik KH. Abdurrahman Wahid”, in Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006), p. xiii.

6 *Ibid.* p. xv.

7 Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), p. 13.

ideas. In his activities related to journey, reading and debating ideas, Gus Dur synthesized both educations. He might do this more intensively than the majority of Moslem intellectuals in Indonesia, but he was not the only who did that. Although he did not realize this at the time, he would later become a part of new movements in Islamic thoughts in Indonesia.<sup>8</sup>

According to Ali Masykur Musa, Gus Dur was a combination of two intellectual traditions, namely the Western education system and the traditional Islamic education system in the style of Pesantren. He was very concerned about carrying out reforms of modern Islamic thought and action. The roots of Gus Dur's thinking can be understood as a product of his intensive struggle with three main concerns; 1) revitalization of Islamic treasures of *ahlussunnah waljamā'ah* which are considered traditional, especially those understood and developed by NU, 2) involvement in modernity discourses, and 3) in search of answers to problems real faced by Indonesian Muslims. The roots of Gus Dur's thought develop from three basic attitudes, namely, dynamic freedom (liberalism), humanity (humanism), and community empowerment (civil society).<sup>9</sup>

According to Gus Dur, with liberalism, treasure of traditional Islamic can be explored to address the challenges of the modern world, including in the field of traditional Islamic politics, which is often considered conservative and rejects reform (*tajdīd*), as a basis for anticipating changes in Indonesian society. For that, what is needed is the process of developing and revitalizing the values which it contains. Whereas dynamism

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8 *Ibid.* p. 134.

9 Ali Masykur Musa, *Pemikiran dan Sikap Politik Gus Dur* (Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga, no year), p. 81-82.



means re-energizing existing positive life values and changing old values with new values that are considered better. This paradigm comes from the rule of *al-muḥāfazatu ā alāqadīmi as-ṣālih, waakhdu bi jadīdi al-aṣlāh*.<sup>10</sup> With this view Gus Dur was able to appreciate the critical and liberal thoughts expressed by young intellectuals like Ulil Abshar Abdalla's. When many people sacrilegged Ulil, Gus Dur defended Ulil. It was intended that Islamic thought did not stagnate and was not trapped into a radical mindset that could eventually generate terrorism or "all-violent" concept and acts.<sup>11</sup>

Besides as an *ulama*, Gus Dur was also a good writer. Gus Dur always included various criticisms into his writings. Even, according to Musthofa Bisri, it was stated that it was not Gus Dur if he did not include sharp criticism both to the government and politicians who were hypocritical and concerned with the interests of themselves or their groups, and to religious attitudes behaviour that were too formal.<sup>12</sup> Among his works are *Bunga Rampai Pesantren* (1979), *Muslim di Tengah Pergumulan* (1981), *Kiai Nyentrik Pembela Pemerintah* (1997), *Membangun Demokrasi* (1999), *Tuhan Tak Perlu Dibela* (1999), *Gus Dur Menjawab Pembaharu Zaman* (1999), *Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur* (1999), *Melawan Melalui Lelucon* (2000), *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan* (2001), *Menggerakkan Pesantren* (2001), *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita* (2006), *Islam Kosmopolitan* (2007). Because of his works in promoting democracy and fighting for human

10 *Ibid.* p. 82.

11 Abdurrahman Wahid "Ulil Abshar-Abdalla Dengan Liberalismenya" in Ulil Abshar-Abdalla et al, *Islam Liberal & Fundamental: Sebuah Pertarungan Wacana* (Yogyakarta: Elsaq Press, 2005), p. 306-310.

12 A. Musthofa Bisri "Kolom-Kolom Mantan Presiden" in Abdurrahman Wahid, *Kumpulan Kolom dan Artikel Abdurrahman Wahid Selama Era Lengser* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002), p. xvi.

rights, Gus Dur received the title of Honoris Causa Doctor from Thammasad University (Thailand), Sorbone University (France) and Jawaharlal Nehru University (India).<sup>13</sup>

Gus Dur developed Islamic thought in a very critical form that is Liberation Islam. Gus Dur, in the 1980s, together with Romo Mangunwijaya intensively discussed the Liberation Islamic thought to fight for the rights of the oppressed people in the country.<sup>14</sup> Gus Dur's thoughts and movements always reflect criticism against the hegemony and discrimination from the state or other groups, especially to defend the interests of minorities, both religion and issues related to human rights. For example, Gus Dur fought for the rights of the Chinese ethnic minority in Indonesia. Gus Dur's defense had been carried out from the beginning of his intellectual journey until he became the president of Indonesia. As a result, Confucianism was acknowledged as one of the official religions in Indonesia at the time of his presidency. Because of his work to fight for peace and independence or freedom according to human rights, Gus Dur was awarded the Ramon Magsaysay Award or the Asian Nobel Prize in 1993.<sup>15</sup>

Gus Dur's critical Islamic thought can be seen in his books written from the 1970s to 1990s, such as: *Tuhan Tidak Perlu Dibela*, (2) *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-Nilai Indonesia dan Transformasi*

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13 See Muhammad Rifai, *Gus Dur: Biografi Singkat 1940-2009* (Yogyakarta: Garasi, 2010), p. 51-53. See also Bibit Suprpto, *Ensiklopedi...*, p. 114.

14 Fr. Wahono Nitiprawira, *Teologi Pembebasan, Teologi Pembebasan: Sejarah, Metode, Praksis, dan Isinya* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2000), p. vii. See Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi* (Jakarta: the Wahid Institute, 2006). See also Greg Barton, *Gagasan....* See also, Michael Amaladoss, *Teologi Pembebasan Asia*, translated. A. Widyamartaya and Cindelaras (Yogyakarta: Insist, 2001), p. vi.

15 Bibit Suprpto, *Ensiklopedi...*, p. 113.

*Kebudayaan*, (3) *Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur*, (4) *Pergulatan Negara, Agama dan Kebudayaan*, dan (5) *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi*.

The book *Tuhan Tidak Perlu Dibela* (God Doesn't Need to Be Defended), for example, is the essays of Gus Dur that were published in columns of Tempo magazine in the 1970s and 1980s. In the book, the editorial board stated that Gus Dur invited us to rethink our state, culture and Islamic issues. Gus Dur questioned the religious phenomenon and political violence that had occurred. Religion and political violence were the main concerns of Gus Dur, because political violence was the result of religious fundamentalist behavior rooted in narrow fanaticism. This is reflected in the acts of violence in the name of religion that often occur.<sup>16</sup>

Gus Dur's critical thought in the 1970s and 1980s can also be found in a book entitled *Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur* published by LKiS Yogyakarta. Gus Dur's writing in this book was taken from the essays of Gus Dur, which had been published in Prisma magazine in the 1970s and 1980s. In the book, as stated by Hairus Salim, Gus Dur consciously remind the corrective functions of religion and ideology, and the dangers of legitimating state policies for the national interest.<sup>17</sup>

Then, the essays in the book *Islam Kosmopolitik* (Cosmopolitan Islam) were Gus Dur's genuine thoughts in responding to issues that were considered actual throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In this book Gus Dur criticized policy makers and generated fresh ideas. Gus Dur explicitly invited the public to always hold fast

16 Editor "Introduction" in Abdurrahman Wahid, *Tuhan Tidak Perlu Dibela* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), p. vi.

17 Hairus Salim "Gus Dur dan Kenangan Cendekiawan Zaman Prisma" in Abdurrahman Wahid, *Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), p. xvii.

to the universal values of religion, nationalism and uphold the openness to all possibilities of accepting differences. Through this book, Gus Dur in fact had diagnosed national situations and problems by initiating daring and constructive ideas. Gus Dur reflected and continued to explore treasures that were free from all forms of discrimination and structural and cultural violence. Gus Dur's thoughts expressed in his essays in this book were a response to the socio-political condition of the New Order era which found its supremacy under the leadership of the Soeharto regime. Gus Dur's essays often sounded criticisms that addressed to the New Order authorities who he thought were not in favor of the people. At that time the attitude of the state was considered to be lacking of sensitivity for prosperity of the people.<sup>18</sup>

Gus Dur's critical thought can also be found in his book entitled *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan* (Wrestling of State, Religion and Culture). The book is a collection of Gus Dur's essays written in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The book was taken from various sources including oral speeches. In the book, Gus Dur appeared to be very critical to the state and religion which in his wrestling with people's culture tended to be hegemonic. State and religious wrestle with culture that is unbalanced and subordinated. An example of this is the holding of the Cultural Congress sponsored by the Ministry of Culture. For Gus Dur, this is the most obvious example of how the state intervene culture.<sup>19</sup>

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18 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-Nilai Indonesia & Transformasi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2007), p. xii-xiii.

19 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan* (Depok: Desantara, 2001), p. v.

Gus Dur's critical thought was shown when he defended Nurcholish Madjid, a Muslim intellectual who graduated from Chicago University. Nurcholish was blasphemed by several Islamic figures such as Ridwan Saidi and Daud Rasyid for presenting the concept of commonness of religions, or the basic similarity between Islam and other major religions.<sup>20</sup> Gus Dur did not join in blaspheming Nurcholish, instead he saw that Nurcholish's thoughts should be linked to give equal treatment and position to all citizens in the eyes of state law. In this case, Gus Dur appreciated Nurcholish's thoughts.<sup>21</sup>

It was also when Gus Dur defended the thoughts of Ahmad Wahib. The publication of the book that came from Ahmad Wahib's daily notes received a negative reaction from many Muslims. Ahmad Wahib was even accused of being a destroyer of Islam, the Jewish racist successors, Orientalists, heretical secularists and so on. Among the figures who responded negatively to Ahmad Gus Dur's thoughts was Prof. Rasjidi who wrote in Panji Masyarakat magazine. Gus Dur was one of those who appreciated Ahmad Wahib's thoughts, although it was not necessarily acceptable as universal truth. In relation to Ahmad Gus Dur's thoughts, Gus Dur said:

*Itu bukan berarti gagasan Ahmad Wahib nanti akan dapat diterima oleh ortodoksi agama dan diterima sebagai kebenaran universal, seperti kedua gagasan (yang kini dimuliakan) di atas. Akan tetapi, ia berhak untuk dibiarkan mengendap dalam kegiatan berpikir keagamaan muslim, hingga nantinya akan ditentukan oleh sejarah, relevan atau tidaknya bagi kebutuhan mereka. Tragedi atau kreativitas, biarlah ditentukan oleh*

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20 See Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan: Membangun Tradisi dan Visi Baru Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2010), p. 3-21.

21 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Tuhan ...*, p. 5-6.

*perkembangan di kemudian hari, jangan dipaksakan sekarang.*<sup>22</sup>

It does not mean that Ahmad Wahib's idea will later be accepted by religious orthodoxy and accepted as universal truth, like the two ideas (which are now glorified) above. However, he has the right to be left to do religious thinking activities, until later it will be determined by history whether it is relevant or not for to people's needs. Tragedy or creativity, let it be determined by future developments, don't force now.

Gus Dur's courage, which was different from the government's policy, is when he was the General Chairman of the PBNU in 1994. At the time, he announced the day of Eid al-Fitr different from the government's announcement.<sup>23</sup> What Gus Dur did is a picture of criticism of hegemonic practices in religious life, whether carried out by the state or a group of people. Gus Dur's sharp criticism is his disagreement with the formalization of Islam in the form of establishing an Islamic State or formalizing Islamic law into state life.

In a socio-cultural, Gus Dur always defended victims of discrimination practices that occurred in the community. An example is Gus Dur's defense of people who were accused of being infidels or apostates only because of different religious views or political views. accordingly, the defense of people accused of being communists only because they have views on efforts to eradicate poverty or to eliminate structural poverty by state programs.<sup>24</sup>

Gus Dur also protested the actions of the state education manager who sent out students from schools who wore veils.

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22 *Ibid.* p. 34.

23 *Ibid.* p. 7-10.

24 *Ibid.* p. 81 and 89.

Gus Dur defended students who were treated discriminatively only for wearing a veil at school. In relation to this issue, Gus Dur said:

*Apa yang dilupakan kebanyakan orang adalah penglihatan global terhadap masalah kerudung itu. Ia tidak lain adalah pencerminan dari kuatnya tuntutan di kalangan remaja muslim, agar ajaran Islam dilaksanakan secara tuntas dan konsekuen. Ia adalah bagian dari ketekunan yang semakin bertambah untuk meramaikan masjid, merumuskan 'sikap Islam' terhadap berbagai masalah, dan keberangan terhadap apa yang digeneralisasikan sebagai 'pandangan-pandangan sekularistik' di kalangan muslimin sendiri. Kasus kerudung itu adalah bagian dari meningkatnya kesadaran beragama di kalangan kaum remaja muslim dewasa ini.<sup>25</sup>*

What most people forget is a global vision of the veil issue. It is nothing but a reflection of the strong demands among Muslim adolescents, so that Islamic teachings are carried out thoroughly and consistently. It is a part of the growing perseverance to enliven the mosque, formulate the 'attitude of Islam' to various problems, and the indignation of what is generalized as 'secular views' among Muslims. The veil issue is a part of increasing religious awareness among Muslim adolescents today.

Gus Dur also highlighted the events of the riots that occurred among religious believers in Indonesia. Interfaith conflicts in North Halmahera and in Situbondo are well paid attention by Gus Dur. accordingly, tensions between among religious followers as a result of the weekly Monitor magazine case in the 1990s were also the concern for Gus Dur. The stress of Gus Dur was on respecting human rights and the democratization process in Indonesia. Gus Dur did not accept

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25 *Ibid.* p. 97-98.

religious discrimination only because of the majority minority relationship. Individual human rights are also not allowed to be violated only for reasons of different religions.

The socio-political situation which was the focus of Gus Dur's attention in the 1980s and 1990s was the hegemonic political situation carried out by the New Order regime, the confinement of freedom of the press and society, and the occurrence of discrimination in social and religious life.

## **B. The Paradigmatic Construction of Liberation Islamic Thought**

The paradigmatic construction of Gus Dur's critical Islamic thought presented in the form of Liberation Islam is a series of thoughts that have an ontological basis and an epistemological framework that is different from other thoughts. The ontological basis of Gus Dur's thoughts can be understood from his conceptual formulations of Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization.

What Gus Dur suggested with Islamic universalism is the principles of Islamic teachings that uphold equality before the law, protect citizens from tyranny and arbitrariness, safeguard the rights of their weak and suffer shortcomings and limitations from authority power holders. Islamic universalism is reflected in teachings that concern for the main elements of humanity by considering wisdom. The teachings on Islamic universalism are shown in five basic guarantees that must be given to citizens, namely: (1) the physical safety of citizens from physical acts outside the provisions of the law (*hifzu an-nafsi*), (2) the safety of their respective religious beliefs, without any compulsion to change religion (*hifzu ad-din*), (3) the safety of family and descent



(*hifzu an-nasl*), (4) the safety of property and personal property from interference and eviction outside the legal procedure (*hifzu al-māl*) and (5) the safety of mind or intelligence (*hifzu al-aqli*).<sup>26</sup>

By guaranteeing the physical safety of the citizens, there is a need for a government based on law to give fair treatment for all citizens without exception, in accordance with their respective rights. By guaranteeing the safety of religious beliefs for the people, the relationship between the citizens is based on mutual respect, which will encourage the growth of a framework of tolerance and mutual understanding. For Gus Dur, with monotheism, Islam upholds respect for differences in opinion and clash of beliefs. By guaranteeing family safety displays a very strong moral figure. Because the family is the most basic social entity, it cannot be used as a place of manipulation in any form by the existing power system. Then, by guaranteeing the safety of property, this can make the means of developing individual rights fairly and professionally in relation to the rights of the community to individuals. With this right, individual citizens have the opportunity and means to develop themselves through their chosen patterns or methods, but still in the general stream of community life. Then, the guarantee of professional safety is an award of freedom to adherents of the profession with their respective responsibilities.<sup>27</sup>

The five elements of basic human rights above do not automatically guarantee the safety of humanity, if they are not supported by the cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization. The cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization emerged in a number

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26 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-Nilai Indonesia & Transformasi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2007), p. 3-5.

27 *Ibid.* p. 5-8.

of dominant elements, such as the loss of ethnic boundaries, the strength of cultural pluralism and political heterogeneity.<sup>28</sup> The cosmopolitanism of the Islamic civilization is achieved or is at an optimal point when a balance is achieved between the normative tendency of Muslims and the freedom of thought of all citizens (including those who are non-Muslims). He called such situations as creative cosmopolitanism, which allowed the search for the most unreasonable sides of the truth that was intended and found.<sup>29</sup>

The principles of Islamic universalism encourage the view of the cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization. In relation with the relationship between Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization, Gus Dur said:

*Mau tidak mau haruslah dikembangkan agenda universalisme ajaran Islam, sehingga terasa kegunaannya bagi umat manusia secara keseluruhan. Toleransi, keterbukaan sikap, kepedulian kepada unsur-unsur utama kemanusiaan dan keprihatinan yang penuh kearifan akan keterbelakangan kaum Muslim sendiri akan memunculkan tenaga luar biasa untuk membuka belenggu kebodohan dan kemiskinan yang begitu kuat mencekam kehidupan mayoritas umat Muslim dewasa ini. Dari proses itu akan muncul kebutuhan akan kosmopolitanisme baru yang selanjutnya akan bersama-sama menganut faham dan ideologi yang lain, turut membebaskan manusia dari ketidakadilan struktur sosial-ekonomis dan kebiadaban rejim-rejim politik yang dzalim. Hanya dengan menampilkan universalisme Islam baru dalam ajarannya dan kosmopolitanisme baru dalam sikap hidup para pemeluknya, Islam akan mampu memberikan perangkat sumberdaya manusia yang diperlukan oleh si miskin untuk memperbaiki nasib sendiri secara berarti dan mendasar, melalui penciptaan etika sosial baru yang penuh dengan*

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28 *Ibid.* p. 9. See Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif*, p. 88.

29 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif*, p. 89.

*semangat solidaritas sosial dan jiwa transformatif yang prihatin dengan nasib orang kecil.*<sup>30</sup>

Inevitably, the agenda of Islamic universalism teachings must be developed, so that it makes useful for humanity as a whole. Tolerance, openness of attitude, concern for the main elements of humanity and a concern that is full of wisdom for the backwardness of Muslims themselves will bring tremendous energy to open the shackles of ignorance and poverty that haunt the lives of the majority of Muslims today. From this process, the need for new cosmopolitanism will emerge which in turn will embrace other ideologies and help humans from the injustice of the socio-economic structure and the savagery of wrong political regimes. Only by displaying the new universalism of Islam in its teachings and the new cosmopolitanism in the attitude of life of its believers, Islam will be able to provide the human resources needed by the poor to improve their own destiny meaningfully and fundamentally, through the creation of new social ethics that are full of the spirit of social solidarity and a transformative soul which is concerned with the fate of a small person.

That is the picture of Gus Dur's ontological view of Islam formulated in the form of Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization. With the concept, Gus Dur seemed to emphasize that Islam places humans in a very high position, which is embodied in the framework of its creation by Allah as a being who has the perfect state (*ahsan at-taqwim*). Even though he has the potential to be the least valued creature if he does not use his noble nature properly, he is basically still a noble being equipped with mind, reasoning, feelings and skills to develop himself as if there is no limit. The placement of

30 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan....*, p. 13-14.

humans in such a high position in Islamic cosmology basically demands respect for the basic values of human life that are in accordance with their dignity, preservation of their human rights individually and collectively, the preservation of the right to develop their own thoughts without fear of the threat of rights to express opinions openly, and strengthen the right to develop personality without interference from others.<sup>31</sup>

Some important points that can be highlighted from the above formula are that humans have a high position in this life and humans have the potential of mind, reasoning, feeling and skills. With its position and potential, humans must reward basic values of human life, preserve their human rights individually and collectively, preserve the right to develop their own thoughts without fear from the threat of right to express opinions openly, and strengthen the right to develop personality without interference from others. The formulation is an illustration of the position of humans and their roles, rights and obligations that must be carried out.

In formulating the basis of Islamic universalism, Gus Dur had a picture of the aspirated profile of the community, namely a society who is capable of achieving prosperity. Gus Dur stated:

*Islam memberikan hak kepada manusia untuk menjadi 'penggati Allah' (khalifah) di muka bumi, sebuah fungsi kemasyarakatan yang mengharuskan kaum muslimin untuk senantiasa memperjuangkan dan melestarikan cita hidup kemasyarakatan yang mampu menyejahterakan manusia itu sendiri secara menyeluruh dan tuntas. Dengan demikian kaum muslimin diharuskan untuk menentang pola kehidupan bermasyarakat yang eksploitatif, tidak manusiawi serta tidak berasaskan keadilan dalam artiannya yang mutlak.*<sup>32</sup>

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31 *Ibid.* p. 29-30.

32 *Ibid.* p. 30.

Islam gives people the right to be ‘substituter of Allah’ (*khalifah*) on the earth, a social function that requires Muslims to keep fighting for and preserving the ideals of social life to improve human welfare itself thoroughly. Thus the Muslims are required to oppose the pattern of social life that is exploitative, inhuman and not based on justice in its absolute meaning).

According to Gus Dur, there are obligations that must be carried out by Muslims. First, the obligation to always be consistent in thinking and finding solutions to the problems we face. Second, the obligation to uphold the main purpose of life according to Islam which is to seek benefit as far as possible, to keep the damage / *mafsadah* as strong as possible, and to apply the principles of obedience in life as a whole. Third, the obligation to provide the means needed to achieve the main purpose of life above. Fourth, the obligation to carry out the responsibility of organizing community life thoroughly and honestly.<sup>33</sup>

To be able to carry out the obligations, a new orientation is needed for Muslims in facing and responding to the situation. According to Gus Dur:

*Orientasi baru itu tentunya harus dilandaskan pada pemahaman al-Qur'an sebagai sumber inspirasional tertinggi kaum muslimin dalam kerangka berikut: pertama, kaum muslimin harus meletakkan seluruh tata kehidupan mereka dalam kerangka penegakan hak-hak asasi manusia, pemeliharaan asas kebebasan dalam penyelenggaraan kehidupan itu sendiri, dan pemberian peluang sebesar-besarnya bagi pengembangan kepribadian menurut cara yang dipilih masing-masing; kedua, keseluruhan pranata keagamaan yang dikembangkan kaum muslimin harus ditujukan kepada penataan kembali kehidupan dalam kerangka yang dikemukakan di atas, dan ketiga, dengan demikian, al-Qur'an sebagai sumber pengambilan pendapat formal bagi kaum*

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33 *Ibid.* p. 31.

*muslimin harus dikaji dan ditinjau asumsi-asumsi dasarnya berdasarkan kebutuhan di atas, setelah dihadapkan kepada kenyataan kehidupan umat manusia secara keseluruhan.*<sup>34</sup>

The new orientation certainly should be based on the understanding of the Koran as the highest inspirational source of the Muslims in the following framework: first, the Muslims have to put their entire life order in the framework of upholding human rights, maintaining the principle of freedom in carrying out life itself and giving the maximum opportunity for personal development in the manner chosen by each; second, the overall religious institutions developed by the Muslims must be directed to the realignment of life within the framework stated above, and thirdly, thus, the Qur'an as a source of formal opinion for the Muslims must be reviewed and studied its basic assumptions based on the above needs, after being confronted with the reality of human life as a whole.

The universalization of Islamic teachings, which was intended by Gus Dur, included several things, namely tolerance, openness of attitude, concern for the main elements of humanity and concern that was full of wisdom for the backwardness, the shackles of ignorance and poverty of the Muslims. From the process of Islamic universalization, it is hoped that a new cosmopolitanism will emerge which free humanity from the injustice of the socio-economic structure and barbarity of other political regimes. Islamic universalism and the cosmopolitanism of Islamic teachings will be able to provide human resources. This is what is needed by the poor to improve their own destiny meaningfully and fundamentally, through the creation of a

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34 *Ibid.*

new social ethic that is full of the spirit of social solidarity and a transformative spirit that is concerned with the fate/destiny of small people.<sup>35</sup>

The universalization of Islamic teachings is actually a meaning to the teachings of monotheism. Gus Dur believed that a religion could actually contribute to the liberation of society. The most important and fundamental teaching in religion is about monotheism. With true *tawheed*, the practice of religious teachings will strengthen the structure of society, and at the same time will also lead to human liberation. When a religion is seen in the grassroots level, it will be able to foster wisdom in the face of various pressures and oppressions, both poverty and cultural backwardness and shackles. Thus, the minor people actually do not never think about the need for total change. They did not talk about revolution, but the minor people were the guardians of the revolution itself.<sup>36</sup>

According to Moeslim Gus Dur, Gus Dur had a very strong concern about the need to “liberalize” the direction of modern Islamic thought. The prominent issue that was launched was about Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism as a paradigm to get out of the historical and sociological trap of Muslims. Gus Dur voiced the need for non-sectarian awareness of Islam while trying to explore the intellectual treasures that had been owned so far.<sup>37</sup>

For Gus Dur, the values of justice, equality and democracy are structural conditions that must be realized in order to actuate

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35 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif*, p. 90.

36 Zuly Qodir, *Islam Liberal: Varian-Varian Liberalisme Islam di Indonesia 1991-2002* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2012), p. 54.

37 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif*, p. 80.

the protection of the five basic human rights. This is what ultimately created the liberation movement (*taharur*), which touched religious, cultural and social sciences.

*... Islam tidak selayaknya harus berhadapan dengan ideologi-ideologi transformatif manapun di dunia ini, karena ia juga harus melakukan kerja transformatifnya sendiri. ....yang terjadi adalah sebuah hubungan simbiotik dengan sebuah kesadaran transformatif tanpa nama, yang lalu mewujudkan diri dalam pelestarian lingkungan, pengembangan keswadayaan, penegakkan demokrasi tanpa merinci terlebih dahulu bentuk sistemiknya, dan sebagainya.*<sup>38</sup>

Islam should not be faced with any transformative ideologies in the world, because it must also do its own transformative work. ...what happened is symbiotic connection with an anonymous transformative awareness, which then manifests itself in environmental conservation, develops self-reliance, uphold democracy without elaborate the systemic form first, and so forth.

From this view it is clear that Islam has a mission to free humans from various downturns. According to Asghar, the essence of the presence of Islam is in the framework of freeing humans from all forms of discrimination, injustice and violations of human dignity.<sup>39</sup>

From the various writings that exist, Gus Dur's thoughts offered a lot of new things that made up his liberation paradigm. *First*, independence which we understand not only people autonomy or independence, but also the independence

38 See Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pengantar", in Hasan Hanafi, *Agama, Ideologi Dan Pembangunan* (Jakarta: P3M, 1991), p. x.

39 Asghar Ali Engineer, *Islam dan Teologi Pembebasan*, translated. Agung Prihantoro (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2003), p. 11-12.



of the people as God's great creation. *Second*, solidarity is not brotherhood, because solidarity is something that must be endeavored from two parties or more. It means, solidarity here is not only limited to brotherhood, but also more to respect other individuals with all their uniqueness and diversity. *Third*, social justice means not just equality, but moreover includes the conditions or means of human life. *Fourth*, populist is not just to love the nation but more than that is to love humanity for them, especially for the marginalized people.<sup>40</sup>

The epistemological framework of Gus Dur's thought can be seen from his ideas about the Indigenization of Islam into people's lives. Gus Dur's offer to carry out the indigenization of Islam was motivated by the anxiety of seeing the phenomenon of uniformity and the arabization process towards the wealth of local culture in Indonesia. Gus Dur offered the idea of Islam as a non-Islamic style in the Middle East, but Islam was in the style of an Indonesian tradition. Thus, Islam is a combination of Islamic insights and at the same time Indonesian insights. Islam is grounded, self-owned, and lives in the midst of society. This is because at that time the phenomenon emerged as described as follows:

*Masjid beratap genteng, yang sarat dengan simbolisasi lokalnya sendiri di negeri kita, dituntut untuk 'dikubahkan'. Budaya Wali Songo yang 'serba Jawa', Saudati Aceh, dan Tabut Pariaman didesak ke pinggiran oleh qashidah dan juga MTQ yang berbahasa Arab. Bahkan ikat kepala lokal (udeng atau iket di Jawa) harus mengalah pada sorban 'merah putih' model Yasser Arafat.*

*Begitu juga hukum agama, harus diseragamkan dan diformalkan: harus ada sumber pengambilan formalnya, Al-Qur'an dan*

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40 See Wahono Nitiprawiro, *Teologi Pembebasan : Sejarah, Metode, Praksis, dan Isinya* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), p. xxix.

*Hadits, padahal dahulu cukup dengan apa kata kiai. Pandangan kenegaraan dan ideologi politik tidak kalah dituntut harus 'universal': yang benar hanyalah paham Sayyid Quth, Abul A'la Al-Maududi, atau Khomeini. Pendapat lain, yang sarat dengan latar belakang lokal masing-masing, mutlak dinyatakan salah.*<sup>41</sup>

Tile-roofed mosques, which are loaded with their own local symbolization in our country, are required to be 'transformed'. The 'Javanese' culture of Wali Songo, Saudati Aceh, and Pariaman Ark were pushed to the edges by *qashidah* and also Arabic-speaking MTQ. Even the local headband (*udeng* or *iket* in Java) must yield to Yasser Arafat's 'red and white' turban.

Likewise religious laws, must be uniformed and formalized: there must be a source of formal retrieval, the Qur'an and Hadith, whereas in the past what the *kiai* said was enough. The state's view and political ideology are required to be 'universal': the truth is what was only stated by Sayyid Quth, Abul A'la Al-Maududi, or Khomeini. Other opinions which are full of local background, are absolutely wrong.

The efforts of Indigenization of Islam derived from anxiety on the phenomenon of opposing views between local culture and Islam, including in this case the use of language or terms. This anxiety was described by Gus Dur as follows:

*Mengapakah harus menggunakan kata 'shalat' kalau kata 'sembahyang' juga tidak kalah benarnya? Mengapakah harus 'dimushalakan' padahal dahulu toh cukup langgar atau surau? Belum lagi ulang tahun, yang baru terasa 'sreg' kalau dijadikan 'milad'. Dahulu tuan guru atau kiai, sekarang harus ustadz dan syaikh, baru terasa berwibawa. Bukankah ini pertanda Islam tercabut dari lokalitas yang semula mendukung kehadirannya di belahan bumi ini?*<sup>42</sup>

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41 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Tuhan...*, p. 106.

42 *Ibid.* p. 108.

Why do you have to use the word “*shalat*” if the word “*sembahyang*” is equally true? Why should it be ‘*mushola*’ if *langgar* or *surau* has the same meaning? Likewise to mention “*birthday*”, one will feel happy if it is used “*milad*”. In the past, a person who has good knowledge of Islam is called *kiai*, now he has to be called *ustadz* and *shaykh*, only to be more authoritative. Isn’t this a sign that Islam is uprooted from the locality that originally supported its presence in this hemisphere?)

Based on these various phenomena, Gus Dur demanded to reverse the flow of Islamic courses in Indonesia, from formalism in the form of “total arabization” to the awareness of the need to re-cultivate local cultural roots and historical framework in developing Muslim life in Indonesia. Gus Dur used the term “*Pribumisasi Islam*” (Indigenization of Islam) and not “*Domestikasi Islam*” (Domestication of Islam). It is because the term domestication seemed to be political that it defused the attitude and castration of the conviction. According to Gus Dur, indigenization is manifestation of Islamic life, not teachings concerning the core of formal faith and worship. There is no need for “*Batak Qur’an*” and “*Javanese Hadith*”. Islam remains Islam, wherever it is. But it does not mean that all must be equated its outer form.<sup>43</sup>

According to Gus Dur:

*Bahaya dari arabisasi atau proses mengidentifikasi diri dengan budaya Timur Tengah adalah tercabutnya kita dari akar budaya kita sendiri. Lebih dari itu, arabisasi belum tentu cocok dengan kebutuhan. Pribumisasi bukan upaya mnghindari timbulnya perlawanan dari kekuatan-kekuatan budaya setempat, akan tetapi justru agar budaya itu tidak hilang. Ini pribumisasi Islam adalah kebutuhan bukan untuk menghindari*

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43 *Ibid.* p. 108.

*polarisasi antara agama dengan budaya, sebab polarisasi demikian memang tidak terhindarkan.*<sup>44</sup>

The danger of arabization or the process of self identification with Middle Eastern culture is that we are removed from our own cultural roots. Moreover, arabization does not necessarily suit to our needs. Indigenization is not an attempt to avoid from the emergence of resistance forces of local culture, but in fact it is to keep the culture exist. This indigenization of Islam is a need, not to avoid the polarization between religion and culture, because such a polarization is inevitable.

Therefore, it is not true if the indigenization of Islam is interpreted as “javanization” or syncretism. The indigenization of Islam only considers local needs in formulating religious laws, without changing the law itself. It is also not true if the indigenization of Islam is interpreted as leaving the norms for the sake of culture, because its aim is that the norms can accommodate the needs of culture by using the opportunities provided by variations of *naṣh* understanding and at the same time giving roles to *uṣūl fiqh* and *qa’idah fiqh*. Thus, the indigenization of Islam is also a part of the Islamic history, both in its home country and in other countries, including Indonesia. Regarding the two historical meetings, Gus Dur described:

*Kedua sejarah itu membentuk sebuah sungai besar yang terus mengalir dan kemudian dimasuki lagi oleh kali cabangannya sehingga sungai itu semakin membesar. Bergabungnya kali baru, berarti masuknya air baru yang mengubah warna air yang telah ada. Bahkan pada tahap berikutnya, aliran sungai ini mungkin terkena ‘limbah industri’ yang sangat kotor.*

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44 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan* (Depok: Desantara, 2001), p. 119.

*Tapi toh, tetap merupakan sungai yang sama dan air yang lama. Maksud dari perumpamaan itu adalah bahwa proses pergulatan dengan kenyataan sejarah tidaklah mengubah Islam, melainkan hanya mengubah manifestasi dari kehidupan agama Islam. Sebagai contoh, pada mulanya ditetapkan haramnya berjabat tangan antara laki-laki dan perempuan yang ajnabi. Ketentuan ini merupakan bagian dari keseluruhan perilaku atau akhlak orang Islam. Ketika ketentuan ini masuk ke Indonesia, masyarakatnya telah memiliki berbagai kebudayaan. Misalnya, adat Sunda mempunyai jabatan tangan "ujung jari". Setelah berjalan sekian abad, masuk pula budaya Barat dengan jabatan tangan yang tegas dan tak pilih-pilih. Hasilnya di masyarakat Islam saat ini adalah sebagian mereka, termasuk para birokrat dalam bidang agama dan para pemimpin organisasi, melakukan jabatan tangan dengan lawan jenis, sedang para Kiai yang hidup dengan fiqh secara tuntas tetap bertahan untuk tidak melakukannya. Lalu apakah dengan demikian bisa disimpulkan bahwa Islam telah mengalami erosi di Indonesia? Jawabannya adalah "tidak", sebab Islam sebagai sebuah totalitas tetap berjalan seperti sediakala. Karena para pemeluknya tetap melakukan shalat, pergi ke masjid, membayar zakat, pergi ke madrasah, dan sebagainya. Dengan kata lain, secara kultural kita melihat adanya perubahan pada partikel-partikel dan tidak ada aliran besarnya. Umat Islam tetap melihat berpacaran bebas model Barat sebagai tidak Islami dan berusaha agar anak-anak mereka tidak melakukannya.*<sup>45</sup>

Both histories formed a large river that continued to flow and then is entered again by the smaller river so that the river grew larger. The Joint of a new river means the entry of new water that changes the color of the existing water. Even at the next stage, this river's flow might be affected by 'industrial waste' which is very dirty. But still, it remains the same river and old water. The purpose of the parable is that the process

45 *Ibid.* p. 120-121.

of struggle with the reality of history does not change Islam, but only changes the manifestation of the religious life. For example, at first it was forbidden to shake hands between male and foreign female. This provision is a part of the overall behavior or morals of Muslims. When this provision enters to Indonesia, the community has various cultures. For example, sundanese customs have “fingertip” handshakes. After walking for centuries, Western culture also entered into a firm and non-selective handshake. The result in Islamic society today is that some of them, including bureaucrats in the field of religion and organizational leaders, hold handshakes with women, while *Kiai* who lives with strict *fiqh* persist in not doing it. Then can it be concluded that Islam has experienced erosion in Indonesia? The answer is “no”, because Islam as a totality continues as before; because the believers continue to pray, go to mosques, pay zakat, go to madrassas, and so on. In other words, culturally we see changes in some particles but not in any large flow. Muslims still see Western-style dating between boys and girls as non-Islamic way and try to keep their children away from doing it).

Gus Dur criticized formalist-ritualistic religious attitudes. For him this attitude will only narrow the meaning of religion. People will no longer be sensitive to the social reality faced by society. For him Islam is a religion of love, tolerance and a religion of justice. Islam is an egalitarian belief that rejects the treatment of injustice for reasons of class, ethnicity, race, ideology, religion and gender. According to Gus Dur, a part of this belief is the values that underlie democracy and freedom which are universal values that must be accepted.<sup>46</sup>

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46 Greg Barton, *Biografi...*, p. xxx.

Gus Dur rejected the application of Islamic law as a positive law in the country. That is because there are differences between Islamic law and state law. Islamic law is a moral guide that is carried out on the basis of binding public awareness, not something that is forced by the state. Meanwhile, state law is a law that must apply to all components of society, even though they have different religions.<sup>47</sup> State law, according to Gus Dur, is something that has undergone an objectification process, namely the process of legal recognition objectively as something that is accepted by society as a whole, even though the law comes from certain religions that have been internalized. In state law there is no privilege against certain religious groups, because the religious law that has been objectified has become a common property and has become a public law.

Coercion of the enactment of Islamic law in a country in Gus Dur's view is a form of denial of democracy itself. That is because it will make the believers of different religions become second class.<sup>48</sup> Whereas a democratic country that upholds the egalitarian spirit, rejects all forms of such privilege. As a solution, Gus Dur encouraged Islam to be reduced to a level that made believers of other religions feel unthreatened by the existence of Muslims. Gus Dur offered Islam as a social ethic in a pluralistic society. With this position, Islam will not lose its basic right as a religion with its basic spirit *rahmatan lil'ālamīn*.<sup>49</sup>

In the concept of Islam indigenization there is a friendly attitude towards local culture. In this concept he rejected all forms of formalization of religious teachings, including Islam.

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47 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), p. 32.

48 Abdurrahman Wahid et al., "Agama Dan Demokrasi", p. 274.

49 *Ibid.* p. 49-50.

The logical consequence is that every religious teaching that has been absorbed by local culture is maintained in the frame of locality. Indigenization of Islam is only limited to reaffirming cultural roots by trying to create a religious community. For him local conditions need to be considered in the application of religious teachings.<sup>50</sup>

Regarding his disapproval of the application of Islamic law in Indonesia or the establishment of an Islamic state, Gus Dur mentioned several verses of the Qur'an. Among the verses of the Qur'an called QS. al-Baqarah (2): 208:

“O ye who believe! Enter into Islam whole-heartedly; and follow not the footsteps of the evil one; for he is to you an avowed enemy.”

Gus Dur mentioned this verse when he began discussing whether there was an Islamic system. Gus Dur explained that in the Muslim community there were differences of opinion when interpreting the word *al-silmi*. One group interpreted the word *al-silmi* to be the word Islam, which naturally must have a formal Islamic entity, with the necessity of creating an Islamic system. For those who are familiar with formalization, the translation of the word *al-silmi* is used with the Islamic word. They imagine a system that is considered to represent the entire embodiment of the teachings of Islam in life as something ordinary and normal. This brings the implication of the need for a system that can represent the overall aspirations of the Muslims. Therefore, the realization of “Islamic political parties” in political life is seen as important. Meanwhile, other group translated the word *al-silmi* with the adjective of peace, refers to a universal entity, which

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50 Rumadi, “Jasad Tanpa Ruh”, dalam *Ragam Ekspresi Islam Nusantara* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2008), p. 9.



does not need to be explained by a particular system, including the Islamic system.<sup>51</sup>

To explain this universal entity, Gus Dur mentioned the verses of the Qur'an regarding the five conditions for being considered "good Muslims", namely QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 177.

"It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces Towards east or West; but it is righteousness- to believe in Allah and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Book, and the Messengers; to spend of your substance, out of love for Him, for your kin, for orphans, for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves; to be steadfast in prayer, and practice regular charity; to fulfil the contracts which ye have made; and to be firm and patient, in pain (or suffering) and adversity, and throughout all periods of panic. Such are the people of truth, the Allah-fearing."

Five conditions to be considered as "good Muslims" based on the above verse are to accept the principles of faith, to carry out the whole (harmonious) teachings of Islam, to help those who need help (relatives, orphans, the poor, etc.), to uphold professionalism and are patient when facing trials and tribulations. Gus Dur interpreted the word *wa al-mūfūna bi 'ahdihim iżā' āhadū* (they fulfilled the promises they gave) with loyalty to the profession.<sup>52</sup>

Gus Dur did not agree if the word *al-silmi* was interpreted as an Islamic system. According to Gus Dur, if the five conditions above are carried out by a Muslim, without accepting the existence of an Islamic system, by itself there is no need for

51 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006), p. 3-4.

52 *Ibid.* p. 4.

a systemic framework according to Islamic teachings. Thus, realizing the Islamic system does not include a requirement for someone to be considered a “devout Muslim”. This is a very important point of dispute, because in many places it has grown understanding that is not concerned with the meaning of the system.<sup>53</sup>

Gus Dur’s principle is the same as the NU principle. This is because the principle of NU from the beginning has accepted the presence of different efforts in the country which does not want to be trapped in the *tasyis an-nuṣuṣ al-muqaddasah* (politicization of religious texts). Gus Dur firmly stated that in the view of Islam, it was not obligatory to have an Islamic system (*sistem Islam*). That is, there is no obligation to establish an Islamic state. Therefore, the claim of establishing a state for the sake of Islam is clearly contrary to democracy. In democratic understanding, there is a rule of law and treats all citizens before the Law.<sup>54</sup>

In the context of this state system, Gus Dur explained the extent of God’s power and state power. Gus Dur mentioned Q. al-Baqarah (2): 284:

To Allah belong all that is in the heavens and on earth. Whether ye show what is in your minds or conceal it, Allah Call you to account for it. He forgive whom He please, and punish whom He please, for Allah hath power over all things.

According to Gus Dur, a new understanding must be considered: where is the role of the state in imposing punishment, as a form of torture. Can the state in the name

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53 *Ibid.* p. 5.

54 *Ibid.* p. 5 and 7.

of God give punishment as part of the punishment in the world? Have humans been freed from the torments of hell, if he had served state punishment? If not, then there is a double punishment. Based on these questions, according to Gus Dur, it can be concluded that actually a country cannot be called an Islamic state, without having to rape things that are naturally state obligations. Even in the matter of punishment and reward, it is directly related to the question whether there is a religious state or not?<sup>55</sup>

According to Gus Dur, in-depth thinking is needed on a clear conception in the relationship between state and religion, if our safety is desired as a diverse nation preserved in this region. If we have voiced the existence of an Islamic state, without a clear conception of the matter itself, it means that a rash and reckless act has been carried out. Isn't this attitude just to be shunned by the Muslims in seeking the relationship between religion and the state? Especially if it is found other motives in establishing a religious state, such as the desire to rule alone for Islamic political parties, who see the form of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as "defeat" in political battles at the national level.<sup>56</sup>

In another section, Gus Dur also mentioned the word of Allah Q.S. Al-Baqarah (2): 208. The verse, according to Gus Dur, is always used by advocates of "Islamic countries" as the basis for their thinking. However, for Gus Dur, the verse must be interpreted by taking Islam as not to be partial (not complete). For people or groups who take a piece will make them exclusive or proud of themselves. Islam, according to Gus Dur, rejects

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55 *Ibid.* p. 9.

56 *Ibid.*

the attitude to specialize a group of people from other groups. To show this, Gus Dur mentioned the word of Allah Q.S. al-Mu'minun (23): 53:<sup>57</sup>

“But people have cut off their affair (of unity), between them, into sects: each party rejoices in that which is with itself.”

In order not to get caught up in exclusivism, Gus Dur pointed out that the Qur'anic verse that can be a noble principle, but little is considered by Muslims, namely Q.S. al-Anbiya '(21): 107:

“We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures.”

Q.S. al-Maidah '(5):3 :

“.....This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed My favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion. But if any is forced by hunger, with no inclination to transgression, Allah is indeed Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.”

According to Gus Dur, the verse is often used as the basis for the idea of an Islamic state. The verse is presumed to designate Islam as a perfect living system that can only be realized in a state system that is “religious”. Assumed, without a state, Islam cannot be realized perfectly. This is the problem that must be discussed. Gus Dur questioned, is it true that the basic assumption that Islam is a perfect living system and must be realized in a certain form of statehood? According to Gus Dur, the verses of the Qur'an above do not stand alone as understood by adherents of the Islamic state. The commandments of these

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57 *Ibid.* p. 12.

verses must be understood together. Only in this way can a truly rational and complete understanding be achieved.<sup>58</sup>

The verse of al-Qur'an used by Gus Dur to explain religious freedom is Q.S. Al-Baqarah (2): 256 :

لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ .... and Q.S. al-Kafirun (109):  
6: لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ. According to Gus Dur, based on these two verses it is clear that the holy book of al-Qur'an does not state that certain institutions become "guarantors" of the superiority of Islam over other religions, but instead are left to the common sense of man to achieve the truth. Thus, the "perfection of the system" of Islam as a religion is not based on the strength or authority of a particular institution, but on the ability of the human mind to carry out its own comparisons. This pluralistic awareness must be nurtured and not a particular institution such as a country must be leaned against.

For Gus Dur, the indigenization of Islam was a process to give high appreciation to locality and cultural diversity. This is where Islam will play the role of an inclusive-cosmopolite, and not particularistic-exclusive, role with the aim of making Islam as a complementary factor in the life of the nation and state which together with other values build an advanced, civilized and humanist society as a form of civil society. Islam is not a dominant factor or an alternative factor, because if Islam becomes the dominant factor it will leave other groups, whereas if Islam becomes an alternative factor at the end it still has to determine its own ideological pattern, because there is no other

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58 *Ibid.* p. 13.

universal alternative.<sup>59</sup>

According to Gus Dur, a formalistic legal approach or scriptural approach or alternative worldview cannot be too expected to resolve the socio-political difficulties and challenges faced by Muslims today. For example in solving the problem of poverty, such an approach would only lead to the efforts of *da'wa* solely, which means how to strengthen the faith and not vice versa to perceive faith that can inspire the problem of poverty to be solved fairly. Gus Dur saw that the problem of poverty like in Indonesia can only be solved through transformative efforts that have a macro scope, namely by upholding pure democracy, developing just social institutions in all fields, and rejecting injustice in all of its forms.<sup>60</sup>

The idea of indigenization of Islam was a concept that was adopted by Gus Dur's by analysing the patterns and interaction between Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism of Islamic civilization with various other civilizations, such as Greek and Classical Persia. The discourse of the indigenization of Islam is a pattern of the accumulation of the spread of Islam in Indonesia and its relationship to the local culture. Therefore, the idea of Islamic Indigenization is an effort of Islamic reconciliation with local culture or accommodation of local culture. This reconciliation can occur through *naṣh* understanding by considering contextual factors, and using the method of *uṣūl fiqh* and *qawā'id fiqhīyyah*. Indigenization of Islam is not an effort

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59 Zuhairi Misrawi et al., *Dari Syariat Menuju Maqoshid Syariat: Fundamentalisme Seksualitas dan Kesehatan Reproduksi* (Jakarta: KKIJ-FF, 2003), p. 87. See also Abdurrahman Wahid "Hubungan Antar-Agama: Dimensi Internal dan Eksternal di Indonesia" in Abdurrahman Wahid et al., *Dialog: Kritik & Identitas Agama* (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, no year), p. 10.

60 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif*, p. 92.

to “break religion” by going out of the box.<sup>61</sup> Indigenization of Islam can actually build a pattern of relations to be liquid, mutual respect, and minimize violence in the name of religion.<sup>62</sup> This is where the will is needed to change the paradigm of understanding or the shifting paradigm from theological-metaphysical discourse to humanist-post metaphysical.<sup>63</sup>

In Gus Dur’s view, Muslims should make historical facts as a measure in determining their attitude. A nation cannot develop a new tradition which is uprooted from its historical roots. Therefore, Islam should be placed in its historical context. Gus Dur used a historical approach to place the position and existence of religions and schools of belief in the context of nation and state life. Therefore, he did not speak about the truth or provide a theological assessment but he appreciated what is believed by non-Muslims and did not mix the problem of theological truth with the existence of religion and belief in a plural and diverse country like Indonesia.

To Moeslim Abdurrahman, Gus Dur seemed to have a greater concern for the problems of Islam and Muslims in Indonesia. He was very concerned about the issue of national pluralism, calling for the need for “national convergence”, “there is no concept of an Islamic state” and advocated the need to promote cooperation between all walks of life for the sake of

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61 This view is relevant with the views of Matthew Tindal and John Toland, stating that religion should be accepted by reason, and it is dangerous if one thinks that God is not capable of showing Himself clearly in the context of human life. Karen Armstrong, *A History of God: The 4.000-Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993), p. 398.

62 Y.B Mangunwijaya, “Perdamaian Bukan Masalah Orang Kecil,” in *Agama dan Kekerasan* (Jakarta: Kelompok Studi Proklamasi, 1985).

63 Dale Cannon, *Six Ways of Being Religious* (Jakarta: Diktis Kemenag RI & CIDA McGill Project, 2002), p. 12.

“democracy”, the pluralistic “unity of the nation” of Indonesia. Gus Dur wanted to find a new Islamic paradigm, which was more concerned with the problem of meeting Islam with its own culture, with modernization and with the nation.<sup>64</sup>

For Gus Dur, what matters is not a social attribute that must be Islamized, but more fundamental is how to build “ethics and social ethos based on Islamic values”. For this reason, in the context of Indonesia Gus Dur’s thought was to make a dialogue between Islam and Indonesian issues.<sup>65</sup> This is the essence of the indigenous epistemology offered by Gus Dur.

### **C. The Influences of Abdurrahman Wahid’s Thought**

Gus Dur has played an important and influential role in Indonesia. This can be seen since his return from Egypt and Iraq in the early 1970s. Gus Dur began offering new things. He offered his ideas both through his writings in various leading mass media at the time, as well as the leaps of his actions from the traditions of his habitat, pesantren. Gus Dur always rolled out critical discourse before the public. This was stated by Marzuki Wahid on Fahmina institute’s official website.<sup>66</sup>

In the 1980s and 1990s, Gus Dur played himself as a critical actor against the country. Gus Dur struggled to uphold democracy and human rights. In this case, Gus Dur often faced personally with the state. Gus Dur became one of the socio-political forces that was independent in the eyes of the state, because Gus Dur was outside the main political power of the New Order which at that time was controlled by ABG (ABRI,

64 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif*, p. 81.

65 *Ibid.* p. 93.

66 <http://www.fahmina.or.id>



Bureaucracy and Golkar) as the state wing. Gus Dur along with NU and other pro-democracy groups developed the creation of civil society. It is not surprising that at that time the term “state” *vis a vis* civil society developed.

Gus Dur had given a stimulus to changes in religious discourses, especially among NU. Gus Dur’s election as the Tanfidhiyah General Chairperson of the PBNU at the NU Congress in Situbondo in 1984 helped him to promote the pace of critical and progressive religious thought among the NU. One of Gus Dur’s greatest services in his leadership in NU since 1984 was that Gus Dur bringing changes by providing space for the growth of new thoughts, both those relating to theology, jurisprudence, Sufism and the doctrine of Ahlussunnah waljamaah.<sup>67</sup>

The criticism of Gus Dur and his appreciation of new thinking encourages NU young people to be happy with critical thoughts that always break down the establishment. Under the leadership of Gus Dur NU’s religious thinking seemed more dynamic. The critical and progressive thoughts of NU young people then developed rapidly through NGOs, study centers, study institutions and also universities. These thoughts increasingly crystallized with their own characteristics which became known as Islamic post-traditionalism.<sup>68</sup>

The meaning of Islamic Post-Traditionalism is a word used to refer to the youth community of NU as a symbol of the leap of tradition. The spirit of the post-traditionalism movement is to transform and revitalize tradition, not leave tradition.

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67 Rumadi, *Post Tradisionalisme Islam: Wacana Intelektualisme dalam Komunitas NU* (Jakarta: Kemenag RI, 2007), p. 5.

68 *Ibid.* p. 6.

Post-traditionalism contains an understanding of continuity and change. Continuity means using tradition as a basis for transformation (change). So, the leap of tradition here is not leaving tradition, but using tradition as a basis for movement to transform. The most important character of this group is the determination to hold and utilize tradition as social capital in developing thinking and driving change. His determination in holding tradition does not mean that they accept traditions as they are without criticism. One time they criticized their own traditions and also the traditions of others. Criticism of one's own tradition does not mean hating and leaving the tradition, but to revitalize it so that tradition can be more effective. Thus, their thought movements remain in the corridor and accountability of tradition.<sup>69</sup>

*Dalam konteks NU, kata Postra digunakan untuk menunjuk pada komunitas anak muda NU sebagai simbol lompatan tradisi. Lompatan tradisi yang dimaksud di sini bukan meninggalkan tradisi, tetapi menggunakan tradisi sebagai basis gerakan untuk melakukan transformasi. Pada titik inilah tampak karakteristik kelompok ini yang membedakan dengan komunitas lain. Karakteristik itu terletak pada keteguhan untuk memegang dan memanfaatkan tradisi sebagai modal sosial dalam pengembangan pemikiran dan menggerakkan perubahan. Meski demikian, bukan berarti mereka menerima tradisi secara apa adanya tanpa kritik. Mereka tidak segan-segan mengkritik tradisinya sendiri dan juga tradisi orang lain. Kritik atas tradisinya sendiri bukan berarti membenci dan meninggalkan tradisi itu, tetapi untuk merevitalisasi agar tradisi bisa lebih berdaya guna. Karena itu, sejauh apapun kutub gerakan pemikiran yang mereka lakukan tetap dalam koridor dan pertanggungjawaban tradisi.<sup>70</sup>*

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69 *Ibid.* p. 12.

70 *Ibid.* p. 12.

In the context of NU, the term 'Postra' was used to refer to the NU youth community as a symbol of tradition's leap. The leap of tradition referred here is not abandoning tradition, but using tradition as a basis for movement to transform. At this point, the characteristics of this group are distinguished from other communities. This characteristic lies in the determination to hold and utilize tradition as social capital in developing thinking and moving change. However, that does not mean they accept tradition as it is without criticism. They do not hesitate to criticize their own traditions and other people's traditions. Criticism of its own tradition does not mean hating and leaving the tradition, but to revitalize it so that tradition can be more effective. Therefore, the poles of the thinking movement they are doing remain in the corridor and accountability of tradition.

What is done by the NU youth group is inseparable from the previous generation of NU clerical intellectual property. Through a long and complicated intellectual genealogy, the affirmation of the intellectual tradition among the NU cannot be separated from the network formed by its pioneering scholars, especially K.H. Hasyim As'ari with the rules of *al-muḥāfazah 'ala al-qadīm al-shālih wa al-akhzu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlāh* (maintaining good old treasures and taking something new better). The wealth of NU intellectualism stretched from the time of the Prophet Muhammad, classical, mid to modern times.<sup>71</sup>

Peristiwa kembalinya NU ke Khittah 1926 tahun 1984 agaknya merupakan momentum penting sekaligus sebagai titik balik munculnya gairah baru tersebut. Kehadiran KH. Achmad Shiddiq dan KH. Gus Dur Gus Dur (masing-masing sebagai Rais 'Am dan Ketua Umum Tanfidhiyah PBNU 1984-1989) merupakan dua figur determinan yang mampu mengusung

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71 *Ibid.* p. 100.

*gairah baru intelektual. Mereka berdua menjadi bagian penting kampanye pembaruan dalam NU yang menandai dimulainya era baru bagi komunitas tradisional ini. Yang menarik, gairah intelektual yang antara lain ditandai dengan sikap terbuka terhadap segala bentuk fanatisme keagamaan tersebut terjadi pada saat-saat di mana dunia Islam pada umumnya justru ditandai dengan reislamisasi, kalau tidak dikatakan fundamentalisasi. Karenanya dalam konteks makro, seruan liberasi duet KH. Achmad Shiddiq dan KH. Gus Dur Gus Dur tersebut bagaikan suara lirih di tengah hiruk pikuk berbagai gerakan Islam.<sup>72</sup>*

The event of the return to the 1926 Khittah of NU in 1984 seems to be an important moment as well as a turning point for the emergence of this new passion. The presence of KH. Achmad Shiddiq and KH. Gus Dur Gus Dur (as Rais 'Am and Tanfidhiyah General Chairperson of PBNU 1984-1989) were two determinant persons who were capable of carrying out a new intellectual passion. They both became an important part of the renewal campaign in NU which marked the beginning of a new era for this traditional community. Interestingly, intellectual passion which, among others, was marked by an open attitude towards all forms of religious fanaticism occurred at times when the Islamic world in general was marked by re-islamization, if not said fundamentalization. Therefore, in the macro context, the call for liberation from KH. Achmad Shiddiq and Gus Dur was like a low voice in the midst of the hustle and bustle of various Islamic movements.

The new intellectualism among the NUs initiated by Gus Dur was developed by NU cadres both inside campus and outside campus. However, progressive thoughts among NU

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72 *Ibid.* p. 105.

are more prominent by cadres outside of campus. Gus Dur was one of those figures who took more roles outside of campus, besides there were other figures such as Masdar F. Mas'udi, KH. Mustofa Bisri and KH. Sahal Mahfudz. NU young people liked Gus Dur to be a locomotive that attracted intellectual cars in the NU community. Rumadi mentioned:

*Arus progresif NU dalam banyak hal diwakili oleh eksponen yang melakukan gerakan-gerakan kultural di luar kampus, meskipun dukungan orang-orang kampus terhadap gerakan kultural tersebut tak dapat diabaikan begitu saja. Arus yang begitu menonjol dari semua itu, katakanlah gerbong kedua di belakang lokomotif Gus Dur Gus Dur adalah kelompok-kelompok studi anak muda NU yang mengembangkan ide-ide progresif.<sup>73</sup>*

The progressive flow of NU is represented in many ways by exponents who carry out cultural movements outside of campus, although the support of campus people for the cultural movement cannot be ignored. The current that stands out from all that, let's say the second car behind the locomotive Gus Dur Gus Dur is the study groups of NU youth who develop progressive ideas.

Gus Dur's thought was a determinant factor in the emergence of the Islamic Post-Traditionalism community which began when NU declared to return to the 1926 Khittah in 1984. The momentum was able to provide NU citizens with enough space to form a new layer that was more oriented towards intellectual development. In this connection, Gus Dur was seen as a determinant factor which became the locomotive for the rise of NU intellectualism.<sup>74</sup>

73 *Ibid.* p. 109.

74 *Ibid.* p. 115.

The *Postr*a community was born from the struggle of cultural groups in NU. They are a new layer of NU intellectual movement. These phenomenons occur in almost all major cities in Java and outside Java such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Malang, Bandung, Lampung, and so on. They built a synergy of intellectual power between those who later gathered in a community that called themselves the *Postr*a community. The community is a movement of several NGO activists who have cultural affiliations to NU, such as LKiS (Institute for Islamic and Social Studies) Yogyakarta, eLSAD Surabaya, PP Lakpesdam NU Jakarta, P3M Jakarta, Desantara Jakarta, ISIS Jakarta, Averos Malang, INCReS Bandung, Ilham in Semarang, Bildung in Cirebon, LAPAR in Makassar, Syarikat in Yogyakarta and others.<sup>75</sup>

*Nama Postra bukan sekadar menunjuk sebagai identitas kelompok, tetapi sebagai pola berfikir dan karakter gerakan. Kesadaran ini semakin kuat ketika melihat realitas bahwa keterlibatan massa NU dalam politik praktis ternyata mempunyai efek yang luar biasa terhadap keseimbangan kehidupan warga NU. Mereka sempat goyah ketika sendi-sendi politiknya terkoyak yang kemudian diikuti dengan lengsernya Gus Dur Gus Dur dari kursi kepresidenan. Bahkan, lengsernya Gus Dur Gus Dur dengan segala ekses negatifnya di kalangan warga NU semakin meyakinkan komunitas tersebut bahwa perjuangan kultural merupakan pilihan tepat yang harus diperankan NU dan warganya. Atas dasar itu, pilihan untuk tetap mengembangkan kerja kultural-intelektual adalah pilihan yang tidak salah.<sup>76</sup>*

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75 *Ibid.* p. 117. See also Budhy Munawar-Rachman, *Sekularisme, Liberalisme, dan Pluralisme: Islam Progresif dan Perkembangan Diskursusnya* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2010), p. 18-22.

76 *Ibid.* p. 117.

Postrá's name is not just a group identity, but as a pattern of thinking and character movements. This awareness is increasingly strong when we see the reality that NU's mass involvement in practical politics has a tremendous effect on the balance of NU citizens' life. They were shaky when their political joints were torn apart, followed by the removal of Gus Dur Gus Dur from the presidency. In fact, the removal of Gus Dur Gus Dur with all its negative excesses among NU residents further convinced the community that cultural struggle was the right choice that NU and its citizens should play. On that basis, the choice to keep developing cultural-intellectual work is a choice that is not wrong.

The term Postra is actually an accumulation of the thoughts of young NUs since Gus Dur made his critical thoughts. However, the emergence of the term Postra began to become a serious conversation when ISIS (Institute for Social and Institution Studies), an NGO managed by NU young people in Jakarta, held a discussion to observe the emergence of new intellectual passion among NU youth on March 27, 2000 in Jakarta. Then, in the near after the event LKiS made Postra as its ideological foundation in strategic planning in May 2000 in Kaliurang Yogyakarta. The media for the spread of Postra thinking is done in many forms. Ahmad Baso, for example, a young NU intellectual, translated the writings of Muhammad Abed Al-Jabiri, which was later given the title "Post-Traditionalist Islam". Then two ISIS activists, Muh. Hanif Dakhiri and Zaini Rahman, published a book entitled "*Post-Tradisionalisme Islam: Menyingkap Corak Pemikiran dan Gerakan PMII*" (Post-Traditionalism of Islam: Disclosing the Patterns of Thought and Movement of PMII), published by Isisindo in

2000. Then, Postra's discourse became more mature when PP Lakpesdam NU conducted a serious study on this theme in the *Tashwirul Afkar Journal* Number 9 of 2000.<sup>77</sup>

Later, in addition to being developed by the institutions or centers of study above, Gus Dur's thought was also developed by a progressive Islamic institution called The Wahid Institute (TWI) and the Gus Durian community. The Wahid Institute (TWI) is an institution whose name is taken from the name of Abdurrahman Wahid. TWI was established on September 7, 2004. TWI's managers were young NU intellectuals who were very productive in progressive Islamic thought, such as Ahmad Suaedy, Rumadi, and Abdul Moqsith Ghazali. TWI's director is Yenny Wahid, who is the daughter of Gus Dur himself. TWI's mission is to continue what Gus Dur had fought, which is to spread the idea of Progressive Islam that promotes tolerance and mutual understanding in the Muslim and Western world societies. The purpose of TWI is in line with Gus Dur's vision, which is to develop moderate and progressive Islamic thought, which encourages the creation of democracy, religious pluralism, multiculturalism and tolerance among Indonesian Muslims.<sup>78</sup>

In detail, as stated in the official website of The Wahid Institute that TWI was established on 7 September 2004.<sup>79</sup> The Wahid Institute (TWI) is an institution that strives to realize the intellectual principles and ideals of Gus Dur in building moderate Islamic thought that encourages democracy, multiculturalism and tolerance among Muslims in Indonesia and throughout the

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77 *Ibid.* p. 118. See also Ahmad Baso, *NU Studies: Pergolakan Pemikiran antara Fundamentalisme Islam dan Fundamentalisme Neo-Liberal* (Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga, 2006), p. 159-165.

78 Budhy Munawar-Rahman, *Sekularisme....*, p. 96.

79 <http://www/wahidinstitute.org>



world. In its various programs, TWI held activities in progressive Muslim activists and dialogues between leaders of religions and political figures in the Muslim and Western world.

The vision of TWI is the realization of Gus Dur's intellectual ideals to build a prosperous Indonesian nation and humanity with social justice by upholding pluralism, multiculturalism, democracy, human rights inspired by Islamic values. TWI seeks to fight for the creation of a peaceful and just world by developing a tolerant and moderate Islamic outlook and working to build prosperity for all people.

The mission is: (1) developing, maintaining and disseminating peaceful and tolerant Islamic values, (2) developing dialogues between local and international cultures in order to expand the harmony of Islam with various cultural and religious cultures in the world, (3) encourage various initiatives to strengthen civil society and good governance in Indonesia in strengthening democracy, (4) promoting active participation of various religious groups in building cultural dialogue and peace dialogue, and (5) developing initiatives to improve welfare and social justice.

Since its establishment until now, WI has built many networks, individuals and institutions, which are spread at the local, national and international levels. A number of individuals are local religious leaders or pesantren who have an open mind. some institutions are local networks include Institute of Islamic and Social Studies (LSiS), Lebak; Institute for Culture and Religion Studies (Inces) Bandung; Institute of Social and Religious Studies (ELSA) Semarang; Center for Marginalized Communities Studies (CMARs) Surabaya; the Fahmina Institute, Cirebon; the Lapar Makassar Foundation; Palembang Institute of

Islamic Law Studies (LKHI); Institute for Humanitarian Studies (Lensa) West Nusa Tenggara.

Besides being continued and developed by TWI, Gus Dur's thoughts are also developed by the Community or Gusdurian Network.<sup>80</sup> Gusdurian is a term for students, admirers, and successors of Gus Dur's thoughts and struggles. The gusdurian explored Gus Dur's thoughts, emulating his character and principles of value, and strived to continue the struggle that had been initiated and developed by Gus Dur in accordance with the context of the challenges of the times. Meanwhile, the gusdurian network is an arena of synergy for the gusdurian in practical cultural and non-political spaces. In the gusdurian network there are individuals, local communities/forums, and organizations that are inspired by Gus Dur's values, thoughts, and struggles. Because it is a network, a formal membership is not required. The gusdurian network focuses on practical non-political work synergy on the dimensions that Gus Dur has pursued, covering four major dimensions: Islam and Faith, Culture, State, and Humanity. The values, thoughts, struggle of Gus Dur remain alive and guard the movement of Indonesian nationality; through the synergy of the work of his followers, based on nine Gus Dur Values: *tawheed*, Humanity, Justice, Equality, Liberation, Brotherhood, and Simplicity, Attitude of Knights, and Tradition Wisdom.

The gusdurian network is not tied to the place, because the gusdurian alias of Gus Dur's ideological children are scattered in various parts of Indonesia, even abroad. In some places, local communities were formed, but most of them were connected through work forums and dialogues. The emergence of the

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80 <http://www.gusdurian.net>

local gusdurian community was driven by the gusdurian of the young generation (2000s generation), who were eager to gather and explore inspiration from the example of Gus Dur. At least around 60 local gusdurian communities were pioneered until the end of 2012.

Among them are gusdurian in various provinces such as Surabaya, Madiun, Sidoarjo, Pasuruan, Malang Raya, Tegal, Jepara, Bogor, Bondowoso, Semarang, Salatiga, Makassar, Yogyakarta, Jombang, Kediri, Blitar, Tulungagung, Mojokerto, Nganjuk, Tuban, Gresik, Jember, Banyuwangi, Lumajang, Probolinggo, Situbondo, Trenggalek, Paciton, Ponorogo, Magetan, Ngawi, Bojonegoro, Lamongan, Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, Demak, Kudus, Pati, Rembang, Blora, Grobogan, Karanganyar, Wonogiri, Solo, Klaten, Magelang, Temanggung, Wonosobo, Kendal, Batang, Pekalongan, Pemalang, Brebes, Cilacap, Banyumas, Purbalingga, Kebumen, Purworejo, Bandung, Kuningan, Cirebon, Indramayu, Majalengka, Purwakarta, Karawang, Jakarta, Depok, Tangerang, Banten, Sukabumi, Garut, Sumedang, Tasikmalaya, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, Papua, Maluku, Kendari, Mamuju, Gorontalo, Manado, Tarakan, Samarinda, Pontianak, Balikpapan, Lampung, Bengkulu, Palembang, Padang, Pekanbaru, Medan, Aceh.<sup>81</sup>

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81 <http://www.gusdurian.net>



## CHAPTER IV

### THE TRANSFORMATIVE ISLAMIC THOUGHT OF MOESLIM ABDURRAHMAN

#### A. Criticism Against Individual Piety and Modernism

Moeslim Abdurrahman (known as Moeslim) was an intellectual who was born in Lamongan, East Java, in August 8, 1948. As a child, he completed elementary education at the Public School. Moeslim then attended a pesantren education at Raudlatul Ilmiyah Kertosono Islamic Boarding School in East Java, a pesantren known as a strict and orthodox pesantren. Then he took a bachelor's degree (S1) from the College of Islamic Sciences (*Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Agama Islam*) which was founded by Muhammadiyah in Kediri and continued at the Muhammadiyah Islamic Institute of Surakarta (IAIM, the forerunner of the founding of Surakarta Muhammadiyah University).<sup>1</sup> After graduating, he took a Masters and Doctor of Anthropology from University of Illinois, Urbana, USA. Moeslim began to be active in social movements when he was active in Islamic Student Association of Solo (HMI Solo). Moeslim's intellectual struggle continued to grow when he was active at the Social Sciences Research Center with Dr. Alfian from LIPI. Moeslim

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1 An interview with Ahmad Mahmudi, Moeslim's colleague, head of LPTP Foundation Surakarta, November 10, 2014 at LPTP office in Solo.

also worked as a journalist and was active in research at LIPI. Moeslim also worked at the Research and Development Agency of Department of Religion (1977-1989).<sup>2</sup>

Moeslim had one wife, namely Lily Agus Hidayati, daughter of a Muhammadiyah figure in Kediri, and had two children, Ika Laili Rahmawati and Liana Ade Rahmawati. He had served as chairman of the Labor, Farmers and Fishermen Empowerment Institute, PP Muhammadiyah and a member of the Advisory Board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). During the reform era, Moeslim had been a member of the National Mandate Party (PAN) and had also served as a member of the shura council of the National Awakening Party (PKB) with Gus Dur. He was also the Director of the Ma'arif Institute for Culture, and Director of the Social Sciences Development Institute (LPIS). He died at RSCM, Jakarta at the age of 64 years on Friday, July 6, 2012 night due to heart disease. He was buried in Jatibening, Bekasi.<sup>3</sup>

Moeslim's critical thought began to emerge when he tried to formulate transformative Islamic thought in the 1980s and early 1990s. At that time and earlier times, Moeslim felt anxieties with the model of symbolic piety which was growing in the midst of society, including in this case a social caricatural project for the *mustad'afin*. He wanted the concept of Islam that is not only individual, but has more social implications that can transform a more humane social reality. An example of symbolic piety which Moeslim was concerned is that the number of pilgrims is increasing every year, both regular and plus program, as well

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2 See Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2005), p. 209.

3 [www.tokohindonesia.com/biografi/article/285-ensiklopedi/1670-potret-keberagamaan-empiris](http://www.tokohindonesia.com/biografi/article/285-ensiklopedi/1670-potret-keberagamaan-empiris).

as the increasing of recitation activities held everywhere from traditionally to professionally managed.<sup>4</sup>

According to Moeslim, formal legalistic patterns in religion are still dominant, which can sometimes frustrate the capture of religious messages that are more core and essential. For example, *qurban* worship (slaughtering goats or cows) is still more believed to be the fulfillment of individual eschatological piety rather than the realization of more basic social solidarity.<sup>5</sup> In this case faith is only revealed in the form of ritual routine formalism which has no implications for the improvement of social life.<sup>6</sup>

The above phenomenon looks like a revival of Muslims, but actually it is not, because the phenomenon is only something that is symbolic, quantitative, and very superficial. Moeslim gave an example of the rise of Islam which was measured by the splendor of ritualistic life. The middle class could carry out the pilgrimage with prestigious packages, the prestigious *tarawih*s at the hotel, the house of worship stood monumentally in terms of its architecture. The question, what is the meaning of all those rituals if the distance between the house of worship (the house of a worshiper) and the poor is close, but the Islamic awareness is in a distance. In this case, there is a sharp difference in both social distance and spiritual distance.<sup>7</sup>

In other words, the Islamic search for Muslims is now more shaped by the formation of piety, modernity and lifestyle. Moeslim gave an example of the mode of interpretation of Islam

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4 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1995), p. 9.

5 *Ibid.* p. 16.

6 See Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak*, p. 83.

7 *Ibid.* p. 39-41.

forwarded by the *da'i* and the cleric who emphasized that the meaning of piety was nothing but the matter of the importance of charity. Likewise in the era of visual media at that time, the collective disclosure of piety among the urban middle class was often raised in the intensity of rituals such as public thought, namely crying to God in front of a public television camera. This understanding is a serious problem. Moeslim stressed:

*Kalau kita mengharapkan kelas menengah Islam menjadi agen perubahan dan demokratisasi yang peduli terhadap pentingnya distribusi sosial dan ekonomi, rasanya dibutuhkan waktu yang agak panjang, terutama bagaimana melakukan intervensi dakwah agama yang lebih transformatif, yaitu mengetengahkan pedagogis agama yang lebih dialektikal terhadap soal kemiskinan sebagai kemunkaran yang menjadi musuh keimanan.<sup>8</sup>*

If we expect the Islamic middle class to become the agents of change and democratization who care about the importance of social and economic distribution, it seems that it takes a long time, especially how to intervene in a more transformative religious propaganda, namely to introduce a more dialectical pedagogical religion on poverty as an ignoring become the enemy of faith.

This is what Moeslim calls a loss of Muslim social idealism. Moeslim saw that ritual intensity was very romantic in the Muslim community but did not produce social piety. Islamic life seems to be routine and religious measures become very trivially (on the surface).<sup>9</sup> Religion is only capable of voicing individual salvation, which emphasizes ritualistic and charity intensity in order to reduce the appearance of social conflict

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8 *Ibid.* p. 52.

9 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif...*, p. 4.



only. The themes of recitation carried out are only embellished with God's good promises in heaven, without touching the problem that becomes everyday reality. Religion is no longer sensitive to the choice of social concerns, but rather emphasizes the affection of the rich to the poor in the form of "alms" without daring to question the just living livelihood system that allows many people to give alms.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, the efforts are needed to fight for transformative revelation. The re-intellectualisme work of Islam through the interpretation of revelation must not only enlighten and give freedom of thought, but also take sides with authentic pedagogical struggle for humanity. Moeslim asserted that based on the social construction as a basis for reflection on Islamic thought today, the most important thing is not the spirit of Islamic reform, but a matter of poverty and social inequality that extends every day. Moreover, how weak is the state facing the market of capitalism, in fact the most progressive Islamic discourse that puts the question of "social mischief" as the basis of urgent theological reflection. So that, the revelation will be an idea and at the same time emancipatory spirituality that encourages the movements of the people themselves, in the context of empowerment and independence outside the initiative of the state with a new collective awareness. According to Moeslim:

*Kerja pemikiran Islam bukanlah memperbincangkan teks dalam alam kemerdekaan intelektual, namun pada dasarnya adalah bagaimana menemukan ide Tuhan kembali ikut secara partisipatoris dalam pergumulan umat manusia yang sekarang ini menghadapi proses dehumanisasi melalui refleksi teologis yang bersumber dari sejarah perjuangan hidup sehari-hari. Suatu proses berteologi yang memunculkan makna Islam*

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10 *Ibid.* p. 6.

*yang berbeda-beda sesuai dengan perbedaan di mana umat manusia melakukan perjuangan antihegemoni secara sendiri-sendiri, ataupun mereka yang secara kolektif melakukan counter hegemony melawan penindasan dalam relasi struktur kekuasaan yang wajahnya berbeda-beda.*

*Reintelektualisasi Islam semacam ini sesungguhnya tidak bisa dipisahkan dari kerja praksis sosial, sehingga hubungan antara berpikir dan ortopraksis merupakan satu kesatuan, sama halnya antara teks dan sejarah yang mengitarinya. Kita butuh arus tengah pemikiran semacam ini, tatkala masyarakat kita membutuhkan makna-makna Islam baru yang mereka butuhkan sendiri, dan dalam kesadaran bahwa Islam harus menjadi counter symbolic; apalagi tatkala proses sosial sekarang ini antara yang lapar dan yang rakus, yang tertindas (mustad'afin) dan yang menindas, baik secara teologis maupun secara epistemologis, tidak bisa dibaca lagi, apakah hal ini soal Islam atautkah dipahami sebagai soal di luarnya.<sup>11</sup>*

The work of Islamic thought is not discussing the text in the realm of intellectual independence, but basically it is how to find God's idea to participate in a participatory way in the struggle of mankind who is now facing a process of dehumanization through theological reflection that comes from the history of the struggle of daily life. A theological process represents the different meanings of Islam in accordance with the differences in which human beings carry out their own anti-hegemony struggle individually or those who collectively conduct counter-hegemony against oppression in the relation of power structures whose faces are different.

This kind of Islamic reintellectualization cannot really be separated from the work of social praxis, so that the relationship

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11 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak*, p. 118.

between thinking and orthopraxis is a unity, as well as between the text and history that surrounds it. We need a current kind of thinking, when our society needs the new Islamic meanings they need themselves, and in the realization that Islam must be a symbolic counter; especially when the current social process between the hungry and the greedy, who are oppressed (*mustad'afin*) and oppressive, both theologically and epistemologically, cannot be read anymore, whether this is a matter of Islam or understood as a matter outside it.

Moeslim also raised the issue of fasting. The question posed is: is the actual fasting symbolically symbolizing the partiality of those who suffer or are hungry, who are eliminated, still have religious substance that is morally sensitive to the process of social marginalization? This question is very important because, although it is realized that fasting is not a social idea to solve the process of dehumanization or exclusion, but if fasting can arouse a self-reflexive awareness of faith so that the ideology of chastity given to everyone can arise as a collective sensitivity, perhaps the wisdom of fasting will flow into a change of history and not stop at the spirit of seeking merit to fulfill its *fiqh*.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, Moeslim emphasized that rituals not only stop at rituals without changing and flowing meaningful awareness to the power of the human agency for their followers. For example, by fasting should be a self-reflexive behavior that is able to revive transformative awareness that is more sensitive to social mischief. A person who is fasting should have awareness so that he can refrain from biological greed as well as social greed and political power.

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12 *Ibid.* p. 146.

The very disturbing restlessness of Moeslim was when the development took place in the 1980s that carried out by the New Order regime. The development was one form of modernization which turns out to produce social fragmentation everywhere. There was a sharp social imbalance between those who benefit and those who were harmed by this development.<sup>13</sup> This is another effect of modernization as the “biological child” of capitalism. Moeslim emphasized that:

*Apa yang tersisa dari kapitalisme liberal selama ini adalah meluasnya fragmentasi sosial dan meningkatnya besaran “under class” di mana-mana, yaitu kenyataan ketimpangan sosial yang menyakitkan, yang dihasilkan oleh kapitalisme modern.*<sup>14</sup>

What remains of liberal capitalism so far is the spread of social fragmentation and the increasing amount of “under class” everywhere, namely the reality of painful social inequality, which is produced by modern capitalism.

In addition, the direct effect of modernization is the widespread behavior of consumerism. Modernism produces various advances in the field of technology and various new trading products. Modernism offers pleasure and pleasure. However, the emergence of new behavior is the attitude of consumerism. Moeslim criticized the practices of consumerism.

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13 *Ibid.* p. 61-62. The fragmentation can also be seen through the development of *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). Moeslim sees that *hajj* and *umroh* became the status distinction between upper class and lower class in the society. See Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Bersujud di Baitullah: Ibadah Haji, Mencari Kesalehan Hidup* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2009). This book is the translation of his dissertation entitled *On Hajj Tourism: In Search of Piety and Identity in the New Order Indonesia* at the Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United States, in 1998.

14 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Sebagai Kritik Sosial* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2003), p. 106.

Moeslim emphasized that:

*Agama harus menjadi ideologi sosial yang peka untuk melakukan konsolidasi humanistik, tatkala manusia di keping-keping dalam kesadaran lebih sebagai hamba “merek dagang” ketimbang sebagai hamba Tuhan yang memiliki tanggung jawab mewujudkan masyarakat yang adil dan diridhai-Nya.”<sup>15</sup>*

Religion must be a sensitive social ideology to carry out humanistic consolidation, when people are in pieces of awareness as servants of “trademarks” rather than as servants of God who have the responsibility to realize a just and acceptable community.

In addition, modernization always provides a supposition that there are a number of elite people who can engineer to change certain situations, either with science or technology. The modernization paradigm tends to use standard analysis models, as if every development of a social group does not have its own character, either in the pattern or in its cultural ideas and ideals. In the paradigm of modernization, development is usually interpreted as a multifaceted process involving changes in all fields of thought and human life.<sup>16</sup> The level of modernization is often measured based on variables, for example, urbanization, increasing literacy, the level of participation in formal political institutions, the rationality of community thinking, ability, effectiveness, and individual pursuit of achievement.<sup>17</sup>

According to Moeslim, there are two responses of Muslims in responding to modernization, namely the response

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15 *Ibid.* p. 6.

16 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif...*, p. 7, mengutip dari Samuel P. Huntington, 1968.

17 *Ibid.* p. 8.

of the modernists and the response of the Islamists. The response of “Islamic modernization” derived from the concern of the backwardness of Muslims in the world today. The underdevelopment is caused by shortsightedness, ignorance and closeness in understanding his religious teachings. That is what makes Muslims lag behind the progress achieved by the West. From this view, it is very evident that the paradigm of “Islamic modernization” tends to liberalize adaptation to the progress of the times without having to leave a critical attitude towards the negative elements of the modernization process. So, for the “Islamic modernization” circles, the problem is how to develop the message of Islam in the context of social change with the tradition of text. This is in contrast with the “islamization” people who tend to try to explore the text in order to control social change. Therefore, the latter group tend to first form normative measures in various fields of life including science, theories of social sciences, economic systems, and even clothing, so that they are found to be more “typical” in Islam. Because the tendency of “islamization” departs from the text or comes from revelation, its character is very totalistic, which in all aspects of life must be permeated with Islamic norms. So, it is very unlikely that the emergence of an empty space to accept a particularistic or pluralistic reality, while the paradigm of “modernization” in Islamic thought seems to display more flexibility, openness in the face of a pluralistic and constantly is changing the world. Here the “modernization of Islam” thinkers do not put the ambition of Islamizing every aspect of life, because religious authority as religion and the development of the social aspects of Muslims have their respective bases.<sup>18</sup>

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18 *Ibid.* p. 104.

## B. The Paradigmatic Construction of Transformative Islam

### 1. Orthopraxis religion and social piety

In social life, religion has many functions. Religion can function as legitimacy for the structure and culture in society. However, religion can also function as a critical control of structure and culture in society, especially when religion is able to be independent from the structures that surround it. The possibility of the birth of a structure that traps religion has always existed in every phase of social development, although at first religion actually became the initiator of change when ideal religious ideas were translated into practical life.

Islam actually has a critical mechanism for change, as reflected in the doctrine of the need to remind each other in the form of constructive criticism (intact in truth), which is also in accordance with the function of the Caliphate mandated by God to mankind on earth. In this case, religion should have the courage to appear in every situation, not only to show things that are *ma'rūf* (positive) but also to correct things that are evil/*munkar* (negative).<sup>19</sup>

According to Moeslim, religion can foster a critical mechanism in the dynamics of religion itself, both through *ijtihad* as an intellectual method in understanding religious messages, and directly if religion is expected to play a role in resolving actual community problems. To do this critical mechanism, religion must dare to give moral criteria in every situation, by showing which conditions are acceptable to God

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19 *Ibid.* p. 10.

and which are not.<sup>20</sup> The need for this moral criterion gives the consequence that religion certainly does not only speak of mere compliance demands (obedience), but also speaks about the responsibility of building order in accordance with what is desired by Allah SWT.

According to Moeslim, religion in the process of modernization generates three features, namely: first, religion appears as a means of rationalization of modernization or modernism, by initiating the development of rational theology which refers to the growth of the intellectualism of a group of academics. Secondly, is as a tool of legitimacy in the name of launching and supporting the success of modernization programs. These programs are designed and implemented based on the paradigm of economic growth, and not for the growth of the basic values of the development of human dignity itself. In this context, the dominant style of theology is justicial theology of parallelism. Third, certain community groups, especially the *dhu'afa'*, who have not been absorbed into the great dialogue of the modernization process today, are forced to immerse themselves in the eschatological theology dream which is escapist. They often show fatalistic attitudes: that "the world is only a place to stop for drinking"; that "the world is only a prison for believers and a paradise for unbelievers", and so forth.<sup>21</sup>

Moeslim's concern is that religion in the three features above does not depart or touch the problems that exist in reality. Religion ceases and is only engrossed in questioning the utopian framework at the super-structural level. In

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20 *Ibid.* p. 12.

21 *Ibid.* p. 108.



such a situation, theology must be reformulated based on structural reality that truly lives in everyday reality and is faced by Indonesian society groups. In this way religion can then be displayed in - following the term used by Moeslim - the style of "Transformative Theology", a theology that is not orthodox but the theology associated with orthopraxis. It is facilitative, in the sense of providing facilities as a reading framework to see reality. He attaches importance to the content rather than the symbolic expression of religion, and clearly leads to the ideals of the realization of *muttaqin* society, with each person having an equal degree before the truth of Allah SWT.<sup>22</sup>

Transformative theology is concerned with issues of justice and social inequality. For transformative theology, all the problems of human civilization today are considered to be rooted in the issue of socio-economic inequality, because of an unfair structure. The presence of a number of people who are far from religion is partly due to the fact that there are socio-economic distances that are quite distant between those who are *dhu'afa'* and centers of religious orthodoxy. Physically, for example, the distance between the mosque and the market is generally very close, but socio-economically it is not common for a lot of baskets to be reluctant to take shelter there, and even feel that the *maqom* is not proper to associate with "pious" people who have enough of their lives.<sup>23</sup>

This unequal structure is even seen as a part of Western sin which has brought the idea of modernization. Because,

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22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.* p. 106.

modernization in practice often exploits, with information sources and the economy only controlled by a group of elite people who control a number of people who live without opportunities and hopes to change their future.<sup>24</sup>

Transformative theology emphasizes the dimension of justice in every process of social change, namely by questioning actual change for whom? In this connection, development must always be interpreted as an effort to strengthen one's own abilities. How to actualize cultural references like values? So that the community itself can transform into a more virtuous life. The problem of increasingly widespread opportunities for people to take decisions in every social change becomes very important. This is an attempt to invite them to talk about their own future, so that they are capable of building themselves. Thus, the sense of belonging or *handarbeni* to the future is able to arouse their motivation to achieve it. Because, in addition to knowing what to contribute to the process of social change, they also feel that they have acquired their rights from the situation of change.<sup>25</sup>

That situation was later described by Moeslim that a Muslim could not reach to the true level of faith before he experienced a struggle with himself and with the surrounding social environment. In such a process the ability to liberate its structure is indispensable, so that it can behave in accordance with the fundamentals of authentic religious morality, not vice versa by behaving only according to its

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24 *Ibid.* p. 107.

25 *Ibid.* p. 8-9.

sociological role or the status it carries in society.<sup>26</sup>

Efforts to formulate social piety in Islam are actually taught in the Qur'an. Among these teachings is the command to issue zakat. However, in the case of zakat, Moeslim saw that there were two features in perceiving zakat. First, zakat is seen as an institution to achieve social justice, in a sense as a mechanism to suppress capital accumulation in a small group of people. Second, zakat as a charity institution, the rich must pay attention to the poor, but not in the context of distributing wealth fairly so that it is not collected only in a group of people.<sup>27</sup>

According to Moeslim, Islam recognizes the existence of private property rights, but ownership rights must function for social purposes. *Zakat* and *sadaqah* are actually among the mechanisms to function wealth. The question is, is the 2.5 percent portion fair enough? According to Moeslim, the imposition of zakat 2.5 percent is irrelevant, with the example that for a person who is rich in portions that is certainly not something heavy and will still be rich, while for the poor majority will remain miserable for life.<sup>28</sup> *Zakat* is only a ritual.

Zakat is not just kindness, but is primarily a duty of the people. Moeslim gives an example, if a company gives shares to its employees, it means that the company has already carried out zakat. The company has functionalized wealth to realize social justice, so that life is more humane, more dignified. Therefore, the new interpretation of zakat

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26 *Ibid.* p. 10.

27 *Ibid.* p. 19.

28 *Ibid.* p. 20.

is very important, including the small portion of zakat. Wealth should be able to encourage the improvement of human dignity, and be a mirror of piety. Wealth must not distinguish humans, because humans in before God are the same. We must uphold a more egalitarian Islamic society.<sup>29</sup>

Moeslim disagrees that zakat is treated to reduce social jealousy towards rich people - the poor are given alms so that they are not jealous to the rich. That means a *karitas*: the social costs incurred only aim to realize social security. The truth is, zakat must function as a social reform.<sup>30</sup>

## 2. Social Tawheed and Multiculturalism

Moeslim Abdurrahman's Transformative Islamic thought can be seen when he talks about social monotheism. Tawheed is the most essential doctrine for Islam that cannot be bargained. With monotheism, Muslims believe that Islam cannot compromise with servitude in any form, except for the monotheistic God. The implication is that the belief in monotheism in Islam is also a consistency that should not occur in any form of oppression. Islam is an emancipatory religion. Islam cannot accept the form of social inequality and Islam must fight for social justice from its commitment to the teachings of monotheism.<sup>31</sup>

Tawheed is the basis of the argument of the importance of freedom; freedom to speech, freedom to assembly, and freedom to express ideas. So, in addition to being a rational religion that is compatible with the development of science,

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29 *Ibid.* p. 20-21.

30 *Ibid.* p. 22.

31 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak...*, p. 58.

Islam must also become a discourse religion for competition, resistance, or matching various modern discourses, both in the field of political ideas and concepts, social concepts, and in the formulation of new epistemologies in the framework of the islamization of science.<sup>32</sup>

From the view of monotheism above, Moeslim spoke about multiculturalism. When talking about multiculturalism, Moeslim seemed to be influenced by Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid in relation to the issue of relativity in Islamic understanding and thought or “there is no absolutism in Islam”, in fact all of that is also based on only absolute God - the real truth.<sup>33</sup> According to Moeslim, multiculturalism is a part of an inclusive Islamic perspective, a perspective that must be placed in the context of the need for democracy and the recognition of the importance of pluralism.

According to Moeslim, respect for differences is the basis of the main refusal to realizing democracy in society. If someone believes that the truth of his religious teachings is the most absolute, then he looks the only owner of the truth. According to him, when someone believes that absolute truth is only in the hands of God, implicitly he must recognize selfishness in capturing God’s truth. Human capacity is relative because humans are not God, so humans must be tolerant in seeing any relative differences. If there is someone who feels monopolizing the truth and imposing it on others in the name of God, unconsciously it is a kind of tyranny or the beginning of polytheism that can hinder the

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32 *Ibid.* p. 60.

33 *Ibid.* p. 58.

realization of a healthy and humane society.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1990s Moeslim Abdurrahman studied anthropology in America. That was when he began to get acquainted with the school of post-structuralism or postmodernism which was developing. The important book read by Moeslim was the work of Eagleton (1991), Harvey (1990), and Jameson (1991). In these books, they criticize several things. First, that modernity that relies on reason as a pillar of enlightenment is actually not universal and strongly linked to power. Second, they criticize extensively that the interests and perspectives that place the working class or the workers as an emancipatory basis to fight oppression, moreover through revolution, are only abstractions from an illusory category.<sup>35</sup>

According to Moeslim, postmodernists who care deeply about difference and always say that objective historical conditions are now strongly influenced by the complexities of various nuances of interest related to plurality of cultures and others, are unfortunate by the writers of the three books who actually also come from Marxists who criticize Marxists. It is because the adherents of postmodernism are obscuring the reality that happens everywhere is actually fragmentation and chaotic that threatens the dignity of humanity. The postmodernists, in their opinion, completely lose their political moral commitment because they have ignored the question of political economy and global power in analyzing the situation.<sup>36</sup>

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34 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif...*, p. 11.

35 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak...*, p. 62.

36 *Ibid.* p. 63.

For Moeslim, who read these three books, in the viewpoint of “Transformative Islam” which does not presuppose a blueprint, the weakness that is mostly not answered by postmodernists is that they do not formulate from where this increasingly unequal situation must be overhauled. Moeslim also saw that there was no social commitment to the direction in which society wanted to be transformed by Islam as a symbolic force which had the meanings of liberation to give direction to social justice.<sup>37</sup>

An important problem raised by Moeslim is that after the fall of post-socialists in Eastern Europe, civil society has emerged as an alternative movement. However, at that time it did not mean the emergence of civil society (as an old idea that was revived) immediately meant that we must accept the reality of the victory of liberal capitalist, capital as the end of history. As it is known that liberal democracy is a system that gives up unbalanced conditions in terms of social distribution with the obsession of neoliberalism based on civil liberties, tolerance, and building democratization in the public culture. Moeslim questioned the global economic imbalance produced by capitalism today with the civil society movement. Is it enough to fight for recognition of political identity against the reality of cultural plurality or multiculturalism which encapsulates the occurrence of social marginalization?<sup>38</sup>

According to Moeslim, as a commitment to political ideology based on Tawheed teachings, there is an essential obligation (more than just cultural identity politics) to place

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37 *Ibid.* p. 64.

38 *Ibid.* p. 65.

social emancipation as a principle that cannot be bargained. Therefore, it is indeed not an era to maintain economy and also a working class essentialism which is the main weakness of the orthodox Marxism idea, but indeed it must now recognize the importance of seeking new identification of collective subjects which enable the incorporation of *mustad'afin* forces, namely various subordinates in a more radical democratic movement to fight for social emancipation.<sup>39</sup>

According to Moeslim, this is where the importance of religious alignment with the emergence of the new social movement is a knot of social movements and merely not cultural plurality movement, especially looking at the importance of fighting for citizenship awareness that prioritizes the protection of individualism rights. However, the main problem is not to debate universalism versus particularism. A more important issue is how Islam always presents to provide encouragement and direction so that there is a collective strength of resistance, so that the unfair history that occurs in the industrial capitalist era can now change through continuous resistance, because there is religious moral control that is critical of the process humanitarian degradation.<sup>40</sup>

For Moeslim, the most basic concern of the religious community is the establishment of the power of counter-hegemony which is the articulation of the diversity of the *mustad'afin* people and not the resistance in each place in the awareness of anti-hegemonic power relations.<sup>41</sup> In other

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39 *Ibid.* p. 65.

40 *Ibid.* p. 66.

41 *Ibid.* p. 66.



words, according to Moeslim, the process of theology which has long considered theology as a scientific discipline should begin to be transformed into theology as a movement, so that theology is a pedagogical work of humanity that can be liberated in character.<sup>42</sup>

Regarding multiculturalism, Moeslim also discussed the importance of respect for local wisdom. Local wisdom, despite of its premodialistic style it is still in line with democracy. Local wisdom creates cultural diversity. From this cultural diversity, what emerges is what is called melting-pot that can foster a generic culture to become a pillar of the nation state. However, when the nation state of its sovereignty must be left to the market, as in the experience in America, it is politically obvious that people see how important multiculturalism is given the right to grow stronger.<sup>43</sup>

According to Moeslim, if we place multiculturalism as the right to obtain anthropological representation in nation-building, as in Indonesia, which is very diverse in ethnicity, of course this is a must. After all, if religion is placed in the perspective of the new social movement which relies on the abstraction of subjects who collectively for the sake of fighting for emancipation, multiculturalism becomes very important. Because, Indonesia's experience so far, this is the most serious violation of cultural politics. It can be seen that Indonesia does not provide space for representation at all against ethnic groups that historically they do not have

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42 Moeslim Abdurrahman "Munculnya Kesadaran Kritis Ber-Muhammadiyah: Sebuah Pengantar" in Pradana Boy ZTF and M. Hilmi Faiq (ed.), *Kembali Ke Al-Qur'an: Menafsir Makna Zaman* (Malang: UMM Press, 2004), p. xii.

43 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak...*, p. 67.

national hero figures. Or for example, with state politics that only recognizes five official religions, the religion of tribes has been forced to surrender its beliefs and belief systems to divine religion. If multiculturalism is placed in this connection, it may be very relevant as part of the new social movement which not only means the importance of fighting for social redistribution, but also gives room to the emergence of a movement to fight for the cultural struggle against the discrimination of minority groups (the Others).<sup>44</sup>

Moeslim emphasized the importance of placing the issue of multiculturalism in the right context, because it is a part of an identity abstraction that is extended to emancipation and not just to accept the facts of diversity based on natural considerations that in fact God makes diverse creations.<sup>45</sup>

### 3. The Epistemological Framework: Dialectics of Text and Context towards Transformation

An important postulate of Moeslim's thought is the view that Islam is a religion of value. The presence of Islam is a corrective attitude towards history that deviates from human values. The deviant history here is the occurrence of dehumanization practices, which the al-Qur'an identifies with the "polytheistic process". The basic message of the Qur'an is that we must fight for the importance of upholding human values. Islam is actually a religion whose principles are not only based on ritual or speculative spirituality, but actually the most fundamental is to keep human values from

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44 *Ibid.* p. 68.

45 *Ibid.*

being manipulated or morally corrupted by history. Islam which was passed down through the Prophet Muhammad has a prophetic mission to rectify the history of the most radical human distortions in the area of Arab culture, which is called *jahiliyah*.<sup>46</sup> In carrying out the prophetic task, Moeslim explained:

Muhammad had to reconstruct the collapsed values of civilization which had been laid down by the prophets, especially the monotheistic civilization whose pillar was called “*millah Ibrahim*”. What must be said in this context is that there is really nothing unique about what Islam fights for universal values upheld by humanity so far, in the Qur’anic language it is said that Islam is *rahmatan lil ‘ālamīn*, a general statement, not particularistic about what is called the *risālah islāmīyah* mission.<sup>47</sup>

Based on the principle of *rahmatan lil ‘ālamīn*, the Prophet Muhammad tried to build an ideal model of publicity in Medina. The ideal publicity model is a model based on the principle of mutual respect and sharing of responsibilities to uphold Makiyah’s Islamic values that emphasize the need to form *muttaqīn* societies. *Muttaqīn* society is a form of utopian Islam that maintains the equality of the people before their Lord and at the same time protects every dignity of humanity in a common life. Moeslim emphasized that equality before God must also be realized in real life. The form of equality in real life is social justice. In the context of wealth, for example, the mechanism of wealth distribution not only protects personal rights, but also gives the awareness that wealth is a deposit from God, so that

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46 *Ibid.* p. 1.

47 *Ibid.* p. 2.

there is a social function that must be fulfilled as an expression of solidarity and respect for collectivity values, an important pillar of publicity.<sup>48</sup>

This is where Moeslim gives meaning to the concept of monotheism. According to Moeslim tawh ed, it is not merely a vertical theological concept, but also the most basic morality to build political ideology, that economic inequality is a serious humanitarian threat. That is why Islam cares deeply and takes decisive steps to oversee this economic and social distribution, which at the time of the Prophet and Companions was carried out with the mechanism of zakat and tax obligations for non-Muslims.<sup>49</sup>

To realize this Islamic value, Muslims must fight along with other humanitarian forces to confront dehumanization and aberrant history of civilization. The term commonly used by Islam is *al-amr bi al-ma'r f an-nahyi anil munk r*. Moeslim stressed:

*Islam sesungguhnya tidak hanya memiliki kepedulian yang inklusif pada tingkat memperjuangkan nilai-nilai harkat dan martabat kemanusiaan (dan ini sudah dibuktikan bahwa Islam membuka seluas-luasnya), bahkan lebih dari itu, menganjurkan perlunya membangun kerja sama di bidang peradaban sehingga muncul suatu kehidupan umat manusia yang bercorak transkultural yang damai dan saling menghargai. Bentuk peradaban seperti itu merupakan cita-cita ideal yang islami, karena dengan itu bisa disangga oleh siapa pun yang mencintai kemanusiaan sebagai anugerah Yang Mahakuasa.<sup>50</sup>*

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48 *Ibid.* p. 3.

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.* p. 5.

Islam really does not only have an inclusive concern at the level of fighting for the values of human dignity (and this has been proven that Islam opens as wide as possible), even more so, advocating the need to build cooperation in the field of civilization so that a human life emerges, the transcultural pattern of peace and respect. Such forms of civilization are Islamic ideal objectives, because they can be supported by anyone who loves humanity as a gift to the Almighty.

In obtaining these universal ideals, it is necessary to attempt to dialogue between text and context to lead to a transformation process. Transformative Islam offered by Moeslim is actually located here. Moeslim promotes an Islamic agenda that is oriented towards the transformation of a just society.<sup>51</sup> The effort to carry out the experimentation of the transformation process is to look for a new approach, which is to interpret the text with awareness of the context and then to study the context in a dialogical manner. In this way, the text truly lives in empirical reality and changes the state of society towards a social transformation which is blessed by Allah SWT. Moeslim's transformative Islamic epistemology emphasizes the dialogical relationship between text and context, and does not tend to force reality according to the ideal model. The development of epistemology is also an effort to overcome the debate about the choice between cultural approaches or structural approaches in community development. Because, in the experimentation of transformative Islamic epistemology, basically the people live together with their religious symbols. This is in overcoming structural inequality that confines it.

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51 Amin Abdullah "Pengantar" in Farish A. Noor, *Islam Progresif: Peluang, Tantangan dan Masa Depan di Asia Tenggara*, translated. Moch. Nur Ichwan dan Imron Rosjadi (Yogyakarta: Sahma, 2006), p. x.

Therefore, in the transformative Islamic epistemology process, besides involving the activities of social analysis along with understanding the context, there is also a need for reflection of shared faith revealed in its religious symbols to lead the process of social transformation.<sup>52</sup>

Transformation should be a humanitarian movement that capable of delivering equal social life before Allah SWT. A transformative movement aims to foster concern for one's destiny, engender solidarity actions, and to link human partnership on the basis of faith awareness. This effort must be done because as the message conveyed by Allah that the history of people will only be changed by God if they have will and effort to change it.<sup>53</sup>

Transformation is the most humane way to change the history of human life. It is because what applies in the process of transformation is mentoring or coaching, not directing, especially coercion. The transformation is basically also a cultural movement that is based on liberalization, humanization, and transcendence that is prophetic, namely the change of the history of people's lives by the people themselves through a more participative, open, and emancipative direction.<sup>54</sup>

The transformation movement must be holistic, that is involving a comprehensive dimension, including the transformation of values, individual behavior, and the structure of the collective life of society. It means that the transformation movement is not enough to compile economic projects. What is more needed is to create an atmosphere of togetherness among

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52 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif...*, p. 27.

53 *Ibid.* p. 40.

54 *Ibid.* p. 40.

the people themselves in discussing and perceiving reality, looking for opportunities behind reality, and deciding together how to change that reality to be more meaningful viewed from the basic principles of humanity as equal as caliph Allah SWT to create prosperity.<sup>55</sup>

Religious symbols must be maintained eternally, but theology, as a manifestation of human ability to capture the will of the revelation in the time and place dimensions always requires *ijtihad*, so that religious symbolism does not stop at itself. According to Moeslim, symbolic revelation actually contains an immaterial substance, while the relationship with reality is not always dialectical, but rather interpretive. Without substantiation of these symbols dynamically, superstructure becomes stagnant, and reality will work in its own rhythm, because religion becomes a false problem in everyday life.<sup>56</sup>

According to Moeslim, in performing *ijtihad*, as an internal mechanism in practicing symbolism, it is clear that adequate empirical knowledge is needed. Without that, the theological formulations compiled are irrelevant because they do not rest on the earth of reality itself. The interpretation of revelation without the basis of reality seems to be interesting intellectual work for professional theologians rather than to seek theological solutions to the urgent problems of the people. Theological formulation, in romanticism - intellectual tradition, has often been the practice of using sacred text languages, which are sometimes full of idealization. As a result, it is often unable to touch the essence of the real problem.<sup>57</sup>

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55 *Ibid.* p. 41.

56 *Ibid.* p. 16-17.

57 *Ibid.* p. 17.

Theological paradigm with the view of a “black-and-white” world (a dualistic world view), which develops a “halal-haram” paradigm, “sin-reward”, in seeing a problem should be re-examined to be more relevant to the demands of reality. According to Moeslim, Islam and thoughts on Islam are two different things. Islam is a revelation, whereas Islamic thought is a subjective truth that results from one’s capture of an objective message of revelation. As subjective truth, Islamic thought can change according to the development of information around the reading of God’s message of someone, both at the level of knowledge and at the level of experience. Therefore, every Islamic thought must be treated as the work of *ijtihad* in order to reach the will of God and not as the word of God itself. Every topic of Islamic thoughts is basically an area of discussion, criticism, and commentary, not a place of claiming one’s truth over others’.<sup>58</sup>

Moeslim Abdurrahman’s thoughts on the issue of *ijtihad* are related to how religion must take sides or how to initiate Islam that is taking side. His idea can be seen through his writings in the book “*Islam yang Memihak*”. In one of the chapters on “*Menggagas Islam yang Memihak*”, Moeslim began his thought by describing the dynamics of Islam in relation with *ijtihad*. According to Muslim, there are two important things. First, Muslims are given the widest right to interpret Islam as a universal religion so that the reach of the message of Islam can always follow even beyond the demands of its time. This is a blessing because Muslims will not be confronted with a dilemma when they have to live from a changing era. Second, Muslims are reminded that they must always maintain the most

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58 *Ibid.* p. 67.



basic treatises of Islam as a religion that has a concern to uphold *amar ma'rūf* and *nahi munkār* in the form of always promoting justice and the truth.<sup>59</sup>

Muslims are actually required not only to be intellectually able to respond to the development of science, but also to always maintain the tradition of thought which is an integral part in interpreting new meaning of the spirit of revelation due to the insistence of human history. It is impossible for Muslims to carry out their Islam by leaving science and the tradition of thought. It is because the revelations that are written and contracted in the times are closely linked and impossible to separate.<sup>60</sup>

God is the source of truth, but the interpretation of the truth is parts of mankind's ability which, in this case, still maintains at least two basic values of Islam namely humanization and liberation. These two contemporary terms are the translations of *amar ma'rūf* and *nahi munkar*.<sup>61</sup>

According to Moeslim, the ideals of Islam are a growing imagination, an idea and a thought of Muslims to translate the revelation references in a real historical struggle. The goal to establish "the Islamic" is actually a continuous reconstruction effort of how to overcome the gap between the ideal and the actual. Thus, Islam as a religion of mankind is able to provide continuous references to block hegemony and be able to become a force for emancipatory humanitarian work.<sup>62</sup>

In relation to Moslems' life in the current era with its complicated capitalism, Moeslim suggested that Islam and

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59 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak...*, p. 103.

60 *Ibid.* p. 104-105.

61 *Ibid.* p. 104.

62 *Ibid.* p. 107.

moslems are not an exclusive entity, but rather an objective reality that is in struggle to achieve human dignity. It is a historical illusion and something that is made up when people said that human solidarity to overcome oppression and hegemony can only be founded solely by symbolic awareness. It is because the social fragmentation that occurs now actually has exceeded the limits of sentiment and primordial identity. There is no exception for Moslems and also those who claim the adherents of other religions. If we divide the line of hegemony and oppression with those who fight for emancipation, democracy, and justice, such a line is actually becoming bias.<sup>63</sup>

In other words, Moeslim asserted that the true function of religion must voice human solidarity when it comes to dealing with the greed of human beings in the current consumption era.<sup>64</sup> If Islam wants to be an alternative liberation ideology, then an unobsessive interpretation of modernity is needed, interpretation with emancipatory in justice that fights for universal Islamic human rights.<sup>65</sup>

### **C. The Influences of Moeslim Abdurrahman's Thought**

Moeslim Abdurrahman's thinking is different from Islamic reform which was pioneered, especially by Nurcholish Majid who fought for the concept of secularization and emphasized more on the Islamic struggle to fit the changing times and to be free from divided political Islam. Moeslim, together with Gus Dur, put more emphasis on community development efforts to improve the condition of Moslems at the grassroots level,

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63 *Ibid.* p. 108.

64 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Sebagai...*, hlm. 7.

65 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak...*, p. 107.

seeking alternatives to excessive government roles and utilizing networks of non-governmental organizations. Moeslim had been active since the 1980s at the Jakarta Institute of Research, Education and Economic Development (LP3ES). Through the activities in this organization, Gus Dur influenced a lot of reliable pesantren intellectuals such as Masdar F. Mas'udi, Said Budairy, M.M. Billah, and Muhammad AS Hikam, and inspired other NU young intellectuals to develop Islamic thought. While Moeslim took a part in many Non-Governmental Organizations by establishing the Social Sciences Development Institute (LPIS) which led to the Alliance of reliable Social Researchers such as Mansour Fakhri and Wardah Hafidz.<sup>66</sup>

Moeslim is an Islamic scholar who consistently moves outside the power structure through cultural methods and social movements. Everything he did was in the framework of organizing a transformative social movement. Moeslim Abdurrahman almost never used a normative approach in studying Islamic religious texts because it would only make religion a static belief. Though, Islam presents to equate humanity without discrimination and defend the poor and oppressed groups. Therefore, according to Moeslim, the duty of Muslim scholars and Islamic activists is to revive the critical role of religion, namely as a control over the social problems faced so that religion can play an active role in creating justice and equality, and not become the basis of legitimacy of the policies of the authorities.<sup>67</sup>

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66 Zuly Qodir, *Islam Liberal: Varian-Varian Liberalisme Islam di Indonesia 1991-2002* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2012), p. 41-42.

67 *Ibid.* p. 49.

Moeslim did not want to put religion simply as a doctrinal discourse as it is not responsive to the social humanitarian problems that arise in society. Therefore, a transformative critical approach is needed in studying Islamic doctrine. The theological issues that have developed so far tended to be “black and white”. This kind of perspective should be immediately changed so that theology is more relevant to the demands of reality. This is where we need theology that is able to liberate the weak (*du’afa*) from acts of tyranny and oppression of the rulers.<sup>68</sup>

Moeslim’s thinking on transformative Islam is increasingly visible when he stated the need for reading reality using a new approach. To him, until now, Moslems still consider that the *da’wah* movement is a reaction to the deviations of beliefs that exist in society so that it often creates a purification movement or movement to return to the text. What is needed now is a socio-cultural study of Islam that can go closer to people who are uprooted in term of their theological feelings due to modernization. Thus, continuous innovation is needed in developing preaching methods, so that changes that occur in society do not uproot the people’s belief from their hearts. It certainly can only be done if the change is responded rationally. To realize this, it requires an emancipatory theological awareness for every leader and adherent of religions. Therefore, institutions, including religious institutions must also dare to change the orientation of their struggles, from anti-heretical movement to praxis of social anti-corruption.<sup>69</sup>

Moeslim’s transformative Islamic thought influenced the growing thoughts among Muhammadiyah, especially the young

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68 *Ibid.* p. 49.

69 *Ibid.* p. 49-50.

people in the Muhammadiyah Young Intellectual Network (JIMM). JIMM is one of Muhammadiyah youth networks that uses Moeslim's mind framework in carrying out social works. Moeslim was one of the figures in addition to Amien Rais, M. Syafii Maarif, and M. Amin Abdullah, who moved the enthusiasm of young intellectuals in Muhammadiyah. In the language of Najib Burhani, he became a part of various events, accompanying the intellectual awakening at Muhammadiyah, and involved in preparing the conditions for the birth of JIMM.<sup>70</sup>

The 2003 was a very important year for the emergence of critical thinking in Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah young intellectuals who joined the community which became known as JIMM held various intellectual studies. JIMM held its first workshop on 9-12 October 2003 in Bogor with the theme "Building a New Intellectual, Open and Critical Intellectual Tradition". In this first workshop, around 70 Muhammadiyah young intellectuals gathered to be the first wave of revival of young Muhammadiyah intellectuals. In that same year JIMM held workshops in Yogyakarta on 13-16 November 2003 and in Malang on 28-30 November 2003. The workshop in Malang posed the theme "*Tadarus* Islamic Thought: Back to the Koran, Interpreting the Meaning of Times" which was attended more than 100 young Muhammadiyah intellectuals. During the workshop in Malang, JIMM was officially declared and the organisation committee was founded, a presidium consisting of representatives of regions all over the nation. The region of Banten, Jakarta, and West Java were represented by Piet Khaidir, the Central Java region was represented by Zakiyuddin

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70 Ahmad Najib Burhani "JIMM: Pemberontakan Anak-anak Muda Terhadap Aktivisme, Skripturalisme dan Orientasi Struktural di Muhammadiyah" in [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu).

Baidhawiy, Yogyakarta was represented by Zuly Qodir, East Java by Pradana Boy ZTF, and representatives of women by AiFatimah. The presidium secretary appointed is Ahmad Fuad Fanani.<sup>71</sup>

Moeslim expressed his pride with the development of Muhammadiyah young intellectuals. Moeslim stated:

*Pada tingkatan praktis dan sederhana, geliat intelektual muda Muhammadiyah ini bisa dibuktikan dengan, misalnya, produktivitas mereka dalam melakukan "kampanye" ide dan advokasi media melalui tulisan-tulisan dan gagasan mereka di berbagai media massa. Dalam imajinasi saya, potensi muda inilah yang nanti, paling tidak, selain menjadi Intelektual Muda Muhammadiyah. Dengan itu, maka kita akan melihat bahwa Muhammadiyah lima atau sepuluh tahun yang akan datang akan sangat berbeda dengan Muhammadiyah yang sekarang ini. Anak-anak muda ini adalah satu generasi yang memiliki dinamikanya sendiri tatkala mereka bersentuhan dengan gelombang globalisasi, gelombang pemikiran dan sejenisnya. Oleh karena itu, di tangan anak-anak muda inilah, Muhammadiyah akan benar-benar menjadi imajinasi intelektual. Kelompok anak muda inilah lapisan yang akan mengimajinasi bagaimana Muhammadiyah, bukan dalam konteksnya yang formalis-organisatoris, tetapi Muhammadiyah dalam konteks spiritual dan imajinasi intelektual. Merekalah yang akan melakukan "re-intelektualisasi" Muhammadiyah sehingga warna dan nuansa intelektualisme dalam sehingga Muhammadiyah menjadi lebih terasa, bukan Muhammadiyah yang terlalu kental dengan warna luarnya yang karikatif.<sup>72</sup>*

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71 *Ibid.*

72 Moeslim Abdurrahman "Munculnya Kesadaran Kritis Ber-Muhammadiyah: Sebuah Pengantar" in Pradana Boy ZTF and M. Hilmi Faiq (ed.), *Kembali Ke Al-Qur'an: Menafsir Makna Zaman* (Malang: UMM Press, 2004), p. ix.

On a practical and simple level, the growing of Muhammadiyah young intellectuals can be proven through, for example, their productivity in conducting “campaigns” ideas and media advocacy through their writings and ideas in various mass media. In my imagination, this young potential will, at the very least, be a part of Muhammadiyah Young Intellectuals. Therefore, we will see that the next five or ten years Muhammadiyah will be very different from the current Muhammadiyah. These young people are a generation who have their own dynamics when they are in contact with the waves of globalization, thoughts, and the like. Therefore, in the hands of these young people, Muhammadiyah will truly become intellectual imagination. This young people is the layer that will imagine how Muhammadiyah is, not in its formalist-organizational context, but Muhammadiyah in the context of spiritual and intellectual imagination. They are the ones who will do the “re-intellectualization” of Muhammadiyah so that the colors and nuances of its intellectualism deepen, so that Muhammadiyah becomes more pronounced, not with its caricatural outer colors.

Moeslim Abdurrahman’s influence can also be seen in the activities of the Maarif Institute for Culture and Humanity (Maarif Institute). Maarif Institute is a progressive Islamic institution that develops among Muhammadiyah. According to Budhy Munawar-Rahman, the establishment of the Maarif Institute cannot be separated from the great idea of its founder, Prof. Dr. Ahmad Syafii Maarif in relation to inclusive Islam, pluralist Islam, tolerance, humanist, and equity in order to sustain democracy and social justice, realizing a better Indonesia.<sup>73</sup>

73 Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Sekularisme, Liberalisme, dan Pluralisme: Islam Progresif dan Perkembangan Diskursusnya* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2010), p. 105.

Maarif Institute was founded on February 28, 2003. Maarif Institute is an institution that is still developing today. Since its establishment in 2003, the Maarif Institute has successfully led the birth of the Muhammadiyah Young Intellectual Network (JIMM), which was at the time the Maarif Institute was led by Moeslim. At that time, the Maarif Institute played a role as an umbrella and a platform for progressive Muhammadiyah young intellectuals who were restless about the reality of intellectualism in Muhammadiyah.<sup>74</sup>

To recognize the great contribution of Moeslim, in 2003, the Maarif Institute held the Moeslim Abdurrahman Fellowship. This event is intended to contextualize the ideas of Moeslim in the fields of Islamic thought, social science, politics, and culture.<sup>75</sup>

Moeslim's thoughts are also very influential for the young Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Moeslim is a Muhammadiyah intellectual who is an idol for young NU people. Many activities of NU young people were attended by Moeslim as a speaker such as seminars, workshops, and social analysis and community empowerment trainings. Moeslim also influences social movements among NGOs in Indonesia, such as Insist Jogja, LKiS Yogyakarta, LPTP Solo, etc.

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74 *Ibid.*

75 [www.maarifinstitute.org](http://www.maarifinstitute.org).



## CHAPTER V

### THE THEOLOGY OF THE OPPRESSED OF MANSOUR FAKIH

#### A. Criticism of Developmentalism and Capitalism

An important issue that became Mansour's observation and at the same time became his most striking anxiety was the relationship between the role and position of religion in nearly all the Third World communities with global developments known as developmentalism. The phenomenon is that developmentalism has managed to become as a "new religion" for people in the Third World. Developmentalism seems to promise a "way" and hope for a change of fate to people in the Third World. In fact, developmentalism is believed to be the only way to solve the problems of poverty and underdevelopment. Developmentalism has spread and is used as a vision, theory and process that is believed by the people in almost all Third World.<sup>1</sup> Those who embrace Developmentalism are based on the assumption that developed countries that embrace capitalism system is the ideal form of democratic systems and structures of society. Consequently, they are trying to make the experience of

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1 Mansour Faqih "Teologi Kaum Tertindas" in Th. Sumarthana dkk., *Spiritualitas Baru: Agama dan Aspirasi Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: Dian/Interfidei, 1994), p. 204.

advanced industrial countries as a model for the Third World.<sup>2</sup>

The term developmentalism is a term developed from development terminology. Development means growing or developing. In analyzing problems, Mansour Fakih often started from an analysis of this development. According to Mansour, in the 1970s and 1980s, “development” became a kind of “new religion” or a new ideology for people in the Third World. Development promises new hope for change and improvement in their lives. The dominant concept of development reflects the Western model development paradigm. In this concept development is understood as a step by step process towards “modernity”. Modernity is reflected in the form of technological and economic progress as achieved by advanced industrial nations. In most Third World nations, the interpretation of the concept of development is understood as general improvement in living standards. Development is also understood as a means of strengthening the State, especially through the process of industrialization, which follows a uniform pattern from one country to another. Based on a such perspective, the role of government is the subject of development, namely treating the people as objects, recipients or recipients, clients or even participants of development.<sup>3</sup>

To understand the development of “development” discourses, Mansour Fakih described the history of the emergence and development of the development paradigm. According to Mansour:

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2 Mansour Fakih “Agama dan Proses Demokratisasi di Indonesia: Suatu Analisis Kritis” dalam Ariel Heryanto et al., *Nasionalisme : Refleksi Kritis Kaum Ilmuwan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1996), p. 40.

3 Mansour Fakih, *Masyarakat Sipil untuk Transformasi Sosial: Pergolakan Ideologi LSM Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1996), p. 70-71.

*Gagasan pembangunan dilontarkan sekitar tanggal 20 Januari 1949, yakni ketika Presiden Harry S. Truman untuk pertama kalinya memperkenalkan kebijakan pemerintah Amerika Serikat, yakni dengan melontarkan istilah yang baru diciptakan yaitu “keterbelakangan” (underdevelopment). Inilah saat pertama diskursus pembangunan secara resmi diluncurkan, yakni dalam kaitan dan konteks “Perang Dingin”. Maksud kebijakan ini adalah dalam rangka membendung pengaruh Komunisme dan Sosialisme di negara-negara Dunia Ketiga.<sup>4</sup>*

The idea of development was initiated on January 20, 1949, when President Harry S. Truman introduced the policy of the United States government for the first time, launching a newly created term called “underdevelopment”. This was the first time the development discourse was officially launched, namely in terms of the context and the “Cold War” context. The purpose of this policy is to stem the influence of Communism and Socialism in Third World countries.

Since then, the spread of the development idea has continued. In the 1950s and 1960s, social scientists who were members of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) held many workshops on this theme. During this period, social scientists were very productive in creating knowledge and theories about Development and Modernization. Economist W.W. Rostow created the “Theory of Growth” and David McClelland developed the Modernization theory. In the following development, the term modernization is synonymous with the term development when viewed from basic assumptions and theories. Modernization and Development comes from the same paradigm of functionalism

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4 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

and positivism. As a part of modernization, development uses the same theoretical framework and ideological assumptions used by modernization. The basic assumptions of modernization are related to the process of change from traditional structures to modern ones, as developed in early Europe.<sup>5</sup>

According to Mansour, Modernization is similar to Westernization based on capitalism. Studies on Modernization later became a new field of study called Development Studies. This field of study is classifying various interdisciplinary topics that focus on the analysis and solution to development problems, especially the problems faced by poor countries or developing countries. Through Development Studies held in various universities in Western countries, capitalism can be smoothly disseminated to the Third World by using a new label called “development” (development) through technology and university academics, and even NGO activists, from the Third World itself.<sup>6</sup>

However, Mansour criticized that even though development had taken place, the amount of absolute poverty and percentage of people in the Third World continued to increase. This could be seen from the impact of the “Green Revolution” Modernization project (Green Revolution). The program began in Third World countries which then resulted in the elimination and destruction of forty centuries of Third World people’s agricultural knowledge. Their agricultural knowledge and technology were replaced by agricultural projects designed by multinational companies and Western patriarchy, homogenizing natural and human knowledge diversity to be

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5 *Ibid.*, p. 71-72.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

reductionist farming pattern.<sup>7</sup>

The impact of Developmentalism (Development) was extraordinary. Although the development process continues, the Third World population poverty rate continues to increase. Poverty is certainly related to the economic system in development. The economic system in the development process turns out to classify people into two classes, those who work and produce more value (workers) and those who do not work but take more value and distribute it (employer / capitalist). These are then referred to as the “main class” (fundamental class); capitalist class and working class. The relationship between the positions of the two classes then create to a middle class intermediate (subsumed class). Middle class intermediaries are those who occupy positions in the distribution of more value that has been taken to other non-class parts of life such as managers, distributors, soldiers, police, researchers and developers, mass media workers, and others.<sup>8</sup> In this relationship pattern, economic processes are vulnerable to exploitation. The economic system used by Development means containing injustice, where there are groups of people who produce more value which (then) is taken by those who do not work. This system can also create dependency. In the macro context is the dependence of developing countries to developed countries.<sup>9</sup>

According to Mansour, developmentalism also create cultural and political hegemony. Modernization is the best example of understanding how hegemony takes place. This hegemony can establish mutual relations with others, including

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7 *Ibid.*, p. 70 & 75.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 84-85.

with religion. Mansour explained:

*Karena modernisasi pada dasarnya menciptakan ideologi baru, dengan pengaruh kultural dan politik melalui penciptaan diskursus sistemik dan terstruktur, serta propaganda yang canggih untuk mengganti ideologi, kultur dan politik rakyat yang subordinat. Agama, pendidikan dan lembaga-lembaga lainnya digunakan oleh aparat Pembangunan untuk mengaburkan (mistify) hubungan kekuasaan dan menyebabkan orang yang tertindas merelakan atau menerima penderitaan dan kesengsaraan kehidupan sehari-hari mereka. Sebagai hegemoni, Modernisasi menciptakan konsep realitas ke seluruh lapisan masyarakat dalam semua kelembagaan dan dimanifestasikan secara perorangan, sehingga mempengaruhi prinsip citarasa, moralitas, adat-istiadat, keagamaan dan politik, maupun hubungan sosial, terutama dalam konotasi intelektual dan moral. Lembaga keagamaan mempunyai peran sangat penting dalam hegemoni dan menyebarkan Developmentalisme dan Modernisasi di Dunia Ketiga, di mana agama masih memiliki pengaruh kuat dalam masyarakat. Modernisasi keagamaan di kalangan Muslim Indonesia, yagn sebagian besar didukung oleh intelektual Muslim berpendidikan Barat, misalnya, menghasilkan diskursus tentang: Peran agama dalam Pembangunan; "sekularisasi"; dan teologi "modernisasi" atau pembaruan. Proses ini secara sistematis menghancurkan praktik keagamaan tradisional dan menciptakan tafsir keagamaan baru yang semata-mata dilakukan untuk kepentingan Pembangunan dan Modernisasi. Dengan cara ini, impian mencapai high mass consumption (Rostow) di dalam masyarakat berprestasi (masyarakat kapitalis - McClelland) menjadi impian rakyat miskin di negeri-negeri yang disebut negara berkembang. Dampak kultural dari hegemoni ini adalah, rakyat di Dunia Ketiga kehilangan keyakinan tradisional dan keagamaannya seperti cara hidup yang egalitarianistik dan sosialistik.<sup>10</sup>*

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10 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Because modernization basically creates new ideologies, with cultural and political influences through the creation of systemic and structured discourses, as well as sophisticated propaganda to change the ideology, culture and politics of the subordinate people. Religion, education, and other institutions are used by the Development apparatus to obscure the power relations and cause the oppressed to give up or accept the suffering and misery of their daily lives. As a hegemony, Modernization creates the concept of reality to all levels of society in all institutions and is manifested individually, thus influencing the principles of taste, morality, customs, religion and politics, as well as social relations, especially in intellectual and moral connotations. Religious institutions have a very important role in hegemony and disseminate Developmentalism and Modernization in the Third World, where religion still has a strong influence in society. Religious modernization among Indonesian Muslims, most of whom are supported by Western-educated Muslim intellectuals, for example, produces a discourse on: The role of religion in development; "Secularization"; and "modernization" or renewal theology. This process systematically destroys traditional religious practices and creates new religious interpretations that are solely carried out for the benefit of Development and Modernization. In this way, the dream of achieving high mass consumption (Rostow) in an accomplished society (capitalist society - McClelland) is the dream of the poor in countries called developing countries. The cultural impact of this hegemony is that people in the Third World lose their traditional and religious beliefs such as an egalitarianism and socialistic way of life.

Another prominent impact is the dominance of knowledge. Modernization creates to the dominance of the Advanced World knowledge over the Third World. According to Mansour, Development and modernization is not just a desire to know, but also contains the intention to control. The development discourse is social and political. The statement of development, the words of development, and the notion of development, depend on the dominant hegemonic power that is in the local, regional and global level. Since the development discourse dominated the Third World, development has become the only form of valid economic, political and cultural knowledge. Therefore, the development discourse prohibits other forms of non-positivistic ways of knowing, such as the ways traditional agriculture is replaced by modern types of agriculture. Development discourse destroys non-capitalistic social formations, for example the work tradition of "mutual cooperation" in Java is replaced by a system of capitalism and industrialization. Finally, the development discourse destroyed other forms of political processes and replaced them with the doctrine of political Modernization which became the dominant idea of political development in the Third World. The Development Process is a set of practices controlled by First World institutions. This is what ultimately creates the relationship of imperialism.<sup>11</sup>

According to Mansour, another impact of developmentalism is the perpetuation of oppression of women. Mansour's writings that analyze oppression of women are described further in his book entitled *Analisis Gender & Transformasi*

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 92-93.



*Sosial* (Gender Analysis & Social Transformation).<sup>12</sup> There has been an exploitation of women in development processes. Involving Women in Development (WID), for example in the Green Revolution program, rural women have become victims. Mansour gave an example:

*Secara tradisional kaum perempuan di Jawa memiliki peran penting dalam produksi pangan, khususnya selama masa pemanenan. Masa pemanenan sebagai kerja yang sangat intensif dari seluruh kegiatan pertanian, memerlukan pasokan buruh dalam jumlah banyak pada periode yang terkonsentrasi itu. Kebanyakan perempuan, terutama dalam rumah tangga yang lebih miskin, mendukung keluarganya dengan menyerahkan dirinya sendiri guna melakukan pemanenan dan kerja pertanian lainnya. Beberapa kajian melaporkan bahwa, pada umumnya, dalam rumah tangga termiskin kaum perempuan memberi sumbangan relatif paling besar kepada subsistensi, dan sumbangan mereka di akui oleh seluruh anggota keluarga dengan sangat eksplisit. Peran perempuan merupakan hal krusial bagi produksi beras, bukan saja dalam hal jam kerja, tetapi juga dalam hal intensitas dan pengaturan waktu pada periode kegiatan tersibuk. Tetapi sejak Revolusi Hijau, yang secara sistematis memakai tipe padi baru dan teknologi baru yang diperkenalkan oleh program itu, telah mengubah peran dan kerja perempuan di pedesaan Jawa. Meskipun input buruh perempuan dari seluruh buruh per hektar lebih besar ketimbang buruh laki-laki, program Revolusi Hijau telah mengganti peran perempuan dengan teknologi yang dikontrol oleh kaum laki-laki.*<sup>13</sup>

Traditionally, women in Java have an important role in food production, especially during harvesting. The harvesting

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12 Mansour Fakhri, *Analisis Gender & Transformasi Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar & Insist, 1998).

13 Mansour Fakhri, *Masyarakat...*, p. 96-97.

period is a very intensive work of all agricultural activities, requiring large quantities of labor in the concentrated period. Most women, especially in poorer households, support their families by surrendering themselves to harvesting and other agricultural work. Some studies report that, in general, in the poorest households women contribute the most to subsistence, and their contributions are acknowledged by all family members very explicitly. The role of women is crucial for rice production, not only in terms of working hours, but also in terms of intensity and time management in the busiest period of activity. But since the Green Revolution, which has systematically used new types of rice and new technologies introduced by the program, has changed the role and work of women in rural Java. Another serious impact of developmentalism is the occurrence of environmental damage. The problem of environmental damage in rural areas, for example, is rooted in agricultural industrialization. Industrialization is a progressive force that utilizes technology to natural resources and allows a reduction in dependence on agriculture. Agricultural industrialization is related to land processing, the creation of new seeds followed by the prevention of pests by using chemicals.

According to Mansour:

*Benih baru dari tipe industri pertanian sangat rentan terhadap hama, sehingga benih baru itu memerlukan pemakaian pestisida berat untuk menjamin "pengendalian hama" dan "perlindungan tanaman". Pestisida, jauh dari mengendalikan hama, malah sesungguhnya resep itu membantu perkembangan hama. Dan karena hama menciptakan mutant baru dan meningkatkan kerentanan hama lama, mereka membuka tanaman terhadap bahaya baru. Tetapi sesungguhnya, perang terhadap hama tidaklah perlu. Selama bertahun-tahun rakyat lokal telah mengetahui bahwa mekanisme pengendalian hama yang*

*paling efektif adalah melakukannya ke dalam ekologi tanaman, sebagian dengan menjamin hubungan hama –predator yang seimbang melalui keberagaman tanaman dan sebagian dengan membangun kekebalan dalam tanaman. Benih dari bahan kemiawi merupakan dua masukan terpenting dalam program Revolusi Hijau. Dengan revolusi bioteknologi, input ini akan benar-benar terpadu, karena perusahaan kimia multinasional mulai mengambil alih bisnis pengembang-biakan tanaman dan seluruh program penelitian universitas. Misalnya di Jawa, selama periode tujuh tahun penggunaan pupuk kimia naik 50% rata-rata tiap hektar, sedangkan pemakaian pestisida per hektar lebih dua kali lipat. Di satu sisi, masukan ini dengan dahsyat telah menghancurkan ekosistem lingkungan, di samping menciptakan ketergantungan bahan kimia dan pestisida di kawasan pedesaan Dunia Ketiga.<sup>14</sup>*

New seeds from the type of agricultural industry are very susceptible to pests, so the new seeds require the use of heavy pesticides to guarantee “pest control” and “crop protection”. Pesticides is far from controlling pests, in fact they help pests to develop. And because pests create new mutants and increase the susceptibility of old pests, they open plants to new hazards. But really, war on pests is not necessary. Over the years local people have learned that the most effective pest control mechanism is to do it in plant ecology, in part by ensuring a balanced pest-predator relationship through plant diversity and partly by building immunity in plants. Seed from chemical material is the two most important inputs in the Green Revolution program. With the biotechnology revolution, this input will be truly integrated, because multinational chemical companies are starting to take over the plant breeding business and all university research programs. For example in Java, over a seven-

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100-101.

year period, the use of chemical fertilizers increased by 50% on average per hectare, while the use of pesticides per hectare more than doubled. On one hand, this input has devastatingly destroyed the environmental ecosystem, in addition to creating chemical and pesticide dependency in the Third World rural areas.

Mansour added that analyzing the problems posed by developmentalism is the same as to discussing the problem of capitalism. Analysis of the problem of capitalism can no longer be reduced in a simple relationship between exploiting and exploited classes, as in traditional Marxism, but in terms of both class and non-class elements. The class element is an exploitative relationship process that is an element of an employer who does not work, assisted by managers to get a "surplus" from the work of the workers. The "surplus" element is distributed to "non-class" elements, namely those who are not directly involved in the exploitation process in the form of taxes, bank interest, developmental research, and so on. Taxes are distributed to "non-class" elements such as security, education, cultural and artistic institutions, infrastructure and others. In return, the "non-class" element must legitimize the class process for its existence. Thus, the relationship between "class" and "non-class" elements is structurally interdependent and interrelated. The role of "non-class" elements can vary, such as political, economic, security and infrastructure protection to perpetuate the class process. The form can be in the form of providing security, providing labor regulations, protection, quotas, subsidies, and ease of permits and capital, building infrastructure and so on.<sup>15</sup>

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15 Mansour Fakhri "Agama dan Proses...", p. 40-41.

Departing from his anxiety on the influence of developmentalism, Mansour tried to reconstruct the theology of the oppressed which included the archeological reconstruction of theology, basic principles, methodology and practice and its future. According to Mansour, what is meant by theology here is not just a belief system in God, but a belief in God and its ratio to God's creatures. In this context, theology is closely related to politics, economics, culture and the environment.<sup>16</sup>

According to Mansour, between religion and capitalism are two contradictory things. Capitalism is a system that is structurally unfair because it is built on exploitative relationships. The exploitative nature of capitalism can be seen in an unfair process of ideological and cultural hegemony, domination and discourse of knowledge that legitimizes the system and political repression. Meanwhile, the essence of religious teachings is basically to uphold justice both individually and collectively or structurally to stop injustice (*amar ma'rūf nahi munkar*).<sup>17</sup>

To see the theological position of the oppressed, Mansour mapped the attitude of religious people in responding to the globalization of capitalism and in understanding social formations based on developmentalism. Mansour clasified four categories of theological paradigms. To explain these four categories, Mansour placed the paradigm as a neutral and objective theory unit. Mansour emphasized that there is no neutral or objective view or theory, but depends on the paradigm used. Seeing the location of the paradigm concept is so central in this analysis, so discussion on the meaning of the

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16 Mansour Faqih "Teologi Kaum...", p. 205.

17 Mansour Fakih "Agama dan Proses...", p. 42.

paradigm is presented first.<sup>18</sup>

Mansour explained the meaning of the term paradigm. Paradigm is a constellation of theories, questions, approaches, and procedures used by a value and theme of thought. This constellation was developed in order to understand the conditions of history and social conditions and to provide a framework of conception in giving meaning to social reality. Paradigm is a place where we stand in seeing a reality. In fact, the power of a paradigm lies on its ability to form what we see, how we see things, what we perceive as problems, what problems we feel are useful to solve, and what methods we use in researching and acting. Paradigms should influence what we don't choose, we don't want to see and we don't want to know. Therefore, if there are two people seeing the same social reality, or reading verses from the same holy book, it will produce a different view, keep away different judgments and attitudes. The paradigm is also what will affect one's view of what is fair and unfair, or the good and the bad of an action.<sup>19</sup>

Mansour added that the dominance of a paradigm over other paradigms is not because it is wrong or right, i.e the right one will win the other paradigm. Referring to Ritzer (1975), Mansour asserted that the victory of one paradigm over another paradigm was caused more by the supporters of the winning paradigm having more power and power than the paradigm followers who were defeated, not because their paradigm was

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18 Mansour Faqih "Teologi Kaum...", p. 221.

19 *Ibid.*, hlm. 221. Dalam menjelaskan paradigma ini Mansour merujuk buku Thomas Kuhn, *The Structures of Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970). See: Ritzer, J., "Sociology: A Multiple Paradigm Science" dalam *Jurnal The American Sociologist*, No. 10, 1975, p. 156-157.

better than who is defeated.<sup>20</sup>

The first paradigm is that those who see the backwardness of the people are seen as merely God's plan, and therefore are not seen as a major problem. This paradigm by many experts is mentioned as a traditionalist class. For this thought, backwardness is a test from God not because of a human mistake. No wonder the problem is submitted to Allah. The slogan used for example "do worship, do more *zikir* and *salat* (prayer), if God wishes, He will lift all trials." The root of this paradigm is more on the concept of destiny (predeterminism) which God has written long before He created this world.

The theological root of this first class is derived from traditional theology which is often known as the Ahlussunnah (Sunni) group. As noted in the history of Islamic theology, the Sunni group is a school of old theology in Islam which originates from the thoughts of Abu Hasan Al-Ash'ari. For Sunni theology, humans must try, but God is the one who finally determines. Therefore, the factor of closeness to God and prayer from humans still plays a central role in various humanitarian issues including social problems.

At present, prederteminism is a dominant belief among Muslims, especially in rural areas. In the context of their reaction to developmentalism, this group is the first victim of modernization and developmentalism. Therefore, modernization and deveopmentalism which is a model both in the government bureaucracy and scientific institutions such as universities and research institutions, targets traditionalists as objects to be modernized. This is because the basis of modernization and

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20 *Ibid.*, hlm. 221. Lihat Ritzer, J., "Sociology: A Multiple Paradigm Science" dalam *Jurnal The American Sociologis*, No. 10. 1975, p. 156-157.

developmentalism theory is that traditionalism is the genuine root of the problems. As a result of the intolerance of this developmentalism, most of them have turned into peripheral developmentalists, because of the contradiction between their theological values and traditionalism and modernism. These traditionalist resistance centers are experiencing transitions and “at crossroads” due to the reaction of the modernist and developmentalist invasions. It seems that currently there is no strategic effort from them to perpetuate their paradigm in the long run.<sup>21</sup>

The second paradigm is a paradigm that looks at the problem of the backwardness of Muslims, as a result of “something is wrong” in the theology adopted by Muslims today. This second paradigm is also called by many experts as a modernist class. They accused fatalistic traditional theology (Sunny), which was closer to the first type of paradigm above, as the cause of the problem. This view is similar to the reformists of their predecessors, who assume that fatalism brings misery to people. They see the need for a new interpretation of the overall religious concept rationally. Therefore many analyzes reveal that the root of the second paradigm is derived from the teachings of classical rational theology in Islam, namely the Mu’tazilites, or groups which Western scholars often refer to as the Neo-Mu’tazilites as Muhammad Abduh and others who are righteous.

According to Mansour, at first the influence of rationalism theology influenced the earlier reformist such as the Muhammadiyah movement, which initially focused their analysis to fight bid’ah and khurafat. At that time the slogan that

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21 *Ibid.*, p. 224.



was often said was “to return to the Quran and Hadith and keep away from heresy, because every heresy is misleading”. The root of the reformers is indeed at a reformist like Muhammad Abduh who encouraged the need for the return to the true Islamic faith. Furthermore, the development of the second paradigm continued with the emergence of a movement that emerged in the 70s, namely the intellectual movement known as the reformist movement. Then, we heard the motto that grew at that time, for example, “the need for secularization in Islam”, or “the need for theological renewal in Islam”.

The link between this second paradigm and developmentalism is the only one in the paradigm of Moslems that most suits to developmentalism both theologically and theoretically. They first look at mental or cultural attitudes as an essential element in change. Therefore, the exploitative and oppressive structures and systems are not the agenda of the questions for modernists. Therefore, there is an impression for the modernists that there is no problem with the conception and ideology of developmentalism. The problem is only a matter of methodology, an approach, and merely excess. Capitalism ideology is also not included in the agenda of the modernists. For them, Moslems must prepare both theologically and technically to participate in mental development. That is why renewal efforts for them are more intended as a way to change mental attitudes and theological views to be more rational and in accordance with modernism and developmentalism.<sup>22</sup>

The third paradigm is a thought that sees ideology and other religions as the cause Moslems backwardness, which results in Moslems themselves to make reference to another

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22 *Ibid.*, p. 225.

ideology and religion rather than the Qur'an. That is why this paradigm is also known as a fundamentalist class. Other forms of ideology and religion that are believed to be the enemy of Islam are the elements of socialism and capitalism as well as Zionism and Christianity. The rapid growth of education, economy, and information media of other believers pose their threat. Returning to the Qur'an consequently is the main theme of this movement. Through small group cells (usrah-usrah), the process of forming an ideology and a society based on the Qur'an is being enforced. Beyond that, da'wah needs to be upheld. The target is very clear to stem the influence of non-Islamic ideological and religious developments. Another theme is to strengthen the unity of the people in a single leadership. Thus, this third paradigm explicitly invites to return to Islam with its fundamental principles to be used as an alternative to the opposition of all non-Islamic concepts.

In the context of developmentalism, this third paradigm fundamentally rejects the idea which was born as a model of the Third World Capitalism. But their rejection of capitalism is more due to reason as it is not Islamic concept, which means it does not base on the Qur'an. But the rejection of capitalism is not seen from the exploitative and oppressive elements of political ideology and its implications for the process of dehumanization and alienation as long as it is understood by Marxists. Therefore, this third paradigm is also the target to be awakened for the sake of modernization and developmentism. Like traditionalists, this "fundamentalist" group is currently also in a transition and at the crossroads. The modernists and the adherents of developmentalism often offend and insult the established religious views of the two groups in their owned media.

The resistance model of traditionalist and fundamentalist group is very different. Traditionalists take the resistance form which is more closed and does not respond modernist attacks as it can be seen from the intellectual behavior of traditional pesantren. While fundamentalists have a more offensive and open form of resistance. To them, modernist attacks are a form of intolerance and theological and cultural invasion. Therefore, it can be said that after the submission of the traditionalists to the modernist paradigm, now is the turn of the third paradigm or thought that is often identified with the label of the fundamentalists. Due to their lack of power and the offensive resistance model of developmentalists, added by strict controls and operations carried out by the developmentalism authorities make fundamentalists experience difficulties formally, and they have a new label as intolerant, fanatic, and undemocratic, a label that is generally used by the modernists and developmentalists in order to discredit them.<sup>23</sup>

The fourth paradigm is the transformation paradigm. The transformation paradigm is an alternative paradigm from the existing paradigm. This paradigm is a belief and a thought that is based on the assumption that the underdevelopment of some people apart from their religion is due to the existence of unfair structures and systems, which only benefit to a few people. Therefore, the transformation paradigm is a thinking process towards creating relationship and system that are fundamentally new and better. What is meant by a better relationship is the creation of non-exploitative economic structures that are governed by non-oppressive political and social relation, non-dominating cultural relation, and more

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225-227.

equal gender relation. Transformation is an endless process, along with the development of this unfair structure.

To defend the oppressed, this paradigm uses rational and moral analysis besides it is being motivated by the spirit of the Quran and Sunnah. Transformation emphasizes changes in structure and system which in turn will also affect changes in the mental attitude of individuals. In other words, even if people can be replaced, but if the structure and system are not transformed, a fundamental change will not occur. For adherents of the transformation paradigm, the Quran is believed to be principles against all forms of injustice such as economic exploitation, political oppression, cultural domination, gender domination, and suppression of skin color in all its forms. But what is meant by a non-exploitative and non-oppressive economy is in respect to our respective analytical and theoretical sensitivities.<sup>24</sup>

In other words, transformation is a fundamental process to create new and better relationships (structures). The theology of the oppressed which is born based on the transformation paradigm is a theology that leads to strengthen the belief of the need for the creation of new and more basic relationships. With such restrictions, the whole transformation process itself is actually a process of da'wah.<sup>25</sup>

## **B. The Paradigmatic Construction of the Theology of the Oppressed**

Mansour Faqih's writings on the theological paradigm of the oppressed are presented in several monumental books, namely: *Runtuhnya Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi* (The

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24 *Ibid.*, p. 227.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Collapse of Development Theory and Globalization) (1996), *Masyarakat Sipil untuk Transformasi Sosial: Pergolakan Ideologi* (Civil Society for Social Transformation: The Upheaval of Ideology) (1996), *Analisis Gender & Transformasi Sosial* (Gender Analysis & Social Transformation) (2001) and *Jalan Lain: Manifesto Intelektual Organik* (Other Pathways: Organic Intellectual Manifesto) (2002). Previously Mansour also wrote on the paradigm of the theology of the oppressed in the book *Spiritualitas Baru: Agama dan Aspirasi Rakyat* (New Spirituality: Religion and People's Aspirations), a collection of writings published by Dian / Interfidei Yogyakarta in 1994. Mansour had conveyed the idea of the theology of the oppressed since the 1980s.

According to Mansour, the potential of Islam as a religion of liberation for the transformational paradigm can be seen from its history. The Prophet opposed the practice of accumulating wealth and reminded of the danger and consequence of not spending wealth in the way of Allah. On this basis, the Meccan conglomerates (*kafir Quraish*) at the time the Prophet lived with all their power resisted and stopped the Prophet's movement. They tried to perpetuate their hegemony in many ways either by means of concents such as paying much or giving the highest position and leadership to Prophet Muhammad with condition that he was willing to stop his *da'wa* and egalitarian doctrine. But when the Prophet refused to compromise, the method of coercion was immediately used by *kafir Quraish*, starting with the terrorizing his followers, doing violence, torture, and harassment, and finally to fighting them. So their fear is more because the Quran threatens their power and privilege that is built as the result accumulating the wealth through monopoly of trade, rather than an attempt to defend the religion of their ancestors.<sup>26</sup>

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26 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

The community built by the Prophet is a society without exploitation, oppression, domination, and all forms of injustice. Therefore, the term *kufur* in this concept is not solely aimed to those who formally reject God, but *kufur* also applies to those who truly believe in the existence of God, but accumulate wealth by exploiting others and being luxurious while many people starve. This is as stated in many Makiyah surah like Q.S. al-Ma'un (107): 1-7, the Prophet fiercely fought for a change in the capitalistic and feudalistic structure of the Meccan society towards a just and egalitarian society.<sup>27</sup>

The idea of social justice is what imitated by the Prophet's critical beliefs and awareness of the social foundations of the time. This intuitive awareness is supported by the Makiyah verses, namely the verses revealed in the context of the city of Mecca, which emphasizes the issue of social justice. The transformation paradigm has never seen the problems of society and social change from the dichotomy of Islam-non-Islam, the wrong dichotomy is correct, but the nature of the transformation paradigm looks at the problem of who dominates and is dominated by a culture, who benefits and who does not in a societal economic process, who oppresses and is oppressed in a process of decision making and politics and who is dominated in gender relations of the society.<sup>28</sup>

According to Mansour, there are several reasons why transformation theology, namely theology for the oppressed is very necessary in the current Indonesian context. First, Sunni traditional theology in addition to being "feudalistic" in character is also built on the basis of the fatalism and

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27 *Ibid.*

28 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

predeterminism paradigm, making it difficult for the process of fundamental change in society to occur. With the nature of the scientific consciousness (magical conscience) and the feudalistic character of the traditionalism paradigm, it is difficult to expect the realization of critical awareness and thought, which is one of the conditions for the occurrence of fundamental social change. Second, the paradigm of the modernists or reformers, with their “elitist” character which also emphasizes “reform” rather than social “transformation” also does not have a meaning for fundamental change. The attitude of acceptance of the existing system and structure will actually have a lasting effect on the status quo, and blunt the critical awareness of the people which is once again a prerequisite for fundamental change. Meanwhile, the choice of the third paradigm of fundamentalism also faces difficulties. The fundamentalist thinking is based on the assumption that the backwardness of Moslems was more because they had moved away from the Qur’an, not accompanied by historical and structural analysis. It also would not bear people who had critical awareness. The level of consciousness that is built is more of “magical awareness” and not “critical awareness”. Because the nature of the fundamentalist paradigm is more a “theology for the greatness of God” than “theology to liberate the oppressed”, then this understanding will not have a direct impact and meaning on the changing fate of the oppressed poor.<sup>29</sup>

Islam is basically a “liberation” religion. The Prophet Muhammad was born in the midst of the Mecca situation which became the center of capitalism. Mecca is one of the centers of commerce and international commercial transactions. This

29 *Ibid.*, p. 230. Lihat Mansour Fakhri, *Runtuhnya Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi* (Yogyakarta: Insist&Pustaka Pelajar, 2001), p. 177-184.

situation made Mecca a capitalist asset, which was formed due to the inter-tribal corporate process, which controlled and monopolized the Byzantine trade. The character of capitalism here is accumulating capital and turning it around for greater profit. As a result of the capitalism culture, social inequality and disparity occurred in Mecca, the gap between the rich and the poor grew. The doctrine of the Prophet Muhammad was against all forms of economic domination, concentration and monopoly of property. In this connection, Muhammad's main mission is in order to improve society from all forms of oppression and injustice.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the role of an apostle like Muhammad, Isa and others is as a liberator of the oppressed. Moses, for example, like Muhammad, his main task was to free the Israelites from the oppression and exploitation of Pharaoh.

There are several important themes in Mansour Fakih's *Theology of the Oppressed*. First is the doctrine of monotheism. Tawheed in the perspective of "oppressed theology" is a synthesis between traditional theology which is predestination and 'free will' modernist theology. In this context, it is understood that humans do have the ability to change history, but there are also other factors that strongly influence human life, namely systems and structures. Therefore, there is a dialectic interaction between human will (free will) and provisions beyond humans (predestination) in the forms of systems and structures. To change the condition of the system and structure requires critical human awareness of the system and structure. But human critical awareness also requires conditions of material reality which are experienced by humans. Furthermore, the Tawheed doctrine is emphasized more on the unity of mankind. In other

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30 *Ibid.*, p. 231.



words, the Tawheed doctrine rejects all forms of discrimination in the form of skin color, caste, class, and perception between men and women in society (gender).<sup>31</sup>

The Qur'anic verses mentioned by Mansour Fakhri related to this issue are Q.S. an-Nisa 'verse 1 which means:

“O people, fear your Lord who created you from one self, and from him God created his wife; and then from both of them God multiplied many men and women. And fear Allah who by (using) His name you ask each other, and (maintain) the relationship of friendship. Verily Allah always watches over you.”

Mansour mentioned the verses of the Qur'an above<sup>32</sup> to emphasize that Islam is not a religion that does gender discrimination. The Qur'an as a reference for the principle of Islamic society basically recognizes that the position of men and women is equal. Both are created from a single entity, where one does not have an advantage over another. The principle of al-Qur'an on men and women is equal, where the right of the wife is recognized as equal to the right of the husband. Men have rights and obligations to women and conversely women also have rights and obligations to men. To explain this Mansour also mentions the Q.S. an-Nisa '(4): 32<sup>33</sup> which means:

“And do not be jealous of what God has given you more than others. (Because) for men there is a portion of what they are trying, and for women (even) there is a portion of what they are trying, and ask Allah for some of His gifts.

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31 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

32 Mansour Fakhri, *Analisis Gender & Transformasi Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1998), p. 129.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Verily Allah is all-knowing.”

To Mansour, the equality of position of men and women is not only in terms of decision making, but also in economic rights, namely to own property. The husband or father may not interfere with her property. This wealth includes those obtained through inheritance or employment. Therefore, *mahar* (brideprice) is paid by a man (a husband) to a woman (wife) for herself, not for her parents and cannot be taken back by her husband.<sup>34</sup>

To explain the position between men and women Mansour Fakhir also mentioned Q.S. an-Nisa '(4): 34-35<sup>35</sup> which means:

“The men are leaders for women, because Allah has overestimated some of them (men) over others (women), and because they (men) have spent some of their property. Therefore, a pious woman is the one who obeys Allah again while nurturing herself when her husband is not present, because Allah has preserved (them). The women you are worried about, then exhort them and separate them in their beds, and beat them. Then if they obey you, then do not look for a way to trouble him. Verily Allah is Most High, Most Great.” (34)

And if you are worried about a dispute between the two, then send a hakam from the family of a man and a hakam from a female family. If the two hakam people intend to make repairs, surely Allah will give the husband and wife a favor. Verily Allah is the Knower, the Knower. (35)

Besides the Al-Qur'an verses, Mansour also mentions a hadith. Mansour said:

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34 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 132.

*Diriwayatkan pada suatu hari seorang sahabat Nabi bernama Saad bin Rabi melempar istrinya Habibah bin Zaid karena suatu persoalan. Habibah tidak terima dan mengadukan peristiwa tersebut pada ayahnya. Lantas ayahnya pergi mengadu ke Nabi. Keputusan Nabi adalah, meminta Habibah untuk membalasnya. Atas keputusan Nabi tersebut kaum laki-laki di Madinah saat itu protes. Kalau ditarik makna dari peristiwa tersebut, jelas bahwa Nabi telah memperhitungkan dan paham betul akan ada akibatnya, yaitu pasti menghebohkan masyarakat yang didominasi oleh laki-laki. Jadi surat an-Nisa' ayat 35 yang menganjurkan untuk mengangkat hakim dalam menyelesaikan perselisihan tersebut diturunkan dengan semangat untuk mengurangi kekerasan terhadap kaum perempuan, dan bukan menegaskan superioritas laki-laki atas perempuan. Namun kenyataannya banyak tafsiran justru tidak mencerminkan, mengungkapkan kondisi sosial dan kekerasan yang pada saat itu dituntut oleh kaum perempuan agar dihentikan.<sup>36</sup>*

It was reported one day a friend of the Prophet named Saad bin Rabi threw his wife Habibah bin Zaid for a problem. Habibah did not accept and complained about the incident to his father. Then his father went to complain to the Prophet. The Prophet's decision was to ask Habibah to respond back. Upon the Prophet's decision the men in Medina at that time protested. If the meaning of the event is drawn, it is clear that the Prophet has calculated and understands very well that there will be a consequence that is it will be a big issue in the society which is dominated by men. So surah an-Nisa' verse 35 which advocates to appoint a judge to settle the disputes is issued with enthusiasm to reduce violence against women, and not to assert the superiority of men over women. But the reality is that many

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36 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

interpretations do not reflect that, revealing the social condition and violence that women demanded to stop.”

From the tawheed doctrine, the concept of the Tawheed community was formed, namely the concept of creating society with the following characteristics: First, a society without exploitation that is an economic process of society where there is no group who does not work but enjoys the results of other groups of people who work. Second, the Tawheed community is an egalitarian society without domination, both in terms of culture, knowledge and ideology. Third, the Tawheed community is also a society without gender domination. Gender differences must not result in “gender inequality” such as marginalization, subordination, stereotyping, and violence against women. The Tawheed community is also a polite society towards other creatures, the surrounding environment.<sup>37</sup>

In the perspective of the theologies of the oppressed, faith means liberating the domination and oppression of the “*duafa*’ people. Therefore, *kufr*, as opposed to faith, means those who do not believe in God because they actively oppose every effort to change the structure of society to fight all processes towards concentration of wealth, exploitation and all forms of social injustice, such as cultural domination, hegemony of ideology, political analysis and gender domination. *kufr* can be seen from the level of efforts and greeds of a person in collecting wealth, oppressing, and dominating the weak. The description of *kufr* is a person who lives in excessive wealth, while his neighbors are starving; people in power to make arbitrary decisions while many people suffer because of his decisions, as well as people who posses science and use it to make others as the objects of domination.<sup>38</sup>

37 Mansour Faqih “Teologi Kaum..., p. 233.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Second is the doctrine of social justice. Many doctrines of social justice are mentioned in the Qur'an. Social justice is reflected in the spirit of creating non-exploitative economic principles, the principle of deliberation, a non-oppressive political process, the principle of human freedom from all forms of unfair systems and structures. This non-exploitative economic principle by Muhammad is translated by creating a production relations process in a non-capitalistic society. The possession of means of production is managed well so that it does not become a tool of oppression and deduction of value against those who do not. Enthusiasm to lay down the principle of social relations that is not based on absolute ownership, the regulation of the principles of labor relations and fair working principles is strongly emphasized by Muhammad. Mansour Fakih mentioned that in a Muslim saheeh hadith narrated by Jabir bin Abdullah, the Prophet said that someone who owned a land should be the person who worked on the land. But if he is not able to work on it, he should give to someone to work on it without asking for any compensation. beyond this Prophet's statement, there is a spirit of creating a society without exploitation and oppression.<sup>39</sup>

The oppressed theology emphasizes changes in structure towards society to free from all forms of oppression and free from all forms of social injustice. Social injustice is a social process that occurs because of the process of human history. Social injustice is not the "provision and will" of God, but a historical process. This is certainly different from the traditionalist theology doctrine which see that everything has been determined by God without the any influence from humans' efforts. It is also different from the modernist theology doctrine which emphasizes "free

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39 *Ibid.*, p. 234.

will” but does not see the systemic factors and structures that influence as what is seen is only humans’ effort. Likewise it is different from the doctrine of fundamentalists who state that all things must “return to the path that God shows” in the Qur’an.<sup>40</sup> The doctrine of social justice is closely related to the doctrine of Tawheed, and the creation of the “monotheistic society” which is a classless society.

Third is the doctrine of liberation, which is to establish liberation against all forms of oppression and exploitation. Oppression is not only related to the relationship between Moslems and other people. Oppression and exploitation can also occur among Moslems themselves. Therefore, the problem of oppression and exploitation in society is a problem between the oppressors and the oppressed groups and not the problem of relations between people or followers of one religion and another religion. In other words, oppression and exploitation are not always done because of differences in beliefs, nationality and skin color. The concern of the theology of the oppressed focuses on the problems of relations among the people themselves that is the people who dominate the economy and the people are dominated. According to Mansour, both adherents of traditionalist and modernist theology do not look seriously and critically at the issue of unfair relations in economic, political and cultural terms between social classes in Islam itself.<sup>41</sup>

The important agenda of theology of the oppressed in a micro and local scale of business is to create a community group that has critical awareness of the structure of economic exploitation, social, political, economic, cultural, and gender

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40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

eradication, and consciously seek liberation in various forms of activities. The initial effort is to create space or create a grassroots organization in the community that allows community members to critically analyze the system and structure in which they live. In a more macro scale, the theological concern of the oppressed is to fight to end all forms of political and economic oppression in a relationship of injustice to the economic structure of international “imperialism”, political domination, cultural hegemony, and the domination of knowledge between developed or state-centered capitalism and poor country (periphery) in the Third World.<sup>42</sup>

### **C. The Influences of Mansour Fakhri's Thought**

Mansour Fakhri was an intellectual who was born in a village in Ngawi, Bojonegoro, East Java on October 10, 1953. Mansour took a bachelor's degree in the Department of Theology and Comparative Religion in IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. After graduating he continued his education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, United States, in education, in 1994. Upon his return from America, Mansour pursued the work of developing critical movements in the fields of development, environment, agrarian reform, gender equality and justice, and disabilities. Mansour had worked as a field instructor in a small industry development program at LP3ES Jakarta. From LP3ES, he moved to the Development Studies Institute (LSP). He was also the coordinator of the Education and Development Program in the Association of Islamic and Community Development (P3M). He has been a country representative for Oxfam UK and Ireland in Indonesia and was elected a member of the National

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

Commission on Human Rights for two years.<sup>43</sup>

Mansour Fakih's work was not limited to in Indonesia, but also internationally. Mansour was elected as a member of the Helsinki Process, an international forum initiated by the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, several Southern countries, and international non-governmental organizations to work out solutions to various problems of neoliberalism. Mansour was one of Asia's representatives. Asia was represented by two people, and one of them was Mansour Fakih.<sup>44</sup>

Mansour Fakih had a wife, namely Nena Lam'anah and had two sons, namely Farabi Fakih and Fariz Fakih. Mansour died on Sunday 15 February 2004 at Bethesda Hospital, Yogyakarta in his 50s and was buried in the village cemetery, not far from his home in the Banjarsari area, Besi, Yogyakarta.

Mansour had developed critical thinking on all dominant discourses since the 1970s. According to former Deputy Chairperson of the National Commission HM Zoemrotin KS, the development of social movements in Indonesia is inseparable from Mansour's interference. Mansour gave his whole life to the social movement consistently.<sup>45</sup>

The thoughts of Mansour Fakih have influenced and inspired many people. Mansour was one of the people who perseveres in developing liberation struggles through Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). He was one of people who led the birth of the NGO or Non-Government (NGO) Institute for Social Transformation (INSIST) Yogyakarta on December 10, 1997 in Yogyakarta with other activist friends

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43 Mansour Fakih, *Analisis...*, p. 185

44 Koran Harian *KOMPAS*, Tuesday, February 17, 2004, p. 11

45 Koran Harian *KOMPAS*, Tuesday, February 17, 2004, p. 11



such as Roem Topatimasang and Toto Rahardjo. However, in 2004, some times after Mansour Fakhri passed away, INSIST Yogyakarta made changes so that its name became Indonesian Society for Social Transformation (with the same abbreviation, INSIST). Mansour together with INSIST carried out a movement to develop critical discourses, alternative views and new ideas in Indonesia. The movement had become a creative and productive support system for various people's organizations and social movements in this country.<sup>46</sup>

Mansour Fakhri's critical thinking was developed by INSIST Yogyakarta by expanding its network throughout Indonesia. The INSIST network is widely distributed in community networks in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Solo, East Java, Bali, Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, Jambi. In Jambi, for example, the Mitra Aksi Community consists of Mitra Aksi Foundation in the City of Jambi, CV Philanthropy in Jambi City, and a network of "People's Schools" in several districts in Jambi. In Jakarta there is a Salemba Community consisting of PT. REMDEC, IKA (Indonesia for Humanity), and the Praxis Association. In Yogyakarta there is a new Yogyakarta Community consisting of the PERDIKAN Association based in Yogyakarta. In Solo there is the Solo Community, which consists of the LPTP Foundation and 8 member organizations in Solo, the LSKAR Association in Salatiga, the Surya Sejahtera Association & Cooperative in Kediri, and the "People's School" network in several districts in Central and East Java. In Bali there is a Bali Community consisting of Wisnu Foundation and PT. Kawanusa in Denpasar, and a network of "People's Schools" in several districts in Bali. In Nusa Tenggara there is a Nusa Tenggara

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46 [www.insist.or.id](http://www.insist.or.id)

Community consisting of the FIRD Network in Ende and YPPS in Larantuka, both in Flores Island. In Sulawesi there are the Inninawa Community with members from the AcSI, Biblioholic, and Payo-payo Foundation in Makassar, as well as a network of "People's Schools" in several districts in South Sulawesi and West Sulawesi. Then in Maluku there is the Baileo Community, which consisted of the HUMANUM Association in Ambon, the Nusa Marina Foundation in Haruku Island, the Nen Masil Foundation in the Kei Islands, the Silai Sor Foundation in the Tanimbar Islands, the Sita Kena Foundation in the Aru Islands, and the Pasuri Foundation on Seram Island.<sup>47</sup>

Mansour had given a methodological color in Islamic studies, especially the analysis of gender equality. The critical analysis model that he used stimulates studies in universities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). He had taught gender studies at IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and at Postgraduate of IAIN Yogyakarta and several other universities. Gender analysis offered by Mansour is not frequently used by women activists and students to become a knife of analysis in fighting for gender equality in Indonesia. His book entitled *Gender Analysis & Social Transformation* has become an important reading materials for women activists in Indonesia.

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47 [www.insist.or.id](http://www.insist.or.id)

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **THE ANALYSIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICAL ISLAMIC THOUGHTS IN INDONESIA**

In this chapter, the author tried to analyze the development of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia based on the historical approach and the liberation theories mentioned in chapter I. The historical approach is the approach suggested by historians such as Kuntowijoyo, Taufik Abdullah, and others. While, liberation theories are the theories that suggested by critical thinkers Gustavo Guterrez and Asghar Ali Engineer.

In the historical approach, there are two important elements that can be analyzed namely historical actors and historical context. In Association with the historical actors, the analysis focuses on the role of figures in developing critical thoughts. While in association with the historical context, the analysis focuses on the context of the great thinking that was developing at that time which includes social context, political context, and cultural context that became the background of the development of critical thoughts.

#### **A. The Period of Formation of Critical Islamic Thoughts**

The development of critical Islam in Indonesia began to show its appearance in the 1970s, then developed in the 1980s

and 1990s. If viewed from the perspective of the historical approach (the history of thought is the study of the role of ideas in historical events and processes),<sup>1</sup> before the emergence of the ideas of Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih, the ideas of some Indonesian scholars in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were found. Among them are H.O.S Cokroaminoto, Haji Misbah, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan and K.H. HashimAsy'ari. They have inspired the development of Islam in Indonesia. These figures have different characteristics. Cokroaminoto is famous for his resistance to the oppression of the invaders. Haji Misbah opposed oppression carried out by both colonial and feudal powers. Ahmad Dahlan is famous for his concern for the poor and the *duafa'* people. Hasyim Asy'ari is famous for his struggle to defend independence and freedom. However, there are thoughts of two historical actors who have played a very important role in the 1970s, namely Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid.

There are differences between Cokroaminoto, Misbah, Ahmad Dahlan, Hasyim Asy'ari and Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid. The emergence of the first four figures of thought is a combination of individual thinking and the collective role of the organization, Cokroaminoto with his Sarekat Islam (SI), Misbah with his SI and SATV, Ahmad Dahlan with Muhammadiyah, and Hasyim Asyari with his NU. Meanwhile, the emergence of the critical Islamic thought of the last two figures is more prominent with their scholar individual roles, not "ism" and not the collective thinking of an organization. Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid are more in the position as an individual who is independent other than

1 Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*, ed. Ke-2 (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003), p. 189.

members or administrators of a social organization that issues thoughts collectively. Therefore, their thinking is individual thinking that does not generate to a particular school or ism.<sup>2</sup>

However, if Harun's thought is grouped into a particular thinking, it can be classified as rationalism. This is as stated by Moeslim Abdurrahman that in the history of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia, Harun Nasution's great contribution is his intellectuality. He opened the reasoning agenda in understanding revelation, which provided a strong rationalistic basis for the emergence of intellectualism in Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, Nurcholish's thought belong to the category of modernism or neo-modernism as was stated by Greg Barton.<sup>4</sup>

These two figures can be categorized as the early pioneers of critical Islamic thought in Indonesia, even using different epistemological frameworks and different roots of thought. Harun used the epistemological framework of rationalism as used by Mu'tazilah and Muhammad Abduh.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, Nurcholish used the framework of the neo-modernism of Fazlur Rahman with his historical hermeneutics.<sup>6</sup> Harun raised his mind position more when dealing with revelation, while Nurcholish did more new interpretations of revelation using historical-rational analysis.

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2 Lihat *Ibid.*, p. 190.

3 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1995), p. 70.

4 Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahid dan Abdurrahman Wahid* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

5 See Harun Nasution, *Muhammad Abduh dan Teologi Rasional Mu'tazilah* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, no year).

6 Se Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesi*, p. 71-85. See also Greg Barton, *Biografi Gus Dur* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), p. 142.

The consequences of each epistemology, Harun is consistent in the theological debate as occurred in the paths of classical theological debate. The debate on the position of reasoning and revelation has been flourished in the classical theology carried out by Mu'tazilah, Ahlus sunnah, and Salafiyah. The debate continued in the modern century by Muhammad Abduh and other modern figures. Meanwhile, the epistemological consequences of Nurcholish Madjid create a theological conception taken from the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an. Nurcholish's interpretation or hermeneutics is the hermeneutics of text to context and context to text. This is a double movement model in hermeneutics as stated by Fazlur Rahman.

Genealogically, Harun and Nurcholish's thoughts were inseparable from the thoughts of previous figures as mentioned above. Harun is very consistent in this line of thinking. In various books and various occasions he always delivered what was then called "Islam Rasional" (rational Islam). Likewise, Nurcholish is very consistent with the new model of interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an. He elaborated various terminologies such as repentance, monotheism and so on with a very broad description. Nurcholish tried to get out of old descriptions that tend to be textual and literal. In his elaboration it was seen that he was inspired by the development and the dynamics of the religious life of the people at that time.

Harun's social context of concern and anxiety is the condition of Muslims which is considered lacking of enthusiasm in responding to new conditions that are very fast to the process of modernity that occurs globally. Harun was troubled by the doctrine of submission to excessive destiny from the doctrine

of mainstream theology at the time, namely the Ash'ariyah doctrine which was more inclined to Jabariyah. This tendency to the Jabariyah doctrine created to a fatalist attitude (surrendering everything to fate) and denying the role of the mind as an instrument to interpret something new to make changes.

Meanwhile, Nurcholish's social context of concern and anxiety is inter-religious conflict that often occurs both in Indonesia and other countries. This conflict has the consequence that there is a view that believers consider other believers as enemies other than brothers. Each claims to be the most righteous group and will get his or her own salvation. For this reason, Nurcholish moved to find a meeting point for religions. This is where Abrahamic Religion terminology is found, or the terminology "Islam" and Hanif religion.

In the political context, Harun was in the transition between the Old Order and the New Order which was marked by the G30S / PKI event. Harun began his career when the New Order established his power. Harun did not take much political roles but took an academic role. Therefore, the existence of Harun was not face to face with the authorities, even Harun became an important part in the Ministry of Religion, especially when the Minister of Religion was held by A. Mukti Ali. Harun had never been a structural official in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, but he became an influential partner for the policy of Ministry of Religious Affairs, especially in developing Islamic scholarship and Islamic education institutions.

Meanwhile, Nurcholish Madjid was nearly the same as Harun Nasution who live when the New Order began to strengthen his power. However, Nurcholish looked at a different perspective. He saw the position of religion in an

unfavorable situation in the context of Golkar's single majority politics. Nurcholish was concerned that religion is confronted with the state and its rulers. Therefore, the controversial concept of Nurcholish at that time was "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No". In this context, religion should be above all political parties, not just a political party's claim.

Based on his analysis on the state of Islamic political organizations, Nurcholish was convinced that Islam would not be able to gain political power, if Islam expected to gain it through a practical political party. Therefore, for the sake of the development of the people, he also called for slogans, Islam Yes, Islamic Party No; a call for "Islamization" of political parties, through a program called "secularization".<sup>7</sup>

Since then, people had begun to think seriously how Islam could contribute, as well as being a part of Indonesia's modernity. Therefore, thoughts on Islam which was conducive to social change began to emerge. Chronologically, this was the beginning that determines the long journey of the thought of the "neo-modernist" Islamic scholars in Indonesia. Since that time, the attention of Muslim scholars has so far shifted from "political Islam" to "cultural Islam", in the form of cultural movements of thought.<sup>8</sup> Nurcholish Madjid launched a new cultural approach aimed at bringing Islam back to the Indonesian context and inviting Muslims to end the political struggle.<sup>9</sup>

In the language of Din Syamsuddin, Islamic Thought in the 1970s was heavily influenced by the socio-political conditions of

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7 Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Islam Pluralis* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001) p. 270.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 271.

9 Jajat Burhanudin, *Ulama dan Kekuasaan: Pergumulan Elite Muslim dalam Sejarah Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2012), p. 377.



the 1960s. The political nuances in Islamic thoughts were very obvious. The upheaval of Islamic thought was very close to Islamic formalism in the country. Political events in the 1950s and 1960s were one of the factors. The 1970s were still political. The dimensions of the formalization of Islam in the state became the mainstream in Islamic thoughts which continue to grow in the 1980s and beyond. However, Indonesian Islamic thoughts in the 1980s had undergone many changes since the emergence of new generations of Islam who had completed higher education in many scientific disciplines, from Islamic scholarship to socio-political science, and the growing spirit of gathering Muslim activists in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which are transformative and caricatural.<sup>10</sup>

Since the 1980s, Islamic thoughts had experienced very significant changes in the map of Indonesian Islamic thoughts. A new map of Islamic thought became a genre that can be said to represent a more inclusive and transformative style of thought, rather than political and segmentative. Even though fragmentation in the struggle of Islamic thoughts seemed to exist, its transformative social dimension provided a more dominant color.<sup>11</sup>

According to Din Syamsudin, in the 80s there were Islamic party activists who flourished in the turbulence of Indonesian Islamic thought, but they could not provide a dominant color, because they were outside the process line of the academic (intellectual) dynamics of young people or a new generation of Indonesian Muslims. The new generation of Indonesian Muslims

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10 Din Syamsudin in forwards for the book of Zuly Qodir, *Islam Liberal: Varian-Varian Liberalisme Islam di Indonesia 1991-2002* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2012), p. xi.

11 *Ibid.*, p. xii.

was influenced more by policy makers from Islamic universities (IAIN). While the roles of Moslem activists such as Mohammad Natsir, Anwar Harjono, and H.M. Rasyidi (Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council / DDII) were not so obvious, even though they occasionally went to the surface of the turbulence of Indonesian Islamic thoughts. The most obvious role in the 1980s was Prof. Harun Nasution (IAIN Jakarta), followed by Nurcholish Madjid, Quraish Shihab and also Prof. Munawir Sjadzali, as minister of religion who made a small contribution to the growth of Islamic thought at IAIN Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Accordingly, Prof. Mukti Ali (IAIN Yogyakarta, former minister of religion) had also contributed to the development of Indonesian Islamic thought starting with IAIN. Mukti Ali with his Limited Group discussion had placed IAIN Yogyakarta as a part of the Islamic thought producer which was very influencing. Intellectuals who were born from this process included Djohan Effendi, Amin Rais, Kuntowijoyo, Dawam Rahardjo, Syaifullah Mahyudin, and Masdar F. Mas'udi. Mukti Ali's contribution to the development of Islamic thoughts cannot be considered as a simple thing because through this limited group discussion Islamic thoughts at Yogyakarta IAIN found its footprint.<sup>12</sup>

Indonesian Islamic thoughts continued to develop until the 1990s and 2000s. The issues which raised was very various, ranging from issues that had been raised by previous figures to new issues in accordance with the development of the time. The generation of this era did a lot of modifications and packaged it more interesting and with more modern media even though the substance was not much different from the previous generation. This lasting thought, by Din Syamsuddin, was called continuity

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12 *Ibid.*

in Indonesian Islamic thoughts. Islamic thoughts were clearly not experiencing discontinuity, because all products of Islamic thoughts were related to the product of previous thoughts. However, there was indeed a slight difference in the articulation and objectives. If initially, it was more internal, the latter was more open (inclusive) and external. If previously a lot of movements were in the field of political thoughts, later they were in socio-cultural thinking and Islamic social transformation as its basis. There was no dominant factor to influence one another. Likewise, no intellectual found all the power of intellectualism. They mutually strengthened intellectually, so the results were diverse even if they were born from one institution. According to Din, IAIN Jakarta and IAIN Yogyakarta were the most obvious examples of the diversity of the results of the training of Muslim intellectuals who continued to contribute to Indonesian Muslims.<sup>13</sup>

Harun and Nurcholish both were critical, but the object of their criticism was different. If Harun criticized fatalistic traditional theology, Nurcholish criticized classical textual interpretations. Nurcholish Madjid considered that Islamic rationalism (which in the classical tradition emerged in Mu'tazilite theology and philosophy from al-Kindi to Ibn Rushd, then systematically became Muhammad Abduh's rational theology) was basically Hellenistic, therefore it was not an Islamic genuine. Theological thinking and rational philosophy are built from Greek theoretical construction (especially Aristotle), which from an Islamic point of view is actually quite problematic, because it is too rational. The weakness of Islam is that they lack of equilibrium in religious life, which is practical

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13 *Ibid.*, p. Xiv-xv.

and direct to daily God comprehension.<sup>14</sup>

Harun and Nurcholish began their careers in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1980s and the 1990s, there were also figures who were actively campaigning critical Islamic thoughts, namely Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman and Mansour Fakih.<sup>15</sup> The era of the 1990s was an era in which the New Order regime (Suharto) had begun to show signs of its acceptance to Islam. In this era the country was very accommodating to Islam so that the thoughts and actions of Indonesian Islam also tended to be accommodating. Mainstream Muslims are also not confrontational. This was very different from the era of the 1970s and 1980s in which political articulation and the style of Indonesian Islamic thought tended to be confrontational to the regime of power. The style of Islamic thought in this era actually had a tendency to bridge the conceptual tension between Islamic ideas and political and state ideas which emerged from the experience and political trauma of the 1970s under the New Order regime. This unproductive condition made the Moslem scholars of the 1990s tried to offer a “middle way” so that political trauma and unpleasant experience under the New Order regime were not repeated. The “middle way” offered was to offer actual thoughts that are more substantive which are expected to support the development and progress of Muslims.

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14 Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Islam...* p. 272.

15 Zuly Qodir, *Islam Liberal...*, p. 87.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

## **B. The Period of the Development of Critical Islamic Thoughts**

After the emergence of critical thoughts developed by Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid, the emergence of serious and consistent figures offered critical Islamic thought, namely Abdurrahman Wahid, Moeslim Abdurrahman, and Mansour Fakih. These three figures are the historical actors who developed critical Islamic thoughts in a new form, namely liberation Islam, transformative Islam, and the theology of the oppressed.

Critical Islamic thought offered by them is different from the previous generation because their thinking not only stopped on classical themes in Islam but many highlighted new social developments in the 20th century, such as the phenomenon of democracy, developmentalism, capitalism and so forth. Because of this, critical Islamic thought is based largely on the paradigm of social theories, especially critical social theory as found in the German Frankfurt School and the theology of liberation of Paulo Freire and Guterrez in Latin America.

Based on the descriptions in previous chapters, critical Islamic thought represented by Liberation Islam, Transformative Islam and the Theology of the Oppressed can be described in three categories, including socio-historical setting, paradigmatic construction which includes ontological basis and epistemological framework, and impact or influence to the people.

First, the socio-historical setting influencing the development of critical Islamic thought in Indonesia can be categorized into three, namely criticism againts the state, criticism againts people's religiosity, and criticism againts the

world system. Criticism against the state is criticism against the practice of hegemony and discrimination by the state which was mostly carried out by Abdurrahman Wahid. Criticism against people's religious model that only emphasizes individual piety and the tendency of individualistic modern life, is mostly done by Moeslim Abdurrahman. Criticism against the world system that is the phenomenon of developmentalism and capitalism in the third world, was mostly carried out by Mansour Fakhri.

Second, the paradigmatic construction offered by critical Islamic thought has its own characteristics. Abdurrahman Wahid developed his ontological basis with the concept of Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism, the epistemological framework with the concept of Islamic Indigenization. Moeslim Abdurrahman, however, developed his ontological basis with the concept of orthopraxic religion and social piety, as well as the concept of social monotheism and multiculturalism. The epistemological framework is the need for dialectics of texts and contexts towards social transformation. Meanwhile, Mansour Fakhri developed his ontological basis with the concept of ideals of society without exploitation, without oppression, without domination and community without all forms of injustice with the formulation of a monotheistic society. The epistemological framework is to develop liberation theology or liberating religion.

Third, the influence of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia is sensed by people. It can be classified into five things, namely: (1) the development of civil society in the form of NGOs that carry out transformative work, (2) the creation of tolerance and harmony in religious life, (3) the occurrence of a

democratization process in Indonesia by considering human rights issues, (4) the rise of Islamic studies using the framework of social theories, and (5) the development of religious life that shows social concern.

In the context of social politics, Abdurrahman Wahid criticized state hegemony and discriminative practices in the nation and the state, including in religious life. One of the cases that attract people attention at that time was Kedung Ombo case. What Abdurrahman Wahid and Romo Mangunwijaya did were dealing with the state and even with religious leaders.<sup>17</sup> Another example was the excessive state control on religious life and freedom of the press.

In the face of this strong hegemony, the idea of the importance of civil society (civil society) emerged. Criticism of the hegemony of this country had a resemblance to the Marxian model criticized by the Frankfurt School, especially in later generations such as Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci is a leading figure, who developed the theory of hegemony, which is a theory that sees the structure and system of the state in capitalism through the process of hegemony. The process of hegemony occurs when the way of life, ways of thinking, and views of the lower classes of society especially the proletariat, have imitated and accepted the way of thinking and lifestyle of the elite who dominate and exploit them.<sup>18</sup> This is where the so-called class supremacy is born that is the supremacy of a group that manifests through the practice of domination and intellectual leadership. Hegemony refers to the strong influence

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17 Abdurrahman Wahid "Agama dan Demokrasi" in Th. Sumartana (ed.), *Spiritualitas Baru: Agama dan Aspirasi Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: Dian/Interfidai, 1994), p. 270.

18 See Mansour Fakhri, *Jalan Lain: Manifesto Intelektual Organik*, second publication (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2011), p. 145.

of leadership in moral and intellectual forms, which shape the attitude of the class he leads.<sup>19</sup>

Abdurrahman Wahid criticized the practices of discrimination against minorities, both by the state and certain groups. In this context Abdurrahman Wahid is actually fighting for human rights. The human rights that Abdurrahman Wahid fought for were protection of the right to life, the right to religion, the right to work, the right to have family, and the right to own property. Abdurrahman Wahid elaborated the concepts of human rights by referring to the classical Islamic traditions such as from Syatibi regarding the five basic rights that should be maintained by all parties.<sup>20</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid's offer to realize the ideals of Islam was to develop the concept of universalism, cosmopolitanism and the indigenization of Islam.

What Abdurrahman Wahid was doing is an effort to realize human emancipation that is liberating human beings from the circumstances that enslave them (freeing people from oppressive circumstances). All of them are meant to reduce domination and increase their freedom in all forms (eliminating domination and struggling for freedom and independence). This effort was mentioned by Gutierrez as a liberation theology that is the motivation to do theology is not to create an ideology that justifies a status quo but instead has to liberate from the status quo. To do religion should be heteropraxis, a combination of orthodoxy (comes from the teachings of God) and orthopraxis

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19 See Made Pramono "Melacak Basis Epistemologi Antonio Gramsci" in Listiyono Santoso et al., *Epistemologi Kiri*, third publication (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz, 2006), p. 89-90.

20 See Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-Nilai Indonesia & Transformasi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2007), p. 3-5.



(comes from the reality of human life).<sup>21</sup>

However, when it is viewed from Asghar Ali Engineer's liberation theory, what Abdurrahman Wahid did was an attempt to realize the defense of the oppressed. The defense in question is a defense in terms of the formulation of religious conceptions which cannot contain elements of oppression and slavery. Religion should not be legitimacy for people or groups who persecute in the name of religion. Islam should be cleansed from theological elements that support the status quo. Islam should be a source of motivation for the oppressed to change their situation. Islam should develop social structures that liberate humanity from all kinds of slavery.<sup>22</sup> In Asghar language, Abdurrahman Wahid is applying monotheism in the sense of unity of mankind which opposes the concept of racial, ethnic, national or family superiority. The aim of Islam is universal brotherhood, equality and social justice.

In relation to the concept of universalism and Islamic cosmopolitanism developed by Gus Dur, this was an expression of Gus Dur's Islamic insight which was formed by various social and educational backgrounds. Gus Dur had a good relation, which was not homogeneous and not limited to Muslims or pesantren. Abdurrahman mingled with all those who surpassed the boundaries of the religious community and his culture. Gus Dur was able to get along with people from across religion, race, culture, profession, ideology and gender. From the heterogeneous, broad and unknowable dimensions of the social setting, Gus Dur's model of thinking became more cosmopolitan.

21 Lihat Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996), p. 5.

22 Lihat Asghar Ali Engineer, *Islam dan Teologi Pembebasan*, terj. Agung Prihantoro, cet. Ke-4 (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006), p. 32.

Regarding educational background, Gus Dur's cultural thought was shaped by three different cultural and environmental characters. First, Gus Dur came into contact with the world of pesantren's education culture which was very hierarchical, closed, and full of formal ethics; second, open and hard Middle East education; and third, liberal, rational and secular Western cultural education. All of them seem to enter in person and establish synergy. Almost no one dominantly shaped Gus Dur's personality. This is why Gus Dur always looked dynamic and was difficult to understand. His freedom of thought and the breadth of his thinking horizons transcend the limits of traditionalism held by his own community.

Related to his interaction with other thoughts, Gus Dur was influenced by Muslim and non-Muslim activist intellectuals, such as Ali Abdul Raziq's thoughts, Ali Shari'ati, and Hassan Hanafi. Whereas from non-Muslims, Abdurrahman's thoughts were influenced by circles of thought such as Mahatma Gandhi, Gustavo Gutierrez, Don Herder Camara and Nelson Mandela.

Abdurrahman was interested in Ali Abdul Raziq's idea in the context of discourse on the separation between state, Islamic state or Islam and politics. Because the tie of the two will only bring bad consequences for religion, because religion will only be used as a tool of policies legitimacy taken by the state, with this tie will also eliminate the spirit of religion as an instrument of human liberation.<sup>23</sup>

Gus Dur said:

*Ali Abdel Raziq di Mesir, dalam tahun 1940-an menulis buku "Al-Islam wa Qawa'id as-Sulthan" (Islam dan Sendi-Sendi Kekuasaan), yang kemudian diterjemahkan*

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23 Abdurrahman Wahid, et al., "Agama Dan Demokrasi", in *Spiritualitas Baru...*, p. 274.

ke bahasa Inggris dengan judul "Islam and the Bases of Power". Dalam buku ini, Abdel Raziq menyangkal adanya kerangka kenegaraan dalam Islam. Al-Qur'an tidak pernah menyebut-nyebut sebuah "negara Islam" (*Daulah Islamiyah, an Islamic state*), katanya. Hanya menyebut negara "yang baik, penuh pengampunan Tuhan" (*baldatun thayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur*).<sup>24</sup>

Ali Abdel Raziq in Egypt, in the 1940s wrote the book *Al-Islam wa Qawa'id as-Sulthan* (Islam and the Joints of Power), which was later translated into English under the title Islam and the Bases of Power. In this book, Abdel Raziq denies the existence of a state framework in Islam. The Qur'an never mentions an "Islamic state" (*Daulah Islamiyah, an Islamic state*), he said. Just calling the country "good, full of God's forgiveness" (*baldatun thayyibatun warabbun ghafur*).

Abdurrahman was also interested in Shari'ati's thoughts on the idea of the need to map or photograph Islam as a basis for building liberation theology that was responsive to social reform. Ali Syari'ati initiated that Islam is not only a school of thought but at the same time as a school of action, or Islam as a school of thought and ideology. As a school of thought, Islam means an idea and not as a group of sciences, Islam as a humanitarian, historical and intellectual movement, not as a storehouse of technical and scientific information. In other words, Islam as a school of thought is a set of philosophical concepts, religious beliefs, ethical values and harmonious practical methods which - through rational relationships - create to a dynamic, meaningful, directed and integrated unity that lives and all its parts are imbued by one spirit or spirit.<sup>25</sup>

24 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Tuhan...*, p. 20.

25 Ali Syari'ati, *Islam Mazhab Pemikiran dan Aksi*, translated by M.S. Nasrulloh and Afif Muhammad (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 13-19.

In this case, John L. Esposito and John O. Voll confirmed that ideology is a product of various religious and cultural schools. This ideology is based not only on the background and experience of Indonesian Islam but also on the work of Muslim thoughts and activists in the wider Islamic world such as Hassan Hanafi from Egypt and Shari'ati from Iran."<sup>26</sup>

Hassan Hanafi's view of the need for liberation theology also seemed to have a lot of space in Gus Dur's thinking. In the view of Hassan Hanafi, religion is no longer interpreted as an instrument to build individual piety, but religion should also be moved to build social awareness through efforts to solve humanitarian problems. Because of this, Abdurrahman often expressed the importance of new spirituality, namely an attitude that emphasized structural piety rather than individual piety. This was driven by Gus Dur's belief that structural piety in life would avoid the symptoms of demoralization and dehumanization in its various forms. While in individual piety it will not encourage moral commitment, social responsibility and human solidarity. For Gus Dur, it is not impossible that a pious person will not be disturbed or tremble to witness his social inequality, overconsumption, injustice and oppression.

The orientation of human ethical liberation for Abdurrahman refers to a political goal which does not presuppose the existence of a rival political structure from the level to be changed so that a movement will avoid ideological character. This emphasis on ethical character is a choice from the liberation of Gus Dur's humanism which is not socio-political, but rather socio-cultural. This view of humanism has

26 John L Esposito and John O. Voll, *Tokoh-Kunci Gerakan Islam Kontemporer*, translated by Sugeng Haryanto et al. (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002), p. 272.

been practiced by Gus Dur when dealing with the New Order's developmental hegemony through efforts to evoke the function of Islamic transformation as a critique of oppressive practices and coupled with practical work that is directly related to the real needs of society.

The nature of liberation from this progressive insight rests on several supporting elements. On the one hand the idea of social justice should be upheld, if people want to truly function as executors of the function of the Godhead (Khalifah Allah) on earth. A caliph should have full autonomy over him and that autonomy can be achieved through the establishment of social justice. This pillar in the form of social justice penetrates all forms of government. On the other hand, social justice can only be realized if there are humanitarian fighters incorporated in organized activities that lead to the goal of liberation. In order to make their actions effective, a clear ideology is needed to bring the voice of liberation.<sup>27</sup>

Gus Dur's idea above is a form of reviving and growing the prophetic style and as reflected in the prophets who carry the religions, who think not only how to be a pious human being but also become an independent human being. For him, all religions have a concern for social justice, so the revival of religion-gama should depart from personal concern and communal commitment to encourage change in a more just direction. Apart from Muslim liberation activists, Gus Dur was also influenced by the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi, Gutierrez and Camara. From Gandhi, Gus Dur absorbed many of the ideas of humanity, equality and peace, so it was natural that Gus Dur expressed his anti-violence attitude. While from

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27 Abdurrahman Wahid, et al, "Agama Dan Demokrasi", p. xii.

Gutierrez and Camara, Gus Dur gained a lot of enthusiasm for change from religious awareness. According to John L. Esposito, direct experience of Latin American liberation theology has a significant impact on his view of Islam and the role of Islam in the world and the role of religion and third world development in general.<sup>28</sup>

Gus Dur is a running text, and we are open interpreters of Gus Dur's thoughts.<sup>29</sup> In an effort to explore Gus Dur's thoughts, it is important to know the paradigm of his thinking. The paradigm in question is the basic assumption possessed by an intellectual as a basis for understanding the reality around him. In this regard, the paradigm of Abdurrahman Wahid's thinking is seen in the context of his grouping, as Greg Barton included Abdurrahman Wahid in the Islamic Neo-Modernism group with NurcholishMadjid, Djohan Effendi and Ahmad Wahib. Islamic Neo-Modernism refers to intellectuals who have traditional expertise and modernism

This category of Islamic Neo-Modernism in Barton's view includes; First, the movement that seeks to reform Islamic thought so that it is progressive, has a positive attitude towards modernity, change and development. Second, Islamic Neo-Modernism sees the West as not a threat to Islam, but has the opportunity to fill and complete. Ideas and discourses carried out by the West such as democracy, pluralism, gender and protection of human rights are the main issues developed by this group. The third character, Neo-Modernism affirms the spirit of secularization in religious and national life. This assumption was

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28 John L Eposito and John O. Voll, *Tokoh...*, p. 273.

29 Muhaimin Iskandar, *Gus Dur Yang Saya Kenal: Catatan Transisi Demokrasi Kita* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), p. xiii.

built on the basis that Islam does not only contain the concepts of an Islamic state but Islam does not require to establish an Islamic state or Islamic Caliphate. Fourth, Islamic Neo-Modernism promotes inclusive and liberal attitudes, especially in accepting the factual reality of pluralism that exists in society. This group always emphasizes tolerant attitudes towards all communities in the community. Fifth, Islamic Neo-Modernism inherited much of Muhammad Abduh's spirit in contextual contextual jihad. In this case Neo-Modernism seeks to synthesize classical treasures with the necessity of appreciating jihad with Western ideas, especially in the Western social sciences and humanities.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to Barton, William Lidle categorized Abdurrahman Wahid as a Sub-Islamic Islamic group, characterized by: first, the substance of faith and practice is more important than just form. Second, al-Qur'an and hadith can be reinterpreted by Muslims in accordance with the context and situation although the essence of the essence in the universal interpretation. Third, it is impossible for anyone to get certainty about God's will. Therefore, in the view of religion, Muslims should be tolerant to their fellow human beings and non-Muslims. Fourth, substantial Muslims accept the present government as the final form of the nation state (nation-state) of Indonesia.<sup>31</sup>

Some of the categories created by William Lidle are almost the same as the categories created by Bachtiar Effendi when grouping inclusive Muslim scholars. Bachtiar Effendi made a category which included: first, based on the understanding that the Qur'an and hadith does not require establishing an

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30 Greg Barton, *Gagasan...*, p. 9.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Islamic state. Second, Islam contains socio-political ethics so that Islam cannot be equated with ideology. Third, Islam is seen as something that is eternal and universal, Muslim understanding of Islam should not be limited to the formal legal plane, socio-political conditions and particularity space. Fourth, they believe that only God has a single truth.<sup>32</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid with a pattern of substantial thought, then religion is understood as a worldview which sets the foundation for fundamental humanity. With a different type of thinking, it will form a new pattern of relations between religion and social reality. What Abdurrahman Wahid did with his "critical theology" discourse was a form of "lawsuit" against the depletion of the social role of religion.<sup>33</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid saw that the social-religious institute would always create to values judgments, because the existence of religion was a form of its business for world development.<sup>34</sup> Religion has its own place in this business, where religion has a dialectical relationship with social institutions in the development of the human world.<sup>35</sup>

Of the various discourses and issues carried out by Islamic Neo-Modernism and substancialist Islamic thought, they are essentially the same, namely the existence of a serious effort to build an open society, democratic and respect for one's religious beliefs. As with other Muslim intellectuals, Abdurrahman Wahid based his paradigm on the foundation of traditional

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32 Bahtiar Effendi, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktek Politik Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998), p. 71.

33 Komaruddin Hidayat, "Kegagalan Peran Sosial Agama", dalam Dialog Pakar Islam Mewujudkan *Satu Ummat* (Yogyakarta: UGM-IFIS Jakarta, 2000), p. 19-31.

34 Peter L. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (London: 1969).

35 Y.B Mangunwijaya "Demiliterisasi Sebagai Upaya Mewujudkan Masyarakat Madani" dalam Widodo Usman et al.(ed.), *Membongkar Mitos Masyarakat Madani* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2000), p. 169-181.



Islamic contextualization, namely the emphasis on the use of legal theory methods and legal rules as well as the characteristics of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah (Aswaja) thinking that were put into thinking methods in constructing new ideas. All this is done so that thinking is not ahistorical, regardless of the context of the developed cultural community. For Abdurrahman Wahid the combination of traditional and modern intellectual treasures through the process of *ijtihad* will produce a construct of rational, inclusive and responsive thinking. This will present a person from an exclusive sectarianism that is based on a narrow understanding of scriptural-textualism. The term often used by Abdurrahman Wahid in mentioning the progression that should be done by Muslims is dynamism. The dynamism intended by Abdurrahman Wahid was directed at the goal of continuous change and could answer the problems that existed in the community

A very important common thread of Gus Dur's thinking is his rejection of formalization, ideologization, and shari'ization of Islam. On the contrary, Gus Dur saw that the triumph of Islam lay precisely in the ability of this religion to develop culturally. In other words, Gus Dur gave more appreciation to the efforts of culturalization.<sup>36</sup>

Abdurrahman rejected the ideology of Islam. For Gus Dur, the ideology of Islam was not in accordance with the development of Islam in Indonesia, which was known as "the country of moderate Muslims". Islam in Indonesia, according to Gus Dur, appears in a cultural life that is not ideologically dressed. On the other hand, Gus Dur saw that Islamic ideology

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36 M. Syafi'i Anwar "Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita: Membingkai Potret Pemikiran Politik KH. Abdurrahman Wahid", in Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006), *Ibid.* p. xv.

was easy to encourage Muslims to political efforts that led to textual and radical interpretation of religious texts. The most obvious implication of Islamic ideology is the efforts of a number of groups to make Islam an alternative ideology of Pancasila, as well as the desire of a number of groups to fight for the return of the Jakarta Charter. Also the steps of a number of regional governments and DPRD that issued regional regulations based on “Islamic Shari’a”. According to Gus Dur, efforts to “Islamize” the state base and “restrict” regional regulations are not only a-historical, but also contradict the 1945 Constitution. Citing the opinion of the former Egyptian Supreme Judge, Al-Ashmawi, such an effort of sharization according to fiqh is included in *taḥṣīl al-ḥaṣīl* (doing unnecessary things because it has already been done).<sup>37</sup>

Abdurrahman wanted to uphold democracy and human rights in the true sense. What he strives for is human values that no longer see primordial elements. Abdurrahman realized that primordialism barriers would only be a threat to the objectivity of the struggle for human values themselves.<sup>38</sup> Islam for Gus Dur, like other religions, is a doctrine that reaches human values universally and comprehensively. Thus the religious doctrine which involves teachings on tolerance and social harmonization, should encourage a Muslim not to fear pluralism and differences. For Gus Dur, appreciation of human values is at the core of religious teachings. Without these values the world will be influenced by various forms of violence and social conflict.<sup>39</sup>

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37 *Ibid.* p. xvi.

38 Ali Masykur Musa, *Pemikiran...*, p. 119.

39 *Ibid.* p. 120.

Gus Dur's critical thinking is not only at the religious level, but also on the social aspects of society. Greg Barton considered Gus Dur's thinking was based on the nature of liberalism even though he had never formally attained secular higher education like NurcholishMadjid. By Fachry Ali, the ease of Gus Dur's thinking was likened to Ivan Illich or Paulo Freire, where as a cleric he did not want to be trapped in religious postulates in thinking.<sup>40</sup>

In Ali Masykur's view Musa, freedom and independence of Abdurrahman in terms of Islamic thought can be seen from his perspective on the system of prayer and the aqeedah of Ahlus sunnah wal Jamā'ah. According to Gus Dur, the system of schooling (Schools of *fiqh*) in NU which tends to Syafi'i cannot just follow the opinions of Imam Syafi'i just like that, but should follow the manhaj (method) of extracting Islamic law. So, taking the process is not just the result. Gus Dur's controversial thinking was his tendency to use Mu'tazilah's way of thinking which had a clear concept of justice. Its acceptance of Shia is a form of culture that is no different from Sunni.<sup>41</sup>

From there, it was seen that the roots of Gus Dur's thinking were actually based on humanitarian commitment (humanism-insaniyah) in the teachings of Islam. In Gus Dur's view, humanitarian commitment can be used as a basis for resolving the demands of the main problems of the political progress of Muslims in Indonesia's modern and pluralistic society. The humanitarian commitment is basically to respect tolerance and have a strong concern for social harmony. The platform for the life of Muslims should be placed on three

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40 *Ibid.* p. 83.

41 *Ibid.* p. 84.

principles of brotherhood, namely the ukhuwah Islamiyyah, ukhuwah waṭoniyah, and ukhuwah basyāriyah, as well as the NU principle. Because of this, Abdurrahman always avoided Islamic formalities in the country in politics. All forms of exclusivism, sectarianism and political previlliges should be shunned, including efforts to impose religious teachings through the state and formal law. The idea of proportionality in representation in state institutions should also be avoided because these demands are clearly contrary to the principle of equality (egalitarianism) for citizens.<sup>42</sup>

In the case of the struggle for democracy, freedom and poverty alleviation, Gus Dur was inspired by an archbishop in Brazil, Dom Helder Camara. Dom Helder Camara is an archbishop in Brazil. He is a Roman Catholic religious leader in Brazil with the Liberation Theology. He is known as being very concerned about the poor and trying to make a difference in the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Brazil for the concern of poverty. That is why he was known as the “Red Bishop” because of his tendency to the left of Marxism. He died at the age of 1999. Camara mobilized the power of the people to fight for democracy for a dozen years, facing accusations that he was leaning towards communism. Camara’s famous statement is: “if I collect food for a small person I am called a saint; but if I question the cause of the poverty of the small people, I am immediately called a communist.”<sup>43</sup>

Other world leaders who also inspired Abdurrahman were Vinoba Bhave, Hindu saints, and Sulak Sivaraksa, lay

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42 *Ibid.* p. 88.

43 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan: Nilai-Nilai Indonesia & Transformasi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2007), p. 281.

Buddhist leaders in Thailand. Vinoba walked to explore the Indian subcontinent in the 1950s and 1960s barefoot, demanding the willingness of the landless to voluntarily share part of their land with the landless poor. He intends to build economic democracy. Meanwhile, Sulak was once threatened with the death penalty for fighting for freedom of speech, including criticizing and questioning the position of the king.<sup>44</sup>

The figures who gain Gus Dur's appreciation for his struggle and thought were Father Mangunwijaya because of his perseverance in fighting for the real interests of the people of Kedung Ombo, Nurcholish Madjid for asking for equality for all religions, Mrs. Gedong Oka for continuing the principles of Mahatma Gandhi who reject the caste system in society Hinduism in Bali.<sup>45</sup> Gus Dur also appreciated Mahmoud Muhammed Taha who had fought for democracy by voicing freedom of religion. Democracy equates the degree and position of all citizens before the law regardless of the origin of ethnicity, religion, gender and mother tongue.<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, Moeslim Abdurrahman has different characteristics from Abdurrahman Wahid. Moeslim highlighted the practices of rituals and worship of Muslims which are only oriented to individual satisfaction (individual piety). Moeslim criticized the Islamic religious model which does not reflect the ideals of Islam to realize the welfare of the people. Moeslim observes that there are still many Muslims who are in conditions of poverty and deprivation because most people in worship are still oriented to individual interests. Therefore, Moeslim

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44 *Ibid.* p. 282.

45 *Ibid.* p. 283.

46 *Ibid.* p. 286.

emphasized the importance of growing social piety (social care) in religion. Muslims should see the conditions of weakness and poverty that occur and should be resolved together.

In other words, Moeslim fidgeted with the model of symbolic piety, including the caricatural social project for the *musthad'afin* people. He wanted the concept of Islam that is not only individual, but has more social implications that can transformatively transform a more humane social reality. Islam cannot be a legitimate tool for a group of rulers of economic and political resources. Islam should be able to display piety in favor of opposing all dehumanization processes.<sup>47</sup>

Another character of Moeslim Abdurrahman is his criticism of modernity, including in this case the diversity of Muslims who put forward modern ways of thinking. Modernity, on the one hand the challenges of the times that should be addressed objectively, has become one of the factors of structural poverty. Modernity that is oriented towards progress, often ignores the fate of marginalized people. Much modernity has resulted in the emergence of oppressive structures in both economic and socio-cultural life. People who are not able to follow and have access to the modernity system will become structurally marginalized and oppressed parties. Therefore, with the emergence of this modernity, how to foster attitudes of social care so that the fate of the oppressed people who are victims of modernity get attention and get a solution.

The construction of critical Islamic thought proposed by Moeslim Abdurrahman above has the same meaning with the theology of liberation of Asghar Ali Engineer. As mentioned in

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47 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), p. xii and 9.

chapter I, Asghar asserted that if religion is seriously regarded as good and stands unilaterally with revolution, progress and change, then religion should be released from philosophical theological aspects - the developing one reaches its peak until this philosophical aspect becomes a major part from religion rather than supporting the oppressed, but instead supporting the oppressors. That is, Islam should not only be a concept that goes far, far from reality and only speaks of discourses. Islam should be grounded, answer or solution to the reality that occurs and enter practical areas.

In the Asghar perspective, what Moeslim Abdurrahman is doing is an attempt to liberate theology, namely that Islam should cleanse elements of theology that support the status quo, which is only ritualistic, dogmatic and only a confusing metaphysical nature. Religion should not only stop at the afterlife, but also should not merely deal with worldly matters. Religion should maintain its relevance. The historicity and contemporarity of religion on the one hand, and worldly and afterlife affairs on the other, should be united to become a living and dynamic religion. Religion should be a source of motivation for the oppressed to change their situation, and become a spiritual force to communicate themselves meaningfully with and understand spiritual aspects that are higher than this reality.<sup>48</sup>

This is what Moeslim meant that the concept of Islam should not only be individual, but should have social implications that can transform transformatively more human social reality.<sup>49</sup> Islam cannot be a legitimate tool for a group of rulers of economic and political resources. Islam should be able to display piety

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48 Asghar Ali Engineer, *Islam...*, p. 32.

49 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif...*, p. 9.

in favor of opposing all dehumanization processes.<sup>50</sup> This dehumanization process is the result of the dominant role of modernity in all aspects of human life. Moeslim's criticism of modernity, when viewed from the liberation theology of Gustavo Gutierrez, is an attempt to uncover the hegemony that is happening in the third world especially the Islamic world by developed countries that develop developmentalism and capitalism.

Unlike Abdurrahman Wahid and Moeslim Abdurrahman, Mansour Fakih offered critical theology with radical character. Mansour's critical thinking is among the most radical compared to other figures. A prominent character in Mansour's critical thinking is his criticism of developmentalism. Mansour concluded that developmentalism (another name for capitalism, or according to Moeslim is modernism) is the cause of all problems in all developing countries. Developmentalism has an adverse effect on developing nations because of its dependence on the ruling class such as the United States. As a result there is subordination in various aspects of life both in politics, economics, culture and even ideology. Developmentalism, in addition to the spirit of creating progress, creates structural poverty, social inequality in terms of gender (gender suppression), environmental damage, hegemony of science, politics and culture.

To see the various inequalities in the life of the nation, state and religion, all parties should be critical of what happens. Mansour then theologically offered the need to redefine the concept of monotheism. The meaning of monotheistic conception gives rise to a view that in this life there cannot be one party who oppresses the other, there cannot be one party in power

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50 Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Yang Memihak...*, p. xii



and control the fate of so many millions of people for the benefit of individual capital holders.

The construction of the theology of the oppressed Mansour Fakhri was heavily influenced by the construction of Gustavo Gutierrez's liberation theology. Taking Gutierrez's illustration that offers a conception that liberation theology is a "theological reflection born of expression and experience and joint efforts to erase the situation of injustice and to build a different society that is freer and more humane", Mansour emphasized that:

*Teologi pembebasan merupakan merupakan kombinasi antara analisis dan teori sosial kritik dengan teologi atau merupakan analisis kritis situasi kesejarahan sosial kaum tertindas, dan sebagai komitmen transformasi politik para penganut agama dan bukan sekedar pengalaman rohani. Jadi, teologi pembebasan dapat dikategorikan sebagai teori perubahan sosial dan kritik maupun alternatif terhadap pembangunan.<sup>51</sup>*

Liberation theology is a combination of analysis and social theory of criticism with theology or is a critical analysis of the social historical situation of the oppressed, and as a commitment to political transformation of adherents of religion and not just spiritual experience. So, liberation theology can be categorized as a theory of social change and criticism as well as alternatives to development.

In addition, Mansour Fakhri's oppressed theology was heavily influenced by critical social science analysis or critical theory developed by the Frankfurt School. Critical analysis of the phenomenon of developmentalism and capitalism which shows the dominance of power in all aspects of life is very prominent

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51 Mansour Fakhri, *Runtuhnya Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi* (Yogyakarta: Insist and Pustaka Pelajar Yogyakarta, 2001), p. 178.

in Mansour Fakih's thinking. Mansour Fakih, as championed by critical social science, seeks to do human emancipation from conditions that oppress humans. In this case what is meant by conditions that oppress humans are developmentalism and capitalism in the third world. Mansour offers a transformative paradigm of movement. To eliminate oppression, social transformation should be carried out. This is where social movements are needed that can generate civil society. Civil society is a portrait of society that is free from domination and intimidation. To realize civil society, it is necessary to make an effort to criticize the practices of fraud and oppression in the community, both in the economic, political and cultural fields. It is necessary to find out the causes that cause abuse and oppression to occur in the community.<sup>52</sup>

Mansour in many of his writings used the framework offered by Jurgen Habermas regarding the position of theory and practice in scientific civilization, human knowledge and interests in which it outlines technical interests (The Technical Interest of the Empirical-Analytic Sciences), practical interests (The Practical Interest of the Historical-Hermeneutic Sciences) and the emancipatory interest (The Emancipatory Interest of Critical Theory).<sup>53</sup> To be able to carry out human liberation, then human science and civilization should reach the stage of emancipatory interest (the emancipatory interest). Science should try to achieve conditions to free people from oppression, and not become part of the status quo that is silent or even supports the oppression among human beings.

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52 See Max Horkheimer dan Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektika....* see also Listiyono Santoso, et al., *Epistemologi...* p. 98. See also Jurgen Habermas, *Kritik atas Rasio Fungsional*, first publication (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2007).

53 Thomas McCarthy, *The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985), p. vi-vii.

The following is a picture of critical Islamic thought put forward by the great thinkers in Indonesia

### CRITICAL ISLAMIC THOUGHTS

Figure Aspect	Abdurrahman Wahid	Moeslim Abdurrahman	Mansour Fakih
Cause/ Background	The phenomena of Hegemony and discrimination by the state	The Phenomena of Individual Piety and Modernity	The Phenomena of developmentalism and Capitalism
Paradigmatic Construction	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Universalisme of Islam</li> <li>2. Cosmopolitane of Islam</li> <li>3. Indegenization of Islam</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ortopraxis Religion and Social Piety</li> <li>2. Social Tawheed and Multiculturalism</li> <li>3. The dialogue of Texts and Contexts towards Transformation</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The ideals of society that are free of exploitation, oppression, domination, and all forms of discriminizations</li> <li>2. The realization of Society of Tawheed</li> <li>3. Liberation Theology</li> </ol>
Implication/ Impacts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The emergence of civil society</li> <li>2. The Tolerance and harmony in religious relationship</li> <li>3. The struggle for Democracy , Human Rights, and Peace</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Emergence of Religiosity that shows Social Piety</li> <li>2. The rampantance of NGOs for Transformative Works</li> <li>3. The rampantance of Social studies in Islam</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The growing of Civil Society</li> <li>2. The growing of equality awareness</li> <li>3. The rampantance of NGOs for Transformative Works of Gender and Environmental Management</li> </ol>

Thus, it can be said that the emergence of critical Islamic thoughts is caused by several factors: (1) the existence of discrimination and hegemony of the state in the life of religion, nation and state; (2) the rampant practices of individual piety among Muslims; and (3) the development of the paradigm of modernization, developmentalism and capitalism in managing

people's lives. Criticism and analysis of the various problems above arose the construction of critical Islamic thought in Indonesia which included the Islamic model of the Liberation of Abdurrahman Wahid, Transformative Islam Moselimi Abdurrahman and the theology of the oppressed Mansour Fakih with their respective ontological and epistemological framework.

By Farish A. Noor, the Islamic thought movement above was called Progressive Islam. Progressive Islam is Islam that sides with justice. Among the targets of this view is the militant Islamic movement which he considers unfair in treating Muslims themselves who have other understandings, and also, moreover treating Muslims of other faiths. In addition, it also addressed global injustice, as shown by the United States. Criticism of the superpower is not an anti-American attitude, but a form of resistance to global injustice. Globalization will only strengthen the hegemony of powerful countries over weak and poor countries.<sup>54</sup>

Progressive Islam is different from Liberal Islam. According to Amin Abdullah, Progressive Islam has its own flexibility compared to Liberal Islam. Progressive Islam refers to the orientation of Islamic thought that looks more in the future, rather than just exploiting traffic; although it can also penetrate there. Here the benchmark is not "liberality" but the orientation to the future, "progressiveness".<sup>55</sup> According to Amin, the use of the paradigm of justice for Islamic thought and action is not new. In Indonesia, we see that the paradigm is promoted

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54 Amin Abdullah "Forward" in Farish A. Noor, *Islam Progresif: Peluang, Tantangan dan Masa Depan di Asia Tenggara*, translated by Moch. Nur Ichwan and Imron Rosjadi (Yogyakarta: Sahma, 2006), p. x.

55 Amin Abdullah "Pengantar" in Farish A. Noor, *Islam Progresif...*, p. ix.

by Muslims who struggle for transformative Islam, an Islamic agenda oriented to the transformation of a just society.<sup>56</sup>

This is what Omit Safi affirms that the dilemma of Muslims is often an issue between two extremes, binary opposition: reason and emotion, public and private, rationality and revelation, freedom and restraint, forward (traditional) and backward (traditional), scholars and non-clerics, the world and the hereafter and so on. This biner opposition makes it difficult for us to accept the nuances of the spectrum or ambiguity as the reality of religious experience itself. Often we take only one spectrum. Religion is just a mess of intentions, a declaration of intent, slogans or sweet promises to do goods to others but very superficially its humanitarian agenda or program. Progressive Islam seeks to apply creative, emancipatory and critical discourses of solutions. Islam is for human benefit, *rahmatanlilalamin*.<sup>57</sup>

This is where critical Islamic thinking offered by scholars above has relevance in building a pluralistic Indonesian nation and state. In the life of the nation and state, attitudes respecting human rights, tolerance, obedience to the law, democracy, and efforts to build the welfare of society should be prioritized. Adherence to the law is the last bastion in regulating inter-religious relations in Indonesia, so that anyone who leads this country or a particular region with their respective religions should be respected and respected. Therefore, if there are regional leaders who adhere to a different religion than most people, as long as it is permitted by the constitution, then

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56 *Ibid.*, p. x.

57 Fathi Aris Omar, co forward: "Sewaktu Agama Kehilangan Akal" in Farish A. Noor, *Islam Progresif*...p. xiii.

it should be respected and given the opportunity to lead in accordance with applicable laws.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion of the previous chapters, the author can draw several conclusions related to the conditions that cause the emergence and development of critical thinking, concerning the construction of critical Islamic thinking paradigm and the impact or influence of critical Islamic thoughts.

First, the emergence and the development of critical Islamic thoughts in Indonesia are caused by several factors:

1. The hegemony and domination which grow in the society has disrupted the freedom of the community. Thus, the protection to human rights is often not fulfilled. Including in this context is the growing of religion formalism efforts in religious life.
2. The occurrence of discrimination against minorities, not only against certain religious minorities, but also other minority groups that are marginalized.
3. The development of religious models that emphasize individual and symbolic piety only causes a caricatural social project for the *mustad'afin* people (the weak and marginalized people).
4. The development of modernity in the third world (the developing countries) including Indonesia which creates

gaps and raises structural poverty due to an imbalance access of all existing progress

5. The development of the developmentalism paradigm in developing countries promotes the development of modernity. Developmentalism results in various kinds of power hegemony such as political hegemony, cultural hegemony, and scientific hegemony which cause environmental damages, gender discrimination, and so forth.

Second, the paradigmatic construction of critical Islamic thought is that faith in Islam must not only talk about the issue of faith in God and other eschatological matters, but also should touch actual humanitarian issues to find solutions. Therefore, faith must go beyond the struggle for human rights, democracy and protection to minority groups. One's faith ought to deny or oppose practices of injustice, discrimination and oppression. The implementation of faith should develop models of piety that are not only individual oriented, but also have more social implications so that they can change a social reality that more humane and pious which oppose all dehumanization processes. Faith must also provide inspiration, enthusiasm and a way to create a balance of roles and accesses in managing all potential resources. Faith or belief must eliminate the domination of one group that controls all potential resources to other oppressed groups.

Third, the impact of critical Islamic thought is certainly experienced by people. Critical Islamic thought inspires all parties to participate in the struggle for human rights, democratization, religious freedom, gender equality, and attention to marginal groups. Critical Islamic thought also



inspires people to develop patterns of social care, mentoring and community empowerment conducted by state institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and religious institutions.

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