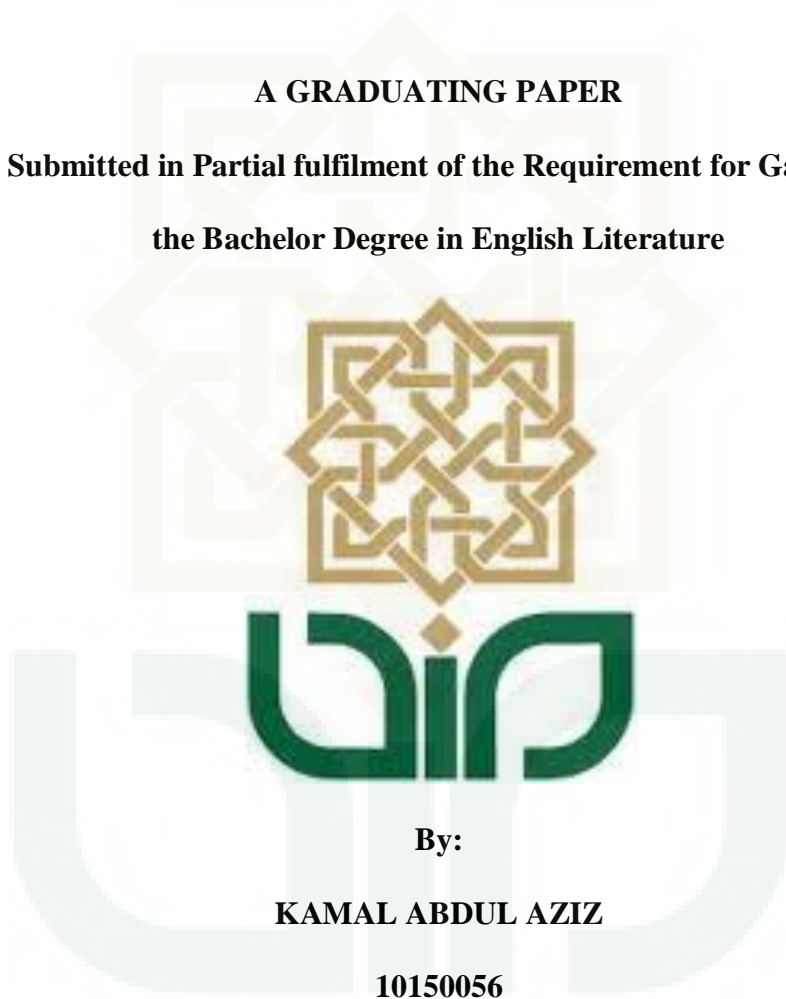


**HATEM BAZIAN’S “RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY,  
STATE POWER, AND REVOLUTIONS:”  
A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

**A GRADUATING PAPER**

**Submitted in Partial fulfilment of the Requirement for Gaining  
the Bachelor Degree in English Literature**



**By:**

**KAMAL ABDUL AZIZ**

**10150056**

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT  
FACULTY OF ADAB AND CULTURAL SCIENCE  
STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY SUNAN KALIJAGA**

**2014**

## A FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

I clarify that this thesis is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for the content of this thesis. Other writer's opinions or findings included in the thesis are quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standard.

Yogyakarta, 25 March 2014

The Writer,



**KAMAL ABDUL AZIZ**

Student No: 10150056



KEMENTERIAN AGAMA  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI SUNAN KALIJAGA  
**FAKULTAS ADAB DAN ILMU BUDAYA**

Jl. Marsda Adisucipto Yogyakarta 55281 Telp./Fak. (0274) 513949  
Web : <http://adab.uin-suka.ac.id> E-mail : [adab@uin-suka.ac.id](mailto:adab@uin-suka.ac.id)

**PENGESAHAN SKRIPSI/TUGAS AKHIR**

Nomor: UIN.02/DA/PP.009/ 1190 /2014

Skripsi / Tugas Akhir dengan judul:

**HATEM BAZIAN'S "RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY, STATE POWER, AND REVOLUTIONS:"  
A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

Yang dipersiapkan dan disusun oleh :

**Nama** : Kamal Abdul Aziz

**NIM** : 10150056

Telah dimunaqosyahkan pada : **Senin 16 Juni 2014**

Nilai Munaqosyah : **A**

Dan telah dinyatakan diterima oleh **Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya UIN Sunan Kalijaga.**

**TIM MUNAQOSYAH**

**Ketua Sidang**

**Ubaidillah, M.Hum**

NIP 19810416 200901 1 006

**Penguji I**

**Arif Budiman, MA**

NIP. 19760405 200901 1 016

**Penguji II**

**Bambang Hariyanto, M.A**

NIP 19800411 200912 1 003

Yogyakarta, 25 Juni 2014

Dekan Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya



**Hj. Siti Maryam, M.Ag**

NIP: 19580117 198503 2 001

## **ABSTRACT**

### **HATEM BAZIAN’S “RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY, STATE POWER, AND REVOLUTIONS:” A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

**Oleh:**

*KAMAL ABDUL AZIZ*

The emergence of publication about political conflict in Middle East especially Egypt in the middle of 2013 caused Hatem Bazian wrote an opinion text “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions” which was published by Al Jazeera. The opinion talked about the redefining role of religious scholars joining political affair. The subject and the object of the study is the text itself. The research has three problem statements that are how does Hatem Bazian organize, use, and make his readers understand; what urges Hatem Bazian to write the opinion; and how is the response of the readers. To find out the answers, the writer applies van Dijk’s discourse analysis theory which focuses on analyzing text, social cognition, and social context. The result of the discussion, the writer uncovers Hatem Bazian actively applies semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric in order the text is read by people who understand political field and can affect their mindset. In social cognition, he processes information and presents to the readers in order the readers (notably Muslim) aware to help their brother in Egypt who experience conflict. Hatem bazian also challenges Egyptian by six questions which imply “What do you want to do?.” The writer also analyzes response of the readers from the comments which are categorized into agree or disagree with Hatem Bazian’s opinion. The result from analyzing sample based on indicator shows that the opinion gets more disagreement that the agreement. From this study, it can be concluded that an opinion text relates to the text itself, the writer, and its readers.

*Key words: discourse analysis, Egypt political conflict, van Dijk theory*

## **ABSTRAK**

### **HATEM BAZIAN’S “RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY, STATE POWER, AND REVOLUTIONS:” A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

**By:**

*KAMAL ABDUL AZIZ*

Munculnya berita-berita tentang konflik politik yang sedang terjadi di Timur Tengah khususnya Mesir pada pertengahan 2013 lalu menyebabkan Hatem Bazian menulis sebuah opini “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolution.” Opini yang diterbitkan oleh Al Jazeera tersebut berisi tentang bergesernya peran ulama yang turut serta dalam dunia perpolitikan. Teks opini tersebut oleh peneliti dijadikan sebagai subjek penelitian yang mana objeknya adalah teks itu juga. Penulis memiliki tiga rumusan masalah yaitu bagaimana hatem bazian mengorganisasikan, menggunakan serta memahami pesan komunikasi kepada pembaca; apa yang mendorong Hatem Bazian menulis opini; dan bagaimana respon pembaca terhadap opini tersebut. Untuk menjawab semua rumusan masalah, penulis menggunakan teori analisis wacana van Dijk yang menganalisis teks, kognisi sosial, dan kontek sosial. Hasil dari pembahasan, penulis menemukan bahwasanya Hatem Bazian secara aktif menggunakan semantik, sintaksis, stilistik, dan retorik dengan tujuan agar tulisan tersebut dibaca oleh orang-orang yang mengerti urusan perpolitikan sekaligus dapat mempengaruhi pola pikir mereka. Dalam kognisi sosial, dia mengolah informasi dan menyajikannya pada pembaca dengan tujuan menyadarkan mereka (khususnya Muslim) untuk membantu saudara di Mesir yang sedang mengalami konflik sekaligus memberikan tantangan pada masyarakat Mesir berupa enam pertanyaan yang secara tak langsung berarti “apa yang ingin kalian lakukan?”. Peneliti juga menganalisis respon pembaca melalui komentar yang dikategorikan ke dalam setuju dan tidak setuju terhadap opini Bazian. Hasil yang diperoleh dari analisis sampel berdasarkan pada indikator teks menunjukkan bahwasanya opini Bazian lebih banyak menuai respon yang tidak setuju. Dari pembahasan tersebut, secara keseluruhan dapat disimpulkan bahwa sebuah teks opini terkait pada teks itu sendiri, penulis, dan pembacanya.

Kata kunci: *analisis wacana, konflik politik Mesir, dan teori van Dijk*

MOTTO

*One thing for sure, there is a happy  
ending for every struggle*



## **DEDICATION**

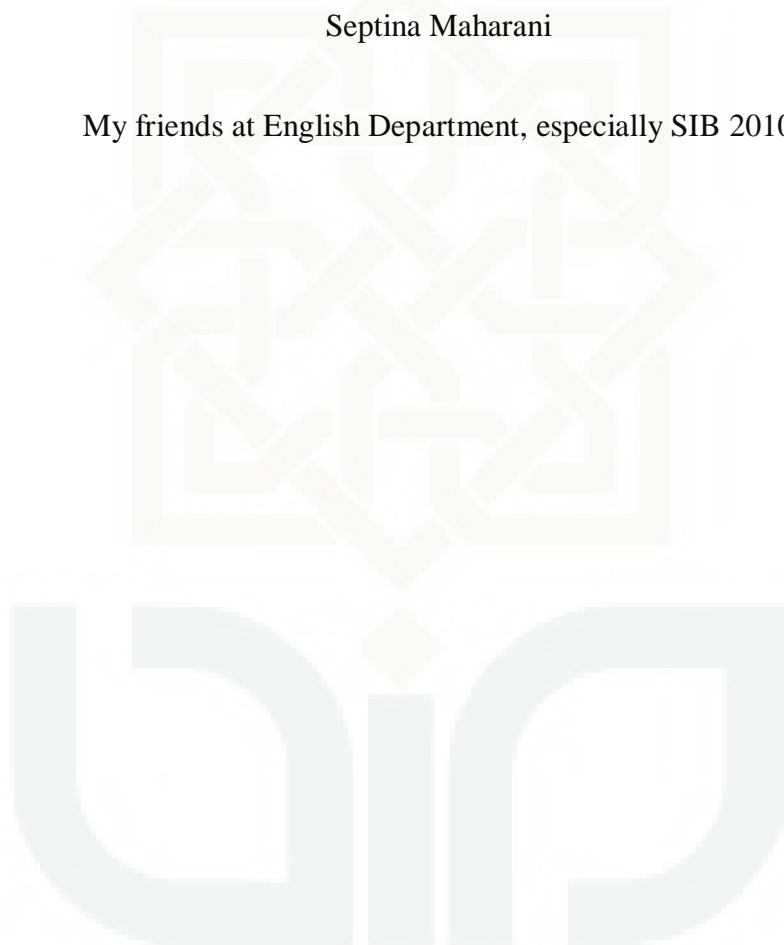
Sincerely, I dedicate my thesis to:

My mother and father, Ibu Siti Sutiah & Bpk. Moh Rosyidi

My beloved brother and sisters, M. Habib Maulana, Umamil Khoiriyah, and

Septina Maharani

My friends at English Department, especially SIB 2010



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*Assalamu'alaikum wr. wb.*

All praise be to Allah, The Lord of the world, for giving mercies and blessings for me to complete my graduating paper entitled **Hatem Bazian's "Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions:" a Discourse Analysis** as requirement for gaining the bachelor degree in English department, Islamic State University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

This paper is arranged completely by the help from the sincere persons. So, I really deliver my thanks and appreciations for them. They are:

1. My parents; Ibu Siti Sutiah and Bpk. Moh Rosyidi. My brother and sisters; M. Habib Maulana, Umamil Khoiriyyah, and Septina Maharani
2. Dr. Hj. Siti Maryam, M.Ag. as the Dean of Faculty of Adab and Cultural Sciences.
3. Mr. Fuad Arif Fudiyartanto, S.Pd, M.Hum, M.Ed. as the Chairman of English Department.
4. My academic advisor, Mrs. Ulyati Retno Sari, M.Hum.
5. Mr. Ubaidillah, M.Hum., my advisor, who has given me his best advice, guidance, and help in arranging my research. Thank you so much, Sir.
6. Mrs. Jiah fauziah, M.Hum., Mrs. Febriyanti Dwi Ratna, M.Hum., Mrs. Witriani, M.Hum., Mr. Dwi Margo Yuwono, M.Hum., Mr. Bambang Hariyanto, M.Hum., Mr. Arif Budiman M.A., Mr Denial Hidayatullah



M.Hum., Mr. Moch. Wahid Hidayat, M.A., and all lecturers in English department for their sharing.

7. All my beloved friends in English literature B 2010 for being the real friends in need and all friends in English Department.
8. DEENET and friends, especially Mas Widya Harry Nugroho for being a good motivation.
9. Some people who help me: Bpk. Ibnu Burdah, Riston Nainggoalan Batuara, Waskito Jati, M. Zaim, Mahfut Khanafi, Ana Puspita Sari, M. Khoir, and my reviewers: Anita, Jeni, Irwan, and Bundo Nia.
10. Friends in Al Fathon, and my best friend M. Tri Saswinto
11. My friends in Arjuna, *wabikhushush* Yogyakarta region; Viko, Miqdam, Fauji, Nafi', Shiro, Ipul, and all friends in organizations.
12. My new family KKN 80 KP 12.
13. And the last I dedicate so much thanks to someone out there, Ira Ernawati for supporting and accompanying me so far. I do thank you.

The writer realizes that this graduating paper still needs constructive correction to make it better. Thus I allow all readers to give criticism and suggestion.

*Wassalamu'alaikum wr. wb.*

Yogyakarta, June 2, 2014

The writer

Kamal Abdul Aziz

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE.....	i
FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT .....	ii
PENGESAHAN.....	iii
NOTA DINAS .....	iv
ABSTRACT .....	v
ABSTRAK .....	vi
MOTTO.....	vii
DEDICATION.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
LIST OF APPENDICES .....	xiv
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1    Background of Study .....	1
1.2    Problem Statements .....	7
1.3    Objectives of Study.....	8
1.4    Significances of Study .....	8
1.5    Literature Review .....	9
1.6    Theoretical Approach .....	12
1.7    Method of Research.....	21
1.8    Paper Organization .....	23
CHAPTER II BIOGRAPHY OF HATEM BAZIAN AND CONFLICTS IN EGYPT.....	24
2.1    Biography of Hatem Bazian.....	24
2.1.1    Educational Background.....	24
2.1.2    Academic Career .....	25
2.1.3    Movement Organization .....	26
2.1.4    Journalism Career .....	31
2.2    Conflict in Egypt .....	37
2.2.1    Hosni Mubarak .....	38

2.2.2	Mohamed Morsi .....	39
2.2.3	Adly Mansour.....	42
CHAPTER III DISCUSSION .....		44
3.1	Text Analysis of “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions” .....	44
3.1.1	Macrostructure.....	44
3.1.2	Superstructure.....	45
3.1.3	Microstructure .....	46
3.1.3.1	Semantic .....	46
3.1.3.1.1	Background .....	46
3.1.3.1.2	Detail.....	47
3.1.3.1.3	Purpose.....	48
3.1.3.1.4	Presupposition .....	49
3.1.3.2	Syntax .....	49
3.1.3.2.1	Sentence structure.....	49
3.1.3.2.2	Coherence.....	51
3.1.3.2.3	Pronoun .....	54
3.1.3.3	Stylistic .....	56
3.1.3.3.1	Lexicon .....	56
3.1.3.4	Rhetoric.....	57
3.1.3.4.1	Graphic.....	56
3.1.3.4.2	Metaphor .....	58
3.2	Social cognition analysis of “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions” .....	59
3.2.1	Social cognition and text production .....	60
3.2.2	Urge of the text.....	65
3.3	Social Context Analysis of “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions” .....	67
3.3.1	Power and Access .....	68
3.3.2	Response of the Readers .....	69
CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION.....		79

4.1	Conclusion.....	79
4.2	Suggestion.....	81
REFERENCES .....		82
APPENDICES.....		90



## **LIST OF APPENDICES**

Appendix I : Primary Data

Appendix II : Comments of the Readers



# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of Study

Human daily life cannot be separated from consumption of the news. News has become a need of human civilization since the modern age. According to Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary, news is a report or information about recent events (Hornby, 1995: 781). There are some characteristics of news such as report, informative and new. Haiyan in *Info World* states that Eric C. Hepwood limits news to the first report of the events which are important in order to attract public attention (<http://rifqyali.wordpress.com/> accessed on November 29, 2013). News has some interesting characteristics such as being actual, factual, acceptable to society, and obvious; simple sentences, and being promptly delivered. Due to technological developments, news is now accessible via the internet.

Internet comes from the words *inter* and *network*, which means a global computer network providing a variety of information and communication facilities. It consists of interconnected networks uses standardized communication protocols. The technology, which has been growing rapidly since it was formed by the United States department of defence in 1969, is a new media. It is for military purposes in Advanced Research Project Agency (ARPA) which later developed for university research at the University of California (<http://www.brightknowledge.org/knowledge-bank/technology/spotlight-on-technology/where-did-the-internet-come-from> accessed on November 29, 2013).

It is more popular to the public because it provides information, entertainment, and communication media which experience renewal by years.

There are several considerations, effective in cost and efficient in time, as the reasons why most people use the internet in their daily life. As the result, the internet has its own audiences and therefore internet would not be a competitor of the printed and electronic media such as newspapers and televisions (Setiawati, 2009: 2)., Both printed and online media share the same function and purpose as well and some rubrics they have like news, advertisement, sport, politics, economy and opinion.

Opinion according to the Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary is a view judgment not necessarily based on fact or knowledge (Hornby, 1995: 813). That is the meaning of opinion etymologically. Based on the definition, the writer regards opinion in press media as an expert's writing in the form of an essay which deals with a situation by giving his personal view and purpose. It is written by the terms and rules of writing including the number of words as well as the contents of each paragraph. The rubric of opinion is a media which is deliberately intended by the institution as a box of aspirations in issuing his opinion on various issues to the other party intended (Indirastuti, 2012: 4). Generally, opinion aims to lead and build a mindset of the readers by its discourse and indirectly becomes a tool of indoctrination. That is the way how opinion works like what *Al Jazeera* does. *Al Jazeera English* online media in the middle of September published an opinion containing the redefinition the role of religious scholars which is caused by the current events in the Arab Muslim World.

*Al Jazeera English* is an international news channel with over sixty offices around the world that reaches six different continents. Since being established in 2006, it had continued growing achievement due to its global coverage, especially from regions fail to report completely. The channel currently broadcasts to over 250 million households across 130 countries. *Al Jazeera English* is in-depth approach to journalism. It has won numerous awards and enthusiastic approval over the years. Last year, it also picked up the Columbia Journalism Award, a DuPont Award and a George Polk award. *Al Jazeera English* is part of the *Al Jazeera Network* - one of the world's leading media corporations, covering news, documentary and sports channels. It started out more than fifteen years ago as the first independent Arabic news channel in the world dedicated to implicating and uncovering stories in the region. It is now a media network consisting of over twenty channels - *Al Jazeera Arabic*, *Al Jazeera English*, *Al Jazeera Balkans*, *Al Jazeera Sport*, *Al Jazeera Mubasher*, *Al Jazeera Documentary*, *Al Jazeera Media Training and Development Center*, and *Al Jazeera Center for Studies* and some others. The writer considers and decides an urgent issue of internal conflict blows up in the Middle-East which is written by Hatem Bazian. He is a director of the Islamophobia Research (neologism used generally to refer to prejudice against, hatred towards, or fear of Muslim or ethnic group perceived to be Muslims) and Documentation Project.

Hatem Bazian wrote “Religious Authority, State Power and Revolutions” to criticize the role of religious scholars as the heirs of the prophets but they are influenced by political affair published by *Al Jazeera* on September 15, 2013



(<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09/20139106443895282.html>

accessed on September 23, 2013). The consequence is they will lose purpose and meaning contained in Islam as a living tradition which they should keep. His opinion contains language diction and structure that is not easy to be understood for most people because of the using of special terms, therefore *Al Jazeera* is mostly enjoyed by certain circles especially educated people.

Apart from the reasons above, the writer is challenged to analyze the opinion because of motivation. Socially, it is the expression of writer's attention to people in disarray. Academically, the writer hopes that Discourse Analysis can be a main course in English Literature Department of UIN Sunan Kalijaga. The researcher personally does this research because it is an anti-mainstream, big challenge, and contributive research. The reason of why the researcher takes the opinion about chaos in the Middle-East world is in order to open educated people's (Islamic education) eyes to be aware and have attention to what happens to Muslim brothers in the Eastern. *Republika.co.id* on Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> of September proclaimed "Konflik Mesir dan Perang Suriah sudah Diprediksi dalam Alquran" (<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/timur-tengah/13/09/21/mth087-konflik-mesir-dan-perang-suriah-sudah-diprediksi-dalam-alquran> accessed on October 1, 2013). The news report is the result of activities of Indonesian Muslim Solidarity Forum for Egyptian Sufferings which took place at Masjid Baitul Ihsan Bank Indonesian. The agenda invited Ustadz Bakhtiar Naasir, general secretary assembly of Majelis Intelektual dan Ulama Muda Indonesia (MIUMI), as a speaker. He quoted three verses from a sura of Koran (At Tin 95: 1-3)

وَالْتَيْنِ وَالرَّيْثُونَ ۖ وَطُورِ سَيْنِينَ ۖ وَهَذَا الْبَلَدِ الْأَمِينِ

*By the earth tin in Damascus (Syria), and by the earth olives in Palestine, and by the hill Thur in Sinai (Egypt). And by Mecca and for the sake of a safe city.*

However Bakhtiar believes, the end of Egypt conflict has also been written in Al Qashash 28: 5. An ayah tells the story of Moses against Pharaoh.

وَكُرِيدُ أَنْ نَمُنَّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ اسْتُضْعِفُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَنَجْعَلَهُمْ أَئِمَّةً وَنَجْعَلَهُمُ الْوَارِثِينَ

*And We wished to be Gracious to those who were being depressed in the land (Egypt), make them leaders (in Faith) and make them heirs.*

Related to nationality, Allah has commanded us in His Koran that Muslims are commanded to be good citizens in compliance with the State leaders, such as the same as obeying God and His Messenger. It is totally reflected on discussion about the role of governments to lead their nations well and make citizens peacefully obey.

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ

*O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you (An Nisa 4: 59)*

A verse above teaches Muslim to obey Allah and His Messenger and those among themselves entrusted with the conduct of their affair for the settlement of their disputes (government). As such an attitude and behaviour can ensure consolidation, they have been strongly warned that any deviation from this path will lead to their disintegration.

The explanation above cause scruple of what happens and what should happen. The condition which occurs is people just keep silent and do not try to find out what kinds of problem happens to Arab Muslim World. They don't really pay attention to the way to solve or do something in order to help actively or inactively. That is why the writer does this research as an act of helping and solving the problem by letting people know how Arab Muslim World today is. Those are the *Das Sein* and *Das Sollen* of the research.

The subject of this research is Opinion text "Religious Authority, State Power and Revolutions", and the object of this research is the text itself. The text is as the object since it is analyzed by a discourse analysis theory. Johnstone in *Discourse Analysis: Introduction to Linguistic* (Johnstone, 2002: 2) defines discourse as actual instances of communication in the medium of language. Roger Fowler in *Discourse* (Sara Mills, 1997: 1-8) defines discourse is an oral and text communication observed from belief, value, and category involved of point of view; belief represent world view; an organization or representation of experience. Discourse is the most complete unit of language beyond a sentence and the highest set in the hierarchy of grammar. As a complete unit of language, a discourse has concepts, ideas, thoughts that can be understood by the reader and listener. As the highest grammatical unit, a discourse is formed by the sentences that complete the grammatical requirements and discourse requirements. This research deals with van Dijk's discourse analysis approach to uncover the text from sides and points of view.

Teun Adrianus van Dijk is a Netherland. He is a scholar in the fields of linguistics, and discourse analysis. Van Dijk writes several books such as *News as Discourse* (1988), *Discourse and Context* (2008), *Society and Discourse* (2009), *Some Aspects of Text Grammar* (1972), *Prejudice in Discourse* (1984), and many more up to now (<http://scholar.google.com/citations?user=gyhvnfcAAAAJ&hl=en> accessed on February 22, 2014). There are some reasons of why this research applies van Dijk's theory. First of all, the theory is appropriate to the subject (opinion text) and object (discourse analysis) which van Dijk concentrates on. He focuses on discursive production and study of news in the press. The theory is more complete than other since it covers three dimensions of text, social cognition, and context. They can answer the mentioned problem statements of the research. The theory is well organized in the application because it starts from the text itself, the production, and response of the readers or from the micro to the macro. It makes the researcher more easily to do the research, and the readers can understand it well. Furthermore, this theory covers fields of politic, journalism, and communication media as stated in the objective of the research as the contribution.

## **1.2 Problem Statements**

Based on the background that is described above, the writer has three problem statements in this study:

- a. How does Hatem Bazian organize, use and make his readers understand his communication message?

- b. What urges Hatem Bazian to write the opinion?
- c. How is the response of the readers?

### **1.3 Objectives of Study**

In agreement with the problem statements, the objectives of this study are:

- a. To describe how Hatem Bazian organizes, uses and makes his reader understand his communication message.
- b. To find out what urges Hatem Bazian to write the opinion, and
- c. To describe how the response of the readers

### **1.4 Significances of Study**

The study is significant in explaining the most important meaning to the development of English Literature department notably in Linguistics. The significance of this study is to understand more how Hatem Bazian conveys meaning and message through his opinion “Religious Authority, State Power and Revolutions” as the primary data in this study as well as study about the use of structure and diction as a reflection of targeted readers. Theoretically, this study contributes to: first, enriching the linguistic study sources particularly on discourse analysis; second, the development of mass communication studies in the field of journalism studies regarding the opinion text. Practically, this paper contributes to: first, the common readers know the discourse that being constructed by opinion text; secondly, the readers can also understand the communication messages delivered by Hatem Bazian from his opinion; third,

readers can find out who is aimed to be the text readers or whom the text written for since the characteristic of opinion is to be a hegemony to influence mental of the readers. Yet the most important significance of the study is to provide awareness to the Muslims to open their blind eyes and deaf ears to all kinds of chaos in Arab world in order to establish a strong Islamic unity.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

This literature review includes a critical review of previous studies that have relevance to the object of the study, theoretical framework and research focus of the discussion what writer wants to do. Based on the search conducted by the writer, he has not found a scientific paper or thesis that addresses online media opinion on *Al Jazeera* using discourse analysis of Teun A. van Dijk. The following are the selected studies related to it.

First thesis is entitled “Kasus Lumpur Lapindo dalam Berita Media Online (Analisis Berita Kasus Lumpur Lapindo di Detikcom).” It is written in 2009 by Elis Setiawati, student of Communication and Islamic Broadcasting faculty of Dakwah UIN Sunan Kaliaga Yogyakarta. She discusses her research on how the news of mud in Lapindo was published by Detikcom in the range period of one week during June, 2-8 2008. The similarities with the writer’s research are on the subject of discourse analysis. This thesis is done by using the theory of critical discourse analysis of Nourman Fairclough which discusses the elements of representation, relationship, and identity. It is concluded that the text of the news showed that PT. Lapindo is a party to be responsible for the disaster in Sidoarjo.

The study also showed that the *Detikcom* follows market-oriented logic that presents a real time news. The research has the strength of timeliness and election news of Lapindo mud disaster which at that time was at its height reported by the media. So the existence of such research can be an approach to the neutral reference about confusion because of the diversity of interests.

Based on the object, this study has something in common with a research on the opinion text and approach used. Rian Erpatriatmoko writes his thesis using discourse analysis. It is entitled “Wacana tentang Bencana Merapi dalam Artikel Opini (Analisis Wacana Artikel Opini Bencana Alam Gunung Merapi pada Surat Kabar Harian Kompas Periode Oktober-November 2010).” Erpatriatmoko, a student of Communication Studies Department of UNS Surakarta, reviews the opinion of the practical side of how the text is organized, used and understood. He uses Teun A. Van Dijk’s discourse analysis which views the use of words, sentences and particular style of language as part of the strategic communicator who has a close connection with the political problem of language. The achieved result is as concluded that the opinion writers have diverse thinking in addressing the Merapi disaster as positive and negative sides. In his research, Erpatriatmoko does not discuss the structure and diction as well as the effect for the readers like the writer wants to do. That is why the writer is going to do this research.

The last literature review is a research written by Helena Laurentian, a student of Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, entitled “Media dan Kekuasaan (Studi Analisis Wacana Kritis Metro Xin Wen terhadap Etnis Tionghoa)” in 2012. This thesis is presented in six chapters that also includes pictures and supporting

appendices. In this research of student of Communication Study, the problem taken is that Metro Xin Wen is a medium that has power through discourse that is built to regulate the interaction of national life in Indonesia. The program aims to uplift the image of Chinese ethnic as part of Indonesian nation. This image building process starts from the stage of the deconstruction of the discourse on the social context of the relationship with the Indonesian Chinese ethnic community. It is on the barriers to make good relations between the two so bad stereotypes of being woken up by the previous ruler was no longer growing. This study also used the model of van Dijk discourse as a theory in the process. Interesting things about this paper are Helena conducted interviews with producer of Metro Xin Wen, Natazia Candy. The result of which is attached as supplementary data.

The three researches above have the same object. They all discuss about discourse analysis in news and opinion and television program. Some literature reviews which have been described reinforce and distinct the position of the writer in doing his research. The writer uses the same theoretical approach with two of the three studies that use the theory of Teun A. van Dijk. However, it should be clarified that this study is different on a common theme raised in the previous research which discusses natural disasters, while the writer analyzes the discourse regarding the political flare. The writer believes this research is a different study and totally new, because it fills what has not been touched by the three researchers before.



## 1.6 Theoretical Approach

This research analyzes the discourse of opinion about redefining the role of religious scholars in the Arab world written by Hatem Bazian in *Al Jazeera English* online. The study used in this research includes some linguistic studies such as grammar and structure, meaning, and style. Moreover it concerns communication study basically to support the main study. Furthermore, this research possibly contributes to the social and political study. The theory that is applied is Teun A. van Dijk's model of discourse analysis in dimensions of text, social cognition, and context. This theory was eventually chosen after reconsidering the theory of discourse analysis by Roger Fowler. He just focuses on the words as the creator of classifications, limiting the view, discourse quarrel and marginalization. The theory cannot fully answer the questions stated in the problem statements. Therefore, the writer decides to use van Dijk's as the most frequently used theory which widely covers the processed data. From several discourse analysis models which are introduced and developed by experts, van Dijk's discourse analysis is applied mostly. He collaborates several elements of discourse so it is applicable and practical. The main analysis of van Dijk's as stated in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis Vol. 2* is the merging of the three dimensions in a single analysis. The dimensions are text, social cognition, and context (van Dijk, 1985: 1-11)

In the dimension of text, van Dijk in *News as Discourse* utilizes linguistic analysis to explain and interpret a text which includes words, sentences, proposition, and paragraph. Astuti in her thesis states that van Dijk classifies text

itself into three. First of all is macro structure as global meaning from a text which can be observed from its topic or theme. Secondly is super structure which is about how elements of text being constructed in the whole writing through schema. The last classification is micro structure. It deals with discourse meaning which reflects in small details of the text (Astuti, 2011: 25).

The classification above is a unity, relating each other and supporting one another. This is the brief explanation of the elements.

#### 1. Macro structure (thematic structure)

Macro structure is the element which shows the general view of the text. It is called main idea or summary. The thematic organization of news discourse plays a crucial role. Therefore, this systematic analysis of the textual structures of news begins with an explication of notion like theme or topic. It reflects what to express by journalist in his or her news and shows the dominant concept and the most important in a news. Topics are proper of meaning or content of a text and require theoretical analysis in terms of semantics theory. Topics are not defined as the meaning of individual words or sentences but the whole text. The topic is known as semantic macro structure because when people discuss a topic or theme in a text, they will deal with meaning and reference (van Dijk, 1988: 30-31). Topic may be signalled by speakers in several ways, so that the listener is able to make a quick guess about the first or major topic (van Dijk, 1988: 35).

#### 2. Super structure

The super structure functions to describe a schema. A schema or an order starts from the beginning to the end. The schema determines how the topic of a

text could or should be ordered and, hence, how sequences and sentences should appear in the text (van Dijk, 1988: 51). In addition, superstructure connects macro and micro. Order shows elements of the text which are structured and organized to make a unit meaning. Title is one of the units of news which is written on the first, sometimes in bold style, and using a certain font and colour. From the title, readers know the topic of the news. Van Dijk categorizes schema into summary and story. Summary consists of headline and lead in summarizing the news text. Headline defines a specific sequence in a news text, in which variable global content (a topic) may be inserted. It is easy to find because it is different in its size, style, font, and colour. Lead may be expressed in separately and boldly printed leads or may coincide with the first, thematic sentence of the text (van Dijk, 1988: 52-54).

Story has episodes, consequences, verbal reactions, and comments as its parts. Episodes have main information which relates to the topic, actual situation, and concrete event. Its consequences are used to show the coherence or cause and effect relation. It sometimes has the same position as the main event. Yet it is possible to be more important than topic which exists in the headline. Verbal reaction is a specific news schema category that may be seen as a special case of consequences. It allows journalist to formulate opinions that are not necessarily their own, but which nevertheless are objective because they have actually been stated. The last part is comment. It sometimes called as opinions and evaluation of the journalist or newspaper itself.

### 3. Micro structure

Microstructure is the smallest part of text in discourse analysis such as word, phrase, clause, and sentence. It contains semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetoric analysis as the discussion focus (van Dijk, 1988: 26-28).

#### a. Semantic

Semantics is the study of the meaning of signs and representations, both mental and linguistic. The ultimate target of semantics is the construction of a general theory of meaning. A traditional taxonomy distinguishes three different kinds of signs depending on the nature of the relationship between the sign form and its meaning: indexical, iconic, and symbolic signs. Indexical signs are those in which the sign or representation is causally connected to its meaning. The redness of face is an indexical sign of anger or irritation. In the case of icons, the relationship between the sign and its meaning is based on a perceptual similarity. The map of a geographical area is an iconic sign of the territory. Symbols are signs whose relationship with their meaning is established through a conventional rule. A red light is a symbol of the obligation to stop (Strazny, 2005: 947).

Semantics, developing only in the later 1960s, reconstructs content or meaning by building up the meaning of words and sentences from elementary word meaning elements or dimensions (Greimas, 1966: 18-19). Semantics is closely related to stylistic and syntactic because the use of lexicon and structure in a news can react a certain meaning. Van Dijk categorizes semantic as a local meaning which means a meaning comes from a relation of inter-sentence and or inter-proposition which constructs certain meaning from a text such as background, detail, purpose, and presupposition. Background is a part of news

text which influences intended meaning. Background is considered importance since it is an element to uncover the purpose of the journalist. Purpose is about the aim which is delivered. Good information is clearly delivered but in other hand the bad information is delivered implicitly. It is because detail is closely related to information control of the journalist. Finally, macrostructure distinguishes between meaning and its expression in surface structures, such a word, phrases, clause, and sentence forms (van Dik, 1988: 59).

b. Syntax

Syntax is arrangement of words and phrases to create well-formed sentences. It is between semantic and phonology. Both deal with human languages produced by systems for relating sound (or more generally gesture, as in signed languages) and meaning. The systematic properties on the sound side are the realm of phonology while those on the meaning side belong to semantics (Strazny, 2005: 1068).

Syntax covers sentence structure, coherence, and pronoun to manipulate a text to its readers (van Dijk, 1988: 25). In political affairs, they are used to make better and worse by using syntax (sentence). They are also used to implicate the ideology like what the journalists do when they want to figure an actor or certain event negatively or positively. Sentence structure is about logical thinking of causality, for example A describes B or B describes A. It is also about the word order which functions to emphasize and omit the using of phrase. Coherence means an inter-word or an inter-sentence relation in a text. Two sentences which show two different facts can be related in order to be coherent. Pronoun is used by communicator to manipulate language by creating imaginative community and to

show the position of someone in a discourse. In expressing, people can use “I” or “we” which represents an official manner of the communicator. “We” represents togetherness in a community and implicates to make solidarity, alliance, and attention between journalist and readers.

Bloomsbury Academic publishes a book entitled *The Language of Journalism: a Multi-Genre Perspective* that specifically discusses attitude of journalists. Brown and Gilman argue:

The solidarity of much of the expression of community rests on the tragic use of such pronouns as ‘you and especially ‘we’. In keeping with Fairclough’s (2001: 52) theory of synthetic personalization - that is a drive to address unseen mass audiences in the sympathetic tones of individual conversation – we will look how pronouns are employed to include the reader, as well as the role of presupposition and humour (Michael Higgins and Angela Smith, 2013: 53).

#### c. Stylistic

Style is a property of language use that is difficult to define in precise terms. Traditionally, style and its discipline, stylistics, were closely associated with persona uniqueness and the aesthetics of language use (Chatman, 1971). *Encyclopaedia of Linguistic Vol. 1* defines a term of stylistic as variability of linguistic form.

Stylistics is the description and analysis of the variability of linguistic forms in actual language use. The concepts of ‘style’ and ‘stylistic variation’ in language rest on the general assumption that within the language system, the same content can be encoded in more than one linguistic form. Operating at all linguistic levels (e.g. lexicology, syntax, text linguistics, and intonation), stylisticians analyze both the style of

specific texts and stylistic variation across texts. These texts can be literary or nonliterary in nature. Generally speaking, style may be regarded as a choice of linguistic means; as deviation from a norm; as recurrence of linguistic forms; and as comparison (Strazny, 2005: 1043).

Style Diction generally is the choice of words in speaking or writing. It is the distinctive tone or tenor of an author's writings. Diction is not just a writer's choice of words it can include the mood, attitude, dialect and style of writing. Diction is usually judged with reference to the prevailing standards of proper writing and speech and is seen as the mark of quality of the writing. It is also understood as the selection of certain words or phrases that become peculiar to a writer (<http://literary-devices.com/content/diction> accessed on February 10, 2014). Diction is about how people deal with word selection and the style of enunciation in speaking too. It can express ideology or persuasion like in "terrorist" and "freedom fighter". It has an effect on the understanding of readers to the actor.

*News as Discourse* explains that style is defined as an indicator or marker of social properties of speakers and of the socio-cultural situation of the speech event. Thus, age, gender, status, class, and ethnic background are the social factors that also determine language use variations. These variations are examined primarily at the levels of surface structure, such as phonology, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon. Depending on various social dimensions, language users may have recourse to different sound patterns, sentence patterns, or words to express a given meaning. Similarly, more-or-less independent of speaker dimensions, the context of communication has its own stylistics constraints. Speakers tend to make use of a more formal style in public than in everyday

conversation with friends or family members. Written or printed language, similarly, may be associated with a more formal style than spoken language (van Dijk, 1988: 72-82). Style is heavily constrained by various contextual factors deriving from the public, mass mediated, and formal nature of news.

#### d. Rhetoric

Rhetoric is much like style. It has exhibited organic changes in focus, orientation, and scope over time, evident in the meaning of the word rhetoric, which has acquired meanings that are 'irreducibly multivalent' (Fleming, 1998: 174). Rhetoric is the art of effective or persuasive speaking or writing. It is to persuade and related to how message is delivered. Persuasion has goals and effects of communication like assertion, request, and may be a threat. Persuasive content features should be well-organized in order to be noticed, understood, represented, memorized, and finally believed and integrated. Standard strategies for assertion are emphasizing the factual nature of events, build a strong relational structure for facts, and provide information that has attitudinal and emotional dimension (van Dijk, 1988: 84-85). That is used to make message more effective such as using metaphor in writing or speaking. Metaphor is a figurative speech in which a word or phrase is applied to something not literally applicable. By using metaphor, people hope that they can influence and indoctrinate their target.

Metaphor is other term of figurative speech which is a word with a different literal meaning. Strazny defines metaphor as below:

Metaphor and metonymy are two closely related concepts. They have been treated for centuries as types of figures of speech. Metaphor is defined from this 'classical' perspective as a figure of speech in which one word is



used to indicate something different from the literal meaning, so that one thing or idea is likened to a different thing or idea. In a sentence like *He had a heart of stone*, the word *stone* is not used in its normal physical sense; rather, it conveys the idea of insensitivity (Strazny, 2005: 677).

A research on discourse is not enough if it is based on text analysis only. It must be known how a text is produced in order to get an understanding why the text is like that. This production process and approach engage a process which is namely social cognition (van Dijk, 1988: 107). Social cognition is journalist's mental awareness in constructing the news text. In one hand, it is how a text is produced by people or media, and the other hand, social value is taken by journalist which in the end being used to produce a text. Basically, every news text is produced through awareness, knowledge, and hypothesis or certain study of the phenomenon. Journalist is not considered to be a neutral one, but he has kinds of value, experience, and influencing ideology which all got from his life. A phenomenon is known based on its schema or model. A schema is considered as mental structure includes point of view, social attitude, and phenomenon. To construct a text, a journalist applies four strategies. Selection means a process to select several sources from publications as the references to write about. Reproduction relates to a step concerning on how the text is arranged. The arrangement involves deciding topic, elaborating ideas, analysing facts, giving opinion, and making conclusion. After arranging, a journalist goes to a step of summarization which means the journalist needs to do the process of deletion, generalization, and construction. The last strategy is local transformation that presents the final text to readers (van Dijk, 1988: 114-117).

The third is context. It, which is sometimes known as social context, is a study about construction developed in the public discourse on an issue. Furthermore, this third dimension shows how a text is closely connected with the structure of social and knowledge background develop in the community in addressing a discourse. The important thing of this is to show how to comprehend the meaning and produce social power through discourse and a legitimization. Power and access become the two significant points here. Power is utilised to control a group. A domination functions to influence where the social context of the news is. Access is to influence the discourse which means how majority has bigger access than the minority. In a simple word, text is inside the social cognition and context covers both of context and social cognition (Rosa, 1999: 84-102).

## **1.7 Method of Research**

Method of research used in outlining a problem for elaborating functions to explain more easily. In this method, writer divides the explanation into four parts.

### **1.7.1 Type of Research**

This study mixes between two-third descriptive qualitative method and a third quantitative method. According to Bogdan and Taylor, quoted by Lexy J. Moleong in *Buku Panduan Akademik* (2013: 33), qualitative method is a method of research procedure which produces descriptive data in the form of words

written or spoken of the people and behaviour that can be observed. Morse in *Research Design Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* states that sequential explanatory design is typically used to explain and interpret quantitative result by collecting and analyzing follow-up qualitative data (Creswell, 2009: 211).

### **1.7.2 Data Source**

The primary data is an opinion text published in *Al Jazeera English* online written by Hatem Bazian “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions” and the comments of the readers.

### **1.7.3 Data Collection Techniques**

Since the data is of this research are found in a form of text, the writer uses an observation technique. It is a prominent way including a studying an object using all the senses (Suharsimi, 2002: 133). The steps of documentation are started from finding data from Al Jazeera as the data source, taking one of the populations (Hatem Bazian’s all Opinion), deciding the sample (an opinion “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions”). It is continued by closely reading and identifying words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs that involved to analysis of text. The last step is making notes to the identification.

#### **1.7.4 Data Analysis Technique**

Once the data are collected and grouped according to the categories of research objectives. Then the data are observed, analyzed, and interpreted by applying the theoretical approach and in the end it can be concluded.

As explained in the theoretical approach, this research uses Teun A. van Dijk's discourse analysis theory which is divided into three types namely dimensions of text, social cognition and context. The stages of data analysis technique in this study are three interactive process proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994: 10-12), called data reduction, presentation, and conclusion. This technique is chosen because the writer considers the technique more effective and efficient than the techniques introduced by Bryman and Burgess so hopefully the process can go faster.

#### **1.8 Paper Organization**

This research is written into four chapters. First chapter is an introduction which discusses about the background, problem statements, significances of the study, literature review, theoretical approach, method of research and paper organization. Second chapter contains the biography of Hatem Bazian and conflicts in Egypt as the supporting data to the discussion. Third chapter focuses on the discussion of data analysis towards three dimensions. The last chapter is conclusion and suggestion.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

#### **4.1 Conclusion**

This research applies van Dijk theory which focuses on three dimensions to uncover Hatem Bazian's opinion. The dimensions including text, social cognition, and context are the most appropriate to be used in this study since they are regarded as the best way to answer three problem statements. This study mixes between two-third descriptive qualitative method and a third quantitative method. The data is an opinion "Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions" from Al Jazeera online published September 15, 2013. The data, then, are collected by reading, making note, and reporting. Finally, the researcher can analyze them by applying technique: the data are grouped according to their category; then they are interpreted; and finally they are concluded.

Hatem Bazian organizes his opinion by dividing its schema into three parts that are opening, content, and closing. In opening, description paragraph explains recent events in Egypt about great struggle between religious scholars and state. Than it is followed by paragraphs that review three discussions regarded as the causality conflict in Egypt: the decline of Sunni; the non-traditional actor emergence; and inharmonious modern nation state and religious scholars. Hatem Bazian uses and makes the readers understand his communication message with applying microstructure dimension that consists of semantic, syntax, stylistic, and rhetoric. Those four studies are utilised to compose an intact discourse text that

has characteristic elements such as background, detail, purpose, and presupposition in Semantic; sentence structure, coherence, and pronoun in syntax; lexicon in stylistic; and graphic and metaphor in rhetoric. The analysis of the first problem statement is concluded that Hatem Bazian writes his opinion to certain people who have good understanding towards political and religious affair.

Everyone has reason and purpose to do something. Hatem Bazian has them as well to write “Religious Authority, State Power, and Revolutions.” Biography of Hatem Bazian and some published news have led the researcher to find out what urges him to write down an opinion. As an activist in journalism, movement organization, educational realm, Bazian is restless towards the condition in Arab world, especially Egypt. An anxiety is a basic reason to encourage people to do something helpful like Hatem Bazian does. He has purposes which are addressed to general, Muslim, and Egyptian readers. By reading the opinion, Bazian wants to let the general readers know that Egypt is facing disarray. All Muslims around the world are urged to care about and help their brothers’ suffer. Six unanswered questions in the text are intentionally aimed as the stimulus for Egyptian action to solve their national conflict.

In the observation of the readers’ response, the result shows that the 13 people taken as sample consist of eight people disagree and the rest five people agree with the opinion. In spite of process of analysis is done textually which means the researcher just decides between affirmation and objection based on the text of comments, the response of the readers taken from comment is still credible

as seen in its relevance. Logically, people who give a comment understand what they read. Moreover it is about political conflict.

#### **4.2 Suggestion**

Based on the result of the research, there are suggestions for the next researcher:

1. Choose a more familiar discourse to the people around, because it will more easily help the researcher to collect and process the information. Furthermore, the contribution of study must be bigger and broadly cover than this research.
2. Do a direct interview to the communicator and all involved people or institution to get the more complete data to analyze social cognition. Despite the researcher has data to support the answer, this study does some speculation.
3. Find out the background of nation, religion, sex and education as the consideration to analyze response of the reader in order to make deeper analysis. It is better also for the next researcher to do not only categorize the response based on agreement or disagreement comments.

## REFERENCES

- Al Jazeera English. *Corporate Profile*. accessed November, 30 2013.  
[www.aljazeera.com/about/2006/11/200852185555444449.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/about/2006/11/200852185555444449.html).
- Aminuddin,dkk. 21003. *Analisis Wacana dari Linguistic sanpai Dekonstruksi*.  
Jakarta: Lentera Ilmu.
- Arab American Institute. *Egyptian Attitudes, September 2013*. accessed 24 Apr.  
2014. <http://www.aaiusa.org/reports/egyptian-attitudes-september-2013>.
- Arikunto, Suharsimi. 2002. *Prosedur Penelitian: Suatu Pendekatan Praktik*. cet  
ke 5 Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies. *Hatem Bazian*. accessed 23Feb.  
2014. <http://aaads.berkeley.edu/faculty/hatem-bazian/>.
- Astuti, Tia Agnes. 2011. “Analisis Wacana van Dijk Terhadap Berita “Sebuah  
Kegilaan di Simpang Kraft” di Majalah Pantau”. Jakarta: Universitas  
Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah.
- Bazian, Hatem. 2013. “Why was Arafat Killed?”. Al Jazeera., 4 Dec. 2013.  
accessed 18 Feb. 2014.  
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/12/why-was-arafat-killed-201312394616797450.html>.
- Bazian, Hatem. “Egypt, the ‘War on Terrorism’ and Islamophobia”. Al Jazeera.,  
19 Aug. 2013. accessed 18 Feb. 2014.  
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/08/201381916528829808.html>.



- Bazian, Hatem. "Mandela: the Triumph of the Human Spirit and the Defeat of Colonialism". World Bulletin., 10 Dec. 2013. accessed 18 Feb. 2014. <http://www.worldbulletin.net/filebox/124695/mandela-the-triumph-of-the-human-spirit-and-the-defeat-of-colonialism>.
- Bazian, Hatem. "Muslims and Arabs: Free Speech and the Question of Violence". World Bulletin., 24 Oct. 2013. accessed 18 Feb. 2014. <http://www.worldbulletin.net/?aType=yazarHaber&ArticleID=2372>.
- Bazian, Hatem. "Napoleon, Obama And Revisiting The Cairo Speech". World Bulletin., 29 Jan. 2014. accessed 18 Feb. 2014. <http://www.worldbulletin.net/author/dr-hatem-bazian/2396/napoleon-obama-and-revisiting-the-cairo-speech>.
- Bazian, Hatem. "On constitutions, Sharia and Muslim Political Thought". Al Jazeera., 31 Jan. 2104. accessed 18 Feb. 2014. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/12/constitutions-sharia-muslim-p-20131229115123981834.html>.
- Bazian, Hatem. "Opinion: Boston Bombing, Islamophobia and Sudden Ignorance Syndrome". Illume., 31 Mar. 2013. accessed 18 Feb. 2014. <http://www.illumemagazine.com/zine/articleDetail.php?Boston-Bombing-Islamophobia-and-Sudden-Ignorance-Syndrome-14331>.
- Bazian, Hatem. "Religious Authority, State Power and Revolution". Al Jazeera., 15 Sept. 2013. accessed 26 Oct. 2013. [www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09201391064389282.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09201391064389282.html).
- Bazian, Hatem. "The Souls of Muslims Folk". Al Jazeera., 29 Oct. 2013. accessed 18 Feb. 2014. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/10/souls-muslim-folk-20131029124336354563.html>.

Bazian, Hatem. "Updated: Experts reflect on Egypt's Turmoil". Al Jazeera., 14 Aug. 2013. accessed 12 Apr. 2014.  
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/08/201381414224611663.html>.

Bazian, Hatem. "Zaytuna and Institutionalizing Islamic Higher Education in America". World Bulletin., 20 Nov. 2013. accessed 18 Feb. 2014.  
<http://www.worldbulletin.net/?aType=haber&ArticleID=123310>.

Bruhn, Klaus Jensen and Jankowski, Nicholas W (ed.). 1993. *Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*. London and New York. Routledge.

Creswell, John W. 2009. *Research Design Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: Sage

Detikforum. 2013. <http://forum.detik.com/analisis-wacana-kritis-van-dijk-t717554.html>. Accessed on Thursday, November 7, 2013. Online

Eriyanto. 2009. *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. LKiS: Yogyakarta. Printed

Erpatriatmoko, Rian. 2011. *Wacana tentang Bencana Merapi dalam Artikel Opini*. Surakarta: Universitas Sebelas Maret

Family Security Matters. 2010. *Extremist Background of U.S. Islamic College's Leaders*. accessed 24 Feb. 2014  
[http://www.familysecuritymatters.org/publications/id.7250/pub\\_detail.asp](http://www.familysecuritymatters.org/publications/id.7250/pub_detail.asp).

Fan Page Facebook Al Jazeera English. accessed 24 Apr. 2014.  
<https://www.facebook.com/aljazeera/info>.

- Farmanfarmain, Roxan. *Egypt Army Opens Fire on Pro-Morsi Protesters*. Al Jazeera., 5 Jul. 2013. accessed 12 Apr. 2014.  
<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/07/20137542647286931.html>.
- Fowler, Roger. 1996. *Linguistic Criticism*. Oxford University.
- Fudiyartanto, Fuad Arif, dkk. 2013. *Panduan Akademik dan Pedoman Penyusunan Skripsi*. Yogyakarta: Jurusan Sastra Inggris.
- Graduate Theological Union. *Carnegie Workshop Biographies*. accessed 19 Feb. 2014.  
<http://gtu.edu/centersandaffiliates/islamicstudies/carnegie/biographies>.
- Greimas, A. 1966. *Semantique Structurale*. Paris: Larousse.
- Hatem Bazian. *BIO*. accessed 11 Feb. 2014.  
<http://www.hatembazian.com/bio.html>.
- Hayan, Rifqi. 2011. accessed 23 Nov. 2013. *Infoword*.  
<http://rifqyali.wordpress.com/infoword.html>.
- Helena, Laurenta. 2012. "Media dan Kekuasaan (Studi Analisis Wacana Kritis Metro Xin Wen terhadap Etnis Tionghoa)". Salatiga: Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana.
- Higgins, Michael and Smith, Angela. 2013. *The Language of Journalism: A Multi-Genre Perspective*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hornby, A.S. 1995. *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press.

Hubbard, Ben and Gladstone, Rick. *Arab Spring Countries Find Peace is Harder than Revolution*. The New York Times., 15 Aug. 2013. accessed 12 Apr. 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/15/world/middleeast/egypt-bloodshed-may-be-ill-omen-for-broader-region.html>.

Hubbard, Ben and Gladstone, Rick. *Hundreds Die as Egyptian Forces Attack Islamist Protesters*. The New York Times., 15 Aug. 2013. accessed 12 Apr. 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/15/world/middleeast/egypt.html?pagewanted=all&r=1&>.

Human Right Watch. 2013. *World Report*. United State of America.

Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project. *Home*. Accessed 10 Mar. 2014. <http://www.irdproject.com/>.

Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project. *Projects*. accessed 10 Mar. 2014. <http://www.irdproject.com/projects.html>.

Johnstone, Barbara. 2002. *Discourse Analysis: Introduction to Linguistic*. Wiley.

Kirkpatrick, David. *A Vague Role for Religion in Egyptian Draft Constitution*. The New York Times., 10 Nov. 2012. accessed 12 Apr. 2014 <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/10/world/middleeast/draft-egyptian-constitution-adopts-a-role-for-religion.html>.

Kirkpatrick, David. *Army Ousts Egypt's President; Morsi is Taken into Military Custody*. The New York Times., 4 Jul. 2013. Accessed 12 Apr. 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/world/middleeast/egypt.html?pagewanted=all>.

Kirkpatrick, David. *Democracy in Egypt Can Wait*. The New York Times., 1 Aug. 2013. accessed 12 Apr. 2014.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/17/opinion/democracy-in-egypt-can-wait.html>.

Kirkpatrick, David. *Egypt Opposition Gears up after Constitution Passes*. The New York Times., 24 Dec. 2012. accessed 12 Apr. 2014.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/24/world/middleeast/as-egypt-constitution-passes-new-fights-lie-ahead.html>.

Kirkpatrick, David. *Egypt: 2 Coptic Boys are Held as Contempt-of-Religion Cases Rise*. The New York Times., 4 Oct. 2012. accessed 12 Apr. 2014.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/04/world/middleeast/2-coptic-christian-boys-accused-of-defiling-a-koran.html>.

Kirkpatrick, David. *Israel and Hamas Agree to a Cease-Fire, after a U.S.-Egypt*. The New York Times., 22 Nov. 2012. accessed 12 Apr. 2014.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/22/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-conflict.html>.

*Konflik Mesir dan Perang Suriah sudah Diprediksi dalam Al Quran*. Republika Online., 21 Sep. 2013. accessed 4 Nov. 2013.  
[www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/timur-tengah/13/09/21/mth087-konflik-mesir-dan-perang-suriah-sudah-diprediksi-dalam-alquran](http://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/timur-tengah/13/09/21/mth087-konflik-mesir-dan-perang-suriah-sudah-diprediksi-dalam-alquran).

Kuchan, Charles A. *Egyptian Intellectuals Defend Mursi's Ouster: a Reflection of the People's Will, Not an Anti-Democratic Military Coup*. Right Side News., 2 Aug. 2013. accessed 12 Apr. 2014.  
<http://www.rightsidenews.com/2013082233083/editorial/world-opinion-and-editorial/egyptian-intellectuals-defend-mursis-ouster-a-reflection-of-the-peoples-will-not-an-anti-democratic-military-coup.html>.

- Literary Device. 2010. Accessed 11 Feb. 2014.  
<http://literary-devices.com/content/diction>.
- Marta Augoustinos and Iain Walker. 1995. *Social Cognition; an Integrated Introduction*. London. Sage Publication.
- Maulsby, William. 1925. *Getting the News*. Harcourt. Brace.
- Mills, Sara. 1997. *New Critical Idiom*. Routledge.
- Pew Research Journalism Project. *Principles of Journalism*., 22 Jan. 2014.  
 accessed 21 Apr. 2014. <http://www.journalism.org/resources/principles-of-journalism/>.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1994. *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford. Basil Blackwell.
- Setiawati, Elis. 2009. "Kasus Lumpur Lapindo dalam Media Online".  
 Yogyakarta: Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga.
- Setyawan, Eko Huda. 10 'Dosa' Penyebab Morsi Digulingkan Militer Mesir.  
 Liputan6., 5 Jul. 2013. accessed 11 Mar.2014.  
<http://news.liputan6.com/read/631367/10-dosa-penyebab-morsi-digulingkan-militer-mesir>.
- Sobur, Alex. 2006. Analisis Teks Media. Bandung; PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Strazny, Philipp. 2006. *Encyclopedia of Linguistics Vol1*. New York. Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Sulaeman Dina Y. 2013. "Pemetaan Konflik Mesir". The Global Review dan IRIB Indonesia.
- Supplementary English Programme. 2013. Cohesion. accessed 16 May 2014.  
<http://elc.polyu.edu.hk/elsc/material/Writing/coherenc.htm>.

The Global Review. *Keterlibatan Jaringan Siluman Amerika Serikat dalam Pelengseran Ben Ali dan Hosni Mubarak Terungkap (Bag I)*. The Global Review., accessed 11 Mar. 2014. [http://www.theglobal-review.com/content\\_detail.php?lang=id&id=6970&type=4#.UIXgaFV\\_u\\_m1](http://www.theglobal-review.com/content_detail.php?lang=id&id=6970&type=4#.UIXgaFV_u_m1).

van Dijk, Teun A. 1985. *Handbook of Discourse Analysis vol. 2*. London: Academic Press.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1988. *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1999. *Discourse, Power and Access*. in Carmen Rosa (Eds). *Critical Discourse analysis*. New York. Academic Press.

Zaytuna College. 2014. *A Brief History*. accessed 23 Feb. 2014. <http://www.zaytunacollege.org/about/>.

Zaytuna College. 2014. *Faculty*. accessed 24 Feb. 2014. [http://zaytunacollege.org/academics/faculty/dr\\_hatem\\_bazian](http://zaytunacollege.org/academics/faculty/dr_hatem_bazian).

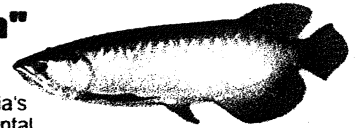
# **LAMPIRAN-LAMPIRAN**



haze

## "Our living room is full of fish"

Witness dives into Malaysia's multi-million dollar ornamental fish industry



Shows In Depth **Opinion** Human Rights Video Blogs Sport Investigations Weather Watch Live

ALJAZEERA AMERICA عربي

Telangana becomes India's newest state

## Religious authority, state power and revolutions

Events in the Arab and Muslim world are redefining the role of religious scholars.

Updated: 15 Sep 2013 19:37

**Hatem Bazian**

Hatem Bazian is co-editor and founder of the Islamophobia Studies Journal and director of the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project.

826 Tweet 142 8+1 0

LISTEN

RELATED



A secular democratic state is needed to provide

There will have been no World Cup

Iraqi novelist defies Arab critics

ASEAN unity and the threat of Chinese expansion

And when the 'revolution' is over

The peril of hipster economics



aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09/20139106443895282.html

20th century, the power and influence of religious scholars was transformed [Getty Images]

events in Egypt, Syria and Tunisia - and before that in Iraq, Sudan, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey - point to a great divide between religious authorities and state powers. At play are various claimants to religious authority; states in post-colonial and pre- and post-nationalist periods; and the role of religious authorities in existing states. The current back-and-forth arguments and personal attacks among religious scholars is a symptom of a problem, the eroding stature, authority and role(Ar) of religious leaders across the board.

Scholars, despite being included, and contributing to unfolding events, have collectively been dragged into the arena, an area they are ill-prepared or ill-qualified to respond to in clear and meaningful ways. And referencing texts only complicates the matter - for it brings history into the contemporary struggle without the requisite knowledge needed to examine the past. In this manner, the past becomes a tool for asserting claims to authority.

Recent conflicts and competing fatwas from Sunni religious authorities in response to events in Egypt and Syria, pose a deeper problem, the clear intellectual and institutional fragmentation witnessed among scholars (Ar) at the local levels.

What is clear is the loss of authority. Unfolding events are shaping the overall discourse with scholars of all stripes and not leading. What is the role of the scholars? Should they give support to the removal of an elected leader? Who can determine the public benefit? Does the role of a government-appointed mufti impact or diminish the role of scholars? Who are the legitimate scholars and does a government appointment negate the validity of a legal opinion?

#### Decline of Sunni religious authority

Questions and many more are very critical, and if anything, point to the major crisis affecting the Sunni community, which stands in complete disarray and is incapable to respond effectively. This might be a new phenomenon to casual observers, but a closer look points to a steady decline in the scholars' religious authority and authority, early on, by the colonial state. The scholars' authority was curtailed during the colonial period and divided into two spheres, personal status laws and inheritance laws. The consequence was a structural dumbing-down and fossilisation of the laws and those involved in it.

At the same time, in monarchies, a particular form of institutionalised religious traditionalism was constituted as a pretext to the throne a form of religious legitimacy, while structurally keeping the scholars away from centres of power and influence.

As a by-product of social, political, economic and cultural imperatives, and legal opinions are issued when a real crisis emerges out of the interaction of the forces shaping society. Thus, Sunni legal prohibition on revolting against authority emerged in response to Ottoman's and Ali's tribulations - that witnessed a prolonged civil war and its legacy continues to choke much of the Muslim community to the present. However, what is significant is legal prohibition: against revolting came after the fact and in an attempt to prevent future crises.

The prohibition and the logic behind it were very sound, and it was successful in maintaining social order as long as the authority of the scholars was intact and the state delegated to them dominion over the law and its articulation. The division of authority was upheld for the most part, with minor periods of disruption, until the early 19th century - but it completely collapsed in the 20th century. The loss of religious authority was complicated by the collapse of the Ottomans and the coming to an end of the classical and pre-modern conceptualisation of Islamic polity and the ushering-in of modern nation states in the Muslim world.

Many factors led to the demise of the scholars' authority, but what is important is the emergence of contending religious forces, trends and non-state actors competing to fill the gap and reconstitute this lost authority.

#### Emergence of non-traditional actors

In the colonial states, tribal courts - very narrowly tailored forms of religious authority - were formed to control, confine and dominate. They were sanctioned so as to establish the superiority of "western" epistemology over that of backward, undynamic, and traditional Islamic legal norms, as well as making it possible for the colonisation project to advance without indigenous legal contestation. This structure gave birth to a particular form of institutionalised post-colonial religious authority that accepted the basic framework and legal demarcation without any challenge. This colonial epistemology was retained in the post-colonial period.

Religious scholars are heirs of the prophets, and as they enter into the mud of political conflicts they cause many to lose sight of the purpose and meaning gained in Islam as a living tradition. And those looked upon to stand in an array, then the picture looks very bleak indeed.

Most of the Muslim world responded by reconstituting authority by means of Sufism and utilising it as a means

#### WHAT'S HOT OPINIONS

##### VIEWED DISCUSSED

The peril of hipster economics

Elliot Rodger wasn't interested in women

China's Uighurs claim cultural 'genocide'

From Russia with love: An Iranian space odyssey

Graduation advice for aspiring humanitarians

A risky Afghan endgame

Israel and US: Common strategies to control political prisoners

Ukraine: Elections without the East

'There will have been no World Cup'

Education or capital in the 21st century?

#### OPINION



Elliot Rodger wasn't interested in women

DEXTER THOMAS



Israel and US: Common strategies to control political prisoners

PAM BAILEY



China's Uighurs claim cultural 'genocide'

ALIMA SEYTOFF



A risky Afghan endgame

OMAR SAMAD



From Russia with love: An Iranian space odyssey

HAMID DABASHI



Ukraine: Elections without the East

TATIANA ZHURZHENKO



S Sudan conflict: Can Sudan play a role?

MOHAMED EL SHORBAGI



Re-electing Assad will not save Syria

MAHWAN KABALAN



Education or capital in the 21st century?

SANTIAGO ZABALA



The return of the left in Europe?

SNECKO HORVAT

preservation of collective identity, as well as deploying its existing networks in challenging and resisting expansion. In many parts of the Muslim world, Sufi tariqas were instrumental in the anti-colonial struggle and to preserve a particular notion of religious authority - even though it increasingly took on a more ceremonial

er attempts at reconstituting authority focused on the reinterpretation of existing sources, and finding the of what was described at the time as blind imitation, and the inability of "traditional" scholars to deal with the ng challenges confronting society. This movement gave birth to the Brotherhood, Jamaat-e-Islami and m-e-Islami as a non-literalist modernist response, while, on the other end, the Salafi of the Wahhabi origins are ist literalist in their approach. In both cases, it was an attempt at constituting the lost scholarly authority and ical role in a partnership in running state affairs.

#### n nation states and religious authority

dem nation states in the Muslim world have utilised the above forces, laying claim to religious authority at times to bolster their own legitimacy - and in the process helping, on the one hand, to constitute a particular y meeting its needs, while on the other, increasing the level of fragmentation and loss of real scholarly power.

ense, religious authority becomes a function of the modern nation state and is established as a national entity sis of national interest. The confiscation and removal of *awqaf* (religious endowments) as an independent source for scholars, and incorporating it into the centralised state budgetary process transformed the ship between scholars and the state and their socio-political and economic status. In a short period of holars, as a class, were transformed from elite role models, on a socio-economic basis, into an impoverished e struggling for rations at the doorsteps of state welfare institutions or ministries of religious affairs. ore, as resources diminished into a trickle, the resources in many centres became so lacking that the s were reduced to teaching a selection of texts intended to preserve and protect; rather than to educate, and think critically.

Is for separating mosque and state have increased - but current events in the Muslim world have led e explicit and stronger links between the two than was present just a few years back. As Shaykh Al- xpressed his support for the ousting of President Morsi, what emerged was a wider debate on s' authority and their role in contemporary political discourse. In critiquing the Brotherhood's on of Islam in the political space, the participation of Al-Azhar's sheikh and the Coptic leadership only ates the relationship between state and religion as well as the authority accrued from it.

portantly, as the state engaged in suppressing opposition to the removal of the president, a deployment of religious authority was needed to rationalise the taking of human lives - since state as not sufficient to provide legitimacy. In doing so, the state once again reconstituted religious y to support its programme, and at the same time furthered the fragmentation of religious authority the fractured nature observed just a year ago.

blem faced by some Sunni Muslims is rooted in the loss of scholarly authority and religious ce at a very critical period in the history of the Muslim world. As scholars resort to soundbite e TV satellite networks, or from the top of moving trucks in demonstrations, the end result is a ment of the meaning of religion itself.

s scholars are the heirs of the prophets, and as they sink into the mud of political conflicts they will any to lose sight of the purpose and meaning contained in Islam as a living tradition. And if those upon to guide stand in disarray, then the future looks very bleak indeed.

**Bazian is co-editor and founder of the Islamophobia Studies Journal and director of the obia Research and Documentation Project.**

**ws expressed in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect Al Jazeera's l policy.**



Al Jazeera English

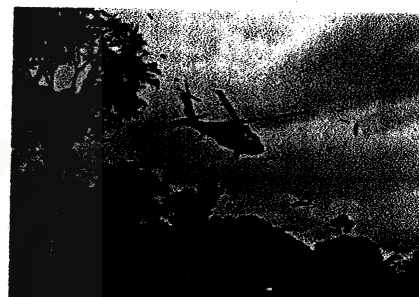
Like 3,650,602

#### Recent Activity

- Noam Chomsky: The responsibility of privilege  
1,286 people recommend this.
- Facebook and the disintegration of the human  
302 people recommend this.
- Boston explosions: 'Please don't be Arabs or Muslims'  
545 people recommend this.
- Uruguay votes to legalise gay marriage  
583 people recommend this.
- Ghana Gold  
311 people recommend this.

Facebook social plugin

#### FEATURED



#### Did Colombia's war on drugs succeed?

Security in Colombia has improved, but critics say campaign caused human rights abuses and empowered Mexican cartels.



Recommend 826 people recommend this. Be the first of your friends.

Tweet 142

#### RELATED ON AL JAZEERA

Colombia's war on drugs  
need?

Area C

Israel exercises total control over Area C,

Thai coup-makers controlling the message


Guests - The Rise of the Oligarchs

Our guests examine the


[jazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09/20139106443895282.html](http://jazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09/20139106443895282.html)




## Comment 1


**121 Comments** **Al Jazeera English**  **Login** ▾

Sort by Best ▾ [Share](#) [Favorite](#) ★




 **Neslihan Kurosawa** · 8 months ago  
One of the major problems right now in the Middle Eastern region happens to be the mixing of regional politics with religion. Religion is only an essential part of our daily lives and not everything, And surprisingly policies in Middle East has shifted towards a more conservative and religious directions in the last 20-30 years. Iran, Egypt and Turkey are very good examples of such movements.  
  
Once a very secular nation such as Turkey right now is struggling with closing the ever widening gap between the very educated and modern Turks and the religious groups, I personally don't find the surprising at all considering the fact that the only way to keep most people in the dark to actually increase the dosage of religion in order to make them blind to cold harsh realities of life.  
18 ^ | ▾ · [Reply](#) · [Share](#) >


## Comment 2

 **Fasdunkle** · 8 months ago  
religious people get their authority from something which doesn't exist  
15 ^ | ▾ · [Reply](#) · [Share](#) >


## Comment 3

 **peepsqueek** · 8 months ago  
Islamic countries sign-on to the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights:  
  
Article 24 of the declaration states: "All the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic Sharia."  
  
Article 19 says: "There shall be NO crime or punishment EXCEPT as provided for in the Sharia."  
  
ARTICLE 25: "The Islamic Shari'ah is the ONLY source of reference for the explanation or clarification of ANY of the articles of this Declaration."  
5 ^ | ▾ · [Reply](#) · [Share](#) >

## Comment 4

 **Fasdunkle** · 8 months ago  
"co-editor and founder of the Islamophobia Studies Journal and director of the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project"  
  
What a joke  
7 ^ | ▾ · [Reply](#) · [Share](#) >

## Comment 5

 **millery** · 7 months ago  
Thought provoking article. Religious scholars should stick to their business, namely religious scholarship, and not muddle in politics, as they are ill-equipped. Colonialization, well we all know where that led. But the real irony is that fact that the oppressed inevitably become the oppressors.  
2 ^ | ▾ · [Reply](#) · [Share](#) >

## Comment 6



Guest · 8 months ago

someone should write article about secularism and islam - not conclusions but open questions

2 ^ | v · Reply · Share >

## Comment 7



Wojtek Sokolowski · 7 months ago

Interesting article. Religion has always been in the business of legitimating the authority of the state - be it Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, or Hinduism. The modern state is an exception - its legitimacy is manufactured by its claim to superior economic rationality - that it - its superior capacity to produce and deliver material goods. It has been working rather well for the advanced capitalist countries, and it worked for a while for the developmental states challenging the hegemony of the advanced capitalist states.

However, the capacity of capitalist economies to deliver the goodies is fraught with problems of social stratification. This means that some will get them in excess, while most will suffer shortages. This posed a serious threat to the legitimacy of secular capitalist states, exploited by various Communist movements in the 19th and 20th centuries that promised to distribute the goodies to all. Western Europe staved off that challenge by the creation of a welfare state that combined superior economic rationality of capitalism with economic redistribution of communism. The developmental states, otoh, failed on one or both of these fronts. The Soviet style economy achieved redistribution but started falling behind on economic rationality. The developmental states of the Middle East (except perhaps Turkey) failed to achieve redistribution and to achieve economic rationality on a par with advanced capitalist economies.

As a result, these developmental states lost their legitimacy. In Eastern Europe, this was manifested by the "downfall of communism" and the implementation of Western European welfare capitalism. In the Middle East, this loss of legitimacy of the secular developmental state was a bit more complicated. The wholesale transfer of welfare capitalism along Eastern European lines was not feasible, so the loss of legitimacy resulted in growing repression by secular elites to maintain their power by brute force. This further eroded the legitimacy of these states, and the need for an alternative emerged. That alternative was Islamism - which must NOT, and I repeat, MUST NOT be confused with Islam.

Islamism is a form ideology that the US historian Barrington Moore called "Catonism" after the Roman politician Cato the Elder. Catonism is an ideological reaction of elites whose traditional grip on power has been challenged by economic development and modernization. It represents the glorification of "tradition" or rather its idealized image to counter the ideological influences of modernity. Catonism is thus characterized by anti-intellectualism, hatred of foreigners, and the advocacy of stern "traditional" virtues.

Islamism is a form of Catonism manufactured by state elites as an ideological weapon against their democratic opponents. Pakistani General Zia ul Haq is a good example - he restored to Islamism as an ideological weapon against his opponent Ali Bhutto. This was a pure political move that has nothing to do with religion, tradition, culture and what not. Zia ul Haq used religion in a way politicians use any form of knowledge or culture - for support rather than enlightenment. This, btw, not that much different from the way Soviet leaders used Marxism or for that matter the way the Roman Emperor Constantine used Christianity. In all instances, they selected certain traits from a certain body of theological or philosophical thought to manufacture ideology that legitimizes the power of political elite.

It is important to note that this recourse to religion as "Catonist" ideology owes its status to political-military elites rather than to religious scholars. The latter are basically nothing more than mouthpieces for the political-military elites that use them. However, it also creates an opportunity for religious scholars to grab power for themselves. This happens in situations of political vacuum, when power is "dropped on the floor" so to speak. This happened in Iran where secular authority was undermined first by the Western power conspiring against the Mosaddegh government and then by the downfall of the corrupt Pahlavi regime. At that point, there was no institutional force in Iran capable of governing a state except the Islamic clergy that used this opportunity to grab the power for themselves.

The Iranian model is fundamentally not replicable in other "Islamist" states as long as secular military-political elites can maintain their grip on state power. In those countries, Islamist scholars will either play the role of mouthpieces on the payroll of these elites, or elsewhere they will be suppressed by force if they try to pull an Iran, as it recently happened in Egypt.

The bottom line is that Islamism and its adherents have as much to do with Islam as the Nazi Sturmabteilung had to do with Christianity. Both are gatherings of thugs used by reactionary political forces to grab state power and destroy their liberal/democratic opposition in countries that happen to have Islamic or Christian majorities. That is to say, this has nothing to do with religion, theology, or philosophy and everything to do with the fascist bid to grab state power.

3 ^ | v - Reply - Share >

## Comment 8



**CrossWinds** · 8 months ago

State authorities should be responsible for its citizens and their safety. They should uphold humane laws regarding respect and treatment of all its people one toward another. When any religion begins to practice violence toward other peoples who do not adhere to that religion, then the state authority must intervene to punish evildoers, and support those who keep the laws of decency and respect toward one another. Any religion that has to enforce its will upon the population through violence, is by its very nature contrary to God and Mankind. It exposes itself as false ideology and will bear bitter fruit. For God is Love.....

.....Luke 6:31.....

31 And just as you want men to do to you, you also do to them likewise.

2 ^ | v - Reply - Share >

## Comment 9



**Sheherasade** · 7 months ago

What is needed today is more voice being given to religious scholars who manage to show how religions at their core endorse human rights, and women's rights in particular.

1 ^ | v - Reply - Share >

## Comment 10



**Kamal Farhi** · 7 months ago

Religious scholars will not survive in a democratic and free Middle East. They can only hide behind dictators.

1 ^ | v - Reply - Share >



## Comment 11



**Boncos** · 8 months ago

Somehow, I just don't think that those so-called current events in Egypt, Syria and Tunisia - and before that in Iraq, Sudan, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey have something to do with the so-called struggle between religious authorities and state powers, for they only have something to do with politics. In fact, we can always blame so-called state powers and so-called Egyptian liberals and hedonists to be the sole culprits to what has been happening in Egypt and the social unrest it entails, which has nothing to do with religious authorities in the first place.

According to those so-called Egyptian liberals, hedonists and Morsi-haters, the ouster of the democratically-elected president Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood was possible because the democratically-elected president Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood had already dissolved the parliament and refused to cater to the so-called demand of those so-called Egyptian liberals and hedonists to hold so-called early elections. Those two accusations were just plain stupidity in its real meaning, for it was not the democratically-elected president Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood, who has dissolved the parliament, but the Egyptian Supreme Court had.

Two days before the second round of presidential elections, Egypt's Supreme Court, which had caused widespread alarm by calling for the dissolution of the lower house of parliament and for fresh elections, has not only rendered 2011 parliamentary vote unconstitutional but dissolved the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood-dominated parliament and ruled that the army-backed candidate, deposed president Hosni Mubarak's last Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq, could stay in the race. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), the country's ruling military council, went on to argue that if any part of the parliament was illegal, then the entire body should be dissolved.

In the meantime, the Muslim Brotherhood did not take the bait by withdrawing its candidate, Mohamed Morsi, from the race, thus handing the presidency to deposed president Hosni Mubarak's last Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq. Instead, the quiet technocrat Morsi came out fighting in the early hours of the morning. He said the Egyptian people would not allow a counter-revolution; moreover, if the weekend's vote was rigged in favour of Shafiq, the brotherhood would call everyone out on to the streets and the revolution would be "stronger" than it was before. Hence, it was just a normal thing if the democratically-elected president Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood "ignored the seriousness of these protests" because he wasn't simply the one, who had dissolved the parliament in the first place.

To make matters worse, the democratically-elected president Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood was told to hold so-called early elections because he had already dissolved the parliament. Moreover, the surprising jolt doesn't stop there. Still according to those so-called Egyptian liberals, hedonists and Morsi-haters, the presidency of the democratically-elected president Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood couldn't live up to people's expectation in Egypt, for there were still high rate of unemployment, expensive prices of staple goods and bad economic situation. Any sane minds sure agree with me that those stupid accusations are indeed stupid. What can any presidents possibly do within a year of their presidency?

I, on the other hand, can't seem to recall what the so-called last struggle between religious authorities and state powers in Iran, for everyone agrees with the premise that the Iranian supreme leader is not the president. In fact, due to the last elections in Iran, Israel can now always heave a sigh of relief to know that Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, one of the world's greatest leaders, is no Iranian president no more and there have been no world leaders who had ridiculed the holocaust no more ever since. Besides, there are

also many great historians and scholars and intellectuals who agree with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's stellar assertion that holocaust NEVER happens and that means no so-called six million jews were gassed by Adolf and his gangs.

What is clear and tangible now is that Shia has been the modern vanguard of Islam, for Islamic-Sunni countries have clearly fallen into the so-called western powers' trap and have taken those kafirs as allies. The Quran, in the meantime, strictly and clearly bans Muslims to take kafirs as allies, as the following three verses of the Quran say,

"(5:51): You who have believed, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are [in fact] allies of one another. And whoever is an ally to them among you - then indeed, he is [one] of them. Indeed, Allah guides not the wrongdoing people."

"O you who have believed, do not take My enemies and your enemies as allies, extending to them affection while they have disbelieved in what came to you of the truth, having driven out the Prophet and yourselves [only] because you believe in Allah , your Lord. If you have come out for jihad in My cause and seeking means to My approval, [take them not as friends]. You confide to them affection, but I am most knowing of what you have concealed and what you have declared. And whoever does it among you has certainly strayed from the soundness of the way (60: 1)."

"O you who have believed, do not take the disbelievers as allies instead of the believers. Do you wish to give Allah against yourselves a clear case (4: 144)?"

And to make matters worse, those Islamic-Sunni countries don't only relate to the ones in the Middle East, but to any Islamic-Sunni countries in the world at large. Meanwhile, the clearest examples that Shia has been the modern vanguard of Islam are Iran and Syria. What so-called western powers which are brave enough to really confront Syria? All of so-called western powers that hold so-called veto cards in the so-called UN Security Council have clearly refused to intervene in Syria. America has clearly proven itself that its bark is much worse than its bite because its Chihuahuas, Britain and France, have vividly said no to the possibility of intervention in Syria.

And what so-called western powers which are brave enough to really confront Iran? Rumor has it that Jimmy Carter, one of the so-called Elders, has made so-called Carter Doctrine to employ any means necessary to prevent a hostile power from gaining control of the Persian Gulf during his so-called presidency. As it has turned out, this so-called Carter Doctrine was neither able to implement his so-called doctrine in Iran following the Iranian revolution in 1979 to free the American hostages there nor did it enable Jimmy Carter to topple the world's greatest leader Khomeini until Carter's final term in office. Even the Reagan administration preferred using Iraq as the so-called western powers' proxy to directly confronting Iran.

Meanwhile, NYT reported on May 8, 2011, "Israel's former intelligence chief has said that a strike on Iran's nuclear installations would be "a stupid idea," adding that military action might not achieve all of its goals and could lead to a long war. The intelligence official, Meir Dagan, who retired in early January after eight years as director of Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, made the remarks at a conference here on Friday. His assessment contradicts the policy of the country's political leaders, who have long argued in favor of a credible military option against Iran's nuclear program."

"Mr. Dagan, speaking for the first time in public since his retirement, was addressing a conference of senior public servants. His remarks were confirmed by a person who attended the conference, which was held at Belgium House, the faculty club of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Mr. Dagan is known to have long opposed military action against Iran, but he had never said so publicly. Mr. Dagan, who also said Friday that Iran must not be allowed to produce nuclear weapons, has advocated covert means of setting back the Iranian program. Israel considers the prospect of a nuclear-armed Iran as an existential threat."

On March 19, 2012, NYT also reported, "The results of the war game were particularly troubling to Gen. James N. Mattis, who commands all American forces in the Middle East, Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia, according to officials who either participated in the Central Command exercise or who were briefed on the results and spoke on condition of anonymity because of its classified nature. When the exercise had concluded earlier this month, according to the officials, General Mattis told aides that an Israeli first strike would be likely to have dire consequences across the region and for United States forces there."

"The two-week war game, called Internal Look, played out a narrative in which the United States found it was pulled into the conflict after Iranian missiles struck a Navy warship in the Persian Gulf, killing about 200 Americans, according to officials with knowledge of the exercise. The United States then retaliated by carrying out its own strikes on Iranian



nuclear facilities. In the end, the war game reinforced to military officials the unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of a strike by Israel, and a counterstrike by Iran, the officials said."


It is true that the calls for separating mosque and state have increased, for Islamic-Sunni countries have clearly fallen into the so-called western powers' trap and have taken those kafirs as allies, as I already mentioned before. Take a look at Sultan Sooud Al Qassemi, who has once penned the so-called article "The rise of Arab republics?" in which he used to use the noun "regression" to describe a law, which imposes the death penalty on anyone who insults God, Prophet Muhammad SAW (peace be upon Him) or any of his wives on social media.

The late Gus Dur, the so-called Muslim, also used to say that the Quran was the world's most salacious book and he gained kudos from amongst the kafirs in his so-called country accordingly which is the world's biggest so-called Muslim population, as rumor has it, in which Sunni clearly dominates. Moreover, gambling, alcohol and interfaith marriage are also quite rampant there. How has it been possible that those three evil practices could be quite rampant the world's biggest so-called Muslim population, as rumor has it? Because those so-called Muslims want to subserviently ingratiate themselves by showing the so-called western countries that Islam and democracy do jibe with one another. But by practicing those evil practices - gambling, alcohol and interfaith marriage?

Relating to those evil practices, the Quran has already banned Muslims to practice them, as the following verses of the Quran say,

"(5: 90 – 91): O you who have believed, indeed, intoxicants, gambling, [sacrificing on] stone alters [to other than Allah], and divining arrows are but defilement from the work of Satan, so avoid it that you may be successful. Satan only wants to cause between you animosity and hatred through intoxicants and gambling and to avert you from the remembrance of Allah and from prayer. So will you not desist?"

"(2: 221): And do not marry polytheistic women until they believe. And a believing slave woman is better than a polytheist, even though she might please you. And do not marry polytheistic men [to your women] until they believe. And a believing slave is better than a polytheist, even though he might please you. Those invite [you] to the Fire, but Allah invites to Paradise and to forgiveness, by His permission. And He makes clear His verses to the people that perhaps they may remember."

1   - Reply - Share >

## Comment 12



JamalX · 7 months ago

This is an eye-opener for some bigots who write here:

### Bigotry and Ignorance of Islam

President George Bush's ignorance of the Middle East and its people is well-known. So also is his habit of parroting words and sentences given to him by other people. He hit a new low when he referred to "Islamic fascists."

No two more opposite concepts are to be found. Fascism glorifies the nation-state; Islam is transnational. Fascism demands slavish devotion to a national leader; Muslims are far too independent-minded to be slavish followers of anybody. Virtually all the people Saddam Hussein murdered were people trying to overthrow him. Fascism is militaristic. Islam is not.

Mr. Bush, who has dubbed himself the "war president," has made a pathetic and absurd effort to picture himself as Winston Churchill facing off against evil. He is no Churchill. Most of the enemies he imagines, he has created himself.

The West faces no threat from Islam. Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions in the world, but it really is a religion of peace. More importantly, it is a religion that concentrates on individual salvation. There is no Muslim pope, no College of Cardinals, no bishops, no priesthood. Any five Muslims anywhere in the world can start their own mosque. Imams are teachers and, like Protestant preachers or Jewish rabbis, can be fired by their congregation. The Shi'ite version is slightly more organized.

A fatwa is a statement issued by an imam, usually explanatory. It is similar to statements issued by the pope, with this important difference: No Muslim is bound by any fatwa. Muslims are free to pay attention to it or to ignore it.

Islam, like Christianity, is a universal religion that ignores nationality, race or color. To become a Muslim, one must profess belief in one God, acknowledge Muhammad as his prophet, recognize the Quran as the word of God, pray five times a day, provide for the poor and, if possible, make a trip to Mecca once in your lifetime. The God Muslims worship is the same God Christians and Jews worship.

To dispose of some of the slanderous misstatements being floated about, Islam forbids forced conversions. People would do well to read some history rather than rely on ignorant and malicious radio and TV talk-show hosts. The oldest Christian communities in the world are all in Muslim countries. There have always been Christian and Jewish communities in the Muslim world. Muslims are commanded to treat Christians and Jews as they would treat themselves. They revere Jesus as a prophet and highly respect the Virgin Mary. The disputes you see in the modern Middle East are not religious; they are all about secular matters, principally Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

The Arabs see Israel as the last European colonialist state imposed on them by the European powers. That's true, in fact.

Hamas and Islamic Jihad are concerned only with ending Israeli occupation of Palestine. Hezbollah is concerned with ending Israeli occupation of Lebanon. Al-Qaeda wants to overthrow the Persian Gulf governments and is at war with us because we are the principal backers and supporters of those governments. Al-Qaeda alone is most un-Islamic and has been so labeled by a majority of Muslims. It is a small group.

If you wish to understand Islam, turn off your TV and go to the library. Introduce yourself to some of America's 6 million Muslims. You'll find them to be very decent and patriotic people. There are some fanatics among Muslims, just as there are among Jews and Christians. Most of the New England states were originally populated by people fleeing Puritan rule in Massachusetts.

The way to combat the fanatics is to extend the hand of friendship to ordinary Muslims and to protest the slander and libel of Muslims and Islam, just as you should protest the slander and libel of Jews and other groups. Bigotry should have no place in our public dialogue, regardless of the target.

It's obvious that President Bush will never understand the world into which he was born, but most Americans have more open minds – except, of course, those who prefer to click their heels and salute when their Fuehrer of choice speaks. - Charley Reese

1 ^ | v · Reply · Share >

### Comment 13



**JamalX** · 6 months ago

*As Shaykh Al-Azhar expressed his support for the ousting of President Morsi, what emerged was a wider debate on scholars' authority and their role in contemporary political discourse.*

Isn't Ban Ki Moon as the head of UN supposed to give a "Fatwa" on this matter? What is the task of UN?

^ | v · Reply · Share >

### Comment 14



**Norberto Triemstra** · 7 months ago

Controlling MASS MEDIA it is just an ANCILLARY aspect of the previous TWO...

^ | v · Reply · Share >

### Comment 15



**Norberto Triemstra** · 7 months ago

And to finish where we started, IMPERIALISM or CONTROL at DISTANCE would be IMPOSSIBLE without two components: 1- GLOBAL FINANCES and; 2- a GLOBAL currency, currently the US dollar.

^ | v · Reply · Share >

### Comment 16



**Norberto Triemstra** · 7 months ago

You are right Hatem, quote: "Law is a by-product of social, political, economic and cultural imperatives, and legal opinions are issued when a real case emerges out of the interaction of the forces shaping society"...., it is something DYNAMIC and this dynamism is affected by POLITICS which in our current age is strongly influenced by the British of the XIX century and THEIR ideas and beliefs which are not, as most people in the Muslim world believe, Christian.... It is the atheism of the British Enlightenment what hammered the Middle East recently, NOT the Crusades...

This point is IMPORTANT since the Enlightenment and Masonry is a product of the Jewish infiltration in Western Europe from two sources, Portugal and Spain (Sephardic) and the Slavic world via the Ottomans and even Venice (Ashkenazy) .

^ | v · Reply · Share >

### Comment 17



**vishal** · 7 months ago

1 quote i remember from christ is : JUDGE!, you will be judged, the same measure you who judge others, all nations preach what they dont practice US is leading the way on hypocrisy, religion and politics are the opposites of each other

^ | v · Reply · Share >

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Name : Kamal Abdul Aziz  
Place, Date of Birth : Pati, March 6, 1990  
Address : Prawoto RT 01 RW 04  
Sukolilo-Pati-Jateng  
E-mail : [kamalaziz88@gmail.com](mailto:kamalaziz88@gmail.com)  
Phone Number : 0857 2577 3030



### EDUCATIONS

2010-2014 : UIN Sunan Kalijaga, English Literature  
2006-2009 : MA Raudlatul Ulum, Guyangan-Trangkil-Pati  
2003-2006 : MTs Sunan Prawoto, Prawoto-Sukolilo-Pati  
1997-2003 : MI Al Hihdayah Prawoto, Prawoto-Sukolilo-Pati

### COURSE

2009-2010 : BEC Pare, Kediri

### INTEREST

Sports, travelling, and cooking

### ACTIVITIES

2011 : employee of Quick Chicken, Glagahsari  
2011-present : part timer in Dee Net  
2012-2013 : tentor in Smart Kidz Sleman  
2013-2014 : tentor in Ortegama, Pakuncen  
2013-present : English translator