



Nationalism in Arabic Countries

Max Laurens Tamon

History Education Department, Faculty of Social Science and Law, Universitas Negeri Manado, Indonesia

<http://dx.doi.org/10.18415/ijmmu.v10i1.4272>

Abstract

The writing of this article aims to discover the beginning of the emergence of nationalism in the Islamic world and the influence of nationalism on the Islamic world along figure of the reformer. The method used in this study is the historical method with the following steps in writing history: (1) heuristics, (2) criticism, (3) interpretation, and (4) historiography. Based on the above, the conclusion is that the emergence of nationalism was in the 16th century in Europe. Nationalism was used as a tool of colonialism by the West to undermine the Ottoman Turkish caliphate. The phases of the development of Arab nationalism began with the arrival of Western nations in the Arab world, namely the entry of Napoleon in 1798 to Egypt with the notion of democracy, equality, and the idea of nationality. Napoleon's arrival begins to set off a series of events and ideas. These ideas, in their entirety, constitute modern Arab nationalism. The current awakening in the Arab world began with the French occupation of Egypt. Arab nationalism is a secular movement determined by several factors, namely the language, historical traditions, and the similarity of interests. So, several essential figures-initiated nationalism in Arabia, including Abdul Hamid (Sultan Abdul Hamid II) from Turkey, Al-Tahtawi from Egypt, Muhammad Rashid Rida from Syria, Abdul Rahman Kawakibi from Arab, and Gammal Abdul Nasser from Egypt.

Keywords: *Nationalism; Arabic; Islam*

Introduction

Nationalism (teachings) to love the nation and its country. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, awareness of membership in a country that potentially or achieves together is an understanding of maintaining and perpetuating that nation's identity, integrity, prosperity, and strength. Paranationalism considers the state based on some "political correctness" (political legitimacy). Derived from the theory of romanticism, namely "cultural identity," liberalism debate which considers political correctness, is sourced from the will of the people or a combination of both theories. As for the Islamic thinkers, Shaykh Taqiyuddin Annabhani Rahimahullahu explained that nationalism grew amid society when the pattern of human thought began to decline. It bond occurs when humans start to live together in a specific area and do not move from there. At that time, the instinct of self-defense played a crucial role and encouraged them to defend their country, which they lived and depended on. It is where the embryo of the emergence of the bond of nationalism is classified as the weakest bond and has the lowest value. Its

adhesive is also seen in the animal and bird worlds and is always emotional. National ties are not suitable for uniting people because the bonds are shallow and weak.

Weaknesses of the *nation-state concept* can be seen from various angles. First: nationalism as the basis of the *nation-state* is the most intellectually weak idea. Thus critique Ian Adams in his book *Political Ideology Today* (1993). That is, nationalism is based more on emotional or sentimental aspects than intellectual aspects that invite people to think clearly and rationally. For that reason, nationalism requires a lot of artificial (manufactured) things in the form of symbols to form a "national identity." For example, the national anthem, national flag, the national language, national anthems, national day commemorations, national team (sports, etc.), engineering the history of the nation's struggle, myths about the rise and birth of the country, compiling the record of the nation's work, appointing national heroes, and so on.

Nationalism emerged in the Islamic world precisely at the time of the collapse of the Ottoman Turkish Caliphate. About 14 centuries ago, a superpower state was established, which made the Islamic creed its foundation. A country that can unite people in the framework of *ukhuwah* based on *aqidah*, namely Islamic *aqeedah*. That is the Islamic Daulah (Islamic State), which Rasulullah proclaimed SAW in Medina Al-Munawarah and was then continued by the successors to the leadership relay of the head of state starting from the Khulafaur Rashidun period until it ended during the Khilafah period Ottomans on March 3, 1924, ago. Khilafah's institution in 1924 resulted in 1.57 billion Muslims living in compartmentalized conditions in the name of a *nation-state*. As a result, each Muslim does not unite with the other either in feelings, thoughts, or systems /rules.

So that the Islamic life based on *aqidah* and Islamic sharia disappears in their lives in society, at present, nationalism is considered by society as an ideology that is considered to be able to unite a sense of love for the motherland and a sense of pride in the nation-state. However, nationalism at this time divided the unity of the Muslims. It has even caused many problems, such as the Palestinian conflict, the Syrian conflict, Afghanistan, and the Rohingya. The research that will be carried out intends to reveal facts related to nationalism regarding the emergence of nationalism, in which the existence of nationalism was created to undermine the unity of Muslims worldwide (*Khilafah*). Furthermore, nationalism is one of the historical subject matters distorted so that it must be straightened out. Then it turns out that this nationalism impacts or influences the world's global conditions, creating problems in third-world countries.

Literature Review

Conceptually, Islam is a teaching that is totality, both concerning religious and state affairs. That is, it regulates all aspects of human life, both concerning worldly (secular) life or state administration as well as matters of the hereafter (religion) or religious order, and does not justify the notion of secularism and *ukhraisim* (I. Bitar, 2011). It is just that the form of the state desired by Islam is not explained in detail, either in the Qur'an or hadith, so changes in the form of government occur from time to time. As stated by Ali Abdul Raziq, a 20th-century Islamic thinker in Egypt, explained that Islamic teachings it is not ordered to form a state but require its people to realize the welfare of life and obey the rules of their leaders. It implies that Islam does not strictly regulate life as a state but requires a peaceful, secure, prosperous physical and spiritual life (Feras. 2020).

A country that is built on a solid foundation, fully supported by all its citizens, without any element of discrimination by certain groups or tribes against other tribes, with legal certainty for every citizen, will make it easier to plan and carry out the goals outlined both in the short, medium-term or length (Abdelhay, et.al., 2011). Conversely, you will always falter and disrupt national stability if you do not have a strong foundation. In Islam, if a government has been formed, then the principal obligation of the leader is to prosper his people as much as possible (*manuth bil-mashlahah*). Run democratically, and

act pretty. Certainly not left behind is the spirit of fighting to practice good deeds and forbidding evil. The above concept is the spirit of Islamic teachings regulating life's order (Müller, 2022).

Even though there is no order to establish a state, but an order for the welfare of the people for each of its adherents, the means of making it happen are also obligatory (lil wassail hukm al-maqashid). So, the order to establish a state is the same as the obligation to build a mosque, a means of implementing Friday prayers. To realize the goals of the state, every citizen must feel that they belong and try their best to achieve the goals they aspire to (Tschacher, 2017). By cultivating a sense of nationalism (nationalism), the nature of nationalism will be embedded in citizens. In general, the spirit of nationalism arises from the similarity of ethnicity, language, goals, and feelings of shared destiny. Indeed, no verses and hadiths explicitly teach the notion of nationalism (Mortaza 2021). Another reason for the weakness of the spirit of nationalism is that it will weaken the position of Muslims politically. It is based on the logic that the emergence of various independent states will lead to divisions among the people and cut their political situation. In its development, Arab nationalism encountered obstacles from multiple parties, both the colonialists and Islamic ideological figures that developed in Arabia (Myhill, 2010).

Research Methods

The historical research method is a set of systematic rules or principles for collecting historical sources effectively and for carrying out critical assessments in written form. According to Nugroho Notosusanto, the stages of historical research consist of heuristics, verification, interpretation, and writing. The first step in the history method is heuristics to find or collect historical sources in the form of traces of the past through literature studies, oral references, or through field observations, both primary and secondary. Verification, Source Criticism is a research activity to determine the validity and reliability of historical sources through external and internal criticism. External criticism is done by looking at the physical document, whether the original copy or not. External criticism is also used to see the date and year the record was made and to examine the date, year of writing, and authorship of secondary sources. Internal criticism is closely related to the issue of credibility, which is used to determine the extent to which the reference is valid.

The interpretation process is divided into two stages: analysis and synthesis. By interpreting the author's interpretation of historical facts that have been found and verified, the results of this research will thus become a historical work. Historiography is compiling facts into a chronological story after searching for sources, assessing sources, and interpreting sources which are then poured into a narrative in written form.

Result and Discussion

History of the Emergence of Nationalism in the Islamic World

Nationalism is a bond between people based on family, clan, and ethnic ties. Nationalism arises among humans when the primary thought they develop is the will to dominate. It starts with the family, in which one family member shows the power to lead all family affairs. If this has been achieved, this person will spread his leadership wings to the community, which is a form of family expansion. In this way, the families also try to gain power in the society in which they live. The next stage is competition between tribes, each wanting to dominate the other to get the privileges and prestige obtained through power (Shohat, 2016).

The nation-state, the most modern development, began appearing for the first time in the Western world in the 18th century. The presence of the nation-state was a substitute for the dynastic state, which started to fade after the French revolution and the Industrial revolution in England, Italy, Germany, and

other European countries. Nationalism is a political attitude of a society that has the same territory, culture, language, ideology, ideals, and goals, then crystallizes into nationalism. Its understanding developed and then influenced the politics of world power and broadly impacted nation-states. When nationalism entered the Islamic world, they already had universal values that were adhered to by Muslim society as a unifying element. Moslems react to this nationalism in various ways, some accept it, some a priori, and some reject it. Some Muslims argue that pure nationalism is secular European nationalism. Only this can be used as energy for socio-political change in the Islamic world. Others say that European-style nationalism is secular, ignoring religion, which causes the weakness of the Islamic world. Islam is not compatible with nationalism because they are ideologically opposed to each other. It is national-local, while Islam is universal. Some other Muslims are neutral. Nationalism must pay attention to the interests of all citizens of the nation based on *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Goalwin, 2017).

Nationalism as a product of modernity at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century in Europe is one of the ideas that have broad influence today. Almost all modern communities are bound by nationalism in the form of nation-states. It also occurs in countries in the Middle East, where the unity of religious ideology that previously dominated the Islamic world has been pushed aside by the agreement of social elements such as language, historical similarities, identity, and social solidarity, which affect the political unity of a nation. The problem is that nationalism, expected to solve various socio-political issues in the Middle East, has not produced the desired results. Nationalism cannot unite the people because that bond is based on the instinct of survival and the desire to dominate the leadership. It competition for power triggers a power struggle between people, which can be seen clearly in Islamic countries such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. In Saudi Arabia, the Saudi family has gained leadership through its power. Likewise, in Pakistan, the Bhutto family has succeeded in showing its influence through feudalism (Yolcu, 2020).

Another weakness of nationalism is that it encourages racism. It can happen if humans are allowed to compete based on their race. White people, for example, may feel superior to black people or vice versa. It leads to racial polarization and a divided society. The concept of "Islamic country" and "Islamic State" here are distinguished. An Islamic country is where most of the population is Muslim, while its regulations may not be purely Islamic. Meanwhile, an Islamic state is a country whose security is held by Muslims, and the enforced rules are strictly Islamic (Ozgur 2007).

The implication of this nation-state concept, one country consisting of many nations (multination) will be considered wrong. Likewise, one nation divided into many countries will be considered wrong. Nation-state originally grew after the Westphalia Peace Agreement (Peace of Westphalia) in 1648 as a resistance to the feudal system (monarchy) in Europe then. In this feudal system which is traditional and sacred by the Catholic Church, a community is not based on identity as a "nation" but as a dynasty led by princes who control a specific area that they have inherited. For example, 300 years before the French Revolution (1789), the Belgium area was continuously ruled by the Duke of Burgundy, King of Spain, and Emperor of Austria. After the French Revolution (1789), as well as two other revolutions in the West, namely the American Revolution (1776) and the "Glorious" Revolution in England (1688), the nation-state concept also became a determinant of the Europeo-political structure. Together with the main ideas produced during the Age of Enlightenment (17th to 19th centuries), such as democracy, liberalism, and secularism, the concept of the nation-state was eventually exported beyond its birthplace in Europe, mainly through colonialism. In the Islamic world, under the leadership of the Caliphate, The Ottomans were in a state of internal weakness at that time. The Khilafah was nicknamed the "*sick man of Europe*." Coupled with external factors in the form of Western imperialism in parts of its territory, the condition of the Caliphate worsened and finally collapsed in 1924 after its defeat in World War I (1914-1918) (Naseraddin 2020).

In such a historical context of the Khilafah, *the concept of the nation-state* was not a cure for the "*sick man of Europe*" but became a deadly poison. Imagine not because the idea of a nation-state has led

to the disorientation of identity and the disintegration and division of Muslims. Because of the idea of nationalism embodied in the concept of the nation-state, Muslims experience disorientation of identity, so they get lost in identifying themselves. Muslims from various nations, such as Turks and Arabs, who initially identified themselves as "Muslims" united by Islamic beliefs, eventually identified themselves as "Turks" and "Arabs." It is the poison that is the forerunner of the disintegration and division of the Muslim Ummah. In addition, there were external factors in the form of the conspiracy of the infidel colonialists to force the division of the Muslim community through the Sykes-Picot Agreement after World War I (1914-1918) (LI, 2011).

Influence Nationalism Against the Islamic World

Nationalism emerged in Islamic countries when European countries plotted to overthrow the Khilafah Ottomans and destroy them. The targeted countries are those that are based on the Islamic Aqeedah. The first desired countries were Arab and Turkish. These imperialist infidel countries are trying to rally some of the Arabs and Turks who could be used to carry out their heinous plans. Its activity started in France but quickly spread to other countries (Hafez, 2017).

These Europeans established secret groups, such as the Young Turks, whom the French initially assisted through their consulate. In 1908, the Young Turks staged a coup, kidnapped Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and took power. They then abolished Arabic and replaced it with Turkish. They call for the adoption of Western culture and lifestyle. They also sacrificed Turkish nationalism by forcing the people to give their allegiance solely to Turkey. Its policy was carried out to provoke provocation against other community groups. In response to this policy, the Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, and other community groups also formed their community groups secretly. However, the Young Turks only suppressed the movement of Arab society groups. The Turks boycotted the Arab training and discriminated against them in the army (Liu, 2008).

There were many groups of Arab people at that time, for example, the Arab Brotherhood, Young Arabs, and others. Initially, when these groups were founded with the help of Europeans, only non-Muslim Arabs joined. However, over time, eventually, even Muslim Arabs were also influenced by Arab nationalism. It was solely due to the discrimination these Arabs received from the Turks. When this took place throughout the Khilafah Daula, the British also involved themselves in the Arabian Peninsula. The British influenced Sharif Hussein and his son. Even the Zionists can contact them. Zionists can also affect Sharif Hussein and his son. The results of the Young Turks' political policies coupled with British influence on Sharif Hussein, the Arab Revolution occurred in 1916. It was all arranged by the British and their intelligence apparatus. Even the flag of the Arab Revolution was chosen by the British and is now used by the *Palestinians Liberation Organization (PLO)*. Intelligence agent TE. Lawrence mentions it in his book, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, as follows: "Before I reach the ground Hiajz, I firmly believe that the Arab nationalist movement will bring down the Ottoman State."

After the Arab revolution, the Caliphate and The Ottomans were destroyed. The colonial infidels were getting ready to split the Islamic state into small pieces to make it easier to control. It has all happened because of a trick in the Sykes-Picot agreement. When Sharif Hussein was involved in this agreement, he asked for help so that this matter was not discussed in front of his people. It would cause the people to leave Sharif Hussein due to his betrayal. After the destruction of Daulah Islamiyyah, more and more secular organizations were established in Arab lands. It is interesting to note that non-Muslims also founded these movements. For example, the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party (Ba'ath Party) in Iraq was founded by Michel Aflaq and Zaki al-Arsuzi. Antoun Sa'ada, an Orthodox Christian of Greek descent, founded the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. George Habash founded the Arab Nationalist Movement. All these nationalist movements maintained good relations with one the European countries, sometimes with England, sometimes with France, and so on. Until now, these movements have been heavily influenced, if not controlled, by European countries. Currently, Muslims are slowly but surely trying to get back up

from their sleep and trying to let go of the bonds of nationalism, and starting to tie themselves to Islam (Freer, & Kherfi, 2020).

Unifying nationalism and Islam can never be combined among black Americans. It has been tried to be introduced long before the founding of the Nation of Islam (NOI) by Wallace Fard Muhammad. One of the thinkers who wanted to combine these two conflicting concepts was Edward W. Blyden. In the 1850s, Blyden concocted and combined the movements of Islam, African socialism, and black Africa. Blyden once stated, "Christianity which has attempted to change African values, has had a corrupting and detrimental influence on African peoples." He saw that Islam was under the lifestyle of the African people. The aim was to establish a Negro Republic, which would work little by little to annex the Islamic community of Africa (Sen, 2020).

Factors Driving the Birth of Nationalism

The origin and growth of Arab national consciousness cannot be separated from the pre-Islamic period. The history of the Arabs in pre-Islam times is essentially a record of their unremitting struggle to maintain life through adaptation to nature and society. Language as a factor for forming and maintaining group consciousness is evident because it promotes similar feelings and an awareness that they are a group. Pre-Islamic Arabs were not a political unit but built a similar social and cultural awareness to national attention mainly due to language similarities. Poems, sayings, traditions, and stories expressed in oral literature and passed on through oral tradition greatly influenced the development of Arab nationalist consciousness.

The structure of an Arab nationality was already well developed in the two previous epochs we have considered. When Napoli's invasion door opener and a sign of the beginning of the era. Recently, Arab countries are building a national consciousness just like in Europe. Napoleon's arrival begins to set off a series of events and ideas. These ideas, in their entirety, constitute modern Arab nationalism. The current awakening in the Arab world began with the French occupation of Egypt. Before that, the Arab countries were almost entirely unaware of the rapid progress the West had experienced in the following centuries since their last encounter with the West during the Crusades. The ideas, processes, and techniques of the West that awakened the soul and the rediscovery of classical Arab works gave rise to movements and reactions in Arab countries (West Asia, as Europeans call it).

Arab Nationalism Forms

Nationalism is a feeling that exists in the loyal human soul individually and individually and a burning passion for forming a nation. Arab nationalism, in this case, is all people who speak and culture Arabic, loyal and feel Arab, and personally become Arab citizens. From a geographical point of view, the Arab countries stretch from Jabal Thursina in the north to the Indian Ocean and the Vildi river basin in the south. Furthermore, the Iranian region and the Arabian Gulf in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west. Its territory includes Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (Leoussi, & Aberbach, 2002).

These countries consider themselves Arab nations and, to rebuild the foundations of their lives after centuries of decline, have embraced Arab nationalism. Arab nationalism is a high awareness of the Arab nation to elevate the image of their government to achieve perfection in their lives for all time. Arab Nationalism is to unite Arabic-speaking nations that have cultural similarities. It stems from the idea that all nations who speak Arabic, regardless of their religion, are essentially one nation with the same culture. Hazim Zaki Nusaibah argued that Arab Nationalism aims to unite Arabic-speaking nations under a political organization. Arab nationalism is a secular movement determined by several factors, namely the language, historical traditions, and the similarity of interests. The phases of the development of Arab nationalism began with the arrival of Western nations in the Arab world, namely the entry of Napoleon in

1798 to Egypt with the notion of democracy, equality, and the idea of nationality. It opened the Arab minds of the conservative and traditional thinkers of the kings and Islamic leaders so that, inevitably, they had to try to increase the quality and strength of the Muslim Ummah again.

The Pioneers of Arab Modernism

Some characteristics of thinkers from Arab countries have been seen since the early 1800s. They are conservatives who maintain the Arabian peninsula's original nature and Islamic traditions. They even ally by maintaining Arab culture. After the 1800s, Arab thinkers began to come from areas bordering Arab countries. Of course, these thinkers have been exposed to Western cultural influences. Among them are Tahtawi from Egypt, Al-Afghani from Turkey, Farabi from Syria, and several other pioneers of Arab modernism. Apart from that, the independence of the Arab countries was also inseparable from the influence of the West, one of which was the French Revolution. Napoleon's invasion greatly influenced the modernization of Egypt in 1798. The Egyptian state was also open to Western influence, where the Mamluk government system was replaced with Western institutions (Drosos, & Kavala, 2020).

In contrast to modernization in Syria, the Ottoman regime in Syria ended in 1918. Modernization moved much faster because it had started a quarter of a century earlier. One of the pioneers of Syrian nationalism is Farabi. He stated that *"If at one-time philosophy did not participate in government, even though it was in it all other qualities to rule, then the ideal state will remain without rulers, the head of state is not a real human being, and the state will face destruction, and if there are no wise human beings like the head of state for example, surely soon the country will be destroyed."* In Turkey, reforms took place after 31 years of rule by Midhat Pasha, spearheaded by Sultan Abdul Hamit, who supported Turkish nationalists in developing a constitutional government. Freedom needs everyone to be free both to embrace religion, to correct government, and to be free from tyranny. The impact of the ideas of Arab thinkers and the enactment of a constitutional system for some circles include:

1. National political leaders are not allowed to get the experience required when it is time to carry responsibility.
2. The trusteeship government (opposition/parliament) maintains no belief in a legitimate government. Resulting in the attitude of an anti-loyalty and cooperative society
3. The attitude of the trusteeship government obscures the views of the people about the principles that were maintained before, so society does not completely
4. As long as power is still influenced by the system and dependence on colonial rule, society cannot test its ability to cultivate inner change and orderly government (democracy)

Abdul Hamid (Sultan Abdul Hamid II)

In his thesis, Deden Anjar emphasized that Sultan Abdul Hamid II was a Turkish reformer who pioneered the birth of the Young Turks movement. The Young Turks were an opposition movement that developed in the Tanzimat period of reign. The Young Turks were started in Paris by fleeing reformers and met a small group of Ottoman exiles constitutionalists, including Ahmet Riza, son of an Ottoman MP and former director of education at Bursa. Ahmed Riza was then appointed as the leader of the Young Turks group. Similar movements grow and develop in the country. Under the same name, the move staged a coup attempt in 1896. However, it was unsuccessful, resulting in many of them being arrested and sent into internal exile. The constitutional movement driven by the Young Turks in the kingdom experienced a setback causing the axis of the constitutional tendency to shift to Europe under the leadership of Ahmet Riza.

The freedom of thought, expression, and association brought about by the constitutional revolution has not only resulted in political demonstrations. The role of the nationalists in the government made the nationalists increasingly popular and gained many sympathizers. The first general election held after the restoration by Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1908 was followed by two factions from the Young

Turk movement, the liberal faction, and the nationalist faction. The victory of the nationalist faction made some of the seats in parliament occupied by the nationalists and narrowed the powers of the palace. Placing several nationalist bureaucrats in parliament proved successful in dominating the government. The nationalists managed to defeat the internal political situation of the Ottoman Empire in 1913. The policies made by the Young Turks led to secularization in the Ottoman empire. In the absence of the power and authority granted by the Parliament to the Sultan, the Sultan has indirectly handed over power entirely to the Prime Minister and the parliament he has formed. Even though the sultanate system was still in effect then, the Sultan's function was not going well and was dominated by the parliament.

Al-Tahtawi

Al-Tahtawi was born in 1801 in the Throne, a city in southern Egypt, and died in Cairo on May 27, 1873. The Egyptian state also has a figure who poured out the ideas of modernism. He was Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi. He was one of the Arab thinkers sent to France to be trained and educated. He studied the political system in France and translated the constitution of Charles X with its amendments used during Louis Philippe's reign into Arabic. He also tracked the *code of civil* French supported by the French government for translation into Arabic. Tahtawi sorts out French political traditions so that they can be accepted by his nation (for example, regarding the principle of constitutional limitations, which does not exist in Egypt, he tries to reform it using democratic principles). Tahtawi succeeded in issuing principles such as freedom of religion and the absolute right to fight against tyranny and domination. The impact was also felt because he had to deal with conservative thinkers who were the opposite (anti-Western). He was also careful that his people were not shaken.

He comes from a weak economic family. His parents' assets were included in the wealth of Egypt, which Muhammad Ali took over during his reign. In his childhood Al-Tahtawi was forced to study with help from his mother's family. When he was 16 years old, he had the opportunity to learn at Al-Azhar Cairo. After completing his studies at Al-Azhar, Al-Tahtawi taught there for 2 years, then was appointed as an army imam in 1824. Two years later, he was appointed as an imam for the students Muhammad Ali sent to Paris. During his tenure in Paris, he used his time to learn and gain as much experience as possible by reading books on history, engineering, geography, and politics by Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau Racine. He gained many impressions during his five years in Paris, outlined in a book, *Talkhish Al-Ihriz fi Talkhish Bariz*. Aside from recounting his experiences while in Paris, the book also reveals European life and the progress he saw in Paris.

While studying in France, Al Tahthawi complemented his scientific insights with various knowledge and had time to translate 12 books and treatises. Upon returning to Egypt, he was given positions as a teacher of French and various Headmaster's Offices, as well as Head of the French Law Translating Agency. The experience in France and the work experience helped shape educational insights al Tahthawi. From his experience in France, he compiled a socio-political book entitled *Tatchlisih Al Ibriz Ila Talkhis Baris*.

Al-Tahtawi, the most influential theorist of Arab nationalism, *Najiyullah* emphasized, "Patriotism is a source of progress and strength, a means to overcome the gap between Islamic and European regions." He noted that the ideas of Islam and patriotism are not contradictory. These two ideas then transformed into two forms of brotherhood: Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwah*) and brotherhood. Al-Tahtawi's thoughts regarding education seem to have two main issues that are considered essential. First, regarding universal education and women's emancipation. Universal education is education that must be given to all groups of people and given to all age levels without differentiating gender. Al-Tahtawi argues that an educated society will be easier to foster and, at the same time, be able to avoid each other from negative influences. Second, Al-Tahtawi's thoughts regarding national education. According to Al-Tahtawi, education is limited to activities that teach knowledge, forms personality, and instill patriotism (*Hubb al Wathon*).

Muhammad Rashid Rida

Muhammad Rashid bin Ali Rida bin Muhammad Shams al-Din bin Muhammad Baha al-Din bin Mulla Ali Khalifah, commonly called Rida, was a reformer pioneer from Syria. He was born in Qalamun, near Tripoli, Syria, in Jamad al -Awwal 1282/ September 1865 (Adam 1968: 177). In addition, he received his early education at Kuttab, Qalamun. In 1879, his father took him to Madrasah Wataniyyah, founded by Sheikh Husain Jisr (1845-1909). Rida explores himself with knowledge and sharp thinking so that he can exceed the abilities of his teacher. Towards the end of the 19th century AD, the islah movement took effect in Egypt, pioneered by Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh. They published al-Urwat magazine al-Wuthqa, to spread the idea of islah, which became the magazine's idea. The magazine touched Rashid Rida's feelings, causing him to want to meet Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani. Therefore, in 1893, Rashid Rida wrote a letter to Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani to become a student and join his cause. However, Rashid Rida's desire did not go smoothly because, in 1897, his hero died in a train accident.

Rashid Rida's struggle with the idea of Pan-Islamism and the institution of the caliphate is to defend and liberate Muslims from Western colonialism. The pan-Islamism championed by Rashid Rida is based on the caliphate system. It is further strengthened by the principle of Islamic brotherhood, which abolishes group ties and forms the unity of all Muslims, considering that Muslims are united under the same system of morals, education, and laws. At first, he supported the police introduced by Sultan Abdul Hamid. However, his stance changed after the Young Turks removed Sultan Abdul Hamid.

The Islamic renewal movement carried out by Muhammad Abduh is inseparable from his character and character, who love science. Gibb in Mukti Ali mentions one of his famous works, *Modern Trends in Islam*, citing Muhammad Abduh's four renewal agendas. The fourth agenda is the purification of Islam from various influences of teachings and practices that are not true. Purification or purification of Islamic teachings has received severe pressure from Muhammad Abduh regarding the emergence of *heresy* and *khurafah* into the religious life of Muslims. Muslims do not need to believe in the existence of *karama* possessed by the guardians or their ability as intermediaries (*wasilah*) to Allah. In Muhammad Abduh's view, a Muslim is obliged to abstain from acts of *Shirk*. Muhammad Abduh's reform of Islamic higher education focused on his alma mater university, Al-Azhar. Muhammad Abduh stated that the obligation to study is not only to check classic Arabic books which contain the dogmas of theology to defend Islam. However, the responsibility to research also lies in studying modern science, European history, and religion to discover the reasons for their progress. Muhammad Abduh's initial reform effort was to fight for philosophy courses to be taught at Al-Azhar. By studying philosophy, it is hoped that the extinguished spirit of Islamic intellectualism can be revived.

Muhammad Abduh, through the *Risale Al-Tawhidny*, still maintains the self-portrait of Islam. His desire to eliminate foreign elements proves that he remains convinced of the independence of Islam. Muhammad Abduh never seemed to pay attention to the anti-religious philosophical ideas that were rife in Indonesia and Europe. He was more interested in paying attention to attacks on Islam from a scientific angle. Muhammad Abduh tried to maintain the portrait of Islam by emphasizing that if the mind is used correctly. The results it achieves will automatically be in harmony with the divine truth learned through religion. Among activities in the field of education, among others, forming an educational institution called " *al -Dakwah Wal Ersyad* " in 1912 in Cairo. At first, he founded the madrasa in Constantinople, primarily asking for help from the local government. Still, he failed because there were complaints from Islamic countries, including Indonesia, about Christian missionary activities in their countries. To compensate, it is deemed necessary to establish an Islamic mission school.

Muhammad Rasyid Ridha also felt the need to implement reform ideas in education. For that, he saw the need to add to the curriculum the following subjects: theology, moral education, sociology, geography, history, economics, arithmetic, health sciences, foreign languages, and the science of

managing the household (family welfare), namely Beside fiqh, interpretation, hadith, and others that are usually given in traditional madrasas. Muhammad Abduh carried out the reformulation agenda by reopening the door of *ijtihad*. According to him, the decline of Muslims was caused by two factors, namely internal and external. Muhammad Abduh, with his reformulation, emphasized that Islam has awakened the human mind from its long sleep. The man was created in a state of being unfettered.

Abdul Rahman Kawakibi

Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi's full name is Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad Bahā'i ibn Mas'ud al-Kawakibi. His father's name is Sayid Ahmad Baha'i Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mas'ud al-Kawakibi (1244-1299 H/1829-1882 AD) was the Mufti of Antokia. He moved to Halb, a Parsi village, and married a girl from that country, resulting in the al-Kawakibi family. Ali Ibn Abi Talib's family here is named Shafiuddin al - Ardabili because he lives in the city of Ardabil, one of the cities of Azerbaijan, so he belongs to the family of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

In the fictitious Ummulal -Qura conference, a delegation from Palestine, the second session of session, stated that the backwardness of Muslims in all walks of life is the result of the decline of the political system of the ruling government. The political system was initially "democratic" in the *Khulafah* era Arrasyidin shifted to a dynastic (kingdom) method, which in its early days still respected the basic principles of religion but later became a completely absolute power, in the end, gave birth to a tyrannical government. Al-Kawakibi supports the separation of legislative and executive powers to avoid creating an oppressive government. In this case Al-Kawakibi stated that a government could fall into tyranny "if the executive power holders do not account for their duties to the legislative power holders, and the legislative power holders do not account for their work to the people, namely the people who know how to supervise and can evaluate."

Gamma Abdul Nasser

The establishment of the Egyptian state cannot be separated from the role of its founding figures, who proclaimed to promote nationalism and *ukhuwah* totally. Gamal Abdul Nasser is one of *the founding fathers* (besides Tafuik Kamil, Muhammad Ali, and Muhammad Naguib) who were determined to build the country as a heterogeneous country in terms of nation, religion, culture, and language. Among these figures, Nasser has the most significant influence in the country. Even to other countries, including Arabia, Asia to Africa. Among the figures of modern Egypt, the name that still carves the Egyptian nation is Gamal Abdel Nassr. He is well-known everywhere, domestically, and highly respected by other countries worldwide. He has rendered many services on the historical stage, such as the formation of the Republic of Egypt and the holding of the Asian-African Conference (KAA) in 1956 in Bandung, Indonesia. He with Ir. Soekarno (the first president of the Republic of Indonesia) intended to initiate peace worldwide, especially in Asia and Africa. Besides that, the establishment of countries in the Middle East and the Arab-Israel war.

In Arab countries, Nasser is known for his strict opposition to the existence of a Jewish-Israeli state in the Palestinian territories. When the Arab-Israel war occurred, he was always known to inflame the spirit of jihad for the Arabs. Even though, in the end, he suffered defeat. His persistence in opposing the Israeli occupation needs to be applauded. Because among the Arab leaders who are firmly against Israel is Nasser. Nasser's role was very charismatic among the Arabs because apart from inflaming the anti-Israel spirit, he was also famous for his monumental idea of " socialism. " of Arabic" or *isytirakiyah*. What is meant by the concept of Arab socialism is the unity of the Arab nation in one container of socialist economic order. For him, socialist economics is seen as closer to the spirit of Islamic teachings because it encourages the nature of social welfare. The Arabs widely accepted his ideas at that time because they were considered capable of helping the people from the misery caused by colonialism.

He is also well-known for initiating the idea of "Arab nationalism," namely the unity of the Arab nation in a leadership body that is free from the clutches of European countries. The idea was developed around its citizens and has reached various parts of Asia and Africa. Then arose the movement for independence in all aspects of the world from European colonialism. It proves that Nasser's presence was influential in the Middle East. Gamal Abdul Nasser was born in Alexandria on January 15, 1918, and died in 1970 due to a heart attack. Nasser came from an ordinary family. His father was a farmer and doubled as a lowly clerk at the local post office. His childhood was a lucky child compared to teenagers in general who only had a low level of education. Nasser was able to pursue higher education at the Military Academy.

Even though he came from a farming family, Nasser was able to receive education at the highest level, namely at the Military Academy. The school was not easy for grassroots people to enter at that time. Egyptian society at the time was known as a class society and always-loving society maintaining the distance between social levels and wealth. Updated by Nasser, inspired by the greatness that his predecessor has achieved. From the ancient Egyptians, such as Emperor Pharaoh (Ramesses Akbar), to Islamic rule (the Fatimid dynasty, which shocked the world). So the idea of nationalism (national spirit) is the forerunner in realizing noble ideals, namely "as a memory and realization of past glories." During the first reign of Egypt under the leadership of Muhammad Naguib, Nasser served as a military commander. After the fall of Naguib, the government was replaced by Nasser as president of the Second Republic of Egypt. There were many reforms carried out by Nasser, including defense, security, social, political, and economic issues, especially related to internal and external problems of the Egyptian state. In the economic and political fields, Nasser formed the United Arab Republic (UAR), established the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, and designed Islamic socialist economics. In 1954 Gamal took the Naguib position because he was deemed unable to cooperate. Since then, he has become the supreme leader of Egypt. At that time, a series of Egyptian modernizations were carried out, such as the indigenization of foreign and private industry, the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the construction of the Aswan dam, and changes to Egyptian law and the nationalization of education, especially starting from al-Azhar.

At the KAA in Bandung, Nasser and Soekarno intended to initiate peace in the world, especially in Asia and Africa, and to fight for countries in the Middle East. Not only that, but Nasser also started the Arab-Israeli war with the economic ideology of Islamic socialism. The doctrine of Arab socialism is the unity of the Arab nation in a socialist economic order. For him, the socialist economy is seen as closer to the spirit of Islamic teachings because it encourages the nature of social welfare. The Arabs widely accepted his ideas at that time because they were considered capable of helping the people from the misery caused by colonialism. Throughout history, Nasser's most excellent idea was to create a united Arab nation or Arab nationalism. As the author mentioned above, the nationalist movement in Egypt has been going on for a long time. However, it only became a nationalist movement after being initiated by Mustafa Kamil. So he was dubbed as the originator of the idea, even though it initially only grew into the Egyptian empire. Its royal state was considered not to have touched the general interests of the Arab community, so the Egyptian revolution arose, which turned Egypt into a republic.

It did not stop at the Egyptian territory. Local nationalism Nasser then developed this again into Arab nationalism or Pan-Arabism. In his book *Philosophy of Revolution*, Nasser explained that Arab Nationalism (Pan-Arabism) is the unity of the Arab nation in facing foreign countries and Israel in one common fate due to colonialism, religious equality, cultural equality, and language equality, namely Arabic. The Arab Union aims to unite the Arab nation in one container to face foreigners and achieve shared prosperity, elevate the status of the Arab country, and increase joint strength. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the unity of the Arab nation was fractured by European colonialism. Then in the 20th century, a new power emerged as an enemy of the Arab country, namely the establishment of an Israeli state in Palestine fully supported by America and its allies.

The unity of the Arab nation emerged from Egyptian nationalism (nationality), a feeling of shared fate as Egyptians. Nasser's idea began after the Egyptian revolution occurred on July 23, 1952, after the overthrow of the tyrannical ruler King Faruq. After overthrowing the kingdom's ruler, Nasser changed the 1956 (Egyptian Constitution) Law. Its contents were very controversial, which changed the Islamic constitution to become secular. Then he changed the Education Law, primarily by changing the Al-Azhar curriculum, the first Islamic College to include general courses at the college because there were not any. Nasser also enacted the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA), a regulation that concerns many people's lives, considering that most Egyptians are farmers. Meanwhile, most of the land there is owned by landlords. For that, he intends to limit the ownership of the landlords. One of its provisions was that landlords were limited to 200 fiddlings (209,400 m²). Nasser also nationalized foreign changes indigenous changes.

Conclusion

Nationalism and separatism have been propagated by European countries such as Britain, France, and Russia. It aims to destroy the Islamic caliphate. His success in using national sentiments and separatism in Serbia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Greece prompted him to use the same method throughout the caliphate. The influence of nationalism on the Islamic world as after the Khilafah Daula, The Ottomans were torn down, and Muslims lived in divisions. Muslim countries are divided based on nationalism in more than 50 countries.

From a geographical point of view, the Arab countries stretch from Jabal Thursina in the north to the Indian Ocean and the Vildi river basin in the south. Furthermore, the Iranian region and the Arabian Gulf in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west. Its territory includes Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (Nuseibeh, 1969: 10). Napoleon's arrival begins to set off a series of events and ideas. These ideas, in their entirety, constitute modern Arab nationalism. The current awakening in the Arab world started with the French occupation of Egypt. Arab Nationalism is to unite Arabic-speaking nations that have cultural similarities. It stems from the idea that all countries speak Arabic, regardless of their religion, in essence, are of the same government and culture. Arab nationalism is a secular movement determined by several factors, namely the language, historical traditions, and the similarity of interests. So essential figure-initiated nationalism in Arabia, including Abdul Hamid (Sultan Abdul Hamid II) from Turkey, Al-Tahtawi from Egypt, Muhammad Rashid Rida from Syria, Abdul Rahman Kawakibi from Arab, and Gammal Abdul Nasser from Egypt.

References

- Abdelhay, Ashraf; Makoni, Busi; Makoni, Sinfree; Mugaddam, Abdel Rahim (2011). The sociolinguistics of nationalism in the Sudan: the politicisation of Arabic and the Arabicisation of politics. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 12(4), 457–501. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2011.628079>.
- Drosos, Dionysis G.; Kavala, Maria (2020). Enlightenment and Prophecy: The Jews and Neo-Hellenic Nationalism. *The European Legacy*, 25(7-8), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2020.1774168>.
- Feras Alkabani; (2020). Sexuality, nationalism and the other: the Arabic literary canon between Orientalism and the Nahḍa discourse at the fin de siècle. *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 23(3), 111-139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1475262X.2021.1885133>.
- Freer, Courtney; Kherfi, Yasmine (2020). Narratives of nationalism in culture and heritage production of the Arabian Peninsula: bringing the state back in. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 56(6), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2020.1786369>.

- Goalwin, Gregory J. (2017). Understanding the exclusionary politics of early Turkish nationalism: an ethnic boundary-making approach. *Nationalities Papers*, 45(6), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1315394>.
- Hafez, Ziad (2017). The Arab National Conference (ANC) and the resurgence of Arab nationalism. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 10(3), 325–337. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17550912.2017.1349068>.
- I. BITAR, Samir (2011). Language, Identity, and Arab Nationalism: Case Study of Palestine. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 5(4), 48–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19370679.2011.12023190>.
- Leoussi, Athena S., *Aberbach, David* (2002). Hellenism and Jewish nationalism: ambivalence and its ancient roots. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(5), 755–777. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987022000000259>.
- LI, Yi (2011). Edward Said's Thoughts and Palestinian Nationalism. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 5(3), 105–120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19370679.2011.12023187>.
- Liu, Zhongmin (2008). The Relations between Nationalism and Islam in the Middle East. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 2(1), 69–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19370679.2008.12023112>.
- Mortaza Mandegar Hassani (2021): Nationalism or transnationalism? Afghan nationalism and Pan-Islamism in Seraj-ul Akhbar, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 57(5), 730-740.
- Müller, Tobias. (2022). Conscripts of secularism: nationalism, Islam and violence. *Religion, State and Society*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2022.2123691>.
- Myhill, John (2010). The Islamization of Arab Nationalism. *Critical Review*, 22(1), 19–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08913811003625463>.
- Naseraddin Alizadeh (2020): Ibrat, hasrat, or tahdid: Turkish modernity in the eyes of Iranian nationalist modernists in the Qajar-Pahlavi interregnum, *Turkish Studies*, 22(4), 558-586.
- Ozgun Donmez, Rasim (2007). Nationalism in Turkey: Political Violence and Identity. *Ethnopolitics*, 6(1), 43–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449050601161340>.
- Sen, Abdulkerim (2020). *Articulations of Islamic nationalism in the educational reform discourse of a new Turkeyâ*. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 43(2), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2020.1817859>.
- Shohat, Ella (2016). The Invention of Judeo-Arabic. *Interventions*, 19(2), 1–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2016.1218785>.
- Tschacher, Torsten (2017). From script to language: the three identities of 'Arabic-Tamil' [Tamil; language; orthography]. *South Asian History and Culture*, 9(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19472498.2017.1411052>.
- Yolcu, Furkan Halit (2020). Building a Model While Debunking Another: The Rivalry of Arab Nationalism between âAbd al-Karim Qasim and Gamal Abdel Nasser. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 26(3), 319–335. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2020.1788696>.

Copyrights

Copyright for this article is retained by the author(s), with first publication rights granted to the journal.

This is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).