

Analysis of the Comparative Western Democracy, Pancasila Democracy, and the Concept of Shura; Study of the Book Manuscript "Democracy in Islamic Perspective by Ahmad Sukardja and Ahmad Sudirman Abbas"*

Nurhasan¹, Siti Ngainnur Rohmah²

Institut Agama Islam al-Zaytun Indonesia (IAI AL-AZIS), Indramayu

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Abstract:

Democracy that comes from the West is often juxtaposed with the concept of shura in Islam. The concept of shura is often seen as having an intersection with democracy. There are those who agree and there are those who are not in line with democracy. Those who agree with democracy argue that the value of democracy is universal and can coexist with Islam. The opinion that rejects an Islamic state (caliphate) and justifies democracy states that the legacy of the Islamic political system is based on the experience of the Caliphate with no standard standards. The author is interested and compelled to examine how Western Democracy, Pancasila Democracy, and the concept of Shura in an Islamic perspective? How do we compare the principles of western democracy, Pancasila Democracy and the concept of Shura in the book "Democracy in an Islamic perspective by Ahmad Sukardja and Ahmad Sudirman Abbas?" This study uses a qualitative research method, with a manuscript study approach. The results of this study state that Western Democracy and Pancasila Democracy in essence do not contradict the Shura principles, as long as the principles in them are in accordance with the essence of Islamic teachings. Western democracy is bound by equality of blood, race, language, and customs, whereas in Islam it does not see this bond as a barrier. Al-Qur'an and Al-Sunnah are more general in nature and cover all aspects of human life throughout the world. Meanwhile, Pancasila Democracy is only suitable for a country.

Keywords: *Western Democracy; Pancasila Democracy; Shura Concept; Islamic Perspective*

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¹ **Nurhasan** adalah Mahasiswa pada Program Studi Hukum Tatanegara Fakultas Syariah, Institut Agama Islam Al-Zaytun Indonesia, email: nanaalazis03@gmail.com

² **Siti Ngainnur Rohmah** adalah Dosen Institut Agama Islam Al Zaytun Indonesia, Mekarjaya, Gantar, Indramayu, Jawa Barat, alamat email: siti.ngainnur@iai-alzaytun.ac.id.

A. INTRODUCTION

Shura is closely related to Islam even though in its meaning it is deliberation which can also mean "Consultation" or exchange of views. The exchange of opinions here always involves at least two or more people, each of whom puts forward ideas based on logical, systematic, and analytical arguments.³ For humans, Shura can strengthen the unity of the nation, the brain activity in thinking is increasingly trained, and a tool to the truth in goodness and blessings.⁴

Shura (musyawarah) is also related to democracy. Between Shura, Islam and Democracy is a very interesting study in principle and in practice. From a principle point of view, although Muslims in Indonesia seem to accept democracy, what is happening now is that Muslims have different opinions about democracy. Democracy is used for government that is built on the basis of people's power, in other words the sovereignty of the people. The sovereignty of the people exercises control over laws and governance and the political process. Democracy is not authoritarianism, not totalitarianism, not absolutism and not dictatorship. Democracy is a system in which no one can choose himself, no one gives himself a governmental power and therefore, no one seizes power for himself uncontrollably and is not limited. The essence of democracy is democracy is inseparable from the context of the background of its emergence (historical background) and what the initiators want, so that from there an objective rather than subjective description is obtained.⁵

There are those who agree and there are those who are not in line with democracy. For those who agree with democracy, they argue that the value of democracy is universal and can coexist with Islam. Democracy is also considered to be closely related and have similarities with Islam and should not be contested. Indonesia is a multicultural country, so Muslims in Indonesia, who in fact as the majority, can side with Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and Confucians. That is the essence of Islam which is accepted by various cultures and societies. To deal with a multicultural society, it is necessary to build a society that is tolerant in various ways. Moderation is needed so that there is no clash in the life of the

³ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

⁴ al-Anshari, Abd Al-Hamid Ismail, *Al-Syura wa Atsaruhā fi al-Dimuqratiyah*, Kairo: al-Maktabah al-Salafiyah, 1981.

⁵ Hilmy, Masdar, *Islam, Politik & Demokrasi*, Surabaya: Imtiyaz, 2014.

nation and the state. In the study of classical books, moderatism is spoken of as al-wash, al-qisth, at-tawazun, al-i'tidal, and so on.⁶

Opinions that reject an Islamic state (caliphate) and justify democracy, such as Munawir Sjadzali's opinion in his book *Islam and State Administration*, which states that the Islamic political system's legacy is based on the caliphate's experience without any standard standards. From the time of the Prophet, al-Khulafa 'al-Rashidun, to the Ottoman Turks, post-colonial Islamic countries demonstrated their various constitutional systems. This diversity demonstrates the role of local cultures in the formulation and selection of the chosen state system. The Prophet's experience leading the state of Medina, as seen in the Medina Charter, did not mention Islam as the state's foundation. The application of these Islamic political treasures in current conditions, particularly in the context of Indonesia, will be difficult, particularly as current developments demand democratization in a variety of fields, including politics. As a result, it is necessary to revisit (reactualize or contextualize) the Islamic political heritage. Because it can be determined, the application of the Islamic political system's legacy will not be visible to be enforced in the current era.⁷ Thus, there is no necessity to fight for Islam as the basis of the State to be carried out by Muslims who are involved in politics.⁸

Others argue that democracy is compatible with Islam, citing Fazlur Rahman's assertion that a state in Islam takes the form of a Democratic Republic with people's sovereignty. According to him, if implemented, this democratic system is in accordance with Islam, is realistic, and will please the community.⁹ Democracy, according to dissident groups, is the result of Western civilization. They categorically deny the existence of a relationship or integration of Islam and democracy. They made a point of distinguishing between democracy and Islam. Democracy should not be equated with Islam, and vice versa.¹⁰ Democracy is a human product in the world of infidelity and corruption (Greece). Democracy,

⁶ Hilmy, Masdar, *Islam, Politik & Demokrasi*, 21.

⁷ Sjadzali, Munawir, *Islam dan Tata Negara*, Depok, Jawa Barat: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1990.

⁸ Sjadzali, Munawir, *Islam dan Tata Negara*, 33.

⁹ Amiruddin, M. Hasbi, *Konsep Negara Islam Menurut Fazlur Rahman*, Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2000.

¹⁰ Thaha, Idris. *Demokrasi Religius : Pemikiran Politik Nurcholis Madjid dan Amien Rais*. Jakarta: Teraju, 2005.

according to him, has nothing to do with Allah, has nothing to do with faith, creed and religion.¹¹

The concept of Shura (deliberation) is said by some legal experts to have similarities with democracy in procedures, methods of negotiation, problem solving that results in mutual agreement. The verb Shura in Arabic is *syawara* which has the articulation of explaining, declaring or proposing and taking something. Another form of the word *syawara* is *tasyawara*, which is negotiating, exchanging opinions; *syawir*, which means deliberation.¹² So, Shura or deliberation is to explain to each other and negotiate or ask each other and exchange opinions regarding a matter.

In the Qur'an, there are two verses that clearly state deliberation, and each one of the two verses has its own instructions. Two verses that explain deliberation, namely Q.S. Ali-Imran (3), verse 159 and Q.S. Ash-Shura (42): 38. The explanation of these verses is that the Koran interprets Shura as a general legal concept, although it is not mentioned in detail for its technical implementation. The *fukoha* and Islamic jurists generally hold the opinion that Shura applies to both religious and state matters, if these problems are not found clear instructions in the Al-Quran and As-Sunnah.¹³ The concept of democracy that is implanted in a system of government basically refers to the people as a symbol of power and quantity. Quantity issues must be resolved based on general standards which require that there is a "forum" for the exchange of views for the common interest. The exchange of opinions that exist in a democratic system and assimilate to the concept of Shura is expected to give birth to an Islamic democratic system. Likewise, what is contained in Pancasila Democracy.¹⁴

In the above problems, several questions arise which are the focus of the research, namely; What about Western Democracy, Pancasila Democracy and the concept of Shura in an Islamic perspective? How do the western democracy principles compare, the Pancasila Democracy Principles and the Shura concept

¹¹ Ridha, Al-Annahwy Adnan Ali. *Syura Bukan Demokrasi*. Kuala Lumpur: Media Ehsan, 1990.

¹² Amiruddin, M. Hasbi, *Konsep Negara Islam Menurut Fazlur Rahman*, 35.

¹³ Kamali, Mohammad Hasyim, *Kebebasan Berpendapat Dalam Islam*, Bandung: Mizan, 1996.

¹⁴ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas. *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*. Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

in the book "Democracy in an Islamic perspective by Ahmad Sukardja and Ahmad Sudirman Abbas?"

B. METHODS

This type of research used in this research is library research). Library research is a series of activities related to the methods of collecting library data, reading and taking notes and processing the research materials. This activity is a research that utilizes library sources to obtain research data. Collecting data or scientific papers related to the object of research or data collection that is library in nature. Or a study that is carried out to solve a problem which basically rests on a critical and in-depth study of the relevant library materials. Literature is a data collection technique by conducting study studies of books, literature, notes and reports that are related to the problem being solved.¹⁵

The type of research is the literature study that will be examined and by analyzing the thoughts of Ahmad Sukardja, and Ahmad Sudirman Abbas in the book "Democracy in an Islamic Perspective". Primary data is obtained from the book Democracy in an Islamic Perspective, Basics of Political Science, Deliberation and Democracy in Citizenship Science and Western Political Thought ". Secondary data, namely, library materials related to Western Democracy, Pancasila Democracy and Shura.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Western Democracy

Western democracy emerged gradually from the increasing struggle for the betterment of the fortunes of the peasants and other workers. Their demands were directed against the landlords, as the cities where the influence of the money holders increased. Merchants and various associations of similar craftsmen. It is also in line with the birth of independent groups which can determine their goals regardless of the servitude relationship of the aristocratic landlord class. This has led to a class struggle against the ruling groups to get better conditions.¹⁶

¹⁵ Nazir, Mohammad, *Metode Penelitian*, Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 1988.

¹⁶ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

Western democracy, whose growth through the social class struggle was aimed first at feudal power, then was directed against the power of the Catholic church (Roman and Greek). Ascend above the power and power of the kings of money and commerce, namely the rule of Capitalism. The struggle for democratic ideals is also aimed at the Capitalism system. Democracy arose in the form of Socialism which in its extreme form could transform into "Communism". According to Hazairin, capitalism cannot be thought of as the fruit of the Bible, let alone colonialism and imperialism; Three types of bissu 'ammarah lust born by the spirit of liberalism, individualism. Hazairin believes that these bad mental forms are the bitter fruit produced by the culture created by European society itself. It was also imbued with Roman-Greek civilization based on shirk as a fertile vessel for various moral humiliations that brought people into material development and enslavement of lust and physical appetites, which were tried to be covered with various philosophies of life. Furthermore Hazairin revealed that only forms of socialism apart from religious communism could be born by the Bible (New Testament).¹⁷

Liberal democracy is closely related to the development of capitalism. Liberal democracy according to Macpherson's observation will only grow and develop in a society with a relatively high level of development of capitalism. In other words, the development of liberal democracy is parallel with the development of capitalism. Only in a capitalist society can liberal democracy be realized in its true meaning. Liberal democracy, as the name implies, according to Macpherson is based on liberalism. So, a country that claims to be a liberal democracy must first be liberal, only then democratic. Because according to Macpherson, western liberal democratic countries have undergone a liberalization process first and then democratized. The values of liberalism have been adopted first before the values of democracy have been embraced by society.¹⁸

What are the principles of liberal democracy (West). First, the principle of individual freedom. In liberal democracy individual freedom occupies the most important position because freedom is a basic human value. By having freedom, individuals will find themselves as creative, initiative-rich, critical and other human beings. Human creativity will only develop if it is not restrained in the socio-political structure which limits its freedom. A man whose freedom is

¹⁷ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

¹⁸ Suhelmi, Ahmad, *Pemikiran Politik Barat*, jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007.

limited, according to liberalism, is no different from a slave (slave). Freedom also makes individuals not afraid to take the initiative. Critical attitudes will also be born when humans are given the freedom to think and act. Restraints on freedom of thought, for example, will find it difficult to produce critical individuals. Freedom in the sense of liberalism, of course, is not meant as total freedom to do whatever the individual wants. Freedom can be justified or tolerated as long as it does not interfere with or threaten the freedom of other individuals in society. In a general election campaign, for example, a political figure may be free to campaign on strategic issues to win the general election. But his actions are not justified if the political issues that are brought up to the public are slanderous or without grounds accusing his political opponents, he can be tried because he is considered to have abused his freedom.¹⁹

Second, liberal democracy adheres to the principles of a free market society. In this democracy, everything that is considered to affect the life of individuals or the people is largely determined entirely by negotiation or bargaining, the bargaining process of the individual or society concerned. Important decisions are determined by the market freely. In the economic sector, for example, consumer products are determined entirely by the free market mechanism. Likewise, the supply and demand for consumer products, all determined by the free market. However, if the state intervenes in this matter, then the intervention is relatively minimal.²⁰

2. Pancasila Democracy

The term Pancasila Democracy "was used by the MPRS / XXX VII 1968 (Guidelines for the Implementation of Pancasila). This term is an acronym for the "populist precepts led by the wisdom of wisdom in deliberation / representation, namely the fourth precept in Pancasila." The term "Pancasila Democracy" according to Hazairin must be understood thoroughly by linking the other four principles. Because it is feared that it will lead to a wrong understanding. He further emphasized that the use of the term Pancasila Democracy for the fourth principle in Pancasila is not the first, because before that the term "Guided Democracy" was also used. In reality, "Guided Democracy" is unable to remain upright and is understood as democracy in the sense of people's sovereignty, so

¹⁹ Suhelmi, Ahmad, *Pemikiran Politik Barat*, jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007.

²⁰ Suhelmi, Ahmad, *Pemikiran Politik Barat*, jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007.

that an assumption emerges that claims its existence in our country. Guided democracy tends to be interpreted as the sovereignty of the government and its elements. This shift in meaning actually accelerates the process of eliminating the use of the term, because after all Indonesia is a country that stands on the pillars of democracy and humanity that does not want a dictatorship. Each principle in Pancasila has its own description, however, one another does not stand alone without the other precepts. Pancasila Democracy is Democracy As intended by the 1945 Constitution.²¹

"Pancasila Democracy" really needs to be known by us Indonesians, because this term will give its own impression considering the history of its development in Indonesia through three stages that are processed and are risky. The three stages are: First, the Republic of Indonesia I Period, namely the Democracy (constitutional) period which emphasizes the role of the parliament and parties and is known as "Parliamentary Democracy". Second, the period of the Republic of Indonesia II, namely "Guided Democracy" which in many aspects has deviated from the constitutional democracy which formally constitutes the foundation, and shows several aspects of people's democracy. Third, the period of the Republic of Indonesia, namely the Pancasila Democracy, which is a constitutional democracy that emphasizes the presidential system.²²

In terms of the development of Indonesian Democracy, in this case Pancasila Democracy is a constitutional democracy. The characteristic feature of democracy according to Miriam Budiardjo is "the idea that a democratic government is a government that has limited power and is not justified in acting arbitrarily against its citizens". In accordance with the principles of democracy outlined in the basic pattern of national development, the democracy that is wanted to be upheld is a democracy based on Pancasila which covers the political, social and economic fields, as well as in solving national problems trying as far as possible to take the road of deliberation to reach consensus. In Pancasila Democracy, the state organizing system is carried out by the people themselves or with the consent of the people, in which the nobility of humans as God's creatures in the fields of politics, economy, socio-culture and defense and

²¹ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

²² Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

security is recognized, organized, and guaranteed on the basis of the Pancasila state idea.²³

Pancasila democracy is a constitutional democracy, as stated in article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Cholisin, 2012). The values contained in Pancasila Democracy are the customary and cultural values of Indonesian society in general. Pancasila Democratic Principles:

- a. Equality for all Indonesian people. Equality for all Indonesians means that the rights and obligations of the Indonesian people are the same and equal. The equal rights and obligations are not only in the political field but in the legal, economic and social fields. Therefore Pancasila Democracy includes not only Political Democracy, but Social Democracy and Economic Democracy as well. This similarity is expected to be able to provide justice for all of the Indonesian people.
- b. Balance between rights and obligations. The principle of balance between rights and obligations implies that citizens in receiving their rights must also be balanced with their obligations.
- c. The exercise of freedom that is morally responsible to Almighty God, oneself and others. Pancasila democracy gives freedom to every individual but with responsible boundaries. What is meant by this freedom is freedom which must pay attention to the rights and obligations of others and oneself, and must be held accountable to God Almighty.
- d. Embody a sense of social justice. Democracy has a goal of creating a sense of social justice for all its citizens. Social justice encompasses the precepts in Pancasila, especially the fifth precept. Therefore, the principle in Pancasila Democracy wants to create a sense of social justice in every society.
- e. Decision making by deliberation. The foundation of mutual cooperation and togetherness is the basis for decision making by deliberation. In making this decision inspires a sense of justice for all. Where not only concerned with the majority, but also can pay attention to minorities.
- f. Prioritizing national unity and kinship. The principle of national unity is inspired by the third principle of Pancasila. The sense of kinship in the

²³ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

Republic of Indonesia creates national unity in every society. National unity is also very important in national defense so that the country can be strong when there is interference, both from within and from outside.

3. The concept of Shura

The essence of Shura demonstrates the reality of human equality, free expression, and the right to criticize and recognize human rights. In the midst of turbulent general problems, one can find a way to unite people, unite groups with various attributes, and develop an exchange of ideas and discussions with Shura. In terms of morals and responsibility, it is clear that a person's existence in society will always be linked to common interests. His indifference to others is categorized as bad, excessive, and a despicable trait that believers should not possess. When a person retains that temperament, it indicates that he has forgotten the responsibility that has been assigned to him and has betrayed him. If not, they will, of course, carry out their responsibilities properly. As a manifestation and sense of responsibility, people who truly fear Allah SWT will always discuss all matters or problems related to common interests.²⁴

Deliberation prevents the ruler from arbitrary attitudes and actions and keeps him from becoming a "thagut" (border breaker). There are three verses in the Koran that talk about Shura (deliberation). The verse which speaks of Shura is very brief and contains only general principles. However, it cannot be concluded that the Qur'an does not pay sufficient attention to Shura. One of the verses that talk about Shura is expressed in the form of praise for the believers because their obedience is accompanied by solving social problems based on Shura as said by Allâh Swt in the Qur'an surah al-Shura verse 38. This verse was revealed in relation to the Ansar group. When the Prophet asked him to believe, they welcomed the invitation of the Prophet. They are promised better and lasting rewards in the sight of Allah SWT. These believers have the characteristics, among others, "their affairs are settled by deliberation". In this verse, Shura walks side by side with the three pillars of faith (obedience to Allah's orders, offering prayers and paying zakat). Shura is an obligation based on the

²⁴ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

same commandment. This verse is a Makkiyah verse that came down before the existence of Islam has become a strong religion.²⁵

When Islam was established in Medina, Shura was conveyed in the form of commands which could be used as a textual basis for Shura as a social principle in Islam.²⁶ As Allah says in Surah Ali-Imran verse 159. This verse is redactually addressed to the Prophet Muhammad to conduct deliberations. This verse is closely related to the disaster that occurred in the Uhud war which was preceded by deliberation, which was approved by the majority. However, the result, as it is known, was failure. These results may lead someone to conclude that deliberation does not need to be held, especially for the Prophet Rasulullah SAW. The important message of this verse is that mistakes made after deliberation are not as big as mistakes made without deliberation, and that the truths that are reached alone are not as good as the truths that are reached together. The order to deliberate on worldly matters for which there is no revelation is also a guide for every Muslim, especially for every leader, to consult with its members. The provisions for conducting Shura (deliberation) apply in all matters, both specific and general, such as the appointment of the caliphate, governance, war announcements, appointment of leaders, judges, and so on. However, there is also an opinion which states that even though the above verse does not have an explicit meaning (jazm), the material to be discussed is things that are explicit in syara 'law. This can be seen from the sentence wa syawirhum fi al-amr, which refers to a particular business and not all matters. In addition, the Shura principle must be applied at every level of social interaction, including the family, which is the smallest unit in the structure of society. Also ordered to carry out Shura before deciding important matters, as Allah said in Surah Al-Baqarah (2) verse 233. At least the verses that describe Shura, commented on by Muhammad Rasyid Ridla that "Allah has given us complete freedom and freedom that perfect in world affairs and in the interests of society, by way of giving directions for conducting deliberations, that is, carried out by capable and respected people whom we trust, in order to determine for society at each period things that are beneficial and happy for society."²⁷

In the government system, according to Islam, Shura plays an important

²⁵ Sukardja, Ahmad, dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, *Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam*, Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya dengan Anglo Media Jakarta, 2005.

²⁶ Kamali, Mohammad Hasyim. *Kebebasan Berpendapat Dalam Islam*. Bandung: Mizan, 1996.

²⁷ Zahid, Mohammad. *Konsep Syura Dalam Pandangan Fiqh Siyasa*. Pamekasan: Jurnal, Dosen Jurusan Syari'ah STAIN, 2009.

role, because Shura is considered a way to find out the correct opinion. With it, each Shura participant expressed their opinions and views, they compared and discussed various kinds of opinions which in turn would produce a correct opinion. With Shura, government officials or bureaucrats will be protected from difficulties due to the problems faced by the people. There is no other way to fix it except by deliberation and all difficulties cannot be resolved only with good intentions. Besides that, Shura also reminded the people that they had power, and at the same time reminded the head of state that he was the people's representative in exercising power. Thus they avoid transgressing attitudes.²⁸

Shura is also a guarantee for the permanence and security of a government. When viewed from the history of Islamic politics, the practice of Shura developed along with the development of the times, starting from its form and mechanism or technicality. The technique can be in accordance with their interests and needs. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet had invited Muslims to discuss issues that were not given the answers by Allah's revelations and took the opinions of people who had a better understanding of worldly affairs, for example about tactics and strategies in war. The Prophet Muhammad SAW listened to the opinions of friends during the Badr war, the Uhud War, the Khandaq war (trench warfare), also used the opinions of friends about prisoners of war. This step of the Prophet was also followed by the Khilafah during the Khulafaur Rashidin era, by inviting Muslims to deliberate in deciding issues regarding the social interests of the community in each during his reign. Caliph Abu Bakr during his reign which was approximately two years and seven months²⁹ always conduct deliberation in deciding a problem, if the answer to that problem is not found in the Al-Quran or the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad, which he must face during the early days of government both from within the country and challenges from abroad. For example, in deliberations regarding zakat dissidents, deliberations regarding the collection of the Koran, deliberations on the provisions of inheritance, deliberations on false prophets and the rebellion of apostates. Of the various problems faced, all of them were brought to a deliberation session which was attended by the two Muslim groups, Ansar and Muhajirin. When observed in the events of deliberation during the time of Caliph Abu Bakr, there were certain people who gave their opinions or were asked for their opinions and their views by Caliph Abu Bakr. In general, the

²⁸ Audah, Abdul al-Qadir, *Al-Islam wa Audla'una al-Siyasah*, Kairo: Al-Mukhtar al-Alam, 1986.

²⁹ Hasbi, Artani, *Musyawarah dan Demokrasi (analisis Konseptual aplikatif Dalam Lintasan Sejarah Pemikiran Politik Islam)*, Jakarta: Gaya Media Pratama, 2001.

participants of the deliberation were great friends at the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, such as Umar bin Khatab, Ali ibn Abu Talib, Said ibn Zaid, Usaid ibn Hudair, Muadz ibn Jabal, Usman ibn Affan, Abd Rahman ibn Auf and Talha. It was during the time of the Caliph Abu Bakr that the idea of ahl al-hall wa al-aqd (participant in Shura) grew.³⁰

It can be said that Abu Bakr was the first to lay the foundation for this idea in the development of state institutions in Islam. Their strengths and abilities can be categorized into groups of people who have broad views or are called ahl al-ra'yi or legal experts known as al-fiqh. At that time also, Caliph Abu Bakr used two methods in deliberation, namely First, he brought up the problem he was facing, then asked his friends whether this problem had been in the holy book of the Koran or had been mentioned by the Prophet Muhammad before. If there has been a previous history of the Prophet, then the decision is made based on that narration. Second, Caliph Abu Bakr provided the opportunity for his friends to express their opinions about the problems he was facing with complete freedom. If in this deliberation meeting an agreement is reached, it is called the result of 'ijma friends, namely the decision is taken unanimously.³¹

There are several basic principles in the implementation of Shura, which these rights cannot be separated from the basic principles of Islamic politics. Shura will produce the expected results optimally and can be accounted for if the participants uphold, respect and maintain the basic principles in deliberation. These principles are:

First; Principle of Equality

The holy Koran has established the principle that Islam does not differentiate between anyone in obeying statutory regulations, no one is higher than the other. Abd al-Wahid Wafi and his writings explain that what is meant by equality is in all aspects of life, issues of responsibility, judgment and reward, ownership rights, rights to education and culture, rights to work, to obtain rights for Muslims and non-Muslims, rights between men and women, and so on without any distinction between the people and officials, noble and despicable, between rich and poor, close and distant family and so on. Thus, equality in Islam

³⁰ Baballi, Mahmud Muhammadf, *Al-Syura Suluk wa al-Iltizam*, Makkah: Maktabah al-Tsaqafqh, 1986.

³¹ Hasbi, Artani, *Musyawaharah dan Demokrasi (analisis Konseptual aplikatif Dalam Lintasan Sejarah Pemikiran Politik Islam)*, Jakarta: Gaya Media Pratama, 2001.

is Islamic justice which has the only measure that can be followed by all human beings.³²

Second; Principle of Justice

Justice is the provision of something to each member of society in accordance with their rights, which must be obtained without being asked, impartial or impartial to one of the parties, knowledge of rights and obligations, understanding of what is right and wrong, and acting honestly and appropriately in accordance with the rules that have been established. Justice is a fundamental human value that serves as a foundation for many aspects of life.

In the Koran, the word "fair" (adl), means justice. There are also words qisth, wasith and mizan as a whole which is continuous and honest. Etymologically, Arabic wasith is taken from wasith. In Indonesian, it is called a "referee" or "mediator" or a person who stands in the middle, which implies justice. Likewise, adl is synonymous with the word inshaf (derived from nishf which means half) which in Indonesian is "aware", because indeed a just person is able to stand in the middle without taking sides and is aware of the problems at hand so that he can decide something correctly and correctly. There are four main definitions of fairness and justice: First, justice means a balance or a balanced state, in social harmony, harmonization of social life, in the sense of security, order, stability and success in achieving goals and so on can be realized through a just political system. Second, justice implies equality but not absolute equality for all people in a narrow sense. Third, justice is concerned with the rights of the person, and gives his rights because he has these rights. Fourth, God's justice in the form of God's grace in bestowing His mercy on something or someone is equal to his willingness to accept his own existence or growth and development towards perfection.³³

Third; Principle of Freedom

There are two concepts about freedom. First, it says that all human actions have been determined from before birth which in Islamic theology is called jabariah. Second, to say that humans have freedom even though they are limited in accordance with human limitations in their will and actions, this understanding is called Qadariah. The basis of freedom in Islam is faith, which means that freedom is given by Allah to every human being. When God wants

³² Wafi, Ali abd Al-Wahid. *Al-Musawat fi al-Islam*. Mesir: Dar al-Maarif, 1965.

³³ Madjid, Nurcholis. *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan*. Jakarta: Paradina, 1992.

to create humans, they are bound by promises. As a consequence, humans must not submit to other than him and violate his rules and regulations. Examples are the freedom and independence of society in determining their fate, choosing the system and its leaders, personal freedom in participating in sharing opinions with others. Apart from that, it contributes to the decisions of society while taking advantage of its freedom in expressing opinions and discussing other opinions in free dialogue, either obtaining consensus or obtaining majority support.³⁴ So that Shura according to al-Syawli is a balance between individual and group independence, mutually perfecting and working hand in hand between individuals and the people. Solidarity of society among humans in freedom. The freedom to express opinions in society opens the opportunity for many opinions to emerge and discuss them, with the aim of creating harmonious interaction and engagement on the basis of justice and cooperation. Thus, no majority wants to impose itself on ethnicity, race and others, which is known as nepotism. The opinion won or taken is not the majority opinion seen from a numerical point of view, but the majority of argumentative, logical, thought, evidence and religious values, not practical power justified by ethnicity, race or the power of subjectivity.³⁵

4. Comparative Analysis of Western Democracy, Pancasila Democracy, and the Concept of Shura in the book "Democracy in an Islamic Perspective" by Ahmad Sukardja and Ahmad Sudirman Abbas

Western democracy viewed from an Islamic perspective according to Ahmad Sukardja and Sudirman Abbas in the book "Democracy in an Islamic Perspective" has several similarities, namely; a) there is equality in the appointment and election as well as the accountability of the head of state government of the people, by means of, and for the people, this is contained in Islam; b) In Islam, there are political or social principles such as the principles of equality before the law on freedom of thought and social justice; c) There is a separation of powers such as *sulthoh tasri'iyyah* as an institution (legislative), and *qadhaiyah* as power (judicative), Al-Qur'an and Al-Sunnah as the basis of Shari'at or Law.

³⁴ Madjid, Nurcholis. *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan*. Jakarta: Paradina, 1992.

³⁵ Madjid, Nurcholis. *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan*. Jakarta: Paradina, 1992.

Western democracy viewed from an Islamic perspective also has several differences, including: a) Western democracy is bound by the equality of blood, race, language, and customs, whereas in Islam it does not see these bonds as a barrier, as stated in the Koran, Surat al- Hujuraat (49), verse 13; b) Western democracy uses reason more than religion, thinks rationally, does what it wants without religious ties (liberal), Religion is not the most important (secular). Whereas for Islam, religion is the main source of law; c) In Western Democracy, in a joint discussion, the decisions taken are using common sense. While in Islam it refers to the law of God, the Koran, and As-Sunnah; d) The concept of Western democracy is conditional and not universal, but Islam is more flexible, elastic, universal, and applies to all times; e) Western democracy is more effectively applied to the territorial environment of a country and not to others, according to the situation and conditions. Whereas in Islam there are no territorial boundaries in any form, because for Islam its teachings are for the whole world from time to time or rahmatan lil alamin.

Pancasila democracy viewed from an Islamic perspective according to Ahmad Sukardja and Sudirman Abbas in the book "Democracy in an Islamic Perspective" has several similarities, namely; "The democracy that we carry out is Pancasila Democracy, which includes the basic norms of the basic laws that have been regulated in the 1945 Constitution. Pancasila Democracy means Democracy, people's sovereignty which is imbued with and integrated with other principles. This means that in exercising democratic rights it must always be accompanied by a sense of responsibility to God Almighty, according to each religious belief, must uphold human values in accordance with human dignity, must guarantee and strengthen national unity, and must be used to achieve social justice". In the contents of point 5 Pancasila clearly contains the meaning in accordance with Islam, even the content of each precept is in the teachings of the norms taught by Islam. The first precept of Pancasila, God Almighty, is the theological foundation of the Indonesian state. This first precept has the character of animating the other four precepts, becoming a mirror for the conception of monotheism as stated in the Al-Qur'an Surat Al-Ikhlâs. The values contained in the principles of Pancasila are deemed capable of accommodating all ethnic groups, tribes and groups throughout the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

Pancasila democracy viewed from an Islamic perspective also has several differences: a) The concept of "Ikhwan fi al Din" which is not limited by the territory of a country which is bound by national ties, language and customs. Meanwhile, in Democracy, this is the principle of "Bhineka Tunggal Ika". This kind of principle is more of a nationality in a limited scope capacity; b) The Koran

and Al-Sunnah are more general in nature and cover all aspects of human life throughout the world. Meanwhile, Pancasila Democracy is only suitable for a country like Indonesia.

Shura and democracy have several differences, namely a) shura is a method or way of taking opinions by leaders in Islamic governance while democracy is a state political system; b) Shura is carried out based on the Al-Quran or God's law, so any views or opinions of shura participants must not contradict or contradict the Al-Quran and the Hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Decisions made must be in line with and not in conflict with sharia values. In essence, people's decisions must have the legitimacy of sharia. Meanwhile, democracy is carried out based on applicable law, where the law is also made based on joint decisions; c) Shura is carried out to discuss a problem that occurs which is not stated in the Koran, the law or its provisions, whereas in democracy deliberation is carried out to cover all problems in society, because in democracy, the highest authority is in the hands of the people.

D. CONCLUSIONS

In essence, Western democracy does not contradict the principles of Shura, as long as the principles in it are in accordance with the essence of Islamic teachings. With the existence of democracy, it provides many contributions of thought to a country in the constitutional system. The difference between Western Democracy and Islam lies in the ultimate goal. The ultimate goal of Western Democracy is the achievement of human interests fairly, whereas in Islam it is the achievement of human interests fairly according to the pleasure of Allah SWT.

Western Democracy in Islamic Perspective has the difference that Western Democracy is bound by equality of blood, race, language, and customs, whereas in Islam it does not see these bonds as a barrier; Western democracy uses reason more than religion, thinks rationally, does what it wants without religious ties (liberal). Religion is not the most important (secular), while for Islam religion is the main source of law; The concept of Western democracy is conditional and not universal, but Islam is more flexible, elastic, universal, and applies to all times.

Pancasila democracy in an Islamic perspective has a difference in that the concept of "Ikhwan fi al Din" is not limited by the territory of a country which is bound by the ties of nationality, language and customs. Meanwhile, in Democracy, this is the principle of "Bhineka Tunggal Ika". This kind of principle is more of a nationality in a limited scope capacity. Al-Qur'an and Al-Sunnah are

more general in nature and cover all aspects of human life throughout the world, while Pancasila Democracy is only suitable for a country.

Shura and democracy have several differences, namely Shura is a method or way of taking opinions by leaders in Islamic governance while democracy is a state political system. Shura is carried out based on the Al-Quran or God's law, so any views or opinions of shura participants must not contradict or contradict the Al-Quran and the Hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Decisions made must be in line with and not in conflict with sharia values. In essence, people's decisions must have the legitimacy of sharia. Meanwhile, democracy is carried out based on applicable law, where the law is also made based on joint decisions. Shura is done to discuss a problem that occurs, which is not stated in the Koran about the law or its provisions. While in democracy, deliberation is carried out on all problems in people's lives, because in democracy, the highest authority holder is in the hands of the people.

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