



The Correlation of State and Religion from Ali Abdur Raziq's Perspective

Mohammad Nasih Al Hashas¹, Alfina Infitahul Mawaddah²

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia

²Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember, Indonesia

Corresponding Email: mohammadnasih60@gmail.com

Received: 02-03-2025

Reviewed: 23-04-2025

Accepted: 13-05-2025

Abstract

This study examines Ali Abdur Raziq's perspective on the relationship between religion and state and the background, context, and dynamics present amid the emergence of ideas from this perspective. It is a literature study that critically analyzes Ali Abdur Raziq's ideas in his book *Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm*. This study uses a descriptive qualitative method. Islam, as a religion, *rahmatan lil alamin*, means a universal and comprehensive religion. Islam is here to provide solutions for all processes of human life on earth, including the belief that Islam also offers the concept of a religious and pious government system.

In contrast to Ali Abdur Raziq's perspective, this Islamic figure has a secular ideology, as shown by his controversial work, *Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm*. In his book, Raziq initiates the concept of secularization of Islam. Raziq wants to change the original Islamic religion into a secular religion like Christianity, which does not teach a government system. He believes that Islam is the only religion that conveys divine messages to people through the intermediary of the Prophet Muhammad without interfering in the slightest in political affairs and the government system. He used religious postulates with subjective interpretations. By some secular Islamic figures, Raziq is considered the founding father of modern state theology, who has saved Islam from negative political experiences that occurred throughout Islamic history. Although in the end, this idea did not get much fresh air from the majority of Islamic scholars (and was even firmly rejected), this dialectic needs to be answered with a more objective idea of realizing Islam as a universal and comprehensive religion.

Keywords: Islam, Government System, Secular, Ali Abdur Raziq.

Introduction

Egypt experienced a very chaotic situation in the early 20th century (1914-1918) due to the outbreak of World War I, including those involved in this war were England and Turkey. Egyptian students and youths strongly demanded that British colonialism over Egypt end immediately, and that Egypt's independence be recognized. Various protests that emerged sparked the birth of a revolutionary movement that occurred in 1919. This movement was famously known as the "Egyptian Revolution", initiated by Sa'ad Zaghlul, with a famous slogan, "Egypt for the Egyptian people". On February 28, 1922, England declared the independence of the Egyptian nation. Egypt officially became a sovereign kingdom led by its first king, Fuad I (1917-1936) (Mulia, 2011).

It is known that at almost the same time, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) destroyed the caliphate system in Turkey on March 3, 1924. Kemal Atatürk successfully destroyed and acquired the power of the Ottoman Caliphate/Ottoman Empire and changed it into a Republic system. At the same time as the incident, Rasyid Ridha in Egypt was preparing for the implementation of an Islamic conference to discuss whether the institution of the caliphate could be revived or not. The Islamic conference that discussed the caliphate then published the journal 'Khilafah Islamiyah', which discussed the imamate or caliph as a very hot topic to be

discussed in all writings and media, both magazines, journals and various meetings, which ultimately sparked the emergence of a fatwa "the obligation to uphold the caliphate, Muslims will sin if there is no imam (caliph) who fights for the laws of Allah's sharia" (Imarah, 1999). It was during such conditions and situations that Ali Abdur Raziq launched his highly controversial work, so it is pretty easy to understand why Raziq's work of thought received such an extraordinary reaction from Islamic intellectuals such as Rasyid Ridha and others. The rulers at that time ordered Raziq's work to be burned immediately, followed by the scholars of Al-Azhar itself, which was Raziq's alma mater, who issued a fatwa to ostracize Raziq.

In the long history of humanity, there are two important institutions for the life of the people, namely religion and the state, both of which are never free from discussion and debate about how the relationship pattern between the two should be. Religion is a source of ethics and morals that plays an important role in a person's attitude and behavior in the continuity of their social life. In this context, religion plays a normative foundation that is a reference, benchmark, and solution in responding to various problems of individual life, related to relations between fellow human beings and relations with the source of religious teachings. Meanwhile, the state functions as a fundamental pillar that regulates various aspects of social ethics and authority in community life. Prosperity can arouse human enthusiasm to improve work ethic, form various social associations between social classes, reduce social tension, prevent conflict and hostility, create progress in all fields, and build harmony and social cooperation (Mustafa, 2022). Efforts to formulate a paradigmatic framework that combines religious ideals with political reality have always been a central issue in the discourse of Islamic political thought. It is inseparable from the historical reality that the relationship between religion and politics is often colored by tension and inequality (Syamsuddin, 1993).

Departing from the long history and dynamics, research on the correlation between State and Religion is considered very interesting and needed for functional-collective interests and to continue the intellectual dialogue. In this case, although many researchers have widely studied Raziq's ideas about the correlation between religion and state in the past, this article is different, the author tries to explain Raziq's perspective in detail along with the things that underlie the birth of this perspective, then conveys the concept of Islam, especially in the process and activities of interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith, while also closing by discussing the pros and cons of Ali Abdur Raziq's ideas and their context.

Research method

This article uses a descriptive analytical method based on data mining through the library study method/literature study from several (written) library sources (Prayogi, 2022). The writing is carried out through mining data from various reference sources that discuss various articles/writings related to various literature on Ali Abdur Raziq, especially those related to his work entitled *al-Islam wa Yshul al-Hukm*. These various literature sources are published in various public media so that they can be openly accessed through various places (such as libraries) and the internet. This article can elaborate on various related articles and writings. Likewise, this article is more of a synthesis of existing writings, to see their relationship to what can be done in the current context. The problems that are the object of research are presented first, then continued at the analysis stage, and then described in the results. The results of the analysis will be presented at the last stage in a conclusion.

Results and Discussion

Biography of Ali Abdur Raziq

Ali Abdur Raziq was born in 1888 AD in the village of Abu Jarj, Bani Mizar region, located in Al-Minya Province, about 80 kilometers from the province's center. He came from a prominent family that had significant influence in politics. His father, Hasan Abdur Raziq, was a prominent political figure and a respected governor. In addition, Hasan was also a close friend of the famous Islamic reformer, Muhammad Abduh, and had served as deputy chairman of the People's Party (*Hizb al-Ummah*) in 1907 AD (Rayyis, n.d.). Ali Abdur Raziq studied at al-Azhar University, which was the primary source in forming his scientific foundation. Most of his education took place at this educational institution. It was in line with the intellectual tradition in his family, which had a strong aspiration for their descendants to become prominent scholars who graduated from al-Azhar. This motivation is based on two main motives: spiritual devotion to draw closer to God and an effort to maintain the dignity and social status of the family in society.

The Raziq family lineage can be traced to his great-grandfather, Abdur Raziq, who served as a judge in Bahnasa around 1798 AD. Bahnasa is located in the Bahr Yusuf region and is known as an area with a vast area and close ties to various phases of classical history, starting from the era of the Pharaoh's kingdom, the Christian period, to the early days of Islam. Although this location is about 15 kilometers west of the village of Abu Jarj, where Ali Abdur Raziq was born, there is an important historical connection. His paternal grandfather, Ahmad Abdur Raziq, was the first member of the family to settle in Abu Jarj after being assigned as a judge in the area. Since then, the Raziq family has been widely known as the "judge's family" because of their involvement in the judicial field (Sa'fan, 2019).

Ali Abdur Raziq began his education at al-Azhar University at ten, accompanied by his brother, Musthafa Abdur Raziq. He studied law with Sheikh Abu Khatwah, a prominent scholar known as Muhammad Abduh's friend and a Jamaluddin al-Afghani student. Even though Raziq lived at the same time as Muhammad Abduh, he did not have the opportunity to receive much direct teaching from him because when Abduh died in 1905 AD, Raziq was still 17 years old. Apart from al-Azhar, he attended lectures at al-Jami'ah al-Misriyyah and deepened his study of the history of Arab civilization under the guidance of Professor Santillana. After completing his education at al-Azhar, he and his older brother continued their studies in Europe. Musthafa left for France in 1909 to continue his education at the Universities of the Sorbonne and Lyon. Mustafa was known to have a stronger intellectual inclination than an interest in politics. Because of his contributions, he gained a respected position in Egyptian society until he was finally appointed as the 34th Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar, serving from 1945 to 1947.

Meanwhile, Raziq continued his studies in England in 1912 AD at Oxford University (Iqbal & Nasution, 2010). While in England, Ali Abdur Raziq showed a high enthusiasm for learning, especially in political science, economics, and law. He had studied at Oxford University, but only for one year. Before completing his studies, he had to return to Egypt due to the outbreak of World War I. Meanwhile, his brother, Musthafa Abdur Raziq, served as Waqf's Minister. The position was then entrusted to Ali Abdur Raziq as Musthafa's replacement. In addition, Ali Abdur Raziq was also trusted to be a member of the Arabic

Correlation of State and Religion from Ali Abdur Raziq – Mohammad Nasih Al Hashas, Alfina Infitahul Mawaddah

Language Institute (*Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah*) and held various other important positions in science and government. He was also a judge at *the Sharia Court* in Egypt.

Based on Raziq's educational background, it can be understood that he was an expert in religion and politics. When Raziq served as a judge at the Egyptian *Sharia Court*, Raziq had conducted a study on the institution of the caliph. The most prominent results of Ali Abdur Raziq's thoughts were poured into his controversial work entitled *al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm*. The book reaped widespread polemics and was considered very provocative, triggering a strong reaction from scholars, especially in the al-Azhar University environment. The controversy caused by his work led to his dismissal from his position as a judge, after pressure from al-Azhar scholars. In an official trial held by the institution's senior scholars, Raziq was not only stripped of his cleric status, but his name was also permanently removed from the list of al-Azhar scholars. The trial concluded that the views he expressed in his book were, in principle, contrary to Islamic teachings. It is emphasized that these ideas should not come from a Muslim, especially from a figure who holds the title of ulama (Fajriyah, 2016). The ideas put forward by Ali Abdur Raziq opened up a broad discourse space in the political realm, not only in Egypt but also in the Arab and Islamic world more generally. His work is seen as a form of intellectual justification for the Turkish Revolution led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Through the book, Raziq attempts to provide legitimacy to the steps of the Turkish National Assembly in separating religious authority from political power, including supporting the secularization process marked by the elimination of the caliphate institution.

Context of Ali Abdur Raziq's Controversial Ideas

In March 1924, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk declared the abolition of the caliphate system in Turkey. Then he exiled the family of the last caliph who ruled the Ottoman Empire, Sultan Mehmed VI (Fahiduddin). His actions were due to the worsening situation and conditions of the Turkish state and the actions of the rulers, who were considered arbitrary, such as Sultan Abdul Hamid. At that time, the global situation was being covered by World War I, in which the Ottoman Empire suffered defeat. However, the defeat was not directly caused by the mistakes of Sultan Muhammad V, who replaced Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk emerged in these stressful conditions, leading the military movement to defend the homeland, aiming to turn things around and achieve victory from the defeat suffered. About thirteen months after Atatürk officially abolished the caliphate system in Turkey, Ali Abdur Raziq also appeared on the surface with his ideas supporting the abolition of the caliphate institution. His written work *al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm* firmly rejected the caliphate's existence as an entity with a religious basis in Islam (Rayyis, nd).

The Muslim world began to form in the late 19th century and continued to adapt to the dynamics of global political development and competition (Aydin, 2017). Entering the 20th century, the Muslim world faced two central ideas that were very influential, namely nationalism and internationalism. At the same time, many Muslim countries began to adopt the ideology of nationalism to build unity based on ethnic and religious identity. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire/Ottoman Dynasty, most of the previously Ottoman colonies were divided and placed under the mandate of Western countries, such as England and France (Rogan, 2015). These countries then tried to adopt the principle of nationalism, which eventually gave birth to independent countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Libya, etc.

Not to mention the Muslim countries that were former European colonies, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Pakistan, which won their independence and adopted the idea of nationalism, with the idea of nationalism, these Muslim countries can create heterogeneous expressions and attitudes of Islamic politics.

On the other hand, internationalism also emerged as a very influential idea. The urge to create cooperation between countries aims to avoid conflict and war, leading to various international forums and organizations. Since the end of the 19th century, the emergence of international forums has been clear evidence of a strong spirit of internationalism (Sluga, 2013). The peak of this development was achieved with the formation of the League of Nations (LBB) and the United Nations (UN). In the decades after, other international organizations emerged, such as NATO, the European Union, the IMF, UNESCO, the World Bank, the OIC, ASEAN, etc. Despite their challenges and limitations, Muslim countries cannot avoid the invitation to cooperate within the framework of internationalism.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, several independent Muslim countries attempted to gather Muslim representatives from various countries. This international forum emerged as a response to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the challenges facing the Muslim world. One of the Islamic organizations with significant international reach is the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which was later known as the "UN of the Muslim world." The OIC gained a reputation as a respected Islamic international organization in the contemporary era. This organization was founded in 1969 and was initiated by 24 countries and representatives from Indian Muslims and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) (Supratman, 2022). According to Turan Kayaoglu (2015), the primary purpose of establishing the OIC is to respond to various important issues, such as: contributing to conflict resolution and peacekeeping, protecting the rights of Muslim minority groups, improving the rights of women and children, providing humanitarian assistance, combating Islamophobia, encouraging trade and investment between OIC member countries, and promoting cultural and educational exchanges among member countries (Kayaoglu, 2015). Perhaps the birth of the OIC was also a response from the Muslim world to the destruction of the Islamic Caliphate. The change from the spirit of internationalism to the spirit of nationalism does not mean eliminating cooperation between Muslim countries in the world. One of the factors that encouraged the birth of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) was the burning of the Al-Aqsa Mosque on August 21, 1969. Until now, the OIC has 57 member countries, making it the most prominent international organization after the UN, regarding the number of members, population, and area covered.

At a time when the Muslim world was trying to re-explore Islamic teachings in all aspects of life, including the concept of government, Ali Abdur Raziq emerged, who rejected the concept of the caliphate as a government institution. Raziq proposed separating religious and government affairs (Pulungan, 2016). This idea emerged simultaneously as Musthafa Kemal Atatürk's movement to abolish the caliphate in 1924, a system that had survived for more than thirteen centuries. Raziq believes that countries that adhere to the caliphate system, which still adhere to the model of government implemented by the Prophet and his companions, cannot develop effectively in facing the challenges of the times. The most important role in Ali Abdur Raziq's life was when he put forward a new theory which he wrote in his book in 1925 with the title *Al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm* (Islam and the Principles of Government) which discussed

the study of the Caliphate and Government in Islam, where Raziq's thinking was more or less influenced by the understanding of the Western government system, namely secularism.

Ali Abdur Raziq's Thoughts

Ali Abdur Raziq's rejection of the concept of a caliphate was based on the argument that he did not find a single verse in the Koran that explicitly required the establishment of a caliphate. Likewise, Raziq did not find a hadith that ordered the establishment of the caliphate institution. Apart from that, he emphasized that no single cleric could present a valid argument regarding the obligation to establish a caliphate based on verses of the Koran. The provisions set by the Prophet, according to Raziq, only relate to religious matters such as prayer, zakat, fasting, and Hajj. In his view, the Caliphate is a product of history and a human institution, more accurately described as a political system rather than a divine one. Therefore, the caliphate is an office entirely related for politics, with no direct connection to religious goals or functions. Raziq believes that in social life, every human group needs a leader or ruler to regulate and protect their lives, regardless of their religious background or beliefs, whether it is Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Magi, or other religions. However, Allah SWT gives His people the freedom to form a government institution, without requiring its form to be a caliphate. The government institution can take various forms, such as constitutional, republican, dictatorial, or others, which are entirely human choices and are not limited to the form of a caliphate (Nurwahidin et al., 2021).

The message or teachings brought by the Messenger of Allah are a form of leadership Allah SWT gives to a prophet or apostle over his people and the power given to guide them. However, this leadership is different from the leadership of a king over his people. The leadership of a prophet, as seen in the leadership of the Prophet Moses and the Prophet Jesus, is not monarchical. Their leadership is more directed at carrying out the tasks and missions by Allah SWT, which is different from monarchical leadership, which tends to be authoritarian and oppressive to the people. The leader *of the message* carries out prophetic duties that focus on guidance and revelation from God. In contrast, many kingdom leaders rule in a way that emphasizes power and control over their people (Abdurrazik, 1925).

The treatises carried and delivered by the Prophet Muhammad often appeared to be tasks related to government, kingdom phenomena, and *dawlah* (state). However, all of these were tools used by the Prophet to strengthen his religion and preaching. Confirmation of this is not only found in the Qur'an, which confirms that *the message* brought by the Prophet was to call for political *dawlah*, but is also found in the sunnah and the law of reason, which suggests that the area of the Prophet's *message* to the believers cannot be separated from the religious dimension. In the context of the prophetic period, there is no connection between *dawlah*, government, political orientation, or the goals of the kings and umara with the prophetic task. The main task of the Prophet was to convey revelations and introduce religious teachings to his people, which were not focused on political affairs or worldly power (Abdurrazik, 1925).

Historically, Islamic political thought on Islam and government has been divided into three periods, from the beginning of the thought period until now, namely the classical period, the middle period, and the contemporary period. In the classical and middle periods, Islamic political thought produced several prominent intellectual figures such as al-Mawardi, Ibn Arabi, Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun, and Ibn Taimiyah. Meanwhile, in the context of contemporary

Islamic political thought, various Muslim intellectual figures emerged, including Muhammad Abduh, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Sayyid Qutub, Rasyid Ridha, Ali Abdur Raziq, Muhammad Husein Haikal, and al-Maududi. In Indonesia, several influential figures in the development of Islamic political thought include Nurcholish Madjid, Muhammad Natsir, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Amien Rais (Iqbal & Nasution, 2010).

The hadiths that are often used as the basis for the obligations of the caliphate include the following:

1. "Whoever dies without committing allegiance, then he dies like the death of Jahiliyah." (HR. Muslim No. 1851).
2. "Follow two friends after me, Abu Bakr and Umar RA." (HR. Tirmidhi, Ahmad, and Ibn Majah).
3. "The priests came from the Quraysh." (HR. Ahmad and Baihaqi).

Ali Abdur Raziq referred to several verses in the Qur'an as an argument that the Messenger's task did not involve political obligations or power, but only carried out *the message*. (Abdurraziq, 1925). In his view, the task of an Apostle is not related to the role of a guardian, administrator, ruler who enforces power, or absolute ruler. The Apostle was sent only to convey revelation (*balagh*), give good news and warnings (*mubasyir and nadzi*), and give reminders (*mudzakkir*), but not to hold power or regulate political affairs. Raziq quoted verses of the Qur'an that emphasized that the task of prophecy is more focused on conveying the message and not on aspects of worldly power. The following are the verses in question,

مَنْ يُطِيعِ الرَّسُولَ فَقَدْ أَطَاعَ اللَّهَ وَمَنْ تَوَلَّى فَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ عَلَيْهِمْ حَفِظًا

It means, "Whoever obeys the Messenger (Muhammad), has indeed obeyed Allah. Whoever turns away, then We have not sent you (Prophet Muhammad) as their guardian." (Surah An-Nisaa': 80).

وَكَذَّبَ بِهِ قَوْمُكَ وَهُوَ الْحَقُّ قُلْ لَسْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ بِوَكِيلٍ

Meaning, "Your people deny it (the punishment) even though it (the punishment) is true. Say (Prophet Muhammad), 'I am not in charge of you'." (Surah Al-An'aam: 66).

نَحْنُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يَقُولُونَ وَمَا أَنْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ بِجَبَّارٍ فَذَكِّرْ بِالْقُرْآنِ مَنْ يَخَافُ وَعِيدِ

It means, "We know best what they say and you (Prophet Muhammad) are not a compulsion upon them. So, warn by the Qur'an to anyone who fears My threat." (Surah Qaf: 45).

إِلَّا مَنْ تَوَلَّى وَكَفَرَ

Meaning, "However, those who turn away and disbelieve." (Surah Al-Ghaasiyah: 23).

فَإِنْ حَاجُّوكَ فَقُلْ أَسْلَمْتُ وَجْهِيَ لِلَّهِ وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِ وَقُلْ لِلَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ وَالْأَمِينَ عَاسَمْتُمْ فَإِنْ أَسْلَمُوا فَقَدِ اهْتَدَوْا
وَأَنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ الْبَلَاغُ وَاللَّهُ بَصِيرٌ بِالْعِبَادِ

Meaning, "If they argue with you (Prophet Muhammad), say, 'I submit to Allah and (so do) those who follow me.'" Say to those (Jews and Christians) who have been given the Book (Torah and Gospel) and to those who are Muslims, "Have you converted to Islam?" If they have converted to Islam, indeed they have received guidance. However, if they turn away, you must only convey. (Surah Ali 'Imran: 20).

وَبِالْحَقِّ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ وَبِالْحَقِّ نَزَلَ وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا مُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا

Meaning, "We sent it (the Qur'an) truthfully and it (the Qur'an) came down with (bringing) the truth. We sent you (Prophet Muhammad) only as a bearer of good news and a warner." (Surah Al-Isra': 105).

فَذَكِّرْ إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ مُذَكِّرٌ

It means, "So, give warning, for indeed you (Prophet Muhammad) are only a warner." (Surah Al-Ghaasiyah: 21).

Raziq's idea of Islamic secularization is supported by using two hadiths. The first is a hadith which explains that someone came to the Prophet because he wanted to convey something. After coming face to face with the Prophet, the man was shaking and very nervous. The Prophet said,

هَوْنٌ عَلَيْكَ فَإِنِّي لَسْتُ بِمَلِكٍ إِنَّمَا أَنَا ابْنُ امْرَأَةٍ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ كَانَتْ تَأْكُلُ الْقَدِيدَ

It means, "Calm yourself. I am not a king. I am the son of a woman from Quraysh who eats beef jerky." (HR. Bukhari) (Al-Bukhari, 1978). For Raziq, the Prophet Muhammad was not a king; the Prophet did not have political power, nor did he control it. Secondly, Raziq uses the famous hadith,

أَنْتُمْ أَعْلَمُ بِأَمْرِ دُنْيَاكُمْ

It means that "You are more knowledgeable about your worldly affairs" (Narrated by Muslim) (Misbah, 2020).

Raziq considers the hadith proof that power is part of worldly affairs. Religion does not regulate it, so humans have the right and authority to regulate the political or governmental system (Abdurraziq, 1925).

Raziq further explained that the character of the kingdom and the character of the Prophet's da'wah are different; he further explained that the kingdom requires absolute (unlimited) coercion and power (Abdurraziq, 1925). The caliphate system has nothing to do with Islamic teachings. Islam has never known such an institution, but accepts its form and existence. Islam does not order the use of the caliphate system, but it does not prohibit it either. These matters are left entirely to humans, as with other matters such as administrative governance, local government, military organizations, etc.

Ali Abdur Raziq emphasized that in Islamic teachings, there is no prohibition for Muslims to compete constructively with other nations in various fields such as science, politics, and defense. Therefore, Muslims have complete freedom to reject or not implement the caliphate system, which, according to them, is outdated and has become one of the causes of the stagnation of Muslim civilization. According to Raziq, Muslims can choose the form of government and foundation of the state they consider most appropriate, which can be determined through rational considerations and the experience of other nations in the world (Abdurrazik, 1925).

Furthermore, he believes that the hadiths often used as a basis for legitimizing the obligation of the caliphate or imamate do not explicitly support these institutions' existence as sharia provisions (Ridha, 1998). Raziq stated that if establishing a state was part of the prophetic mission, the Prophet Muhammad SAW should have appointed his successor. However, historical facts show that the Prophet did not provide explicit instructions regarding leadership after his death. According to Raziq, this resulted in Muslims being ambiguous until internal conflict arose. (Abdurrazik, 1925) . He also stated that no religious leadership was continued after the Prophet's death. The leadership that emerged later was a new form of civil and political authority, which had no basis in revelation or religious messages. In his view, post-Prophet leadership was a system of worldly or state power, not a continuation of the prophetic mission. He argued that Abu Bakr was the first figure in Islamic history to play the role of king, not as a successor to the religious message (Abdurrazik, 1925) .

Then Raziq rejected the proposition of *ijma'* as the basis of sharia law, based on the majority opinion, which stated that the strongest argument for the obligation of the Khilafah was *ijma'*. Departing from this rejection, Raziq attempted to prove the inadequacy of *Ijma* as the basis for the mandatory Khilafah. Based on his rejection of the concept of the caliphate as a religious obligation, Ali Abdur Raziq then tried to refute the legitimacy of *ijma* as a theological basis for determining the necessity of establishing the institution of the caliphate. He put forward a historical argument referring to the initiation of Yazid bin Muawiyah as caliph, which, according to him, took place in a situation full of pressure and intimidation. Raziq questioned the validity of this process as a form of *ijma'* for the people because, in his view, decisions taken under threat cannot be considered consensus. He quoted symbolically the statement of a protocol officer at the allegiance ceremony, who, pointing to his sword, said, "Whoever refuses allegiance, this is his reward." (Abdurrazik, 1925).

Furthermore, Raziq stated that the scholars who support the obligation of the caliphate have never succeeded in presenting explicit evidence from the Qur'an that can be used as a basis for this obligation. He emphasized that if there were clear evidence in the Qur'an regarding the obligation to establish a caliphate, scholars would not hesitate to put it forward. The fact that they were unable to do so, according to Raziq, is strong evidence that the obligation of the caliphate does not come from fundamental Islamic texts (Latief et al., 2022).

The Attitude of the Ulama

As a holy book, the Qur'an is not a legal narrative or a political book. Therefore, the Qur'an never speaks explicitly and in detail about the forms of society, civil or non-civil, and the form of government that must be applied by the people throughout history. However, the Qur'an hints at the fundamental foundations of building society and government that must be

used as a reference for the people. Furthermore, building a civilization based on knowledge through education and da'wah must become a tradition of Islamic intellectualism. Indeed, knowledge is the foundation of building an Islamic civilization. The sustainability of this intellectual or scholarly tradition cannot be separated from the contributions of scholars in the past in preserving and disseminating these sciences (Hamka et al., 2024).

In the context of comparing Islamic teachings and modern government systems, it can be concluded that the concept of government in Islam during the caliphate was closer to the republican model than the monarchy system. Although appointing the four early caliphs was carried out through deliberation or consultation with community leaders, this method does not fully reflect direct elections as known in today's parliamentary or representative systems. However, community involvement through bai'at after a consensus of community leaders shows the legitimacy of the people towards the leadership that was formed. Therefore, the leadership structure of the caliphs is more like a presidential model than a hereditary form of power in the kingdom system (Sjadzali, 2022).

In Islamic teachings, there is no explicit explanation of the concept of the state. Scholars also have different views on the results of their ijtiḥad regarding this issue. In state practice, the relationship between religion and state often shows dynamics in the form of tension or incompatibility. Several sociologists who study Islamic political theory have put forward three main approaches related to the model of the relationship between religion and state. First is the integralist approach, which states that religion and state are inseparable and mutually integrated entities. Second, the secularist approach emphasizes the absolute separation between religion and state affairs. Third, the symbiotic approach views the relationship between religion and state as mutually supportive and not mutually dominating. In this context, Ali Abdur Raziq can be classified as a thinker who adheres to the secularist paradigm because his views reject the institutional ties between religion and government. (Iqbal & Nasution, 2010)

This last paradigm rejects the view that Islam is a comprehensive state system that fully regulates government affairs. However, this paradigm also opposes the view that simplifies Islam as a religion in the Western sense, which only regulates the relationship between individuals and God. In Islamic teachings, no provisions explicitly formulate a system of government, but a set of ethical values underlie the governance of state life. According to this paradigm, religion and state have a symbiotic relationship that requires each other and is mutually beneficial. Religion needs the state to be able to develop, while the state needs religion to ensure the sustainability of moral and ethical values in society. This view is supported by several classical Sunni thinkers, such as al-Asy'ari, al-Baqilani, al-Mawardi, al-Juwaini, al-Ghazali, and others (Pulungan, 2016).

Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm, written by Ali Abdur Raziq, has raised pros and cons among the ulama. Including those who support his thoughts, namely Bahauddin, Husain Haikal, Mahmud Pasha, and other ulama. Taking from various references and literature, it can be concluded that the ulama who are pro-Raziq have the following ideas:

1. They stated that Ali Abdur Raziq was a national hero because he was brave and persistent in opposing the British, who wanted to establish an Islamic caliphate in Egypt.
2. They stated that Ali Abdur Raziq was a hero of independence and a fighter for the constitution and democracy. This was because he was persistent in opposing King Fuad,

who was at the peak of his power then and was ambitious to re-establish the Islamic caliphate in Egypt after Musthafa Kemal Atatürk had destroyed it in Turkey.

3. Ali Abdur Raziq is seen as a *mujtahid imam*, a brilliant thinker, and a *mujaddid* (reformer) who was brave and consistent in voicing his controversial views. He was known for his courage in challenging the authority of al-Azhar clerics through his radical reform ideas. His thoughts have triggered a wave of significant intellectual change and have had a vast influence, reaching various Muslim countries in various parts of the world.

Several prominent scholars who firmly reject Ali Abdur Raziq's controversial thoughts include Muhammad Syakir, Rasyid Ridha, Yusuf al-Dajwa, Buhait, and others. Widespread rejection from the ulama towards Raziq's work prompted legal action against him. He was then brought before the court on several charges, including:

1. Assessing that Islamic law is purely spiritual, without any relevance to worldly legal aspects.
2. Considering that the jihad carried out by the Prophet Muhammad SAW was more of an act to maintain power rather than a religious mission or universal spread of da'wah.
3. Stating that the government system during the Medina era was filled with unclear and doubtful information, thus causing confusion among Muslims after the death of the Prophet.
4. The Prophet Muhammad's main task was limited to conveying revelation or sharia, without any connection to government affairs or the implementation of state policy.
5. Ali Abdur Raziq refused and denied *his friends' agreement* regarding the obligation of the caliphate system (Hidayat, 2003).

Meccan verses are the basis for his rejection of the concept of the caliphate. In fact, according to them, the formation of the Islamic state did not occur in the Mecca phase but only took place after the migration to Medina. Therefore, they consider the use of Meccan verses, which were revealed when Muslims were still weak and under pressure from polytheists, to be irrelevant to discussing the issue of statehood. These opponents emphasize that these verses should be interpreted according to their historical context (*asbāb an-nuzūl*), considering the socio-religious situation and conditions when the verses were revealed. Thus, they consider Raziq's interpretation, which ignores the context in which the verses were revealed, a significant error (Rayyis, n.d.).

Opponents of Ali Abdur Raziq's thinking also criticized Raziq's use of the hadith as supporting evidence for his rejection of the Prophet's political authority. They considered that the hadith used was not intended to deny the Prophet's political role, but rather to explain that the Prophet did not have authoritarian or cruel characteristics as kings generally do. When a friend came to the Prophet with fear, this was due to his perception of a leader figure as a frightening power. So, the Prophet calmed him down by showing that his leadership was not repressive. Meanwhile, the hadith "*Antum a'lamu bi syu'ūni dunyākum*," which Raziq used as the basis for legitimizing the separation of religion from worldly affairs (as developed in the idea of secularism), is also considered irrelevant. This is because the context of the hadith relates to technical issues in agricultural cultivation, especially in the practice of crossing date palms, and does not consider political authority or the system of government. Therefore, this hadith is considered inappropriate if used as an argumentative basis to conclude that the

Prophet did not have authority in government affairs (Mukhtar, 2017). This hadith intends to give humans the right to regulate technical affairs on matters not found in the text (*nash*) of the Qur'an and as-Sunnah. The power issue in Islam is not one of the worldly matters referred to in the hadith. Because matters of power have been regulated by *the texts* of the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and *the Ijma'* Friends, it is not a problem that there are no *texts*, as Raziq argues.

It is in line with Hatta's opinion (Hatta, 2023), "In the interpretation of the Qur'an, it is essential to know the mass function. Parables are used in the Qur'an as a compliment, for example, praise for the steadfastness and loyalty of their friends and followers to Allah and the Messenger. Masal is also used to denote insults. For example, the Qur'an parable to those who have been sent down the holy book and religion, they accept it but reject the truth in it."

The group that strongly opposes Ali Abdur Raziq's ideas even considers the work to have hazardous potential. Normatively, they accuse the work of rejecting the existence of the Caliphate, which, according to them, is an integral part of Islamic teachings that have been agreed upon by all trusted mujtahid imams (Habib, 2011). From an ideological and political perspective, Raziq's thoughts are also seen as very detrimental because they are considered to use religious arguments as a tool to justify and strengthen the secularism ideology, which is considered heretical. According to them, this secularism has been forcibly implemented by non-Muslim colonizers against Muslims through repressive means (Jawi, 2004).

Some liberal groups have made Ali Abdur Raziq a respected figure and used his thoughts as a basis. Luthfi Assyaukanie, one of the important figures in the Liberal Islam Network (JIL), gave high praise to Raziq, considering him the central figure who laid the theological foundations of a modern state that succeeded in saving Islam from bad political experiences throughout history (Assyaukanie, 2002). Not only that, several secular politicians also admire Raziq and appreciate his ideas. One example is the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno. Apart from being an admirer of Musthafa Kemal Atatürk, Sukarno was also known as a loyal follower of Raziq's thoughts. In *Pandji Islam magazine* No. 20, which was published on May 20, 1940, Sukarno quoted Raziq's views, which tried to show that the task of the Prophet Muhammad saw. Solely to uphold religion, without any intention of establishing a government or state (Falah, 2003).

The Impact of Ali Abdur Raziq's Thoughts

The primary substance of the book *Al-Islam wa Ushul Al-Hukm* by Ali Abdur Raziq is the idea of secularization in Islam. Raziq seeks to change the view of the pure religion of Islam by making it a religion with a secular outlook, like Christianity, which does not teach a system of government. This thought can be understood through Raziq's statement, which stated, "The Prophet Muhammad was a messenger whose sole duty was to preach religion; his duties did not include efforts to establish a kingdom or teach the formation of a state." (Abdurrazik, 1925). Ali Abdur Raziq's idea of secularizing Islam is certainly not without arguments; almost all of his ideas are based on several premises (*dalil*). However, it should be noted that this idea is very controversial, so two large camps were born, namely the pro-Raziq camp and the pro-Raziq camp and the anti-Raziq camp. Those who are against it argue that the argument presented by Raziq is not an argument with the true meaning of the word, but rather the result of his subjective interpretation as a legitimization of Western assumptions or pre-conceptions

that already existed in his mind, namely the idea of secularism, in the form of its denial of the Caliphate as part of Islamic teachings.

Ali Abdur Raziq has a significant role in encouraging the spirit of nationalism in the Islamic world and triggering critical thinking among Muslims who previously did not explore or criticize the problems and challenges faced by the Ummah. However, although Raziq expressed his views on the relationship between Islam and the state, no detailed explanation was found regarding the form or system of government in Islam according to Ali Abdur Raziq's views. He has conveyed in principle his thoughts and ideas regarding the relationship between religion and the state, along with issues that he disagrees with. In this way, Raziq's genuine opinion can be indirectly known. All Islamic sects agree that the social organizations formed by the Prophet Muhammad saw were everything. The Prophet Muhammad SAW was a messenger of Allah who had authority and a prophetic basis and was the head of state and leader of the people (Mulia, 2011).

Although the majority opinion of scholars and the *ijma* of scholars state that the Islamic caliphate government system is part of the teachings of Islam that must be implemented, the facts show that the modern Islamic caliphate cannot prove its existence. The collapse of the Ottoman Dynasty/Ottoman Empire in Turkey symbolizes the end of the long history of the caliphate government system in the Islamic world.

Conclusion

In the dynamics of contemporary Islamic political thought, especially related to the study of the relationship between religion and state, three primary schools of thought can be found: secularist, traditionalist, and reformist. Ali Abdur Raziq's thoughts can be categorized based on this classification as secularist thoughts. Raziq's idea of Islamic secularization did not arise suddenly. Without reason, some of the reasons behind the emergence of Raziq's controversial thoughts include the collapse of the Ottoman Empire so that many Islamic countries wanted to establish a new Islamic caliphate, changes in the geopolitical constellation of Islam from Internationalism to Nationalism and the decline of the Islamic world under the Islamic caliphate even to a very rotten level and also other reasons such as Raziq's educational background, etc. Although Ali Abdur Raziq emphasized that in order to achieve progress, Muslims should abandon the institution of the caliphate, which is considered irrelevant to the needs of the modern era, and proposed the need for secularization and total imitation of Western civilization, he never denied that Islamic teachings contain important moral and ethical principles. Raziq acknowledged that Islam teaches values such as justice, equality, brotherhood, and tolerance. Therefore, he argued that these moral and ethical principles should be applied in the life of the nation and state. A system that can guarantee equality, justice, tolerance, and brotherhood is based on Islamic teachings, although without requiring a particular form or pattern of government.

References

- Abdurraziq, A. (1925). *Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm*. Dar Maktabah al-Hayah.
- Al-Bukhari, M. (1978). *Sahih al-Bukhari*.
- Assyaukanie, L. (2002). *Wajah Islam Liberal di Indonesia*. Jaringan Islam Liberal.
- Aydin, C. (2017). *The Idea of Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History*. Harvard

Correlation of State and Religion from Ali Abdur Raziq – Mohammad Nasih Al Hashas, Alfina Infitahul Mawaddah

University Press.

- Fajriyah, L. (2016). Analisis Pemikiran Ali Abdurraziq tentang Sekularisme dan Pemerintahan. In *Skripsi*. UIN Wali Songo.
- Falah, M. (2003). Islam ala Soekarno: Jejak Langkah Pemikiran Islam Liberal Indonesia. *Kreasi Wacana*.
- Habib, A. (2011). *Sa'adi, Ensiklopedi Ijmak, terj. Sahal Mahfudz dan Mustafa Bisri*. Pustaka Firdaus.
- Hamka, M., Agusman, & Nur, M. A. (2024). Building Civilization in the Era of Globalization Based on Knowledge Through Education and Dakwah. *International Journal of Islamic Thought and Humanities*, 3(1), 36–48.
- Hatta, M. (2023). Abdullah Saeed's Contextual Restructures of The Qur'an. *International Journal of Islamic Thought and Humanities*, 2(1), 47–55.
<https://doi.org/10.54298/ijith.v2i1.56>
- Hidayat, A. R. (2003). Islam dan Negara Pemikiran Ali Abd. Ar-Raziq. *Mimbar: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan*, 19(2), 159–168.
<https://www.neliti.com/publications/155760/islam-dan-negara-pemikiran-ali-abd-ar-raziq>
- Imarah, M. (1999). *Fundamentalisme Dalam Islam*. Gema Insani.
- Iqbal, M., & Nasution, A. H. (2010). *Pemikiran Politik Islam dari Masa Klasik hingga Indonesia kontemporer*. Kencana Pranada.
- Jawi, M. Al. (2004). Akibat Hancurnya Khilafah. *Xa.Yimg.Com*.
<http://xa.yimg.com/kq/groups/22999433/492410318/name/Malapetaka+hancurnya+Khilafah.pdf>
- Kayaoglu, T. (2015). *The Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Politics, Problems and Potential*. Routledge.
- Latief, M., Zarkasyi, A. F., & Kusuma, A. R. (2022). Fikri : Jurnal Kajian Agama, Sosial dan Budaya. *Fikri : Jurnal Kajian Agama, Sosial Dan Budaya*, 7(2), 146–169.
- Misbah, M. (2020). *Studi Kitab Hadis: Dari Muwaththa' Imam Malik Hingga Mustadrak Al Hakim*. Ahlimedia Book.
- Mukhtar, M. (2017). Ali Hasjmy dan Konsep Kekuasaan dalam Islam. *Al-Ijtimai: International Journal of Government and Social Science*.
- Mulia, M. (2011). Sejarah Sosial Dan Pemikiran Politik Ali Abdul Raziq. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 10(2), 117–136.
- Mustafa, M. (2022). Al Mawardi's Thoughts on the Welfare State in Indonesia's 1998-2019 Reform Era. *International Journal of Islamic Thought and Humanities*, 1(1), 66–93.
<https://doi.org/10.54298/ijith.v1i1.39>
- Nurwahidin, N., Miqdad, M., & Djunaid, J. (2021). Hubungan Islam dan Negara Dalam Perspektif Pemikiran Sekuler Ali Abdurraziq. *Journal of Middle East and Islamic Studies*, 8(2). <https://doi.org/10.7454/meis.v8i2.140>
- Prayogi, A. (2022). Ruang Lingkup Filsafat Sejarah dalam Kajian Sejarah. *SINDANG: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Kajian Sejarah*, 4(1), 1–10.
<https://doi.org/10.31540/sindang.v4i1.1252>
- Pulungan, J. S. (2016). *Fiqh Siyasa: Ajaran, Sejarah, dan Pemikiran*.
- Rayyis, M. D.-D. (n.d.). *Islam Dan Khilafah: Kritik Terhadap Buku 'khilafah Dan*

- Pemerintahan Dalam Islam*, 'Ali Abdul Raziq. Penerbit Pustaka.
- Ridha, R. (1998). *Al-Khilâfah wa Al-Imâmah Al-Uzhma*. Zahra Lil Al-Ilam Al-Arabi.
- Rogan, E. (2015). *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*. Basic Books.
- Sa'fan, K. (2019). *Kontroversi Khilafah Negara Islam: Tinjauan Kritis atas Pemikiran Ali Abdurraziq*. Erlangga.
- Sjadzali, M. (2022). *Islam dan Tata Negara*.
- Sluga, G. (2013). *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Supratman, F. R. (2022). Internasionalisme Dalam Politik Islam Abad Ke-20. *Tsaqofah Dan Tarikh: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Sejarah Islam*, 7(2), 189.
<https://doi.org/10.29300/ttjksi.v7i2.8060>
- Syamsuddin, D. (1993). Usaha Pencarian Konsep Negara dalam Sejarah Politik Islam. *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an*. *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an*, 6(2), 4–5.