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COULD PAN-ISLAMISM BE A POLITICALLY ECONOMIC SOLUTION IN INDONESIA?

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Information	Abstract:
Article History: Received : 06.08.2022 Revised : 28.09.2022 Accepted : 07.10.2022	<i>The economy in Indonesia is currently not doing well. This can be seen from Indonesia's economic growth data which is minus to 5.32 percent, which causes the Indonesian economy to become fragile and requires us to continue to think about how to stabilize the economy again. So, a strong analysis and an intelligent way of thinking are needed in overcoming this problem. This study aims to offer a concept from one of the Islamic authorities, namely Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, with his Islamic reform, namely Pan-Islamism in overcoming political economic problems that occur in Indonesia. By using descriptive analytical methods and qualitative approaches that contradict his thinking, namely Pan-Islamism with several other Islamic scientists' thoughts and coupled with using data from previous studies. Finally, this article presents the concept of political economy which is believed to be able to create a better Indonesian economy. Some of the principles emphasized are the need for the Islamic world to unite together against foreign forces in the crucible of Pan Islamism, because the source of weakness of the Islamic world is the weak solidarity of Muslims. Then Muslims must unite both in political and economic terms, the Leader of the State must spread his call and ideas about reform and renewal in all aspects of life, whether political, economic, social and cultural, are comprehensive for all Muslims around the world where Individuals help each other. So that it can be applied to achieve the political renewal of human economy in this era.</i>
Keywords: Pan-Islamism, Political Economy, Jamluddin Al-Afghani	

A. INTRODUCTION

Ichsanuddin Noorsy is one of the economic figures as well as a political observer revealing that the economy in Indonesia is currently not doing well. (*Ichsanuddin Noorsy Calls Indonesia's Economic Structure Fragile*, n.d.) This can be seen from Indonesia's economic growth data which is minus to 5.32 percent, causing the Indonesian economy to become fragile. (*Central Bureau of Statistics*, n.d.) In addition, the higher the dollar exchange rate against the rupiah from year to year can be seen from the exchange rate data, from 1 dollar equal to Rp372, up Rp415, up to Rp600, up to Rp800, to Rp1,000, and now Rp14,500. (Nizar, 2012) We can conclude that Indonesia's economic growth is currently fragile and requires us to continue to think about how to make the economic situation stable again. Strong analysis and smart thinking are needed in overcoming this problem. (Prof. Dr. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, 2019).

Economic globalization with all its implications, such as politics, ecology, and sociology is engineered by the forces of Western capitalism. (Science & Humanities, 2021) Various polemics of globalization such as free trade, market deregulation, privatization of SOEs, liberalization of capital markets, floating exchange rates and so on, basically cannot achieve their main goals. (Zaenurrosyid, 2016) The main objective is to maintain Western hegemony over developing countries. As a result, developing countries have never developed in quality, but stagnated and even regressed. Indonesia as a former colony does not mean that it must submit to economic colonization carried out by Western imperialists. (Akhmad Nur Zaron, 1992) Because the declaration of independence is a declaration of sovereignty and independence, both politically and economically. Indonesia needs to reaffirm the people's economy or Pancasila economy to be free from the shackles of economic globalization, so that the economic potential in Indonesia is used for the welfare and prosperity of the people, not for the benefit of oligarchs. (Muhammad Fazry, 2018).

The renewal of political economy today is very concerning because of the renewal and modernization which until now has not been a political economic solution. According to Henny Saptatia Drajabati Nugrahani and Audrey G. Tangkudung Pitra Ratulangi, Globalization is a process of dependence (interdependence) between

events, people and governments around the world, which are rapidly connected through a global political economy, growing communication, transportation and free trade. (Pitra Ratulangi, 2021) According to Jamaluddin Al-Afghani the renewal of political economy through Pan-Islamism is divided into two phases: The first phase: that is, a stage where he is moved to acquire knowledge in his various fields. And the second phase, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani spread his call and ideas about reform and renewal in all aspects of life, whether political, economic, social and cultural, are comprehensive for all Muslims around the world. (Aderus, 2017, p. 25).

The progress of Western civilization influenced the existence of the world and the politics of Islam. Jamaluddin Al-Afghani sought to raise the spirit of unity of Muslims to escape the influence and shadow of the West, as well as his efforts to improve the internal conditions of Muslims, both social, political and religious. (Arbi Mulya Sirait, 2020) Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, a reformer who has his own uniqueness, peculiarities, and mysteries. Departing from the above division of Islamic patterns, Afghani occupies a unique position in responding to Western domination of Islam. (Hawi, 2017b) According to Smith, he was the first Muslim activist-revivalist to use Islamic and Western concepts as historical phenomena with correlative connotations. He was very active in both the inward reform movements and the outward defense and defense movements. (Prof. Dr. H.J. Suyuthi Pulungan, 1970).

It is in this Pan-Islamism that Jamaluddin Al-Afghani not only discusses theology or tawhid about the teachings of the Islamic religion, but the more dominant thing is to discuss how to create a sense of unity and unity between Muslims. (Muslikhati, 2012) How the study evokes a sense of national rationalism that must indeed be raised from each individual, namely the people and to be aware of what threats may come from outside countries, other religions, other forces and so on. (Haris Riadi, 2012) And finally, how to get Muslims back to the true teachings of Islam, awaken the fighting spirit of life, arouse self-confidence that our people are capable, not only what foreign nations are doing that raises projects in Indonesia, will support many Indonesians who are able to work abroad and many Indonesian scholars who do complicated things and they are able to complete them.

Al-Afghani's thoughts on rationalism are not much different from those of Shah Waliullah al-Dahlawi, it can be seen in his very famous masterpiece, namely in the

book *Hujjatullah al-Balighah*, he explained a lot about the rationality of the rules of Sharia for human behavior and as well as the development of society. (Azmi & Syamsuri, 2019) According to him, humans are naturally social beings so they must cooperate with one another. The cooperation in question can be business cooperation (*mudharabah, musyarakah*), agricultural management cooperation, and so on. Islam prohibits activities that undermine the spirit to cooperate, such as gambling and usury. With these two prohibitions, it will make a positive contribution to human civilization.

Therefore, based on the discussion above, this study aims to find out how Jamaluddin Al-Afghani overcame Western hegemony and Western imperialists who wanted to control developing countries by conducting political and economic colonization. Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, who fights for Pan-Islamism, namely the movement to unify Muslims, can be a solution for Indonesian politics and economy. According to Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, one of the causes of the political economic decline was due to the lack of a sense of unity of Muslims and society that was increasingly moving away from the teachings of Islam.

B. LITERATUR REVIEW

One of the most brilliant and innovative reformers who responded to the Islamic challenge to modernity was Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1838–1877). (Zaenal Abidin 1994) The reform ideas of Afghani are; Al-Afghani's reformist ideas are as follows: First, Western colonization, which is a continuation of the crusade, is the primary adversary; Second, Muslims must resist colonialism everywhere and at any time; Thirdly, Muslims must unite or Pan-Islamism in order to achieve this objective. (Syahuri Arsyi 2020) Al-Afghani's political rebirth concept is pan-Islamism. This concept teaches all Muslims to unite to free themselves from foreign slavery. Islamic kingdoms cannot become one, but they must share a common outlook on life. Pan-Islamism, in its broadest sense, refers to solidarity among all Muslims worldwide (Khairiyanto 2020).

By adhering to the themes of Islamic teachings as a stimulant, al-Afghani continues to inflame the spirit of the struggle against colonialism at every opportunity. In addition, he inspired people to return to sunnatullah theology with

rational, philosophical, and scientific ideas to catch up with the West.(Nasbi 2019) The social and religious backwardness experienced by the people of Afghanistan and the Islamic world served as the foundation for the revival of Islamic thought. Jamaluddin al-Afghani was able to unite Muslims and the Islamic world through his pan-Islamism and foster nationalism among them.(Maryam 2014)

The Islamic ummah has gone through a golden period in its history, when it controlled many fields of knowledge and became the center of the world. Muslims should be inspired by this fact to overcome the current situation. It is unfortunate that Muslims see this achievement as nothing more than something to be proud of.(Stianto and Syamsuri 2019) In addition, Muslims believe that the resulting text is final and that critical analysis of literature and the realities of its life is unnecessary. Al-Afgani, on the other hand, opposes this paradigm because they emphasize the importance of rational reasoning in the study of religion and imitate the actions of their predecessors. Al-Afgani is also aware that the time of awakening is important for Muslims. From the perspective of al-Afghani said that in the social and political world, unity, openness, and cooperation are needed to obtain noble values and contribute to progress.(Khairiyanto 2020)

As discussed above, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, an Islamic warrior figure, dedicated a significant portion of his life to Islamic service and struggle. He fights without hesitation against the injustice and authoritarianism of a government. His determination to uphold the truth is a distinctive trait of his character. His internal struggle was extraordinary, as evidenced by his ongoing efforts in a variety of countries to rescue Islam from the trap of materialism's ability to divide Muslims. As a result, Afghani and Pan Islamism attempted to reunite Muslims all over the world and broaden the opportunities for Islamic societies to live independently without Western assistance in various ways so that Muslims and the West did not depend on each other.(Sukmanila 2005)

So, from several previous studies, many have discussed Jamaluddin Al-Afghani both in terms of biography and innovation. Ideas, concepts, thoughts, ideas both in the social and political world, and their cooperation to obtain noble values and can contribute to progress. In particular, much has been discussed about its political concept, namely Pan-Islamism. However, not much has been discussed about whether

this concept can improve politics in Indonesia. So that in the future Indonesian politics can be better if it follows the political form of previous scholars or scholars.

C. METHODOLOGY

This research uses a descriptive qualitative methodology. By using literature and previous literature studies. The primary source of data from this study is to confirm the thoughts of Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, namely Pan-Islamism with several Islamic scientists and coupled with using data from previous studies. In this study, the author takes the concept of Pan-Islamism as outlined in the story of Jamaluddin Al-Afghani. So that it can be applied to achieve the political renewal of human economy in this era. (Shamsuri, Syofi Aruni Mafaza, 2021).

D. RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Jamaluddi Al-Afghani and Pan-Islamism

The modern era is a condition of concern for Muslims. Much of the Islamic world was colonized by Europeans which resulted in the fall of Egypt in the grip of the West. This converted the Islamic world to its weakness and made it aware that in the West a new, higher civilization had emerged and was a threat to Islam. Finally came the idea of renewal in this period. The ideas of renewal originated from the reduction and intensive study of Islamic doctrines contained in the Qur'an and Hadith. One of the most brilliant figures and early pioneers in responding to the challenges of modernity was Jamaluddin Al-Afghani. (Maryam, 2014).

Jamaluddin Al-Afghani was the first reformer in the renewal of influential Islamic thought, particularly in Egypt. He is more of a political leader than a leader and thinker of Islamic renewal, but the activities he carries out are based on ideas about renewal in Islam. He was also the first to pioneer a reinterpretation of Islam, which emphasized the qualities necessary for the modern world to liberate the people from the backwardness, ignorance and setbacks that Muslims experience. (Haryono, 2021).

From the point of view of political theory, Al-Afghani is a major opponent of despotics and defenders of a popularly supported democratic system. According to him, Muslims need to emulate the West in certain positive ways, but still be consistent

with the basic values of Islamic teachings. (Sukmanila, 2019) He did not hesitate to socialize the idea of a republican-shaped state and the head of state was elected by the people in a democratic way. Because with such a principle, deliberation as an important pillar in running a government is more open to implementation. With the principle of deliberation, it will avoid the authority of the ruler. (Sukmanila, 2019).

According to Jamaludin Al-Afghani, there were two political factors that led to the decline of Islam, namely internal factors, including: Autocrat-absolute rule, lack of military equipment and strength, including a lack of professionalism in the administrative sphere. The deterioration of the estheternal factor, that is, the predominance of the forces of modern Western imperialism. For example in Afghanistan there has been a conflict between the royal family and the ruler, it was because of British politics and it was because of British deceit that he moved to India. (Hawi, 2017) Many Muslims view Jamaluddin Al-Afghani as a hero of the Qur'an, a leader who controls Muslims and is always his spirit. (Saefuddin, 2003: 45) Jamaluddin Al-Afghani is also seen as a great hero who devoted his life to defending Islam from Western attacks, not only religiously, intellectually and culturally but also politically (Amin, 2000: 89).

Al-Afghani was one of the most prominent pioneers of modern Islamic political thought that inspired the emergence of various socio-political movements throughout the Muslim world (Azra, 2002: 247). Renowned as an accomplished orator and true politician, Al-Afghani has always based his religious and political activities on his ideas of renewal in Islam. He was anti-authoritarian rule. Therefore, Afghani often moved from one country to another, this he did because often in one country he experienced expulsion by local rulers. This was also done by Al-Biruni as an Islamic intellectual figure who had a brilliant idea, starting from his love for science. (Mohammad Hanief Sirajulhuda, 2019) Starting from him moving around in search of various sciences, until later he produced various works in various disciplines. Finally, his various thoughts have contributed to the advancement of civilization, both for Islamic civilization and western civilization today.

Jamaluddin Al-Afghani's political talents were evident early on. At the age of 22, he helped prince Dost Muhammad Khan in Afghanistan, then at the age of approximately 25 he became an adviser to Sher Ali Khan, and a few years after that

Afghani was appointed prime minister by A'zam Khan. (Hawi, 2017a) His political journey to various countries deserves the spotlight, all he did to shake the position of authoritarian rulers, rulers who went off the rails of mandate, and also to resist Western domination of Muslim Lands. (Sukmanila, 2019).C

But he often engages in opposition to leaders, although it is the leader who has invited him into his country. For example, in the case of Iran, he was invited to Iran for Iranian-Russian affairs, but the Authoritarian attitude of the Shah led him to oppose the Shah and argue that the Shah should be overthrown. But this stance of his made him displaced from Iran. (Hawi, 2017a) A more tragic fate he received when he was in turkey, instead of being an adviser to sultan Hamid II, Afghani ended up as a city prisoner until the end of his life. As for the ideas of renewal of Jamaludin Al-Afghani, in the field of politics are as follows:

1. Pan-Islamism

One of Al-Afghani's most popular ideas is Pan-Islamism. He is even considered the most responsible person with the idea. (Arbi Mulya Sirait, 2020) With this in mind, Al-Afghani is generally seen as an advocate in the context of efforts to purify the creed and teachings of Islam, as well as the restoration of the integrity of Muslims, Afghani advocates the establishment of a political bond that unites all Muslims (Jami'ah Islamiyah) or Pan-Islamism. (D. Sirojuddin AR, 2004).

According to Afghani, the political association should include all Muslims from all corners of the Islamic world, both those living in independent countries, including Persia, and those who are still colonized people. The bond, which is based on the solidarity of the Islamic creed, aims to foster the solidarity and unity of Muslims in the first struggle, oppose anyspotic or arbitrary system of government and replace it with a system of government based on deliberation as Islam teaches, it also means opposing the absolute Ottoman system of government and opposing colonialism and Western domination. (Saputra, 2018).

During his lifetime Jamaluddin Al-Afghani did strive to bring about that unity and became known as Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism does not mean the melting of Islamic kingdoms into one, but they must have one unified view in cooperation. Unity and cooperation are very important joints in Islam. Islamic unity can only be achieved if they are in the actual unity of a universal Islamic

political entity whose political project is centered on Pan-Islamism or the unity and unity of the Muslim State (Nasr, 1994: 3-5).

This view brings back to the pure teachings of Islam, namely the Quran and the Sunnah of the Apostle (Asmuni, 1998: 77). Afghani sought to regroup the power of the scattered Islamic world. He believed that the rise of Islam was the responsibility of the Muslims, not the responsibility of the Creator. The future of muslims will not be glorious unless they make themselves big men. They must get up and get rid of negligence. (Hawi, 2017a).

They must know reality, break away from resignation. He explained the depravity of Muslims and explained that the Islamic world is under threat. The threat comes from the West which has dynamic forces. Afghani called on Muslims to make improvements internally, cultivate the strength to survive and adopt the fruits of Western civilization, especially in the field of science and technology to restore the glory of Islam. The West must be confronted because it is he who threatens Islam. (Khairiyanto, 2020).

The way to deal with it is to imitate it in positive ways, in addition to its rules of freedom and democracy. Afghani were the first Muslim reformers to use the terms Islam and the West as two phenomena that were always contradictory. An opposition that must instead be used as a benchmark for Muslim thinking, namely to liberate Muslims from fear and exploitation by Europeans. Furthermore, Afghani's thinking was continued and developed by his students, namely Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridha. Furthermore, the modern Islamic thought they developed was not only at the level of discourse, but was transformed by subsequent followers into a movement. (Prof. Dr. H.J. Suyuthi Pulungan, 1970).

2. Political Theory of Economics

In carrying out good governance, various economic policies are used by the government to manage the economy, especially related to fiscal policies including state revenues and expenditures. This fiscal sector is a sector that involves the role of the state and is considered an effective tool for achieving economic goals. Islamic political economy must be studied with its own worldview and

epistemology. However, on the other hand, we cannot deny the role and position of political science and economics now in the process of developing political science of Islamic economics. The study of political-economic epistemology covers the intervention and role of the state in the economy, especially in terms of public policy. (Irkhami, 2016).

The creation of prosperity is part of economic discipline, while the policies and strategies carried out by the state become the territory of political study. In other words, this study covers the problems of the economic system and government interference with the people's economy. Thus, the science of political economy has implications for two things: first, how to allocate limited resources efficiently so that it can produce optimal output. Second, compile a detailed formulation of cooperation or competition so that there is no conflict. (Maryam, 2014).

The rational argument regarding the importance of initiating Islamic economic politics is the fact that today the ideology that many countries in the world embrace is capitalism. Kartosuwiryo has his own views on the Islamic State, namely Islam as an ideology that is very influential in life and politics. (Suryana, 2019) The current thinking and application of Islamic economics is only in aspects of *micro finance*, and even then with a very small *market share*. Thus it has not touched the order of *al-mawqif al-duali* (international constellation) and has no influence on international relations. (Aderus, 2017).

In contrast to this approach, political economy in Islam is a guarantee of the fulfillment of all basic needs (*al-hajat al-asasiyyah*) for each individual and also the fulfillment of various secondary and tertiary needs (*al-hajat al-kamaliyyah*) according to the level of individual ability in a particular society with peculiarities in it. The emphasis on individual prosperity in the definition shows that the focal point of solving Islamic economic problems lies in individual rather than communal problems at the aggregate (national) level. (Maryam, 2014).

In general, the principles of Islamic economic and political policy consist of four things, namely: 1. Every citizen is seen as having equal rights in terms of meeting needs. 2. Fulfillment of basic needs is carried out thoroughly (completely). 3. Every individual has the right to obtain employment with the aim

of acquiring wealth and increasing the prosperity of his life. 4. The provisions of sharia should be applied in all interactions involving individuals within society. (Aderus, 2017).

In the above points the political economy of capitalism is different from the political economy of Islam. Islamic economic politics is a state policy to ensure the fulfillment of all the basic needs of the people, people, as a whole, and to guarantee the opportunity to meet their secondary needs in accordance with the level that can be achieved as human beings living in a distinctive society, with a unique pattern and lifestyle. (Haryono, 2021) This definition shows that state policy focuses more on the welfare of people, not just the average in general, namely the welfare of the state in aggregate (macro) as written in national income statistics, but in fact there are still many cases of hunger and poverty.

The above is strengthened in the study which explains that the concept of *a welfare state* between capitalism and Al-Mawardi is very opposite. (Stianto & Syamsuri, 2019) This system of capitalism runs on the right of private property and is free in entering into contracts with other individuals, so that people who have been infected with the capitalism system will always think about the material only. In addition, the concepts contained in this system of capitalism are individualism, market competence and profit dredging. Moreover, the concept of *the welfare state* in the view of capitalism is an ideology, strategy, system, a way to cover the failure of the economic system of capitalism, so it is made as if this system is good and prospers society.

In Islamic political economy there is a guarantee for every individual living in the Islamic daulah to meet his primary needs. The state encourages and conditions that every man who has the ability to strive and work for sustenance. In other words, they must have the ability to access the market. The state applies sharia to regulate all interactions in the midst of society and ensure the realization of the values of primacy and nobility in every interaction, including economic interaction. (Triguswinri & Afrizal, 2021)

In the field of Islamic political economy, the reconstruction of epistemology is to include values and ethics taken from the Islamic worldview into the mainstream economic corpus. In actualizing these Islamic provisions on political economy we

need to consider the changing socio-historical conditions as carried out by Caliph Umar Ibn Khattab. (Bambang iswanto, 2013)

The purpose of state intervention in the economy through Islamic public policy is the availability of the fulfillment of the basic needs of every citizen. This effort is carried out by encouraging individuals to be able to meet their secondary and tertiary needs according to their abilities. It is this political economy that is the baseline of Islamic fiscal policy and will be very visible in the allocation and distribution functions. (Irkhami, 2016)

a. Political Ideas of Jamaluddin Al-Afghani

The emergence of an idea of thought that is considered new and original from a thinker, is not something that stands alone without any connection with the environment in which the object of thought is addressed. So that an ordinary idea of thought arises from the anomaly of a thought, then seeks to provide a new paradigm of that thought and condition. Likewise, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani in seeing the condition of society and the Islamic world which originally reached glory, then there was a stagnation of thought, causing Muslims to be in the trauma of defeat after defeat. (Arsyi, 2020, pp. 144–149)

The Islamic world is in the crush and rule of the colonizers from the West, who were previously very far from what muslims have achieved, even Muslims become the fulcrum and hope for the outside world. Under such conditions, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani concluded that the decline of Islam was not due to the teachings of Islam as many people suspected and threw out by people who were unhappy with Islam, so Islam was considered incompatible with the changing times and new conditions. Therefore, to build a clean and strong government, the first thing to build is the people. There must be a change in the orientation of thought in society, from the glut and accepting attitude towards the existing government to efforts to change the conditions that are not in accordance with the conditions that are not in accordance with the values of the Islamic teachings. (Al-Maliki & Jahar, 2020)

According to Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, essentially the power of a society will be valuable if it arises from within themselves. The representative institution of the people is neutral and can determine the form of government, kingdom, sultanate or

government controlled by foreign powers. Such representative institutions are highly dependent on the people who will fill them. Therefore, the thoughts and souls of the community must first be built and addressed, and then it can be discussed for what the form and system of government is. For this effort Jamaluddin Al-Afghani emphasized a revolution based on the power of the people, so that these goals could be achieved. (Saputra, 2018)

In this revolutionary view of his, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani always provoked muslims in the country where he visited to oppose the arbitrariness of their rulers. The people must seize their freedom and independence through revolution, which means through rebellion, if necessary by bloodshed. According to Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, if there are a number of things that must be seized without being waited for as gifts, then freedom and independence are two of them. In fact, it is not uncommon for him to be directly involved in underground political movements. (Hawi, 2017a)

In his life, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani faced two enemies at once, namely corrupt Muslim rulers who were only puppets of Western imperialism and western invaders themselves. At that time, there were almost no Islamic territories that were not controlled by the West. The British controlled Egypt, as did India after the destruction of the Mughal Dynasty. The British also colonized Afghanistan and Africa, France colonized Algeria, and other regions and Italy controlled Libya. Meanwhile, Southeast Asia was also controlled by the British and the Dutch. Muslim rulers, for fear of losing their position, were willing to cooperate with Western imperialists. (Arbi Mulya Sirait, 2020).

The Caliphate system, which binds all Muslims, slowly degenerates and replaces with the ideology of nationalism adopted from the West. On this basis, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani emphasized the need for the Islamic world to unite together against foreign powers in the crucible of Pan-Islamism. Jamaluddin Al-Afghani considered that the source of weakness of the Islamic world was the weak solidarity of Muslims. (Nasbi, 2019) The West is no stronger than Muslims if only they were willing to unite against it. The unity and unity of Muslims is already very weak. Among the leaders of the Islamic State alone sometimes knocked each other down. Among the Clerics also often have no communication. Therefore, the people must unite in Pan-Islamism. (Yumitro, 2018).

To achieve this ideal, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani offered steps such as returning to the correct understanding of Islam and eliminating taklids, heresy, khurafat, purifying the heart by developing al-Kharimah morals (noble ethics), and developing deliberations with various groups in society. From the political activities and ideas of Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, it is very correct to say that Jamaluddin Al-Afghani was the first person in the modern Islamic era to realize the dangers of Western penetration and the division of the Islamic world. Jamaluddin Al-Afghani is not only theoretical, but also seeks to find solutions to various problems faced by Muslims. (Sirait, 2020, pp. 178–180).

The movement and its ideas inspired Islamic countries to rise from their slump because of western invaders and reclaim their independence. In the contemporary context, the ideas of Jamaluddin Al-Afghani are very important to develop in order to deal with global struggles. Muslims will not be able to move forward without unity and unity. Without having a commitment to unity, they will find it difficult to compete against economic strength and technological advances, other nations, especially Western nations. The wealth of natural resources they possess will only become an easy target for modern capitalists to be drained and extrapolated for the benefit of developed Countries. (Darmawan, 2020).

Under the pretext of liberalization, globalization and a market economy, free markets and all other pretexts, the economic power possessed by the West will easily invest in Muslim countries rich in its natural resources. Finally, what happened was the colonization of a new model of Western nations against the Islamic world, namely the exploitation of the natural resources of Muslim nations by the West.

b. The Birth of Renewal

Starting in the Middle Ages was a glorious century for the Islamic ummah. It was in this century that the area of Islamic areas extended in the West through northern Africa all the way to Spain, in the East through Persia all the way to India. (Noorthaibah, 2015) The area was subject to the rule of the caliph who was initially based in Medina, then in Damascus, and finally in Baghdad. In this Century were born great thinkers and scholars such as, Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanafi, and Hanbali as well as others among jurists, Imam al-Asy'ari, alMaturidi, Washil ibn Atha", al- Jubbai. Abu

Khuzail, al-Nazzam, in the field of theology of Junnun al-Misri, Abu Yazid alBustami and al-Hajj in the field of mysticism (tasauf) al-Kindi al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ibn Khawarizmi, al-Mas"udi and al-Razi in the field of science and so on. (Sukmanila, 2019, pp. 86–87).

With the birth of the great thinker and scholar, science was born and developed rapidly to its peak both in the field of religion, non-religion and in other fields of culture. Islamic thinkers and scholars at that time were not only able to Islamicize ancient Persian knowledge and the heritage of Greek heritage, but the two cultures were also adapted to the needs and developments of that time. Science that has been accommodated and processed by Islamic thinkers. The peak of the splendor of the Islamic world finally declined, the Islamic world began to regress in the tenth century, then sank for centuries. (Nurul Syalafiyah & Budi Harianto, 2020).

Renewal in Islam is different from the Western Renaissance. If the Western renaissance emerged by removing religion, then the renewal of Islam is the opposite, that is, to strengthen the principles and teachings of Islam to its adherents. Renewing and reviving the Islamic principles that the Ummah neglected. Therefore, renewal in Islam not only invites forward to fight against all ignorance and squalor but also for the advancement of the teachings of the Islamic religion itself. In the phase of the decline of the ummah, there also appeared the pioneer of the renewal effort, namely Ibn Taimiyah, who opposed all the entanglements and setbacks. (Fuady, 2020).

The efforts made by Ibn Taimiyah in the renewal of almost all socio-political, and statehood fields. Everything that breaks the unity of Islam has always been eradicated. In the Arab world the struggle for revival and renewal has been spearheaded by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab (115-1206 H / 1703-1792 AD) supported by Amir Dir"iyah Muhammad Ibn Su"ud. In Turkey renewal begins with things that are of a military interest. In the military field, the thought and efforts of renewal were pioneered among others by Ibrahim Mutafarrika (1670-1754 AD). The revival in Egypt was flared up by Sayid Jamaluddin Al-Afghani and Sheikh Muhammad Abduh. (Sukmanila, 2005, p. 87).

c. *Al-Hizb al-Wathani* (National Party) and the Republican Government

According to Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, the system of government that suits the conditions of Muslims is constituent or republican government and the concept of active citizenship. Not without reason, authoritarian government is not much different from tyranny. This form of government denies the activeness of citizens while also being vulnerable to foreign monopolies that are directly directed at the ruler of a country. The result can be seen, with ease, Western imperialism controls and intervenes in absolute forms of government that are widely used as systems of government in various Islamic countries. (Shamsuri, Syofi Aruni Mafaza, 2021)

The political movement carried out by Jamaluddin Al-Afghani is to spread the idea of Pan-Islamism in the Islamic world. To achieve this idea, in 1879 on the efforts of the Afghani, the National Party (*Al-Hizb al-Wathani*) was formed in Egypt, the party's goals included fighting for universal education, organizing press freedom, the entry of Egyptian elements into military positions and so on. This movement in 1838 AD has raised the spirit of Muslims in rallying unity and unity in opposing the colonization of Western nations. (Maghfur, 2016)

Republican government, is a source of happiness and pride. It is those who are governed by the Republican government themselves who deserve to be called human beings because real human beings are only governed by laws based on justice and regulate movements, actions, transactions and relationships with others that can lift society to the peak of happiness. For Afghani, the people's government is a "Limited Government", a government that can be accounted for to the people and is therefore the opposite of absolute government (Mursi, 2009: 35).

The reform or renewal in the political sphere that the *salafiyah* wants to fight for in Islamic countries is the implementation of Islamic teachings on deliberation through constitutional councils and representative bodies (the people), restrictions on the power and authority of the government with the constitution and laws, as well as the deployment of the power and potential of the people to support political reforms and at the same time to liberate the Islamic world from the colonization of Western domination (Mursi, 2009: 38).

According to Afghani, the best and most effective way to achieve these goals is through a revolution based on the power of the people, if necessary, with bloodshed. He said that if there are indeed a number of things that must be seized and not waited for to be accepted as gifts or gifts, then freedom and independence are two of these things. While living in Egypt, from the very beginning Afghani advocated the establishment of a "People's Government" through the participation of the Egyptian people in a true constitutional government (Killian, 2012).

He talked a lot about the necessity of forming a representative council structured according to what the people wanted, and its members were composed of people, who were actually elected by the people, because he believed that a representative council formed by order of the king or head of state, or on the advice of a foreign ruler, would be more of a political tool for those who formed it (Al-Maliki & Jahar, 2020).

The main objective of the Afghani movement was to unite the opinions of all Islamic countries under one caliphate, to establish a strong Islamic empire capable of dealing with European interference. (Nature, 2018) He wants to awaken their awareness of the glory of Islam in the past that has become strong because it is united. Realizing that the weakness of Muslims today is that they are divided (Sukmanila, 2019).

There is no separation between religion and politics and this is something important, because it concerns matters relating to the government of a State. The orderliness of human life in a State depends a lot on its political stability. Politics also largely determines the social, economic, cultural, legal and various other aspects of life (Supriyadi, 2008: 100). One of the reforms of thought that Jamaluddin Al-Afghani raised was the absence of separation between religion and politics (Khairiyanto, 2020).

This is because, Afghani sees the causes of setbacks of a political nature such as the divisions that exist among Muslims, absolute government, entrusting the leadership of the people to untrustworthy people, ignoring the issue of military defense, handing over the administration of the State to incompetent people and foreign intervention. All of that must be changed and limited by religious values. Politics must rely on morals (Muhammad Fazry, 2018). This is supported by previous

research that concluded the thoughts of M. Umer Chapra which offer fresh concepts for Muslim Countries to develop, namely with Islamic elements as a guiding principle, and morals as the key to the continuity of a healthy economic process. Because, the good morale of economic actors will lead to socio-economic justice in society (Mulyadi, 2019).

Morals also need to be relied upon by the teachings of tawhid. So, politics is a politics that relies on the teachings of tawhid. The politics we should be applying is one that is shackled by religious values. That's why Islam rejects secularism and secularization, which is very much at odds with Islam. Secularism does underestimate religious values and views religion as a past that has no role to play in public life anymore. Religion is also only necessary in personal life. Politics should also be practiced with the characteristics and regulations of proselytizing as well (Khairiyanto, 2020).

For example, not using coercion or violence, not misleading, not distorting facts, not using psychotropics to deceive people's eyes. On the contrary, openness, honesty, responsibility, and courage declare the right is right and the vanity is vanity. Thus the creation of a healthy politics, even though basically all politics tends to be secularism (Syamsuri et al., 2020). The Idea of Modernity If you understand carefully about the cause of the decline of Muslims so far, it is the emergence of fatalism among the people, which causes restrictions on creativity, so that creative ideas no longer arise from Muslims (Khairiyanto, 2020).

All this encourages the backwardness, poverty and ignorance of the Muslims themselves. Where to make them masterable and played with by modern Western countries, which highly value reason and rational ways of thinking and the principle of quality law. In addition, an understanding of Islamic teachings that is not quite right, is also a factor causing the decline of Muslims so far. (Nurul Syalafiyah & Budi Harianto, 2020) To overcome all these problems, Jamaludin Al-Afghani issued the following policies: 1) The basis of modernity of Muslims must reflect on the sacred value of the Qur'an and hadith, as the original doctrine in order to eliminate the internal shortcomings of Muslims; 2) Eliminate the fatalist understanding and replace it with the rationalist understanding; and 3) The techniques and strategies for their application should refer to Modern Western science and technology. Then study the

secrets of their power, in order to be considered in determining the wisdom of modernity in Islam (Supriyadi, 2008: 103).

d. Could Pan-Islamism be a Political Economic Solution in Indonesia?

Global economic uncertainty requires a response to Indonesia's international political economy policies in order to mitigate the threat of a new crisis. (Muhammad Fazry, 2018) In addition, amid the weakening economic performance of developed countries, which in fact are the main export markets for Indonesia such as China, the United States, the European Union, and Japan, it provides momentum for Indonesia to expand non-traditional export markets to southern regions such as South Asia and Africa which are predicted to continue to experience high economic growth above global economic growth (Khairiyanto, 2020).

The expansion of the market to the south is not only economically beneficial but also historically and internationally politically impactful for Indonesia. Indonesia has a historical capital of relatively good relations with the southern region through the Asian-African Conference (Bambang iswanto, 2013). The challenge of expanding the south Asian and African market expansion agenda has considerable risks related to political stability that will affect economic performance. The continued strong instability of domestic politics and the threat of conflict make the uncertainty of economic performance. Under such conditions, the expansion of Indonesia's export market outside developed countries such as South Asia and Africa remains an alternative market for Indonesian exports (Sugiono, 2020).

Like the Islamic renewal movement in Indonesia, Al-Afghani's broad influence was felt and received a large response in the country. Ahmad Dahlan, for example, was a figure of Islamic reformers in 20th century Indonesia and the founder of Muhammadiyah (the largest Islamic community organization in the world) whose ideas and ideas were also colored by Al-Afghani's thoughts (Zaenurrosyid, 2016). So that the ideas of Pan-Islamism can be used as a solution to economic politi in Indonesia. In order for Muslims to make progress, especially in the socio-political sphere, it is necessary to have cooperation and unity for Muslims, to get noble values and be part of progress. Society in general can provide breadth and individuals in person can evoke a definite unity (Irkhami, 2016).

The element of openness is so important for the study of products from the outside, be it in the field of text, science and with regard to elements of modernity. Besides, of course, it does not deny what has been exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. (Saputra, 2018) The fundamental thing about theology is that belief in God is the only thing that is the greatest hope for human life. That way, man can analyze that he is a being created by God, So that life should be in accordance with His will and will always be able to conform to the conditions of the times (Sirait, 2020).

E. CONCLUSION

The concept of Pan-Islamism is an idea put forward by Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, this idea is very important to be developed in order to face the global struggle. Umer Chapra concluded that Muslims would not be able to advance without relying on strong tawhid teachings, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani Muslims would not be able to advance without having a commitment of unity and unity, and without it all they would be difficult to compete against the political economic forces and technological advances of other nations especially Western nations. According to Al-Biruni, Indonesia's wealth of natural resources will only be an easy target for modern capitalists to be drained and extrapolated for the benefit of developed countries.

This encourages Indonesia to be really good at finding solutions in overcoming the above problems. That way Indonesia must be able to apply the principles in the Concept of Pan-Islamism, namely, the need for the Islamic world to unite together against foreign forces in the container of Pan-Islamism, because the source of weakness of the Islamic world is the weak solidarity of Muslims. Then Muslims must unite both in political and economic terms, The leader of the country must spread his call and ideas about reform and renewal in all aspects of life, whether political, economic, social and cultural, are comprehensive for all Muslims around the world where individuals help each other. So that it can be applied to achieve the political renewal of human economy in this era.

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