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*Nana Raihana Askurny, Syihabuddin, Dadang Sudana*

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in Achdiat's Atheis Indonesian Novel**

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*Harimau! Harimau!* and Patterson's *Man-Eaters of Tsavo***

*Danial Hidayatullah*

**The Analysis of Data Literacy and Data Quality: Study at Faculty of  
Administrative Science, Brawijaya University**

*Aulia Puspaning Galih, Ágnes Hajdu Barát, Nizam Zulfanuddin Bahar,  
Dessy Ervina Febriyanti*

**Two Imaginations of Indonesia: A Study on the Islamic and Nationalism  
Ideologies in *Pandji Islam* Magazine, 1940**

*Rais al-Azizi Muhyidin, Yusril Fahmi Adam*

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*Raden Daffa Akbar Hadikusumo, Alfi Syahriyani*

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# Table of Contents

## Editorial Team

## Table of Contents

**Critical Discourse Analysis through Systemic Functional Linguistics of SMS (Short Message Service) Phishing .....(1)**

Nana Raihana Askurny, Syihabuddin, Dadang Sudana

**Literature and Social Issues: Study of Islam, Secularism, and Humanism in Achdiat's Atheis Indonesian Novel .....(19)**

Sukron Kamil

**Meditating Masculine Anxiety and (Post) Colonial Space in Lubis's *Harimau! Harimau!* and Patterson's *Man-Eaters of Tsavo* .....(33)**

Danial Hidayatullah

**The Correlation Between Data Literacy and Data Quality: Study at Faculty of Administrative Science, Brawijaya University .....(47)**

Aulia Puspaning Galih, Ágnes Hajdu Barát, Nizam Zulfanuddin Bahar, Dessy Ervina Febriyanti

**Two Imaginations of Indonesia: A Study on the Islamic and Nationalism Ideologies in *Pandji Islam Magazine*, 1940 .....(63)**

Rais al-Azizi Muhyidin, Yusril Fahmi Adam

**War on Terror's Impact on the Middle East Civilians in Coldplay's Orphans Song Lyrics .....(81)**

Raden Daffa Akbar Hadikusumo, Alfi Syahriyani

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### Two Imaginations of Indonesia: A Study on the Islamic and Nationalism Ideologies in *Pandji Islam* Magazine, 1940

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#### Abstract

*This research delves into the ideologies of Islam and nationalism as envisioned by the founding fathers through Pandji Islam magazine published in 1940. A historical methodology consisting of four stages, heuristic, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography, was applied. It also utilized hermeneutics and political approaches. Through these two approaches, this study was not merely narrative but rather descriptive-analytical in nature. The findings in this article reveal that Pandji Islam played a significant role as a representation of the Islamic press. Through Pandji Islam, Islamic and nationalist figures were able to express their ideas on Islamic modernism, ideologies, and the concept of an ideal state. Furthermore, the study results demonstrate that Pandji Islam magazine also served to raise political awareness among the Muslim community and the Indonesian people in general. It aimed to build collective strength to break free from prolonged colonialism and seek appropriate political formulations for the future of the Indonesian nation.*

**Keywords:** Islamic Ideology, Indonesian Politic, Nationalism Ideology, Pandji Islam.

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#### Introduction

The emergence of Islamic and nationalist ideologies in the first decade of the 20th century was a significant event that eventually led the Indonesian nation to achieve its independence. The Islamic and nationalist figures who espoused these ideologies played a crucial role in shaping the mindset of the people who were under Dutch colonial rule (Hasyim, 2020, p. 89). Through the foundation of their thoughts on Islamic and nationalist ideologies, the indigenous people developed a sense of belonging and subsequently fostered a desire to break free from colonialism (Hefner, 2001, p. 76). These founding figures, both Islamic and nationalist leaders, employed intellectual methods as an approach to engage with the people. They established various organizations and penned ideological manifestos, expressing their ideas about the concept of the nation through various media outlets such as newspapers and



magazines. Through these intellectual methods, diverse Islamic and nationalist figures were able to articulate their ideas and raise political awareness among the general population (Fogg, 2020, p. 7).

Five years before Indonesia gained independence, Islamic and nationalist figures had already envisioned the future of Indonesia, contemplating the appropriate concept of the nation and ideology to guide the Indonesian people. One manifestation of these visionary ideas can be found in the *Pandji Islam* magazine, which was published in 1940. Within the pages of the 1940 edition of *Pandji Islam*, prominent figures such as Sukarno, Hatta, A. Hassan, Natsir, and Sirajudin Abbas expressed their perspectives on Islamic ideology and nationalism. The viewpoints of these figures regarding Islamic ideology and nationalism fundamentally aimed to formulate an ideal concept of the nation. Through the ideas put forth by both Islamic and nationalist groups in *Pandji Islam* magazine, a clear picture emerges of the visionary aspirations of these two factions in guiding Indonesia towards the future (Rambe, 2019, p. 114).

Based on the context of the portrayal of Indonesian imagination by Islamic and nationalist figures in this magazine, this research aims to analyze the discussed ideologies of Islam and nationalism through the dialectics of ideas presented in the 1940 edition of *Pandji Islam*. To our knowledge, specific historiography focusing on the press as the research object and as a comprehensive discourse is still scarce. The most recent studies on media or press history were conducted by Muhammad Yuanda Zara (2022), who examined the magazines *Adil* (Zara, 2022c), *Pandji Masyarakat* (Zara, 2022b), and *Suara Muhammadiyah* (Zara, 2022a). In the *Adil* magazine, Zara describes Muhammadiyah's commitment as an Islamic organization to enhance spirituality and encourage civilians to endure during the Japanese invasion from 1941 to 1942. In the *Pandji Masyarakat* magazine, Zara offers an analysis of various photographs and illustrations of nature captured amidst rapid physical development. Meanwhile, in the *Suara Muhammadiyah* magazine, Zara describes General Sudirman as a heroic figure depicted in comics. Another research on press history was conducted by Akmal (2021), who explored the repressive stance of the government towards *Pandji Masyarakat* and *Gema Islam* magazines, considering them dangerous due to their contradictory content during the Guided Democracy era (Akmal, 2021). Another significant discourse on press history is the study of the magazines *Medan Moeslimin* (1915) and *Islam Bergerak* (1917) by Lin Hongxuan (2018). Hongxuan explains how the communist faction had its own media outlets, namely the magazines *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak*, to disseminate Marxist propaganda and narrative that ignited the proletarian class (Hongxuan, 2018).

Despite the various previous studies mentioned, no studies scrutinize the discourse on the ideologies of Islam and nationalism within the 1940 edition of *Pandji Islam* in Indonesian Islamic historiography. Generally, most of previous researchers focused on the analysis of the vis-à-vis relationship between Islamic ideology and nationalism (Nugroho, 2013; Fauzan, 2019) or the ideological dualism between an Islamic state and a secular state (Effendy, 2011; Suhelmi, 2014). In the present study, we focused on examining *Pandji Islam* magazine, which played a significant role as the Islamic press and as a platform for dialectics between Islamic and nationalist figures regarding the imagination of Indonesia in the 1940 edition. Furthermore, the thoughts of these Islamic and nationalist figures within *Pandji Islam* served as the embryo of the ongoing debates on state ideology that continued after independence. Therefore, this research is both interesting and important as it aims to fill the existing gap in Indonesian Islamic historiography, making it a comprehensive discourse in the field.

## Method

This article presents a historical research that utilized a historical method. It aims to provide description, analysis, and reconstruction of significant past events through four stages: source collection (heuristics), source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Abdurrahman, 2019, p. 101). This research focused on the thoughts of Islamic and nationalist figures discussing the imagination of Indonesia in *Pandji Islam* magazine. Therefore, the primary source collection for this research was conducted through a literature review approach, which involved examining various articles in the 1940 edition of *Pandji Islam* magazine and tracing newspapers from that era related to the research in various libraries and personal collections (Madjid, 2014, p. 222). Additionally, secondary sources such as journals and books were also used in this research. To aid in analyzing historical events, this study employed a hermeneutic (Cushman, 2022, p. 4) and political approach (Fullbrook, 2002, p. 122). The hermeneutic approach served to interpret the thoughts of various Islamic and nationalist figures found within the texts of *Pandji Islam*, while the political approach was used to provide political analysis such as the concepts of the state and ideology. Through both of these approaches, this research aimed to go beyond a purely narrative approach and adopt a descriptive-analytical approach (Ankersmit, 1987, p. 247).

### **Result and Discussion**

The focus in this section lies on the perspectives of various figures such as Sukarno, Hatta, Abikusno, A. Hassan, Natsir, Sukiman, and Abbas regarding Islam, the concept of the nation, and the ideal ideology for the nation's struggle.

#### **The Emergence of Islamic and Nationalist Ideologies in Indonesia**

Before delving into the emergence of Islamic and nationalist ideologies in Indonesia, it is important to clarify the meaning of ideology itself. Ideology encompasses a comprehensive system of thinking, values, and fundamental attitudes held by a particular group. It can unite a nation and foster symbolic communication between leaders and the followers, rallying them together through communal principles (Rodee, 2014, p. 145). With this understanding, the concept of Islamic ideology refers to a system of thinking based on the fundamental teachings of Islam, while nationalism ideology signifies a system of thinking rooted in collective national consciousness and the ability to create an independent and integral state.

In the historical context, the concepts of Islamic ideology and nationalism may appear as though they contradict each other and lack a connection. However, upon closer analysis of historical events, it becomes evident that Islamic ideology and nationalism share common goals such as prosperity, well-being, independence, and anti-colonialism (Siregar, 2022, p. 112). This can be observed, for example, in Hamka's perspective on Islamic ideology, which emphasizes the concept of generating a societal structure, socio-economic systems, political governance, and justice based on Islamic principles (Hamka, 2018, p. 173). On the other hand, Sukarno defines nationalism ideology as a form of conviction and consciousness among the people, uniting them under a shared historical factor (Soekarno, 1963, p. 8).

The emergence of Islamic and nationalist ideologies in Indonesia cannot be separated from the notion of a nation-state and the anti-colonial movement, which fundamentally aimed for one goal: independence from colonial rule (Karim, 2019, p. 355). Regarding the origins of Islamic and nationalist ideologies, it can be argued that Islamic ideology showed its existence earlier, followed by the emergence of nationalism ideology. Although it may not have been explicitly labeled as "Islamic ideology," the journey of the Muslim community in the Indonesian archipelago from the 15th (Abdullah, 2018, p. 11; Sunyoto, 2014, p. 67) to the late 19th century showcases various social and political movements based on Islamic values (Azra, 2016, p. 379). Isa Anshary states that the ideology of Islam has been championed by

prominent figures such as Imam Bonjol, Dipanegara, Sultan Babullah, Sultan Hasanudin, Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sultan Agung, and others (Anshary, 1955, p. 7).

Additionally, the ideology of Islam was also brought by Hajj pilgrims who sought knowledge in Mecca, then returned to their homeland to spread Islamic teachings in the archipelago (Kersten, 2017, p. 84; Vlekke, 2018, p. 308). The existence of Islamic ideology in the Indonesian archipelago in the late 19th century was further reinforced by the influence of Egyptian reformists, namely Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida (Burhanudin, 2021, p. 185; Tambunan, 2019, p. 20). Through these three prominent figures, especially with the establishment of Pan-Islamism by Al-Afghani, the Muslim community in the archipelago received stimulus for various socio-political movements, particularly in opposition to the Dutch East Indies government (Fogg, 2015, p. 310). The widespread influence of Pan-Islamist thought resulted in Muslims feeling a shared basis or strength, based on movements rooted in the Qur'an and Sunnah, supported by a sense of brotherhood in defending Islam to achieve development (Jahroni, 2018, p. 3).

The strong presence of Islamic ideology within the Muslim community in the Indonesian archipelago in the late 19th century prompted the Dutch East Indies government to initiate surveillance of Hajj pilgrims who had recently sought knowledge in Mecca and restrict the activities of *ulama* (Islamic scholars) deemed politically inclined (Suminto, 1986, p. 96). A significant figure employed by the Dutch East Indies government to monitor the Muslim community at that time was Snouck Hurgronje (Burhanudin, 2014, p. 30). Hurgronje was an intellectual figure from the Dutch East Indies who later devised policies aimed at granting freedom to Muslims in the realm of religious rituals, while implementing stringent surveillance measures when it came to Islamic political activities (Laffan, 2015, p. 161).

As a result of the surveillance conducted by the Dutch East Indies government on the Hajj pilgrims and *ulama*, coupled with the long-standing colonial exploitation of natural resources and human labor, efforts were made by the Muslim community to break free from the grasp of the colonizers and aspire to have an independent nation (Laffan, 2003, p. 127). In the early 20th century, specifically in 1905, the Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) movement was formed, founded by Haji Samanhudi, which later transformed into the Sarekat Islam (SI) in 1911 (Shiraishi, 1997, p. 55). The formation of SI (Sarekat Islam) represented the implementation of the Islamic ideology that had previously remained confined to mere ideas and unrealized movements. H.O.S Tjokroaminoto explicitly stated that SI was a representation of Islamic ideology operating in the socio-political sphere (Suryanegara, 1995, p. 193).

The establishment of SI in the early 20th century indicated the significant role of Islamic ideology demonstrated by the Muslim community in fostering collective national consciousness. As a result, Kahin argues that Islam is a highly important aspect of Indonesian history, particularly in the efforts to resist colonialism during the early 20th-century national movement (Kahin, 2013, p. 50). Following the establishment of SI, the Islamic ideology rapidly expanded with the emergence of various socio-religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah (1912) (Hakim, 2023, p. 151; Zubair, 2023, p. 113), Persatuan Islam (Persis) (1924) (Federspiel, 2009, p. 7), and Nahdhatul Ulama (1926) (Bush, 2009, p. 2). Through the formation of these socio-religious organizations, the Muslim community became more established in consolidating their strength in safeguarding and advancing the Islamic ideology. The strength of the formed Islamic ideology led to the emergence of alternative thinking among Islamists to make Islam the ideology of the nation (Alfian, 2023, p. 32).

On the other hand, the ideology of nationalism emerged with the establishment of Budi Utomo on May 20, 1908. The birth of Budi Utomo was initiated by the ideas of Wahidin



Sudiro Husodo and developed by Sutomo. The Budi Utomo organization was active in social and educational matters because it was founded by a group of students from OSVIA (Opleidingscholen Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren) and STOVIA (School Toot Opleiding Van Inlnadsche Artsen). Through the Budi Utomo organization, the concept of Western-style nationalism was disseminated. However, Budi Utomo tended to be centralized in Java and only accessible to the noble class or the aristocracy (Niel, 1984, p. 84). After the establishment of Budi Utomo, the ideology of nationalism spread through the Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI) movement on October 25, 1908, founded by Noto Soeroto, Hosein Djajadiningrat, and Indonesian students in the Netherlands. The ideology of nationalism gained strength when radical ideas about the importance of independence emerged among the cadres of the Indische Partij (IP). The Indische Partij (IP) was established in 1912 through the efforts of three figures: Cipto Mangunkusumo, Suwardi Suryaningrat, and Douwes Dekker. Through the Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI) and IP, the ideology of nationalism took root and spread, especially among the elites of the national movement (Ahmadin, 2017, p. 17; Wiharyanto, 2015, p. 2).

As an implementation of nationalism ideology in politics, the nationalist group led by Sukarno formed the Indonesian National Party (PNI) on July 4, 1927. After the establishment of the PNI, Sukarno, along with other nationalist groups, radicalized their resistance against the Dutch East Indies government, although he was eventually imprisoned on charges of sedition (Suryanegara, 2015, p. 517). However, through the PNI, Sukarno successfully organized the political strength of the nationalist movement towards Indonesian independence (Latif, 2018, p. 212). According to Sukarno, nationalism ideology served as the foundation for the nation's struggle. Only through the spirit of nationalism could a nation free itself from colonialism and grow into a prosperous society (Soekarno, 1951, p. 63).

In addition to the PNI, the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) was officially established in 1924. Historical facts indicate that the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) played a role in resisting colonialism in various regions, such as Banten in 1926, Sumatra in 1927, and other areas. Initially, the target of PKI's rebellion was against the Dutch East Indies government. However, the political stance of the PKI became increasingly uncontrollable due to its revolutionary Marxist ideology (Holdo, 2016, p. 1012) and the influence of international communist practices carried out by PKI cadres (Vey, 2017, p. 197). Moreover, communist ideology caused friction with the Islamic community. Because it views materialism as the foundation of struggle (Hongxuan, 2018, p. 340), which was seen as denying the power of God and conflicting with Islamic ideology (Anshary, 1956, p. 5).

Thus, this marks the early emergence of Islamic and nationalist ideologies in Indonesia. According to historians such as Ricklefs, Vlekke, and Robert van Niel, national consciousness began during the national movement (Niel, 1984, p. 80; Ricklefs, 2008, p. 344; Vlekke, 2018, p. 356). However, the author argues that in reality, the Muslim community had already developed a sense of nationalism long before the arrival of the national movement. From the 17th century to the late 19th century, Hajj pilgrims and ulama played a significant role in shaping a sense of national identity among the Muslim community in the Indonesian archipelago and resisting colonialism. As a result, in the early 20th century, the Islamic ideology was implemented through more concrete movements (Burhanudin, 2017, p. viii). Following the emergence of the Islamic ideology, the nationalist ideology began to show its existence, notably with the advent of the national movement era. This historical trajectory leads to the conclusion that both Islamic and nationalist ideologies play a crucial role in building national collectivity and complementing each other.

### **Historicity and Role of *Pandji Islam***

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In the early 20th century, the press played a significant role in disseminating ideologies and serving as a platform for social criticism, influencing the formation of public opinion among its readers (Akhmad, 2010, p. 4). Many figures utilized the press to express their ideas. Consequently, the press became a forum for debates on various ideologies, involving political and religious elites. Thus, the press held an important position in the social and political conditions of Indonesia (Yuliati, 2018, p. 258). *Pandji Islam* magazine was one of such influential media during the 1930s and 1940s.

*Pandji Islam* was established in 1934 and published by *Poestaka Islam*, located at Louisestraat 59 in Medan, North Sumatra. The purpose of its establishment was to serve as a model press that consistently propagated Islam (Husin, 2015, p. 8). The founding of *Pandji Islam* was closely associated with the efforts of Zainal Abidin Ahmad, the pioneer and driving force behind the magazine, to bring about Islamic renewal in the press. The mission of Islamic renewal in the press carried out by Zainal Abidin Ahmad cannot be separated from the influence of Pan-Islamism by Al-Afghani, as well as the Islamic reformism of Abduh and Rasyid Ridla (Fauziah, 2020, p. 124; Nasbi, 2019, p. 77). The Islamic renewal that emerged in the Middle East subsequently influenced various aspects of Muslim life, including the emergence of numerous magazines aimed at disseminating ideas of renewal and modernism within Islam. Examples of such magazines include *Al-Urwatul Wutsqa* (1884), *Al-Manar* (1898) (Burhanudin, 2005, p. 15), *Al-Imam* (1906), *Al-Munir* (1911), *Pembela Islam* (1929), and *Pandji Islam* (1934) (Noer, 1982, p. 42).

Zainal Abidin Ahmad was an Islamic thinker and advocate who wrote extensively on Islamic politics. He was a graduate of Sumatera Thawalib in Padang Panjang. He also attended the Gouvernements Inlandsche School and consistently excelled academically. During his education at Sumatera Thawalib, he was taught religious subjects with a modern system, which fueled his mission of renewal in analyzing Islamic teachings. Zainal Abidin Ahmad also served as a teacher at Sumatera Thawalib. However, in the 1930s, the Dutch East Indies government implemented an ordinance against clandestine schools, which included a ban on teaching for those deemed unqualified. Zainal Abidin Ahmad was affected by this regulation and was unable to resume teaching. In an effort to continue serving religion and the nation, he chose journalism as his arena of struggle. Zainal Abidin Ahmad's foray into the field of journalism began when he moved to Medan with his friend Ali Nurdin and his student Syamsudin. In Medan, he learned about journalism from one of his friends, Jamaludin Adinegoro, who worked at the *Pewarta Deli* newspaper (Fisher, 2017, p. 118).

The organizational structure of *Pandji Islam* magazine underwent several changes, particularly in the editorial board and administrative responsibilities. Initially, the editorial board of *Pandji Islam* was led by Syamsoedin Z, while the administrative responsibilities were entrusted to Qasim Ahmad. However, there were subsequent changes, with AR Hadjat taking over the editorial board and Mohammad Sain assuming the administrative responsibilities. Overall, the management structure of *Pandji Islam* can be divided into four parts. The first part is the driver, who is responsible for the overall functioning of the press. The second part is the editorial board, which oversees the daily operations and activities of the press. This includes writing, editing, and managing various sections. In addition to the driver and the editorial board, *Pandji Islam* also has a section dedicated to women's articles, known as "Barisan Puteri," led by Rohanna Djamil, the wife of Zainal Abidin Ahmad. The final part is the administrative section, which assists the editorial board in managing the sections of the magazine (Ensiklopedia Sastra Indonesia, 2021). *Pandji Islam* does not have a motto, but the magazine has a vision to inspire the spirit of Muslims to be devout in worship, productive in their work, and committed to the struggle for the establishment of Islam (Ahmad, 1939). In its early years of publication in 1934, Zainal Abidin Ahmad was

once imprisoned for being deemed to have violated journalistic regulations. During that time, *Pandji Islam* published a poem that was considered to ignite the spirit of resistance among young Muslims. This led to Zainal Abidin Ahmad being imprisoned for six months (“Pandji Islam-Redacteur Verooldeeld,” 1934).

*Pandji Islam* featured many articles that attracted attention, making it one of the eagerly awaited media outlets not only among Muslims in Sumatera but also among the wider Indonesian society. The magazine played a significant role in disseminating various issues, such as politics, religion, and literature. *First*, there were articles on politics. The theme of politics was the most dominant among the articles in *Pandji Islam* magazine. The political discussions in this magazine were based on Islamic values.

For example, there was an article written by Soekiman titled “Parlement Indonesia dan Islam” (Indonesian Parliament and Islam). This article reflected Soekiman’s thoughts on the Islamic system of governance, which he believes is based on consultation (*musyawarah*). In this context, Soekiman also cited Zakie Ali’s views from his book titled “Islam in the world.” According to Soekiman, Islam obligates its followers to strongly support the efforts of the Indonesian people in establishing a complete parliamentary system. Soekiman wrote this article with the intention of gathering the strength of the Muslim community in a *volksraad* (people’s council) and expressing his concerns about the conditions of the people at that time. Soekiman states:

“In the field of economy, to put it briefly: the people’s poverty is extremely alarming, most of the businesses and trades are not in our hands! In the social sphere, there is still a great need for schools, hospitals, and houses for the care of the poor, the orphans, and the struggling common people, among others.” (Soekiman, 1940)

In addition to articles discussing the domestic political situation, *Pandji Islam* also extensively covers the political conditions in foreign countries. For example, there are articles about nationalist and religious movements in India and Turkey. For example, Mahmud L. Latjuba wrote an article in *Pandji Islam* titled “The Political Circulation in India” (Latjuba, 1940). In his article, Mahmud describes the plight of the Muslim community in India, including their exclusion from government positions, educational setbacks, economic disparities, and political underdevelopment. He highlights the Hindu sentiment against Islam and the Hindu parties that consider the homeland as not belonging to Muslims, further marginalizing the Muslim community (Adam, 2022, p. 304; Kamil, 2013, p. 255).

*Second*, the *Pandji Islam* publication also encompasses articles discussing the teachings of Islam in accordance with the Qur’an and Hadith. The author of these religious articles is a modernist Islamic figure with a mission to renew Islam. The religious articles in *Pandji Islam* are gathered under a section called “Toentenan Agama”. Tengkoeh Muhammad Hasbie is one of the Muslim intellectual figures who frequently submitted his writings to *Pandji Islam*. One of his writings, titled “Iman dan Islam” (Faith and Islam), made its mark in several editions of *Pandji Islam* in the year 1940.

*Third*, there are articles on literature within *Pandji Islam*, including poetry, short stories, and similar works. For example, there is a short story article titled “Mengembara di Padang Tjinta” (Wandering in the Field of Love) authored by Haris Mas. Haris Mas sets the city of Padang as the backdrop for the short story, with the events taking place in 1937. Essentially, Haris Mas aims to convey a message to the readers about perseverance and faith in the face of life’s trials, as depicted by the characters in the short story. He also advises caution in choosing a life partner. In essence, the short story is a work of romance that carries religious values within it, as befitting the name of the magazine “*Pandji Islam*” indicating

that every literary work in the magazine embodies Islamic religious values (Atisah, 1999, p. 355). In 1940, this romance work received considerable criticism, particularly from Islamic figures. In response to these criticisms, *Pandji Islam* featured many articles discussing romance within Islam. One such article, written by Natsir under the pseudonym A. Muchlis, is titled “Pemandangan tentang Boekoe-Boekoe Roman” (Views on Romance Novels) (A. Moechlis, 1940a). In the article, Natsir conveys his perspective on romance novels and Muslim writers who create works of romance. He believes that these romance works will not bring negative influences because readers will only receive their implicit messages. Natsir also advises young writers to remain active in writing romance, as long as they maintain proper control to prevent deviance. He emphasizes the importance of seeking compelling messages of da’wah (Islamic outreach) to ensure that the articles published continue to contain Islamic elements.

### **Islam and Nationalism Ideologies in *Pandji Islam* Edition of 1940: An Imagination for Indonesia**

In the *Pandji Islam* magazine published in 1940, several important articles depict the imagination of the future state of Indonesia. The imagination of Indonesia stems from the thoughts of various figures, including Sukarno, Hatta, A. Hassan, Natsir, Abikusno, Sukiman, and Sirajudin Abbas. These figures discussed two main aspects: Islam and nationalism ideologies. Essentially, the discussions of these figures regarding the Islam and nationalism ideologies were efforts to find the best formulation for the Indonesian nation. Figures such as Sukarno, Hatta, Hassan, Natsir, and Abbas are intellectual figures who consistently strive to dedicate their thoughts in formulating an ideal state.

*First*, regarding the Islamic Ideology. During his exile in Ende, Sukarno felt that the Muslim community was experiencing a state of backwardness. This was due to the prevalence of conservative and dogmatic attitudes and a blind adherence to Islamic teachings. Sukarno desired a rethinking of Islamic teachings to be more rational (Soekarno, 2016, pp. 325–343). Sukarno’s perspective on the rethinking of Islam can be found in the *Pandji Islam* magazine, in an article titled “Memoedakan Pengartian Islam” (Redefining the Meaning of Islam). Here is a quote from the article:

The ideal law should be flexible, particularly in the case of Islamic laws. Islamic laws can align with all kinds of progress, and that is their wisdom. Rationalism now demands to reclaim its place in the realm of Islam. It is this rationalism that drives the movement of rethinking Islam observed in the five Islamic countries, from Egypt to India. (Soekarno, 1940a)

Based on the above quote, Sukarno views that Islam will progress if it undergoes a change, a rethinking of Islam. For Sukarno, change is one of the ways to achieve progress. However, it is important to note that Sukarno does not intend to alter the word of Allah and the sayings of the Prophet. Sukarno suggests that Muslims should engage in *ijtihad*, independent reasoning, regarding their religious beliefs. Furthermore, he criticizes the Ash’ari school of thought for combining *Al-Naql* (the Qur’an and Hadith) with *Al-Aql* (reason). In this regard, Sukarno leans towards Mu’tazilah thought, which emphasizes the use of rationality in thinking. According to Sukarno, a rational approach to Islam is a progressive perspective as it not only relies on *Al-Naql* but also involves *ijtihad* and engages with various Western philosophical ideas from notable figures such as Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates. Through these complex thoughts, Sukarno believes that Islam will achieve rapid progress. Additionally, through readings sent by A. Hassan, Sukarno feels dissatisfied with the ideas of “Kaum Muda” Islam (the Young Generation of Islam) presented by Muhammadiyah and Persis

because they still rely on traditional thinking (Karnedi, 2022, p. 134). Therefore, Sukarno hopes that the ideology of Islam can unite with other Muslim intellectuals through rational Islamic thought (Suhelmi, 2014, p. 77).

In contrast to Sukarno, A. Hassan has his own views on the ideology of Islam. A. Hassan attempts to present his thoughts in an article for the *Pandji Islam* magazine titled “Memboedakkan Pengartian Islam” (Bangil, 1940b). In this article, A. Hassan uses the pseudonym M.S. Bangil. From A. Hassan’s perspective, Islamic laws are the most ideal laws because they are clearly stated in the Qur’an and Hadith regarding prohibitions, obligations, halal, haram, makruh, mubah, and these matters are outlined in a clear and detailed manner. A. Hassan considers Sukarno’s statements as already complete. For A. Hassan, all legal matters in the world, including political affairs, are already mentioned in the Qur’an and Hadith. A. Hassan refutes Sukarno’s idea of rethinking Islam, as he believes that such notions only arise from the disagreement of “rubber-like” individuals or those who constantly review Islamic law. A. Hassan argues that the rationalism desired by Sukarno has already been achieved. He asserts that no Islamic law contradicts reason. A. Hassan emphasizes that the presence of Islamic rationalism does not automatically satisfy its followers, and he fears that new problems may arise in the future (A. Hassan, 2019, p. 143).

Supporting A. Hassan’s opinion, M. Hasbi expresses his view on Islamic ideology. In an article titled “Choetbah ‘Ieldil Adlhaa,” M. Hasbi regards Prophet Muhammad SAW as a role model for Muslims in advancing religion and establishing the Islamic state. M. Hasbi states:

“We witness with our own eyes and hear with our ears that the conditions of the ummah and the people have united on the basis of love and compassion, consolidating external and internal goals. Through this love and compassion, pure unity is realized. With the unity of the Muslim community based on love, the Prophet was able to advance the religion and establish the Islamic state in a very short time, only in 23 years.” (M. Hasbi, 1940a)

Through this statement, M. Hasbi explicitly desires the commitment of Muslims to the values instilled by Prophet Muhammad through love (*hubb*) and compassion (*rahmah*) (M. Hasbi, 1940b). Based on M. Hasbi’s perspective, the author argues that he emphasizes the importance of moral aspects in Islamic ideology. This undoubtedly aligns with A. Hassan’s emphasis on the literal interpretation of Islamic ideology through Sharia texts, contrasting with Sukarno’s rationalistic thinking. Consequently, Islamic ideology can be seen not only from the perspective of rationality but also through the moral aspects implemented by the Muslim community. Through these two aspects, Islamic ideology can play a role not only in development but also in advancing both religion and the state.

Furthermore, Sirajudin Abbas also provides his perspective on the article written by Sukarno. In his Islamic thought presented in the article titled “Dapatkah Pengertian Agama Dipermoeda?” (Can the Understanding of Religion Be Bargained?), Abbas expresses his opinion:

“Such understanding usually arises from young Muslim individuals and those sympathetic to Islam, but who are unaware of the limits and scope of their religion. This is because they only read about Islam from books written by non-Muslim Western authors, and their education is influenced by Western indoctrination. If I am not mistaken, Mr. \_ Soekarno’s intention is that we should not immediately accept those hadiths, even if they are authentic and strong, because those hadiths are also the words of the Prophet as a fallible human being.” (Abbas, 1940)

Based on the above opinions, Sirajuddin Abbas appears to bridge the gap between Sukarno and A. Hassan, providing an explanation of Sukarno's viewpoint on refining the understanding of Islam. According to Abbas, Muslims, particularly young Muslims, should continuously deepen their knowledge of Islamic law and be open to the doors of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning). This would allow the Muslim community to be dynamic and visionary. Through Abbas' perspective in *Pandji Islam*, it is evident that he takes a moderate stance, supporting Sukarno's Islamic rationalism and advocating for a comprehensive acceptance of the teachings of the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet (Karnedi, 2021, p. 19).

*Second*, Regarding nationalism. The perspectives on nationalism by various figures are closely related to how they perceive a nation, particularly the fundamental concept of the future Indonesian state. One of the significant thinkers on nationalism is Sukarno. In the *Pandji Islam* article titled "Apa Sebab Toerki Memisahkan Agama dari Staat?" (Why Did Turkey Separate Religion from the State?), Sukarno provides his viewpoint on the concept of the state. Here is a quote from the article:

"Generally, I would not say that Kamal Atatürk and his associates had a hatred towards religion, were hostile towards religion, or aimed to eradicate religion. They simply believed that religion, as it existed at this time, is a force that weakened the people and the state. They see it as a religion that deviates from the true religions of the past, which has been so dynamic for the people and the state (Soekarno, 1940b)."

Through his rationalistic thinking, Sukarno believed that religion should be separated from state affairs. According to Sukarno, religious matters should not shackle political and state affairs. He did not want religion to be the formal and legal authority governing a state. Instead, Sukarno envisioned a democratic state with nationalism as the unifying spirit of the nation, rather than being solely regulated by a particular religion. As an example of the ideal and modern state Sukarno referred to, he mentioned Turkey under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk. Sukarno believed that before Atatürk's leadership, Turkey was plagued by excessive religious fanaticism, which led to significant decline in economic and even political aspects (Soekarno, 2016, p. 403).

In contrast to Sukarno's views, A. Hassan provides a different perspective. He believes that after the emergence of figures like Kemal Atatürk, Turkey has completely transformed everything related to religion. He argues that:

"In Turkey, prior to Mustafa Kemal, there was only conservatism, with few exceptions. Since Mustafa Kemal took power, there has been a rejection of anything related to religion, to the extent that Islam in the former Caliphate country is no different from other countries where the leaders do not care about religion" (Bangil, 1940a)

From the above quote, A. Hassan asserts that Atatürk was attempting secularization (the separation of religion and state) and considers his actions to be dangerous for the Muslim community. A. Hassan firmly believes that the implementation of Islamic law is an absolute necessity as it is mandated by the Qur'an and Sunnah. Furthermore, A. Hassan believes that Atatürk and the Turkish elites only treated religion as a formality, without understanding the essence and substance of Islamic law. A. Hassan explicitly states that if there is any

regression in a country, it is the fault of the political actors (humans), not the fault of religion. Therefore, the regression that occurred in Turkey is not caused by Islam itself, but rather by its leaders' failure to fully practice Islam (Hizbullah, 2014, p. 292).

In *Pandji Islam*, Natsir also expresses his opinion on Turkey and Atatürk in an article titled "Persatoean Agama dan Negara" (The Relationship between Religion and State).

"Kemal Pasha and his associates did not have the power to liberate True Islam as they always preached, but rather their actions were driven by their own spirit and sentiments, not the spirit and sentiments of Islam. This is because their way of life does not align with the Islamic way of life, their worldview is not in accordance with Islamic teachings, and their life goals do not reflect the aspirations of Islam (A. Moechlis, 1940b)"

Based on the above opinions, it is clear that Natsir considers Atatürk to prioritize secularism rather than Islam in Turkey, as his political goals were not centered around Islamic ideology. Natsir's vision of an ideal state is one based on Islamic democracy. In this regard, Natsir takes a more compromising stance by accepting democracy as a concept for the state but with Islamic principles. Natsir believes that Islam does not fully endorse democracy as a system, as it has its shortcomings. One of the shortcomings of democracy is the potential for nepotism (Natsir, 2008, p. 298). Therefore, Natsir proposes Islamic democracy as a solution for an ideal nation in the future.

Supporting M. Natsir's viewpoint, Sukiman also presents his ideas on the ideology of nationalism and the relationship between religion and the state. In an article in *Pandji Islam* titled "Parlement Indonesia dan Islam," Sukiman states:

"Many authors and legal experts have written about theories related to state governance. In modern times, the governance system is a democratic system. The center of power is no longer in the hands of individuals but in the majority of the people." (Soekiman, 1940)

Based on this opinion, Sukiman believes that the evolving modern system worldwide is democracy. According to Sukiman, democracy is an appropriate system to replace the monarchy system, which, in practice, is detrimental to various parties and leads to a country's decline due to internal conflicts arising from the dictatorial attitude of a king or leader. In this regard, Sukiman cites Quran verse Ali Imran 3:103, which translates to "...hold firmly to the rope of Allah and do not be divided." Through this verse, Sukiman asserts that democracy can be accepted as long as it prioritizes human values and unity. Consequently, such an attitude will ultimately lead a society to progress, and the creation of a civilized state.

Additionally, Hatta also contributes his ideas on nationalism. In *Pandji Islam*, in an article titled "Kapital Sebagai Faktor Produksi" (Capital as a Factor of Production), he expresses his viewpoint. In *Pandji Islam*, in an article titled "Kapital Sebagai Faktor Produksi," he argues:

"Now let us consider the issue of capital in its role as a factor of production! In the East, people use money to a lesser extent. They naturally calculate their capital based on the tools they use for production. The better the tools, the higher the productivity. Therefore, this agricultural capital appears to be static, without significant changes in its form and type." (Hatta, 1940)

According to Hatta, Western democracy can defeat fascism and lead to independence. He also emphasizes that only with independence can society effectively regulate economic

production and achieve prosperity. Through the aforementioned opinions, Hatta seeks a middle ground by adopting an accommodating stance towards Western democracy, which is debated among Sukarno, A. Hassan, and Natsir. Hatta believes that a nation must be open to ideological and technological matters. Supporting Hatta's viewpoint, Abikoesno Tjokrosujoso also provides his opinion on democracy. According to him, democracy offers a concept for a country to form a strong parliament (Tjokrosuejoso, 1940). Subsequently, this parliament openly functions to support the interests of the conscious and aware Indonesian people, leading towards justice and the progress of a nation. It is this openness that enables a nation to be adaptive and grow into a strong entity, embodying true nationalism (Kamil, 2018).

These are the various perspectives on the ideology of Islam and nationalism presented by elites such as Sukarno, Hatta, Abikusno, A. Hassan, Natsir, Sukiman, and Abbas. We believe that the thoughts on the Islamic and nationalism ideologies by the figures presented in *Pandji Islam* were efforts to formulate an ideal state, particularly for future Indonesia. We firmly believe that Islamic and nationalism ideologies in *Pandji Islam* are not inherently contradictory or in opposition to each other. Although they may demonstrate debates, the discussions on Islamic and nationalism ideologies in *Pandji Islam* can be categorized as bargaining or intellectual dialectical exchanges (Zubaidi, 2023, p. 162). Each of the figures, whether from Islamic or nationalist backgrounds, presents their own formulations for what constitutes a good concept of a state, particularly for future Indonesia.

### Conclusions

Based on the above exposition, the conclusions drawn in this article are as follows: *First*, the emergence of the ideologies of Islam and nationalism occurred simultaneously. Islamic ideology emerged through the influence of scholars and Hajj pilgrims from the 15th to the late 19th century, with the establishment of the Islamic Association (SI) in the early 20th century representing Islamic ideology. On the other hand, the ideology of nationalism was marked by the establishment of Budi Utomo in 1908. *Second*, *Pandji Islam* magazine played a significant role in religious, literary, and especially political matters within the context of Islamic press. Through *Pandji Islam*, Muslims and the public were provided with stimuli for political empowerment and awareness. *Third*, the ideologies of Islam and nationalism in *Pandji Islam* served as the central topics of discussion for Islamic and secular-nationalist groups, as they sought to formulate the basis for their struggle and the concept of an ideal state. Nationalist-secular figures such as Sukarno and Hatta envisioned an ideal state that separates religion and state affairs, applies a democratic system, and engages in rational thinking in interpreting Islamic law. On the other hand, A. Hassan, Natsir, Abikusno, and Abbas imagined an ideal state based on the Qur'an and Hadith, implementing Islamic democracy, and adopting a literal approach to understanding Islamic law.

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# إنسانيات

مجلة جامعة إسلامية إنسانية

Vol 8, Number 1, November 2023

**Critical Discourse Analysis through Systemic Functional Linguistics  
of SMS (Short Message Service) Phishing**

*Nana Raihana Askurny, Syihabuddin, Dadang Sudana*

**Literature and Social Issues: Study of Islam, Secularism, and Humanism  
in Achdiat's Atheis Indonesian Novel**

*Sukron Kamil*

**Meditating Masculine Anxiety and (Post) Colonial Space in Lubis's  
*Harimau! Harimau!* and Patterson's *Man-Eaters of Tsavo***

*Danial Hidayatullah*

**The Analysis of Data Literacy and Data Quality: Study at Faculty of  
Administrative Science, Brawijaya University**

*Aulia Puspaning Galih, Ágnes Hajdu Barát, Nizam Zulfanuddin Bahar,  
Dessy Ervina Febriyanti*

**Two Imaginations of Indonesia: A Study on the Islamic and Nationalism  
Ideologies in *Pandji Islam Magazine*, 1940**

*Rais al-Azizi Muhyidin, Yusril Fahmi Adam*

**War on Terror's Impact on the Middle East Civilians  
in Coldplay's Orphans Song Lyrics**

*Raden Daffa Akbar Hadikusumo, Alfi Syahriyani*

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