

***STATE IDEALISM AND THE EMERGING DEMOCRATIZATION
CHALLENGES OF INDONESIA POST-POLITICAL ELECTION IN
ABU NASR AL-FARABI'S PARADIGM OF QUR'ANIC EXEGESIS
STATE IDEALISM DAN TANTANGAN DEMOKRATISASI INDONESIA
PASCA PEMILU POLITIK DALAM PARADIGMA PENAFSIRAN AL-QUR'AN
ABU NASR AL-FARABI***

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Abstract

Over 11 centuries, Abu Nasr al-Farabi (d. 950) is well-known as a great philosopher and political scientist. Few studies have examined al-Mu'allim al-Šani's capacity as a Qur'anic interpreter. Even though Al-Farabi has never written a complete Qur'anic exegesis book, he is noticed consistently paraphrasing verses of the Qur'an into political statements to justify the interrelatedness between Islamic political thought with Ancient Greek's one which inspired from Plato and Aristotle. This characteristic is seen in some of his masterpieces as *Arāyat Ahl al-Madīnah al-Faḍīlah* and *al-Siyāṣah al-Madīnah*. This paper seeks the potential adaptation of al-Farabi's idea about the ideal society, based on his alteration of Qur'anic verses into political concepts, as an alternative to fulfill the shortfall of Indonesian democracy. The article reflects al-Farabi's thoughts in the context of democratization challenges in Indonesia post-political campaign and suggested that its practice of democracation is still considered as a "green" and imperfect form.

Keywords: Abu Nasr al-Farabi; *madīnah al-fadhīlah al-sa'ādah*, Democratization Challenges. Qur'anic Exegesis

Abstrak



Sejak 11 abad yang lalu, Abu Nasr Al-Farabi (w. 950) dikenal luas sebagai filsuf dan pemikir ilmu politik yang ulung. Sangat minim kajian yang mengamati peran Al-Mu'alim al-Tsani (Guru Kedua) sebagai mufasir. Sekalipun Al-Farabi tidak memiliki karangan kitab tafsir utuh, ia tercatat sering melakukan parafrase terhadap ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an guna membenarkan titik temu antara konsep politik Islam dan Yunani kuno yang diprakasai oleh Plato dan Aristoteles. Karakteristik parafrase tersebut dapat dilihat dalam beberapa mahakaryanya semisal *Arāyat Ahl al-Madīnah al-Faḍīlah* dan *al-Siyāsah al-Madīnah*. Artikel ini mengamati peluang adaptasi pemikiran Al-Farabi mengenai negara ideal, berbasis pada perubahan ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an yang digiring sebagai asas konsep-konsep politik, yang dapat menjadi alternatif guna memenuhi memenuhi ruang kosong di sistem demokrasi Indonesia. Pembahasan dalam artikel mendeskripsikan pemikiran Al-Farabi dalam konteks tantangan demokratisasi di Indonesia setelah masa kampanye pemilihan umum (pemilu) dan berkesimpulan bahwa praktik demokrasi tersebut masih "hijau" dan belum sempurna.

Kata Kunci: Abu Nasr al-Farabi; *madīnah al-fadhīlah al-sa'ādah*; Tantangan Demokrasi; Penafsiran Al-Qur'an

Introduction

In contrast with several great nations in the world such as Africa and America, which are very intolerant with ethnic and religious differences¹, Indonesia, which is quite plural in racial, religious, ethnic, and linguistic variations, is bound by the value of unity with the motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*. This cultural and social wealth has attracted scholars from various other countries to plunge in and study the culture and aspects of locality in various Indonesian landmarks. On the other hand, the phenomena of conflict and peace efforts continue to emerge among Indonesian people in line with the plurality within them. Various political, social, racial, and religious conflicts have repeatedly occurred in Indonesia and become an interesting discussion in various media, literature, and academic discourse.

For example, socio-religious conflict in Indonesia that was built up through a case of blasphemy by a statesman that triggered the "Aksi Damai 212" movement in Jakarta

¹ Amir R. Jaima, 'Africana Philosophy as Prolegomenon to Any Future American Philosophy', Penn State University Press 32, no. 1 (2018): 155, <https://doi.org/10.5325>.

in 2016. Seeing the indications above, the author quotes Thoha Anwar's thought, that the "Aksi Damai 212" movement is a visualization of a generation that is deeply in love with religion.² The emergence of this movement is dominated by groups of students, students, and society who want to demonstrate their cultural attitudes as cultural reflection disputes and the phenomena around them.³

For example, racial and religious-based socio-political conflicts in the Free Papua Movement (OPM) movement of 1965-1998 and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in 1976-2005 which continue to reverberate until this moment. Both of these movements are movements for renewal and liberation of territory from the Indonesian state. To prepare for territorial independence, these two movements have their flags, public days, troops, and ideologies. The public will certainly be reminded of the hoax case which was triggered by one of the supporters of the presidential candidate in 2018 or news about the violence experienced by junior high school girls in Pontianak.⁴ This news became hot in the public conversation and mobilized many masses to engage directly to resolve conflicts fairly and effectively.

According to Asghar Ali Engineer⁵, that kind of phenomenon usually would not attract many masses. In contrast to that argument, those movements gave rise to a movement that has a great appeal to critical intellectuals. On the other hand, the majority of ordinary people only become followers. As a form of settlement, the Indonesian government takes judicial legal action.⁶ The conflict resolution ends now facing the context of the post-political campaign. Espen Geelmuyden Rød, in April 2019,

² Mohammad Thoha Anwar, *Intensitas Generasi Muda Islam Dalam Mengembangkan Sikap Budaya Islam Di Tengah Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Dirjen Pembinaan Kelembagaan Agama Islam, 1983), 1-2.

³ Doha Samir, 'The Muslim Brotherhood's Generational Gap: Politics in the Post-Revolutionary Era', *Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, Moving Forward?*, 1, no. 2 (2 August 2018): 32-52, <https://doi.org/10.31430>.

⁴ Pravriti Retno W, '8 Poin Penting Sidang Perdana Kasus Ratna Sarumpaet, Awal Mula Sebar Foto hingga Mengaku Bersalah', *Tribun*, 28 February 2019, www.tribunnews.com; Nila Irdyatun Naziha, 'Update Kasus Audrey: Begini Kondisi Terkini Korban hingga Perjalanan Hukum yang Ditempuh', *Tribun*, 15 April 2019, tribunnews.com.

⁵ Lihat Ashgar Ali Engineer, *Liberalisasi Teologi Islam: Membangun Teologi Dalam Islam* terjemahan Rizqon Khamami, trans. Rizqon Khamami (Yogyakarta: Alenia, 2004).

⁶ Oliver Ramsbotham, Hugh Miall, and Tom Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution, III* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011), 8.

explained that this phase had the potential to be the peak of the conflict in Indonesia. This argument is based on the reflection of Indonesia's history that often faces similar conflicts in its historical record.⁷

Various empirical conflicts in Indonesia prove that this country is in a crisis of democratic practices. The author believes that a transitional phase is needed for Indonesia to fill this gap, namely by implementing core-values in *Madīnah al-faḍīlah al-sa'ādah*, namely the vision of the ideal state that was plotted by Al-Farabi. To facilitate the practice of democracy in the transition phase, a comprehensive approach between ethnic, religious, and political groups is needed to be brought closer to the concept of democracy and the idealism of the state of the Qur'anic perspective as a primary reference in Indonesia. Through the next chapter, the author will discuss the concept of harmonization of diversity and peace built in the Qur'an and its reading of the empirical background of Indonesian society.

Brief Information toward Al-Farabi's Paradigm of Qur'anic Exegesis

This paper seeks the adaptation of Al-Farabi's political philosophy as an alternative to meeting the space in the practice of democracy in Indonesia. The author also reads Al-Farabi's paradigm of social inequality in Indonesia and opens up the potential to apply the vision of *Madīnah al-faḍīlah al-sa'ādah* (great and happy country) that was sparked by him in the past 11 centuries.⁸ In the previous paper, I draw a gap in the practice of democracy in Indonesia which is considered still "green" and very possible

⁷ Espen Geelmuyden Rød, 'Fraud, Grievances, and Post-Election Protests in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes', *Electoral Studies* 58 (1 April 2019): 12, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2019.01.003>.

⁸ Thousands of pages have been written by Al-Farabi during his lifetime. He also undertook various disciplines such as political philosophy, logic, metaphysics, state administration and self-concept. Al-Farabi's works such as *Ihsha' al-Ulūm*, *Philosophy of Aristhuthalis wa Aflathun*, *Arāyat Ahl Madīnāh wa Madhā'iduh*, *Al-Siyāsah al-Madīnah*, *Treatise of fī al-Siyāsah*, *Jawami al-Siyasah* and 115 other books and treatises. History others mention that Al-Farabi wrote up to 199 books in 70 languages. However, this history was rejected because the development of language during his lifetime was estimated to have not experienced development until the number did not reach 70 languages. These skills demonstrate the capacity of Al-Farabi's thinking as a medium for diversity tolerance in Indonesia. See Ahmad Khudori Soleh, *Integrasi Agama dan Filsafat: Pemikiran Epistemologi Al-Farabi*, I (Malang: UIN-Maliki Press, 2010).

to be developed using Al-Farabi's paradigm on the ideal state.⁹ This writing tries to provide this idea in a more empirical and practical realm on the democracy in Indonesia. I observe that the Indonesian mass media continues to show facts about intolerance that led to persecution and intimidation,¹⁰ moral and educational crises that often haunt, poverty rates are increasingly high, until a prolonged conflict in the political campaigns for the 2019-2024 presidential candidates.

The recurrence of this conflict illustrates that Indonesia has always been in the midst of a crisis of united values that are difficult to recover, especially regarding multiculturalism or multi-party issues in the political tradition. The epistemology of nationalism and democracy Gershon Weiler in *What Is the Philosophy of Nationalism?*¹¹, and the idea of Kim Lane Scheppele's autocracy in *Autocratic Legalism*¹² in March 2018, has not been able to provide an applicable solution to the empirical context in Indonesia.

Uniquely, Al-Farabi since 11 centuries ago has tried to deal with the problem of state management with a scientific and Islamic ethos through the book of the *Ahl al-Madīnah al-Faḍīlah*, *Al-Siyāsah al-Madīnah*, *Jam'u bayna Ra'y al-Hakimain*, and many other essays on political philosophy. Al-Farabi tried to determine the universality of particular

⁹ This article is a re-actualization of the author's long-live research vision of the study of Al-Farabi's perspective of state idealism. In 2018, the author wrote a scientific work entitled 'Al-Farabi, Demokrasi, dan Al-Qur'anic Insights' which occupies the first position in the national scaled scientific paper competition for undergraduate and postgraduate students in the 'Pancasila dan Bela Negara' event of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. The author uses the Qur'an as one of the scopes of research. Through this research, the writer wants to describe the capacity of the Qur'an to deal with various dynamic and fluctuating contemporary problems through the reading of reality (das sein) holistically and comprehensively. See M. Amin Abdullah, *Islamic Studies di Perguruan Tinggi: Pendekatan Integratif-Interkonektif* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012); M. Amin Abdullah et al., *Tafsir Baru Studi Islam dalam Era Multi Kultural* (Yogyakarta: Panitia Dies Natalis IAIN SUKA dan Kurnia Kalam Semesta, 2002); Compare with Marcus R. Munafò et al., 'Research Culture and Reproducibility', *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 24, no. 2 (1 February 2020): 91-93, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2019.12.002>.

¹⁰ Yunardy Dian, 'Mengapa Gerakan Dan Politik Islam (Gemar) Melayani Kekerasan?', in *Agama Dan Negara: Jejak Persilangan Kekerasan*, ed. Coen Husain Pontoh (Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2011), 115; Joey T Cheng, 'Dominance, Prestige, and the Role of Leveling in Human Social Hierarchy and Equality', *Current Opinion in Psychology, Power, Status and Hierarchy*, 33 (1 June 2020): 239, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2019.10.004>.

¹¹ Gershon Weiler, 'What Is the Philosophy of Nationalism?', *Studies in East European Thought* 46, no. 1 (1 June 1994): 119-28, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01074772>.

¹² Kim Lane Scheppele, 'Autocratic Legalism', *Autocratic Legalism | The University of Chicago Law Review, The Limits of Constitutionalism - A Global Perspective*, 85, no. 2 (March 2018): 545-84, <https://doi.org/26455917>.

studies inductively, as did the state administration system and social control between communities. Through this framework, Al-Farabi connects the idealism level of a country with the term *Madīnah al-faḍīlah al-sa'ādah*, which is a state order that is desired by humans and promised in the Qur'an.¹³ According to Yanuar Nugroho, deputy II of the Presidential Staff Office, empirical research such as this article is very important to look for root causes in the community and provide an enlightening perspective.¹⁴ Adaptation of Al-Farabi's political philosophy as an alternative to meeting the space in the practice of democracy in Indonesia

The methodology, vision, and idealism of managing the state in Al-Farabi's frame of mind will be authentic ideas in this paper. Al-Farabi's idealistic state idealism is related to the empirical context of the practice of democracy in Indonesia so that it can be a mediator of harmonization of diversity between ethnicities, religions, and politics. In the process of analysis, the authors included various updated literature that developed along with the political phase in Indonesia.¹⁵ Finally, the author took the initiative to write a scientific work entitled "Qur'an and State Idealism: Emerging Democratisation Challenges of Indonesia Post Political Election in Abu Nasr Al-Farabi's Paradigm" as an effort to contribute scholarship to the growing political dynamics in Indonesia.

State Idealism in Al-Farabi's Paradigm of Exegesis

لكل جعلنا منكم شرعة ومنهاجا ولو شاء الله لجعلكم امة واحدة ولكن ليلبؤكم في ما آتاكم فاستبقوا الخيرات الى الله مرجعكم جميعا فينبئكم بما كنتم فيه تختلفون.

And unto thee have We revealed the Scripture with the truth, confirming whatever Scripture was before it, and a watcher over it. So judge between them by that which Allah hath revealed, and follow not their desires away from the truth which hath come unto thee. For each, We have appointed a divine law and a traced out way. Had Allah willed He could have made you one community. But that He may try you by that which He hath given you (He hath made you as

¹³ Abū Nasir Muhammad bin al-Farakh al-Farabi, *Arayat Ahl Madinah wa Madha'iduh* (Beirut: Maktabah Syarqiyah, 1986).

¹⁴ Yanuar Nugroho, 'Membangun Ekosistem Riset di Indonesia - Kantor Staf Presiden', Portal Resmi, Kantor Staf Presiden, 20 February 2019, <http://ksp.go.id/membangun-ekosistem-riset-di-indonesia/index.html>.

¹⁵ Compare with Eric Muraille, 'Ethical Control of Innovation in a Globalized and Liberal World: Is Good Science Still Science?', *Endeavour*, 27 February 2020, 100709, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.endeavour.2020.100709>.

ye are). So vie one with another in good works. Unto Allah, ye will all return, and He will then inform you of that wherein ye differ.¹⁶

According to Abdul Wadud Yusuf in *Tafsir Al-Mu'minin*, the verse elaborates the will of God to divide people into differences. It is easy for God to unite humanity into one leader, one teaching, and one variation of physiology. However, Allah wants humans to be divided into various groups and Allah sends messengers to each group as a test as well as guidelines for mankind.¹⁷ The Quraish Shihab in *Tafsir al-Misbah* regarding this verse adds that the Qur'an, the book which contains the truth in all its laws and news, was sent to Muhammad as a justification of the previous holy books, as a witness to the truth of its contents and as the supervisor of the books other scriptures because of the condition of the Qur'an which is preserved from all forms of changes in words and meanings.¹⁸

Through the presentation of the meaning of the verse QS Al-Ma'idah (5): 48, it appears that the concept of diversity in the world was part of God's plan for humans from the beginning of creation. The Qur'an provides a ban on reproach. Denouncing activities in political contexts can occur, either openly or through cues. The point is that there is a suggestion to distance yourself from actions that heat the heart of a person or group and have the potential to divide the unity.¹⁹

According to Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi in *Mafātih al-Ghaib*, the universality and plurality of society are considered a natural tendency. Even in the past, according to him, a poor and slave Muslim with a wealthy and respectable non-Muslim could still relate well. Social status is not the main indicator to form harmony in the social sphere.²⁰ Shihab added that humans are the same, namely the descendants of Adam and Eve. Then

¹⁶ Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya: Juz 1-Juz 30, I (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, Republik Indonesia, Proyek Pengadaan Kitab Suci al Qur'an, 1992), v. Al-Maidah: 48; See the translation on Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an: Text and Explanatory Translation* (Birmingham: Islamic Dawah Center International, 1983).

¹⁷ Abdul Wadud Yusuf, *Tafsir al-Mu'minin*, vol. II (Beirut: Dar Kutb al-'Ilmiyyah, 1996).

¹⁸ Moh Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Mishbah: pesan, kesan, dan keserasian al-Qur'an*, V, 15 vols (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2006).

¹⁹ Ahmad Musthofa al-Maraghi, *Terjemah Tafsir Al-Maraghi*, vol. 6 (Semarang: Toha Putra, 1987), 231.

²⁰ Fakhr al-Din Razi, *Mafatih al-Ghaib*, ed. Syaikh Khalil al-Mais, vol. 29 (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1981), 136-37.

State Idealism and The Emerging Democratization Challenges of Indonesia Post-political Election in Abu Nasr al-Farabi's Paradigm of Qur'anic Exegesis

Allah made the descendants of the two into tribes and nationalities. so humans know each other and help each other. Because in the sight of Allah, the best people are the most devoted to Him.²¹

If there is a dispute between humans, every character should seek a peace process because as a fellow brother, of course, he is required to maintain strength and unity to create social harmony. Furthermore, after the order to reconcile the disputing parties, God also ordered to fear him throughout his life so that he will receive mercy from Allah for his piety as in his words:

وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ فَاءَ ت فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا بِالْعَدْلِ وَأَقْسِطُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴿٩٠﴾ إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَ أَخَوَيْكُمْ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ ﴿٩١﴾

And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of Allah; then, if it returns, make peace between them justly, and act equitably. Lo! Allah loveth the equitable. The believers are naught else than brothers. Therefore make peace between your brethren and observe your duty to Allah that haply ye may obtain mercy.²²

According to Ibn Kathir²³, Allah commands peace against two groups (or more) who are at odds. Ibn Kathir quoted an atsar from Hasan ibn Ali who made a speech on the stand returning to the Muslims. He prayed and hoped for Allah to immediately reconcile the two warring groups as Allah had reconciled the inhabitants of Sham and Iraq after the terrible and tense prolonged war. The peace that must be done must be based on justice and wisdom so that there will be no loss for any party. Regarding the virtues of this fair, Ibn Kathir cited many traditions about the virtues of doing justice, among them the traditions of Ibn Amar as follows "Those who are just in the Day of

²¹ Quraish Shihab, Tafsir al-Mishbah: pesan, kesan, dan keserasian al-Qur'an, V, vol. 12, 15 vols (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2006).

²² Al-Qur'an, v. Al-Hujurat: 9-10; See the translation on Pickthall, The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an.

²³ Ibn Katsir, Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azhim, ed. Hasan Abbas Qutb, vol. 13, 15 vols (Kairo: Al-Faruq Al-Haditsiyah, 2000); Compare with Ahmad Nurhamid, 'Makna Al-Din Dalam Al-Qur'an: Studi Tematik Atas Tafsir Ibn Katsir' (skripsi, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2011), <http://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/5791/10/small.jpg>.

Judgment will be on Allah's side, on the pulpits from the light on the right-side of "Arasy".²⁴

The Qur'an visualizes humans as multidimensional beings, among them as ethical beings. Humans have the potential to have good ethics, which is to live by a set of values and norms.²⁵ Ethics reflects humanity to live, move, and carry out life responsibly to achieve the highest potential, both functionally, socially, and materially. The concept of ethics is not limited to the theoretical realm. It enters and encompasses the sphere of society practically and influences humans to form clean patterns of life, produce goods, and benefit other creatures. In short, the Qur'an provides terminology that ethics encourages the will to do good.²⁶ Islam brought by Muhammad does not teach anything that is outside the norms of humanity, Islam respects the human rights possessed by every human being.²⁷ Because Islam is a representation of human social ethics. The attitude of Islamic appreciation for social ethics does not only revolve around social problems. He also intersects with human values.²⁸

The concept of Islam is raised by Al-Farabi in various kinds of literature. Unlike Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and al-Kindi who developed the Islamic treasury of the Abbasid era in the field of natural sciences, Al-Farabi's interest in logic, philology, and philosophy led him to build authentic arguments. Jean Jolivan in Jacques Langhade (1994) explains that the scientific grid used by Al-Farabi refers to Aristotle's *Organon*, Alexander the Great's thought, and some classical Greek literary works.²⁹ His competence is more complete when the Second Teacher presents the Qur'anic narratives in his thinking. O Leary notes

²⁴ Muhammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhari, Shahih Al-Bukhari, ed. Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Kitab Bhavan, 1987), v. 660.

²⁵ Paul Cloke, Jon May, and Andrew Williams, 'Postsecularities of Care: In-Common Ethics and Politics of "the Meantime(s)"', *Cities* 100 (1 May 2020): 264, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102667>.

²⁶ Definisi yang penulis buat berima dengan pengertian yang ditulis oleh Ahmad Amin Al-Akhlaq, 3rd ed. (Kairo: Al-Mashirah, 1931), 1.

²⁷ Firas Alkhateeb, *Lost Islamic History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2017), 5-6.

²⁸ Ingrid Mattson, *The Story of the Qur'an: Its History and Place in Muslim Life* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 3-15.

²⁹ Lihat Jacques Langhade, *Du Coran a La Philosophie: La Langue Arabe et la Fomation du Vocabulaire Philosophique de Farabi* (Presses de l'Ifpo, 2014), 3; *Min Al-Qur'an ila al-Falsafah: al-Lisan al-'Arabi wa Tukawwin al-Qamus al-Falsafi Ladai al-Farabi*, trans. Wajih As'ad (Damascus: Wizarah al-Tsaqafah, 1994), 4.

that Al-Farabi often paraphrases verses of the Qur'an which are considered in line with the opinions of Plato and Aristotle when discussing political ethics and idealism of state administration.³⁰

Inspired by the thoughts of Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, Al-Farabi tried to find an exclusive logic of thought and by Islamic teachings.³¹ Al-Farabi tried to reflect his views on politics and state administration logically and ethically to formulate the vision of *Madīnah al-faḍīlah al-sa'ādah*. According to him, politics is an act of life, a positive disposition, character, and morals so that in a country must have compatibility with the condition of the human spirit.³² Al-Farabi's governmental system is more inclined towards the autocratic state system, namely a state with a king who has absolute power and gives freedom to the community in developing personal talents and

³⁰ De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabic Thought and Its Place in History* (London: Kegan Paul Trench, 1963), 154.

³¹ Al-Farabi could be claimed as one of the greatest Muslim scholars in history. He was also called as Al-Mu'alim al-Tsani (the second master) with Aristotle as the first teacher. The nickname represents the vastness of scientific treasures that are owned by Al-Farabi. His contribution in various scientific disciplines and the power of his thinking which has influenced many Western and Eastern scholars and figures to date. Simply put, Al-Farabi is recognized for having a major contribution to the development of world science. His thoughts on humanity and social aspects are contained in his works which contain ethics and state administration. Al-Farabi's view of ethics revolves around the question of human action and how humans achieve happiness. Regarding human action, there seems to be a tendency that the logic that Al-Farabi uses through elaboration and interpretation of God's will gives limited freedom to humans. In the sense that human actions are what God wants. See Egi Tanadi Taufik, 'Al-Farabi (w. 950), Demokrasi, dan Wawasan Al-Qur'an: Harmonisasi Keberagaman Etnis, Agama dan Politik Di Indonesia' (Pancasila dan Bela Negara, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2018), 18; Abū Nasir Muhammad bin al-Farakh al-Farabi, 'Uyūn al-Masā'il', in Al-Tsamrah al-Mardhi (Kuwait: Kuwait Maḥkamat al-Tamyīz, 1890), 56-57, <http://ia601709.us.archive.org>; Muhammad Syafi'i, 'Etika dalam Pandangan Al-Farabi', *Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga* 16, no. 2 (29 December 2017): 159.

³² Lihat Gambar II dalam Lampiran 'Kritik Al-Farabi terhadap Sistem Pemerintahan Modern' Abū Nasir Muhammad bin al-Farakh al-Farabi, *Tahshil al-Sa'adah* (Beirut: Dar Maktabah Hilal, 1995); M Makhrus, 'Pengaruh Plato (427-327 SM) dalam Pemikiran Filsafat Politik Al-Farabi (870-950)' (Skripsi, Yogyakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2004), 60-62, <http://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/26899/>. Bandingkan dengan Robert K. Merton, *The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*, ed. Norman W. Storer, 0-2252092-7 (Londok: The University of Chicago Press, 1973); Robert K. Merton, 'Science and the Social Order', *The University of Chicago Press Philosophy of Science* 5, no. 3 (1938): 321-37; Diego Chavarroa, Puay Tanga, and Ismael Ràfols, 'Why Researchers Publish in Non-Mainstream Journals: Training, Knowledge Bridging, and Gap Filling', *Elsevier, Research Policy*, 46, no. 1 (30 July 2017): 1666-1800; Andrea Saltellia and Silvio Funtowicza, 'What Is Science's Crisis Really About?', *Elsevier, Futures*, 91 (31 May 2017): 5-11; Djørup Stine, 'Rediscovering the Scientific Ethos' (Thesis Ph.D., Danish, Københavns Universitet, 2015), forskingsdatabasen.dk; Syarif Hidayatullah, 'Relasi Agama Dan Sains Dalam Pandangan Mehdi Golshani', *Jurnal Filsafat* 27, no. 1 (16 March 2018): 65-90, <https://doi.org/10.22146>.

interests.³³ The author finds that Al-Farabi's argument about the parallelism between a leader and his people. The leadership of a king or president must be based on integrity in the aspects of intellectuality and religiosity so that the country does not fall into a conflict of diversity. The values of these leaders, according to Al-Farabi, reflect directly the nature of society.³⁴

There are three types of a perfect society in Al-Farabi's perspective; First, a small-scaled ideal society consisting of residents of one city or called a city; Second, a medium-scaled ideal society consisting of one nation that inhabits in one area of the earth, which known as a nation; Third, a great-scaled ideal society which made by the combination of nations that agree to join in and help each other and work together, namely tribalism.

Al-Farabi believes that among the three types of a perfect society, the nation is the best and most superior political system or pattern. The imperfect community is social life at the village and family level. The family is a unit of the village is part of the nation's community.³⁵ The formation of villages is part of a nation. Creating harmony and prosperity in the smallest units such as families and villages will form a major and harmonious in macro units as the state itself. In this way, Farabi's thinking on the possible application for the verse QS. Hud (11): 108 on Earth. Al-Farabi to quote Qur'anic verses in the discussion of political ethics.

وَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ سَعِدُوا فَفِي الْجَنَّةِ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ إِلَّا مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ ۗ عَطَاءٌ
غَيْرٌ مَّجْدُودٍ

And as for those who were prosperous, they will be in Paradise, abiding therein as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except what your Lord should will. A bestowal is uninterrupted.

According to Al-Farabi, the ideal order of a country is always centered on the competence of leaders and the balance between society and the state that are not separated individually or in general. According to him, the ideal country indicator can be seen from the harmony between groups in the community, so that there is an

³³ See Sayyed Hasan Hussaini, 'Islamic Philosophy between Theism and Deism', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia, Philosophical Contributions from the East to the West*, 72, no. 1 (2016): 65-83.

³⁴ Abū Nasir Muhammad bin al-Farakh al-Farabi, *Kitab al-Siyasah al-Madinah li Abi Nasr al-Farabi* (Beirut: Dar Maktabah Hilal, n.d.), 63-84.

³⁵ Farabi, 96-98.

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encouragement to help each other and respect differences between groups.³⁶ To get to the ideal point, it takes a clean soul and a healthy mind. Briefly, the author, Al-Farabi explains that the ideal state is formed from ideal leaders and people; ethically, logically, and religiously.³⁷ The integration of the three aspects above will result in noble and civilized social awareness.

Khoshnaw in Bukier (2018) said that the main difference between Plato and Al-Farabi is the role of the "ideal individual" or citizen in building the ideal state. As for Al-Farabi, perfection is sought for every citizen of the community or village as they all act collectively as one organism. While in Plato, citizens have a minor role and their perfection is not of a priority compared to the politicians or philosophers. Al-Farabi desires all the citizens to have a minimum knowledge of everything, while Plato is strict on the division of labor and one's dedication to the knowledge only related to his occupation and details the process of educating the guardians and philosophers.³⁸



According to Freire, an educator and theoretician of Brazil, peace in a democratic frame is a dimension of generosity aimed at reducing the triggering of a dispute.³⁹ Freire's argument is similar to Al-Farabi's that the generosity and happiness of the people and

³⁶ See also Tal Orian Harel, Ifat Maoz, and Eran Halperin, 'A Conflict within a Conflict: Intragroup Ideological Polarization and Intergroup Intractable Conflict', *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* 34 (1 August 2020): 52–57, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cobeha.2019.11.013>.

³⁷ Abū Nasir Muhammad bin al-Farakh al-Farabi, 'Aflathūn wa Aristhāthālīs: Kitāb al-Jam'ū bayn al-Ra'y al-Hakīmāinī', in *Majmu'at al-Falasifah li Abu Nar al-Farabi*, ed. Muhammad Amin al-Khuli, I (Mesir: As-Sa'adah, 1907), 37; *Kitāb al-Siyasah al-Madinah*, n.d., 95.

³⁸ Mahmood N. Khoshnaw, 'Alfarabi's Conversion of Plato's Republic', *Advances in Literary Study* 02, no. 01 (2014): 6, <https://doi.org/10.4236/als.2014.21002>; Abdulla A. Bukier, 'Utopian Literature Of The Ideal Society: A Study In Al Farabi's Virtuous City & More's Utopia', *Majallah Al-Andalus* 18, no. 5 (June 2018): 2, 21, <https://doi.org/10.35781/1637-000-018-009>.

³⁹ Kevin Kester and Ashley Booth, 'Education, Peace and Freire: A Dialogue', *Development* 53 (1 December 2010): 498, <https://doi.org/10.1057/dev.2010.86>.

state leaders will realize the democratic concept. The argument about the state of peace and democracy built by Al-Farabi is well known and influential of the world's philosophers and scholars. This argument is mentioned in various writings by the term *Madīnah al-faḍīlah al-sa'ādah*.⁴⁰

The idea of *Madīnah al-faḍīlah al-sa'ādah* is not merely wishful thinking and ideology and expression of Al-Farabi's idealism.⁴¹ He observes the context of a pluralistic society which becomes a challenge to develop an ideal state. Al-Farabi believes that human plurality is inevitable and becomes a natural thing. This is caused by several factors, such as the climate and the environment in which they live. According to him, these factors are very influential in the formation of mindset, character, behavior, and customs of the community. Seeing these symptoms, Al-Farabi canceled Plato's philosophical theory to realize uniformity among human beings and to be more logical to build relationships within these different groups. The logic is also influenced by his insight into the Qur'an regarding human plurality in Surah Al-Hujurat: 13.

Al-Farabi's Paradigm of Exegesis and the Challenges of Indonesian Democracy

At first glance, Al-Farabi's thoughts are in line with the concept of Indonesian democracy in the concept of leadership. Makhrus in his thesis "The Influence of Plato (427-327 BC) in the Thinking of Al-Farabi's Political Philosophy (870-950)" explains the reception of Al-Farabi's state administration. He explained that Al-Farabi's political philosophy was leaning towards the system of autocracy⁴², namely the state system under the leadership of a scientifically and religiously competent leader.⁴³ The concept is certainly different from the Indonesian government system which is democratic and open. But in practice, the openness of government in Indonesia does not reflect the value of democracy in it, leading to multi-dimensional conflict.

⁴⁰ O'Leary, *Arabic Thought and Its Place in History*, 210.

⁴¹ See also Ahmad Zaenal Abidin, 'Konsep Ketatanegaraan Islam menurut Al-Farabi dan Ayatullah Khumaeni', *Al-Mazaahib (Jurnal Perbandingan Hukum)* 1, no. 2 (1 December 2012): 232-35, <http://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/syariah/almazahib/article/view/1355>.

⁴² Compare with Scheppele's concept of legal autocracy Scheppele, 'Autocratic Legalism'.

⁴³ Makhrus, 'Pengaruh Plato dalam Pemikiran Filsafat Politik Al-Farabi', 64.

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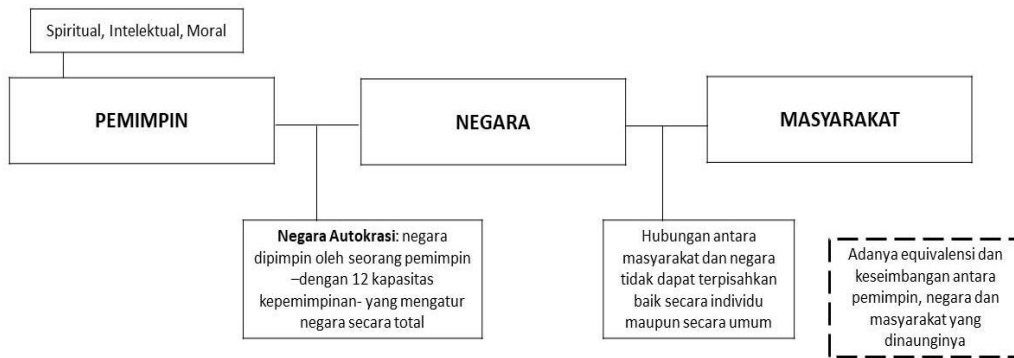
The imperfect practice of the democratic system in Indonesia will bring side effects that have the potential to endanger national unity.⁴⁴ Democracy imposed on countries that are not yet “green” in democracy will have negative impacts such as the emergence of political violence. Political violence can be caused by people's disappointment at the political mediators of the government. The process of democratizing the people should be supported by the presence of political mediators who can accommodate their aspirations holistically. The people are not political actors, it is the ruling elite who are responsible for providing legitimate political mediators while educating the people for democracy. If it is not fulfilled, it is only natural that the people demand their rights. Thus the existing institutions may have to be redefined in line with the aspirations of the people.⁴⁵

To anticipate post-political campaign turmoil that has the potential to attack popular peace and undermine the value of *des sein* democracy in Indonesia, the author provides arguments regarding the application of state idealism and Al-Farabi's perspective of leader-people relations. The author observes that the idealism of the state of Al-Farabi's perspective corresponds to the interpretation of the Quraish Shihab regarding the need to return to the Qur'an when facing various problems.⁴⁶ The thought of these philosophers emphasized the urgency of the ethical, logical, and religious aspects of leaders and society to become the idealism of the state based on a balance between Spiritual understanding (sourced from the Qur'an and Sunnah), Intellectual, and Moral.

⁴⁴ Hermawan Yulianto, *Electoral Politics in Indonesia: A Hard Way to Democracy*, Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia (Croissant, 2002), library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/01361004.pdf.

⁴⁵ Shofiyullah Shofiyullah, 'Praktek Demokrasi Di Indonesia Kontemporer Dalam Kritik Maqosidus Syariah', *TAJDID: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin* 14, no. 2 (2015): 223-50.

⁴⁶ Shihab, *Tafsir al-Mishbah*, 2006.



Indonesia is a country that stands tall under the umbrella of democracy. The notion of democracy has met and interacted dialectically with cultural, religious, social, and various levels of economic development.⁴⁷ Democracy, epistemologically, means a system of government that is followed by all people through the mediation of representatives; people's government. Democracy also means an idea or view of life that prioritizes equal rights and obligations and equal treatment for all citizens.⁴⁸ Democracy is synonymous with the balance of life because, by democracy, a person can prevent division, such as conflict and so forth.

The adaptation of Al-Farabi's political philosophy became an alternative writer to fill the space in Indonesia's democratic system. The ideas formed in scientific work do not aim to change the order of government in Indonesia holistically, but rather to form authentic frames of thought in dealing with various problems of pluralism and visualization of political 'drama' which always heats up in various mass media.⁴⁹ Al-Farabi's idea of the importance of the ethical, logical, and religious aspects of society is the key to this discussion. The idea is in line with its adaptation to the social verses of the Qur'an as in QS Al-Ma'idah: 48 which the author has discussed in the previous chart. An ideal society is a picture of an ideal country so that the awareness and harmony of the

⁴⁷ Ajat Sudrajat, 'Demokrasi Pancasila dalam Perspektif Sejarah' (Seminar Nasional Program Studi Ilmu Sejarah UNY, gedung Ki Hajar Dewantara, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, 2015), 1, journal.uny.ac.id.

⁴⁸ Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, 'Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Daring', Pencarian Kata, KBBI Daring, 2016, v. demokrasi, <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/demokrasi>.

⁴⁹ Taufik, 'Al-Farabi (w. 950), Demokrasi, dan Wawasan Al-Qur'an', 16.

community when facing a variety of diversity becomes the main process to achieve harmony.

Conclusion

Social conflict after political campaigns is an important point that needs to be observed in the dynamics of politics in Indonesia. This phenomenon has the potential to cause massive public upheavals due to the less established *das sein* democracy. The imperfect practice of the democratic system in Indonesia causing lack of happiness—the main category of Al-Farabi's idealism which symbolized in Q. Hud (11): 108 as the perfect state for any being which leads citizens into the form of ethical excellence—has side effects for the harmony of the state. This paradigm integrates the ancient Greek philosophies, Islamic ethics, and Qur'anic insights making it superior in various aspects of science. Al-Farabi explained that the ideal state was formed from ideal leaders and citizens; ethically, logically, and religiously to form a well universalist values upon Islamic society. This idea is quite similar in comparison with Indonesian contemporary Quranic interpreters as Quraish Shihab and Hamka for their interpretation of Q. Hujurāt (49): 11-13. The adaptation of state idealism from Al-Farabi's perspective becomes an alternative to fulfill the “blank space” in the center of Indonesia's democratic practice. The integration of ethical, logical, and religious excellence will result in civilized social awareness.

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