

Synonym of Democracy in the Quran and the Debate of its Interpretation

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Abstract

This study formulates and aims to examine how the concept of democracy in Islam?; how is the synonym of the word democracy in the Qur'an and the debate of its interpretation? The research in this article is a qualitative descriptive literature study using the Hans-Georg Gadamer analysis approach, where text or discourse is influenced by bildung, census communis, universal considerations, and the subjective tastes of readers or interpreters. The results of this study are (1) democracy in Islam is related to the principle of deliberation for consensus which contains the values of justice, equal rights, trust, freedom, responsibility, tolerance and moderation. Then (2) the word shura becomes synonymous with the word democracy in the Qur'an because it is considered to have values that are in harmony, and not contradictory. The word shura in one perspective is considered not synonymous with democracy, but only means deliberation. This view is influenced by the desire to implement an Islamic caliphate system or an Islamic state, so that for them they consider democracy to be a kufr system. In another perspective, the word shura is synonymous with democracy, because it considers democratic values to be contained in the principle of deliberation. This interpretation is influenced by socio-historical interpreters who are moderate, tolerant, and wise in determining a meaning.

Keywords: Democracy; Shu>Ra>; Justice; Principle; Interpreter.

Abstrak

Kajian ini merumuskan dan bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana konsep demokrasi dalam Islam?; bagaimana sinonim kata demokrasi dalam Al-Qur'an dan perdebatan penafsirannya? Penelitian dalam artikel ini adalah penelitian kepustakaan deskriptif kualitatif dengan pendekatan analisis Hans-Georg Gadamer, dimana teks atau wacana dipengaruhi oleh bildung, sensus communis, pertimbangan universal, dan selera subjektif pembaca atau penafsir. Hasil penelitian ini adalah (1) demokrasi dalam Islam terkait dengan prinsip musyawarah untuk mufakat yang mengandung nilai-nilai al-'ada>lah (asas keadilan), al-musa>wa> (persamaan hak), al-ama>nah (kepercayaan), al-h}urriyah (kebebasan), al-mas'uliyah (tanggungjawab), al-tasa>muh (toleran) dan al-tawassut} (moderat). Kemudian (2) kata syura menjadi sinonim dengan kata demokrasi dalam al-Qur'an karena dianggap memiliki nilai-nilai yang selaras, dan tidak bertentangan. Kata syura dalam satu perspektif dianggap tidak identik dengan demokrasi, tetapi hanya berarti musyawarah. Pandangan ini dipengaruhi oleh keinginan untuk menerapkan sistem khilafah Islam atau negara Islam, sehingga bagi mereka menganggap demokrasi adalah sistem kufur. Dalam perspektif lain, bahwa kata syura identik dengan demokrasi, karena menganggap nilai-nilai demokrasi terkandung dalam prinsip musyawarah. Penafsiran ini dipengaruhi oleh sosio historis penafsir yang moderat, toleran, dan arif dalam menentukan suatu makna.

Kata Kunci: Demokrasi; Shu>Ra>; Keadilan; Prinsip; Penafsir.

A. INTRODUCTION

Humans are thinking beings who serve as the giver of meaning from a symbol that appears on the surface. The process of interpreting a symbolic reality is contained in the text, discourse is a reflection of communication seeking understanding that is relative and full of perspective. This means that every meaning gives rise to relativism and perspectivism

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because it is influenced by a historical reality of the interpreter or giver of meaning. This is an inevitable necessity, therefore subjectivity or differences in perspective should be translated in the form of divine anugera which must be addressed wisely.

Dualism of meaning, or multi-meaning in every object is inevitable, therefore absolute truth is difficult to find unless indeed in symbols contained in the certainty of meaning, the problem is that texts that are already in symbolic space mean free to be interpreted and translated. The objectivity of meaning will be tested by the proximity of the text to the context, or the reality of the reading as it relates to norms and values. Therefore, of course, the criterion and quality of the interpreter affect the quality of meaning. This includes debates on democratic issues that are reviewed in various perspectives, especially in Islam.

Such is the case with the "word democracy," in Islamic teachings. Does it exist or not? The term "democracy" in Islam is generally represented by the word "*shu>ra>*" in the Qur'an. Therefore, the word "*shu>ra>*" in this case is a symbol that appears in the public sphere that has freed itself from the reality of formation and author. The meaning of the word "*shu>ra>*" its meaning is given by its interpreters (readers) who make attributes with a series of thoughts that cannot be separated from the socio-historical, psychological, and background of the author and reader. It is even impressed that between the two (author and reader) there is a gap or distance that causes the meaning to seem biased, and relative (tidak absolut), where readers are given free space to interpret and interpret symbols in public space.

Roland Barthes, a poststructural figure, illustrates the process of meaning based on three components, namely the interpreter (*reader*) - the text (*object*) and the meaning (*interpretation*). For Barthes, interpreters are free to process data based on a system of relationships and conventions to find relevant meanings. Therefore, interpretation is always influenced by logic, myth, belief, and experience that turns into historical creativity (not history in writing texts). This has indirectly severed the relationship of meaning, between the text (symbol / discourse) and the author (the *death of the author*), autonomous from the author.¹ This means that the meaning of a text (symbol / discourse) is free from the author's order of meaning, therefore the reader or interpreter automatically gets the authority to interpret according to the quality, and background that influences it.

The concept of the death of author Roland Barthes was opposed by Hans-Georg Gadamer,² Because for him the death of the subject (author) has made all discourses (texts / symbols) no master (free to interpret and stand independent from the author).³ For him,

¹ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text and Translated by Stephen Heath* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142.

² Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth And Method*, (REL) Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Mar, (New York: Sheed & Ward Ltd and the Continuum Publishing Group, 2006), 194-200.

³ In other words, no one has the authority and claims to be the author. In addition to dispelling away the author's authority from the text, neo-positivists also reject preconceived notions and traditions, that is, the knowledge one possesses when interpreting a text. See Paul Regan, "Hans-Georg Gadamer's Philosophical Hermeneutics: Concepts Of Reading, Understanding And Interpretation," *META: Research In Hermeneutics, Phenomenology, And Practical Philosophy* (Vol. IV, No. 2 / December 2012), 286-303; lihat juga Robin McCormack, "Gadamer and ALL: A

knowledge of information must be directed to achieve an objective and value-free truth. The emphasis on objectivity gets subjectivity aside. Therefore, humans as the subject of interpretation or subject of author in this case must be put forward in understanding texts and historical contexts (culture, tradition, religion, text, literature and art).⁴ This means that the process of understanding and interpretation understood by Gadamer is to invite the reader or interpreter to dialectic with texts and phenomena (readers and oengara). So that every reader or interpreter cannot ignore the principle (a) *bildung* or the formation of a way of thinking, that is, the entire experience of the reader of a text comes into play. Thus, objects (texts) interpreted by several interpreters will have different meanings or will not be the same, because of different backgrounds, cultures, *world views*, *knowledge*, insights, and levels of education. Then, (b) *census communis* or good practical considerations or views underlying the community, refer to the social or social aspects that underlie patterns of human attitudes and behavior. Furthermore, (c) consideration is to classify specific things on the basis of the view of the universal and relate to what should be done. Finally, (d) taste or taste is a subjective attitude related to various tastes or a balance between the five senses instinct and intellectual freedom.⁵

Therefore, based on the study of theory, what text is reviewed by Barthes and Gadamer is important to consider because it involves relativism of meaning among readers or interpreters. Therefore, it is natural that democracy is exemplified by the word "*shu>ra>*" in the Qur'an to cause controversial disagreements, whether democracy is in accordance with the teachings of Islam or even contrary to the teachings of Islam? Instead of differences in interpretation, it gives birth to attitudes that actually harm Muslims themselves because they are unable to respond to differences of opinion. Differences are no longer a mercy but actually bring mafsadat due to immaturity in speaking, behaving and expressing opinions.

Therefore, the research formulates several questions: (1) what is the concept of democracy in Islam?; What is the synonym of the word democracy in the Qur'an and how is the interpretation debated? Therefore, the purpose of writing this article is (1) to explain the concept of democracy in Islam; and (2) explain the equivalent of the word democracy in the Qur'an and debate its interpretation.

Hermeneutic Understanding of Academic Language and Learning," *Journal of Academic Language & Learning* (Vol. 8, No. 3, 2014), 49-60.

⁴ Gadamer states: "If we seek to understand historical phenomena from historical distances that are characteristic of hermeneutical situations, we have been and always have resulted from history." (*If we are trying to understand a historical phenomenon from the historical distance which is characteristic of our hermeneutic situation, we are always already affected by history*). Quoted Dermot Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology* (London: Routledge, 2000), 279.

⁵ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 8-31. See also Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Kebenaran dan Metode: Pengantar Filsafat Hermeneutika*, terj. Ahmad Sahidah (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004), 10-48. Lihat juga E. Sumaryono, *Hermeneutik: Sebuah Metode Filsafat* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2002), 71-77 dan 84.

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B. LITERATURE REVIEW

In Islam, it is written in Qs. Al-Hujarat:13 about the concept of God's creation related to different types of men and women of different backgrounds, ethnicities, religions, races, languages, and so on to make humans respect each other, know each other, love each other and create each other's demaian. Where in substance they (humans) are one, that is, both creatures of God and come from God, will surely return to Him. The value of the teachings inspired the emergence of the concept of "Bhineka Tunggal Ika," which became the motto of the Indonesian nation that "the difference in substance is one and becomes a national identity." Therefore, Indonesia as a nation with various ethnicities, races, languages, religions, nations, and beliefs⁶ Its citizens are required to have a tolerant, moderate attitude to respect each other. So that Indonesia becomes a plural country, although in practice pluralism is a factor in the birth of counter-views, social dynamics, ideas, attitudes and perspectives in Indonesian society.⁷

Moreover, Indonesia as a follower of a country with a democratic system⁸ (in this case Pancasila democracy) frees its citizens to inspire, and express opinions, then of course an attitude of respect for differences becomes a must as part of the existence of Divine Mercy which must be maintained dynamic and continuous, so as to maintain local identity and particular beliefs of the nation's culture in the form of social, political, cultural, and economic integration at the local, national and global levels. That is, the view of Indonesian democracy must be directed to an appreciation of attitudes on human rights, which contribute to determining political and legal policies, so as to encourage the realization of *egalite* (equality), equality (justice), *liberty* (freedom), *human of rights* (human rights), *tasa > muh* (tolerant), *tawassut* { moderate) and so on.⁹

This attitude is expected to be able to ignite ethnocentrism that leads to conflict, bad thinking (*su'u z}an*) and culture that reflects cultural *blindness* to other entities and identities, stereothinism by generalizing or simplifying reality that leads to prejudice may be able to degrade and fire other groups or entities. Instead of the feeling of minority discrimination being a difficult problem to solve, the exclusivity of society becomes dominant, not to mention the arrogance of justification in the name of faith becomes an inhibiting factor in the creation of democracy in the midst of multicultural life. Therefore, democracy should be

⁶Wienata Sairin, *Kerukunan Umat Beragama Pilar Utama Kerukunan Berbangsa* (Jakarta: PT. BPK Gunung Mulia, 2006), 14.

⁷Aqil Siraj assumes that bhinke tunggal ika is very relevant to the values and teachings of a religion, in this case Islam, as well as to religions afterwards. For him, although impressed by Hinduism or Buddhism, unity in unity is in accordance with the concept of Islam as Qs. Al-Hujara>t:13"

⁸ The word "Democracy" comes from the Greek δημοκρατία (d ēmokratía) which consists of the δwords ἦμος (*dēmos*) "people" and κράτος (*kratos*) "power" or "power" in the 5th century BC to refer to the political system of a State or city. Itis the antonym of ἀριστοκρατία (*aristocratie*) "power of the elite". See definition of democracy in http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demokrasi#cite_ref-1 Retrieved January 1, 2015 at 15.00 WIB

⁹ Nur Syam gave an example that*egalite* (equality), *equality* (justice), *liberty* (freedom), *human rights* (human rights), *tasamuh* (tolerance), and *tawassut* (moderate) have been applied by the Prophet Muhammad in the charter of Medina, respecting differences is sunnatullah. See Nur Syam, *Tantangan Multikulturalisme Indonesia dari Radikalisme Menuju Kebangsaan* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2009), 60-64.

interpreted as God's mercy in the midst of differences that can give birth to a universal view for the common good and benefit as *ijtihad rahmat* based on the principles of justice (*al-'ada>lah*) and freedom (*al-h}urriyah*).

Therefore, judging from the principles contained in democracy, such as *al-shu>ra>* (*musyarah*), *al-'ada>lah* (principle of justice), *al-musa>wa>* (equal rights), *al-ama>no* (belief), *al-h}urriyah* (freedom) and *al-mas'uliyah* (responsibility) encourage the Indonesian people to have an attitude of *al-tasa>muh* (tolerance) and *al-tawassut}* (moderate). *Shu>ra>* or deliberation is part of the matter of consideration and shared responsibility in making decisions in respect of equal rights. Therefore, deliberation is considered to contain the principles mentioned above.

Al-Musa>wah (equal rights) before the law is the basis of democracy to avoid acts of discrimination and social, political, and majority hegemony. In other words, all identities have equal rights and opportunities to be served or served. Then, the concept of *al-h}urriyah* (freedom) becomes important in expressing opinions, of course based on norms and ethics. This is done as government control and anticipates the running of the government system that is out of responsibility. Obviously, *al-ama>no* (trust) is given by the people as a form of accountability (*al-mas'u>liyah*) of the government before the people and God.

C. METHOD

The methodology in this study is qualitative which seeks to describe the discourse of texts that develop from the existence of the concept of democracy and its equivalent in the Qur'an. Therefore, library-based research with a theoretical analysis approach reviewed by Hans-Georg Gadamer, that the text or discourse is influenced by the *bildung* or formation of the way of thought or experience of historical situations that affect it; (2) *communis census* or practical considerations arising from a community or association; (3) consideration of classifying on the basis of universality; and (4) the *teste* or taste, subjective attitude of the reader or interpreter.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. The Concept of Democracy in Islam

In Islam, it is written in Qs. Al-Hujarat:13 about the concept of God's creation related to different types of men and women of different backgrounds, ethnicities, religions, races, languages, and so on to make humans respect each other, know each other, love each other and create each other's *demaian*. Where in substance they (humans) are one, that is, both creatures of God and come from God, will surely return to Him. The value of the teachings inspired the emergence of the concept of "Bhineka Tunggal Ika," which became the motto of the Indonesian nation that "the difference in substance is one and becomes a national identity." Therefore, Indonesia as a nation with various ethnicities, races, languages, religions, nations, and beliefs¹⁰ Its citizens are required to have a tolerant, moderate attitude to respect each other. So that Indonesia becomes a plural country, although in practice

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¹¹ Aqil Siraj berasumsi bahwa bhinke tunggal ika sangat relevan dengan nilai dan ajaran agama, dalam hal ini Islam, begitu juga dengan agama-agama sesudahnya. Baginya, walaupun terkesen Hinduisme atau Budhaisme, bhineka tunggal ika sesuai dengan konsep Islam sebagaimana Qs. Al-Hujara>t:13 “

¹² The word "Democracy" comes from the Greek δημοκρατία (*dēmokratía*) which consists of the δwords ἦμος (*dēmos*) "people" and κράτος (*kratos*) "power" or "power" in the 5th century BC to refer to the political system of a State or city. Itis the antonym of ἀριστοκρατία (*aristocratie*) "power of the elite". See definition of democracy in http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demokrasi#cite_ref-1 Retrieved January 1, 2015 at 15:00 WIB

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This is done as government control and anticipates the running of the government system that is out of responsibility. Obviously, al-ama>no (trust) is given by the people as a form of accountability (*al-mas'u>liyah*) of the government before the people and God.

2. Interpreting the word *shu>ra* as a synonym of the word Democracy and its Debate.

The term "democracy" in the Qur'an is related to the word "*shu>ra*" or a word that has the meaning of deliberation.¹⁴ Words with the meaning of deliberation are at least found in Qs. Al-Baqarah: 233, al-Imran: 159, and al-Shu>ra>: 38 with asbabun nuzul and different contexts but still in fram (frame) meanings that have similarities or similarities. From here, the word al-shu>ra> is predicted as an idiomatic of the word democracy, although in its definition democracy is not just deliberation but a principle that upholds freedom and justice.

Consider the following verse.

﴿ فَإِنْ أَرَادَا فِصَالًا عَنْ تَرَاضٍ مِّنْهُمَا وَتَشَاوُرٍ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِمَا ﴾

Meaning: *If both wish to wean (before two years) with their willingness and deliberation, then there is no sin against both.* (Qs. al-Baqarah:233)

﴿ فِيمَا رَحِمَهُ مِنَ اللَّهِ لِنْتَ لَهُمْ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًا غَلِيظَ الْقَلْبِ لَأَنَّضُوا مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ ﴾

Meaning: *Then it is by the grace of Allah that you are meek toward them. If you are being tough and rude, of course they will distance themselves from your surroundings. Therefore forgive them, ask forgiveness for them, and consult with them in that matter. Then when you have made up your mind, then put your trust in God. Indeed, God loves those who trust Him.*¹⁵ (Qs. al-Imran: 159).

﴿ وَالَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لِرَبِّهِمْ وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَمْرُهُمْ شُورَى بَيْنَهُمْ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنفِقُونَ ﴾

That is to say: and (for) those who accept (obey) the call of their Lord and establish prayer, while their business is (decided) by deliberation between them; and they spend a portion of the sustenance that We give them. (Qs. As-Shura:38).

The word "*shu>ra*" from the verses mentioned above is considered the equivalent or synonym of the term democracy. Although in modern Arabic, the word democracy has been written with the word "*al di>muqra>t{iyyah*." Starting from the word "*shu>ra*" there is a difference of opinion among Muslim thinkers who legitimize whether democracy exists in the view of Islam, in this case the Qur'an. Therefore there is a dualism of meaning or difference of opinion, both those who disagree and those who agree.

The first opinion is the view that *shu>ra* cannot be equated with democracy, because they consider the word *shu>ra* as these verses cannot be compared with democracy. *Shu>ra* is deliberation, there is no connotative reason whatsoever to interpret the word *shu>ra* with any other meaning. The command of deliberation is not a democratic commandment, because the reason is, democracy is a system of government adopted from the West, not a system adopted from Islamic teachings, as well as the concept of *Khilafah al-Islamiyah*. To interpret *shu>ra* with democracy is a mistake and a big mistake, because democracy is a human invention that is principled on the solution of the majority vote that

¹⁴ The word *musyawarah* means *shurtu al-'asl* (removing honey from a beehive). See Ibn Manz}your, *Lisa>n al-'Arab* (Bairut: Da>r Ih}ya> al-Turath al-'Arab, 1998), 379-81, Jilid II.

¹⁵ That is: war affairs and other worldly matters, such as political, economic, social affairs and others.

can deprive minorities of their rights. For them that the practice of ideas that arise from man, not the holy ideas clearly embodied in the Qur'an is a forced taking away the rights of God as the owner of everything, then it is appropriate or should be the basis of the footing not democracy but the Qur'an and al-Hadith.¹⁶

Another argument for the rejection of *shu>ra>* is the comparison of the word democracy is the assumption that the concept of democracy is contrary to the sovereignty of the Shari'a, where every human being must fully and perfectly implement the Shari'a. Therefore it is forbidden to exercise democracy. Moreover, democracy is a western product that is considered to stamp the creed and Muslims. For this group to believe that there is no law unless it is God's law, then what must be applied is God's law, not democracy.

قُلْ إِنِّي عَلَىٰ بَيِّنَةٍ مِّن رَّبِّي وَكَذَّبْتُمْ بِهِ مَا عِنْدِي مَا تَسْتَعْجِلُونَ بِهِ إِنَّ الْحُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ يَفْصِلُ الْحَقَّ وَهُوَ خَيْرُ الْفَاصِلِينَ

Means:

Say (Prophet Muhammad), "I am above the real information (truth, i.e. the Qur'an) of my Lord, while you lie to it. It is not my authority (to bring down the doom) that you demand to hasten his arrival. Establishing the law is only God's right. He explains the truth and He is the best decision-giver." (Qs. Al-'An'am:57)

وَمَنْ لَّمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ

Whoever does not decide according to what Allah sent down are unbelievers. (Qs. Al-Ma'idah:44)

Another reason expressed is that the totality of the meaning of *shu>ra>* (deliberation) has nothing to do with anything outside the Shari'a, it does not touch the divine element (divinity), more precisely the product of man. In fact, for them, the deliberations referred to in the verse do not provide space for humans to make their own legal products as they like, as democracy. The reason is, *shu>ra>* is a medium to solve a problem or debate among fellow humans as the best way and praised by Allah SWT. However, it is not necessarily used as a legal product as adopted by countries in general. In addition, the principle of democracy is the majority vote in which the will of the people must be obeyed, while the number of people is very large with different desires, even contrary to each other, then what must be followed is that which is supported by the majority vote of the people.¹⁷

Abdul Qodim Zallum categorically denied *shu>ra>* was democracy. For him, democracy has nothing to do with the word *shu>ra>* because democracy is a western product born to eliminate the influence and role of religion in human life. First, it refers to the origin of the concept of democracy as a fiction of human reason and ideas, not from Allah SWT. Second, democracy is born from a secular view that separates religion from the state as an attack on the culture (*al-Ghazwu al-Thaqa>fi>*) of the Western world, and an acute deterioration of people's thinking. Third, democratic freedom is completely contrary to Islam because a Muslim is bound by the rules of Sharia in all his actions as a sign of faith. Freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of ownership, and freedom of personality for

¹⁶ Muhammad Taufiq Syawi, *Syuro Bukan Demokrasi "Fiqh al-Shura wa al-Istisharat* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1997)

¹⁷ See the explanation on Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's website "Syuro is Not Democracy" on <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2009/04/11/syuro-bukan-demokrasi> or access also <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2012/01/02/giliran-khilafah> accessed on January 29, 2012.

Muslims are contrary to Sharia. Sharia for Muslims is obligatory. Therefore, whoever has a law other than the law of Allah is part of the unbelievers.¹⁸ Allah Said:

فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّىٰ يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِّمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا

Meaning: *Then by your Lord, they (in essence) do not believe until they make you the judge of the matter they dispute, then they do not feel in their hearts any objection to the verdict you give, and they accept it completely.* (Qs. Al-Nisa>: 65)

Similarly, Abu Bakr Ba'asyir explicitly stated that democracy is the ideology of the great shirk, just like the shirkers of the Quraish polytheists who worshipped idols in addition to worshipping Allah. In other words, the practice of democracy is akin to associating Allah with idols, it has also sanctioned the rule of law established by Islamic law. For him, sovereignty establishes absolute law in the hands of God, while the doctrine of democracy establishes sovereignty in the hands of man (the people) or his representative (DPR) then God is allied with man. Thus the God of democracy is two, namely God and man (the people or their representatives in the DPR), so the shirking of democracy is the same as the shirking of idolatry¹⁹

Unlike the second group, interpreting the word *shu>ra>* by contextualizing the text with developing phenomena. As Gadamer points out, text must be dialogued with evolving contexts. This means that understanding is not limited to *textbooks*, or positivistic, but is associated with phenomena. Of course, in this case the interpreter of the text is influenced by his background, such as the first opinion that rejects *shu>ra>* parallel to democracy is influenced by his big dream of implementing the khilafa islamiyah system or daulah islamiyah.

The second opinion argues that the concept of *shu>ra>* in the Qur'an has similarities with the meaning of democracy which aims to determine the direction and policy together openly. Quraish Shihab parallels *shu>ra>* with democracy based on the analogy of the original meaning of the word *shu>ra>* itself, namely *shurtu al-'asl* (removing honey from a beehive). For him, something positive and out of the results of deliberation is for the democratic system itself.²⁰ The democratic system is considered to provide wide

¹⁸ Zallum's views are expressly recorded in his book "Democracy of the Kufur Haram System Takes, Implements and Disseminates It". In this case, the author only summarizes the substance of the book's thoughts. See Abdul Qadi>m Zallu<m, *Demokrasi Sistem Kufur Haram Mengambil, Menerapkan dan Menyerbarluaskanya* (Bogor: Pustaka Thariqul Izzah, 2003), 1-42. Related to this, read the book Muhammad Taufiq as-Shawi, *Syuro Bukan Demokrasi " Fiqh al-Shu>ra> wa al-Istisha>rat"* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997).

¹⁹ See Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's interview "Bayan Ustadz Abu Bakar Ba'asyir on Democracy" in <http://ansharuttauhid.com/read/publikasi/402/bayan-ustadz-abu-bakar-baasyir-tentang-demokrasi/#sthash.HIHhRYje.dpuf> accessed on December 31, 2014.

²⁰ Honey is not only sweet on the tongue but also a cure for many diseases as well as a source of health and strength, so it is needed by anyone. Honey is produced by crowds of bees. Therefore, deliberation is likened to a crowd of bees to produce something sweet on the tongue and can be used as a result. Bees are known as animals that are very disciplined and cooperate in producing juice, so anywhere until the bees never damage, and will not interfere unless disturbed. Even bee stings can be used for treatment. The description explains that such is the picture of deliberation, and the nature of the deliberative actor. See Quraish Shihab, *Membumikan al-Qur'an Jilid II* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2011),402.

opportunities for anyone to express opinions honorably even if they contradict general opinions, and provide the right for the lower classes to vote and be elected.²¹

Quraish Shihab's explanation is inseparable from his understanding related to Qs. Al-Imran:159 that the word *shu>ra>* (deliberation) in the verse is related to solving world problems. This means that deliberation or democracy is a worldly problem in humans as caliphs in the world can solve it themselves.

Al-Qa>simi> in the book "*Mahja>sin al-Ta'wi>l*" explains that the background of the descent of Qs. Imran:159 is the settlement of the war which requires mutual agreement among the Companions to confront the infidel Qurais of Makkah, despite mistakes or shortcomings in practice. A joint decision in the view of Quraish Shihab is a rule taken on the path of *ijtihad* and concluded for the common good. The reason is, humans know more about *dunia_nya* affairs "*antum a'rafu bi u>mu>ri dunya>kum*".²² On this basis, Quraish Shihab dared to align the word *shu>ra>* as a synonym / equivalent of democracy.

What al-Qa>simy described was essentially no different from what Imam Fakhr al-Di>n al-Ra>zy revealed. Al-Ra>zi> explains that the word *shu>ra>* in the verse relates to the war of *uhud* faced by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. The Prophet gathered his companions to make a joint decision regarding the whereabouts of the enemy (the *musyrikin* of Makkah) who was heading to Medina to demand revenge after the defeat in the battle of Badr. The opinion of the Prophet himself tended to persist and not face the enemy openly (urban warfare), but differed from the voice of the majority (the Companions) who urged open war under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad. The agreement of open war and making Bukit Uhud a land fortress was a mutual agreement, although in practice it did not get disappointing results, namely defeat.²³

What al-Ra>ziy explained that the values of deliberation have opened up space for freedom of opinion, as the Prophet did open space for his companions to determine the problems that are being faced together. The principles of openness, togetherness, equal rights, etc. are one of the reasons Abba>s Mah}mu>d al-'Aqqad believes that democracy is part of Islamic teachings, or democratic values are contained in Islamic teachings.

Al-'Aqqa>d expressly states that *shu> ra>* is the correct postulate of democracy in Islam. For him, the system or concept of democracy is basically closely related to the concept of Islam, considering the substance of the democratic view is closely related to the three elements in the Qur'an, namely (1) equality,²⁴ (2) Individual responsibility, and (3) the enforcement of laws based on *shu>ra>* and clear laws and regulations indiscriminately. In particular, al-'Aqqad rejects the notion that the term democracy was born from the West, thus

²¹ *Shu>ra>* linguistically meaningful *shurtu al-'asl* (removing honey from the honeycomb). See Ibn Manz}ur, *Lisa>n al-'Arab* (Bairut: Da>r Ih}ya> al-Turath al-'Arab, 1998), 379-81, Jilid II.

²² Al-Qa>simi> explains al-Ra>zi's description in his book regarding the word *shu>ra>*. Al-Ra>zi analogized deliberation with congregational prayer which is better than prayer alone. This means that decisions taken collectively, even if they cannot adopt the overall will are better than decisions taken authoritatively or alone. See Muh}ammad Jama>l al-Di>n al-Qa>simi>, *Mahja>sin al-Ta'wi>l* (Beirut: Da>r al-Fikr, 2005), 800-801.

²³ Lihat Fakhr al-Ra>zi>, *Tafsi>r al-Kabi>r wa Mafa>ti>h}i al-Ghaya>hib* (Beirut: Da>r al-Fikr, 1981), 60-61.

²⁴ Al-'Aqqa>d Regarding equal rights and human dignity refer to Qs. Al-Hujara>t: 13

يَأْتِيهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاهُمْ مِنْ نَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۗ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

Meaning: *O man, Behold, We created you from a man and a woman, and made you into nations and tribes, that you might know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious among you. Verily, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Knowing.* (Al-Hujara>t:13)

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banning those who practice it. For him, democracy is purely from Islamic teachings, not western teachings because the substance of the concept of democracy teaches the main teachings that are in accordance with Islamic teachings.²⁵

This view is maintained by moderate Muslims who view the conception of Islam not fixating on textual elements but is related to communication between text and context in the construct of benefit and usefulness. Therefore, this group interprets *shu>ra>* spelling is the meaning of democracy itself, although the practice still has many shortcomings. Democracy is compatible and closely associated in the political arena of a country. As long as the substance and teachings of democracy do not conflict with the noble values of Islam, democracy can be categorized as Islamic teachings.

Based on the description above, what Gadamer conveyed can be seen from the difference in the perspective of readers or interpreters of the word *shu>ra>*. This means that the interpretation of the word *shu>ra>* seems to be influenced by its background and historical situation. *The first view*, such as Abdul Qadim Zallum, Taufiq Syawi, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, and or Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) and the Indonesian Mujahideen Council (MMI) seems to have a dislike of the concept of democracy which is considered to have ignored the principles of divinity. For him, democracy has taken away and emasculated God's right. On that basis, they are of the view that the word *shu>ra>* is translated in its full sense, namely deliberation and has nothing to do with democracy. The reason is, what they carry in the concept of statehood is the Islamic Caliphate or Islamic State, so of course it is certain that the word *shu>ra>* is not comparable in meaning to the democratic system. This happened because of their dislike of democracy.

The second view, as expressed by Abbas Mah}mu>d al-'Aqqad, Quraish Shihab, etc., looks at the conception of exegesis referred to from the books of tafsir by concluding that the word "*shu>ra>*" or deliberation teaches about the principles promoted by democracy. So in this case it is considered not contradictory but in harmony with the norms and values of Islamic teachings. The interpretation and recitation of the word "*shu>ra>*" carried out by al-'Aqqad} and Quraish Shihab was influenced by the background that influenced his life, because both were known as moderate and tolerant figures, therefore both of them acted based on experience and practice and observation of the study of the Qur'an, not on the basis of hatred for something so that what emerged was a meaning based on dislike.

E. CONCLUSION

Democracy in the Islamic view is related to the values or values contained in it, therefore the principle of democracy basically does not contradict the teachings of Islam at all. But in practice it remains limited by norms, and ethics as well as social and moral responsibility, so that the desired democracy is aligned with religious values or teachings. The principles in question are *al-shu>ra>* (*musyarah*), *al-'ada>lah* (principle of justice), *al-musa>wa>* (equal rights), *al-ama>no* (belief), *al-h}urriyah* (freedom) and *al-mas'uliyah* (responsibility) encouraging the Indonesian people to have an attitude of *al-tasa>muh* (tolerant) and *al-tawassut}* (moderate). The word "*shu>ra>*" in the Qur'an is generally

²⁵ See the views of 'Abba>s Mah}mu>d al-'Aqqad in "*al-Dimuqraqt}iyyah fi al-Islam*" quoted from Quraish Shihab's explanation, *Membumikan al-Qur'an*, 400-401.

regarded as the idiom of the word democracy. Because specifically the word "democracy" does not exist in the Qur'an, but its values are in harmony with the principles in the Qur'an. Starting from the word "shu>ra," that there is a dualism of views on democracy, namely the first group such as Abdul Qadim Zallum, Taufiq Shawi, Abu Bakar Baasyir, Hizb ut-Tahrir group, and the word shu>ra> does not represent the meaning of democracy, the reason democracy is a western system that he considers kufr. The reason is, democracy is born from a secular view that separates religion from the state as a cultural attack (*al-Ghazwu al-Thaqa>fi*) of the Western world, and an acute deterioration of people's thinking. Democratic freedom is very contrary to Islam because a Muslim is bound by the rules of Sharia in all his behavior as a sign of faith. Freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of ownership, and freedom of personality for Muslims are contrary to Sharia. The second group argues that shu>ra> is an idiom of democracy, because the teachings of deliberation teach the principles of justice, equal rights, belief, freedom, responsibility and encourage attitude, tolerance, and moderation. These principles are not fundamentally contrary to religious teachings.

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