

HUBUNGAN AGAMA DAN KEBANGSAAN
DALAM PANDANGAN NASIONALISME
H. AGUS SALIM DAN ABUL KALAM AZAD



SKRIPSI

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ABSTRAK

H. Agus Salim dan Abul Kalam Azad merupakan pengikut Islam yang taat, dalam perjalanan hidupnya memiliki pemahaman yang hamper sama dalam hal kesadaran sebagai entitas senasib di tengah-tengah heterogenitas masyarakat. Pemahaman keduanya terhadap al qur'an telah memperkaya khazanah intelektual dan menimbulkan semangat kemanusiaan universal. Sekalipun disadari sepenuhnya, corak pemikiran keduanya, disamping memiliki titik singgung yang menyatu juga mengandung sejumlah perbedaan yang menjadi daya tarik penelitian ini.

Skripsi ini menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah dan bersifat penelitian kepustakaan. Dalam skripsi ini di kemukakan mengenai nasionalisme atau paham kebangsaan. Nasionalisme digunakan untuk menggambarkan minoritas di dalam negeri. Nasionalisme terkait erat dengan proses-menjadi sebagai bangsa dan kesadaran ketergantungan kepada komunitas yang lebih luas.

Agus Salim memaknai nasionalisme sebagai satu bentuk cinta kepada bangsa yang merupakan penerjemahan pesan-pesan suci agama ke dalam perilaku social dan politik yang harus dimanifestasikan setiap Muslim. Nasionalisme bersifat teologis dan sacral. Sementara dalam pandangan Azad dimotivasi oleh sentimen psikologis yang bersifat profane. Derivasi yang dilakukan Salim dan justifikasi yang diupayakan Azad membedakan kedua tokoh ini. Bagi Salim eksistensi setiap agama tetap nyata dan penghinaan terhadap agama (Islam) tidak bias ditoleransi. Sedang Azad secara teoritis sampai pada pandangan kesatuan agama-agama.

Kata kunci: Nasionalisme, agama



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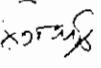
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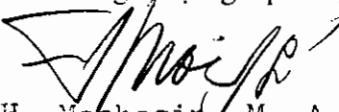
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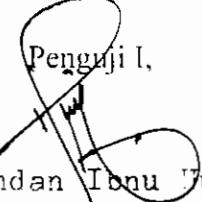
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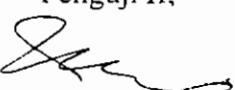

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motto

*kegagalan adalah
keberhasilan yang tertunda*

*berkali aku jatuh,
berkali pula aku bangkit*

*kini cita menjadi
nyata*

zhoel's

*kupersembahkan karya ini kepada kedua orangtuaku;
adik-adikku, ivo, ijup, rina, yani, dona, dan u'ung;
iparku, rudi, dan keponakanku, muhammad iqbali;
ketabahan dan keikhlasan kalian semua tak mampu
kuukir dengan kata;
juga kupersembahkan kepada seluruh guruku yang telah
memberikan terang untukku;
akhirnya, kepada almamaterku yang mendidikku menjadi
orang yang lebih terbuka;*

KATA PENGANTAR

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِ الدِّينِ وَالدِّينِ وَالصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَىٰ أَشْرَفِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمُرْسَلِينَ
مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلَىٰ أَهْلِهِ وَاصْحَابِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ وَمَنْ تَبَعَهُ بِإِحْسَانٍ إِلَىٰ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ

Segala puji bagi Allah, Tuhan semesta alam, yang telah menganugerahkan hidayah dan taufikNya kepada seluruh alam. Seterusnya shalawat dan salam diucapkan untuk Nabi Muhammad saw., yang dengan ikhlas dan tabah menyampaikan risalah agama ke penjuru dunia.

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BAB I

PENDAHULUAN

A. Latar belakang Masalah

Imperialisme dan kolonialisme yang dialami bangsa-bangsa di Asia, khususnya Indonesia dan India, mengakibatkan terjadinya kristalisasi kesadaran komunal yang konstan sebagai satu komunitas yang terjajah dan terkuasai. Dengan maksud mencari laba dan keuntungan komersial, Belanda hadir di Indonesia. Mulanya mereka hanya mencari, kemudian memanfaatkan, sumber daya alam Indonesia demi kepentingan perdagangan,¹ seperti lada, cengkeh, kopi, tembakau, dan merica. Namun dalam perjalanan selanjutnya mereka menguasai daerah-daerah yang menjadi sentra produksi komoditas perdagangan tadi. Untuk kepentingan itulah mereka mendirikan perusahaan dagang VOC, *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*,² yang menguasai jalur perdagangan pesisir berkat kerja sama dengan penguasa setempat.

Keadaan ini tidak menimbulkan kesulitan, apalagi gangguan, bagi penduduk pribumi karena kehadiran mereka semakin menghidupkan kegiatan perekonomian yang, sebelumnya, telah berlangsung. Situasi yang kondusif ini ternyata tidak bertahan lama. Sebab pemerintahan kerajaan Belanda, melalui kongsi dagang VOC.

¹Ekspedisi dagang Belanda untuk pertama kali berangkat ke Hindia Timur dipimpin oleh Cornelis de Houtman pada tahun 1595, yang dibiayai sebuah sindikat yang terkenal sebagai Compagnie van Verre. Ekspedisi ini sampai di Banten pada bulan Juni 1596. Lihat D.G.E Hall, *Sejarah Asia Tenggara*, (terj.) I. P. Soewarsha, (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, 1988), hlm. 248-9.

²C. R. Boxer, *Jan Kompeni: Sejarah VOC dalam Perang dan Damai 1602-1799*, (terj.) Bakri Siregar, (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1983), hlm. 9-11.

berambisi menguasai keunggulan komparatif itu dengan cara pemaksaan dan penguasaan aset penduduk setempat, melalui para penguasa di wilayah pesisir. Penentuan harga, penentuan jenis tanaman yang harus ditanam dan dibeli, dan kewajiban penjualan kepada pihak-pihak tertentu lebih ditentukan oleh *kompeni*.³

Sekalipun wilayah Nusantara⁴ didiami oleh masyarakat dengan latar belakang etnis, budaya, dan keyakinan yang berbeda, namun karena pengalaman yang hampir sama ketika berhadapan dengan kompeni mengakibatkan terbentuknya kesadaran sebagai sebuah bangsa. Sehingga perlawanan terhadap *kompeni* yang dilancarkan secara sporadis-insidental dan lokal-regional, bermetamorfosis menjadi sebuah gerakan yang terinstitusi, sistimatis, dan terencana.

Agus Salim, di antara sekian banyak pengagas perlawanan itu, memberikan kontribusi yang cukup berarti. Salim berasal dari keluarga priyayi. Ayahnya, Sutan Mohammad Salim, adalah seorang pejabat Jaksa Kepala di Riau.⁵ Status sosialnya yang tinggi itu, menurut ukuran pribumi (*inlander*), memudahkan Salim menempuh pendidikan sehingga ia tanpa kesulitan bersekolah di Sekolah Dasar Belanda, *Europeese Lagereschool (ELS)*, yang sesungguhnya disediakan untuk anak-anak keturunan Eropa.⁶

Sekalipun mereka menduduki status yang disegani di tengah-tengah masyarakat, keluarga Salim tetap memiliki jiwa yang toleran, rendah hati, dan

³Ini adalah sebutan yang ditujukan kepada Belanda pada masa penjajahan.

⁴Penegasan nama "Indonesia" baru terjadi sejak sumpah Pemuda tahun 1928.

⁵Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim, The Grand Old Man of Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1985), hlm. 2.

⁶*Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Jembatan, tanpa tahun), hlm. 69.

terbuka. Ini terlihat dari pengasuhnya yang berasal dari Jawa. Bahkan penggantian nama Agus Salim, dari Mashudul Haq, tidak lain karena pengasuhnya memanggil “Gus” yang berarti anak yang bagus. Sementara ‘Salim’, nama yang melekat di belakang, berasal dari nama ayahnya. Ini merefleksikan keterbukaan, sekaligus keberanian, keluarga Sutan Mohammad Salim. Keterbukaan terhadap realitas masyarakat Melayu yang, mempengaruhi pandangan mereka, karena menganut garis *patrilineal*. Ini, patut diduga, sebagai akibat interaksi sosial mereka dengan lingkungan masyarakat Melayu di Riau selama ayah Salim, Sutan Mohammad Salim, bertugas. Begitupun hal ini tidak mungkin terwujud tanpa keberanian yang sungguh-sungguh karena harus berhadapan dengan *ninik-mamak*, sebagai pemangku adat, dan sistem *matrilineal* yang dianut masyarakat Minangkabau.

Salim seorang anak yang cerdas berotak encer. Kecerdasannya terlihat dari keberhasilan menyelesaikan pendidikan di sekolah menengah, *Hogere Burgerschool (HBS)*, pada tahun 1903. Ia, dari ketiga sekolah sejenis yang terdapat di Bandung, Surabaya, dan Batavia, berhasil meraih prestasi sebagai juara pertama. Ini membuka peluang untuk meneruskan studi ke sekolah kedokteran, *School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen (Stovia)*, di Belanda. Ia, karena prestasi gemilang itu, berhak melanjutkan ke Stovia atas biaya pemerintah Belanda.⁷ Tetapi itu tidak diberikan tanpa alasan yang jelas.

Sementara itu pada saat yang sama, Kartini, di Jepara, harus tidak menerima beasiswa pemerintah Belanda untuk dirinya. Sebab ia akan melangsungkan

⁷Mukayat, *ibid.*, hlm. 3.

pernikahan. Sehingga, dengan rela hati, ia melimpahkan haknya itu kepada Salim. Tetapi Salim menolak, karena “kalau pemerintah mengirim saya karena anjuran Kartini, bukan karena kemauan pemerintah sendiri, lebih baik tidak”.⁸

Sesudah permohonan beasiswanya ditolak, pada bulan Oktober 1906, ketika berusia 22 tahun, ia menjabat sebagai pegawai di Konsulat Belanda di Jeddah.⁹ Bagi keluarganya pekerjaan ini, selain memiliki prestise yang tinggi juga, memberikan kesempatan baginya untuk memperdalam ilmu agama. Karena mereka memandang Salim telah mengalami pendangkalan keagamaan selama belajar di sekolah Belanda. Di sana, ia belajar langsung di bawah asuhan pamannya, Syeykh Ahmad Khathib, seorang ulama pembaharu yang bermukim di Mekah sejak 1876.¹⁰

Pengalaman Salim ini, ditambah dengan keluasan bacaannya mengenai perjuangan bangsa yang selalu gagal, patut diduga menumbuhsuburkan akar kesadaran kebangsaannya. Begitupun, Salim yang berangkat dari keluarga, yang dapat dikatakan, sekuler dalam memperjuangkan kebebasan bangsanya malah memilih organisasi massa Islam, yakni Sarekat Islam (SI).

Di lembar sejarah yang lain, Inggris, bangsa yang lebih dahulu maju di bidang ilmupengetahuan dan industri, mulanya datang ke India untuk berdagang tanpa bermaksud menguasai wilayah kemaharajaan India. Melalui EIC, *The East Indian Company*, mereka, di daerah-daerah pesisir India, bekerjasama dengan penguasa

⁸Anhar Gonggong, “Haji Agus Salim: Teladan yang Cerdas-Unik, Berani Menderita”, dalam *Kompas*, 1 Januari 2000.

⁹Konsulat ini dibuka pada tahun 1872 sehubungan dengan kebijakan Belanda mengawasi jemaah haji. Lihat Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), hlm. 32.

¹⁰*Ensiklopedi Islam*, hlm. 70.

setempat untuk memonopoli pasokan kebutuhan ekonomi masyarakat pribumi sambil mencari bahan baku yang akan melancarkan industri mereka.

Tatkala terjadi kekacauan di dalam negeri India, Inggris lalu menguasai pemerintahan setempat demi melindungi kebutuhan mereka. Sebagai satu-satunya elemen bangsa Eropa di India, mereka, setelah melihat kelemahan pemerintahan setempat, merambah memasuki wilayah politik dan kekuasaan.¹¹ Kenyataan ini menimbulkan ketegangan yang cukup tajam antara Inggris dan penduduk pribumi yang mengakibatkan, tidak cuma sekali, perlawanan yang berarti. Kekuatan ekonomi, yang ditopang oleh kedigjayaan personal dan peralatan militer, menutup mata mereka dari potensi kekuatan perlawanan penduduk pribumi.

Gradualitas persamaan nasib ini, ternyata, membentuk kesadaran bersama untuk membela dan mempertahankan diri dari penjajahan dan penindasan yang mereka alami. Meskipun antara Muslim dan pengikut agama lainnya, yakni Hindu dan Sikh, tidak terjadi kohesi dan solidaritas yang menyatu padu. Hal itu tidak menghalangi sebagian Muslim dan pengikut Hindu, khususnya, bekerja sama menghadapi Inggris.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, di antara sekian banyak tokoh Muslim di India, adalah seorang Muslim moderat yang meyakini kemerdekaan, kebebasan, dan kedamaian Muslim di India tidak akan terwujud sebagai belas kasihan Inggris. Tetapi ia harus diperjuangkan bahu-membahu secara menyeluruh oleh seluruh penduduk

¹¹Lothrop Stoddard, *Dunia Baru Islam*, (terj.) Tudjimah, (Jakarta: tanpa penerbit. 1966). hlm. 205.

India, tanpa terkecuali. Kemajemukan dan heterogenitas anutan keyakinan penduduk India tidak menghalangi terjalannya kerja sama sebagai refleksi kesadaran bersama bangsa yang sedang mengalami penindasan. Bahkan sebaliknya, menurut Azad, umat Islam harus dapat menerima realitas keanekaragaman manusia, baik karena perbedaan ras, etnik, maupun agama. Pada titik inilah, tampaknya, Azad dapat diklasifikasikan sebagai seorang nasionalis religius. Sebab pada diri Azad terkandung identitas seorang nasionalis, yakni emosi kesadaran bersama sebagai entitas sebangsa.¹²

Azad berasal dari keluarga penganut paham tradisional Islam. Lebih dari satu abad nenek moyangnya bertempat tinggal di Lahore. Munawwar al-Dîn, kakek ibunya, adalah seorang sufi yang hidup pada masa kekuasaan Sultan Akbar dan ayahnya, Rasyîd al-Dîn, adalah gubernur Lahore. Ayah Azad, Khayr al-Dîn Dihlawi, menikmati kehidupan yang menyenangkan dan mendapatkan penghargaan dari raja Mughal sebagai bentuk ucapan terima kasih atas kerjasamanya dengan pihak kerajaan. Sementara itu, Syeykh Muhammad Zaker, kakek dari garis ibunya terkenal sebagai seorang ahli agama Islam. Dan ibunya sendiri seorang wanita terpelajar yang bergerak di bidang penyiaran agama¹³

¹²Lyman Tower Sargent, *Ideologi-ideologi Politik Kontemporer: Sebuah Analisis Komparatif*, (terj.) A. R. Henry Sitanggang, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1987), hlm. 19.

¹³Yudian Wahyudi, "Islam and Nationalism: A Political Adventure of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1905-1947), dalam *The Dynamics of Islamic Civilization: Satu Dasawarsa Program Pendidikan (1988-1998)* (Yogyakarta: Titian Ilahi Press, 1998), hlm. 267.

Ayah Azad bermigrasi ke Madinah pada tahun 1858¹⁴ setelah terjadi pemberontakan prajurit India, *the Indian Mutiny*, tahun 1857.¹⁵ Ia seorang guru sufi, 'alim pir, yang sangat berpengaruh dalam menyebarluaskan ide anti-Wahabinya. Ia, dengan kedalaman pengetahuan tentang agama Islam, melakukan perlawanan ide dan gagasan terhadap sikap skipturalis Wahabi dan serangan mereka atas sikap taklid dan hubungan spiritual guru-murid. Ia sangat disiplin mendidik Azad sehingga, Azad, pada usia yang sangat muda sudah menyelesaikan kitab *dars-i Nizhâmi*, sebuah kitab-ajar untuk kajian Islam tingkat lanjut.

Dari ranji silsilah keluarga dan pendidikan yang diperolehnya, dapat dipahami bahwa Azad berlatar belakang Islam tradisional dan dekat dengan pusat kekuasaan. Akibatnya tumbuh sikap moderat dan akomodis ketika membaca realitas politik India. Sikap ini berlangsung hingga ia melakukan perjalanan ke Asia Barat, tahun 1908-1909, yang mempengaruhi pemikiran dan pandangan politik dan keagamaannya. Ia, dalam perjalanan itu, banyak bertemu dengan tokoh-tokoh nasionalis dan revolusioner di Irak, Mesir, dan Turki.¹⁶ Sekalipun berasal dari keluarga yang religius, Azad, dalam perjalanan politiknya, justru terlibat aktif di dalam All India National Congress. Ini adalah organisasi sekuler yang memperjuangkan kebebasan India.

¹⁴John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, Vol. 1* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), hlm. 164.

¹⁵Sutrisno dkk., *Sejarah Dunia* (Jakarta: Widjaya, 1976), hlm. 70.

¹⁶John L. Esposito (ed.), *ibid.* Ini, memang, bukan satu-satunya yang mempengaruhi pandangan dan gagasan Azad, melainkan satu di antara lain faktor yang berpengaruh.

Kedua tokoh ini, selain pengikut Islam yang taat, dalam perjalanan hidupnya memiliki pemahaman yang hampir sama dalam hal kesadaran sebagai entitas senasib di tengah-tengah heterogenitas masyarakat. Pemahaman keduanya terhadap teks-suci-otoritatif, yakni Alquran, telah memperkaya khazanah intelektual dan menimbulkan semangat kemanusiaan universal. Sekalipun, disadari sepenuhnya, corak pemikiran keduanya, di samping memiliki titik singgung yang menyatu juga, mengandung sejumlah perbedaan yang menjadi daya tarik penelitian ini.

Salim mengemukakan gagasan kebangsaannya berpangkal tolak dari ajaran Islam. Karena itu dalam perjalanan politik bangsa Indonesia ia secara diametral berhadapan dengan kelompok nasionalis netral agama dan kalangan komunis. Terhadap yang pertama, Salim memperingatkan bahwa nasionalisme mudah menjadi imperialisme dan kolonialisme, apabila tidak bersandar pada kebaktian pada Allah, Tuhan Yang Maha Esa.¹⁷ Memuliakan tanah air di atas segala-galanya, demikian Salim, bisa mencairkan keyakinan tauhid seseorang dan akan mungkin mengurangi bakti kepada Tuhan.¹⁸

Sementara terhadap yang kedua, Salim menjelaskan bahwa keadilan sosial telah diperjuangkan Nabi berabad-abad yang lalu.¹⁹ Ia mengatakan bahwa “segala kebijakan yang ada dalam suatu isme, ada dalam asas Islamisme itu. Sebaliknya

¹⁷ Deliar Noer, *Partai Islam Di Pentas Nasional* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1987), hlm. 8.

¹⁸ Noer, *Gerakan Moderner Islam*, hlm. 274.

¹⁹ Noer, *Partai Islam*, hlm. 8.

sesuatu kecelaan atau kenistaan atau kejahatan yang ada dalam isme-isme yang lain itu, tidaklah ada dalam asas Islamisme itu.”²⁰

Tidak demikian dengan Azad. Ia lebih menjadikan ajaran Islam sebagai, paling tidak, justifikasi ide dan gagasannya mengenai kebangsaan. Ia menunjuk landasan normatif ayat Alquran yang membolehkan seorang Muslim menikahi wanita Yahudi dan Kristen. Kalau dalam masalah pembentukan keluarga saja, yang membutuhkan pencurahan kasih sayang, dibolehkan perbedaan keyakinan maka, demikian Azad, mengapa dalam masalah pembentukan negara perbedaan keyakinan menjadi hambatan.²¹ Bahkan lebih jauh dari itu, Azad mengagus kesatuan agama (religious unity) dengan landasan logika pemikiran bahwa umat manusia, pada hakikatnya, adalah satu komunitas tunggal. Mereka, oleh perjalanan waktu, terpecah-pecah ke dalam berbagai kelompok yang berbeda.²²

B. Identifikasi Masalah

Kemajemukan lingkungan sosial, kultural, dan religi, yang melingkungi Salim dan Azad, telah menantang dan memotivasi mereka untuk, secara bijak, bekerja sama dengan komponen bangsa yang lain menghadapi kesewenang-wenangan Belanda dan Inggris. Sebagai sebuah karya penelitian keagamaan, yang salah satu unitnya adalah para pemeluk agama, dalam hal ini tokoh agama, maka penelitian ini dibatasi pada

²⁰Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam*, hlm. 139.

²¹Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan dalam Islam. Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1975), hlm. 203.

²²Yudian Wahyudi, “Islam and Nationalism”, hlm. 277.

dua orang tokoh yang dianggap representatif, yakni Haji Agus Salim dari Indonesia dan Maulana Abul Kalam Azad dari India.

Pemikiran keduanya di bidang politik, yakni mengenai pemahaman kebangsaan (nasionalisme), menjadi obyek dan sasaran penelitian ini. Selanjutnya masing-masing pemikiran ini dianalisis untuk, kemudian, dikomparasikan.

C. Pembatasan dan Perumusan Masalah

Penelitian ini lebih diarahkan pada dataran pemikiran. Untuk menajamkan dan memokuskan pembahasan, maka penelitian ini memusatkan perhatian pada substansi dan alas-pijak nasionalisme yang terkandung di dalam pemikiran Agus Salim dan Abul Kalam Azad.

Dari uraian dalam latar belakang masalah yang dikaitkan dengan identifikasi masalah, maka penelitian ini dapat dirumuskan dalam pertanyaan berikut:

1. Apakah hakikat pandangan H. Agus Salim dan Abul Kalam Azad tentang nasionalisme ?
2. Bagaimanakah posisi umat beragama dalam pandangan nasionalisme H. Agus Salim dan Abul Kalam Azad itu ?

D. Tujuan dan Kegunaan Penelitian

Sesuai dengan sasaran penelitian ini yang merambah wilayah pemikiran, maka penelitian ini bertujuan:

1. Membedah, sekaligus membandingkan, pemikiran politik H. Agus Salim, dari Indonesia, dan Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, dari India, mengenai konsep kebangsaan (nasionalisine);
2. Membaca gagasan baru yang dibangun di atas prinsip-prinsip keyakinan agama.

Secara teoritis, hasil penelitian ini diharapkan dapat memberikan kontribusi positif bagi pengembangan teori, dan jika mungkin penemuan teori baru, yang berkaitan dengan kemajemukan realitas kehidupan dalam berbagai dimensinya. Sebab teori-teori yang selama ini digulirkan dan diterapkan lebih melihat pengalaman masyarakat Eropa, umumnya, dan Amerika Utara, khususnya. Ini tidaklah berarti menutup diri terhadap kemajuan, melainkan disadari, sepenuhnya, bahwa wilayah Asia memiliki kekhasan kultural dan sosial yang berbeda dari bangsa-bangsa yang berada di dua kawasan di atas.

Secara praktis, hasil penelitian ini diharapkan dapat dijadikan sebagai *pertama*, salah satu sumber inspirasi pemahaman dalam membentuk sikap lapang dada terhadap keberagaman dan kemajemukan suatu bangsa; *kedua*, memberi kontribusi yang dapat menjelaskan mata rantai perjalanan dan perkembangan intelektualitas para tokoh Muslim; dan *ketiga*, sebagai penambah bekal, khususnya

bagi bangsa Indonesia, dalam mempertahankan karakter ke-*bhinneka tungs galika-an* yang telah sekian lama tertanam dan terpatri di dalam sanubari bangsa Indonesia.

E. Tinjauan Pustaka

Secara khusus tulisan ataupun penelitian sejarah yang berupaya membandingkan pemikiran kedua tokoh ini, hingga kini, belum pernah dilakukan. Apalagi di bidang politik. Ada beberapa karya yang, memang, layak disebutkan tetapi masih merupakan kajian mandiri terhadap masing-masing tokoh.

Erni Haryanti Kahfi²³ menulis *Haji Agus Salim: His Role in Nationalist Movement in Indonesia During the Twentieth Century* sebagai sebuah tesis untuk memperoleh gelar master di Institut Kajian Islam, McGill University. Karya ini tidak secara spesifik mengaji pemikiran H. Agus Salim, melainkan lebih menekankan *role* yang dimainkan Salim dalam gerakan makro kebangsaan Indonesia umumnya. Meskipun demikian sebanyak delapanbelas halaman, Bab II huruf C, mulai halaman 61 hingga halaman 78, ia membahasa ide (gagasan) Salim tentang nasionalisme. Sementara itu Mushir ul-Hasan²⁴ dalam *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflection on Abul Kalam Azad* menggambarkan bagaimana aliran politik yang dianut Azad dalam perjuangan nasionalis Asia Barat dan India. Meskipun, seperti karya Erni Haryanti di

²³Erni Haryanti Kahfi, *Haji Agus Salim: His Role in Nationalist Movement in Indonesia During the Twentieth Century* (Montreal: McGill University, Maret, 1996).

²⁴Mushir ul-Hasan. (ed.), *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflection on Abul Kalam Azad* (New Delhi, 1992).

atas, tidak menyoroti secara khusus pemikiran Azad, melainkan potret pemikiran Azad dalam konteks yang lebih luas, yakni Asia Barat, tetapi karya ini dapat dipandang representatif karena menegaskan posisi Azad secara transparan.

Kedua karya ini sekedar menampilkan sebagian di antara sekian banyak karya tentang H. Agus Salim dan Maulana Abul Klam Azad. Sudah barang tentu karya-karya lain masih cukup banyak, baik dalam bahasa Indonesia, Inggris, maupun Urdu.

F. Metode Penelitian dan Pembahasan

Nasionalisme, atau paham kebangsaan, sudah lazim digunakan sehubungan dengan perang atau revolusi, untuk mengacu pada negara-negara Asia, Afrika, Amerika Latin, dan Timur Tengah. Di samping itu, nasionalisme digunakan untuk menggambarkan gerakan minoritas di dalam negeri, seperti gerakan kulit hitam di Amerika Serikat, dan gerakan Basque di Spanyol. Begitupun, sebagai sebuah ideologi, dalam arti sebagai sebuah sistem keyakinan yang diterima sebagai kebenaran oleh kelompok tertentu, nasionalisme dikatakan mengandung pandangan mengenai sistem politik apabila digabungkan dengan ideologi lainnya, seperti patriotisme.²⁵

Nasionalisme, secara empiris-teoritis, memiliki dua unsur. *Pertama*, adanya perasaan memiliki, “feeling of belonging”, atau, menurut Stoddard, “sense of belonging together”²⁶ yang membentuk identitas bersama karena adanya persamaan

²⁵Lyman Tower Sargent, *ibid.*, hlm. 15.

²⁶Lothrop Stoddard, *ibid.*, hlm. 137.

nasib, sejarah, dan kepentingan untuk hidup sebagai entitas masyarakat yang bebas, merdeka, berdaulat, demokratis dan maju.²⁷ Ketika itulah nasionalisme telah berubah nilai menjadi kategori politis-psikologis dari, yang sebelumnya, kategori antropologis-etnis yang eksklusif. *Kedua*, pengakuan bahwa hidup dan nasib individual ierbungkus dalam kehidupan dan nasib komunal. Ia muncul (i) sebagai usaha pembelaan daerah atau bangsa melawan penguasa luar, dan (ii) sebagai gerakan untuk membebaskan negara dari kekuasaan kolonial.²⁸ Artinya bahwa nasionalisme terkait erat dengan proses-menjadi sebagai bangsa (identitas nasional) dan kesadaran ketergantungan kepada komunitas yang lebih luas (dependensi kolektif).

Sebagai sebuah penelitian sejarah, maka secara normatif, harus memenuhi tahap-tahap penelitian yang sudah baku, seperti yang diuraikan oleh Louis Gottchalk,²⁹ yang meliputi penilaian subyek penelitian, pengumpulan dan pengujian sumber-sumber penelitian, dan pemetikan unsur-unsur yang terbukti sejati, untuk disintesiskan menjadi sebuah penulisan sejarah. Dari sekian langkah itu, penelitian ini, yang bersifat penelitian kepustakaan, langkah ketiga, yakni pengujian sumber, lebih memanfaatkan usaha yang pernah dilakukan oleh peneliti-peneliti sebelumnya dengan pertimbangan *pertama*, penelitian ini menggunakan sumber-sumber yang dipakai untuk karya ilmiah yang didedikasikan untuk gelar kesarjanaan setingkat

²⁷*Ensiklopedi Nasional Indonesia, Jilid 11* (Jakarta: Cipta Adi Pustaka, 1990), hlm. 31.

²⁸Lyman Tower Sargent, *ibid.*, hlm. 17 dan hlm. 22.

²⁹Louis Gottchalk, *Mengerjai Sejarah*, (terj.) Nugroho Notosusanto. (Jakarta: UI Press, Cetakan Kelima, 1986), hlm. 34.

sarjana dan paskasarjana; *kedua*, menggunakan sumber primer, antara lain, berupa karya tulis tokoh yang diteliti.

Demikian memenuhi keperluan penelitian ini, maka sejumlah perpustakaan menjadi ladang perburuan peneliti. Antara lain Perpustakaan Kateketik, Perpustakaan PP Muhammadiyah, Perpustakaan Pemerintah Daerah DIY Yogyakarta, yang semuanya berada di wilayah Propinsi DIY Yogyakarta, dan sejumlah perpustakaan milik perguruan tinggi, swasta dan negeri, di Yogyakarta. Selain itu penelitian ini juga memanfaatkan media elektronik, berupa internet, untuk mendapatkan data sejarah yang berkaitan dengan Abul Kalam Azad. Ini dilakukan karena sumber-sumber tertulis mengenai Abul Kalam Azad langka sekali di Indonesia sementara pada saat yang sama di internet, pada alamat-alamat situs tertentu, tersaji informasi yang signifikan bagi penelitian ini.

G. Sistematika Pembahasan

Secara umum sistematika pembahasan penelitian ini mencakup pembukaan, isi, dan penutup, sebagaimana yang telah menjadi kesepakatan umum penulisan karya ilmiah. Hanya saja secara spesifik laporan hasil penelitian ini difragmentasikan ke dalam bab-bab dan subbab-subbab tertentu.

Bab I, yang merupakan bab pendahuluan, terdiri dari latar belakang masalah, identifikasi masalah, rumusan dan batasan masalah, landasan teoritik dan metode penelitian, tujuan dan kegunaan penelitian, tinjauan pustaka, serta sistematika pembahasan. Bab pendahuluan ini berfungsi mengarahkan dan membatasi wilayah

penelitian yang akan dilakukan. Sebuah pemikiran tidak terjadi begitu saja. Ia merupakan pengendapan pengalaman, pengetahuan, dan pendidikan yang dijalani dan dialami seseorang. Karena itulah di dalam bab II secara khusus dibicarakan pribadi H. Agus Salim dan Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Bab ini meliputi latar belakang sosial dan kultural masyarakat Minangkabau, riwayat pendidikan, karir sebelum terjun di dunia politik praktis. Juga membicarakan latar belakang keluarga Azad, lingkungan tempat tumbuh dan berkembang, riwayat pendidikan, dan karir sebelum terjun di dunia politik praktis.

Berikutnya, di dalam bab III, secara kritis-analitis dikupas permasalahan nasionalisme. Bab ini menjadi kunci pembuka dalam memahami pandangan dan gagasan nasionalisme H. Agus Salim dan Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Sebab butir-butir pemikiran keduanya dengan unsur-unsur nasionalisme akan menjadi sebuah korespondensi-betul apabila terjadi kesesuaian dan kecocokan. Akhirnya bab IV, merupakan bab penutup, adalah kesimpulan yang dapat ditarik berdasarkan uraian yang telah disajikan.

BAB V

KESIMPULAN

Dari uraian di atas dapat ditarik beberapa kesimpulan.

Pertama, nasionalisme Asia bersifat dan berwatak transendental. Hal ini tampak dari atmosfir perlawanan yang, sekalipun distimulasi oleh realitas tampak namun, mendasarkan diri pada kekuatan agama. Artinya, agama menjiwai dan mengarahkan perlawanan bangsa-bangsa di Asia.

Kedua, Salim memaknai nasionalisme sebagai satu bentuk cinta kepada bangsa yang merupakan penerjemahan pesan-pesan suci agama ke dalam perilaku sosial dan politik yang harus dimanifestasikan setiap Muslim. Motivasi kecintaan kepada bangsa merupakan sublimasi spiritualitas agama, sehingga nasionalisme bersifat teologis dan sakral. Sementara itu Azad yang berangkat dari pandangan humanisme universal dalam menyikapi realitas kemajemukan India memaknai nasionalisme sebagai kecintaan kepada bangsa yang didasari atas keyakinan sintesis kultural dua entitas yang berbeda. Nasionalisme, dalam pandangan Azad, dimotivasi oleh sentimen psikologis yang bersifat profan. Akibatnya agama berperan skunder dalam kehidupan sosial. Untuk menjustifikasi idenya itu Azad menginterpretasi ayat-ayat Alquran dan Assunnah.

Ketiga, keduanya memandang bahwa sikap toleransi harus dimiliki oleh semua pemeluk agama. Setiap penganut agama memiliki kesempatan, kedudukan, dan tanggung jawab yang setara untuk mengekspresikan diri dalam ruang nasional

Indonesia dan India yang merdeka. Diskriminasi dan represi, bukan saja tindakan yang haram tetapi juga, tidak ada dalam kamus pemikiran Salim dan Azad.

Keempat, Derivasi yang dilakukan Salim dan justifikasi yang diupayakan Azad membedakan kedua tokoh ini. Konsekuensinya adalah bagi Salim eksistensi setiap agama tetap nyata, dan penghinaan terhadap agama (Islam) tidak bisa ditoleransi. Sementara Azad, setidak-tidaknya secara teoritis, sampai pada pandangan kesatuan agama-agama.

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B. Surat Elektronik

Tanggal 7 Februari 2001

LAMPIRAN

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

The Champion of Nationalism and Secularism in Muslim India

"The fundamental fallacy of Muslims has been to interpret Islam as a closed system. And that system has been closed not only from outside truth but also from outside people. The fundamental hopelessness about Indian Muslims and therefore Indian Islam is that this community may break through this.... It may find the humanity, to strive for brotherhood with those of other forms of faith (p. 290) The question of political power and social organization, so central to Islam, has in the past, always been considered in yes or no terms. Muslims have either had political power or they have not. Never before have they shared it with others Close to the heart of Islam has been the conviction that its purpose includes the structuring of a social community, the organization of the Muslim group into a closed body obedient to the Law. It is this conception that seems finally to be proving itself inept in India. (pp. 206-7)" *

* *Islam in Modern History*, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Princeton University Press, 1957.

Thus speaks one of the most prominent Orientalists on the question of the relationship between the Hindus and Muslims of India. The man who would have most wholeheartedly endorsed this fallacious analysis is Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the foremost champion of Hindu-Muslim unity on the basis of modern nationalism and secularism.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had all the advantages of being raised in a pure Islamic atmosphere. His father, Maulana Muhammad Khairuddin, was a learned scholar, the author of many books of Arabic and Persian who was revered by thousands of disciples from all parts of India. After the rebellion against British rule was crushed in 1857, the Maulana's father was one of the thousands who fled his native Delhi for his life. As soon as arrangements could be made by his trusted disciples, he went to Arabia and took refuge in Mecca. There he married the daughter of one of the most pious and esteemed divines of the city-a woman of high intelligence and also an Arabic scholar. From this union Abul Kalam was born in 1888. Since his mother knew no other tongue, Arabic was his native language. For his elementary education he was not sent to any school but learned from his mother and father and the Arabic scholars who were his father's friends.

In 1898, at the urgent request of a disciple, his father finally returned to India and settled in Calcutta. Here under private tutors the boy pursued a full course of Arabic and Persian, philosophy, logic, arithmetic, geography and history which ordinarily required fourteen years to complete. So brilliant was the young Abul Kalam, that he finished the course in less than four years. His father, realising the menace and evil of British imperialism, was a most implacable foe of modern Western civilization and everything it stood for. The English education and modernist interpretation of Islam propagated by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was an anathema to him.

Abul Kalam Azad was a genuine prodigy. When he was only twelve years old, he expressed his desire to write a biography of Imam al-Ghazzali. By the age of sixteen he was revered as a learned Alim. In his spare time he composed poetry in Urdu of no mean artistic merit and at the tender age of fourteen made his name in journalism by founding the *Lisanus Sidq* (The Voice of Truth). In 1904 when he was barely sixteen he was invited by the *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* society in Lahore to deliver the annual address. The topic of his lecture was "The Rational Basis of Religion." His audience included such celebrities as the Urdu prose-

writer Nazir Ahmad and the poets, Hali and Allama Iqbal. So impressive was his speech that this occasion made a name for him all over India. The poet Hali described him as "an old head on young shoulders."

Already during this period of his middle and late adolescence he pondered over what he would do with his life. Uppermost in his mind was the future of Islam and how he could help his brethren-in-faith. Thus in 1912 when he was barely twenty-four he launched his career by founding "Al-Hilal" (The Crescent), a weekly illustrated Urdu periodical which in its call for pan-Islamic unity and its vehement criticism of the sinister designs of British imperialism throughout the Muslim world was strongly reminiscent of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's "Al-Urwah al-Wuthqa." Here in the medium of journalism, Abul Kalam Azad proved himself a man of first-rate literary talent. In this magazine with the most persuasive eloquence, he campaigned vehemently against the Aligarh movement of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and all that it stood for. He argued against modern education and Westernization in any form. When somebody asked him whether he followed the extremist or the moderate school of Indian politics, he ridiculed the very idea of a Muslim following others in any matter. They were the chosen people of God and had their path clearly pointed out to them. So far as he was concerned, he insisted that he followed nothing but the Holy Quran and urged all his co-religionists to do the same. This led to an unprecedented upsurge of enthusiasm for an Islamic revival throughout the country and henceforth the apologetic attitude of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his efforts to make Islam conform to modern philosophy lost their appeal. Before *Al-Hilal* was banned by the British and Abul Kalam Azad sent to prison, its circulation had climbed to twenty-five thousand.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's release from prison in 1920 marked the turning point in his life. It was at this juncture when he completely reversed his religious views and henceforth the future of the Muslim community as such was not his concern. He was no longer interested in building a true Islamic society in India but instead championed Hindu-Muslim unity for the aims of secular nationalism. "I am one of those who believe that revivalism may be a necessity in a religion," he said "but in social matters it is a denial of progress!"

"Until 1920-1921 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was an enthusiastic exponent of Islamic revival and the Khilafat movement, but afterwards he turned a complete somersault, in thought and action; so much so that many people began to rub their eyes to make sure whether he was the same Azad or by some process of metamorphosis, a new person had been born within him. Abul Kalam Azad was now a hundred per cent Indian nationalist and a vociferous protagonist of a single Indian nationhood of Muslims and non-Muslims. He assimilated the so-called theory of unity of religions expounded by some Hindu philosophers and the Western theory of biological evolution. The imprint of these theories can clearly be seen in his commentary on the Holy Quran." *

* Quoted from Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi's personal letter to me dated March 30, 1962

Convinced that salvation of the Muslims of India depended upon their acceptance of nationalism and secularism, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad joined the Indian National Congress Party and became one of the closest associates of Mahatma Gandhi.

"For the purposes of liberation of India and the present agitation," he declared "I entirely agree with all the arguments of Mahatma Gandhi and I have complete confidence in his honesty. It is my definite conviction that India cannot attain success by force of arms nor is it advisable for it to adopt that course. India can only triumph through non-violent agitation and

India's triumph will be a memorable example of the victory of moral force." *

* Mahadev Desai, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1941, p.82.

After Mahatma Gandhi called off the Khilafat movement in 1922 and failed to check the communal disturbances which claimed thousands of Muslim lives, the majority of the Muslim members of the Congress such as Maulana Muhammad Ali, his brother, Shaukat Ali and the Qaid-e-Azam became increasingly disillusioned and, one by one, they resigned from the Party. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, however, not only stayed on, but became, as its President for nearly two decades, its most ardent defender at all costs.

"Mr. Jinnah charges that the policy of the Congress is decidedly anti-Muslim, that it wants to destroy Muslim culture, constantly interferes with the Muslim religious and social life and always tramples down the political and economic rights of the Muslims. I have often declared before and I again do the same with all responsibility that all these accusations against the Congress ministries are absolutely baseless. It is a mountain of falsehood to say that the policy of Congress is anti-Muslim and has been trampling down the religious, political and economic rights of the Muslims. If Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues think that they are saying these things to benefit the cause of the Muslims, I would tell them in all earnestness that they are doing quite the opposite thing and they do a true service to the Muslims of India if they change their direction as early as possible, a true service for which the Indian Muslims are in the greatest need today." *

* Desai, op. cit., pp. 152-155.

After independence in 1947, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad became the Indian Minister for Education until his death in 1958. Far from making the least attempt to base the education for Indian Muslims on a genuine Islamic foundation, he favoured such Westernising ideas as the adoption of the Latin alphabet for Urdu and the other Indian languages.

No Muslim leader in India opposed the creation of Pakistan more than Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. In so doing he justified his stand by declaring:

"The Muslim League proposal for Pakistan is fantastic. Those who make this proposal are flying in the face of history, ethnology, and the tendency of modern times. When they say that the Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations, they beg the question. The ancestors of most of us were common and I for one do not accept the theory of a superior or inferior race or different races. Mankind is one race and we have to live in harmony, with one another. Providence brought us together over a thousand years ago. We have fought but so do blood-brothers fight. So did Englishmen fight Englishmen in the War of the Roses. But they never insisted on living as separate nations. During this one thousand years we have reacted upon one another to our mutual spiritual, cultural, moral and material benefit. Mr. Jinnah and his sympathizers in the Muslim League want to put the hands of the clock back by centuries. It is no use trying to emphasize differences. Every lover of peace must emphasize similarities. What I detest is the communal approach to the national problem. In a future Constitution determined by India's representatives, the Hindu and the Muslim will have to think of their position and interests not as a Hindu or a Muslim but as a peasant or a zamindar, as a labourer or a capitalist and so on" *

* Desai, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

In his fervent conviction that serving the ends of secular nationalism should take precedence over the concept of the Islamic community, he used all the ingenuity of his erudite mind to attempt to provide religious justification for his actions.

"Why should the Muslims join hands with the Hindus in the political struggle of the country? The Quran has permitted the Muslims to marry Jewish and Christian women where the husband shall love his wife and no other tie shall be dearer to him than that one. Then if the Quran does not allow the Muslims to have any contact at all with the non-Muslim, how is it possible to permit Muslims to make non-Muslims the very queens of their homes and put within their charge their entire worldly affairs? Herein lies the key to Hindu-Muslim unity." *

* A.B.Rajput, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, Lion Press, Lahore, 1957, p.40

Such apologetics are really astounding from a learned Alim. The permission granted for a Muslim to marry outside his faith is confined only to the Jews and the Christians-the "People of the Scriptures". The Holy Quran forbids a Muslim to marry from among the Polytheists which the Hindus undoubtedly are. The permission for a Muslim to marry outside his faith is only granted on condition that the husband is the head of the household and the children will be reared as Muslims. Again and again, the Holy Quran insists that Muslims befriend only believers and warns that whoever takes unbelievers for friends in preference to believers, commits a great sin. No two religions conflict with each other more than the polytheism of Hinduism and the monotheism of Islam, and the Maulana ignores the fact that never can there be unity between peoples possessing no common ideals.

As an example of the extravagant lengths to which the Maulana was willing to go in order to serve the ends of secular nationalism, he called upon the Muslims of India to remember that the Hindus were offended by their slaughter of cows for food and particularly the sacrifice of cows on the Eid day. For the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity, he asked the Muslims to remember that cow-slaughter, even for purposes of sacrifice, is not a fundamental part of their religion and he likewise assured his Hindu friends that there were many Muslims who not only never tasted beef themselves but were trying to reduce the use of it among their comrades "if only to show their spirit of brotherliness with the Hindus." In the near future, he hoped that both the Hindus and the Muslims would relax such taboos which kept their two communities apart.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's most celebrated work in which he sought religious justification for his activities, is his incomplete Urdu commentary on the Holy Quran. His main thesis in this work is that all religions are equally valid and it is only their followers who have drifted astray. He insisted that all religions in the world are united in essence.

"They differ not in their roots but in the leaves and branches, not in the spirit but only in the outward form or body. Ceremonials and rituals will vary and continue to vary with the age and country, but God in His wisdom has deliberately created this diversity. Religion is all one; only outward forms of ritual and ceremonial differ and everyone thinks that his way is superior to that of others. He cannot look at his own way from the point of view of his opponents. But even as your way is excellent in your own eye, so in other people's eyes their way is excellent. Toleration is therefore the only solution." *

* Desai, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

The concept that all religions are equally true is a Hindu idea which finds no place in the Holy Quran where it is clearly stated in no uncertain terms that whoever follows a way of life other than Islam shall not be accepted by God for salvation.

"The Muslims of India in fact face what is a radically new and profound problem; namely, how to live with others as equals ... Yet it is a question on which the past doctrines of Islam offer no immediate guidance. And it is, of course in this particular case immensely complicated by the discouraging fact that the caste Hindus with whom they must live, have not yet learned to live with others either. (p. 288) It is our conviction that the welfare of the Muslim community of India, both mundane and spiritual, lies in its creatively participating in the life of the new nation.... It is our observation that it has moved in this direction during the past five years despite all troubles. Of the various factors contributing to this, the chief has been the success of secularism. That success has, of course, been partial but basic. Not much reflection is needed.... to realise that the survival and welfare of the Muslim community depends squarely on the secularity of the state. The full theological implications of this are as yet far from worked out. Relatively few Muslims, (however, in India) seem to have clung to the Islamic state idea Whatever traditional theology may say, secularism works. (p. 281)

...."

* *Islam in Modern History*, op. cit.

In the years since the above quotation was penned, events in India have proved the fallaciousness of such wishful thinking. Secularism has not worked.** On the contrary, the "secular" state has subjected the Muslims of India, particularly in occupied Kashmir, to wholesale persecution and genocide. The course followed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has led the Muslim community of India to ruin and disaster. How tragic it is that he could not foresee that as an inevitable result of his futile attempt to cooperate and befriend the Hindu majority in order to free India from British rule, the Muslim community has merely exchanged one bondage for another!

** Maulana Abul Kalam Azad left behind him a dedicated band of Muslim quislings such as Chagla, ex-Foreign Minister who when Minister for Education carried on a fierce campaign to persuade his Government to abolish the Muslim personal law, ban polygamy, Purdah and sanction the civil marriage of a Muslim girl to a non-Muslim husband which is prohibited by the Shariah. To promote the national family planning programme, he publicly spoke out in favour of legalizing abortion and making sterilization compulsory for fathers with more than three children. In the heat of the Indo-Pak War (September 6-24, 1965) in a speech over All-India Radio, he boasted of his Hindu ancestry. He then pointed out that most Pakistani Muslims are Hindus racially and ought to be proud of it ! In an extravagant effort to please his Hindu overlords, when Dr. Zakir Hussain assumed the Presidency, he delivered his inaugural address in Sanskrit, afterwards paying his homage to a well-known Hindu holy man by garlanding him with flowers and kissing his feet. His granddaughter now intends to marry Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's son and he fully approves. He is also reported to be partial to the worship of the Hindu god, Vishnu. The so-called Muslim Chief Minister of Pondicherry, M. O. H. Faruq, made a statement in the Tamil weekly, *Kalkandu*, of August 24, 1967 that an "unknown extraordinary power induced him to worship the Hindu god, Lord Muruga that has won his heart and he added that he wishes to raise his son to worship this god. Other Indian periodicals were quick to point out that "a change of heart is taking place in many enlightened and progressive Muslims and that the Chief Minister of Pondicherry is a worthy example!" Sadiq, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, is known to cooperate openly with the Fascist Jana Sangh Party for the genocide of the Kashmiri Muslims. This is Indian secularism in practice!

The above is an excerpt from *Islam and Modernism*, Maryam Jameelah, Mohammad Yusuf Khan & Sons, Lahore, 1965/1988. p.77-87

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- * *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Dr. S.M. Ikram, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1965, pp.142-157
- * *India Wins Freedom*, Abul Kalam Azad, Orient Longmans, Calcutta, 1959.
- * *The Tarjuman ul Quran*, Abul Kalam Azad, English translation by Syed Abdul Latif, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962 (The erudite author unconvincingly tries to prove the compatibility of the Quran to modern Western theories of evolution and also the alleged validity of all religions as merely different paths to the same Truth, as taught by certain Hindu philosophers.) (^^)

(^^) These are the most important classics of Muslim modernism. They belong on the "black-list" and should be approached with extreme caution because they have all done (intentionally or unintentionally) irreparable harm to the Islamic cause.

Abul Kalam Azad

by Rahil Khan

Though he remains an icon of secular nationalism in modern-day India, Azad was actually born in Mecca in 1888 and lived there till he was about seven. His father Khairuddin, a scholar-sufi originally from Calcutta, was persuaded by his Calcuttan disciples to return back to that city. Under the strict tutelage of his father, Azad continued his Islamic studies, though the young prodigy resented the restrictive and authoritarian manner in which this syllabus was taught; therefore, on his own, Azad secretly cultivated a taste for Urdu books and Persian poetry and even learnt to play the sitar. Around this time he also experienced a revulsion against the *pir*-worship of his father's disciples and a diminished desire to succeed his father as *pir*.

By the time he was thirteen, Azad had become totally disillusioned with his Islamic training and found solace in the modernist writings of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. However, the rationalism of Sir Syed only ended up reinforcing the boy's earlier doubts about religion and Azad fell into a period of atheism which, according to him, lasted from the age of 14 to 22. During his later teenage years he seems to have come into close contact with the Hindu revolutionaries of Bengal. A combination of brief travel to the Middle East and his Arabic reading also exposed him more deeply to the reformist ideas of Sheikh Abduh of Egypt and the uncompromising nationalism and anti-imperialism of Mustafa Kamil.

After this period of spiritual homelessness, Azad, by the end of 1909, had an emotional/mystical experience that renewed his faith in religion and galvanised his personality in a dramatic way. Following this 'conversion,' Azad's career really began to take-off in 1912 with the appearance of his Urdu journal *Al-Hilal*. Using breathtaking language, the journal simultaneously preached 'pure' Islam and Indian independence. Through his particular interpretation of Islam, Azad sought to bring Indian Muslims onto the platform of the freedom movement and to work in cooperation with Hindus who were already there. Despite his earlier admiration for Sir Syed, Azad was a harsh critic of the loyalist politics of Aligarh University.

Contrary to what is stated in certain types of historiography in India and Pakistan, Hindu-Muslim cooperation was not something that the Maulana adopted out of expediency or after his eventual meeting with Gandhi. Though the journal was ambiguous about specific methods of cooperation and post-Independence political arrangements, Hindu-Muslim unity was a sentiment he had been partial to from very early on in his life. This is evident in his poignant 1910 essay on the broad-minded Sufi saint Sarmad. However, there was a revivalist tone to *Al-Hilal* which critics would later say inadvertently reinforced communal consciousness among certain

Muslims, even though the rhetorical devices had been used to arouse Muslims out of political lethargy.

When World War I broke out in Europe, the British government, viewing the journal as seditious, expelled Azad from Bengal and placed him under internment in Ranchi for three and a half years. A few weeks after his release, he met Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi for the first time; he accepted Gandhi's program of non-cooperation and became the first prominent Muslim in India to declare himself an ally of the Mahatma. The massacres at Jallianwala Bagh had set all Indians afire, but Indian Muslims too in 1920 were greatly perturbed by the British government's handling of the Turkish empire and the *Khilafat* during the War. In consultation with Azad, Gandhi persuaded the Congress to make the demand for the protection of the *Khilafat* a part of the national demand for freedom. The overlapping relationship between the Congress and the *Khilafat* Conference ended up bringing Muslims in large numbers to the freedom movement.

By 1921 Hindu-Muslim unity in the country seemed to be at an all-time high, and Azad was soon arrested. Yet this solidarity, while impressively achieved, proved to be a short-lived; upon his release in 1923, the country was passing through a particularly strong wave of communal rioting. In addition to other important factors, Muslims were shocked out of their reverie because of the Turkish government's move to abolish the *Khilafat*. The ambiguous results of the *Khilafat* Movement has provoked criticism from some latter-day historians over Azad's attempts at 'fusing' religion with politics. By unsystematically using Quranic arguments to support the *Khilafat* Movement and Hindu-Muslim cooperation, it has been suggested that Azad inadvertently cultivated identity politics among Muslims and allowed some of his ideas to be misconstrued by more communal interests.

Azad came to realize that in politics he could only be guided by the general principles of his religion and his knowledge of Indian Muslim history, rather than through invoking specific textual injunctions. By this time, he was also increasingly becoming an active member on the Congress stage, and his mediating skills largely prevented a split in the party between constitutionalists like Motilal Nehru and non-cooperatists like Vallabhbhai Patel. Though he continued his efforts to bring various Muslim organizations in line with Congress and involved in the freedom movement, in 1928 serious differences arose between the Congress and organizations like the Muslim League and the *Khilafat* Conference over the Nehru report. Azad was forced to break ties with the latter two organizations.

In 1930, the Congress declared complete independence as the goal of the national movement, and civil disobedience continued in vigour following Gandhi's famous Salt March. Azad was imprisoned twice in a row during this period, and then released

League to avoid splitting the country; but both Jinnah's single-mindedness and certain Congress mistakes prevented any settlement from occurring.

The Maulana reluctantly relinquished the Congress presidency in 1946, hoping that this would open an avenue between the Congress and the League; the latter party had refused to acknowledge a Muslim presence within the former one. He kept out of the coalition government formed that year, but in 1947, at Gandhi's urging, he became Minister of Education. Azad had been totally opposed to Mountbatten's plan for dividing the country, but by March of that year, Partition had become an inevitability; the polarization within the interim government, formed between the Congress and the League, and the rising communal violence throughout India had become too much. Though, like Gandhi, he was forced to accept Partition, he could never reconcile himself to it and was totally heartbroken by the event and its bloody aftermath.

Following Independence, he would hold the post of Minister of Education for ten years. Though he was not a particularly effective administrator, he did perform some important services such as cultivating technical, adult, and women's education, and an academy of literature, as well as opposing the ejection of English as a national language. As in earlier years, he could not project the mystical piety of, say, a Baba Farid needed to draw the Muslim and Hindu masses to him; but his belief in religious pluralism and the need for a humanistic outlook broadened even further, and he openly identified parallels between Vedantic and Sufi thought in some of his addresses. His last years were marked by sadness and loneliness, a consequence of a life lived so individualistically. Abul Kalam Azad died in 1958 of a stroke and was buried in a dignified corner in Old Delhi near the Jama Masjid. It is a great irony that, while possessing a thorough Islamic training, Azad ended up espousing a secular nationalism informed by personal religious sensibilities, while his opponent Jinnah, a modernist with a minimal religious upbringing, ended up vying for a separate Muslim state informed by purely political considerations.

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A Gateway For Muslim Indians



A True Nationalist

Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958)

"He was fifty the day he was born," said Sarojini Naidu, referring to Azad's accomplishments as a youth.

Abul Kalam Mohiuddin Ahmad as he was named was born in Mecca in 1888. His father Maulana Khairuddin was a scholar and divine who had suffered in 1857 at the British's hands.

In Calcutta at the age of 16, Azad had attained high levels in Arabic, Persian and in religious studies. In 1906 he joined one of Bengal's revolutionary groups. Finding that their activities were confined to Bengal and Bihar, Azad persuaded the revolutionaries to start secret societies in several towns of the north India and Bombay.

In 1908 shortly after his "political ideas has turned towards revolutionary activities" Azad visited Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Turkey and returned to India "more convinced than ever" that Indian Muslims must cooperate in the work of political liberation of the country. Al- Hilal- "a brilliant paper, written in a new moving style, amazingly forceful" possessing a "prodigious influence" was a result of this conviction. In it he urged a joint Hindu Muslim struggle against British but he had not referred to non-cooperation or non-violence. When Gandhi used these terms, Azad instantly saw their significance and announced himself as Gandhi's ally, the first prominent Muslim to do so in India.

In the early 1920's, if Mohammed Ali Jinnah was voice of the Muslim community Azad was its mind. He was the ideologue, familiar with scripture, clear in thought and expression, speaking with the ring of authority. His religious views were courageous, unusual and unorthodox. Even so a large number of devout Muslims responded to him because of his eloquence and because purity of faith was suggested by the clarity of his message.

In 1921 when Azad was arrested, he boycotted the courts and issued a written statement entitled "Qaul-e-Faisal or the final verdict." Described by the Gandhi as "the most forceful and truthful statement offered by a satyagrahi."

After releasing from the jail Azad played an important role in avoiding the split in the congress. At a very young age of 35 years Azad was asked to preside when congress met in 1923 to decide its future course.. In 1930 Azad finished the translation of "Tarjuman," a Translation of, and commentary on, eighteen of the Qur'an's thirty chapters. In it he concluded that the Qur'an did not ask adherents of other religions to embrace Islam as a wholly new faith. In fact it asked them "to return to the true form of their own religion". Distinguishing between the principle of religion (din) and its form, Azad found the Qur'anic concept " comprehensive enough to include all forms of monotheism".

Later when the 1935 Act was passed, Azad became a key member of congress's parliamentary board, formed to regulate congress's entry into legislatures.

In 1938 when Subhash Chandra Bose's term as congress president ended, Gandhi proposed Azad's name but he refused the offer and did not wish to offend his numerous friends in Bengal, where Bose had become a hero. But, later in 1939 Azad became the president of the congress party.

During the Quit India struggle in 1942, Azad was imprisoned in Ahmednagar fort and he wrote a series of letters describing his days in prison which were later published as "Ghubar-i-Khatir."

When Wavell as part of the Wavell plan appointed an executive council comprising of representative Indians, Jinnah refused to join it if Azad or any non-league Muslim was included. However, in 1946 Azad joined the interim government and became the education minister.

Azad tried his best to stop the partition of the country. As an Indian he hated the slicing of India into two. As a Muslim he thought, as he said in April 1946, that the millions of Muslims remaining in the Hindu majority provinces "will awaken overnight and discover that they have become aliens and foreigners...left to the mercies of what then would become an unadulterated Hindu raj."

By 1947, Patel had become quite keen on division and that Nehru too was reconciled to this fact. Azad, in his own words "was surprised and pained" when Patel, frustrated at every step by the polarisation in the interim government, told him that "whether we liked it or not, there were two nations in India." Nehru spoke to Azad "in sorrow"; still, as Azad put it, he "asked me to give up my opposition to partition." After partition, Muslims looked to Azad for guidance in independent India and Hindus admired him for having stood up to Jinnah.

Using scholarly and scriptural arrow, Azad demolished the notion that Hindu- Muslim partnership was un-Islamic and he espoused his view with unwavering consistency. While Muhammad Ali called him "stubborn" and Jinnah said he was congress's "showboy", but even the Azad's greatest opponents had to concede the "Stability of his character and immutability of his faith."

After independence Patel's death made Nehru all powerful and reduced Azad's importance to him. But he was still "companion, friend, colleague, comrade" to Nehru as the later would say on Azad's death.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

He was famous Indian Muslim scholar and a leader of the Indian National Congress before independence, later becoming federal education minister in India. He writes:

"There are serious misconceptions regarding what is jihad. Many people think that jihad means only to fight. The critics of Islam too labour under this misunderstanding, whereas to think thus is to utterly narrow the practical scope of this sacred commandment. *Jihad* means to strive to the utmost. In the Quran and Sunna terminology, this utmost exertion, which is undertaken for the sake of truth rather than personal ends, is indicated by the word jihad. This effort could be with one's life, or property, or expenditure of time, or by bearing labour and hardship, or fighting the enemy and shedding blood."

(Mas'ala Khilafat, p.47)

Prophets' Ancestors in the Holy Quran

The Holy Quran has not just left the matter at explaining the law of procreation through a **pair** of parents, but where it mentions the prophets collectively, it states that they all had ancestors (on the father's side). We give below a translation of the Urdu rendering of verses 6:83-87 of the Holy Quran by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a very famous Indian Muslim scholar and writer of this century:

"And (took), this was Our argument which We gave to Abraham, against his people...And We gave to Abraham, Isaac and (Isaac's son) Jacob. We guided them all to the right way, and had guided Noah before Abraham. And from the descendants of Abraham, We Guided David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses and Aaron. Thus do We reward the doers of good (for their good). And to Zacharias, John the Baptist, Jesus and Ilyas---all of these were of the Righteous. And also to Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah and Lot---We Graced them over the people of the world. And of **their fathers** and Descendants and brothers, many did We guide aright. We elevated Them and guided them to the right path."

(Tarjuman al-Quran, vol. I, 1st ed., pp. 433—434)

Meaning Of Islam And Muslim

The Quran

This day [the day of the Prophet's 'Farewell Address' on which the last verse of the Quran was revealed] have I made perfect for you your religion, and have completed My favour towards you, and am satisfied with Islam for you as your religion. -- V:3

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

How strange that in every special case
one praises one's own way!
If Islam means "surrender into God's will"
it's in Islam that we all live and die.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Azad Islam and Nationalism

According to him [Azad] the real objectives of the Quran are the following three principles:

1. It made faith and deed the sole means of salvation, and not affiliation to any particular group.
2. It emphasized the fact that religion revealed by God was but one for all mankind, and that therefore every deviation from this was a clear aberration.
3. It emphasized that real religion was direct worship of but one God without any mediating agency, and that this was the main teaching of all prophets, and that every belief and practice which conflicted with it was therefore a deviation from it and indeed a denial of it."

... Azad developed this principle in his *Tarjuman al Quran* which is, without any exaggeration unparalleled in Islamic literature. Unity of Faith is his central idea, but this does not mean that all historical religions as they exist today are true or that there is truth in every religion, ... but that "All religions as originally delivered are true."

... Azad's real contribution consists in clearly defining the difference between *Din* and law, or *Shar'ah*. The division of Faith into many religions starts with the identification of these two aspects i.e. *Din* and *Shar'ah*. The followers of the different religions tend to forget the real message of the revealed religion, and the law of the practical way is overemphasised. The

emphasis is shifted from the 'end' to the 'means'. The Quran in one of the verses, explains the 'raison de etre' of these differences in the laws as an expression of the Divine law itself. It says, "For each we have appointed a divine law and traced out the way. Had Allah willed He could have made you one community. But that He may try you by that which He hath given you He made you as ye are. So vie one with another in good works. Unto Allah ye will all return, and will then inform you of that wherein ye differ" (5/48) Quran accepts the existential differences of human behaviour, and instead of wishing them away it reminds men of different faiths that they will all return to God. It is a recurrent theme of the Quran. -- p.50 to 52

[Azad was president of the Congress Party during negotiations for India's independence, the only person twice elected president, and a renowned scholar of Islam.]

Muhammad Asad, The Message of the Quran

... the Quran cannot be correctly understood if we read it merely in the light of later ideological developments, losing sight of its original purport and the meaning which it had - and was intended to have - for the people who first heard it from the lips of the Prophet himself. For instance when his contemporaries heard the words islam and muslim, they understood them as denoting man's "self-surrender to God" and "one who surrenders himself to God," without limiting himself to any specific community or denomination - e.g., in 3:67, where Abraham is spoken of as having "surrendered himself unto God" (kana musliman), or in 3:52 where the disciples of Jesus say, "Bear thou witness that we have surrendered ourselves unto God (bianna musliman)." In Arabic, this original meaning has remained unimpaired, and no Arab scholar has ever become oblivious of the wide connotation of these terms. Not so, however, the non-Arab of our day, believer and non-believer alike: to him, islam and muslim usually bear a restricted, historically circumscribed significance, and apply exclusively to the followers of the Prophet Muhammad. -- Foreword, p. vi

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD [1888-1958]

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a prominent Indian scholar, argues that there is nothing more prominent in the pages of the Quran than its declaration that it has not come to institute a new religion but to deliver humanity from the quarrals that arise out of divergent religious groupings and to call all men to the same one path which is the agreed and common path of all religions. The Quran did not demand of the follower of any religion that he should accept some new religion. It demanded of every single religious group that it should stick to the real teachings of its religion, shorn of all perversions and interpolations. The Quran says that if you do this my task is fulfilled, because as soon as you revert to the real teaching of your religion, you will be facing the same reality towards which I am calling you. My message is not a new message, it is the same old universal message which all the founders of religion have delivered.²⁰

Abul Kalam Azad says that Islam did not follow the method adopted by the farmers of the French Napoleonic Code who produced a mass of detailed rules and regulations. If it had done this, it would not have been a universal religion, but a religion for a particular nation and for a particular time. Therefore, it did not involve itself in details but laid down foundational principles, from which detailed laws could be derived as and when the need arose. The Islamic polity started its life in a limited territory and environment. Therefore, its political and penal laws were also very few. As the Islamic territory expanded and new needs arose, the legists of Islam deduced detailed rules from the foundational principles. All these detailed rules and regulations are not, therefore, the direct injunctions of Islam. Therefore, a distinction should be made between the direct teachings of Islam and the laws derived therefrom by the legists.²¹

Abul Kalam Azad believes that "all religions have two aspects, one of which forms their essence, the hard core of their truth. Another aspect is the outer garb in which they are clothed. The Quran says that the first aspect is Din, the second aspect is Shairab or Minhaj. The Quran points out that in the first aspect, that is Din, all religions are essentially the same. All the differences between religions relate to the second aspect, that is the Shariah or the external texture of religion consisting of laws, customs and modes of worship. It was quite natural that such differences should arise. Religion aims at the welfare of humanity, but humanity has to pass through different conditions in every age and in every country. Different nations are at different levels of culture and intelligence. Therefore, when religion appeared in these nations, it prescribed for them a different set of laws in accordance with their level of culture and intelligence. Thus Shariah or Minhaj differed in each nation and whatever shape it took was appropriate to the conditions of the time and the level of culture attained by each nation, but Din or the essential truth of religion was the same

for all. This is the Quranic stand."22

One of the major causes for the decadence of nations, according to Azad, has been the exclusive monopoly of power exercised by religious authorities. "To destroy this poison Islam suggested a remedy which was that every individual in the Muslim community should perform the duty of commanding the good (Amr bil M'arouf) so that it should not remain the monopoly of any particular group, and no class of priests like the Brahmins and the fathers of the Catholic Church should exercise authority over the common people in the community. But since many centuries Muslims have bound themselves by the chains they had come to break and the Muslim ulema have claimed a hereditary right over this duty of commanding the good, making it impossible for the common Muslims to perform this duty."23

Azad believed in divine guidance and says that the faculty of reason, however, has one important limitation. It deals with material things, powers, laws and modes of thought; in other words, the realm of science. It has nothing to teach about matters of faith and the life spiritual.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

(1888-1958)

President - Delhi, 1923 (Special Session); Ramgarh, 1940

Born in 1888, Firoz Bakht (of exalted destiny), commonly called Muhiyuddin Ahmad, was two when his parents settled at Calcutta; his father, Maulana Khairuddin, became famous here as a spiritual guide.

Still in his teens, Muhiyuddin using the pseudonym Abul Kalam Azad acquired a high reputation for his writings on religion and literature in the standard Urdu journals of the time. The education Azad received, mostly from his father, was traditional. He did not go to any Madrasah, nor did he attend any modern institution of western education. Learning at home he completed the traditional course of higher Islamic education at sixteen instead of the normal twenty or twenty-five. About the same time he was exposed to the writings of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Keeping it a secret from his father, he started leaning English and by his own effort acquired enough

knowledge of the language to study advanced books on history and philosophy.

This led him, although unnoticed by others, to the stage of what he called '-atheism' and 'sinfulness.' Azad remained in this stage of spiritual dilemma till the age of twenty-two. About the same time Azad's political ideas were also in turmoil. He wanted to see his country free from the British rule. But he did not approve of the Congress movement on account of its 'slowness': also he could not join the Muslim League whose political goal he found unpredictable. Thus he associated himself with the Hindu revolutionaries of Bengal in spite of their 'exclusive' and indifferent attitude to the Muslims. He managed, however, to convince them that the systematic exclusion of the Muslims from the group would ultimately make political struggle much more difficult.

For politicalising his community Azad started from July 13, 1912 an Urdu weekly, the Al-Hilal (The Crescent), from Calcutta. Its influence was prodigious. Azad was politically and religiously radical. The paper... shocked the conservatives and created a furore; but there were many Muslims ready to follow him. In the pages of the Al-Hilal Azad began to criticize the 'loyal' attitude of the Muslims to the British, and the 'hostile' attitude of the British to the Muslim world in general. The Government of Bengal unhappy with editorial policy, put pressure on the paper. Meanwhile World War I broke out and publication was banned in 1914 by the Bengal Government. From November 12, 1915, Abul Kalam started a new weekly, the Al-Balagh from Calcutta, which continued till March 31, 1916. The publication of the Al-Balagh was also banned by the Government of Bengal and Maulana Azad was exiled from Calcutta under the Defence of India Regulations.. The Governments of Punjab, Delhi, U.P. and Bombay had already prohibited his entry into their provinces under the same Regulations. The only province he could conveniently stay in was Bihar, and he went therefore to Ranchi, where he was interned till January 1, 1920.

From 1920 till 1945 Abul Kalam Azad was in and out of prison a number of times. After he was released from Ranchi he was elected President of the All-India Khilafat Committee (Calcutta session in 1920), and President of the Unity Conference (Delhi) in 1924. In 1928 he presided over the Nationalist Muslim Conference. He was appointed in

Inbc 1937 a member of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee to guide the Provincial Congress Ministries. He was twice elected President of the Indian National Congress, the first time in 1923 when he was only thirty-five years old, and the second time in 1940. He continued as the President of the Congress till 1946, for no election was held during this period as almost every Congress leader was in prison on account of the Quit India Movement (1942). After the leaders were released Maulana Azad, as the President of the Congress, led the negotiations with the British Cabinet Mission in 1946, and when India became independent he was appointed Education Minister, a position in which he continued till his death on February 22, 1958.

R Azad's religious ideas were not widely influential. He expressed himself in Urdu, and thus limited himself to a particular group. The majority of the Indians did not really know what Azad was saying. Another reason was political. He was in the Congress, and was considered a party-man. Thus whatever he said about the unity of religion was taken by many Muslims, who used to read, him, as the reflection of his political ideas, and, therefore, had to be discarded. Also, on the question of Muslims' traditional religious education, Azad was unorthodox. He was among those few who were not shaken in their faith in composite nationalism even by partition. He was a great, orator and a matchless writer.

- Mushirul Haq

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> 2. I am, now, finishing my mini thesis about Azad view
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> (ii) how is the relation between religion and state
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> (iii) why Azad change his ideology from islam to
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> 4. Sir, I wait your respon for complete my observing
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> 5. I hope your attention can help my mini thesis for
> my graduate at State Islamia Institute Sunan Kalijaga
> Yogyakarta;
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> 6. Thanis , Sir.
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> Your brother in religion,
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> Zulfan Hasibuan
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