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<p>Article</p>	
<p>Integration of the Qur'an on Indonesian's Nationalism in Political Islamic Perspectives Mahmud Syaltut and Ali Jinnah</p>	
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<p>ABSTRACT:</p>	
<p>The dialectic of religion and state in formulating nationalism as a national ideology is not only about a matter of religion normatively, but rather as a methodology for understanding Islam as a methodological and dialogical instrument. The resilience of Pancasila as the nation's ideology was born in the nationalist dialectic line of the Middle East to Southeast Asia. So it is undeniable that Pancasila strengthens as the antithesis of the political discourse of world nationality on the one hand and socio-cultural in Indonesia. Mahmud Syaltut's offer in progressive religious nationalism has given reconsideration in understanding religion in the reality of national politics; it is not only material but a methodological and dialogical framework of thinking in the three paradigms namely religion as logical, analytical, and philosophical thinking through argumentative (<i>Burhan</i>) and undeniable (<i>bayyan</i>). Meanwhile, Ali Jinnah strengthened the function of the unity ummah based on shared universal values in justice, humanity, and civilization which doubted domination and hegemony in the name of the majority. This is where Pancasila manifests itself in the ideology of the Indonesian nation which is unique as well as a projection of humanity, justice, and nationality for humans beyond territorial boundaries then develops and is sustainable.</p>	
<p>Keywords: <i>Progressive Religious Nationalism, Mahmud Syaltut, Ali Jinnah, Tafsir Al Qur'an</i></p>	

INTRODUCTION

However, the form and system of governance are entirely a choice according to the historical characteristics of each. Mahmud Syaltut's renewal in national politics has a strong urgency and relevance in maintaining unity and integrity in Indonesia. It will be impossible for pluralism and multiculturalism to coexist harmoniously if they are not based on one basic belief and view of life through the basic principles of true religion.

There is an interesting finding by Chiara Formichi in his book *Islam and the making of the nation Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in 20th century Indonesia* that political Islam which brings forth movements and goals for a state like *Darul Islam*; found almost parallel relations in the terms of vocabulary and strategies starting from Turkey and India to Asia.¹ For Mahmud Syaltut, the theological basis which states that a strong national ideology will emerge through reflective and evaluative efforts from the results of the historical experience of nations has been mentioned in

¹ Chiara Formichi, *Islam and the Making of the Nation Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in 20th Century Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), 2.

the Qur'an.² However, the form and system of governance are entirely a choice according to the historical characteristics of each.³ Mahmud Syaltut's renewal in national politics has a strong urgency and relevance in maintaining unity and integrity in Indonesia. It will be impossible for pluralism and multiculturalism to coexist harmoniously if they are not based on one basic belief and view of life through the basic principles of true religion.

The basic principle of Islam is not only teaching but spreading messages of safety and peace; it is the basic idea of Islamic teachings explored in the concept of love (*mahabbah*).⁴ The role of Mahmud Syaltut's national politics was seen in the second Egyptian Revolution. A newer definition of conservative Islamic socialism was accepted as the ideology of the then government. This idea became very helpful when the spirit of nationalism was in the process of starting the synergy between nationalism and socialism in Indonesia.⁵ At this point, religion and nationalism for Mahmud Syaltut became basic needs that could not be separated as material and immaterial dimensions of human identity.⁶ Mahmud Syaltut in the political movement has been able to present Islamic values in the spirit of modernity through religious socialism that is open to Western thought.⁷

In principle, Mahmud Syaltut found it difficult to separate the relationship between religion and the state as a foundation and construction in politics to realize the principles of justice and unity in society. Political ideas in the form of religious socialism are explored by him in the literature, both in the Al-Qur'an and Hadith.⁸ Considering that capitalism and secularism have become a state only as a means of maintaining security without seeing the relation between modernization and nationalism which prioritizes human principles.⁹ The results of research tracing Mahmud Syaltut's thoughts can be seen in three trends, namely thoughts in the field of Qur'an hadith, Islamic law, and state politics. In Ahmad Zulfikar's research, he explained that Mahmud Syaltut was very clear and firm in his view that the basic principles of Islamic law in the concept of *sabilillah* are based on universal values that teach and fight for justice, cooperation, and compassion for others.¹⁰

The views above can be seen factually and clearly in the application of the hadith *riddah*, for example, Mahmud Syaltut did not accept the death penalty as a consequence but was based on situations and conditions that could intimidate the state and faith.¹¹ At this point, Mahmud Syaltut looks very dynamic in understanding the Sunnah as the basis of Islamic law.¹² Meanwhile, in Islamic law, Mahmud Syaltut sided with the rights and respect of women by rejecting *mut'ah*

² Mahmud Syaltut, *Al Islam Wa Al Wujud Al Daula Lil Muslimin* (Mesir: Dar al Jihad, 1958), 11-12.

³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴ Mahmud Syaltut, *Al Qur'an Wa Al Qital*, 2nd ed. (Beirut-Lebanon: Serbeih Press, 1983), 6.

⁵ Eta Yuni Lestari, Miftahul Janah, and Putri Karima Wardanai, "Menumbuhkan Kesadaran Nasionalisme Generasi Muda Di Era Globalisasi Melalui Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Pancasila," *Adil Indonesia Jurnal* 1, no. 1 (2019): 21.

⁶ Amin Husein Nasution, "Pemikiran Politik Mahmud Syaltut" 33, no. 1 (2009): 68–83.

⁷ M. Sabarudin Nasir, "Islam, Akidah Dan Syariah (Studi Pemikiran Keagamaan Syekh Mahmud Syaltut)," *Journal Unsada* 53, no. 9 (2013): 7.

⁸ Mahmud Syaltut, *Tutunan Islam*, Bulan Bintang, vol. 1, 1973.

⁹ Fany Isti Fauzia Suryana and Dinie Anggraeni Dewi, "Lunturnya Rasa Nasionalisme Pada Anak Milenial Akibat Arus Modernisasi," *Edukatif: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 3, no. 2 (2021): 599, <https://doi.org/10.31004/edukatif.v3i2.400>.

¹⁰ Ahmad Dzulfikar, "Sabilillah Dalam Pandangan Syekh Mahmud Syaltut Dan Implementasinya Dalam Hukum Islam Kontemporer," *Journal of Islamic Civilization* 2, no. 1 (2020): 41–50, <https://doi.org/10.33086/jic.v2i1.1428>.

¹¹ Arif Wahyudi, "Kapasitas Nabi Muhammad Dalam Hadits-Hadits Hukuman Mati Bagi Pelaku Riddah (Perspektif Mahmud Syaltut)," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 12, no. 1 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v12i1.1185>.

¹² Muhammad Fatih, "Paradigma Pemahaman Dan Klasifikasi Sunnah Dalam Perpektif Edukatif Mahmud Syaltut Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Aktualisasi Mekanisme Ra'yu Era Kekinian," *Ta'dibia: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Agama Islam* 7, no. 1 (2017): 11–20; Rozian Karnedi, Suryadi Suryadi, and Muahammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, "The Polemic of Ahad Hadith Use in Interpreting the Death of Prophet Isa According to Mahmud Syaltut and Siradjuddin Abbas," *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 23, no. 1 (2019): 105–16, <https://doi.org/10.29300/madania.v23i1.1837..>

marriage because it was considered contrary to the purpose of marriage in Islam.¹³ Including the understanding of polygamy and family goals by prioritizing moral aspects over other importance.¹⁴ Meanwhile, in the political aspect of the state, Mahmud Syaltut is open to the concept of a modern state and Western-advanced thought without losing the basic principles of Islam.¹⁵

Based on the review of the literature above, this study requirements to complement the study of Mahmud Syaltut's existing thoughts by focusing on how the basic idea of integration of Mahmud Syaltut's religious socialism strengthens the concept of nationalism in Indonesia. To make it easier to answer the research problem above, a formulation of the problem was created, such as; what about Mahmud Syaltut and Ali Jinnah's concept of national politics, how is its integration and relevance in strengthening nationalism in Indonesia. Through these questions, it is expected that this research can provide a more complete explanation of how the contribution of Mahmud Syaltut's thoughts is in the context of political Islamic thought in Indonesia.

METHOD

This research was conducted using library research from all the works of the two political Islamic intellectuals: Mahmud Syaltut and Ali Jinnah as well as articles and documents that could explain the role of the two figures' national politics. Next, the data were analyzed using the Cesweel data analysis approach by determining three steps: data reduction, data categorization, and data interpretation. In the data interpretation section, the ideas of each figure will be made in the form of a theoretical concept to be used as a basis for the concept of construction the nationalism paradigm which is the tendency of the two figures in conceptual terms. Then, using this paradigm to see the basic core of conceptual values that can be used as a construction element for strengthening nationalism in Indonesia.

RESULTS

Based on the results of research on integrative relations and the interconnection of the nationalism principles of Mahmud Syaltut and Muhammad Ali Jinnah in strengthening national ideology in Indonesia, it is based on two fundamental things, namely; openness to science and civilization as well as efforts to innovate as opposed to stagnation. While Ali Jinnah pushed for the principle of justice and rejected all forms of domination and hegemony in the name of the majority. The two important aspects above can be a marker as well as strengthening the basic principles in Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation which has a long-term sustainable urgency and significance in building human values and civilization. These basic values will be able to provide a sense of security and comfort as well as efforts to overcome various threats to humanity's destruction through ideological extreme fundamentalists and puritanism that are different from humanity, denying differences and diversity.

Failure to understand the value of Islamic universalism conceptually has placed religion in an anomaly position; religion as a normative material as a claim of right and wrong is not a methodology for understanding the dimensional relationship between humans, religion, and the universe. In this view, Mahmud Syaltut through methodological and ideological Islamic offer positions religion in three paradigms, namely religion as a way of thinking and philosophical contemplation (*al Din al Fiker wa tadabbur*) and (*al Din al 'Aql*). So the basic principle of faith in Islam is not as an inanimate object or *jumud*, but an instrument and system that recovers the energy of reason for humanity and civilization through theological explanations that are anti-apologetic but logical, rational, and argumentative. Meanwhile, for Ali Jinnah, the spirit of unity will produce a leadership model that is built based on togetherness and cooperation by upholding binding and unifying values instead of using the basic principles of culture or religion as the

¹³ Diyan Putri Ayu, "Kritik Mahmud Syaltut Terhadap Praktik Nikah Mut'ah Syi'ah," *Al-Manabij: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam* 1, no. 1 (2019): 57–72, <https://doi.org/10.37680/almanhaj.v1i1.109>.

¹⁴ Aunur Rofiq, "Keabsahan Poligami: Perspektif Muhammad Abduh Dan Mahmud Syaltut," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* 3, no. 2 (2018): 155–171; Ibnu Irawan and Nasrullah Nasrullah, "Argumentasi Keluarga Berencana Dalam Hukum Islam (Studi Fatwa Syaikh Mahmud Syaltut)," *Jami* 3, no. 2 (2020): 178–203; Mahmud Arif, "Ambivalensi Pemikiran Mahmud Syaltut Tentang Fikih Perempuan," *Al-Manabij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (1970): 197–214, <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v5i2.613>.

¹⁵ Agus Miswanto, "Konsep Kenegaraan Dalam Perspektif Syaikh Mahmud Syaltut," *Cakrawala: Jurnal Studi Islam* 10, no. 2 (2015): 129–55.

identity of the majority as the only unifying determinant of the ummah. This is where Ali Jinnah's rejection; narrows the space for the unity of the ummah to an identity that cannot embrace all parties.

DISCUSSION

The Muslim Intellectual Dialectic of Mahmud Syaltut and Ali Jinnah

As a prominent scholar, Mahmud Syaltut offered the idea of renewal in Islamic thought. As an expert in Fikih and interpretation (*tafsir*) and also as a rector at Al-Azhar in Cairo, Egypt in the span from 1958-1963. In 1961 he received the title of Doctor Honoris Causa at IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.¹⁶ Mahmud Syaltut is a productive figure in producing his works of thought.¹⁷ He tried to make the idea of Islam the basis of his renewal.¹⁸ Precisely on April 23rd, 1893 in the village of Minya Bani Mansur, Itay Al-Barud District, Buhaira Province, he had memorized the Qur'an in 1906 AD when he was 13 years old.¹⁹ Further in, 1918 AD, he became a teacher at al-Ma'had al-Din Iskandariyah.²⁰ The political movement started in the Egyptian revolution in 1919 by Saad Zaghlul Pasha until the second revolution in July 1952, Mahmud Syaltut helped create a more conservative definition of Islamic socialism to fight the fundamental understanding that the Muslim Brotherhood did directly.

While Ali Jinnah's national political ideas from leading figures of Pakistan Jinnah was born in 1876 and married for the first time at the age of 16th and returned to Karachi in 1884.²¹ Jinnah died on September 11th, 1948.²² The 1956's Constitution made the system of government in Pakistan a unitary parliamentary democracy, but that only lasted two years. One of his main promises was to restore democracy in Pakistan. In the basis of the 1973's Constitution envisions Pakistan as a federation and a parliamentary democracy with Islamic provisions in it.²³ Muhammad Ali Jinnah²⁴ reappeared exactly in January 1934 in the political scene after two years of seclusion. As a figure with the title *Quadi Azam*,²⁵ Jinnah was elected president of the Muslim League after losing to his rivals Abdul Aziz and Hidayat Husain. Exactly on April 1st, Jinnah officially became the leader of the Muslim League party.

¹⁶ Erman Gani, "Manhaj Fatwa Syaikh Mahmûd Syaltût Dalam Kitab Al Fatâwa," *Hukum Islam* XIII, no. 1 (2013): 64–83.

¹⁷ Ach Baiquni, "Tipologi Pemahaman Hadis (Studi Pemikiran Hadis Mahmud Syaltut)," *El-Afkar* 8, no. 2 (2019): 39.

¹⁸ Nurhayati, "Memahami Konsep Syariah, Fikih, Hukum Dan Ushul Fikih [Understand the Concepts of Sharia, Jurisprudence, Law and Usul Fiqh]," *Jurnal Hukum Ekonomi Syariah* 2, no. 2 (2018): 128.

¹⁹ Ahmad Badwi, "Kontribusi Syaltut Dalam Reformasi Hukum Islam," *Jurnal Hukum Diktum* 11, no. 1 (2013): 56, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.28988/diktum.v11i1.94>.

²⁰ Dzulfikar, "Sabilillah Dalam Pandangan Syekh Mahmud Syaltut Dan Implementasinya Dalam Hukum Islam Kotemporer."

²¹ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah Creator of Pakistan* (London: John Murray Ltd, 1954), 3-4. Ayah Jinnah adalah seorang pedagang kulit dengan perawakan kurus bernama Jinnah. Istri beliau bernama Poonja dan memiliki tujuh orang anak. Anak sulungnya bernama Muhammad Ali, Rahmat, Maryam, Ahmed Ali, Shireen, Fatima dan Bande Ali. Diantara mereka yang mengambil jalur politik adalah Ali Jinnah dan Fatima. lihat pada halaman 6.

²² Yasser Latif Hamdani, *Jinnah A Life* (London: Macmillan Press, 2020), 241; Akbar S.Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity; The Search for Saladin* (London: Routledge, 1997), xi.

²³ *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁴ Dalam sketsa biografi Jinnah juga tidak terlepas dalam usahanya membangun integrasi nasional dengan menikahi seorang putrid dari Sir Dinshaw yang bernama Ruttenbai atau yang disapa dengan panggilan Ruttie. Rutie merupakan suku yang berbeda dengan Jinnah dan terlampau usia sangat jauh. Pernikahan beda suku menjadi masalah bagi Dinshaw yang tidak setuju sehingga menempuh jalur hukum. Singkat cerita Ruttie telah jatuh cinta pada Jinnah dan melarikan diri serta menikah dengan Jinnah. Lebih jelasnya lihat B.R. Nanda, *Road To Pakistan; The Life Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 35-37.

²⁵ Rafiq Zakaria, *The Who Divided India* (India: Popul(J) Prakashan Pvt. Ltd, 2001), 5.

Theo-Ideological Political Nationalism Perspective of Mahmud Syaltut and Ali Jinnah

Nasionalisme (Nationalism) is formed by two terms namely "nasional" and "isme", namely an understanding that is formed from awareness and love for the motherland.²⁶ In terms of Arabic terminology, nationalism at least can be referred into three terms, namely, *al Asha>biyyah* (الأصابية) ethnicity or tribalism; *al Qawmiyah* (القومية) and *al Wat>a>niyyah* (الوطنية) patriotism.²⁷ In general, nationalism is understood as a sense of love for the motherland (*patriotic sentiment*).²⁸

In terms of interpretation, nationalism is a socio-political ideology of nationality. From a historical point of view, its emergence can be traced to the events of the French revolution in 1789. Carlton Heyes argues that nationalism is a group of people who are politically related to one another and are bound by the same circumstances and cultural heritage. In Arabic terms, Hayes's explanation of the meaning of nationalism is fundamentally actually bound by two things, namely the agreement (الوفاء) and dependencies (التعلق) then form a unity before other identity binders. Hayes emphasized that the agreement and commitment to the country or place of birth (الوطن) and national identity (الشعب) is the foundation of nationalism.²⁹

Mahmud Syaltut's Nationalism in the Idea of Progressive Religious Socialism

Mahmud Syaltut's national theological policy of nationalism is always based on the principles of humanity, mutual acceptance, appreciation, and forgiveness as a social and political basis overhead the attitude of disagreement up to the situation of war.³⁰ Even the verses in the Qur'an that allow war are excluded when treated with despotic and prioritize the message of peace.³¹ This is evidence of how the attitude of acceptance and forgiveness for differences and disagreements. It is very relevant for a nation that has a diversity of tribes, religions, and cultures like Indonesia. This point of view can be seen in the attitude and honesty of Mahmud Syaltut in the madhhab which does not immediately give claims to Shia'ah but rather puts forward the aspect of the truth of Sharia law which has been explained both in matters of worship and muamalah even Mahmud Syaltut firmly rejects the attitude and view of fanaticism (*ta'ashub*).³² This attitude is evidence that in matters of religious differences there is no need to be fanatical by monopolizing the truth, especially in religious, cultural, and socio-political differences as long as it is based on an attitude of openness towards others. Such is the case in the attitude of testimony both in the *mu'amalah* and the criminal case which does not question the witness of non-Muslims but on the uprightness of the justice' principle and true witness.³³

On the other hand, Mahmud Syaltut also explained how the basic principles of the revelation of the Qur'an as a guide for humans do not only cover matters of faith or belief and law but also morality which teaches the values of cooperation, being gentle, honest and so on as a form of faith and the nature of Allah SWT.³⁴ Morals and personality become one of the objectives of the basic and main ideas of the Qur'an in the role and function of humans and humanity in both

²⁶ Dendy Sugono et al., *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa Departemen pendidikan Nasional, 2008), 1068.

²⁷ Noor Zaman, Irfan Shahzad, and Kafait Ullah Hamdani, "Islam and Nationalism: A Contemporary View," *Interdisciplinary Journal Of Contemporary Research In Business* 4, no. 5 (2012), 393-400; Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary: The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan (New York: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1977), 800, 1080.

²⁸ Geddes and Grosset, *Webster's Universal Dictionary and Thesaurus* (Mumbai: Unabridged Internal Edition, 2003), 324.

²⁹ Ali Muhammad Naqwi, *Tahmil Kitab Al Islam Wa Al Quumiyah, Munadzamatul I'lam Al Islami* (Grantville: Princeton University Press, 2019), <https://www.noor-book.com>.

³⁰ Mahmud Syaltut, *Al Qur'an wa Al Qital*, 2nd ed. (Beirut-Lebanon, 1983), 86.

³¹ Mahmud Syaltut, *Al Islam Wa Al 'Alaqat Al Daulah Fi Al Silmi Wa Al Harb* (Mesir: Maktabah Syaikh Jami' al Azhar, 1951), 28-30.

³² Mahmud Syaltut, *Risalah Al Islamiyyah* (Mesir: Dar At Taqrib, 1959), 228.

³³ Mahmud Syaltut, *Muqaranatul Madzhab Fi Al Fiqh* (Mesir: Dar al Ma'arif, 1986), 137.

³⁴ Mahmud Syaltut, *Ilal Qur'an Al Karim* (Beirut: Dar Syuruq, 1983), 6.

the social, religious, political, and cultural dimensions. It was not enough to stop there. Mahmud Syaltut also emphasized the urgency of a commitment to promises made as part of maintaining one's image and glory. In the book *of al Washbaya al 'Ayyarah*, it is stated that commitment is a way the upholding human values whether as a commitment to the creed (*al 'Abdu al fitri*), an enforced commitment (*al 'abdu al Taklif*) and a commitment to customary norms (*al 'Abdu al 'Urfi*).³⁵ At this point, of course, commitments in the form of family ties to socio-political nationality are certainly the responsibility of both individuals and society, especially in accepting the national ideology which is a mutual national commitment such as the 4 Pillars of Nationality.

The style and characteristics of Mahmud Syaltut's progressive religious socialism are based on an essential view of Islam as a methodological framework in which Islam is not limited to religion in rituals and spirituality but also a religion that positions the urgency and significance of reason (*al Din al 'Aql*), thought and contemplation (*al Din al Fiker wa tadabbur*) and (*al Din al 'Aql*). This opinion is not without reason when faith is not built based on taklid and stiff (*jumud*) attitudes but through arguments (*Burhan*) and strong preferences (*hujjah*).³⁶ It is not only that, even though taklid essentially means obedience and submission which can be used in several aspects of Islam, it is different from the religion itself which is dynamic and developing.³⁷ Here Mahmud Syaltut wants to emphasize that *taklid* is not prohibited as long as it does not contrary to Islamic principles and cares for the soul by considering aspects of openness of mind and *ijtihad*.

Mahmud Syaltut's view is relevant to Muhammad Hatta's statement that the ideas of religious socialism are an entry point for accepting other ideas, such as economics, political cooperation, and Pancasila where Mahmud Syaltut tries to make religion and politics the basic reference in state politics.³⁸ Socialism itself is the principle of justice, equality, and brotherhood which is upheld by Islamic socialism. Islamic socialism is also formed and built based on provisions or rules based on naqli arguments, namely the Qur'an and Hadith.³⁹ In practice, progressive religious socialism becomes two things that correspond to those based on religious moral values. Historical evidence in the early days of building a government in the city of Mecca, the Prophet Muhammad did not use war as a way of war at all but chose the lane of preaching by promoting a sense of peace without destroying and without bloodshed.⁴⁰ The messages of peace in Islam exemplified by the Prophet are of course an important value on how to build and strengthen nationalism in the midst of diversity by maintaining security, order, and peace without leaving strife.

On the other hand, for Mahmud Syaltut, the democratic spirit that places rights and decisions on the common interest must be based on the principle of deliberation (*Musyawarah*) as an important and urgent part of the concept of understanding Islam because deliberation characterizes the concept of a just society and opposes authoritarianism.⁴¹ This is where Mahmud Syaltut's offer of progressive religious socialism has implications for the relationship between religion and the state which according to him the two things are something that cannot be separated, which has a very close and strong relationship as a foundation and building.⁴² Even Islam cannot be upright and strong without leadership, namely the state or government.⁴³ Something without a foundation will collapse, and a foundation will not be formed without a

³⁵ Mahmud Syaltut, *Al Washbaya Al 'Asyra* (Beirut: Dar al Syuruq, 1984), 77-81.

³⁶ Muhammad 'Imarah, *As Syaikh Syaltut; Al Imam Fi Al Ijtihad Wa Al Tajdid* (Iskandaria: Dar As Salam, 1979), 62.

³⁷ Mahmud Syaltut, *Al Fatawa; Dirasah Li Musykilat Al Muslim Al Ma'ashir Fi Hayatibi Al Yaumiyah Wa Al 'Ammah* (Beirut: Dar al Syuruq, 1968), 406-407.

³⁸ Muhammad Iqbal, Kata Kunci, and Mohammad Hatta, "Mohammad Hatta Dan Partai Demokrasi Islam Indonesia: Dinamika Pemikiran Hubungan Agama Dan Politik," *Madania* 18, no. 201 (1987): 3.

³⁹ Septian Teguh Wijiyanto and Ajat Sudrajat, "Tjokroaminoto: Sosialisme Islam," *Bihari: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Ilmu Sejarah* 2, no. 1 (2019): 2019.

⁴⁰ Syaltut, *Al Islam Wa Al Wujud Al Danla Lil Muslimin*, 48-49 dan 53.

⁴¹ 'Imarah, *As Syaikh Syaltut; Al Imam Fi Al Ijtihad Wa Al Tajdid*, 77-78.

⁴² Iqbal, Kunci, and Hatta, "Mohammad Hatta Dan Partai Demokrasi Islam Indonesia: Dinamika Pemikiran Hubungan Agama Dan Politik."

⁴³ 'Imarah, *As Syaikh Syaltut; Al Imam Fi Al Ijtihad Wa Al Tajdid*, 75.

building. The orientation of public life and state politics which in this case describes the empty Islamic religion.⁴⁴ The result of the bond between religion and the state (integrative) can produce state sovereignty under the authority of the head of state whom it obeys and also has the power to safeguard the interests of society.

In his book, he gives the meaning of politics in a wide scope. As he said, namely:

It is difficult to distinguish between religion and politics in Islam. Everything related to belief and worship is religion and may be called Islamic politics in the improvement of belief and worship. Everything related to morality and education is religion and may be called Islamic politics in terms of education and morality. Everything related to *muamalat* is religious and may be called Islamic economic and social politics. And everything related to the government and the management of the interests of Muslims in the world is also a religion and may be called the Islamic system in the government and administration of the country.⁴⁵

Mahmud Syaltut places a very close relationship between religion and politics, like a body that cannot be separated although it should not be explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an, and hadith the basic spirit is by the two sources of sharia.⁴⁶ Therefore, in the framework of Mahmud Syaltut's thinking, the relationship between religion and politics has an ideological and ideal meaning⁴⁷, and according to Agus Miswanto, it has also a functional meaning.

Glancing at the meaning of religion itself is a need for teachings that must be used as the foundation or basis of every aspect of self-ideology. Mahmud Syaltut wrote:

If we look at such a survey and accept His teachings as a whole and in detail, then of course we know that Islam is the best rule, which can guarantee the happiness of individuals and society in this world and the hereafter. Islam does not miss one of the elements of goodness and happiness, the element of a good life and eternal happiness but has commanded it, invited, and advocated it. In the same way, one of the elements of evil and corruption, the element of a continuous despicable and wretched life, has not been missed but has prevented and kept people away from it.⁴⁸

In the politics of Islamic thought itself, the concept of the state has become an important part of constitutional law that can be seen as a political institution in achieving a common goal, namely commonweal.⁴⁹ Even Mahmud Syaltut mentioned that welfare and social justice cannot be realized because of oppression and colonialism, then independence is a mandatory thing that must be fought for to create a country.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Mahmud Syaltut's statement is very firm that a citizen who chooses a family from his country to live instead of settling in his country is not allowed to if no reason can be justified.⁵¹ Similarly, in da'wah, it is not limited to war or fighting as the only option, but it gives freedom (*Hurriyat al Diniyyah*) and is not based on hatred (*al Ikrab*).⁵² Independence as a nation and sovereignty and unity are important keys in religious and national relations.

⁴⁴ Agama Dan Negara and Nasuha Abu Bakar, "Pandangan Sheikh Mahmud Syaltut Tentang," *Al-Burban* 16, no. 1 (2016): 131–42.

⁴⁵ Syaltut, *Tutunan Islam*, vol. 1, hal.135 .

⁴⁶ Abdul Mufid, "Konsep Negara Ideal Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an," *Jurnal Studi Islam* 1999, no. December (2006): 22.

⁴⁷ Syaltut, *Tutunan Islam*, vol. 1, hal.20 .

⁴⁸ Syaltut, *Tutunan Islam*, vol. 1, hal.131 .

⁴⁹ Munawir Sjadzali, "Islam Dan Tata Negara Ajaran, Sejarah Dan Pemikiran," n.d., 124–27.

⁵⁰ 'Imarah, *As Syaikh Syaltut; Al Imam Fi Al Ijtihad Wa Al Tajdid*, 86.

⁵¹ Syaltut, *Al Islam Wa Al 'Alaqat Al Daulah Fi Al Silmi Wa Al Harb*, 30.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 32.

The Nationalism of Ali Jinnah in the Idea of Unity and National Religiosity Unity

Through the five words "*The Muslims are a nation*" Jinnah made efforts to unite the Muslim community which is potentially good in terms of values, and laws that are different from Hindus.⁵³ From the beginning, Jinnah adhered to steadfast efforts to unify Hindu Muslims by continuing to lobby politically with the new chairman of the congress to win votes in the central assembly. It is not much different from Azad, Jinnah has always mediated between Hindus and Muslims by lowering communal sentiment. Even convinced the people Muslims, joining Jinnah in the Indian Congress was none other than the interests of the State of Jinnah itself, India.⁵⁴ So when in 1916 Jinnah built Hindu-Muslim cooperation through the Congress League to emphasize that Jinnah was inviting his fellow believers to join and cooperate with the Hindu community in the struggle to achieve political freedom.⁵⁵

Doctrinally there had been clashes between modernists and radical Islamists before the formation of Pakistan. The idea of separation was placed forward in 1937 and at that time Jinnah had put forward the idea that Muslims and Hindus in India could not be united. This idea was approved by England and legally in 1947 Pakistan separated from India. Jinnah's views are often seen as those of a modernist thinker who often clashes with radical Islamic groups or in congresses. This way of thinking is explained by the possibility that Jinnah's intellectual background tends to be Oxbridge education rather than Deoband. This can be seen in his opposition to the application of sharia law which is based on the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. Then, Jinnah asked whose Sharia? This proves that Jinnah has a more progressive view in placing Islam.⁵⁶

Ali Jinnah is principally against the model of ethnoreligious nationalism which tends to be intolerant of others which results in clashes.⁵⁷ This fact explains that Hindu or Indian nationalism does not accommodate differences in ethnic, cultural, and religious identities and forces them to assimilate into India's national culture. In other words, the political scheme of "Indianization" seeks to homogenize the different cultures that live side by side in India. Jinnah is a supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity, he joined the All India National Congress. In this congress Jinnah became the leader of the Indian independence movement with more than 15 million members in 1913, Jinnah decided to join the All India Muslim League (Indian Muslim League) more precisely in his speech in Lucknow. However, it eventually became the beginning of the separation between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Finally, Jinnah chose to fight for the weak Muslim minority to try to build unity by forming Pakistan.⁵⁸ Quoting Kaura's writings, Ahmed wrote that Jinnah said:

Hindi is to be the national language of all of India, and 'Bande Mataram' [the Hindu nationalist song from Anandamath] is to be the national song and is to be forced upon all. The Congress flag is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community has clearly shown their hand that Hindustan is for the Hindus; only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mince words.⁵⁹

⁵³ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1980), 19.

⁵⁴ Nanda, *Road To Pakistan; The Life Times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, 184.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 316.

⁵⁷ Girvin, "From Civic Pluralism to Ethnoreligious Majoritarianism: Majority Nationalism in India, 15.

⁵⁸ *Bolito, Jinnah Creator of Pakistan*, 115. selanjutnya Seetidaknya terdapat dua kelompok aru kepemimpinan di dalam pelibatan Kongres di mana di satu sisi diwakilkans oleh semangat nasionalisme moderat dan yang di sisi lainnya yaitu ekstremisme. Dinamika dan perdebatan antara moderat yang dipimpin oleh Jinnah dan beberapa tokoh lain seperti Mehta dan Gokhale. Sementara dari kelompok ekstremis dipimpin oleh Bal Gangadhar. Kedua pemikiran arus utama tersebut yang puncaknya pada tahun 1906 merupakan perselisihan pertama dalam organisasi. lihat Zakaria, *The Who Divided India*.z, 11.

⁵⁹ S. Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity; The Search for Saladin*, 87.

From Jinnah's statement above, in the end, he wanted the separation of Hindus and Muslims in two countries, namely India and Pakistan.⁶⁰ This separation was marked for the first time by the Muslim League in March 1940. However, the problem became more complicated when the unified Muslim territory was only represented by Bengal and Punjab, which of course left other Muslim areas that were wider. There is an important thing that is not overlooked both Jinnah and Gandhi shared the same spirit of nationalism's spirit from the colonial grip but both differed in their respective goals where Jinnah was for the unity of Pakistan while Gandhi was for the unity of India.⁶¹

From the dispute between both, the theory of two-nation was born in were claims of Muslim figures before Jinnah Sayyid Ahmad Khan claimed that Indian Muslims were a nation and vice versa for the Hindu community. Indian Muslims do not recognize the unity of India, and even Indian Muslims have the right to make their own country free from the domination of the Hindu community which is equivalent to the struggle to be free from England colonialism.⁶² In other words, the more the Hindu community wants Indian unity over the Muslim minority, the stronger the Muslim struggle to separate themselves from Indian domination and form their spirit of nationalism.⁶³

In conclusion, the desire for nationalism in the Muslim community is pushed more by subjective feelings than the issue of territorial integrity or is more likely a psychological matter than politics. On the other hand, India sees the issue of national unity at a cultural point rather than territorially and historically over religion, so it has a different footing. It is not surprising then, in Aziz's analysis, that the Muslim community is more inclined to the theory of England and French nationalism through its character Mc Dougall da Renan, while India is inclined to German thinkers such as Herder dan Wieland.⁶⁴ However, because Pakistan's nationalism is not the only one driven by Islamic enthusiasm, there are other factors involved.⁶⁵

Integration of Mahmud Syaltut's Progressive Religious Socialism and Ali Jinnah's Decolonization in the Dimension of Nationalism in Indonesia

The history of the Indonesian nation and the love for the motherland turned into the spirit of nationalism after going through the fight against colonialism, even more, tragic than that.⁶⁶ The transformation of religious values into a form of national consciousness that is oriented towards the sovereignty and dignity of the country, is also the main thing.⁶⁷ Starting from religious values that teach the spirit of love for the motherland, thus bringing forth the spirit of modernity for those who want to truly practice religious teachings. According to Mahmud Syaltut if the state and religion become one, then it is necessary to know if Islam is a religion of peace.⁶⁸ On this message of peace, Mahmud Syaltut firmly pointed out the verse of peace in the Qur'an, one of which is in Qs. Al Imran [3]: 64 which makes the sentence *al Sala>m* a commitment and a common meeting point.⁶⁹

In its implications, religious socialism also frees everyone in religion, develops their skills, and gains wealth with their skills. Opinions according to his religious beliefs without having to

⁶⁰ Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Politics, Ideology and Nationalism* (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2020), 166.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 163.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 209; Zakaria, *The Who Divided India.*, 5-6.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁶⁵ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (America: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvii.

⁶⁶ Beniati Lestyarini, "Penumbuhan Semangat Kebangsaan Untuk Memperkuat Karakter Indonesia Melalui Pembelajaran Bahasa," *Jurnal Pendidikan Karakter* 2, no. 3 (2018): 341-42.

⁶⁷ Hijriani A. Prihantoro, "Islam Nusantara Dan Filsafat Orientasi Bangsa; Dialektika Modernitas Beragama Dalam Negara Berbudaya," *Millah* 16, no. 2 (2017): 203-34, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol16.iss2.art3>.

⁶⁸ Syaltut, *Tuntunan Islam*, vol. 1, hal.128 .

⁶⁹ Mahmud Syaltut, *Tuntunan Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1973), 141-142.

oppress others with his arguments, nor oppress others in acquiring wealth.⁷⁰ Strive to realize what is desired in his endeavors by doing halal endeavors, so that the wealth entrusted by God can be used well according to Sharia, just as it can be used by doing sadaqah with others who are more in need, which in this case was added by Tjokro. It can be categorized into two groups, that is, the property that is given as alms and its production depends on the sincerity of the giver, and the second is given with a gift that is determined by the amount of wealth. As we know and we have already worked, that is zakat.⁷¹

Indonesia, through its figure Soekarno who is dense with secular political figures, actually wants to place religion in its role and function as a basic element in the life of the nation and state in a functional political dimension that is different from Mohammad Naatsir where religion is positioned as a goal in a formalistic sense. That debate, although from a more abstract point of view, is still the root of the ideology of a religious organization's group to place religion as the basis and goal in politics. But in the visible, religion is functional and intrinsically an inspiration in determining the national ideology as stated in the Pancasila precepts. In this function, religion is not a goal but rather an inspiration to embed the values of the universality of religion as a common aspiration to create a better national civilization.

Balanced and embodied religious nationalism is the most urgent and crucial key to not getting caught up in an excessive understanding of extremism to see modernity as progress as the civilization of today's society but also not being afraid to take appropriate, relevant, and proportional progress values without abandoning the nation's identity as social and political capital to shape the character of the nation and the country through the local wisdom of the nation's citizens who essentially become adhesive, unifiers, solutions in the dynamics of social life in the community so that not all efforts and political problems are measured through consideration and the point of view of Western culture and science but connect them with existing local wisdom.

Conclusion

The spirit consistency of religious socialism in Mahmud Syaltut can be seen by listening to Mahmud Syaltut's thoughts on the Islamic government and by his contribution to the world of politics during the reign of Egypt. Mahmud Syaltut continues to emphasize the national and communal spirit of Muslims and also continues to respect noble values that are consistent with the spirit of Islamic teachings. Mahmud Syaltut places religion and the state as two components that must be aligned and made religion and the state the foundation for building a nation in the values of progressive religious socialism. Meanwhile, Ali Jinnah wanted to position religion as a spirit of liberation in all forms of domination and coercion of minorities. Unity in Jinnah's principle will be able to create sovereignty and strength for the nation and state to fight the invaders which are bigger than forcing religious and cultural fanaticism into the nation's national culture which is contrary to the fact of religious plurality.

⁷⁰ Syaltut, *Tutunan Islam*.

⁷¹ Asnawiyah, "Konsep Sosialisme Islam Menurut Sayid Qutbh," *Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 15, no. 1 (2013): 53–65.

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