

ISLAM AND NATIONALISM

(An annotated translation of and commentary on *Islam dan Kebangsaan*, a religious-political pamphlet published by *Al-Lisaan* in the Netherlands East Indies in 1941.)

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Islam dan Kebangsaan (Islam and Nationalism), published in early 1942, deals with the relationship of Islam to the Indonesian nationalist movement. It was written in an era when Indonesia was a colony of the Netherlands and the major concern among Indonesians was how to win independence, even though open expression of that idea was forbidden. There was little consensus on a nationalist philosophy, but rather a wide range of philosophical, ideological, and mystical statements that competed with one another for attention. *Pantja Sila*, Sukarno's encapsulation of national ideals which is now the official philosophy of the Indonesian state, was still over four years in the future. The following work, like pamphlets of groups representing other views, advocated a specific outlook, hoping that it would convince concerned Indonesians and provide the philosophic substance of a successful movement to gain national independence.

The pamphlet has considerable historical value because it explains the viewpoint of one political faction on the eve of Indonesian independence and outlines its points of contention with competing groups. It sums up the arguments of one group of Muslims, later known as "radical" Muslims, who wanted a clear commitment to certain Islamic ideals as the ideology of Indonesians. The arguments of this group had appeared repeatedly and in considerable detail throughout the 1930s in a series of publications--*Pembela Islam*, *Al-Fatwaa*, and *Al-Lisaan*.¹ Those views had been an integral part of a wide-ranging dispute between the community favoring Islamic principles and the several groups reflecting indigenous value systems, particularly that of non-Muslim Java. There had been an active public debate on this dispute that had been fueled by several divisive incidents.²

The viewpoints contained in *Islam dan Kebangsaan* were not new and really represented only a recapitulation of the arguments made in the previous decade, but the document was still striking, for it assembled those arguments in one writing and underlined the uncompromising spirit of this faction shortly before the birth of an independent Indonesia.

¹All of these were monthlies. *Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defender) appeared between 1929 and 1935, *Al-Fatwaa* (The Legal Opinion) between 1931 and 1933, and *Al-Lisaan* (The Tongue) between 1935 and 1942.

²Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 247-59.

The arguments speak to the problems of the times and advocate solutions in the conditions of that time frame. Many of these problems are now moot issues; they have been either resolved or are no longer important. At the same time the tone of the pamphlet indicates a loyalty to religion and a concern for politics that was to be revived in the great debates on national ideology of the 1950s. Today, many of these values remain important to some Indonesian Muslims, even when a nationalist philosophy has gained the acceptance of most Indonesians.

The pamphlet was addressed to the Muslims of Indonesia; it urged them to unify politically and to apply "true" religious values to the political problems of the day. The arguments attacked opponents who urging secularism and demanded that Muslims reject any alliances with them. This was the essence of the radical Muslim viewpoint, i.e., that Muslims band together for Muslim goals and that there be no compromise with those who did not accept these goals. This viewpoint reflected the thinking of some Indonesian Muslims, albeit a minority of Indonesians. When seen against the writings of opposing viewpoints--the Greater Javanism of Muhammad Yamin, the political-cultural syncretism of Sukarno, the traditional Muslim outlook of the Nahdlatul Ulama, et al.--it can be seen how diverse the political views of Indonesians were at that particular time. The "radical Muslim" viewpoint was only one of several contending for the attention of Muslims; it had to compete with the Islamic nationalism of Tjokroaminoto and Agus Salim, with the social welfare emphasis of the Muhammadiyah, and even with other uncompromising views on Islam, such as those held by Abikoesno and Kartosuwirjo.³ Certainly then, the viewpoint of the pamphlet is not typical of the Muslim viewpoint of the era, but there was no typical viewpoint. Although the pamphlet expressed a unique position on Islam--a blend of pan-Islamism, religious fundamentalism, and Islamic modernism--it reflects the spirit of the age, with its extensive political literature advocating a wide variety of conflicting viewpoints.⁴

Although this is not specifically stated in the pamphlet, the author of *Islam dan Kebangsaan* was Ahmad Hassan, a prominent religious scholar and an editor of the periodical *Al-Lisaan*, the listed producer of the work. Ahmad Hassan was born in Singapore of Tamil descent, and he had come to the Netherlands East Indies in adult life. He was exceedingly well versed in Islamic sciences and in 1940 was a scholar of considerable repute in Muslim circles on Java. He had founded the Persatuan Islam in 1924 in order to spread the message of a revitalized Islam that could be dynamic and compatible with science and other "modern" developments without losing the moral and religious moorings of its past. Since the Persatuan Islam was concerned primarily with education and propaganda, it organized schools with a heavy religious content that also taught science and general subjects and prepared graduates to become "missionaries" in the general population. Its propaganda activities involved publishing a number of periodicals, the most influential of which were *Pembela Islam* and later *Al-Lisaan*. Ahmad Hassan was prominent in both of these endeavors.⁵

³George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 90-98.

⁴Fred R. Von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963).

⁵H. M. Federspiel, *The Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project Monograph Series, no. 47 (Ithaca, 1970).

Ahmad Hassan's style is very apparent in this pamphlet, as the writing is sharp, clear, argumentative to the point of being querulous, and direct to the point of being uncompromising. He regarded these features as virtues, seeing himself as applying Islamic lessons to the problems of the day. The sureness of his writing is striking, as is the militant tone he used against the arguments of his opponents when he castigated them for not believing as he did. Further, his prose is not polished; it gives the impression of having been written quickly, as one does in newspaper writing, without opportunity to develop a sophisticated format or hone arguments. Nonetheless, the writing is clear, direct, and crisp. Finally, the author freely incorporates Arabic words and phrases into his Indonesian text, a common habit among serious Muslims at that time. The most striking feature of *Islam dan Kebangsaan* is the heavy use of Muslim religious sources in the first third of the pamphlet. The problems dealt with in the text were current to the era, but the positions of the author regarding those problems were justified by numerous references taken from the Muslim scriptures, the highly revered Koran and *hadīth* literature. In the first twenty-seven pages, thirty-nine separate references are cited in their entirety, filling about thirteen full pages. In short, nearly half of the first twenty-seven pages are quotations from Muslim scripture. Other Muslim tracts of the era frequently cited scripture to make a point, but *Islam dan Kebangsaan* did it on a grand scale.

The use of scripture was structured in such a way as to have the positions of the author seem to flow from scripture itself. In each chapter of this first section of the pamphlet, the author first cited from four to nine verses of scripture and from them drew conclusions outlining his position on the political issues of the era with which he wished to deal. In Chapter 3, titled "Persons who may not act as leaders for the Muslim community," he first cited a reference from Koran 3:119 which, paraphrased, states that believers should not take for friends outsiders who speak unkindly of believers, for they harbor even greater resentment than they express. Drawing on this verse as a warning for his own time, the author stated that Muslims should not join non-Islamic political parties because "hate has come forth from the mouths" of leaders of those parties. They "belittle the direction of the Muslim people . . . revile the Messenger and insult Islamic laws." He concluded that the inner feelings of resentment toward Muslims of people who express such sentiments must be even stronger than those expressions themselves. "But the pity is, only a small number of the Muslims are conscious of this! O believers! Pay heed!"

This approach certainly did not convince nonreligious nationalist groups, since they generally did not accept arguments based on Islamic religious sources as valid in political matters. To Indonesians who regarded themselves as serious Muslims, however, the scriptural approach had relevance. The pamphlet carefully quoted religious sources in accordance with procedures developed by Muslim legalists in the classical period of Islamic history (ca. 700-900 A.D.) and regarded as correct by Muslim scholars since that time.⁶ The applications and positions on particular points might not be accepted universally in the Indonesian Muslim community, but the format, style, and sources employed in the text were viewed by nearly all as within the Islamic tradition.

⁶Joseph Schacht, *Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence* (London: Clarendon Press, 1953).

In the second half of the pamphlet a "question and answer" format frequently was employed, in which the author posed rhetorical questions about nationalism and its relationship to Islam and then sought to provide answers. The choice of questions was slanted, of course, and the answers could not have been very convincing to opponents. Nonetheless, the questions did deal with the basic issues of the nationalist controversy of the time and were structured logically within the methodology of the radical Muslim viewpoint.

A paraphrase of the first part of Chapter 9, titled "Principles and laws proper for adoption by Indonesia," illustrates the use of this "question and answer" technique.

Question: What principles are properly employed by Indonesian movements?

Answer: Since ninety percent of the inhabitants are Muslim, Islam is the proper principle.

Question: The other ten percent will not like that. It is necessary then to select a neutral principle.

Answer: Is it fitting for the majority of ninety percent to give way to the minority of ten percent? Would such a settlement be fair?

Question: Besides, many do not want Islam as a principle because so many matters concerning it are disputed among Muslims.

Answer: Certainly there are disputes among Muslims, but outside of religion disputes rage as well, for instance, regarding different kinds of nationalism and socialism. That is the nature of differences among men; consequently, differences will not be eliminated by refusing to accept Islam as a principle.

The pamphlet was written in Indonesian with some Arabic citations. Religious sources were listed first in Arabic, followed by an Indonesian translation. This procedure corresponded with the commonly held Muslim belief that Islamic scripture is accurate only when written in Arabic, although accompanying translations can be used for clarification by those not conversant with Arabic. Several selections from the writings of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Ridā', two key Arab Muslim writers from the turn of the century, were also quoted in Arabic with an Indonesian translation, although the religious requirement had no relevance here. Those quotes seem to have been made in Arabic to insure accuracy of meaning, even as scripture was quoted in that way. The remainder of the text is in Indonesian. Consequently, the entire text is in Indonesian, but the religious sources and the quotes from 'Abduh and Ridā' are listed first in Arabic, presumably to allow the scholarly Muslim to check the authenticity of the Arabic sources, but probably also to impress readers.

Significantly, Ahmad Hassan's translations of specific Arabic terms and passages, essential to his argument, are controversial and could mislead the reader. For example, in Chapter 1, the Arabic quotation from the Koran states: "Whoever does not judge by *what* Allah has revealed . . . are unbelievers." This is translated by Hassan as "Whoever does not judge by the *law* Allah has revealed . . . are unbe-

lievers." In that particular chapter, he argues the necessity of following religious law and cites this particular passage as proof for his position, even though the passage is only a general admonition to take scripture as a guide, not a command to obey the law. In another example, in Chapter 5, Ahmad Hassan translates the Arabic term *ʿaṣabīyah*, meaning "special interests," such as tribal or clan identity, as "nationalism." Consequently, the Arabic quotation stating that "whoever is killed beneath the banners of error for *special interests* . . . dies a heathen" is translated into Indonesian as, "whoever is killed beneath the banners of error for nationalism . . . his corpse is the corpse of a heathen." His argument against Indonesian nationalists in that chapter was probably enhanced by such translations, precisely because they were not entirely accurate. Such translations could be very misleading, particularly to pious readers, who laid great stress on Scripture.

The key to the radical Muslim position was Islamic law, a vague reference to ideal law embodying Islamic ideas that Muslims believe should be enforced on mankind generally and on Muslims in particular. The term *sharīʿah* defines this law in the abstract and conveys the idea of divine law revealed by God to man through scripture given to prophets. Historically, Muslims have held that Islamic law in the practical sense is contained in jurisprudential codes called *fiqh*, which for centuries have been a general regulatory code for personal behavior, family life, and some social, political, and economic matters. But even while observing the regulations of *fiqh*, Muslims have believed that the *sharīʿah* law was operative during the Prophet Muhammad's period of rule at Medina (622-32 A.D.) and during the period of his immediate successors, known as the Righteous Caliphs (633-60 A.D.). Some Muslims hold that the *sharīʿah* was also fully observed during the Abbāsī Empire (754-1250 A.D.), the golden age of Islam. In any case, there also was general agreement among Indonesian Muslims in 1940 that the *sharīʿah* was not operative in the East Indies at that time, but it was disputed whether it had been operative in the period of the Islamic states (ca. 1400 to 1700 A.D.), prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

Ahmad Hassan's key assumption in *Islam dan Kebangsaan* was that the *sharīʿah* had to be made operative in the Indies. His opening remarks stated that their religious obligations made it wrong for Muslims to live under any other law, particularly that formulated by the Dutch, a nonbelieving people. He charged that Muslims willing to compromise their religious principles by living under nonsacred Dutch law were in danger of severing their ties with Islam altogether. He was critical of those Muslims who entered the Dutch administrative service and enforced this secular law. He maintained that they thereby became "sinners," "unbelievers," and "transgressors" for their religious treachery. He admonished all Muslims to reform and follow "real" Muslim leaders who would apply Islamic law throughout the country and its society.

Ahmad Hassan stated that Islamic law could be applied to modern society and that, when applied consistently, it would have beneficial results. He noted that Ibn Saʿūd in Saudi Arabia and Abdur Raḥmān in Afghanistan had both employed the *sharīʿah* as law in those countries and claimed that, as a result, the incidence of crime had fallen considerably. He noted that this was in marked contrast to Turkey, where leaders had abandoned that nation's Muslim heritage and suffered for it

with a high rate of crime and disorder. Ahmad Hassan answered critics who regarded Islamic law as barbaric for its harsh punishments by saying that such law really had the respect of men when it was evenly applied. He was presumably referring to penalties such as the cutting off of a thief's hand. The harshness guaranteed compliance and the punishment was so clear and just that all men could understand its purpose.

Finally, the author outlined his theory of how a state following the shari'ah should be operated. In an oversimplification, he visualized religious scholars and state administrators reaching unanimity on how injunctions of scripture would apply to society and its governance. He stated that the commands and prohibitions of scripture would be established in society and that government would enforce them. Legislative bodies would make the law to supplement the injunctions of scripture, but the method of doing this would be the same as that employed traditionally by Muslim legalists in formulating Islamic jurisprudence.⁷ The law-making function would be under the control of legal scholars trained in Islamic jurisprudence, and specifically not handled on the principle of popular sovereignty.

This concept of law ran counter to that recognized by some other Muslim groups. Traditionalist Muslims (*kaum tua*), such as the Nahdlatul Ulama, agreed that Islamic law should be operative in society, but insisted, instead of being based on the commands and prohibitions of scripture, that the proper law consisted of the jurisprudential codes worked out over the centuries by Muslim legalists. Most traditionalists in Indonesia followed the jurisprudential code known as the Shāfi'i school. Traditionalists regarded the codes as complete and a reflection of what God desired of men.

Although Ahmad Hassan could be classified as an Islamic modernist (*kaum muda*), there were other modernists who did not agree with him. Where Ahmad Hassan believed that the injunctions of scripture could be applied directly to society, other modernists did not regard this as feasible. Rather they saw the principles contained in scripture as the basis for a whole new law code consistent with modern conditions in Indonesia, a code which could be formulated by Muslims with considerable effort and patience.

Of course, the nonreligious nationalists saw the proposed legal system of Ahmad Hassan still differently. They were convinced that all Islamic law schemes advocated by Muslims were really only outmoded systems from the Muslim past in the Middle East, not at all suitable for the problems of the twentieth century Indies. Turkey was held up as an example for Muslims to emulate, because of the efforts there under Kemal Ataturk to minimize the role of religion in the political affairs and to structure the state on secularism. Ibn Sa'ūd's effort to unite Arabia was not well received by the nationalists because he had shown an intolerance, based on traditional Islam, towards modern appurtenances and developments. The nationalists advocated that Islam undergo some secularization, even as Christianity had in certain Western countries, where considerations other than religion had a relevant

⁷In this arrangement decisions are based on the Koran, the Sunnah (words and actions of the Prophet), consensus of scholars, and analogy with the clear injunctions of the preceding three. See Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 68-84.

role in politics, where the influence of religious officials in political matters was not necessarily paramount, and where religion's primary method of influencing the laws and goals of the state was the continuous imparting of general moral and ethical values to the society. This viewpoint, of course, was anathema to Ahmad Hassan, a sign that Allah and His law were being shunned, a most grievous error on the part of the nationalists.

The conflicting attitudes regarding religious law were to clash again in the 1950s, and the same general viewpoints were apparent then as well. The division among the Muslims on this point was crucial, for there was never a real formulation of the law itself by which Indonesians could judge its justness and applicability to society. Its vagueness led many Indonesians to withhold judgment and others to fear a reinstatement of an oriental despotism; consequently it failed.

In addition to Islamic law, Ahmad Hassan advocated pan-Islamism rather than the nationalism urged by many groups in Indonesia. Pan-Islamism, the concept that all Muslims constitute an international political force, had its origins in the concept of a common Muslim community (*ummah*) which originated during Muhammad's lifetime, when it meant those who recognized Muhammad as their leader and were loyal to him. The term had religious and political significance, for all within the *ummah* worshipped Allah and took Muhammad's side against his enemies. Throughout Muslim history, *ummah* has been used as a collective term for common religious identity, and it has often been invoked in the political sense as well. It is difficult, however, to apply the concept universally, since Muhammad was operating in a limited area with a common racial group, and his admonitions were directed at feuding groups within that context. He never confronted a situation where believers were spread over diverse racial and cultural communities, and so his reaction to it cannot really be surmised.

Pan-Islamism was a much debated premise during the last part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century. It was put forth by ideologists such as Jamāl ad-dīn al-Afghānī, who suggested that modernization was necessary in areas where Muslims dwelled, but that notions of nationalism and nation-states as found in Europe, with the theme of racial and ethnic identity, should be avoided for the ideal of a wider community of interest based on religious ties. In part, this was a romanticization of the early centuries of Muslim history and a recognition of contemporary political realities when the Ottoman Empire controlled much of the Muslim world. The rise of local nationalisms in Egypt, Persia, North Africa, and elsewhere in the Muslim world and the demise of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War changed the realities enough that pan-Islamism was no longer as highly regarded as it had formerly been. Still, in the 1920s in particular, there was enough interest in the concept that an attempt was made to select a new caliph (Ar: *khālif*) to lead the world's Muslims in temporal and secular matters. Disputes, largely reflecting local and national identities among Muslims, prevented a selection from being made.⁸ The concept of a united Muslim homeland, however, remained an ideal for many Muslims for years afterward, even if most agreed that it was no longer a practical reality.

⁸Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

In the East Indies, pan-Islamism was one of the continuing points of friction among Muslim groups in the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1930s, the argument centered on whether ummah was a term transcending national boundaries or bound by the modern nation state. Ahmad Hassan, as a strong proponent of pan-Islamism, adhered to the first definition. But at the time this pamphlet appeared, significant groups of Indonesian Muslims had already adopted the nationalistic version, even while recognizing a theoretical unity of all Muslims in a grand religious community. In *Islam dan Kebangsaan*, Ahmad Hassan used the term ummah to connote political and religious identification; indeed, in his thinking, the two characteristics were interrelated, if not quite identical. Moreover, within the community itself he argued for continuation of the practice, common throughout Islamic history, that nonbelievers constitute their own communities, with limited autonomy under the general control of Muslims. Such people were to be tolerated and might be contacted for specific purposes, but lasting friendships and association with non-Muslims were to be avoided. Muslims should be the rulers of society and under no circumstances should Muslims accept nonbelievers as their leaders, for they would not rule according to the commands of God.

Ahmad Hassan responded specifically to the challenges of Raden Soetomo, a prominent nationalist leader of the first three decades of the twentieth century, when the latter attacked the position of Islam as a political force. Soetomo's principal line of attack was that Islam was essentially a Middle Eastern system of values that did not correspond with those of Southeast Asia. He urged a rethinking by Muslims of Islam so that it would harmonize with the indigenous needs of the country. In this context, he stated that those Indonesians who had been sentenced to Digul prison camp for nationalist activity had higher status than Muslims who undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, for those in Digul were working for the nationalist cause while those at Mecca were wasting money and effort that could be better spent for the sake of the nation. Soetomo urged that Demak, the site of the first Indonesian Islamic kingdom, be made the center of that "Indonesianized" Islam and that less attention be given to non-Indonesian rites such as were performed on the pilgrimage in Mecca. Ahmad Hassan found such suggestions demeaning and responded that Muslims should "shun those who prefer the prison camps to worship, and beware of those who seek to make religion a national institution rather than crossing international boundaries." He stated his belief that Soetomo and the nationalists were really attempting to destroy religion and replace it with a form of nationalism that was a kind of religion in its own right. In a series of short chapters near the end of the pamphlet he condemned the symbols of nationalism--the flag, the anthem, and statues of heroes--as creating objects of homage that compete with love of God in the hearts of men. His strong stand on such matters was summarized pithily in his statement that nationalists belong to "Satan's party."

Ahmad Hassan stated that the overwhelming majority of the population of the Netherlands Indies--he used the figure of 90 percent--was Muslim and subject to the dictates of the religion. Given this majority, he believed that it would be unfair to allow a small minority to impose its will on a majority when the matter involved deeply-felt religious obligations.

Ahmad Hassan's claim that 90 percent of Indonesia's population was Muslim was misleading, since at that time there were at least three different major attitudes toward Islam among the population identified as Muslim. The group with which Ahmad Hassan was identified looked to the values and behavior of traditional Middle Eastern Islam and sought to promote them throughout Indonesian society. This group was marked by organizations often using the term "Islam" or other Arabic terms or Islamic religious references in their titles, such as Sharikat Islam, Muhammadiyah, or Nahdlatul Ulama. They favored a society, state, and economy all based essentially on Islamic religious principles. Although they did not distinguish themselves as such, they may be termed doctrinaire or orthodox Muslims. A second identifiable group and certainly the largest--indeed over 50 percent of the population--retained many of the pre-Islamic mystical practices of Southeast Asian culture and accepted orthodox Islam only insofar as it fitted those patterns. This group, strong on Java, did not favor emulating the behavior of Middle Eastern Muslims, regarding it as inappropriate or merely being indifferent to it. This group may be called indigenous or syncretic Muslims. A third group, the secularist Muslims, held that the ritual and beliefs of Islam should be a private matter, but that religion should have no importance as a political force. The nonreligious nationalists belonged to the latter two groups.

Ahmad Hassan assumed that whoever called himself a Muslim had to move toward the ideals which he (Ahmad Hassan) held to be true. All those who disagreed were not, to his way of thinking, truly living up to their religious obligations. He was in the questionable position of telling other members of the faith how they should believe, rather than appealing to their deeply held belief in order to gain their support.

There was a personal reason for this pan-Islamic stand as well. Since he was an immigrant with weak claims to being Indonesian, he had necessarily to contend that Muslims should work for the cause of independence in whatever country they happened to be. His unstated but implied view was that the control of non-Muslim nations over all countries of the Muslim world must be ended; after that control was ended, Muslims themselves would structure a system of rule which would bring unity to all Muslims. Certainly his stand on the applicability of Islamic principles to modern society was not based on his personal predicament alone. However, pan-Islamism was convenient personally as well as theoretically.

In the last analysis, then, *Islam dan Kebangsaan* was a final statement of Ahmad Hassan on the importance of Islam as an ideology at a time just prior to the end of Dutch rule and the Japanese interregnum. From then until after independence in 1950 there was a moratorium on open discussion of such political themes. In this context it is a revealing document, reflective of a unique view of the prewar era of Indonesian politics.

ISLAM
and
NATIONALISM

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¹The page numbers in this column refer to the page numbers of the original text, listed in this translation in the lefthand margin. To economize on space, very short paragraphs have been combined throughout the text.

Introduction

There are already many articles regarding the question of nationalism that we have written in *Pembela Islam*, *Al-Fatwaa*, *Al-Lisaan* and other places, in addition to the book we have published entitled *Debat Kebangsaan* [The Debate on Nationalism]² which was [the record] of the debate with H. Muchtar Luthfi³ in Bandung, with several important supplements.

Because this question has been reopened by the doubter-hypocrites who use religion for ulterior motives,⁴ we are forced to publish this essay which is broader and more structured [than our previous publications] as a guide for Muslims in discussing: "May Muslims accept the principle of nationalism?"

May this essay serve a purpose blessed by Allah.⁵

If Allah wills, we will publish a supplement, should anyone contest this essay with arguments that should be answered.

Peace be with you

The Editors of
Al-Lisaan and the
Persatuan Islam

Bangil, January 1, 1941

²Persatuan Islam, *Debat Kebangsaan antara Pemimpin-pemimpin Islam d. Bandoeng dengan Tuan H. Muchtar Luthfi* (Bandung: n.p., n.d.).

³A prominent member of the Indonesian Nationalist Party in the Bandung area.

⁴Literally: "sebagai topeng buat sesuap nasi dan setegor brandy."

⁵Indonesian words and terms are rendered here according to the author's own spelling. Terms and names associated with Islam are treated as Arabic in character and transliterated according to the style sheet of E. J. Brill, except for common terms and names normally found in English, such as Koran, Allah, Muhammad, Mecca, and Medina.

[3]

Chapter I

The duty of believers to follow
the laws of Allah and His Messenger.

[Indonesian Text]⁶

[Arabic Text]

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| <p>1. And whoever does not judge by the law⁷ Allah has revealed, these are they that are unbelievers. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 44)⁸</p> <p>2. And whoever does not judge by the law that Allah has revealed, these are they that are transgressors. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 45)</p> <p>3. And whoever does not judge by the law that Allah has revealed, these are they that are the sinners. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 47)</p> <p>4. Therefore, judge among them by the law that Allah has revealed, and do not follow their low desires, and be wary of their attempts to divert you from part of the law that Allah has revealed to you. Then if they turn away, know that Allah intends to strike them because</p> | <p>1. And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, these are they that are unbelievers. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 44)</p> <p>2. And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, these are they that are transgressors. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 45)</p> <p>3. And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, these are they that are the sinners. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 47)</p> <p>4. Therefore, judge among them by what Allah has revealed, and follow not their low desires, and be wary of them, lest they lead you astray from part of what Allah has revealed to you. But if they turn away, then know that Allah intends to strike them for</p> |
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⁶The text at this point incorporates quotations from Islamic scripture. In accordance with the traditional practice of Muslim scholars throughout the Islamic world, the author quotes the scripture in its Arabic version. In common with many other Muslim scholars of the twentieth century, however, the author includes a translation of that scripture in the vernacular, in this case Indonesian. Indonesian Muslims with knowledge of Arabic could refer to the original Arabic text, while those less familiar with Arabic would follow the Indonesian translation. Translations of both Arabic and Indonesian texts are placed side by side as they appear in the original text.

⁷The word "law" does not appear in the Arabic version, which seems rather to refer to the entire revelation of God to man. The original verse refers to a dispute between Muhammad and the Jews of Medina. The Jewish scripture, the Torah, is described as having been revealed by Allah. The text calls on the Jews to realize that by what Allah revealed to them in their own scripture, they should accept Muhammad as His Prophet. Hassan's use of "law" here appears to put the Koranic quotation in a highly different context than it originally had.

⁸In this and later citations from the Koran, the author uses the abbreviation "Q." For clarity, the word "Koran," rather than the abbreviation, is employed in this translation.

Following common practice throughout the Muslim world, the author refers to the individual chapters (*sūrah*) of the Koran by name rather than by number, as usually is done in translations of the Koran into European languages. The author's preference for chapter names is maintained in this translation.

- of some of their sins; and surely many of mankind are disobedient. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah, 49)
- some of their sins; and, surely, many of mankind are sinners. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah, 49)
- [4] 5. Do they want the judgment of the Age of Ignorance? And who is better in judging than Allah for a people who are firm believers? (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 50)
5. Do they then seek the judgment of the Age of Ignorance: And who is better in judging than Allah for a people who are firm believers? (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 50)
6. The response of true believers, when they are called to Allah and His Messenger that He may judge among them, is only to say: "We hear and we obey." And such are the fortunate. (Koran, An-Nūr 51)
6. The response of true believers, when they are called to Allah and His Messenger that He may judge among them, is only to say: "We hear and we obey." And it is they that are the prosperous. (Koran, An-Nūr 51)
- [5] 7. And there is no choice⁹ for a believing man or a believing woman in any matter that concerns them once Allah and His Messenger¹⁰ have decided the matter; and whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger surely goes greatly astray. (Koran, Al-Aḥzāb 36)
7. And there is no choice for a believing man or a believing woman, in a matter that concerns them when Allah and His Messenger have decided the matter; and whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger surely goes greatly astray. (Koran, Al-Aḥzāb 36)
8. And when they are called to Allah and His Messenger that He may judge among them, lo! a group of them turn away. (Koran, An-Nūr 48)
8. And when they are called to Allah and His Messenger that He may judge among them, lo! a group of them turn away. (Koran, An-Nūr 48)
9. But no! by your Lord, they are not (to be viewed as) believers until they make you judge of matters that are disputed among them and until they submit fully and afterwards find within themselves no dislike of what you have decided. (Koran, An-Nisā 65)
9. But no! by your Lord, they are not believers until they make you judge of all that is in dispute among them, find within themselves no dislike of what you have decided, and submit fully. (Koran, An-Nisā 65)

The first three verses explain that a person who does not regard the laws of Allah as laws among mankind on earth and in the Hereafter is an unbeliever, sinner and transgressor.¹¹ These

⁹Author's footnote: The meaning [of this phrase] is that [Muslims] must accept this idea.

¹⁰Author's footnote: That is, anyone who does not accept the law of Allah and His Messenger.

¹¹*Kaafir* (Ar: *kāfir*), *zhaalim* (Ar: *ẓālim*) and *faasiq* (Ar: *fāsiq*). All three terms are used in the selections from the Koran given above. A Kaafir (unbeliever) is a term of disapprobation given to one who has not accepted or has rejected Allah as God and Islam as his religion. Faasiq (sinner) is a sinner who repeats his guilty action consistently and is at the point of becoming a heretic. Muslim legalists have long held that evidence given by a faasiq should not be considered in a court of law. Zhaalim (transgressor) is a believer who is in serious error regarding matters of

three terms can be assigned according to three situations.

[6] 1) It can be said a judge is an unbeliever if he believes that the laws of Allah are not good, or if he believes that laws exist that are better than the laws of Allah.

2) It can be said a judge is a transgressor if he passes judgment without knowing the existence of Allah's law on a matter, for this means that he applies a law improperly. Certainly the meaning of "transgressor" is a person who applies a law improperly, or it may also be said that whoever judges by a law that is not from Allah is a transgressor: a tormentor, that is, one who torments the man he judges and torments himself as well, for he causes Allah to punish him severely.¹²

3) A judge is called a sinner when he disobeys, that is, when he knows of the existence of God's law in a particular matter, but somehow, either deliberately or by compulsion, he judges by laws not revealed by Allah.

The scholars¹³ have also concluded that whoever judges by laws that are not revealed by Allah is an unbeliever, and every unbeliever is *ipso facto* a sinner and a transgressor. Therefore, these three terms may be applied to persons who do not judge by the laws revealed by Allah. However we interpret and explain [7] them, certainly these three verses mean that mankind, especially Muslims, are required to judge men by laws revealed by Allah. A person who judges otherwise, at the very least, disobeys Allah.

Verse 4 commands the Prophet,¹⁴ or anyone else who happens to be a judge, to judge by laws revealed by Allah. The same verse

belief or practice; though the error may be unintentional, it is great enough to impair seriously the offender's relationship to Islam. The author's use of these particular terms shows the depth of his feelings against his nationalist opponents, since all are highly derogatory in the religious literature of Islam.

¹²The author reflects the traditional concerns of Muslim scholars, who always have insisted that Islamic law regulate Muslim behavior. Moreover, those persons who consider cases involving Islamic law should be extremely careful in their judgments, for it has been generally held by Muslim scholars since the early period of Islamic history that errors in the application of Allah's law, even though unintentional, are serious and that God will exact punishment for them. Consequently, throughout Islamic history serious scholars have been reluctant to accept the position of judge (*qāḍī*). Judges did exist, however, and most seem to have made difficult decisions without much fear of divine retribution for any errors they may have made. The author is appealing to a scholarly ideal, not historical practice.

¹³*Ulamāa* (Ar: *ʿulamāʾ*) refers, in the first instance, to the theological and legal scholars of the classical and medieval periods of Islamic history, such as al-^cAshārī, al-Mātūrīdī and Ibn Ḥanbal. These scholars have generally been recognized by contemporary Muslim scholars as having decided correctly most matters concerning religious belief and practice. But *ʿulamāʾ* still exist--indeed the author was considered one by his contemporaries--and he strongly implies here that current scholars of Islam accepted his conclusions. In fact, while almost all scholars would accept his definitions, there would be debate in any era about the application of these definitions to particular individuals and situations.

¹⁴*Nabī* (Ar: *Nabī*) and *Rasul* (Ar: *Rasūl*) both indicate a messenger of God. Both terms are commonly used to designate Muhammad, and that is their meaning throughout this text. *Nabī* will be translated as "Prophet" and *Rasul* as "Messenger."

admonishes a judge not to be seduced by the base desires of those who dislike Allah's law, and so turn to laws made by man. If we earnestly take heed, we will certainly understand that it is as if the verse says, "O Muslims, hold to the law of Allah! Do not be deceived by the call of the nationalists to take action and regulate the land¹⁵ with manmade laws." Recall this verse, be conscious of it, and work for achieving your freedom and that of your homeland in order to practice there the canons of Allah, for which there is no equal among men.

With a little reflection we can perceive the meaning of the fifth verse. "Do the nationalists want to follow the laws of the Age of Ignorance,¹⁶ that is, laws made by man, when the law of Allah is so good for those who believe?"

The sixth and seventh verses indicate that the truest of believers¹⁷ are those persons, who, when called to the law of Allah and His Messenger--and here we mean a movement based on Islam--they gladly accept and do not say: "We must have law which is neutral, because there are various religions among our people."

[8] The eighth verse depicts for us the present situation almost as if the verse had only just been revealed, that is, when we urge a movement based on Islam, they reject this in favor of nationalist principles.

The ninth verse indicates that not only is man obliged to accept the law of Allah but that those who do not acknowledge the decisions of the Messenger--called Ḥadīth by us--with great gladness, cannot be called true believers. In short:

¹⁵*Negeri*; land, in the sense of a territorial area or country. As in many countries, particularly during formative national periods, words such as "people," "nation," "country," "homeland," and related terms with patriotic connotations, took on vague and overlapping meanings in the Indonesian region in the era prior to World War II. For consistency, these Indonesian concepts will be translated as follows:

- 1) *bangsa*; people, in the sense of racial group.
- 2) *kebangsaan*; nationalism in the ideological sense, even though it often means "nationality" elsewhere.
- 3) *tanah air*; homeland.

¹⁶*Hukum Djahiliyah*. By using the phrase "laws of the Age of Ignorance," Hassan equates Indonesia, governed by the Dutch according to non-Muslim laws, with Arabia in pre-Muslim times, known to Muslim history as the Age of Ignorance (Ar: *Jāhiliyah*). He says, in effect, that the Indonesians of the early twentieth century are living in a Dark Age dominated by ignorance and irrationality, because Islam is not the standard of their actions. Only by accepting the law and wisdom of Islam can Indonesians experience a glory, sense of mission and moral righteousness similar to those prevailing in the era of Muhammad and his early successors. To the author's way of thinking, this would mean a reincarnation of the golden age of Islam. His nationalist opponents had long disputed this viewpoint and favored instead a reincarnation of the great Javanese empires, or else an imitation of the modern industrial nation-states of Europe.

¹⁷*Sebenar-benar mu'min*. The term refers to those who truly believe in Allah and Islam, as opposed to those followers of the religion who may not have any real appreciation of it.

- 1) We must observe the laws of Allah and His Messenger in our land. This means that our movement must strive to establish the laws of Allah and His Messenger.
- 2) We must watch ourselves carefully, lest the nationalists turn us away from striving for the laws of Allah and His Messenger towards neutral-made laws.¹⁸
- 3) We must undertake the removal of manmade laws, especially from Muslim lands.
- 4) The truest believers are those, who, when called to act on the commands of Allah and the words of His Messenger, do so joyfully.
- 5) Let us not make leaders of those, who, when called to base the movement on the religion of Allah and His Messenger, then reject it and turn their backs on it.

[9]

Chapter 2

People who are qualified to be made
chiefs or leaders.

- | [Indonesian Text] | [Arabic Text] |
|---|---|
| 10. O believers! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger and those who are in authority among you.
(Koran, An-Nisā 59) | 10. O believers! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger and those who are in authority among you.
(Koran, An-Nisā 59) |
| 11. And whoever takes as his leader ¹⁹ Allah and His Messenger and those who believe, [know that], indeed, it is the party of Allah that will be victorious.
(Koran, Al-Mā'idah 56) | 11. And whoever places his trust in Allah and His Messenger and those who believe for friends, [know that], indeed, it is the party of Allah that will be victorious.
(Koran, Al-Mā'idah 56) |
| 12. Your leader can be only Allah, His Messenger, and believers who observe prayer and pay the alms tax, for they have submitted themselves. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 55) | 12. Your friends can be only Allah, His Messenger, and believers who observe their prayers and pay the alms tax, for they have submitted themselves. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 55) |
| 13. Hear and obey, even if an Ethiopian slave becomes your leader, so long as he applies among you (the | 13. Hear and obey, even if an Ethiopian slave becomes your ruler, so long as he applies the Book of |

¹⁸Literally, *ke-undang-undang bikinan Neutraal [sic]*. A sarcastic reference to those nationalists who argued that European-style secular law would not pit religious groups against one another. Hassan, of course, saw their claims, far from being neutral, as actively partisan, in that they opposed Allah's commands. His position is clarified in Chapter 11.

¹⁹The author translates the Arabic word *tawalla*, meaning "to take for friends," as *mendjadikan ketua*, meaning "to take as leader." This translation misses the Arabic meaning entirely and could only be misleading to the Indonesian reader.

laws) of the Book of Allah.
(Ḥadīth, recorded by Ahmad, Muslim
and Tirmidhī).

Allah. (Ḥadīth, recorded by
Ahmad, Muslim and Tirmidhī).²⁰

- [10] The tenth verse indicates that Muslims must obey Allah, His Messenger and leaders who are believers. The following verse emphasizes that groups that have taken Allah, His Messenger and believers as their leaders are those who will be victorious. The twelfth verse explains that the leaders of the true believers are none other than Allah and His Messenger, and leaders who believe, pray, pay the alms tax and submit themselves to the laws of Islam.²¹ The thirteenth statement indicates that Muslims must obey anyone who is a Muslim leader, so long as he bases his rulings on the Book of Allah, the Koran. Is it not clear from what has been cited that it is forbidden for a Muslim to consider a person as leader who does not pray, fast or pay the alms tax, let alone who does not believe? Read this again and understand for yourselves what sort of men should become our chiefs and leaders.²²

[11]

Chapter 3

Persons not qualified to be made
leaders for the Muslim community.

[Indonesian Text]

[Arabic Text]

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>14. O believers! Take not other than your own people as close friends (for) those others continuously (contrive ways) to ruin you. They love what will trouble you. Hatred comes forth from their mouths, but what their hearts conceal is even</p> | <p>14. O believers! Take not other than your own people as close friends, for those others would spare no pains to ruin you. They love to trouble you. Hatred is shown by what they say, but what their breasts conceal is even greater.</p> |
|--|--|

²⁰The Ḥadīth is a second type of scripture after the Koran, recognized as the "word of God" in imprecise form. It is a record of the words and actions of Muhammad and the actions of others in his presence. This literature was passed down for several generations as oral tradition before being recorded by a number of legal scholars. The important compilations were made by Ahmad, Muslim, Bukhārī and Tirmidhī, all Islamic scholars of the ninth century, and are referred to by the compilers' names when cited by Muslim writers. See H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 72-87.

²¹The author has misstated the meaning of the twelfth verse. The Arabic word *raki'ūna* means "those submitting themselves." In the context of this verse, it means submission to Allah and His religion in a general sense, and probably submission in prayer. There is no mention or implication of submission to the laws of Islam.

²²This statement is a distinct warning to Muslims not to cooperate with other groups for nationalist purposes. Throughout the 1930s there were efforts to form a united front of all groups opposing the Dutch. During the Revolution (1945-49) the Persatuan Islam did finally cooperate, but before the war it resisted such proposals strongly. It was not that its leaders did not want cooperation, but they insisted that such cooperation be on their terms, which included acceptance of Islamic doctrine. See Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1958), pp. 89-99.

- greater. We have made plain for you the signs [of this], if you will understand them. (Koran, Āl-^cImrān 117)
- We have made clear for you the signs, if you understand. (Koran, Āl-^cImrān 117)
15. Remember! You love them but they love you not. And you believe in all the Koran, while they, when they meet you, merely say: "We believe"; but when they have parted from you, they bite their fingers out of rage and hatred for you. (Koran, Āl-^cImrān 118)
15. Lo! You love them but they love you not. And you believe in all the scripture. When they meet you, they say: "We believe"; but when they have left, they bite their fingertips at you, out of rage. (Koran, Āl-^cImrān 118)
- [12] 16. How can they be trusted, when if they prevail over you, they respect neither ties of kinship nor agreements? They flatter you with their mouths, while their hearts reject you. And most of them are wrongdoers. (Koran, Al-Barā'ah 8)
16. How can it be then, if they have the upper hand over you, that they disregard ties of kinship and agreements with you? They flatter you with their mouths, while their hearts reject you. And most of them are wrongdoers. (Koran, Al-Barā'ah 8)
17. O believers! Choose not for leaders those who received the Scripture before you,²³ or unbelievers, who mock and make sport of your religion. But serve Allah if you are true believers. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 57)
17. O believers! Choose not for friends those who received the scripture before you, or of unbelievers, who mock and make sport of your religion. But fear Allah if you are true believers. (Koran, Al-Mā'idah 57)
18. They swear to you so that you accept them. But even though you accept them, Allah will not accept sinners. (Koran, Al-Barā'ah 96)
18. They swear to you so that you accept them. But even though you accept them, Allah will not accept sinners. (Koran, Al-Barā'ah 96)
- [13] 19. And they say: "We believe in Allah and the Messenger, and we obey"; then immediately after that some of them turn their backs. Such are not true believers. (Koran, An-Nūr 47)
19. And they say: "We believe in Allah and the Messenger, and we obey"; then afterwards, some of them turn away. Such are not true believers. (Koran, An-Nūr 47)
20. And whoever opposes the Messenger after (Allah's) guidance to the straight path has been made clear to him, and follows the path of the nonbelievers, We shall let him follow the way he himself has chosen. And We shall roast him in hell--an unhappy journey's end! (Koran, An-Nisā 115)
20. And whoever opposes the Messenger after [Allah's] guidance is made clear to him, and follows a way other than that of the believers, We shall let him go the way he himself has chosen and shall cast him into hell--an unhappy journey's end! (Koran, An-Nisā 115)

²³A reference to Judaism, Christianity, and other monotheistic religions which, according to Islamic teaching, received their scriptures from prophets sent by Allah before Muhammad.

21. They swear to you by the name Allah to please you, but it is more proper that they please Allah, and His Messenger, if they are truly believers.
- [14] Do they not know that whoever opposes Allah and His Messenger, verily, he shall abide forever in the fires of hell? That is a great torment. (Koran, Al-Barā'ah 63)
22. You will not find people who believe in Allah and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even though those (who oppose) are their fathers or their sons or their brethren or their family. (Koran, Al-Mujādilah 22)
23. Satan has gained mastery over them and has caused them to forget Allah. They are Satan's party.²⁴ Certainly it is Satan's party that will be the losers. (Koran, Al-Mujādilah 19)
21. They swear to you by Allah to please you, but it is more proper that they should please Allah, and His Messenger, if they are believers.
- Do they not know that whoever opposes Allah and His Messenger, verily, he shall abide the fire of hell? That is the extreme humiliation! (Koran, Al-Barā'ah 63)
22. You will not find people who believe in Allah and the Last Day loving those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even though they are their fathers or their sons or their brethren or their family. (Koran, Al-Mujādilah 22)
23. Satan has gained mastery over them and has caused them to forget Allah. They are Satan's following. Certainly it is Satan's following that will be the losers. (Koran, Al-Mujādilah 19)
- [15] The fourteenth verse forbids us to have as close friends--and certainly to select as leaders--persons outside of our own group; that is, the Islamic community or the Islamic party. For naturally those who join a non-Islamic party consistently work to strengthen that party and to weaken the influence of the Islamic party, as has been proven in the past and now. Or they work--at the very least--for the establishment of laws that were not revealed by Allah. Already hatred has come forth from the mouths of those who belittle the direction²⁵ of the Muslim people; and they revile the Messenger and insult Islamic laws. Naturally what is hidden in their hearts is more than they show outwardly. But the pity is, only a small number of the Muslims are conscious of this! O believers! Pay heed!

²⁴*Partij*, a Dutch word meaning "political party," is used here for the Arabic word *hizb*, which indicates a faction or a following. In modern Arabic *hizb* does refer to political party, but it clearly is not used in that sense in the Koran. The author evidently views the political parties of twentieth century Indonesia as factions splitting a united Muslim community and therefore finds the term *partij* appropriate as a translation of *hizb*.

²⁵*Qiblat* (Ar: *qiblah*). The word is used here in a double sense. In religious terms it means the direction in which Muslims face when they pray--toward the holy city of Mecca. In a more everyday sense it means the right direction toward a goal. The author seems to be referring to the nationalist criticism of Islam as a foreign religion owing allegiance to an alien center. He believes that despite efforts on the part of the secular nationalists to seek cooperation with Muslims, these nationalists are not really sincere and actually have great dislike for Islam.

The fifteenth and sixteenth verses indicate the error of true believers who love leaders who are hypocrites.²⁶ They only claim to be Muslims if they meet the true believers, but, after turning away, they tighten their lips out of hatred for us who refuse to submit to their nationalist principles. If they are victorious in the struggle, they will certainly oppress you as much as possible. At present they are only friendly to you with their lips, while in their hearts they feel the opposite. O believers! Give heed to the qualities indicated by the verses of [16] Allah cited above, and compare them against the nationalist leaders. Certainly you will understand that these verses have been revealed in this age for our benefit.

Verses seventeen, eighteen and nineteen forbid us to take leaders from groups that mock our religion. They profess their honesty with their tongues only to reassure us. They claim that they also are believers and obey Allah and the Messenger, but afterward they turn their backs. Allah says they are not believers.

The twentieth verse indicates the error of a leader who does not want to use the guidance of the Messenger and does not take the path taken by the Muslims; rather, he takes a path different from that taken by the community of Muhammad.²⁷ The twenty-first verse teaches us not to trust the professions of leaders who do not follow Allah's commands. Let them be aware that people who throw aside the law of Allah and His Messenger are called enemies of Allah and will be severely punished.

The twenty-second verse is very important. This command of Allah explains that a person who loves someone who opposes Allah and His Messenger cannot be called a believer, even if the loved one is his own father, son or relative. Let believers remember those who speak of Digul²⁸ as better than Mecca! Those who call [17] for shifting the *qiblat* to Demak!²⁹ Those who revile the Prophet

²⁶*Munāfiq* (Ar: *munāfiq*). The term refers to those groups around Muhammad who wavered in their loyalty in times of crisis. The author's use of the term here seems to be aimed at certain Indonesians who stated that they were for the Muslim position but at key moments did not support the Persatuan Islam.

²⁷*Ummat* (Ar: *ummah*). This concept of community binds all believers together in a religious, social and economic sense. It was instituted by Muhammad precisely to overcome the tribal and clan parochialism that existed in Arabia during his lifetime. The concept has sunk deep roots in Islam and has come to include a number of communal obligations--the common prayer on Friday, "promotion of good and the banishment of evil," and protection of the community, often referred to as "holy war." Traditionally, this sense of community has been interpreted as Muslim exclusiveness from non-Muslims, even if that exclusiveness has not always been enforced by particular governments.

²⁸Digul was the notoriously harsh prison camp on New Guinea to which the Dutch colonial administration exiled certain nationalist leaders considered especially dangerous. The implication here is that nationalists often considered banishment to Digul for anticolonial activity more important than the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was politically safe and regarded by its detractors as mere tourism.

²⁹Demak, a city in north central Java, was the seat of the foremost Muslim

Muhammad and call him a lecherous old man!³⁰ Those who hold the law of polygamy revealed by Allah as wrong!³¹ Those who work day and night to abolish Allah's law and replace it with laws they have created themselves. Think on it! Are they not enemies of Allah who strive so that the law of Allah is not observed by Muslims?

The twenty-third verse explains that liars are so influenced by Satan that they forget Allah. They are Satan's party, and the party of Satan certainly will be the losers!

[18]

Chapter 4

Muslims must be united;
they may not be divided.

[Indonesian Text]

[Arabic Text]

- | | |
|---|--|
| 24. Hold fast, all together, to the religion of Allah, and let nothing divide you. (Koran, Āl- ^c Imrān 103) | 24. And hold fast, all together, to the rope of Allah, and let nothing divide you. (Koran, Āl- ^c Imrān 103) |
| 25. Obey Allah and His Messenger, and do not quarrel with one another, lest you lose courage and your strength leave you. (Koran, Al-Anfāl 46) | 25. And obey Allah and His Messenger, and do not quarrel with one another, lest you falter and your strength leave you. (Koran, Al-Anfāl 46) |
| 26. Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your two brothers and serve Allah so that mercy may be shown to you. (Koran, Al-Ḥudjurāt 10) | 26. Surely all believers are brothers. So make peace between your brothers and fear Allah so that mercy may be shown to you. (Koran, Al-Ḥudjurāt 10) |
| 27. For believers, a believer is like a building in which one part strengthens another. (Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim) | 27. For the believer, a believer is like a building in which one part strengthens another. (Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim) |

kingdom on the island prior to the arrival of the Dutch. The reference here is to suggestions made by some nationalists that Muslims bring their religion in line with nationalism by orienting themselves to the Islamic era of Indonesia's past rather than the Islamic history of the Middle East. Qiblat is used here in a figurative, rather than a literal, sense.

³⁰When living at Medina, the Prophet, by special scriptural dispensation, had nine wives, whereas other Muslim males were limited to four. Muhammad's marital status was a target of criticism by some Indonesian nationalists and caused several serious confrontations with Islamic groups.

³¹Certain nationalist groups attacked polygamy, as practiced and sanctioned by Muslims, because of the abuses that abounded at this time. The organization Isteri Sedar (Conscious Wives), active in the 1930s, was particularly critical. Ahmad Hassan held that Muslim scripture was explicit in allowing polygamy, although he too was concerned with correcting abuses.

28. Muslims are like one body: if its eye is sick, the entire (body) is sick; and if its head is sick, the entire (body) is sick.
(Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim)
28. Muslims are like one body: if its eye is sick the entire [body] is sick; and if its head is sick, the entire [body] is sick.
(Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim)
- [19] 29. In their love for one another, their kindness to one another, and their aid to one another, believers may be compared to a single body; if one member is ill, every member is affected (so that) the body is unable to sleep from the fever.
(Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim)
29. In their love for one another, their kindness to one another, and their aid to one another, believers may be compared to a single body; if one member is ill, the whole body is affected, so that the body is unable to sleep and is feverish.
(Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim)

Verses twenty-four to twenty-nine together sufficiently explain that Muslims must be united and may not be divided. What is meant by "unity" refers not only to matters of worship, but more importantly, to temporal matters aiming at the freedom of Muslims to observe the laws of Allah and His Messenger in their homeland and their own community, indeed throughout the entire world! The existence of differences and arguments among Islamic groups and personalities does not destroy the concept of unity, because the aim of all is to demand the broadest possible freedom to observe the laws of Allah and His Messenger.

- [20] The verses and Ḥadīth cited above actually are aimed at those who profess Islam but do not aid, or are not in favor of, movements based on Islam, such as the PSII³² and the PII,³³ but rather join and favor nationalist movements whose aim is to win the independence of the homeland in order to govern it themselves by their own manmade laws, not by the laws of Allah and His Messenger which Muslims revere so highly.

Let those who feel they are Muslims, but have joined the nationalist movement, read Allah's verses and the sayings of the Messenger cited here and elsewhere and let them ponder them, for

³²PSII probably refers to the Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Unity Party), founded in 1930, which became an influential political movement of the 1930s. This PSII was a continuation of an earlier organization called the PSI--Persatuan Sarekat Islam (Islamic Unity Movement)--founded in 1913 by Umar Said Tjokroaminoto. That movement was the first mass political party for Indonesians, acting as an umbrella organization for all political factions seeking political power and national independence from the Dutch. In the 1920s a power struggle between communist and Muslim factions led to schisms, purges, and the end of the united front. The PSII had Islam as the basis for its program and participated in the legal political activities of the era. It took part in national unity movements, such as MIAI (Federation of Indonesian Islamic Parties) in 1937, and GAPI (Indonesian Political Federation) in 1939. The author was a member of the PSII. See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, Chapter 3.

³³PII, probably the Partai Islam Indonesia founded in 1939 by Sukiman. It consisted of young Muslims, mostly educated in Muslim schools, who wanted to escape the factionalism that characterized the Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia. It advocated an "Islamic society" and a "more independent Indies."

the sake of Allah, for themselves. Let them be such as the Messenger described, when he said:

[Indonesian Text]	[Arabic Text]
Your love of a thing makes (you) blind and dumb. (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)	Your love of a thing makes [you] blind and dumb. (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)

[21]

Chapter 5

The prohibition on taking
nationalism as a basic principle.

[Indonesian Text]	[Arabic Text]
30. Whoever is killed beneath the banners of error calling for nationalism ³⁴ or assisting such nationalism, his corpse is the corpse of a heathen. (Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim)	30. Whoever is killed beneath the banners of error calling for special interests or assisting such special interests dies a heathen. (Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim)
31. Whoever calls for nationalism is not one of us; whoever fights for the (cause of) nationalism is not one of us; and whoever dies for the (cause of) nationalism is not one of us. (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)	31. Whoever calls for special interests is not one of us; whoever fights for special interests is not one of us; and whoever dies for special interests is not one of us. (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)
32. He who disobeys (the <i>Imaam</i>), ³⁵ breaks with the <i>djamaa'ah</i> ³⁶ and	32. Anyone who disobeys and breaks with the Muslim community and

³⁴Kebangsaan, meaning nationalism or national identity, is used here to translate the Arabic word *ḥaṣabīyah*. In modern Arabic the term can refer to national identity (not nationalism), but in its ancient sense it meant identification with clan or tribe above that loyalty to the Muslim community (*ummah*) that Muhammad demanded. The term *ḥaṣabīyah* is rendered as "special interests" in my translation. The author's very free translation allows him to make a direct connection between scripture, here the highly regarded Ḥadīth literature, and contemporary political events. It enables him to claim that scripture supports him against his political enemies, where a more literal translation of *ḥaṣabīyah* would have been less useful for this purpose.

³⁵Author's note: *Imaam* [Ar: *Imām*]: Muslim King in the Muslim way. [Imām is a generic term for leader among Muslims and here the author uses it to refer to a political leader of Muslims. In classical Muslim political theory the imām held both spiritual and temporal power over the Muslims he ruled. Consequently, one who disobeys a Muslim ruler is not only guilty of criminal action but sins as well. See H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston: Beacon, 1968), pp. 141-175.]

³⁶Author's note: *Djamaa'ah* [Ar: *Jamā'ah*]: Islamic party. [Jamā'ah indicates the Muslim community or "community of believers" in the sense of common religious doctrine, belief, and practice. *Ummah* (see n. 27) also indicates the Muslim commun-

- then dies, dies as a heathen.³⁷
 He who fights beneath the banners of error, (that is) becomes angered for the sake of nationalism or urges (others) to the nationalist cause or aids that cause, and is killed, his corpse is the corpse of a heathen. (Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim and Nisā^cī)
- [22] then dies, dies a heathen.
 Whoever fights beneath the banners of error, [that is] becomes angry for the sake of special interests, or aids special interests and is killed, thereby dies the death of a heathen. (Ḥadīth recorded by Muslim and Nisā^cī)
33. From ^cAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ^cUqbah from Abī ^cUqbah, and he was a Persian. He said: "I was with the Messenger, s.a.w.,³⁸ in the battle of Uhud. I beheaded one of the unbelievers while saying, 'Take this blow from a young Persian.' Then the Messenger turned to me and said: 'How much better it would be if you said, "Take this blow from a young member of the Anshaari."'"³⁹ (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)
33. From ^cAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ^cUqbah from Abī ^cUqbah, and he was a Persian. He said: "I was with the Messenger, and blessings of God be on him, and peace, at [the battle of] Uhud. I beheaded one of the unbelievers while saying, 'Take that from me, a young Persian.' Then the Messenger turned to me and said: 'Why not say: "Take that from me, a young member of the Ansārī."'" (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)
- [23] 34. The Messenger, s.a.w., was asked about the man who fights out of courage and [the man who] fights to remove dishonor and [the one who] fights for fame. "Which of these [fights] in the way of God?" He answered: "Whoever fights to elevate the Religion of God, he it is who [fights] in the way of God." (Ḥadīth recorded by Bukhārī and Muslim)
34. The Messenger was asked about the man who fights out of courage and [the man who] fights to remove dishonor and [the one who] fights for fame. "Which of these [fights] in the way of God?" He answered: "Whoever fights to elevate the Word of God [fights] in the way of God." (Ḥadīth recorded by Bukhārī and Muslim)
35. A man said: "O Messenger of God! Can a person love his people on the basis of nationalism?" He answered: "No! For half of that nationalism is aiding his people on the basis of transgression." (Ḥadīth recorded by Aḥmad and Ibn Mājah)
35. A man said: "O Messenger of God! Can a person love his people through special interests?" He answered: "No! Rather by those special interests he aids his people on the basis of transgression." (Ḥadīth recorded Aḥmad and Ibn Mājah)

ity, but in a political, rather than religious, sense. The two terms overlap at times. The author, of course, has located himself firmly within the Jamā'ah and his opponents outside it. See K. H. E. Abdur Rahman, "Ahlis Sunnah Wal Djama'ah," *Hudjdatul Islam*, 1, 1 (August 1956), pp. 12-20.]

³⁷Author's note: *Djahilīyah* [Ar: *Jāhiliyyah*]: Arabs before the arrival of Islam who were people [living in] error [see n. 16].

³⁸S.a.w. is the standard abbreviation for the Arabic phrase cited after mention of Muhammad, which means, "the blessing of Allah be upon him, and peace."

³⁹Author's note: *Anshaari* [Ar: *Ansārī*] was the group of Muslims in Medina who aided the Prophet financially and supported him to spread Islam. [*Ansār*, meaning the Helpers, were residents of Medina who converted to Islam after Muhammad became the city's leader. Those who accompanied Muhammad from Mecca were known as the Exiles (*Muhajirun*).]

- [24] 36. From Wāthilah b. al-Asqa', who said: "I asked the Messenger of God: 'What is meant by "^cḥasabīyah"?' He said: "Aiding your people in transgression."
(Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)
36. From Wāthilah b. al-Asqa', who said: "O Messenger of God: Tell me what '^cḥasabīyah' is?" He said: "Through it you aid your people in transgression."
(Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)
37. Anyone who aids his people in what is not right makes that people like the camel that falls into a well and is pulled (out) by its tail.
(Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)
37. Anyone who aids his people in what is not right [makes that people] like the camel that falls down and is pulled up by its tail.
(Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)

The thirtieth and thirty-first citations forbid, condemn and do not recognize as a member of the community of believers anyone who aids his people on the basis of nationalism, appeals to men on the basis of nationalism, or fights for nationalist principles. And he who dies while doing this is considered to have died in error. The thirty-second selection is similar, but elaborates on the subject. That is, whoever does not obey a king, or leader, who duly executes Islamic law, dies in error. Likewise, it is a mistake and error for a person to leave the Islamic party for another party.

- [25] The thirty-third citation forbids a person to extol his nationality in the face of people of another religion, but it is permitted for him to mention the name of a party or group which defends Islam, such as "Ansār" or "Muhājirīn" and so forth. Thus, for the sake of glory in the fact of persons of another religion, a person may say: "I am a Muslim," but he may not say, "I am an Arab," "I am a Persian," or "I am an Indonesian," for there is no glory in being an Arab, a Persian, an Indian or an Indonesian. Nay more, even in the face of other Muslims, there are no words of glory that may be uttered, for if a man takes pride in being an Ansārī, and another in being a Muhājir, then the special interests [^cḥasabīyah] of the Age of Ignorance will emerge once again in Islam.

The thirty-fourth citation emphasizes that a person may sacrifice his life only to God, to nation or to homeland.

The explanations in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth citations are important and should be taken to heart. Their meaning is that a person who loves his people or his nation is not to be termed devoted to special interests [^cḥasabīyah], which is forbidden, and is not to be included in matters of nationalism, which are not blessed by Allah. But what is forbidden is for a person to assist his people in transgression.

- [26] Now let us study what transgression is! Transgression is acting in error towards one's own self or putting something in other than its proper place. According to the above citations, it is clear to us that joining and assisting a nationalist organization is a sin, because, at the very least, nationalist organizations strive to cast out the laws of Allah and His Messenger and replace them with manmade laws, as they have made clear both in theory and practice. Is not the sin of casting out the laws of

Allah and His Messenger great enough? Thus, assisting a group which acts in the name of the nation and has nationalist principles means aiding it in transgression, both towards themselves and toward the Muslims. Such action very clearly falls under the actions called forbidden and shameful in citations thirty to thirty-four.

A. What if we join a group which mentions the name of a nationality but has Islamic principles, such as the PSII [Indonesian Islamic Union Party], PII [Indonesian Islamic Party], et al.?

B. The principles are what is important! So long as the principles are Islamic, then any additions will not be able to destroy it. The addition of the word "Indonesia" to the names of these two movements simply indicates the area where they work, not their principles. It does not mean they are unwilling to aid other Islamic lands whenever necessary. An exception, however, is the PAI,⁴⁰ which deliberately refuses to have anything to do with the affairs of other Muslims, except for their "joke" of wanting to send *peté* and *djèngkol* to the Islamic fighters in Palestine.⁴¹

[27] The thirty-seventh selection indicates that a person who assists his group in unjust behavior--such as taking nationalism as a principle, as clarified above--in fact, does not really help, but rather it leads on to the path of error, like the person who pulls the tail of a camel to pull it out of the well. Most assuredly, such a man does not aid the camel, but merely increases its pain.

Read and learn! Think and meditate on the words of the Messenger, for the sake of Allah and for yourselves! It is another matter, of course, if we no longer want to be part of the Islamic community.

Remember, O Muslims! We do not live forever! The Day of Judgment for every one of us approaches, whether we like it or not. How will we answer in the presence of Allah when the question comes: "Who did you help? The Islamic party or the party not based on Islam?"

⁴⁰The Persatuan Arab Indonesia, founded in 1934 by A. R. Baswedan, was representative of those Arabs living in Indonesia who wished to become part of Indonesian society and take part in the nationalist struggle. At the time of this writing its leader was Hājī Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Attās.

⁴¹*Peté* (a vegetable) and *djèngkol* (a fruit) are foods eaten by unsophisticated village people, but disdained by urbane Indonesians because they smell so badly. The reference is apparently to the leaders of the PAI's sense of superiority to what they regarded as backward, primitive, and uneducated Middle Eastern Arabs. The reference to Palestine is to the Arab general strike (1936-39) in protest against another large-scale Jewish immigration to Palestine and the building of a "Jewish National Home" by the British Administration ruling Palestine under a mandate of the League of Nations.

The author was bitter toward some Arabs in Southeast Asia because of the arrogance he encountered when working with them in Singapore. This bitterness may account for this sarcastic remark, accusing the Arabs of snobbish disdain, when, in reality, they were sympathetic to the Palestinians.

Let us not be as in the words of the Prophet:

[Indonesian Text]

[Arabic Text]

"Your love for a thing makes [you] blind and dumb." (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)

"Your love for a thing makes [you] blind and dumb." (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)

Can we love our nation and homeland? Naturally, that is not forbidden. But let us love them for the purpose and with the endeavor of placing them in the shelter of the most holy banners of Islam!

[28]

Chapter 6

Quotations from *al-Manār*
and *al-ʿUrwah ʿl-Wuthqā*

[Indonesian Text]

[Arabic Text]

38. Certainly when belief is deep rooted in him, a man who embraces Islam forgets his nation and his people and turns from particularistic ties to general ties and these are ties of belief.
(*al-Manār*, 8, p. 27, taken from *al-ʿUrwah ʿl-Wuthqā*)

38. Certainly when belief is deep rooted in him, a man embracing Islam forgets his race and people and turns from ties of special interest to ties of general interest and these are ties of belief.
(*al-Manār*, 8, p. 27, taken from *al-ʿUrwah ʿl-Wuthqā*)

[29]

39. Except for those of the genuine Shari^cah,⁴² all ties are denounced by the Law-Giver (Allah and the Messenger). Those who rely on such ties are to be denounced, and those who are fanatical for them are to be despised! Indeed, the Messenger, s.a.w., said, "Surely, whoever calls for nationalism is not one of us; whoever fights for the cause of nationalism is not one of us; and whoever dies for the cause of nationalism is not one of us."
(*al-Manār*, 3, p. 27, taken from *al-ʿUrwah ʿl-Wuthqā*)

39. Except for the ties with the genuine Shari^cah, every tie is denounced by the words of the Law-Giver [Allah]. Anyone supporting such [ties] is guilty; and the advocate for special interests is guilty. Indeed, the [Messenger], s.a.w., said, "Surely whoever calls for special interests is not one of us; whoever fights for special interests is not one of us; and whoever dies for special interests is not one of us."
(*al-Manār*, 3, p. 27, taken from *al-ʿUrwah ʿl-Wuthqā*)

40. But in this age we are endangered by people not educated in the Islamic way. They are incited by

40. But in this age we are tested [by God]. People who were not educated with an Islamic education, and who

⁴²*Sjarie'at* (Ar: *Sharī'ah*) is the divine law of Allah and a general term for the ideal law to which Muslims supposedly subject themselves. It is religious law in the theoretical sense. The compilations of the jurists, such as those of the Shāfi^ci School (*madhhab*), which devout Muslims use for guidance in personal behavior, are regarded by some Muslims as an approximation of the Shari^cah.

the Europeans to cut the universal tie of belief and to teach men to be obsessed with their own homeland. As yet they do not exist except in Egypt. They call themselves "Men of the Homeland (Nationalists)," and thank God, their number is small! If it were otherwise, they would surely have caused enmity and hatred between the Muslims of Egypt and other Muslims. (*al-Manār*, 3, p. 27)

are moved by European ideas to cut the general ties of belief, imbue people with fanaticism for special interests only. They do not exist except in Egypt. They call themselves "Nationalists," and, thank God, their number is small! If it were otherwise, they would have caused enmity and hatred between the Muslims of Egypt and other Muslims. (*al-Manār*, 3, p. 27)

- [30] 41. A writer in this magazine (*al-Manār*) said: "Indeed, the blind and deaf nationalism preached by some people in Egypt is more dangerous to the bonds of Islam than the threat of fanatical religion, because (nationalism) is a lure and an enemy for (the bonds of Islam). That is why you see the followers (of nationalism) hating non-Egyptians who reside in Egypt, even though they have given them the most honorable service, that is, serving Religion. The (nationalist) writers shamelessly write in their magazines such words as "They are foreigners who have come to our land to earn their living and have a good time," and other phrases similar to this vile nonsense. What a pity for Islam! There is no power or striving except by the help of Allah! (*al-Manār*, 3, p. 15)
41. A writer of this magazine (*al-Manār*) said: "Indeed the blind nationalism that is loudly acclaimed by some of the people in Egypt is more dangerous to the bonds of Islam than the threat of arbitrary religion, because [nationalism] is a lure and an enemy [for Muslims]. That is why you see its followers hating non-Egyptians who reside in Egypt, even though they have given the most honorable service, and that is religious service. The [nationalist] writers shamelessly write in their magazines such words as, "They are foreigners and they have come to our country to earn their livelihood and live well," and other phrases similar to this nonsense. What a pity for Islam! There is no power or strength except through Allah! (*al-Manār*, 3, p. 15)
- [31] 42. Anyone who reads *al-Manār* knows that I always call for Religion to be totally for the sake of God, not for the sake of nationalism. For indeed, the Messenger said, "Whoever calls for nationalism is not one of us; whoever fights for nationalism is not one of us; and whoever dies for nationalism is not one of us." (*al-Manār*, 8, p. 735)
42. Anyone who reads *al-Manār* knows that I always call for Religion to be totally for God, not for special interests. For indeed, the Messenger said, "Whoever calls for special interests is not one of us; whoever fights for special interests is not one of us; and whoever dies for special interests is not one of us." (*al-Manār*, 8, p. 735)
43. A writer in *al-Manār* said to Farīd Wajdī: "Do (you think) I can agree with the standpoint of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, based as it is on the nationalism of the Age of Ignorance, which Islam eliminated, and which he reestablished; moreover, do you come this day to help him?" (*al-Manār*, 10, p. 459)⁴³
43. A writer of *al-Manār* said to Farīd Wajdī: "How can I agree with the standpoint of Muṣṭafā Kāmil regarding the fanaticism of nationality [associated with] the Age of Ignorance, which Islam blotted out; and now he comes to [re]establish [that national identity] all over again? Do you come today to help him?" (*al-Manār*, 10, p. 459)

⁴³A reference to the dispute between Muslim and nationalist writers in Egypt

- [32] 44. O nationalists! Do not be excessive in your nationalism! And do not speak other than the truth about the propagandists⁴⁴ of Islam. Leave to us to work for our Religion and we certainly will leave you alone in your situation. Indeed, our true Islam gives non-Muslims in Islamic lands rights which cannot be granted by your nationalism, which has sinned against Islam and against the homeland. Do you not see that non-Muslims do not obstruct the endeavors of Muslims nor [the Muslims] themselves, but it is you that obstruct them! If you insist on abusing and obstructing them, then know that your false nationalism cannot abide when opposed by our true Islam, for falsity can only last so long as truth does not oppose it. (*al-Manār*, 14, p. 200)
44. O nationalists! Do not exaggerate your nationalism! And do not speak other than the truth about [Muslim] propagandists. Allow us to work for our Religion and we will leave to you your situation. Indeed, our genuine Islam gives non-Muslims in Islamic lands rights not given by your nationalism, which has sinned against Islam and against the country. Do you not see that non-Muslims are not opposed to the Muslim endeavor and its people, but that it is you that are obstructors? If you want to insist on attacking, then know that your false nationalism is not able to abide when opposed by our true Islam, for falsity can only exist when the truth sleeps. (*al-Manār*, 14, p. 200)

[33] In this sixth chapter we have presented a few quotations from the articles of a writer in *al-Manār* (Muhammad Rashīd Ridā), the greater part of which he took from the periodical *al-Urwah 'l-Wuthqā*, which was run by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh,⁴⁵ to rebut the slanders of those who do not understand their words, but say: "Muḥammad 'Abduh and *al-Manār* permit Muslims to have nationalist principles," whereas in fact these two champions of Islam, like their teacher Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, were as distant as could be imagined from such a view, accursed by Islam.

The reader closely observing citations thirty-eight to forty-four will see clearly that the accusation of [some people] that the writers in *al-Manār* allow Muslims to adopt nationalism as a

during the early years of the twentieth century. Muṣṭafā Kāmil had little interest in religion or religious issues, but advocated a nationalism for Egyptians, both Muslims and non-Muslims.

⁴⁴The traditional Arabic term *du'cāh*, which the author here translates as *propagandist*² *Islam* [*sic*], refers to a person who distributes information with the intention of bringing the reader to a proper understanding of Islam. In his later writings the author usually translated *du'cāh* as *muballigh*.

⁴⁵Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī was the acknowledged founder of Islamic modernism in the last half of the nineteenth century. (Modernist Muslims hold that a reformed Islam is adaptable to modern scientific developments.) Afghānī, with Muḥammad 'Abduh, published the magazine *al-Urwah 'l-Wuthqā* (1884), which reached most Muslim lands, including Indonesia. Sayyid Rashīd Ridā was their successor, as well as editor of *al-Manār*, the leading journal of modernist Islam from 1898 to 1935. See Malcolm H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Ridā* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

principle are pure slander and lies, or words that arise because such people cannot understand the aim of those writings. If we read their writings and seek to understand, not in the manner of idiotic writers who can read but do not understand the meaning, then it is clear that they really only allow Muslims in Egypt to cooperate with other groups on plans for achieving the freedom and the prosperity of the country. As for casting out the laws of Islam and replacing them with manmade laws, as in Turkey--as proclaimed by these idiotic writers--Not at all! They absolutely do not permit it! We seek protection in God from the danger of doubter-hypocrites and transgressors who use religion as a weapon and bait to catch Muslims for a principle that is not blessed by Allah and His Messenger.

* * *

In addition to the passages we have quoted, there are many more criticisms by *al-Manār* of nationalism and nationalist groups, national patriotism and its followers. In dozens of places Rashīd Riḍā and Muḥammad ^cAbduh explain that the spirit of nationalism and national patriotism among the Muslims are implanted by the Europeans to divide the Muslims in every country, to allay their fears of a resurrection of Islam--something they have always regarded as a terrible threat. After reading these articles let none of the idiotic writers and persons of little faith dare to open their mouths, unless they dare to meet us in a debate, where the people can witness who is right and who is wrong!

Do not crow outside the cockpit!

[35]

Chapter 7

How to rule with the Koran and Ḥadīth

[Indonesian Text]

[Arabic Text]

45. It is related that when he wanted to send Mu^cadh to Yemen, the Messenger said: "How will you judge if there is a matter which you must decide?" He answered: "I will decide according to the Book of Allah." The Messenger said: "If you cannot find it in the Book of Allah?" (Mu^cadh) answered: "With the Sunnah⁴⁶ of the Messenger of Allah." The Messenger said: "If you cannot find it in the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah or in the Book of Allah?" (Mu^cadh) answered:

45. It is related that when the Messenger, s.a.w., wanted to send Mu^cadh to Yemen, he said: "How will you judge if a case is laid before you?" [Mu^cadh] answered: "I will judge with the Book of Allah." The Messenger asked: "If it cannot be found in the Book of Allah?" [Mu^cadh] answered: "Then with the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah." [The Messenger] asked: "If you cannot find it in the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah or in the Book of Allah?" [Mu^cadh] answered: "I

⁴⁶Sunnah is the rules of behavior laid down by Muhammad himself and what can be inferred from those rules. It includes the Ḥadīth literature.

"I will use my own judgment and not dwell on it any longer." Then the Messenger struck (Mu^cadh's) breast [for joy] and said: "Praise be to Allah who gives guidance to His Messenger's messenger to the way blessed by the Messenger of God." (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)

will make my own decision and not concern myself any more." Then the Messenger of Allah, s.a.w., struck [Mu^cadh's] breast [for joy] and said: "Praise be to Allah who gives success to the messenger of the Messenger of Allah in what was blessed by the Messenger of Allah." (Ḥadīth recorded by Abū Dāwūd)

- [36] Both friend and foe know that Islam is a religion with laws specially intended for civil (*mu'aamalaat*) and criminal (*ḍjinaajat*) procedure. Within these codes are all the laws necessary for the administration of a country, and accordingly they governed part of the world for several hundred years with an order and prosperity never before achieved. In its rulings, an Islamic kingdom must take Islamic law from the Koran and reliable Ḥadīth. In a case where clearly appropriate tests do not exist in these two sources, a judge may resort to analogy.⁴⁷ If the judge is not able to make an analogy because he cannot find a principle on which to base it, he may study and interpret independently,⁴⁸ paying heed to the advantages and disadvantages. A kingdom may establish a body to reflect on such laws and put them in order.⁴⁹ A kingdom may also establish regulations, on the basis of discussion, for the welfare of the country and in matters of a changing nature, provided these regulations do not contradict the permanently established laws of Islam. A kingdom may also allow different groups to follow their own laws on inheritance, marriage and order of service, each according to its religion or *adat*,⁵⁰ providing, however, that they do not disturb the peace or do moral or physical injury. In cases where a destructive element exists, the kingdom may negotiate with the various groups to accomplish the necessary change.

[37] As for the question of religious service within the Islamic community itself, each group should be free to perform it [in its own way], on the understanding that they not disturb other Muslims. However, propagandizing in public places should require permission, to aid in guarding against quarrels that would disturb the peace.

If such matters were to be laid out in full, it would take a long time. So we can only summarize as follows: All things permitted and forbidden, and whatever belongs with these two categories in the Koran and Ḥadīth, with regard to temporal matters,

⁴⁷*Mengqias* (Ar: *qiyās*) is the use of analogy by terms laid down in Islamic law.

⁴⁸*Beridjihad* (Ar: *ijtihād*) is to make independent judgments on matters of law rather than follow the rulings already made by others, either because no pertinent decisions have been made or because such decisions are inadequate.

⁴⁹This order of review is the same as that generally recognized among traditional legal scholars, who hold the proper line of legal authority to be Koran, Sunnah, consensus (*ijmā^c*), and analogy (*qiyās*).

⁵⁰*Adat* signifies a complete set of customary laws by which a traditional people lives. The author is referring here to the various adat areas of Indonesia, but moves on from this to a general statement relevant for all Muslim states.

must be followed without the slightest change. As for matters which are not covered by authoritative texts and cannot be subjected to analogy with authoritative texts from the Koran and Ḥadīth, we may decide them by discussion among ourselves, considering the advantages and disadvantages, provided the decision is not contrary to anything in religious law. In matters of religious service every group has freedom to pursue its own way according to its own opinion, but an Islamic government has the right to punish Muslims who break or ignore the commands of Islam or its rites.

[38]

Chapter 8

Islamic movements and
nationalist movements.

A. What is an Islamic movement?

B. An Islamic movement is the work and total effort carried out by a Muslim organization, which prizes Islam, in a country under foreign rule, for the purpose of achieving complete independence so that the laws of Islam may be put fully into effect in both temporal and spiritual matters.

A. What is a nationalist movement?

B. A nationalist movement is the work and total effort carried out by people who base their movement on the importance of the nation without regard to their religion, in a country under foreign rule, for the purpose of achieving complete independence, so that laws they make themselves can be put in effect, whether consonant with the Religion existing in that country or contrary to it.

A. May Muslims aid nationalist movements with money, energy or ideas?

[39]

B. Certainly not, since nationalist movements would institute laws which are not from Allah. Assisting such movements means consenting to laws not from Allah being imposed on Muslim groups, as well as opposing the Islamic movement which wants to put into effect the laws of Allah and His Messenger, for in Indonesia it is certainly well known that Islamic movements exist in the political sphere, such as the PSII, the PII and others.

A. The public does not like to join Islamic parties, because, it is said, the course of these parties is not powerful and headlong like that of the nationalist parties.

B. We have seen several powerful parties die as victims of their own "power," since it lay only in their tongues. Despite this, no one can prove that the results of the nationalist parties' work have surpassed the results achieved by the Islamic parties; nor can anyone show that the nationalist parties are more "powerful" in action than the Islamic parties.

A. Many people are attracted to nationalist parties because there are many people with the academic titles of Doctor, Lawyer and Engineer in them.

B. There are certainly very few doctors, judges and engineers in the Islamic parties, but let us compare results and remember that our movement needs doctors in society, not Doctors of Medicine; it needs lawyers in the struggle, not Lawyers of the Court or Tribunal; it needs engineers in the movement, not Engineers of Buildings, Bridges, etc.

The real reason [for some people's preference for nationalist movements] is not their power and vigor, but rather,

- [40]
- 1) People like the nationalist parties because they are influenced by the large number of members who are considered educated;
 - 2) They like the nationalist parties because of the free association of male and female members;⁵¹
 - 3) They do not like Islamic parties because at Islamic gatherings there are not numbers of women to act as lures;
 - 4) They stay away from the Islamic parties because Muslims insist on prayer and performing other Islamic ritual, which they regard as onerous;
 - 5) They do not like Islamic parties because they do not know Islam, whereas in Islamic parties Islamic matters are by necessity much talked about.

A. There are people who say: "True nationalists are not opposed to Islam." Is this correct?

B. Obviously it is correct, if those people are ready to accept Islam as the basis for their movement and the basis of law in the country. But there are also nationalists who want to imitate Turkey in throwing out Islamic laws; yet though there are thousands of leaders who say that "these are the true, the real nationalists," for us Muslims, they are all nationalists who are in error and lead others astray.

⁵¹The free association of the sexes was not well regarded by the author. While his viewpoint on many areas of social change was liberal, in the area of sexual roles and behavior he advocated a continuation of traditional Muslim behavior. He regarded the roles of men and women as different--women were to be mothers and housekeepers while men were providers and charged with governing society at all levels. Women's occupations outside the home were limited to the education of minors, missionary work among women, and the nursing of female patients. At public meetings men and women were to be segregated. Consequently, he viewed the nationalist practice of allowing men and women to mix socially--which was fairly common to Indonesian society--as sinful. In this he was not alone: most Muslim groups observed the segregation of the sexes at their meetings.

[41]

Chapter 9

Principles and laws proper
for adoption by Indonesia.

A. What principles and laws are properly employed by Indonesian movements and an Indonesian government?

B. Since 90 percent of its inhabitants are Muslim, and Islam is a religion fully adequate and capable of regulating countries, from the smallest to the largest, obviously Islam should be taken as the principle.

A. If Islamic law is adopted, then the other 10 percent of the population will not like it. Therefore, it is necessary that we adopt a principle that is neutral.

B. If we employ a principle and laws other than those of Islam, this will certainly be displeasing to the Muslims who compose 90 percent of the population, since their religion commands them to carry out Islamic laws. Is it fitting that we dismiss the interests of the 90 percent majority because of this 10 percent? Would such a settlement be fair?

A. They do not like to accept religion [as a principle] because in religion there are many different conflicting interpretations.

[42] B. Just as there are conflicts among men in their understanding of religion, so there are also disagreements within the nonreligious political parties; but Religion has its bases, the Koran and Ḥadīth, to act as judge, while for political disagreements there is no judge except will; one person wants a socialist basis and is very firm [about it]; another wants a nationalist basis and certainly holds fast to it. Moreover, in nonreligious socialism itself, there are various viewpoints, just as there are also numberless types of nationalism.

Because several different religions exist in Indonesia, the nonreligious political groups say: "We are neutral toward religion; that is, our movement is unwilling to use any one religion as a principle."

Very good! But now we find that in the nationalist movement itself there are several positions and viewpoints which are in conflict with one another. Because of this, could not another group say: "We do not want to use the nationalist principle or the religious principle because conflicts exist in both which make us uncertain what we should accept?" Conflicts cannot, in fact, be eliminated through laws and statutes. If we look at countries which establish laws according to human desires, frequently we find conflicts. The court of the first instance decides this way; on appeal, another court invalidates the decision; a higher court decides in still another manner when the appeal reaches it. Yet the law in question, from top to bottom, is created by the intellect of men who have fled from Religion for fear

of conflict! In short, so long as laws exist, conflicts are inevitable, whether the laws are from Allah or designed by his creatures, for human beings differ.

[43]

Chapter 10

Love of people
and homeland

There are no laws of man that prohibit a person from loving his people and homeland--neither [is such a prohibition] found in the laws of Religion. Indeed it is not even prohibited for him to love his buffaloes and his cows, his goats and his dogs, his rabbits and his cats, his chickens and his ducks. He may even love his enemies. Once again, Religion does not prevent a person from loving anything; so most certainly [he may love] the earth and the sand which are in his country. Only, do not involve Religion in matters where Religion is not properly involved. Do not take the words "hubbu-l-watani min-l-imān"⁵² and say that they are Ḥadīth, for such is not the case.

If one who loves his homeland uses false Ḥadīth, then one who loves his cat can invoke another weak Ḥadīth like: "hubbu-l-harrati min-l-imān," "love of cats is part of faith." And a person who loves Arabs and the Quraisj⁵³ will invoke such weak Ḥadīth as:

"hubbu-l-arabi imān"--"love of Arabs is a part of faith."
"hubbu-qurayshin imān"--"love of the Quraisj is a part of faith."

* * *

[44] For those who base themselves on nationalism, love of homeland and people means that they want:

- a) Progress in education.
- b) Progress in economic life.
- c) Progress in technology, and anything related to it which advances the people and the prosperity of the country.

Furthermore, they want:

- a) Their people and country, at the very least, not to be inferior to other countries.
- b) Their country to be ruled by their own people, with their own laws, whether consonant with a Religion or the opposite.

* * *

⁵²Author's note: "Love of homeland is part of faith." [The author is challenging the authenticity of a phrase sometimes cited as being an Ḥadīth. He states that it was not actually said by Muhammad and hence has no standing as scripture. It has been a practice among Muslims to use vague references in the Ḥadīth literature to manufacture "new" Ḥadīth to enhance a particular viewpoint.]

⁵³Quraisj (Ar: *Quraysh*). The tribe to which Muhammad belonged, which traditionally has been given considerable prestige and status among Muslims.

For Muslims, love of homeland and people means that Muslims want:

- a) Progress in education.
- b) Progress in economic life.
- c) Progress in technology, and anything related to it which advances Muslims and the prosperity of Muslim countries.

Furthermore, they want:

- a) Muslims and their countries, at the very least, not to be inferior to other countries.
- b) Islamic countries to be ruled by Muslims themselves with the laws and prescriptions contained in the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger.

[45] According to the Islamic conception just mentioned, love of homeland and people is wider than the nationalist conception. By following the latter, a Muslim is separated from that duty, which, if neglected, makes him a sinner. In loving a homeland in the Muslim sense, love of homeland in the nationalist sense is already included, except as regards law. In loving the homeland in the nationalist sense there are several large errors for people who are Muslims. First and foremost is obeying laws not from Allah and His Messenger (see Chapter 1). The second is that because of his nationalist attitude, a Muslim inevitably regards those Muslims in his country, who are not his people and do not share his homeland, as foreigners. Whereas, in truth, he should regard them as brothers (see Chapter 4). The third is breaking ties with other Islamic countries on the grounds that they are not of the same people and homeland, though Allah and His Messenger have said that they are brothers who must be united. Therefore, let no one think that Islam commands an Indonesian, for example, to abandon all his duties in his place of residence and go to work for another Islamic country. Certainly not! That is not necessary! Rather every Muslim must work and devote his energy where he is able. It is logical that every person is better able to work for his own place of residence than to work for some other place.⁵⁴

[46] In this way, every Muslim can work wherever he may be. An Indonesian Muslim can work for Egypt and India when he resides in those lands, although it is not forbidden him to work for Indonesia in those places. In this way the endeavors of a Muslim are not wasted.

If the feeling of nationalism is predominant, then in general the Indian who is in Indonesia, for example, is unable to work and contribute his energies for the good of India, while the same is true for an Indonesian in India--except by writing, of which, of course, not everyone is capable. Furthermore, a person who serves by writing cannot undertake this correctly, because the local

⁵⁴Despite a twenty-year residence in the country at the time of this writing, the author's foreign birth, his race (Tamil), and his staunch Muslim value system marked him as different from most Indonesians. He failed to achieve status or important office in the political organizations he joined and was criticized by some Muslims and non-Muslims as an interloper. As the passage shows, he felt the rejection deeply.

situation always changes and it is impossible to follow events in a country simply through the press; one needs to see, hear and mingle intimately [in what is happening there].

* * *

A. Is love of homeland natural?

B. What we call "natural" is an ineradicable inner attraction, like the longing of animals for food; of cats for mice; of men for women and vice versa; and so forth. But with regard to homelands, there is a difference.

[47] (Suppose) a boy born in place "A" is taken to place "B" before he is able to understand [what is happening]. When he is grown up and notices people working for the interest of their homeland, he will "naturally" defend the land in which he lives.

If love of country were natural, then he should be drawn to love the country where he was born, even though he does not know he was born there.

For the Muslim, all this is not a problem, for he loves his own country or some other place solely to carry out Allah's laws there. When a Muslim endeavors to carry out the laws of Islam in a place, whether it is his own homeland or not, he can be called a patriot.

[48]

Chapter 11

"We take a neutral stance
so we can be united."

Even now we can hear these words from the nationalist leaders. This absurd viewpoint is like sixty people on a journey together. Fifty-four of them want to eat rice, one wants corn, another wants potatoes, another tubers, and another wants beans. Seeing their differences, their leader makes a neutral decision: that is, not rice, not corn, nor any of the rest, but "you must all eat glutinous rice."

In associations, in councils, in meetings, it is normal that the majority voice carries and the minority are forced to assent. This practice is generally viewed as just both by the ignorant and the clever. Only in the affairs of the [nationalist] movement does this justice become "torment." [Here] the majority must yield to the voice of the minority. The interests of 90 percent of the population must be obliterated because of the desires of 10 percent.

[49] Let these leaders be aware that Muslims want Islamic principles for no other reason than because they are so commanded by their Religion, not because of personal desires. Like it or not, so long as he believes in Islam, the Muslim must employ Islamic principles in all places and matters which call for the use of principle. He is no Muslim if he rejects the principles of Islam.

As for those other groups among the ten percent, this is not so. Their religion does not forbid them to submit to a particular principle. For such people it is only a matter of personal desire, which is, of course, negotiable.

Therefore, even supposing that the Muslims had the same numbers that they now have [i.e., were the 10 percent minority], even then the Muslims should have their rights without any curtailment, however small; how much more so since they [the Muslims] have 90 percent.

[50]

Chapter 12

Who are the
splitters?

When we explain the law that a Muslim sins by aiding a movement which is not based on Islam, since such a movement aims to obtain the freedom to rule this country by laws not blessed by Allah and His Messenger, and that for this reason every person professing Islam should join a movement based on Islam--when we explain this--then time after time we are labeled "splitters," "dividers" and so forth.

They [the nationalists] do not bear in mind that 90 percent of the inhabitants of Indonesia are Muslims, and that the first political movement to demand independence was an Islamic movement. At that time the greatest movement was an Islamic movement, the Sharikat Islam. This movement was consonant with the aspirations and responsibilities of nine-tenths of the population. After that, there came along many kinds of movements not based on Islam. It is these latter-day movements which should be labeled "splitters," "dividers," and so forth.

[51]

But the "justice" of the nationalists is not like this! They label as "divisive" every effort to demand independence on an Islamic basis, since they believe that Islam is not fitting and not suitable to become the principle of a movement which has non-Muslims among its members. Every effort to attract Muslims into the Islamic movement is called "divisive," but every effort of the nationalists to attract Muslims to a principle other than Islam they call an effort toward unity. This "justice" is very peculiar! They are not mindful, they do not take into account that a principle which is not Islamic is not suitable and is not permitted for Muslims! On the contrary, if they truly want to achieve unity, they should merge themselves with the Islamic movement. If they were to merge with the community of 90 percent, then the movement would certainly grow enormously, and its expectations would be more quickly realized. And the community of 10 percent would be accommodated quite easily because its goals are not based on Religion, which cannot be negotiated, but rather on desires and feelings which of course can be taken care of and accepted.

But what a pity! The nationalists do not want unity beneath the banners of Islam, not because they do not know the value of unity and not because they do not know that Islam is fitting and proper to become the law of the world, but because they fear the influence held by the Religious groups.

[52]

Chapter 13

Following the examples of Turkey,
Egypt, Persia and Iraq.

The members of the nationalist movement in Indonesia, who do not want to take Religion as the basis for their movement and do not want to acknowledge Islamic law as suitable for a nation, always use the examples of the countries mentioned above and cite them as proof that Muslims can judge with laws which are not from Allah and His Messenger--though they say in public: "We believe the laws of Islam are adequate and fitting, but. . . ."

Members of nationalist movements who are neutral to Religion should understand that the countries mentioned above do not fail to practice Islamic law because Islam permits it! Never! But because the leaders of these countries are mostly deeply ignorant of Religion. And so they fear that if Religion was made the principle, the truly Religious would be foremost and they themselves would no longer be leaders. Never mind that in these countries the laws of Religion are not used in matters of governance! Still the duty of Muslims (there) to work to achieve the goals of Religion does not cease until they are achieved. Because these lands do not practice the laws of Islam, drink, adultery, gambling and other sins are widespread, indeed in some of them are actually permitted.

[53]

Try to find such sins in lands which practice the laws of Islam and you will not find them except as chaff in rice. It is a little strange! Those foolish intellectuals like to cite Muslim behavior which violates Religion, but never mention the kingdoms of Afghanistan and Ibn Sa'ūd [Saudi Arabia]⁵⁵ which execute Islamic laws, even though public order in those two lands can be said to have no equal, precisely because the laws of Islam are put into effect.

We need pay no attention to nor care about intellectuals who are not religious. We only feel sad thinking of those intellectuals who do profess Religion, but still think that way.

⁵⁵At the time the author wrote, Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia were being revitalized and centralized by ambitious monarchs, both of whom believed that religious orthodoxy was a key ingredient to the well-being of their realms. Hence the author's admiration.

[54]

Chapter 14

Miscellaneous

a. For the sake of Allah.

A. There are writers professing Islam who say that the work of the nationalists in their endeavor to seek independence is, in fact, work for Allah's sake, because this work is good and everything which is good has been commanded by Allah. It follows that to do a thing that is commanded by Allah must certainly be for Allah. What is your opinion?

B. It cannot be said that a deed is for Allah if it is not being done with the thought that Allah has commanded it to be done, and that the work being undertaken is not forbidden [by Him].

Are then the nationalists who profess to be Muslims seeking independence with the thought that Allah has commanded it through the Prophet Muhammad? Is seeking freedom in order to effect laws not revealed by Allah in fact permitted by Him?

If all the actions a man performs that seem good can be called actions for the sake of Allah, then many of the actions of the colonialists could be said to be for Allah. Someone who entertains a friend with a treat of alcohol, for example, can also be cited as [working] for Allah. The man who says: "Digul is better than Mecca; Demak is greater than the Ka'abah," can also be viewed as [striving] for Allah, because he says it with a good intention, i.e., so that his people do not spend large amounts of money paying homage in the direction of the Arabs in Mecca.⁵⁶

[55] b. He is a foreigner

Since the inhabitants of Indonesia are for the most part Muslims, it can reasonably be called an Islamic country. While among the Muslims of other nationalities living here there are some who are cruel, savage and treacherous toward the country, there are also not a few who, wanting happiness and independence for Indonesia, join and contribute to various Islamic associations. Do not allow the efforts of these decent people to be forgotten or ignored because of the evil of their fellows. If we were to look for Indonesians who are cruel and savage to their own people, and treacherous toward their people and their homeland, we will surely be able to gather many, many times greater numbers than the foreign Muslims, both the evil and the good.

Because the seeds of nationalism implanted by the Europeans have sunk deep roots, in moments of anger and irritation [Indone-

⁵⁶Between 1923 and 1937, 266,700 Indonesians undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. Van der Meulen estimates that the minimum cost per pilgrim during this period was 600 guilders, for a total cost of 146,000,000 guilders for the period. See D. van der Meulen, "The Mecca Pilgrimage and Its Importance to the Netherlands East Indies," *Asiatic Review*, 36 (July 1940), pp. 588-97.

sian Muslims] have often said about a Muslim from another land that "He is a foreigner," "He comes here to make a living," "He does not belong to our people," and similar expressions. Yet the person who says such things is a Muslim who ought to regard those he so despises and hates as brothers. At least it would be fitting for him to look at the situation in Egypt, India and other countries, so that he can learn and compare how many Indonesians there are who get food, drink and schooling free in those countries, with the foreigners to whom Indonesia gives free food, drink and schooling, "if there are any at all."⁵⁷

[56] As for the foreign Muslims who come here to trade and work, Indonesia should not be regarded as generous towards them, since it is normal practice throughout the world for people from one country to go seek a living in other lands. If we can manage, there is no hindrance from seeking a living in other lands. In connection with the expression: "He is a foreigner," it is fitting to repeat the words of Mr. Hassan when Mr. Hamka⁵⁸ called him a foreigner. "I am an Asian; Asia is my homeland; Indonesia is part of Asia. Therefore, Indonesia is my homeland." Here we may add: "I am a Muslim; Indonesia is a Muslim country. Therefore, Indonesia is my homeland."

As examples of Muslims working for Islamic countries other [than their own], look at Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. He was from Kabul, but he worked mightily for Egypt, Persia and other Islamic countries in politics and other matters until [even] the oldest and greatest leaders in Egypt became his disciples. Look at Amīr Shakīb Arslān.⁵⁹ He was a Syrian, but he worked generally for all Islamic lands. Look at Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā. He was a Syrian, but spent his life working for the good of Egyptian Muslims in particular and Muslims throughout the world in general. There are many other examples like these, but for people who are drunk with nationalism, all are shut away and invisible to the eyes in their hearts and the eyes in their heads.

⁵⁷The reference is to the large number of Indonesians who went abroad as students, particularly to al-Azhar University in Cairo. There were, of course, significant numbers of Arabs and Indians in Indonesia, but they were, like the Chinese, mostly involved in trade, and hence productive, if not always popular, elements of society.

⁵⁸Hadji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (Hamka) was the son of Hadji Rasul, a leading Muslim reformer in Sumatra. Although his reputation as an Islamic writer became much greater in the 1950s, he was already an important Muslim personality at the time this pamphlet was written. Like most other Muslim leaders of the era, Hamka avoided pan-Islamism and advocated that Muslims work for nationalist causes in their own countries.

⁵⁹Amīr Shakīb Arslān gained fame as the author of *Lī mādhā ta'akhhara a'l-Muslimūn wa lī-mādhā taqaddama ghairuhum* (Why the Muslims all slept and became backward), a treatise on Muslim political disintegration in the face of Western imperialism. He saw that disintegration as caused by the failure of Muslims to revitalize their religious outlook.

[57] c. Honoring the flag.

A. At the present time, it has become customary for people to honor the flag by standing and saluting it in the same manner as standing and saluting in the presence of a leader.

B. From the time flags were first created until some time afterwards, people used flags in warfare as signs for where various groups or peoples were assembled. Later they began to hoist them permanently in elevated places in their respective countries, even in times when there was no war. Representatives of other kingdoms also raised their flags at their houses or places where they worked. Whether before or after this, they also used flags on days of celebration, such as for marriages, festivals and so forth. Still later, they also raised flags half-mast to indicate the deaths of notable persons. So it went, gradually, little by little, till the flag received fervent salutes, as if it was a human being or a very prominent leader.

It is not impossible that in a short time men will pay homage to the flag as they worship images, which were once the likenesses of revered persons but later were made into statues for commemoration, for honor, for veneration and for reverence until they came to be regarded as Almighty God Himself. For this reason, the true believing Muslim feels that it is not the act of a rational man to honor a flag, which is not rational and has no life.

[58] d. Honoring statues.

A. What is the law concerning the creation of statues of prominent personalities as memorials, such as the statues of prominent persons and leaders created in Turkey, Egypt and other places?

B. The images which exist in the world today and in the past were originally [images of] respected men, great men, meritorious leaders, even prophets. First, statues were built as memorials to these people; later, these statues became objects of respect, then places for homage; not a few even came to be regarded as Almighty God Himself. It is for this reason that it is forbidden in Islam to erect statues; forbidden too are portraits which are revered, lest they become places where men come to ask for help. It is not necessary to go very far to find an example. Look at Dr. Sun Yat-sen! About thirty-five or forty years ago, he was the leader and author of Young China. But now there are already Chinese who pay homage to his portrait with food offerings as they pay homage to other images from times past.

[59] e. Honoring songs.

Originally people used songs with their verses for enjoyment. Then they used them to encourage their own people against other people, either in war, in quarrels, or in [some] assembly to glorify their nation. Almost the same was true of instrumental music, so that today national songs are created with verses and accompaniments. After this, further "progress" occurred, i.e., people stood up when the national anthem was sung or played.

A true Muslim, a person of healthy rationality, is not obliged to honor a song which has no life, cannot reason, and does not know how to accept or reject homage. Let us honor anyone from any people whom it is proper to honor in ways that are proper.

Because of their great impatience in waiting for the independence which is to come, our people imitate every activity which comes from Europe in the hope that these external forms and actions can become legs or arms for progress and independence. They do not understand that formalities, songs, political actions,⁶⁰ customs and practices copied from Europe are actually the result of progress. Europeans did not create these types of things until after progress was attained. Thus, the [true] factors in progress are not extraordinary motions and ceremonies.

[60] A. Do you admit that the practice of honoring flags, statues and anthems is the creation of the Europeans?

B. Yes, of course!

A. Since it is well known that Europeans are clever, why are the activities of such clever people to be criticized?

B. These people are indeed cleverer than we are in certain matters and more ignorant than we in others. The bulk of those who believe that "God is one, yet three" and "three are but one" are Europeans. Can you accept this belief and theory?

A. No.

B. Precisely! So do not take men's cleverness as your standard, but rather their works.

f. Joining associations using the name "national."

A. What is the law about joining sporting, trade, educational, technical and other such associations which use the name "national"?

B. In reality, the name is not much of a measure. What makes the difference is the activity and the purpose. The aims of sporting, trade, educational, technical and other organizations are not to achieve power to impose laws. It is therefore not forbidden to join such organizations, so long as their by-laws are not opposed to Islamic law, such as [permitting] the buying and selling of forbidden goods⁶¹ or sports mixing men and women.

⁶⁰*Actie*, from the Dutch, means a militant political act, such as a demonstration, a march, or a campaign.

⁶¹*Diharamkan* (Ar: *ḥarām*). Things which Muslim law rates as absolutely forbidden to Muslims, such as alcohol or pork.

[61] g. Honoring a person who is dead.

A. What is the law with respect to honoring a person who is dead by standing up in memory of his spirit, such as was done for Dr. Soetomo by members of the PAI?⁶²

B. Honoring a corpse--if it can be called honoring--means washing it, enshrouding it, paying it the proper ritual, burying it, and praying that Allah may strengthen the [dead person's] heart when he arrives for Judgment. These are the actions performed for the corpses of Muslims. There is one other kind of honoring, i.e., we stand up when we see a funeral bier until it passes by us; or if we accompany it, we do not sit until the bier has been placed in the ground. We are commanded to behave this way toward the corpses of Muslims and unbelievers.

As for standing to honor a person who is already dead when his name is mentioned in a meeting or gathering, there is no justification for people to stand [in reverence even] for a prophet, let alone for ordinary men, especially for people like Dr. Soetomo, who is known to have died not a Muslim and who, while he lived, was famous as a critic of the Religion of the Muslims, a critic of the Ka'abah and the Muslim qiblat, and a critic of the Prophet of the Muslims. At the very least, he was a leader of a movement which did not wish Islam to be its principle, which means it believed the law of Allah was not suitable to become the law of the land, or viewed manmade laws as superior to the canons of Allah.

[62] If the members of the PAI want to stand in memory of his merits, why not stand in memory of the services of Kwee Heng Tjat, who actually founded the PAI?⁶³ Is there any merit greater for a member of the PAI than that of founding the PAI?

A. The authors of *Aliran Baru*⁶⁴ and members of the PAI say "Standing to honor the spirit of someone is not a religious matter: therefore, it may not be judged forbidden and so on."

⁶²Dr. Soetomo was a nationalist leader in the period from about 1908 into the late 1930s, who became prominent by founding several nationalist organizations based mostly on Javanese cultural values. He often opposed the Muslim activists' attempts to include their religious values in the nationalist ideology. Yet he was highly respected by the nationalists of the day, even by those with a Muslim outlook.

⁶³Kwee Heng Tjat [Kwee Hing Tjiat] was influential in the Partai Tionghoa Indonesia (PTI), the Chinese organization with a practical, assimilationist viewpoint similar to that of the PAI. The author may be seeking to identify the two groups, perhaps as a slight to the Arabs. The PTI was in fact founded in 1932 by a journalist in Surabaya, Liem Koen Hian. The PAI was founded in 1934 by one of his employees, A. R. Baswedan (see n. 40). During that same year, Kwee Hing Tjiat returned from a long stay in China to become an editor in Semarang, adopting the assimilationist view.

⁶⁴*Aliran Baru* is apparently a reference to the Indonesian literary movement of the 1930s epitomized by the journal *Poedjangga Baroe*. See Anthony Johns, "Genesis of a Modern Literary Movement," in Ruth T. McVey (ed.), *Indonesia* (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1963), pp. 413-22.

B. Whether it is forbidden or not, we shall discuss later on; but people who stand for persons such as Dr. Soetomo clearly do not have any love or affection for Islam, but rather have something more like inconsistency in their hearts than like Islam. If we remember, the worship of images, which has occurred from times past till now, originated from a deep desire to do honor, to the point of making a portrait and statue of the person honored--and even to the point of worshipping the statue as the God who created heaven and earth.

If, when they stand to honor the spirit of someone who was so hostile and opposed to Islam, this is not to be considered a religious matter, then when a person bows in worship to a statue, it is also not a religious matter, and may not be punished in any way, provided the worshipper says that it is not a religious matter. Offering worship as was done by the Mufti and Shaykh al-Islam of the PAI⁶⁵ a short time ago, when a Chinese usurer demanded that he swear by Allah that he would repay his loan, is also not a religious matter, but merely a worldly matter in which Religion may not interfere. If the members of the PAI make a statue of the late Kwee Heng Tjat, who was founder and builder of the PAI, and the members then stand crowded together before the statue and bow in respect for his services, then by the logic of the rulings of the mufti of the PAI, this would not be a religious matter, only a matter of honoring a statue.

The members of the PAI give honor, and it is not impossible that they will offer homage and worship, as has been done by their judge of judges, the writers of *Aliran Baru*. All of this does not mean, they say, that they believe that the object of their reverence and veneration is really God! They only act this way, they say, in order to achieve a single aim: to gain a spirit that can thereby achieve Indonesian independence. This is just like the words of the Quraysh in the Age of Ignorance, who worshipped images with this justification:

"We worship (idols) only so that they bring us closer to Allah." (Koran, al-Zumar 3)

The worship offered by these people of the Age of Ignorance may not be censured, because they professed the existence of Allah, and if they worshipped images that is another matter, a matter of "bringing themselves closer," not a religious matter!

[64] h. How Muslims honor their leaders.

A. How do we honor leaders who have died?

B. Just as for the Prophet, s.a.w., we offer proper prayers asking for mercy and peace, so too we ask Allah to grant forgiveness and mercy to Muslim leaders who have gone on to face God, after having striven to fulfill their obligations on earth. Beyond this, we

⁶⁵Apparently a reference to H. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Attās, a prominent member of the PAI.

aid their families when they need help, and we write histories of their endeavors to serve as examples, so that in this way Muslim prayers for their reward on the Day of Judgment will not cease.

Standing for statues, songs, flags and so forth is only an imitation of Europe, which is close to becoming an Imam in every important matter in this present age.

THE END