

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT AS IBADAH: Reinterpreting Hassan Hanafi's Progressive Vision

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Abstract: Research on Hassan Hanafi's political thought focuses on three main aspects. First, the concept of "*Leftist Islam*," which emphasizes the struggle against social injustice toward the poor and the oppressed, while promoting the principle of equal rights and responsibilities for all citizens. Second, *Occidentalism*, which refers to a critical study of Western civilization from a comprehensive social perspective, including an analysis of its strengths and weaknesses. Third, the *hermeneutical* approach, which is a method of interpreting the Qur'an in a modern context. Hassan Hanafi's thought has received mixed responses from Muslim intellectuals some support his ideas, while many others offer critiques. Among the scholars who have examined his ideas are Fazlur Rahman, Mohammed Arkoun, and Nurcholish Madjid, while Kuntowijoyo is among his critics. Despite differing opinions, these do not necessarily diminish the value of Hassan Hanafi's thought. Some of his ideas remain relevant as sources of inspiration for efforts to rebuild Islamic civilization. This relevance can also be evaluated from the perspective of the Qur'an

Keywords: *Leftist Islam, Occidentalism, hermeneutical approach*

Introduction

In today's social context, it is vital that we study, understand, and analyze the political dynamics that affect daily life in society. This understanding will improve our ability to respond to various social issues and avoid manipulation of information from globalization and misleading media. Through this approach, we can change our perspective as citizens who play an active role in creating a more advanced, inclusive, transformative and quality life for nation, nation, and religion. Therefore, as part of a society that cares about the future of the nation, in any profession, we need to be involved in supervising and voicing criticism of government policies, both through social media and directly in the public space.

This can happen by understanding ideal political thinking, both in religious and general contexts. The narrative is supported by Prof. Hassan Hanafi's opinion of a political thinker and Muslim theologian from Egypt, who expressed his opinion on a political thought, it defines that political thinking is an intellectual and practical project to build a just, inclusive, and transformative political order based on progressive and humanist Islamic values. The aim is to create a society free from oppression, injustice, and foreign domination, while promoting political participation and social justice (Riza Zahiri Falah and Izzum Farihah 2015).

Definitive political thinking can be articulated as a study or intellectual reflection on the concepts, principles, and theories associated with the rule, the right of wendelusion, public policy, as well as the relationship between individuals, clusters and countries. Political thought accounts for phylogenetic ideas, ideologies, as well as critical analysis of existing political systems. From that definition, it can be concluded that political thought is not only a character on the theoretical but also pertains in shaping the political realitas of the real world. If we mirror on the beloved country of Indonesia, then still very much intersection of thought

Politics with populist policies that only benefit some groups namely the elite who rule. With increasing age, Republicans should be able to bring a better direction of life cycle change, with natural resources utilization and

government governance with integrity. However, it is ironic that the embodiment is just jargon and tagline as a public entertainer. In realist practices there are still many *government* who cheated in making decisions and impressed counter on the community response, this kind of phenomenon is really despicable because the functional institutions and government are ideally also derived from the people and given a duty mandate by the people to carry out state duties (chotimah and Maulana 2015).

The impact of the failure of ideal political thinking will greatly affect the life of society, state, even religious. The events arising from this case are inequality and social storage, through this phenomenon surely a group of people began to feel skeptical about government policy. While overall we may not be able to please people at large, at least with an objective and efficient political thought will be able to present the sympathetic of society. According to Hassan Hanafi, errors of political thought have led to stagnation, injustice, conflict, and marginalization. To address this impact, Hanafi called for the reconstruction of Islamic political thought that is progressive, inclusive, and based on the values of social justice, democracy, and humanism. Only then can we establish a just and transformational political order (judges 2010).

The purpose of this article is to focus on political thought from an Islamic, Islamic perspective as a highly motivated religion of articulation and a fair attitude for other human beings (Prasetya 2013). According to Hassan Hanafi, the purpose of Islamic political thought was to create a fair, inclusive political social machining, and free individuals to live in well-being. Islamic political thought should be oriented on social justice, authentic democracy, liberation from oppression, the humanist, and intercivilization dialogue.

By achieving these purposes, Islamic political thought can be a transformative force that brings progress and well-being for mankind. By understanding the purpose of Islamic Political Thought according to Hassan Hanafi, we can see how important the Peran of Islamic thought in developing the future of fairer and dignity (Hasyim 2000). Then, the focus of this article was made to dissect substantial political thought from an Islamic perspective through an influential figure of Egyptian origin yaitu Hassan Hanafi.

Theoretical track

Neo-modernism is a recent movement in Islam that appears in response to its lack or weakness in previous Islamic movements, such as pre-modernism, revivalism, classical modernism, and neo-revivalism. Moreover, this flow of thought is present to kritisi at once flanking various other Islamic thought that evolved throughout the history of Muslims, as well as the ideas that emerged in the Western world. is a reactive movement, neo-revivalism tends to reject methods and the spirit of classical modernism. (A'la and Azra 2003).

These clusters actually accept substantive issues that are using by the modern movement, such as the concept of democracy, but such acceptance is more based on coercion. Moreover, they do not successfully develop clear methodologies. As a result, they experience difficulties in formulating the purpose strictly and accurately. These shortcomings later prompted the rebirth of another novelty movement known as neo-modernism. This novelty movement, different from the previous movement, is capable of patting and replicating the thoughts of Muslims and the West critically and objectively. With such an approach, neo-modernism aims to develop Islam in its various aspects in a holistic, comprehensive, and systematic framework, which remains grounded in the values of the Qur'an as well as exemplary authentic prophets. Through this paradigm, people are expected to remain ecis in the modern world without losing its Islamic identity. (A'la and Azra 2003). Several Muslim thinkers who participated in the neo-movement

Modernism includes Muhammad fazlurrahman, Muhammad Arkoun, and others. This study focuses on the thought of Hassan Hanafi, a Muslim scholar who pays great attention to the renewal, or rather the reconstruction of classical Islamic sciences, such as ushuluddin and Fiqh, to be in line with objective reality. Furthermore, Hassan Hanafi's thought is known as the "golden triangle" concept in Islamic thought, which integrates three main elements: classical tradition, Western thought, and contemporary context. Hassan Hanafi's thought is one of the ideas of Muslim philosophers that are interesting to study (HK 2021).

Firstly, prominent aspect of his thinking is his ability to criticize Islamic traditions while offering alternatives and new breakthroughs in thought. His thoughts tried to overcome the deadlock in theology and provide solutions to theology-based social thinking. This gave rise to various renewal and revolutionary concepts, such as the left of Islam, oxydentalism, and hermeneutics. The themes were designed as part of a major project of Islamic thought renewal, with the aim of awakening the people from underdevelopment and facing the challenges of modern colonialism (Chotimah and Maulana 2015).

Secondly, traditional Islamic theology was born in a historical context in which belief systems, particularly the concept of God's transcendence, got challenges from various sects and old cultures. This theology aims to maintain the main doctrine and maintain its purity. However, the current social and political conditions have undergone significant changes. Islam faced various defeats in many battles during the period of colonization. According to Hassan Hanafi, the conceptual framework derived from classical culture in the early days of Islam needs to be updated and adapted to a new conceptual framework rooted in modern culture (Chotimah and Maulana 2015).

Third, the thought of Hassan Hanafi gets diverse responses from Muslims. Some criticized him for being considered too forward rationality, so it is often associated with the flow of Mu'tazilah. Besides, His thoughts are also judged to be affected by Western thought, considering the background of his education there. The difference of opinion between the parties who uphold and oppose his gasification makes Hassan Hanafi's thinking increasingly interesting to be studied more in (Chotin and Maulana 2015).

Research methods

In this research, the researcher applied library research based approach. This approach is used to gather various information and data by utilizing various written sources available in the library, such as books, documents, magazines, and historical records. Literature study is one of the methods commonly used in qualitative research to obtain in-depth understanding from the perspective of the subject through written media and documents directly created or written

by the subject. Documents used can be written text, images, personal journals, historical records, books, or monumental works of a person (Nasution 2023).

The library also refers to the method of data collection by examining various sources of the inscription, such as books, literatures, annotation, and reports relating to the problems that are being studied. Meanwhile, according to the opinion of the members, the study of the library accounts for theoretical analysis, reference, as well as other scholarly literatures related to culture, value, and norms that develop in a social context that becomes an object of scrutiny. (Khaesarani and Hasibuan 2021). Because of this, the Peneliti ensues various reference books as well as the results of relevant prior scrutiny of the use of acquiring the relevant topic-related theoretical policies studied. In its process, Peneliti gathers, analyzes, and concludes data relating to Islamic political thought *Neo-Modernisme*, in particular the political idea of Hassan Hanafi. This process is done by applying methods as well as certain techniques to find answers on the problems examined.

Hassan Hanafi biography

Hassan Hanafi is an intellectual, Islamic thinker, and leading professor of philosophy in Egypt today. He was born in the city of Cairo, precisely around the walls of the Fort Shaluddin, an area not far from the campus of Al-Azhar, on February 13, 1935. As is known, Cairo is the city that is the center of meetings of Islamic students and students from various corners of the world to study religion, especially at Al-Azhar University. Therefore, the birth of Hassan Hanafi in this city can be considered a good luck, because it grew up in an environment that became the goal of Islamic students from all over the world to demand religious studies at one of the oldest and most influential Islamic universities, namely Al-Azhar University. This shapes the spirit of learning and its ever-burning intellectual passion. Historically and culturally, the city of Cairo is the center of the nursery of many major civilizations, both ancient and modern, covering the ancient Egyptian (pharaoh), Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Turkish, to modern Europe. This shows that Cairo has a very important role in the early development of the scientific tradition of Hassan Hanafi (rosyadi 2022).

Social conditions

Historically, Egypt was heavily influenced by various major civilizations, such as pharaohs, Byzantines, Romans, Turks, Mamluk, and modern Europe. Egypt has an important role in the development of Hassan Hanafi's thinking. Since childhood, Hassan Hanafi has witnessed various forms of violence committed by the invaders. The experience aroused a sense of nationalism. In 1948, when he was 13, he attempted to register as a volunteer in the fight against Israel. However, because of his young age, he was rejected and was not recognized as a member of the Muslim youth group. This makes it

Realizing that Egypt is experiencing a split. In the same year, Hassan Hanafi is keen to join the Muslim Brotherhood, a youth organization. However, in the organization, he finds many debates similar to those he had experienced in the Muslim youth. Therefore, he was advised to join the young Egyptian organization. Unfortunately, within the organization, he again found divisions among its members. In addition to being active in the revolutionary movement, Hassan Hanafi also wrote various articles to respond to the problems facing Muslims and trace the weaknesses that exist. Therefore, in the period 1976-1981, he helped to neutralize the situation through his writings (Prawira 2023).

Thoughts of Hassan Hanafi

S. Muslim left Hassan Hanafi

When hearing the word "*kiri*", many people may directly associate it with the opponents he said, which is "*kanan*". In general, the term "left" is often associated with negativity, while "right" tends to be considered positive. However, in this context, the meaning of "left" has a different meaning. In religion, there is no left or right class; this term is more often used in politics. Hassan Hanafi views the concept of "left" as part of an Islamic reform known as *Kiri Islam*. According to him, the *Kiri Islam* is a continuation of the idea once contained in the

Al-Urwah Al-Wutsqa magazine, which calls for the fight against colonialism and underdevelopment, and carries the values of freedom, social justice, and the unity of Muslims in a unity called *Al-Jami'ah Al-Islamiyyah* (pan-Islamism)

) or *Al-Jamiah Al-Syarqiyah* (unity nations Timur). Since the era of Jamaluddin al-Afghani until today, Muslims are divided into two main groups. First, an elite group or a high Kasta, consisting of Para Leaders and rulers with great influence. In the second, a small folk cluster or low caste, which often suffers from oppression. *Kiri Islam* appears as a movement that focuses on advocacy against oppressed clusters. The movement aims to uphold justice, fight for their rights which are the majority of the majority of Muslims, as well as fight social ills.

Kiri Islam is present as a weak racial voice, demanding justice for those who are oppressed, and fighting for equivalence for the whole man (Munir 2000). The Muslim left is topped on the three pillars in the framework of establishing the Islamic revival (Tawhid revolution) that is:

The first pillar of Hassan Hanafi proposed revitalization of classical Islamic treasures (*turats*) by introducing rationalism. Rationalism is considered as a must in achieving the progress and welfare of Muslims, as well as a way to answer the challenges of the times in the world of Islam. B. The second pillar stresses the importance of facing the dominance of Western civilization. In his journal, Hassan Hanafi warned of Western cultural imperialism that tends to dispel cultural identities of nations that have a rich historical heritage. C. The third pillar focuses on the analysis of the conditions of the Islamic world. In this analysis, Hassan Hanafi criticizes traditional methods that are too text-oriented (*nash*) and proposes alternative approaches. He emphasizes the importance of enabling the reality of the Islamic world to represent itself without relying entirely on textual interpretation. *Kiri Islam* invents its entire potential to face various problems that appear in the modern era. According to Hassan Hanafi, the Muslim world is currently brought to three major threats. External threats account for imperialism, Zionism, and capitalism, while internal threats cover poverty, disability, and retardation. *Kiri Islam* focuses on disability coping with those problems to create justice and well-being for Muslims.

Oxydentalism in Hassan Hanafi's view

Oxydentalism, as explained in The World University Encyclopedia, comes

from the *occident* Word, which is etimologist meaning “West” and geographically refers to the cleavage of the Earth’s western part. In Arabic, the term possessing a similar meaning is *al-istighrab*, which comes from the *al-Gharb* Word, which means “west.” According to a. Mukti Ali, oxygenalism refers to the theory and knowledge that addresses religion, culture, as well as Western civilization. More broadly, the term also accounts for the flow or understanding associated with various aspects of the Western as well as its tributary, which are studied through scholarly approaches. Hassan Hanafi argues that oxydentalism is the reverse of Orientalism. If Orientalism makes the east, in particular Islam, as an object of study, then in oxydentalism the focus of its research is civilization and Western thought. Hassan Hanafi performs a paradigm reversal in Orientalism by turning east as subject and West as a study object. In the concept of oxydentalism, it makes ideas *Al-Turath wa Al-Tajdid* (tradition and) update, which includes three main agendas, yaitu: (1) How our attitude towards classical Islamic tradition, (2) how our attitude towards the West (oxygenalism), and (3) how our attitude towards the reality through interpretive theory. Studying the thought of oxydentalism in Hassan Hanafi had various benefits in Islamic novelty. The presence of the field of study of oxydentalism introduced by Egyptian intellectuals is able to change the way of the view of Muslims, making it an intelligent change agent, Grace, as well as possessing an advanced civilization (Mawaddah 2022).

Hermeneutika in Hassan Hanafi’s view

The thought of hermeneutika Hassan Hanafi was first presented when it wrote his thesis and published it. The idea was later publicized through his work titled *Religious Dialogue and Revolution*. In his hermeneutical approach, Hassan Hanafi uses three phases of analysis as an operational measure, yaitu:

1. the awareness of History, which serves to determine the originality of the text as well as the level of its authenticity.
2. Ideatic consciousness, which aims to explain the meaning of the text and make it rational.
3. practical awareness, which applies the meaning of the text as a theoretical basis for action as well as to assess revelation at the end in human life (Halil 2018).

Partial interpretation of the hermeneutics of the Qur'an is an interpretation that only focuses on the needs of contemporary human life without studying the Qur'an as a whole. Meanwhile, the thematic hermeneutics of the Qur'an adhere to the Encyclopedia of the Qur'an and interpret verses based on one particular theme relevant to the current conditions. In this approach, there are several aspects to consider, among others: building form analysis based on linguistic elements and

The structure of the sentence, analyzing the meaning, gives priority on themes that correspond to present-day life, as well as forming themes in a rational, sturdy, and cohesive frame. As for the temporal hermeneutics of the Qur'an is the only approach capable of giving Qur'an vision to a generation in a specific time phase, without account for the entire generation and a total time span (sulawan 2020).

Conclusion

Hassan Hanafi, a contemporary Muslim intellectual, developed thoughts focusing on three main aspects: left Islam, oxydentalism, and hermeneutics. Islam, which he formulated, focuses on the fight against social injustice, especially against the poor and oppressed, as well as the fight for equality of rights and obligations in the community. Aspects of oxydentalism is a critical study of Western civilization analyzing both its strengths and weaknesses as a response to Western cultural dominance. While the hermeneutics approach offered provides a new way more dynamic and relevant in interpreting religious texts according to the context of the times.

The thought of Hassan Hanafi became a bahasan among Muslim intellectuals. Like Fazlur Rahman, Mohammed Arkoun, and Nurcholish Madjid commented as well as providing appreciation for its tribulations. Still, not a bit of also dash critiques, such as kuntowijoyo asking some side of the Hanafi idea. Because of this, the difference of such views does not immediately reduce the meaning and significance of his thoughts. Many ideas of Hanafi are judged relevant, especially in order to induce reconstructions of an inclusive and progressive Muslim civilization. His gasses can be transformed through the approach of

the Qur'an, which becomes the main Foundation in the meditating of The Age. Because of this, Hassan Hanafi's thought remains an important bahasan tree in contemporary Islamic discourse, reason offers a critical and transformative perspective for Muslims on an inclusive basis and integrity.

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