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THE PRINCIPLE OF GOD AS STATE MORALITY: THE RELEVANCE OF ISLAMIC POLITICS MUHAMMAD IQBAL

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Abstract

Purpose: This research aims to analyze the extent to which the existence of divinity is the highest principle in a country. This is the political establishment and principle of Mohammad Iqbal in promoting the establishment of an Islamic state. Iqbal is of the view that in Islam, religious politics cannot be separated, that the state and religion are two wholes, each of which is not separate from one another.

Method: The research method used is qualitative research using a doctrinal and conceptual approach (Conceptual Approach). This research also uses the literary method by examining the literature on the thoughts of Mohammad Iqbal by tracing his works that are relevant to this paper.

Finding: This study reveals that the concept of political thought initiated by Iqbal emphasizes the strengthening of Khudi (personality, self-confidence, intuition, the world and God). By involving the principle of divinity as a fundamental moral value and identity, then in the administration of the state, of course, the differences in social groups can be accommodated.

Keywords: Divine Principle, State, Islamic Politics, Muhammad Iqbal

1. Introduction

Ideology is developed and used consensually in order to build the community's political attachment to its country.¹ Ideology is a social belief that is shared and binds a social group.² In the context of the state, the choice of ideology binds together awareness to unite and achieve common goals, with the state as its container. Reviewing the concept of Islam, the state is seen as an effort and form of human endeavour to create a good and prosperous, equal and just life through good

¹ John Levi Martin, "What is Ideology?", *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, vol. 77, no. 2 (Editora Mundos Sociais, 2015), pp. 9–31.

² Teun A Van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: Sage Publications, 1998): 37.

management and organization. This is different from the view of Mohammad Iqbal, who views the state in the Islamic concept as a state whose priority is that people can embrace their religious beliefs on the basis of fundamental principles, including freedom, brotherhood, and equality in social life.

The birth of the concept and idea of an Islamic state, according to Mohammad Iqbal, is that Iqbal focuses on the divine principle, which is owned by every human being and is internal in nature, especially for every religious community. It is this divine principle that initiates the birth of principles that have implications for universal aspects of humanity.

However, at the level of the state concept, the principle of divinity is only an abstract, broad principle and does not become the main principle in administering the state. This is what underlies Muhammad Iqbal to initiate the concept of the Islamic state of Pakistan, which is currently known. Another factor that further strengthens the concept of an Islamic state that Iqbal was born with is the historicity of Muslims and Hindus in India. Mentioned in the History of Muslims in India, especially in the 19th century, historical facts say that the British came to India at the expense of the culture and habits of Western society that were so advanced, both in the fields of science, economy and technology.³

The existence of control of social politics and government by the British over India in 1857 also resulted in changes and political constellations of the Indian state, which had implications for aspects of socio-religious life in India at that time. At first, the arrival of the British to India was only a matter of trade relations known as The East India Company, but slowly the British were able to dominate the space of the Indian government so that they were able to control India politically.⁴ It was different with the Hindus, who had a special place in the tendencies of the British government at that time, which actually received many privileges and progress in all fields and aspects of social life.

This condition then became a special concern among Indian Islamic activists and thinkers at that time, who realized that the decline of Muslims in India had gone very far and caused Muslims to be underestimated for the weaknesses they had. Muhammad Iqbal is one of the Indian Islamic thinkers in the modern era of the 19th century, who is very sad to see the differences and inequalities between Hindus and Muslims. This triggered Iqbal to intend to restore conditions and equality between Hindus and Muslims in India. According to Iqbal's view, actually, in a country that has a long social history does not justify the existence of differences in the name of belief alone, but ideally, in the sustainability of a country,

³ Akmal Hawi, "Muhammad Iqbal dan Ide-Ide Pemikiran Politiknya", *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2016), pp. 241–50.

⁴ Lukman S Thahir, *Gagasan Islam Liberal Muhammad Iqbal* (Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya, 2002): 17.

these differences are not the main factor in the raging country. Iqbal's belief in equality and equality as part of a society with a state is a fundamental aspect that must be put forward by every country.

However, over time, Muhammad Iqbal's thoughts regarding equality and equality between religious communities in a country slowly faded, especially Iqbal's intellectual journey to pursue education in the European continent which influenced Iqbal's attitude. With the return of Muhammad Iqbal in 1908 from Europe, it was seen that Iqbal had changed in terms of spiritual and ideological thinking that was so deep. This change can be seen from Iqbal's refusal to attend the Minerva Lodge meeting, which is a cosmopolitan organizational meeting consisting of Hindu and Islamic activists whose aim is to respond to the raging conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India. Muhammad Iqbal's change of thought was also seen in Iqbal's rejection of the principle of nationalism, which was originally Iqbal's goal towards national independence for Muslims in India.⁵

In this study, a qualitative research method was used, namely research that provides explanations and descriptions related to the principle of divinity as the principle of morality in the state, which is associated with Iqbal's political thoughts. In this paper, conceptual and historical approaches are used and examine the literature related to Iqbal's thoughts on the conception of the principle of divinity in the state. Sources and research data are then described and described analytically so as to be able to decipher Iqbal's concepts and theories of thought about the form of an Islamic state. The approach is based on how to process theories and concepts from various existing sources.

2. Western Hegemony in the Thoughts of Mohammad Iqbal: The Struggle of Nationalism and Socialism

2.1. Rejection of the Concept of Nationalism

The struggle between nationalism and socialism has become a separate discourse for activists, philosophers and statesmen. With the return of Muhammad Iqbal from Europe, Iqbal then entered the world of politics until Iqbal became the most important figure in the Indian Muslim League Party. Iqbal was then elected to the Punjab legislature until, in 1930, Iqbal officially became the definitive President of the Indian Muslim League. As a politician, Iqbal actually accepts the concept of nationalism in the form of an Indian National state whose people consist of Hindu and Muslim community groups.⁶

Over time, Iqbal became pessimistic about the concept of Indian nationalism. This change had a great influence on Iqbal's study experience in Europe, where

⁵ H A Mukti Ali, *Alam Pikiran Islam Modern Di India Dan Pakistan* (Bandung: Mizan, 1993):175-176.

⁶ Miss Luce and Claude Maitre, *Pengantar Ke Pemikiran Iqbal* (Terj. Djohan Effendi) (Bandung: Mizan, 1992): 13.

Iqbal observed the principle of nationalism itself. Iqbal understands that nationalism is an ideology that contains very complex materialism and atheism. In general, countries in Europe apply the principle of nationalism. Even this notion of nationalism was slowly being eliminated by Iqbal himself, with the understanding that materialism and atheism in the principles of nationalism were dangerous to the human aspect. According to Iqbal, Indian nationalism, which includes Muslims and Hindus, is a good idea but difficult to implement.⁷

The shift in Iqbal's understanding of the concept of the state is based on the long History of the Indian Muslim community, which has sufficiently reflected the imbalance between the principles of equality and equality in society. This History, clearly in Iqbal's thought, becomes legitimacy if Muslims and Hindus side by side in the political aspects of being a state, it will actually make Muslims experience a decline in all fields. Even this has strengthened Muhammad Iqbal to agree more with the idea of communalism and Islamic socialism in order to maintain the identity and goals of Muslims. Iqbal's goal was then echoed in Iqbal's mandate as President of the Muslim League in 1930. The shift in Iqbal's Islamic political thought is one form of thought struggle towards the concept and ideal form of the state, especially in the Islamic view.

Iqbal's understanding of the concept of nationalism in Islam, which has implications for Iqbal's rejection of the concept of nationalism, is also based on Iqbal's view of nationalism as concepts and ideas that are contrary to universal brotherhood. This can also be understood as Iqbal's rejection of state forms which generally contain elements and hegemony of Western doctrine. Any understanding related to countries based on Islamic society has the potential to contain elements of nationalism.⁸ According to Jhon,⁹ Iqbal views nationalism as a tool and media aimed at dividing the Islamic world and dividing Islamic unity into the separation between humans and humans, nation, religion and politics.

The depth of Iqbal's understanding of the concept of nationalism, which he observes as applied by most European countries, leads Iqbal to an understanding of nationalism which is a loose ideological concept. Iqbal did not find moral and spiritual principles in it, so the politics carried out by European countries did not accommodate aspects of honesty and moral ethics that could make humans not in the realm of peace and equality. Iqbal emphatically stated that the basis for the birth of nationalism was the materialist and atheistic elements, both of which are important for every individual through incarnation in the ideological concept of a country. From Iqbal's understanding of nationalism, this also has an impact on

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Marhaeni Saleh, *Kontribusi Pemikiran Politik Muhammad Iqbal Terhadap Pembentukan Negara Pakistan (Cet I)* (Makassar: Alauddin University Press, 2013): 7.

⁹ Jhon L Esposito, *Dinamika Kebangkitan Islam (Cet I)* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1987): 224.

aspects of democracy in the country. Democracy, as in the concept of Western model nationalism, is assessed as a manipulative concept and imposes the individualistic will of materialistic Western politicians. Western democracy, as understood by Iqbal, also rules out religious aspects and separates religion from politics so that the separation of religion from politics, according to Iqbal, has an impact on the suppression of equality and equality between humans. Furthermore, Iqbal views Western democracy only as a tool for capitalist groups to exploit the poor. So that the separation of religion from politics, according to Iqbal, has an impact on the suppression of equality and equality between humans.

Iqbal, from the perspective of democracy in the West, presents the antithesis through the idea of Islamic democracy. Democracy, in Iqbal's view, is a democracy imbued with divine values, that Islamic democracy is a principle based on human equality that has the same opportunity to develop and shape the character of the soul so as to give birth to noble human characters and formation.¹⁰ Iqbal's thoughts regarding democracy which, according to Islam, aspire to, are political goals that prioritize human freedom, but this freedom can still be limited on the basis of the interests of society. The democratic system in Islam is only possible if the people of the state are loyal and submit to God's rules and laws.¹¹

Thus, Iqbal initiated a democratic Islamic political system based on spiritualism. In his ideas, Iqbal outlines political principles which are considered to have the essence of democracy, including (Hassan).¹²

- a. Elections are the only way to realize the will of the people through democratic elections;
- b. Political sovereignty is de facto in the hands of the people.
- c. The Khalifah or Leader does not have to be the high priest of Islam. He does not represent God on earth. He is as fallible as any other Muslim and is subject to the same rules that are the authority of the Divine Law.
- d. Even though Khalifah is the head of state, he can be sued and tried in a courtroom or something like that in a judicial institution.
- e. The caliph may appoint a successor, but the nomination is invalid without confirmation or knowledge by the public.
- f. Voters have the right to demand the removal of the Khalifah, or his removal as head of state if their behaviour contravenes sharia law.

2.1. Iqbal's Review of the Concept of Socialism

¹⁰ Muhammad Iqbal and Amin Husein Nasution, *Pemikiran Politik Islam: Dari Masa Klasik Hingga Indonesia Kontemporer (Edisi Revisi)* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2013): 101.

¹¹ Rodliyah Khuza'i, *Pemikiran Politik Mohammad Iqbal* (Bandung: Bandung Islamic University, 2003): 185.

¹² Abdul Qayum Khan and Nadeem Ahmad, "A Brief Introduction to Allama Muhammad Iqbal's Political Philosophy", *Pakistan Journal of Social Research*, vol. 3, no. 4 (2021), pp. 338–44.

Iqbal's critique of the concept of nationalism in the state is different when it comes to the concept of socialism. Regarding the concept of socialism, Iqbal has a more positive view of this concept. Iqbal views the concept of socialism as a concept that can be found within Islam itself. The term socialism that is known today began to emerge and spread in the nineteenth century and received many extraordinary responses and responses because socialism was born as a form of ideas and a back reaction against the tyranny of the capitalist system.¹³

The view of Islamic socialism, according to Iqbal, is motivated by Iqbal's understanding of Islam itself, in which Iqbal does not place Islam as merely a matter of Sharia and fiqh. More than that, Iqbal reconstructs Islam as a universal element that has attachments and is interconnected with one another, between connections with broad connections. The linkages referred to are, among others, described as follows:¹⁴

- a. Islam is a faith, namely a moral system (religion) whose adherents and adherents are referred to as Muslims;
- b. Islam is a culture, namely a perspective and lifestyle that integrates Muslims as a nation or nation;
- c. Islam is an ideology, namely a political system in which Islamic values are applied in a series that forms Muslims as a living and separate political community.

In Iqbal's view, socialism has similarities with Islamic goals. Religion is defined as an ideal pattern and procedure for human life that is subject to the theological values of God. As a concept, socialism was born as a thought towards human liberation from exploitative actions, oppression and social inequality that harm humans. So that socialism is a form of ideology that aims to relieve human suffering both individually and in certain groups of people who are relatively small or do not have dominance in a state and government structure. As a concept of thought that was born in Western nations, socialism, in Iqbal's perspective, has the same mission and goals as Islam. The construction of the state under the concept of socialism emphasizes materials that prioritize guarantees of civil rights with limited freedoms through the application of laws in a juridical manner.

Islam emphasizes that individuals in society, whether in groups or not, are able to work together and compete fairly so that every human being can enjoy and get the freedom, justice and welfare that every human being craves. In his view of the idea of an Islamic state, Iqbal sees that the similarities between Islam and socialism can also be seen from the historical aspect of the human journey. Socialism, as an understanding, was born from the historical journey of Western

¹³ Aslati Aslati, "Konsep-Konsep Dasar Sisi Sosialisme Islam", *Jurnal Dakwah Ritsalah*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2015), pp. 1–14.

¹⁴ John L. Esposito, *Encyclopedia Oxford* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001): 228-229.

nations, which gave each other negative tendencies which resulted in losses in the name of humanity.

Like Western nations, Muslims at that time, especially in India, also experienced something similar by causing losses in all aspects, which caused a decline in the Islamic world in general. However, it should be understood that, in Iqbal's view, Islamic socialism is not a Western concept of socialism. The Islamic socialism that Iqbal meant is the concept of Islamic socialism that was born on the basis of the values of the Qur'an and As-Sunnah, in contrast to the concept of Western socialism, which was born out of the response and reaction of Western socialists to the inequality and disadvantages of European society at that time in the polarization of industrial development in 19th century Europe at that time. The relevance of Islamic socialism in the state is a socialist movement that is based on and controlled by Islamic identity with the implementation of religious values in the state to realize life and perfection in this world and the hereafter (Nasihin).¹⁵

Iqbal's acceptance of the concept of socialism is also strengthened by the understanding that the principles of socialism can basically be found in every religion, especially Islam. Islamic socialism is a form of awareness in the aspect of the sense of morality, namely the human relationship between individual members of society and other individuals of society in accordance with the verses of the Qur'an and As-Sunnah, while awareness of morality requires encouragement from noble aqeedah (Supreme Moral) which determined by religions and finally crystallized in Islamic aqeedah. Concretely, Iqbal's understanding of socialism is a combination of the principled conception of Western socialism combined with Islamic values and identity so that the Islamic socialism Iqbal means in the form of an Islamic state is not just a modernist socialist doctrine but rather religious socialism.

3. Pan-Islamism and Islamic Fundamentalism in the Form of an Islamic State Mohammad Iqbal

Iqbal's desire for the formation of his own state for the Muslim community does not contradict Pan-Islamism. He stated that Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but rather a league of nations that recognize the boundaries of a region and accept national differences to facilitate their relations with each other, not to limit the social horizons of its members.¹⁶ The Islamic world at that time was in political turmoil because of Western imperialism. This situation gave rise to feelings and movements of Pan-Islamism in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Iqbal not only called himself Pan-Islamism, but through his poems, he emphasized that,

¹⁵ Muhammad Amrun Aziz, "Islam, Sosialisme dan Politik Perspektif Pemikiran HOS Tjokroaminoto", *Risalah, Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Islam*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2018), pp. 1-14.

¹⁶ Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan Dalam Islam: Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Gerakan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1996): 194.

in fact, it was the idea of Pan-Islamism that he wanted to achieve. He wants a worldwide Islamic state where all Muslims live justly and prospers in one Islamic brotherhood without being limited by ethnicity, skin colour, and region.¹⁷ Islamic society like this is what he describes, which returns to the Koran and Sunnah. Because according to his belief, the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah will dynamize the Islamic movement and guarantee its victory.

In other words, the Islamic world that Iqbal dreamed of was a world ruled by ad-Din, not by Western politics, but by politics based on the Qur'an and as-Sunnah.¹⁸ Syafi'i Ma'arif has a related view on Iqbal's democracy. According to Syafi'i Ma'arif, Iqbal does not completely reject the concept of democracy. He even defended democracy as the most important aspect of Islam, which was seen as a political ideal. In Islam itself, the practice of democracy only lasted for 30 years, namely during the Rashidun Khulafaur (632-661 AD). Iqbal actually criticized Western democracy. He criticized Western democracy because this system covered up a lot of tyranny as well as being a weapon for European imperialism and capitalism.

Western equality is one of the manifestations of monotheism which functions democracy as a dry democracy from a spiritual aspect.¹⁹ Iqbal's political theory view states that there are two principles that need attention, namely (1) Allah's law is the highest, and Islam does not like individual authority, and (2) absolute equality between all members of the community. Based on this principle, Iqbal emphasized that there is no reason for Muslims to reject democracy as long as they always check and try to eliminate the weaknesses and defects of democracy. The principle is a working idea in the socio-political life of Muslims. And to realize this, a conscious and creative effort is needed by Muslims to actualize the value of monotheism at the level of space and time by re-building a socio-political order that aims to create spiritual democracy as the ultimate goal of Muslims.²⁰

3.1. Pan-Islamism: Styles and Feels in the Islamic State of Muhammad Iqbal

Iqbal's Islamic political thoughts and their influence and contribution to the political reform of Muslims in India should be noted that Iqbal was not a politician from a background. Muhammad Iqbal is closer and can be called a writer, academic and political thinker. But with his expertise in his field, Iqbal was able to be known and penetrate the international world. This was because Iqbal had high sensitivity

¹⁷ Mohammad Rizqillah Masykur, "Pembaharuan Islam Di Asia Selatan Pemikiran Muhammad Iqbal," *Jurnal Al-Makrifat* 3, no. 1 (2018): 9.

¹⁸ Muhammad Iqbal, *Pembangunan Kembali Alam Pikiran Islam (Penerjemah: Osman Raiiby)* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1966): 22-23.

¹⁹ Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Studi Tentang Percaturan Dalam Konstituante Islam Dan Masalah Kenegaraan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985): 46-47.

²⁰ Ibid, 47.

and attention to state politics in India at that time.²¹ Iqbal's political journey is inseparable from the historicity of the Islamic movement in the world. Iqbal is one of the young figures who witnessed the movement of Islamic groups where at that time, from the 18th to 1924. Turmoil in the Islamic world occurred with the dismissal of Caliph Abdul Majid by the Turkish National Assembly by abolishing the caliphate system. Until now, this event is considered the beginning of the rise of the Wahhabism group with the rebellion of the Islamic world against political hegemony and the European nation's spiritual struggles. This is what, in the historical course of the Islamic movement, became the forerunner of the ideology of Pan-Islamism. At the same time, the reformer figure of the Islamic movement Jamaluddin Al-Afghani was born by initiating the Pan-Islamism movement, which aimed to unite Islamic groups in order to erase the political and religious determination of the Western nation, which at that time was considered capable of destroying generations of Muslims. Some experts also consider that Iqbal is a continuation of the struggle of Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, which is also closely related to the unification of the spirit of Islamic groups in India.

In terms, Pan-Islamism was actually created by Western orientalist in the 19th century. By definition, Pan-Islamism can be understood as a unity of the same goal with a sense of solidarity among Muslims. However, the term Pan-Islamism is also considered a term for Islamic groups who have fanaticism for Islam which is capable of presenting hostility between Muslims and Christians according to the views of Westerners.²² The foundation of the movement that was born from the understanding of the Pan-Islamism movement is solely to abolish and eliminate all forms of discrimination on caste, skin colour, creed and equality, race and nation. Pan-Islamism also means Islamic universalism, namely where a government in a state, both in terms of power, governance and political position, is held by a caliph. That all Islamic groups are the unity of believers, all of whom are under the control of Allah's law, be it in the individual, group or community aspect and ideology.

In accordance with the principle of Islamic law, every Muslim is a part of the citizen who should be guaranteed and protected by the state.²³ The massive impact of the determination of the Western nation has resulted in several Islamic countries or countries with the largest Muslim majority experiencing the impact of a very worrying political, social, religious and moral ethical decline. The events of the Mughal war in India in 1857, the conquest of the Caucasus Islamic state by Russia in 1857-1864, the political turmoil of the sovereign territory in Afghanistan, Iran as a barn for global political conspiracies, to the Malay lands and Indonesia

²¹ Waheed-Uz Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore: United Publishers, 1978): 124.

²² Naimur Rahman Farooqi, "Pan-Islamism in the Nineteenth Century", *Islamic Culture Hyderabad*, vol. 57, no. 4 (1983), pp. 283-96.

²³ Gustave Edmund Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity*, vol. 248 (California: California University Press, 1962): 211.

which were occupied by western nations and the conquest of Algeria which was also occupied by the French in 1850, as well as the conquest of the Ottoman Sultan by western nations which divided the large territory into parts of the countries of Bosnia and Bulgaria were some of the events and upheavals that occurred in Islamic countries and the majority of the world's Muslims.

The ultimate goal of Pan-Islamism is a liberation movement for Islamic countries and Muslim-majority countries from massive imperialism of the West, which is based on the ideals of unity, purity and progress of Islam and humanity over diversity. Al-Afghani's view is that modern reform movements in Islam must be based on the principles of values in Islam which are sourced from the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah, believing that submitting to foreign rules is an act that is contrary to Islam itself.²⁴ This then made Iqbal move and led Iqbal to trace the contribution of Islamic politics in his thinking. This can be seen in Iqbal's writings and poetry, which express a lot of Al-Afghani's thoughts and ideas. It was Al-Afghani's Pan-Islamism idea that led Iqbal to the idea of reforming Islamic politics through the continuation of the concept of Islamic universalism.

Iqbal is of the view that rejection of Islamic brotherhood as a whole also means rejecting the application of the basic principles of value in the Koran. According to him, the main cause of the collapse of the Muslim Ummah was divisions among Muslims or the Islamic groups themselves. All of Iqbal's students agree that Muslim Universalism is at the heart of his message to the contemporary Muslim world. For example, Sinha is of the view that "Islamic 'internationalism' or Pan-Islamism, is the essence of Iqbal's poetry." Iqbal's seriousness and ideas related to Islamic reform were also expressed by Professor Arberry, which mentions that Iqbal kept thinking about the possibility of reviving the Caliphate.²⁵ Next, Professor Browne, in his review of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, explained that Iqbal's ideas were not a Western philosophy but a philosophy of Pan-Islamism, which was designed and carried out to reverse the decline of Muslims.²⁶

In History, it is said and emphasized by writer K.A Wadud that, as a Muslim thinker and intellectual in the modern era, Iqbal greatly inspired Al-Afghani's thoughts about the rise of Islamic society through Al-Afghani's Islamic political concept and his Islamic political concept through the concept of self-development (Khudi).²⁷ Through the Universality of Islam, Iqbal believes that this is closely related to the basis of faith and community. With the unification of Islamic countries through political communication and interconnectedness with each other as a whole

²⁴ Jacob M Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1990): 13-14.

²⁵ Arthur J Arberry, *Mysteries of Selflessness* (London: John Murray, 1953): 12.

²⁶ E.G. Browne, "Secrets of the Self (In a Review)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 53, no. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 140-8.

²⁷ K A Wadud, "Iqbal," *Calcutta Review* 10, no. 2 (1949): 90.

by getting rid of the existing race, ethnicity and culture, Muslims are automatically protected from slavery, stunting and all forms of negative tendencies that can make Muslims experience a decline social.

It is this belief that underlies Iqbal's belief that Muslims will have an advanced future both as ummah entities as well as societal and humanitarian identities.²⁸ Iqbal's enthusiasm for Islamic society is not just an ideal because, according to Iqbal, Islam is a simple religion because Islam only expects from its adherents the belief in the oneness of God and the implementation of the Prophet's recommendations. Belief in these principles is sufficient to eliminate all distinctions of caste, colour, creed and race and on the basis of equality and universality for Muslims. He further believes that by eliminating all differences and discrimination, Islam gives each individual a sense of security and personal power.

The philosophy of the Islamic state, according to Iqbal, is that the Ummah and Islamic Universalism have the same meaning. By uniting these things, Islam will become a powerful religion. Nationalism in Islam is not based on language unity, regional unity or economic proximity. Its basis is a simple unity that is the ummah, which was founded by the Holy Prophet (SAW), and its membership rests on a shared belief about God and His creation as well as the historicity of the nation's culture that each nation has. Muhammad Iqbal added that love for one's birthplace, to the point where it becomes an obstacle to the spread of Islam, is a foreign concept.

In an interview, Iqbal said that the term "Pan-Islamism" was invented by a French journalist "whose name I cannot remember" and that in the sense that he used the term "Pan-Islamism" existed nowhere but in his own imagination. Later the term "Pan-Islamism" came to mean a kind of intrigue, the centre of which was Constantinople. But Professor Browne of the University of Cambridge conclusively proves that 'Pan-Islamism' in Iqbal's sense is not what it was like in Constantinople or even elsewhere. Iqbal said that there was another meaning by which Jamal al-Din AL-Afghani used the term Pan-Islamism, namely Al-Afghani suggested Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey unite against European aggression. Even according to Iqbal, there is still another meaning in which the word must be used, namely, not as a political project but as a social experiment.

Iqbal further said that Islam does not recognize caste, race or skin colour. In fact, according to him, Islam is the only way of life that really solves the problem of colour, at least in the Muslim world, a modern question. European civilization, with all its achievements in science and philosophy, has not been able to solve it. This kind of 'pan-Islamism' taught by the Prophet (SAW) will live forever. In this sense, 'Pan-Islamism' is simply 'Pan-Humanism.' In Iqbal's view, in this sense, every

²⁸ Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Letters & Writings of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967): 57.

¹ Muslim is a Pan-Islamist, and rightfully so. He further said the word 'Pan' must be removed from the phrase "Pan-Islamism" because Islamism is an expression that completely covers his view of "Pan-Islamism."

So that with regard to the definition and form of Pan-Islamism in the form of an Islamic state according to Muhammad Iqbal's view, it is necessary to look again at what underlies the spirit of revival of the Islamic Ummah itself, what is the reason for the birth of this will. Pan-Islamism emerged when Muslims had the enthusiasm and will to eliminate all forms of discrimination based on discrimination of race, caste, skin colour, culture, and even faith in the name of religion. Al-Afghani's Pan-Islamism, which became the impetus for political thought in the form of an Islamic state of Iqbal, was also based on the spirit of unity between countries and the world's Muslims with the constitutionalism doctrine of Muslims who are part of the world's citizens. Which solely aims to liberate Islamic countries and Muslim-majority countries from the tendencies of imperialism and Western hegemony, which harm the Muslims themselves unilaterally. With the spirit of love between human beings, solidarity among Muslims for the ideals of unity, purity and advancement of the world's Muslims.

4. Islamic Fundamentalism: Upheaval and Controversy in the Concept of the State

The discourse on the terminology of Islamic fundamentalism among experts basically has fundamental differences. At least it is known that two major groups each have different views on the meaning of Islamic fundamentalism. John Esposito, John Voll, Mark Jurgensmeyer, Rutheven, Hossein Nasr, and Mohammad Natsir are figures who disagree with the use of the term Islamic fundamentalism by arguing that Islamic fundamentalism is a concept born from Western thought and not purely from Islamic thought.²⁹

Muhammad Iqbal was a later Islamic modernist and reformer who continued the ideas of Jamaluddin Al-Afghani in the Islamic world. In fact, some experts attribute the connection between Iqbal and Al-Maududi to Islamic modernists and revivalists. However, if examined further, the fundamental difference between the thoughts of Iqbal and Al-Mawdudi lies in a moderate attitude. Iqbal, who is referred to as an emancipator, a new Islamic energy, moderate and more progressive thinking which is, of course, heavily influenced by Western thought, is a depiction of Muhammad Iqbal, in contrast to Al-Maududi who is better known as a traditionalist, radical and more regressive Islamic figure and scholar. However, these differences cannot be interpreted as absolute things, but in terms of movement, both Iqbal and Al-Maududi were fundamentalists.

²⁹ Mhd Alfahjri Sukri, "Negara Ideal Dalam Pemikiran Fundamental Islam," *Politeia: Jurnal Pemikiran Politik Islam* 4, no. 1 (2021): 5.

Iqbal is of the view that Islam as a religion is not only seen as a mere spiritual identity but Islam is seen as a way of life that is comprehensive, comprehensive, which regulates spiritual, inner and spiritual aspects through a concrete system through the principles of belief and order in aspects of Islamic law. Both Iqbal and Al-Maududi agree that the decline of Muslims is also influenced by deviations from Islamic principles. This is based on concerns about secularism and the determination of Western nations towards Muslims. Through Islamic geopolitical, religiopolitical and social reforms with the application of the Koran as a guide for Muslims, Islam is able to uphold power under God's control. Furthermore, Western-influenced public policies and regulations concerning civil rights must be replaced through the application of Islamic law.

From the description above, it can be understood that Iqbal's Islamic fundamentalism is not placed in a technical space but in faith and theological space. The technical scope that is meant is that in an Islamic country, the role of the ulama is replaced by the assembly of the national legislative council or even places the ulama outside of their duties to interpret and provide an understanding of the implementation of Sharia. Meanwhile, according to Iqbal, Islamic fundamentalism in the theological space is a movement that aims to restore the purity of Islam to be seen as part of the world's citizens, with the view that the Qur'an is a holy book that does not come from man-made.³⁰ So Islamic fundamentalism, according to Iqbal, is not a fundamentalism that seems rigid, radical and even very negatively interpreted and politicized by the West. But Islamic fundamentalism in the concept of Iqbal's Islamic state is an inclusive state, with a moderate attitude that is balanced and in accordance with Islamic principles, by not limiting Muslims into spaces that seem to impede the progress of Muslims themselves. Therefore, according to Iqbal's doctrine, Muslims also deserve to be able to keep abreast of developments in the existing world based on avoiding the decline of Muslims in all fields. Modernization in the Islamic Ummah is only limited to worldly technical spaces that are not related or even touch into the realm of belief and theology.

Iqbal's Islamic fundamentalism can also be understood as limited to the doctrine of the movement in liberation and the formation of an Islamic state which is currently called the Islamic State of Pakistan. Islamic fundamentalism is part of the History of the establishment of an Islamic state alone and is not interpreted as the moral and ethical values of Muslims in the state. Iqbal tried to limit the scope of Islamic fundamentalism itself to the aspect of the spirit of establishment and liberation of Islam from India's political determination at that time. So that in a simple way, it can be understood that the Islamic state desired by Iqbal is an Islamic

³⁰ Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Modernisme Dan Fundamentalisme Dalam Politik Islam: Pandangan Partai Masyumi (Indonesia) Dan Parta Jama'at Islami (Pakistan)* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999): 16.

state that is still open but still adheres to Islamic principles in a concrete and consistent manner. Religion is also the basis for the life of the state and nation, which is in accordance with Islamic principles and has been carried out according to what Iqbal wanted. Even though until now Pakistan's involvement in the international space is still minimal, the spirit and firmness of the establishment and constitutionalism of Muslims in religion have been carried out.

In the basic concept of Islamic state politics, Islam categorizes regional aspects into two, including the concept of Dar al-Islam (Islamic Territory as a dichotomy of a peaceful place to live) and Dar al-Harb (Non-Muslim Territory "a place that does not belong to Muslims). The existence of a regional category dichotomy has the potential for different perceptions and views, even giving rise to interpretations, especially among Muslims, which means that when Muslims are in an area that is not the Dar al-Islam territory, Muslims have the potential to experience negative tendencies, and it is also a place for to go to war. However, this dichotomy cannot become a negative doctrine, with an interpretation of the inability of Islam to live side by side with people of other religions. Referring to the description, then departing from Iqbal's goal of establishing an Islamic state, the two concepts of territorial categories were not necessarily the foundation that brought Iqbal to a rigid and seemingly limited form of an Islamic state. Despite Iqbal's rejection of patriotism and nationalism, in the end, Iqbal was unable to separate the aspect of love for the Islamic homeland (Nationalism) itself from his concept of a state.

The existence of an ideological vacuum in the form of Iqbal's Islamic state in the aspects of statehood and nationalism is what leads to the form of Iqbal's Islamic state as if it seems inseparable from the nuances of Western doctrine and hegemony. This vacuum provides space for the existence of fundamentalist elements which become a political force in the Islamic State, which is currently known as the Islamic State of Pakistan. However, it should be understood that Iqbal, in his concept of an Islamic state, does not want a limited ideology. Iqbal wants Islam as a source of state regulations and as a guideline for state politics. Iqbal emphasizes the existence and recognition of Muslims as part of the world community who also have the right to determine their own fate and goals. Iqbal's Islamic political concept brings Islam to the closeness of the aspect of the state that must be accompanied by a soul and religion in it. The emergence of Islamic fundamentalism, which is actually a consequence of the void found between Iqbal's ideological discourse and the political reality of Muslims in India, is a reality that becomes a challenge to Iqbal's Islamic state, in which, in the future, an Islamic state according to Iqbal's concept must guarantee and avoid fundamental problems, including unity, equality, moral and social justice and minority equality. This is the

challenge facing Pakistan today if Islam is to survive as a socio-political system and not just an individualistic belief

5. Principles of God as State Morality: Political Principles of Islam

Mohammad Iqbal

In Islam, the state is considered as an important tool for religion. However, in studies and discourses on classical and modern political theories, the conception of a state is at the core of Islamic political philosophy. It should be understood that the Qur'an does not explain concretely a pattern of theory regarding state administration that is clear and obligatory to be followed and implemented by Muslims throughout the world. However, in Islam, a state is part of *ijtihad*, endeavour and *muamalah* activities, which are solely carried out and endeavoured only to achieve prosperity and prosperity in the name of humanity and religion. This is due to, among other things, first: the Qur'an is God's descriptions regarding ethical values, which in principle are ethical guidelines for how humans should behave. The Koran cannot be interpreted as a book of political science. Second, it is a fact that socio-political institutions and human organizations are always changing from time to time. Until now, the concept of the state in Islam has been interpreted as a place and territory that is useful as a place for human beings to live in which within the country applies the Al-Qur'an as a guideline for administration and so that its values and ethical instructions are upheld in a binding manner towards all social and political activities and activities. Humanity in the world and in the country in particular.

Borrowing Munawir Sjadzali's expression regarding constitutionalism from an Islamic political perspective, in the concept of Islam, apart from the aspects of life guidelines and spiritual (religion) beliefs, Islam also stipulates ethical signs related to the constitutional system or state politics. So that in becoming a state, Muslims should return to the Islamic constitutional system in the principal sense, namely applying Islamic values in managing the country. The adoption of the constitutional system by Western doctrine is not absolute and obligatory but can be a systematic comparison. However, Sjadzali's opinion regarding constitutionalism in Islam has different views, and there are even views that reject this response. This is caused by the meaning of the contextualization and textualization of the Qur'an itself. Of the various existing understandings, there are several groups that reject the opinion that Islam is a complete religion and that Islam has a constitutional system. The first group rejects the notion that Islam is a religion that only regulates the relationship between humans and the Creator. This group of views is of the opinion that Islam does not have a constitutional system, but in Islam, there are values and ethics for the life of the state. Among the prominent figures of this group

are Muhammad Husain Haikal and Muhammad Iqbal, who are called the founders of the Islamic State of Pakistan (Madjid).³¹

The second group believes that Islam only refers to the emergence of a state. The state is defined as God's will. Nothing will happen without God's will and provision. In this regard, Friederich Julius Stahl (1802-1861) argued that the state grows gradually through an evolutionary process, starting from the family, becoming a nation and then becoming a state. The country does not grow because of the gathering of forces from outside but because of development, desire and awareness from within. The country does not grow because of human will but God's will. From Julius Stahl's description and referring to the concept of an Islamic state, according to Iqbal's view, the divine aspect is the main elements that must be possessed by a state. This can be seen from the basic principle of the birth of a country, namely the existence of the same goals and ideals. The aspect of divinity is an aspect that is formally a single basic concept that stands alone without being influenced by other aspects.

These divine elements are reflected in every human being in the world as a logical consequence of humans as created beings who cannot be separated from the characteristics that characterize divine values. The idea and purpose of forming a separate state is as a forum for the struggle for Indian Muslims. More than that, the Islamic state and society are the locus where a Muslim person can be realized. The state, thus, is a necessity for the individual to regulate his power.³²

These divine values (Tawhid) are the main basis which, in Iqbal's view, is the main pillar in a country, especially a country where the majority of its people are Muslims. The value of God in Iqbal's perspective can be seen in his thoughts on Sufism as a process of purifying the soul in order to get closer to God without losing self-awareness.³³ Thus, the awareness of divinity is synergic with the self-awareness of a human being who is close to his God and practically has implications for awareness of his social environment. The divine value becomes a principle both in a personal context and collectively as a society. This principle is in accordance with Iqbal's view of religion as a basis for thinking, and religious principles are still needed in a rational corridor.³⁴ For this reason, Iqbal placed the divine value, which is the basic principle of religion, as a principle of Islamic thought, which coloured

³¹ Budhy Munawar Rachman, *Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Islam Dalam Sejarah* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1994): 588.

³² M Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934): 152.

³³ Alim Roswanto, "The Philosophical Study of Iqbal's Thought: The Mystical Experience and the Negation of The Self-Negating Quietism", *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Humaniora-UIN Walisongo Semarang, 2017), pp. 1–20.

³⁴ Muhammad Saleh Tajuddin, "Muhammad Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion and Politics: The Basic Concept of Religious Freedom", *Al-Ulum*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2014), pp. 419–32.

his way of thinking about society and the state. Spiritual is the peak of intelligence (the highest level of intelligence).³⁵ Spirituality is the pinnacle of knowledge as an extension of the soul to its perfect existential actuality.³⁶ Spiritual education is a process of actualizing all human innate potential to reach God as the Highest Reality.³⁷ Thus politics is divine with wisdom as its political basis.³⁸

Muhammad Iqbal's ideas are very attached to the characteristics of Platonic (Platonian) thought. Platonian thought departs from the thought of Plato himself, who said that "God exists in a universal form" From this expression, the thought that is called panentheism was born.³⁹ Iqbal said that the existence of God could actually be permeated by humans through their consciousness, which Iqbal calls the concept of the human ego. The ego has an important role and function, and it is he who will be able to understand God in every human ego.⁴⁰ Iqbal is of the view that the ego is a force that will lead humans to a more noble level of life until they reach the human stage. The ego in human beings is what makes humans become individuals. By strengthening their personality, humans can approach the Supreme Ego, God, with all its perfections. With the power of this ego, man will manifest God's (characteristics) in him. Furthermore, the person who has these divine qualities will be reflected outside the human being in the form of social relations.⁴¹

In addition, the individual, ego, personal or khudi is the most important part of Iqbal's philosophy. His Khudi philosophy is the basis that supports his ideas about state politics and becomes the basis for all the construction of his thoughts.⁴² The development of khudi, according to Iqbal, must be directed to approach and enhance the khudi's spiritual dignity. To achieve this goal, each individual must try

³⁵ Michal Levin, *Spiritual Intelligence: Awakening the Power of Your Spirituality and Intuition* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2000): 206.

³⁶ Abbas Kharabi, "Probing the Theory of Subjective Development in Mulla Sadra's Epistemology", *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2020), pp. 59–83.

³⁷ Babak Shamshiri, Saeed Rahimian, and Hosein Ali Tajali Ardekani, "The Study of Spiritual Education in Seyyed Hosein Nasr's works and Comparing it with Some Current Definitions", *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2020), pp. 107–26.

³⁸ Reza Adeputra Tohis, "Political Philosophy of Illumination: An Analysis of Political Dimensions in Suhrawardi's Thought", *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2022), pp. 151–63.

³⁹ M. Maftukhin, "Reposisi Konsep Ketuhanan: Tanggapan Muhammad Iqbal dan Said Nursi atas Perjumpaan Islam dan Sains", *Epistémé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2017), pp. 77–102.

⁴⁰ Syahrul Kirom, "Pemikiran Muhammad Iqbal dalam Perspektif Filsafat Ketuhanan", *Aqlania*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2022), pp. 65–84.

⁴¹ Muhammad Saleh Tajuddin, *Diskursus Negara Dan Civil Society Dalam Kontestasi Filsafat Politik Muhammad Iqbal Dan Thomas Hobbes* (Makassar: Alauddin University Press, 2013): 176.

⁴² Khwaja Ghulam Saiyidain, *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* (Lahore: Arafat Publication, 1945): 11.

and fight continuously against all forms of material forces that can hinder the development of khudi. If successful, he will get closer to God and incarnate as a perfect human (human being). This perfect man who can absorb God into his soul. Realization of the hadith of the Prophet Takhalaqu bi akhlak Allah (create in yourself morals (characteristics of God)). In order to obtain the level of perfect human beings, according to Iqbal, humans must go through three stages of education, namely obedience to the law, self-control, and the divine caliph.⁴³

According to Iqbal, an idea and community institution (State) without principles and moral spirit and spiritual aspects can have a negative impact on social life, so the concept of Western nationalism and democracy is a real form of Western thought tradition that should be avoided. Iqbal also believes that the tendency of the Western nation can lead to setbacks and deterioration of the ethical and moral aspects of humanity and the state. Iqbal, in his expression, holds the view that "Islamic democracy does not grow from expanding economic opportunities. Islam is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that all human beings have a hidden power centre that allows them to develop and then give birth to distinctive characters. Islam is very concerned about the formation of the noblest human being who has power in life."⁴⁴

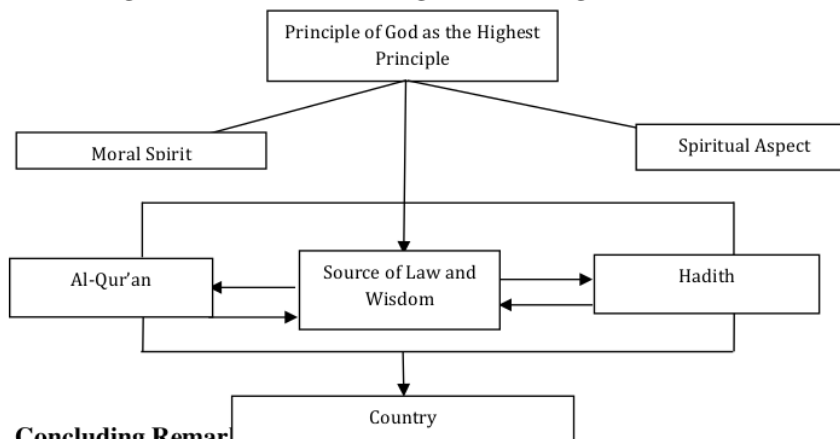
Muhammad Iqbal, through his Islamic political thought, tried to place God as the highest principle in the state through the concept of self-development, which should be the capital of every godly human being, especially Muslims in the concept of an Islamic state and becoming a citizen which is called the Khudi concept. This concept is hoped that every citizen who is a member of these Islamic groups will not only depart from the spirit of Islamic entity and identity, but far from that, that the inspiration for divine values will be able to form a moral state by departing from a moral society because it believes in God, both in fulfilling the aspects of equality, justice, togetherness, religion and up to humanity. The endpoint in Iqbal's Islamic politics through this Khudi concept is solely to avoid the concept of an Islamic state which he initiated was not rigid and locked by the restraint of Islamic symbols. Even at the level of the state form, Iqbal did not formulate what a concrete Islamic state concept would be. Iqbal was only trying to realize the spirit and goals of Muslims through the establishment of an Islamic state as a form of existence of Muslims that departs from the historicity of the long journey of Muslims in India. After the establishment of the Islamic State, which is currently known as the Islamic State of Pakistan, Iqbal fully surrendered the form of the state to his successors and Islamic thinkers after Iqbal's death.

⁴³ Asrar-i-Khudi Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self* (Terj. Bahasa Inggris Oleh R. A. Nicholson) (Lahore: Syekh Muhammad Ashraf, 1950): 42-45.

⁴⁴ Iqbal and Nasution, *Pemikiran Politik Islam: Dari Masa Klasik hingga Indonesia Kontemporer* (Edisi Revisi).

Iqbal's Islamic political concept of forming an Islamic state is also the starting point for the birth of the concept of a modern Islamic state that is open and inclusive, but the meaning of the concept of a modern Islamic state, according to Muhammad Iqbal cannot be interpreted as an inconsistency in Muhammad Iqbal's own thoughts, but rather through the concept of an Islamic state Iqbal seeks to instil Islamic values in principle, not practically, so that the basis for the concept of the emergence of an Islamic state according to Iqbal is God's will so that all forms that exist after God and the state are equality and equality between religious communities in the name of humanity. Apart from the historical aspects of the journey of Muslims in India, Iqbal emphasized that the rigidity of Muslims in the state should also be avoided. Because it can lead to the decline of Islam and the country itself. A godless state is useless, and religion without a state is also difficult to exist because the existence of a state is also able to guarantee its people practising their own religion. So that the end of Iqbal's Islamic state concept is that a state based solely on ego is also not justified, but the ego that is born accompanied by self-control through the side of characterizing divine values in establishing a country is necessary in order to avoid the euphoria of Muslims towards deifying the existence of religion in the form of a mere state, but rather the state as a tool for upholding religion on the basis of deifying God himself.

The idea of the divine principle as state morality in Muhammad Iqbal's political thought can be understood through the following chart:



6. Concluding Remarks

The shift in Iqbal's understanding of the concept of the state is based on the long History of the Indian Muslim community, which has sufficiently reflected the imbalance between the principles of equality and equality in society. Even this has strengthened Muhammad Iqbal to agree more with the idea of communalism and Islamic socialism in order to maintain the identity and goals of Muslims. Iqbal's understanding of the concept of nationalism in Islam, which has implications for

Iqbal's rejection of the concept of nationalism, is also based on Iqbal's view of nationalism as concepts and ideas that are contrary to universal brotherhood. This can also be understood as Iqbal's rejection of state forms which generally contain elements and hegemony of Western doctrine. The depth of Iqbal's understanding of the concept of nationalism, which he observed as applied by most European countries, led Iqbal to understand nationalism as an ideological concept that was separated from the moral aspects of religion.

Iqbal aspires to a state concept where in practice, there are divine values, not just practices but also how society is able to animate these divine values thoroughly and concretely. Islam is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that all human beings have a hidden power centre that allows them to develop and then give birth to distinctive characters. Muhammad Iqbal, through his Islamic political thought, tried to place God as the highest principle in the state through the concept of self-development, which should be the capital of every godly human being, especially Muslims in the concept of an Islamic state and becoming a citizen which is called the Khudi concept. The principle of divinity in the state is to place God's values and attribute divine qualities to every citizen so that true Islamic values in an Islamic state that are established through Islamic groups who wish this can become the foundation that gives birth to a strong Islamic state.

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