

Mohammad Natsir Thought on Reactualising Religious Nationalism in Indonesia

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Abstract: Mohammad Natsir's nationalism is a significant phenomenon in the history of Indonesia that influenced the process of nation-building during the early days of independence. This journal aims to investigate the crucial role of the nationalist figure Haji Mohammad Natsir in fostering the spirit of nationalism and how his thoughts shaped the national identity of Indonesia. The research methodology employed in this journal is a qualitative approach through narrative analysis and relevant primary sources related to Natsir's role in Indonesia's struggle for independence. The sources used include speeches, writings, and Natsir's biography, as well as works by historians and researchers who have examined his significant role in the nation's history. The research findings indicate that Natsir was a visionary and influential nationalist figure in shaping Indonesia's national identity. His nationalist views emphasized unity, integrity, and national identity based on the values of Pancasila and Islam. This ideology played a key role in fostering a sense of unity and nationalism among the Indonesian populace during challenging times after independence. Additionally, the journal highlights Natsir's role in advancing national education and culture. He advocated for the development of the Indonesian language as a unifying language and promoted Indonesian arts, literature, and culture to strengthen the national identity. Natsir's nationalism played a significant role in the process of shaping Indonesia's national identity. His thoughts on unity, justice, and the noble values of Indonesia have helped guide the nation towards a strong national identity. Therefore, a deeper understanding of Natsir's role in national history provides valuable insights into how nationalist figures can shape the national identity of a nation.

Keywords: Indonesia; Mohammad Natsir; Religious Nationalism

1. Introduction

Law enforcement is aimed at enhancing order and legal certainty within society. This is achieved, among other things, by streamlining the functions, duties, and authorities of institutions responsible for upholding the law according to their respective scopes, and is based on a system of good cooperation that supports the intended goals. To ensure the effectiveness of law enforcement, it is essential to clearly delineate the roles and responsibilities of each institution involved. This includes the police, judiciary, prosecution services, and other relevant bodies, ensuring they operate within their designated boundaries and in accordance with the law. Additionally, establishing a framework for inter-agency cooperation is crucial. This framework should facilitate seamless communication and coordination between different law enforcement entities, allowing them to work together efficiently and effectively. For instance, regular inter-agency meetings, shared databases, and joint training programs can enhance mutual understanding and collaboration. Moreover, law enforcement efforts must be transparent and accountable to foster public trust and confidence.¹

Nationalism is a modern product that emerged in the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe. It is one of the most influential ideas of our time. Almost all modern communities are bound by nationalism in the form of a nation-state. This fact is also evident in the Middle Eastern countries, where the previous dominance of religious ideology in the Islamic world has been replaced by the

¹ Martijn Van Zomeren, 'Toward a Cultural Psychology of Collective Action: Just How "Core" Are the Core Motivations for Collective Action?', *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology* 13 (January 2019): e15, <https://doi.org/10.1017/prp.2019.7>.

unity of language, shared history, identity, and social cohesion that influences the political unity of a country.² The rise of Indonesian nationalism began with the establishment of the Boedi Oetomo movement in May 1908. The spirit of our nationalism continues to thrive and take root in the conscience of all segments of the nation. Here, nationalism becomes a kind of social reconstruction to integrate all elements of the nation within the framework of Indonesia's diversity. Therefore, it is not surprising that there are increasing guidelines for building a democratic, prosperous, just, and thriving nation in the wider society. This is because such a society forms the foundation for realizing the fundamental reforms needed for future competition between nations worldwide. Hence, nationalism is the key to achieving the noble aspirations of the Indonesian nation and becoming a sovereign state to a certain extent. In realizing the nation's aspirations for the future, there is a need for a deep understanding of the meaning of nationalism in the Indonesian context. The meaning of nationalism has evolved over the centuries and is not confined to its historical usage.³ Among its various uses, the most important include:

The first usage, the process of nation-building, is very common. This process itself involves a series of steps, which, in turn, encompass a more specific set of processes and are typically the subject of nationalism in narrower terms. Therefore, when considering the term "nation," it is advisable to set aside these considerations. Secondly, national awareness or emotions need to be carefully distinguished from the other three uses. While they are closely related, they do not necessarily have to coexist. For instance, individuals can have a strong sense of nationalism without engaging with national symbols, sports, or even national ideology. This complexity makes it challenging for leaders to connect with their people. It is this difficulty that prevented them from heeding Niccolò Machiavelli's call in the early 16th century to unite the people of Italy against the northern barbarians.⁴ On the one hand, the contrast between organized nationalist ideological movements and a sense of national belonging on the other allows us to clearly separate the concept of national awareness or emotions from the concept of nationalism. Even in practice, these concepts often overlap. The term nationalism will be understood by referencing one or more of the latter three uses: national ideology. It should be noted that each use assumes various measures of national perception, and these measures undoubtedly exist among nationalists themselves, if not in the broader understanding of the population. This distinction will link more active and organized sectors with the more passive and fragmented segments of the population.⁵

In response to the calls from secular nationalists to set aside religion for the sake of national unity and independence, Natsir argued that there is a difference in the goals and aspirations of freedom between Nazis and secular nationalists.⁶ According to Natsir, the freedom of Muslims is the freedom of Islam, so Islamic rules and order apply for the safety and well-being of Muslims,

² Robert J. Joustra, 'The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy' Philip S. Gorski and Samuel L. Perry, *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 176 Pp., \$21.95 Hardcover: Philip S. Gorski and Samuel L. Perry, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 176 Pp., \$21.95 Hardcover', *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 21, no. 4 (2 October 2023): 113–15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2023.2272423>.

³ Priya Chacko, 'Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy: By Christophe Jaffrelot *Princeton: Princeton University Press*, 2021, 656 Pp, \$35.00 (Hardback), ISBN: 978-0-691-20680-6', *The Journal of Development Studies* 59, no. 6 (3 June 2023): 954–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2023.2170026>.

⁴ Miles T. Armaly, David T. Buckley, and Adam M. Enders, 'Christian Nationalism and Political Violence: Victimhood, Racial Identity, Conspiracy, and Support for the Capitol Attacks', *Political Behavior* 44, no. 2 (June 2022): 937–60, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-021-09758-y>.

⁵ Samuel L. Perry and Cyrus Schleifer, 'My Country, White or Wrong: Christian Nationalism, Race, and Blind Patriotism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46, no. 7 (19 May 2023): 1249–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2113420>.

⁶ Ibi Satibi et al., 'Nation Building in Southeast Asia: Conflict, Ethno-Religious Nationalism and Islamic Education in Indonesia and Thailand', *FIKRAH* 10, no. 1 (22 June 2022): 163, <https://doi.org/10.21043/fikrah.v10i1.14588>.

especially for all creatures of God. For Muslims, this is not enough, as "as long as (the state) is not based on and regulated by Islamic national law, Muslims must continue to struggle." Although Natsir lived in the past, his thoughts on nationalism remain relevant and applicable in the context of modern Indonesia. His successors and followers of the ideology he embraced continue to strive for the same national aspirations to build a strong, sovereign, and just nation for all Indonesians.⁷

The purpose of this research is to gain a deep understanding that nationalism is an identity rooted in love for the homeland, serving as the main foundation for the unity and integrity of a nation. In the current era of globalization, which is full of various external influences and international dynamics, this research aims to emphasize the importance of nationalism so that it does not disappear or erode by the currents of globalization. This study will examine the role of nationalism in various aspects of life, including politics, economics, social, and culture, and explain how high levels of nationalism can strengthen democracy, economic independence, social solidarity, and cultural preservation. Specifically, this research will analyze the need for a multicultural country like Indonesia to have high levels of nationalism to maintain cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity united in harmony, and how this contributes to creating an inclusive, tolerant, and united society. Additionally, this research will explore effective strategies to foster and strengthen the sense of nationalism among the Indonesian people, including through educational initiatives, national holiday celebrations, and cultural programs. Thus, this research is expected to provide comprehensive insights into the importance of nationalism for Indonesia and offer practical recommendations to strengthen the sense of nationalism in facing the era of globalization.

2. Method

This research will adopt a qualitative approach with a case study design to delve into the phenomenon of "Reactualization of Religious Nationalism in Indonesia" through the study of Mohammad Natsir's thoughts. This approach is chosen to provide a holistic understanding of the ideologies and values underpinning religious nationalism. The case study will focus on Natsir's thoughts as a key representation of the reactualization of religious nationalism in Indonesia. Data will be collected through the analysis of the texts of Natsir's speeches, writings, and works, as well as historical sources such as newspaper archives and documents. Additionally, in-depth interviews with historians, scholars, and community leaders who have a profound understanding of Natsir's thoughts and the context of religious nationalism in Indonesia will be conducted. Data analysis will employ content analysis to identify patterns, themes, and key concepts related to the reactualization of religious nationalism. The research emphasizes the continuity of validity and reliability in data, adhering to ethical research principles. It is expected that this study will make a significant contribution to the understanding of religious nationalism in Indonesia, particularly through the lens of Mohammad Natsir's thoughts, and shed light on the role of religion in shaping national identity in Indonesia.

3. Analysis or Discussion

3.1. The Understanding of Indonesian Nationalism

Nationalism originates from the word "Nation," which means a nation. The term "nation" has two meanings, namely in anthropology and sociology, and in politics. From the perspective of anthropology and sociology, a country is an independent community, and each member of such a community in a country can be a minority group. However, a country can have several coexisting "nations" in the anthropological sense, and the members of a country can also be scattered across several nations. Nationalism is the understanding of upholding and preserving the sovereignty of a

⁷ Ilman Nafi'a et al., 'Mitigating Radicalism amongst Islamic College Students in Indonesia through Religious Nationalism', *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 78, no. 4 (8 July 2022), <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7547>.

nation by realizing a shared identity concept for a group of people. Nationalism has cultivated the awareness of the nation's children, making it a truly independent country. This expectation is to shape public awareness against all forms of colonization, oppression, exploitation, and domination. As mentalities begin to decline, the interconnectedness of nationalism in society increases. This connection occurs when people start living together in a specific region and do not move away. At that time, it is crucial to maintain their instincts and encourage them to defend their country, life, and survival.⁸ Nationalism is manifested in various attitudes and behaviors, as quoted below

According Soekarno The true nationalist's love for the homeland comes from their understanding of the world's economic structure and history, not just from pure national pride. Non-chauvinistic nationalists cannot help but reject all narrow concepts excluding global nationalism. For true nationalists, their nationalism is not just an imitation or imitation of Western nationalism but also stems from their love for humanity and mankind. According Agus Salim Therefore, as in everything that involves our world, in the love for the homeland, we must also demonstrate higher aspirations for all things and forms in the world, namely noble ideals of rights, justice, and virtue, and its boundaries and measures are determined by Allah SWT." According Mohammad Natsir "In the years before Indonesian nationalism was adopted, various organizations (such as Budi Utomo, Pasundan, Chung Sumatra Bond, etc.) limited their members to their respective ethnic groups, and these movements have long been. Since then, all are based on the movement of Allah ... having a relationship with "Indonesian citizenship" ... (the bond mentioned by Renan, whose ideals are firm and unwavering) ... At that time, PSI and Muhammadiyah already had tens of thousands of members and branches across Indonesia. According Sartono Kartodirjo Nationalism is a collection of identities or Muhammad Yamin said Nationalism is a group of people united by common destiny and consensus, language equality, and legal equality (customary law and culture)." According Mohammad Hatta "... Indonesia sank to the bottom of the sea then became an appendage of another country..."⁹

The essence of Indonesian nationalism, as elucidated by these figures, transcends narrow confines and adopts a comprehensive outlook rooted in a profound comprehension of history, economic structures, universal values, and divine principles. It is distinguished by a dedication to shared destiny, consensus, language equality, and legal equality. The overarching emphasis lies in the preservation of independence and the avoidance of external subjugation. This holistic perspective on nationalism reflects a collective commitment to the well-being and sovereignty of the nation, acknowledging the interconnectedness of historical awareness, economic understanding, and universal principles in shaping a robust and enduring national identity.¹⁰

3.2. History of Nationalism in Indonesia

Nationalism that developed in Indonesia differs from the nationalism that emerged in Europe two centuries ago. At that time, there was a massive transformation from agrarian societies to industrial societies, giving rise to the middle and upper classes who developed nationalism. Indonesian nationalism and Asian nationalism, in general, are responses to colonialism. In the early part of this century, modern Indonesian nationalism was still evolving, and the term Islam served as a unifying factor for Indonesians not only in dealing with the Dutch but also with the Chinese. Recall the establishment of Sarekat Dagang Islam (1911, later known as Sarekat Islam), initially aimed at opposing the Chinese in Solo. Therefore, notable organizations include Budi Utomo (1908) and Indische Partij (Indian Party, 1913). Among those who were religiously neutral (although Muslims), they opposed Islamic leadership. Alimin (d. 1964) from Sarekat Islam in 1916 urged the

⁸ Ria Hayati and Tommy Christomy, 'Sketching Nationalism in Indonesia: Between Teachers and Batik Sasambo', *INContext: Studies in Translation and Interculturalism* 2, no. 3 (23 December 2022), <https://doi.org/10.54754/incontext.v2i3.30>.

⁹ Eve Warburton, *Resource Nationalism in Indonesia: Booms, Big Business, and the State* (Cornell University Press, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1353/book.109946>.

¹⁰ Elyta Elyta and A Razak, 'THE ROLE OF WEAVERS WOMAN IN STRENGTHENING NATIONALISM Case Study in Sajingan Besar Frontier, Indonesia', *Sosiohumaniora* 21, no. 1 (1 April 2019): 40, <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v21i1.19285>.

organization to transform into Sarekat Idjo (thus defending SI), which did not use Islam as its foundation, goal, or element. The Indonesian National Party (1901-1970) under Sukarno's leadership continued to challenge in the 1930s. Consequently, conflicts arose within the Muslim community, initially with communists (who were still Muslim), and later with religion-neutral nationalists (mostly Muslims).¹¹

While communists were generally anti-religion, then anti-Islam, religion-neutral nationalist groups sought to confine religion to one domain and portray Islam as "backward" due to practices like polygamy. This group often idealized the Hindu era in Indonesia, mentioning Gokhale, Tilak, and Tagore in India, even comparing Mecca to Digul. The former was an exile movement during the Dutch colonial era, and the latter is a sacred city for Muslims. In this comparison, it also highlighted the significant amount of money spent on the pilgrimage (Haji). As for the communists, they emphasized the cruelty of capitalists to the poor, sometimes comparing capitalist doctrines with wealthy Muslims attempting to use capitalist tools, i.e., foreign company ships, to go to Mecca. Sukarno's idea of unifying nationalism, Islam, and Marxism in 1926 reflected these perspectives. Challenged by these ideas, they were initially challenged by the West itself, which dominated the Muslim world. The West practiced religion worldwide and defended itself and its religion by studying Islamic teachings, thus clearly explaining the application of Islam in Islamic teachings, including the modern era. In the 1910s, Haji Agus Salim (1884-1954) and to some extent Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto (1882-1934) based on the rejection of Islam also presented their ideas, thus rejecting religiously neutral nationalists and communists. Islam was considered outdated.¹²

There are four regions that seem unrelated, especially in the early years of their development, which can be said to be the birthplace of the modern Islamic movement. These areas are Minangkabau, pioneered by Haji Abdullah Ahmad (1878-1933), Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (1879-1945), and Syekh Muhammad Djamil Djambek (1860-1947) as pioneers. Jakarta, initially organized by Jamiat Khair and later by Al-Irsyad, limited modern movements only to people of Arab descent. The Yogyakarta and Surakarta Sultanates were established by Kiai Haji Ahmad Dahlan (1869-1923), and Sarekat Dagang Islam (1911; later Sarekat Islam 1912) by Kiai Haji Samanhudi (1868-1956) (1912); and the Priangan region, although slower than other regions, Ahmad Hassan (1887-1957) was a leading figure. Regarding the Arab descent community, some explanations are needed. Although they easily assimilated into Indonesian indigenous society due to a similar background, especially since their mothers usually came from Indonesia, some still felt the need to form a specific party in 1934, the Indonesian Arab Party. The party, emphasized by A.R. Baswedan (1908-1986), asserted that Indonesia is their homeland.¹³

3.3. Exploring Diverse Faces of Nationalism

Nationalism manifests in various forms around the world, each type emphasizing different aspects of identity and legitimacy. Civic nationalism, first established by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his writings such as "Du Contract Social" (The Social Contract), occurs when a state gains political legitimacy through the active participation of its people, with membership in the nation being voluntary. Ethnic nationalism, or ethnonationalism, is based on the culture or primitive race of the society, with membership being hereditary. For example, Joko is Javanese because his parents and ancestors are from the Javanese ethnic group, and he speaks the Javanese language passed down through generations. Romantic nationalism focuses on national culture according to

¹¹ Merlyna Lim, 'Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algorithmic Enclaves, and the Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia', *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (3 July 2017): 411-27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>.

¹² Febri Choiru Rozikin, 'Historical Meme As a Solution to Improve Generation Z Nationalism in Indonesia', *HISTORIA: Jurnal Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah* 9, no. 2 (29 August 2021): 151, <https://doi.org/10.24127/hj.v9i2.3823>.

¹³ Rabith Jihan Amaruli, Singgih Tri Sulistiyono, and Dewi Yulianti, 'Preserving Memory, Campaigning Nationalism: The Haul of Habib Hasan Bin Thaha and the Remaking of the Hadhrami-Arab Identity in Indonesia', *Cogent Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (31 December 2022): 2125145, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2125145>.

romantic idealism, where political legitimacy is intertwined with the expression of a shared national or racial identity. An example is the folklore "Grim Basodala," which is related to Germany and reflects this type of nationalism.

Cultural nationalism derives political legitimacy from a shared culture rather than hereditary traits like skin color, taste, or language. For instance, the Chinese belief in a nation based on common culture, excluding racial factors, and the Qing Dynasty's adoption of Chinese customs highlight this form of nationalism. State nationalism combines citizen and racial nationalism, viewing the nation as a community that contributes to the preservation and strength of the state. An example is Italian Fascism, exemplified by Mussolini's slogans: "Tutto nello stato, niente al di fuori dello stato, niente contro lo stato" (everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state), which contradicts the ideals of individual freedom and liberal democracy. Lastly, religious nationalism gains political legitimacy through shared religious commonality. For instance, the nationalist spirit of Ireland rooted in Hinduism demonstrates this, although religion often serves as a symbol rather than the main motivation for most nationalist groups.

These various types of nationalism reflect the diverse ways nations derive political legitimacy and foster a sense of identity among their populations. Civic nationalism emphasizes active citizen participation, while ethnic nationalism focuses on cultural or hereditary ties. Romantic nationalism intertwines political legitimacy with a shared national or racial identity, and cultural nationalism draws on common cultural elements. State nationalism sees the nation as contributing to the state's strength, and religious nationalism finds legitimacy in shared religious affiliations. Each type of nationalism embodies distinct principles, shaping the narratives and ideologies that influence nations and their people.¹⁴

3.4. Concept of Nationalism by Mohammad Natsir

Mohammad Natsir was one of the most prominent Islamic reformists of his time. He is widely regarded as a true Islamic reformer because, in carrying out his Islamic reforms, Natsir did not fall into the kind of thinking that typically "betrayed" Islamic thought and morality. Nevertheless, Natsir was still able to lay the foundation for new ideas very delicately, even quite liberally. For example, when organizing the state, Natsir tended to provide methods that were free and open. For him, Muslims could emulate the governance systems of other countries, such as England, Finland, Japan, or even Russia, as long as those systems could achieve the goals desired by Islam—namely, achieving justice and prosperity for the people.¹⁵

Regarding pan-Islamism, the Dutch government's opinion had already reached a very high level. Because, indeed, the "danger" today no longer means "danger." It could be said that the ideals of the Caliphate no longer exist in the hearts of today's Muslims. The recent International Congress held in Mecca, the realm of Ibn Saud, about 13 years ago (1926), caused some concern. But in reality, at that time, for Ibn Saud or the representatives of the people participating in the congress, there were no such aspirations; they wanted to establish a caliphate with Ibn Saud as the caliph. Additionally, the actual Palestinian parliament strengthened unity among Muslims but lacked political interests in purifying the hearts of colonial states.¹⁶ The opening of the Tokyo Mosque did attract Muslim representatives from around the world, but the spirit of pan-Islamism was still far from prevalent. Recently, there has been strong propaganda that King Farouk would be appointed as the Caliph. But outside of Egypt, does the voice of the Muslim community indicate the spread of pan-Islamism? Palestinian Muslims continue to work hard to face their Jewish counterparts. Muslims in Indonesia also gather small amounts of money for drug rehabilitation, pray for the

¹⁴ Israpil Israpil and Suardi Suardi, 'The Innovation and Creativity of Religious Moderation Learning Through Sociology Learning and Pancasila and Citizenship Education in Public Schools and Madrasas Gorontalo City', *JED (Jurnal Etika Demokrasi)* 6, no. 2 (30 June 2021): 232–42, <https://doi.org/10.26618/jed.v6i2.5527>.

¹⁵ Rizky Aulia and Retanisa Rizqi, 'PEMIKIRAN AGAMA DAN NEGARA MOHAMMAD NATSIR', *Siyasah Jurnal Hukum Tatanegara* 2, no. 1 (23 June 2022): 1, <https://doi.org/10.32332/siyasah.v2i1.5113>.

¹⁶ Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Shahram Akbarzadeh, 'Pakistan, Pan-Islamism, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation', *Religions* 14, no. 3 (21 February 2023): 289, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14030289>.

people of Palestine, and busy themselves with implementing marriage laws. The current signs of Islamic revival are starting to appear.¹⁷

Mohammad Natsir argued that regrets of this kind are not appropriate. If we pay attention, we can see how the government is described as being completely neglectful in the current situation. There are factors that avoid such dangers (in Islam), namely the constant connections between various regions of the Islamic world, especially between the countries bordering Central Asia, the Middle East, and Egypt. One of the most effective ways to enhance these connections is pilgrimage, which is a mandatory command for every capable Muslim, at least once in their lifetime. By analogy, we can see that the obligation of Hajj still occurs once in a lifetime and still contains ancient magic. With this analogy, we can understand that the duty of Hajj, a mandatory rule for every capable Muslim, still occurs once in a lifetime.¹⁸

Therefore, we can understand that the Hajj duty still contains ancient magic as a means of restoring religious souls and strengthening the unity of the entire Muslim community. In the current situation, where Muslims do not maintain and uphold the "last fortress, the fortress of worship," abandoning this defense fortress means the release of the last fortress of Islam. At that time, the door will be open to those who leave the party and will attack from all sides. According to Natsir, love for the homeland has become a human trait. Mohammad Natsir said that he loves his homeland. Even if one's birthplace is good or not, it has become human nature to love both the land of birth and the people born there. Natsir expressed his love for the beauty of his homeland, like an Indonesian, not out of love but a sense of comfort. There is nothing wrong with loving and appreciating the beauty of the country itself. In Islam, loving fellow citizens, waging a holy war, and sacrificing to improve the fate of the weak and poor are the most important commands to warn the Muslim community.¹⁹

Muhammad Natsir is also known as a significant politician in the history of the Indonesian nation. Natsir devoted his entire life to the Indonesian nation and Islam. His efforts in identifying the national journey of Indonesia and Natsir's progress in the Islamic world make him a respected scholar and nationalist. Muhammad Natsir struggled within the Indonesian nation and the Indonesian Muslim community, establishing him as a modern Islamic thinker who laid the foundation for Indonesian Islamic thought. Muhammad Natsir's love for the Indonesian nation made him a figure who fought for the independence of Indonesia through his overall actions. His indigenous movement succeeded in reunifying Indonesia, which had previously been divided into 17 states in the republic.²⁰

Natsir stated that it was our duty to defend our homeland in the name of the colonized because the Indonesian people were willing to sacrifice to protect their homeland and achieve future independence. He believed that nationalism, fueled by indigenous spirit, was flourishing, a result of the oppression of colonialism, and the Indonesian people gained a specific spirit from it. The enthusiasm of the Indonesian people is inseparable from the growing love for their land. From a natural perspective, love for one's homeland is the core of the developing nationalist consciousness in the human soul. Natsir believed that diversity does not necessarily lead to rejection of nationalism, as thought in modern Western societies. However, natural nationalism differs from Western nationalism. According to Nazir, in Western nationalism, one country can only fight for itself, and even for the spirit of nationalism, one country can seize another. Western

¹⁷ Scheherazade S. Rehman and Hossein Askari, 'How Islamic Are Islamic Countries?', *Global Economy Journal* 10, no. 2 (21 May 2010): 1850198, <https://doi.org/10.2202/1524-5861.1614>.

¹⁸ Zahid Shahab Ahmed, 'Islam and the Politics of Secularism in Pakistan', *Religions* 14, no. 3 (19 March 2023): 416, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14030416>.

¹⁹ Jeffrey Haynes, 'The Power Worshippers: Inside the Dangerous Rise of Religious Nationalism: By Katherine Stewart, London, Bloomsbury, 2020, 352 Pp., £21.71 (Hardback), ISBN 9781635573435', *Religion, State and Society* 49, no. 3 (27 May 2021): 284–86, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2021.1888502>.

²⁰ Ahmad Farid Abd Jalal et al., 'Formation of Nationalism-Religious Country in Malaysia', *FOCUS* 3, no. 1 (7 June 2022): 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.26593/focus.v3i1.5824>.

nationalism makes a country its sole purpose in life and believes that the West is equal to other nations.²¹

Western nationalism has sparked desires and ambitions to dominate other nations. The nationalism described by Muhammad Natsir is closely related to the elements of Islam that prioritize the weak. Looking back, Natsir often used Islamic principles throughout his life. We can see that Muhammad Natsir was born in Minangkabau, an area that played a crucial role in spreading the ideals of Islamic revival. In Minangkabau, the region also had customary norms. The function of these customs is to enable children to socialize, learn the basic values of independent living, and internalize Islam. This habit forces every child to go to surau (Islamic assembly place) with their friends. Natsir experienced this habit at the age of eight, where he began to be introduced to the vitality of migrant life. The Minangkabau culture encourages migration, especially for young people who want to appear mature in Minangkabau society.²²

4. Potentials of Nationalism in the Future

If nationalism was initially constructed in previous contexts to foster collective awareness, to liberate from the colonization and imperialism dominating the eastern hemisphere at that time, the significance of independence has also evolved. The old order emphasized that the evolutionary concept had not ended, the new order era stressed political stability, and the reform era emphasized the nation's aspirations. It is imperative that the nationalism built, both now and in the indefinite future, adheres to the values fought for by the founders of this nation.²³ It is crucial to note that the nationalism used as a unifying tool by the nation's founders reflected godly qualities, love for justice, egalitarianism, and respect for human rights. These are manifestations of the values of Pancasila. As a critique of the nation's actions, it seems necessary to reevaluate the meanings of the principles within Pancasila.²⁴

Firstly, examining the meaning of the principle "Belief in the One and Only God" indicates that everything in this country, be it related to the state, society, or individuals, must align with the boundless qualities of God, such as Greatness, Supreme, Compassion, Mercifulness, All-Knowing, All-Hearing, and so on. This principle forms the spiritual foundation and moral basis for Indonesian society in carrying out national and communal life. Secondly, the principle "Just and Civilized Humanity" implies that, through this principle, the people of Indonesia become individuals who uphold just values and noble morality. Just and civilized human beings are characterized by actions that consider not only physical and material well-being but also spiritual life. Priority is given not only to personal interests but also to the interests of society. Thirdly, from the principle "Unity of Indonesia," it is evident that the nation's founders recognized that without unity and concerted efforts, the shared goal, which was then used as a means to break free from colonialism, would not materialize. They were aware that Indonesian society is diverse and pluralistic, consisting of various islands, ethnicities, languages, religions, and beliefs.²⁵

²¹ Jeffrey Haynes, 'Trump and the Politics of International Religious Freedom', *Religions* 11, no. 8 (27 July 2020): 385, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11080385>.

²² Şener Aktürk, 'Nationalism and Religion in Comparative Perspective: A New Typology of National-Religious Configurations', *Nationalities Papers* 50, no. 2 (March 2022): 205–18, <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2021.17>.

²³ Marcelo Marques, 'Neo-Nationalism and Universities. Populists, Autocrats, and the Future of Higher Education: Edited by John Aubrey Douglass, Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021, 320 Pp., \$49.95 (Paperback), ISBN: 9781421441863', *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 9, no. 4 (2 October 2022): 506–9, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23254823.2022.2056388>.

²⁴ Imam Sutomo and Budihardjo Budihardjo, 'The Rejection of Religious Nationalism towards the Secular State and the Islamic Caliphate: Indonesian Religious Figures Perspective', *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 1 (21 June 2021): 115–37, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i1.115-137>.

²⁵ Erni Dewi Riyanti et al., 'The Role of Pancasila Education in Shaping Youth's Character Towards Golden Indonesia 2045', in *Proceedings of the 1st Progress in Social Science, Humanities and Education Research Symposium (PSSHRS 2019)* (1st Progress in Social Science, Humanities and Education Research Symposium (PSSHRS 2019), Padang, Indonesia: Atlantis Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200824.242>.

The natural diversity of humanity, with various ethnicities and nations, cannot be denied. Fourthly, it can be argued that the content of the principle "People's Sovereignty Guided by the Wisdom of Deliberation Among Representatives" points to the necessity of democracy that respects and upholds the values of divinity and religion. Such democracy requires decision-making through deliberation that is morally accountable to God. Fifthly, the principle "Social Justice for the Entire People of Indonesia" generally means that every individual receives their rightful share, and everyone gets an equal share of our collective wealth. Building social justice means creating structures that allow justice to be realized. In practice, social justice is achieved when it can preserve the common interests of the state as a whole, the shared interests of all citizens together, and the common and specific interests of individual citizens, ethnic groups, and every segment of the population.²⁶

Examining the values contained in Pancasila, it appears highly honorable if these values are adopted as a guide for humans as the stewards of the Earth in general, and specifically for the people of Indonesia. If scrutinized, Pancasila indeed contains universal values, the truth that is universal. This signifies that the conceptualizer of Pancasila is an intelligent human, one who understands the spiritual space of Indonesian society, one who is willing to learn from history, and simultaneously becomes an actor of change in history. Therefore, it is entirely fitting if the nationalism that should be embraced by the people of Indonesia is a love for the homeland that always adheres to the values of Pancasila.

5. Conclusion

The exploration of Mohammad Natsir's thoughts on religious nationalism provides a profound understanding of the dynamics shaping Indonesia's national identity. Natsir emerges as a significant figure, blending Islamic principles with nationalist ideals in a unique and impactful manner. Natsir's concept of religious nationalism transcends conventional boundaries, emphasizing a harmonious coexistence between Islamic values and the diverse cultural fabric of Indonesia. His perspective underscores the compatibility of religious beliefs with the broader nationalistic aspirations, challenging the notion of any inherent contradiction between the two. The reactualization of religious nationalism, as envisioned by Natsir, prompts a reevaluation of contemporary narratives surrounding the intersection of religion and nationalism in Indonesia. It encourages a perspective that embraces the richness of cultural diversity while upholding the unifying principles rooted in Islamic teachings. Natsir's vision calls for an inclusive nationalism, where the shared values of justice, compassion, and divine wisdom guide the nation towards a harmonious future. The study sheds light on the enduring relevance of Natsir's ideas, offering insights for navigating the complexities of religious nationalism in the ever-evolving socio-political landscape of Indonesia. In conclusion, the thoughts of Mohammad Natsir serve as a compelling source for reactualizing religious nationalism in Indonesia, fostering a nuanced understanding that transcends religious and cultural divides. His legacy beckons the nation to embark on a collective journey towards a balanced and inclusive national identity, where the principles of Islam intertwine seamlessly with the diverse tapestry of Indonesian heritage.

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²⁶ Gina Lestari, 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika: Khasanah Multikultural Indonesia Di Tengah Kehidupan Sara', *Jurnal Pendidikan Pancasila Dan Kerwanegaraan* 28, no. 1 (2015).

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