

Islam and Palestine: The Rise of Ideology in the Midst of Conflict

Muhammad Akmal Rasyid¹, Ahmad Nasi'n Najib², Maulana Malik
Ibrahim^{3*}

¹Asmarya University, Libya

²Al-Azhar Cairo University, Mesir

³Hasan II de Casablanca of University, Morocco.

*Corresponding Author: ibrahimeboim@gmail.com

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Abstract: The article aims to examine the escalation of the rise of Islamic ideology in Palestine after previously being threatened with dimming due to the fall of Ottoman Turkey. Then new ideologies such as nationalism, secularism, and communism were born that made Muslims skeptical of their own ideology. This research uses literature study methods, political and historical approaches. The results of the study explain the ideology that developed in the mid-19th century that influenced global political currents. how great was the impact of the collapse of Ottoman Turkey on the fall of Palestine and the dimming of Islamic ideology. The reality of Islamic ideology that contributes greatly to the struggle for Palestinian independence. After a long journey, Islamic ideology has given us concrete proof that this ideology will always exist and is capable of compromising global political dynamics.

Keywords: Ideology, Ottoman Turkey, Palestine

Abstrak: Artikel bertujuan untuk mengkaji eskalasi kebangkitan ideologi Islam di Palestina setelah sebelumnya terancam redup akibat jatuhnya Turki Ottoman. kemudian lahir ideologi baru seperti nasionalisme, sekularisme, komunisme yang membuat umat Islam skeptis terhadap ideologi mereka sendiri. penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi pustaka,

pendekatan politik dan sejarah. hasil penelitian menjelaskan mengenai ideologi yang berkembang pada pertengahan abad ke-19 yang mempengaruhi arus politik global. bagaimana besarnya dampak runtuhnya Turki Utsmaniyah terhadap jatuhnya Palestina dan redupnya ideologi Islam. Realitas ideologi Islam yang berkontribusi besar terhadap perjuangan kemerdekaan Palestina. Setelah perjalanan panjang, ideologi Islam telah memberi kita bukti nyata bahwa ideologi ini akan selalu ada dan mampu berkompromi dengan dinamika politik global.

Kata kunci: Ideologi, Turki Ottoman, Palestina



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Introduction

Palestine has long been under the rule of Ottoman Turkey. But after the occurrence of World War 1 Turkey weakened and then collapsed. The fall of Ottoman Turkey was a severe blow to Muslims that led to the release of Palestine to the Zionists. After Palestine fell, Muslims immediately tried to make efforts to regain the independence of Palestine. However, the efforts made seemed less than optimal. So here we need to trace the factors that make the less than optimal struggle of the Muslims at the beginning of the fall of Palestine.¹

In the series of history, the struggle for the liberation of Palestine has always been successful with the motivation of jihad.² However, after the fall of Ottoman Turkey, the Arabs, who were originally a symbol of the struggle based on Islam, changed the basis of their struggle.³ Among the factors that made the

¹ Smart 171. Sejarah Palestina (deklarasi Balfour) 1 Oktober 2021. <https://pals.smart171.org/courses/Ry7Lzg15miqDres3b4AB>

² Muhammad Ilham Hanifil Ishom. "Komite Indonesia Untuk Solidaritas Palestina (Studi Gerakan Solidaritas Palestina Di Indonesia)", Jurnal Politik muda - Unair ,(April - Juli 201).

³ Smart 171. Palestina dalam pandangan hukum internasional. 11 November2021. <https://pals.smart171.org/courses/hHYw88TFurYTVW7d5XKN>

Arabs change the basis of their struggle was a sense of scepticism about the fundamental values of Islam, caused by European colonialism which transmitted their perspective on achieving independence and the principles of social revolution which were seen as more credible. It is this change in the basis of the struggle that has made the struggle for Palestinian liberation less than optimal. In this journal, we will explain how the Ottoman Turks fell, then the upheaval of thought in the liberation of Palestine, and the revival of the struggle based on Islam in the motivation of the struggle for Palestinian independence.

Method

The research method used is literature study, political and historical approaches.⁴ This aims to provide a rational picture to the reader to be free from pragmatic thinking. What is meant by literature study is reviewing literature such as; Scientific journals, theses, books, articles that are credible. Political and historical approaches are obtained through scientific study forums that examine Geopolitical and International History issues relevant to the Palestinian issue.

Results and Discussion

Definition of Ideology And Its Kinds

Ideologi is taken from the word 'ideas' meaning: ideas and logos meaning science that talks about something. literally ideology is a science that talks about ideas or human ideals. ideology is as a tool for analysing, menhekan, predicting and as a tool of prescription, dieology is also a view that guides human behaviour.

According to edwar shils, ideology is a product and human endeavour to create an intellectual system about the world and as an intensification of the human need for a moral cognitive map that must be achieved. shils also conveyed that ideology in this case is usually born in conditions of crisis and

⁴ Peter Mahmud, Marzuki. *Penelitian Hukum*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010)

grows in various sectors of society that cannot accept the prevailing view (Edward Shils, *ideology international encyclopedia of age social sciences*).

In the modern century there are many ideologies that have emerged, such as 1). Secularism which emerged from European countries due to the church's monopoly on all sectors which claimed to limit freedom of expression, then followed 2). Nationalism which emerged from France, 3). Socialism and 4). Pan-Islamism. The following is an explanation of the ideology mentioned earlier:

1. Secularism

The term secularism dates back to the 19th century, used by Western society to refer to the separation of the church from state government. The notion of secularism etymologically comes from *saeculum* (Latin) which has two connotations, the first being time and the second location. Time itself refers to the present time while location refers to the world. Secularism also means *fashlu ad-din an al-haya* which means separating religious affairs from life. This means that religion only takes care of the relationship between individuals and their creator. So the meaning of secularism in language can be understood as an ideology that only focuses on the current life and the current world.⁵

Whereas secularism in terminology is defined as a concept that separates the affairs of state and religion (state and religion). According to Yusuf Al-Qardhawi, secularism in Arabic is more suitable to be translated with the word *al-ladiniyah* or *ad-dinyawiyah* rather than *al-ilmaniyah*, because the translation is unacceptable and considered irrational in Arabic. According to Holyoake, the use of this term has no intention of denigrating or criticising a religious belief. Secularism, according to him, is only to explain his views in favour of a social order that is separate from religion. He argues that, 'secularism is an ethical system founded on the principle of natural morality and independent of revealed religion or supernaturalism.' Secularism is an ethical system based on

⁵ M. Irfan Mu'amar "Kritik Terhadap Sekularisasi Turki Telaah Historis Transformasi Turki Utsmani", *Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu*, vol.11, no.1(juni,2016),3.

the principle of natural morality and independent of revealed religion or supernaturalism.⁶

2. Nationalism

Nationalism is a political attitude or understanding of the people of a nation that has cultural and regional harmony. It also has similar ideals and goals so that there is a sense of wanting to defend the country, both internally and externally. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), nationalism is an understanding (teaching) to love one's own nation and country. The awareness of membership in a nation that potentially or actually jointly achieves, maintains, and perpetuates the identity, integrity, prosperity, and strength of the nation. Attitudes and behaviours of nationalism that citizens must have. That includes having to obey the rules that apply, obeying the laws of the country, preserving Indonesian culture. Then create and love domestic products, and be willing to take concrete actions to defend the country. Nationalism has been a recognised view since the late 18th century. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica (2015), during the American and French Revolutions, nationalism was the first strong view. After that, it spread to new countries in Latin America. In the early 19th century it spread to Central Europe, followed by Eastern and Southeast Europe. It developed in Asia and Africa in the early 20th century. It became a strong awakening and struggle for the people of the two continents.⁷

3. Socialism

The term socialism was first used by Alexander Vinet, a French Protestant theologian. In his article published in *Le Semeur* (The Sower)

⁶ Yusuf Qardhawi, *Islam wa ilmaniyah, Wajhan liwajhi*, Cet. II (Kairo: Darul Shohhah Linnashr Wattauzi, 1994); Lukman Al-hakim, "sejarah Jaringan Sekulerisme Dalam Tubuh Turki Ustmani Pada Masa Sultan Abd Hamid II Pada Tahun 1876-1909", *jurnal UIN khas Jember*, (3, juli, 2020)

⁷ Welianto, Ari, Nada, Nailufar Nibras Nasionalisme: Arti, Sejarah, dan Tujuan. www.kompas.com. 13 Agustus 2024. <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2019/12/29/180000269/nasionalisme-arti-sejarah-dan-tujuan?page=all>.

newspaper in 1831, socialism is an ideology that aims to form a state that enforces collective effort and limits individual ownership.

The development of industrialisation in Europe encouraged the emergence of socialism. Most business institutions or companies are privately or individually owned. To run their businesses and factories, each business owner (capitalist) needs people as workers (labourers). These workers are heavily exploited with low wages. They do not even receive welfare guarantees and protection. These conditions lead to increased poverty and crime. On the other hand, the capitalists are getting richer and controlling the economy.

The above conditions make the capitalists and the workers (proletariat) have a very striking difference. For this reason, those who oppose this economic system, especially the workers, fight back. They also put forward a number of demands in the form of rights, guarantees and welfare protection from the capitalists. They united and formed a group with an interest in clarifying their status and position. This group was later referred to as the socialists⁸

4. Pan-islamism

The idea of Pan-Islamism emerged towards the end of the 19th century. The idea of Pan-Islamism emerged in the midst of the uncertain condition of Muslims; colonised by western imperialism and colonialism, stagnation in religious life, and also the divisions that occurred within Muslims themselves. On this basis Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, a Muslim scholar from Afghanistan, proposed some views which were later called Pan-Islamism by the West. . Junichi Hirano, in *Historical Formation of Pan-Islamism: Modern Islamic Reformists Project for Intra-Umma Alliance and Inter-Madhahib Rapprochement*, says:

One of the prominent German Orientalists, Carl Becker, defines 'pan-Islamism' as 'the realisation of the Islamic concept of Islamic world integration, by uniting under the sole leader of the community (Imam)'; he maintains that

⁸ Afifah Rahman, "Sejarah Paham Sosialisme: Latar Belakang, Tokoh, dan Ciri-cirinya".www.Detikedu.com. diakses pada 13 agustus 2024

the term 'pan-Islamism' originated after the Berlin conference in 1884 (Becker 1924: 231-51).

The idea of the unity of Muslims that became the basis of Pan-Islamism as mentioned above, or in Arabic terminology called 'Wahda Islamiyah' was a solution to the condition of Muslims at that time. Apart from the idea of Muslim unity, Pan-Islamism also had the idea of tajdid or renewal.⁹

The Collapse Of Ottoman Turkey And The Decline of Pan-Islamism

Broadly speaking, the collapse of Ottoman Turkey occurred due to internal and external factors. Internal factors are the entry of secular ideology followed by western lifestyles that have an impact on the moral decay of various layers of society and external factors, namely the strong existence of Europe in the military field, the number of Ottoman territories in Europe that broke away, and the Arab uprisings mobilised by the British.

At first, Ottoman Turkey lost a strong leader in government management. It was proven that after the death of Sultan Sulaiman Al-Qainuni (926-974 H/1520-1566 AD), his successor Sultan was negligent in his leadership period. As a result, Ottoman Turkey tried to carry out several revolutionary policies such as sending Ottoman Ambassadors to France and bringing in military instructors from the Eiffel Tower country. This revolutionary policy then became the entrance to the flow of secular ideology and western culture. In brief, the peak of the strength of secular ideology in Turkey, secular figures such as Enver Pasha and Taalat Pasha (the big figure of the Young Tuki Organisation or often known as Young Turk) emerged which then plunged Ottoman Turkey into the chaos of World War 1. The British took advantage of the national fanaticism that began to emerge in the Arabs by planting the teachings of Nationalism. The British also gave the lure of

⁹ Mikael Marasabessy, "Jejak pemikiran Pan-Islamisme di nusantara ". www.Hidayatullah.com. diakses pada Selasa, 13 Agustus 2024. <https://hidayatullah.com/kajian/sejarah/2021/03/04/203111/jejak-pemikiran-pan-islamisme-di-nusantara.html>

independence to the Arab countries and promised the establishment of a Caliphate from the Arabs. As a result, Ottoman Turkey was besieged from all directions; European attacks and Arab uprisings. In short, Ottoman Turkey as an icon of Pan-Islamism collapsed (1924), in its place rose Pan-Arabism as a manifestation of Nationalism

Palestine After The Ottoman Collapse

According to Dr Shafwan Al-Banna, during the First World War, Europe was suffering from the fever of nationalism. This resulted in a lot of national supremacy that gave birth to exclusivity on the European continent. In simple terms, this form of exclusion resulted in many minority nations being intimidated. Jews in Europe at the time were affected by this Nationalism fever.¹⁰ The Jewish nation, which was basically exclusive, further exacerbated European oppression against it. According to Maimon Heriawati (FLP Founder, Palestinian Studies Expert), the Jews are famous for their unwillingness to mingle and good at monopolising finance. Because of their attitude, they were disliked by the European population, especially the British.¹¹

Theodore Herzl (1860-1904) was then inspired by European Nationalism Ideology. He then created the Zionism Movement which aimed to make the Jewish nation have its own country. Theodore Herzl also internalised the idea of European Nationalism. To realise the idea of his Nationalism, he carried out Colonialism; annexing a country, committing genocide, financial monopoly, then seizing the independence of a country. Rashid Khalidi said 'Zionism is the spoilt stepchild of imperialism'. Some European Jewish figures had strong financial power and high social strata. Walter Rostchlid, Chaim Weizmen did internal co-operation with Britain in World War 1. British sentiment towards the Jews made the British finally gave the promise of giving Palestine to the

¹⁰ Shafwan Al-Banna, diwawancara oleh Hammad. Siaran salim a fillah official.

¹¹ Smart 171. Sejarah Palestina (deklarasi Balfour). 12 menit. 1 Oktober 2021. <https://pals.smart171.org/courses/Ry7Lzg15miqDres3b4AB>

Zionists. According to Prof Apip Latipul Hayat (International Relations Expert), promising land to another country that already has a government or sovereignty is not legal under international law.¹²

At first the Zionists were offered land in Uganda by the British (Uganda Scheme), but most Jews refused because of the absence of spiritual ties, and Hebrew culture in Uganda. Zionists also asked Ottoman Turkey for Palestinian land. Although rejected by Ottoman Turkey, Zionism had built its systematic steps through its intense cooperation with Britain in World War 1. Finally, after the Balfour Declaration (1917), the wave of Jewish exodus began. Then followed by the fall of Ottoman Turkey (1924) made Palestine increasingly aware that its land had been colonised. When the Jews reached Palestine, they immediately established armed militias; Lehi, Haganah, Irgun which actively committed genocide. It is important to know that the expulsion of Palestinians began before the 1948 NAKBA event.

The Efforts Of The Arabs In Defending The Palestinian Territories

Previously, it has been explained that the Arab countries that were previously under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Turks, broke away and formed small independent states. The pattern of independence of the Arab countries could not be separated from the influence of the British strategy to weaken the Ottoman Turks. British co-operation with the Arab countries is clearly recorded in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, which is interested in establishing a new Caliphate with the assumption that the Ottoman Turks are not worthy of the title of Caliph. They also collaborated with the Kingdom of Saud, which later became the forerunner of the Treaty of Darin and the Treaty of Jeddah (a form of British recognition of the establishment of Saudi Arabia). Unfortunately, the Arabs did not know the British trickery in World War 1,

¹² Smart 171. Palestina dalam pandangan hukum internasional. 15 menit. 11 November 2021. <https://pals.smart171.org/courses/hHYw88TFurYTVW7d5XKN>

because in fact Britain had entered into the Sykes-Picot agreement (1916) - a secret British, French and Russian agreement to divide the Middle East - which would later facilitate the Zionist move towards the Balfour Declaration - a statement of British support for the Jewish exodus to Palestine - (1917). Ironically, after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia (1917) the archives of the secret British agreement on the division of the Middle East were leaked and then heard by Sharif Hussein. In short, after the end of World War 1, Palestine was controlled by Britain. At the same time, Britain also had a promise to the Zionists as well as a debt of honour - supporting World War 1 - which made Britain hand over Palestine to the Zionists.

After the Arabs realised the fall of Palestinian sovereignty, they took the initiative to establish Arab unity through the establishment of the Arab Nationalism Movement. After the establishment of this movement, they made efforts to unite the Arab region. This unification effort was very slow and the progress was even less visible. The Arabs also formed a coalition to attack Israel in the Six-Day War (1967), but this war led to their crushing defeat. According to Dr Tiar Anwar Bachtiar - an expert on Indonesian history - the pragmatic reason why the Arab coalition lost to Israel was because of their war orientation to expand their territory.

Arab efforts, which have often been made, have not produced satisfactory results while the oppression of the Palestinian people continues, resulting in a dilemma for the Palestinians. Yasser Arafat was then moved by his organisation FATAH (1950) - a resistance movement with a nationalist ideology - to attempt armed resistance. FATAH initially dominated the armed struggle and became very popular among the Palestinian people. FATAH's attack was fairly massive, until one battle called The battle of Karamah (1968). The legendary battle for FATAH also made the Arab League look at FATAH's potential to lead the PLO - Palestine Liberation Organisation - . The pattern of FATAH's attacks was launched through several countries bordering Israel. This provides an advantage for FATAH as well as providing a gap of weakness. It is said to provide an advantage because they can easily organise their movement

and collaborate with the country that is the headquarters of the organisation. FATAH has been based in Jordan and Lebanon. . As well as carrying out attacks on Israel from these two countries. It is also said to provide a gap of weakness because finally Israel attacked the country that was the headquarters of FATAH. This also caused a dilemma for the country it inhabited and led to the expulsion of FATAH, especially what happened in Jordan. As for when FATAH was in Lebanon, so then Israel attacked Lebanon, FATAH made an agreement with America to leave Lebanon - on the condition that the refugees were not treated in any way - but what happened, precisely after FATAH left Lebanon Israel entered and massacred Palestinian refugees in Shabra and Satila.

After leaving the two countries, FATAH's influence began to weaken = Without intending to negate FATAH's struggle = This group eventually changed its pattern of movement. From the initial military-based struggle, it turned into a diplomatic struggle. We can know this from several agreements involving the FATAH faction such as the Oslo 1 Agreement and the Oslo 2 agreement. In Palestine there is also an armed faction that is left-wing or Marxist Leninist. This faction is named PFLP (Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine). The pattern of this leftist movement looks quite extreme in public view when carrying out its actions. They hijacked civilian aircraft even without causing casualties. One of the famous Movement figures is Laila Khalid. She hijacked two planes. The leftist movement that fought through the military still exists today. However, the growth of ideology and cadres is not as fertile as in the previous decades, and can even be said to have faded in line with the fall of the Soviet Union.

The Rise Of Islamic Ideology In The Quest For Palestinian Independence

While FATAH and PLFP have played a role in the military-based struggle, the Islamic movement has yet to make its mark. However, this does not mean that Muslims did not have an agenda to fight for Palestinian independence. Muslims in that period were focused on establishing fundamental things such as the

provision of social, educational and religious facilities. It is good to go back a little to 1920 when the British occupied Palestine. It should be noted that the wave of Jewish exodus began to be felt at that time and the British signs that legitimised the Jewish occupiers began to appear. There came a charismatic cleric from Damascus named Sheikh Izzuddin Al-Qassam. He then voiced jihad progressively. His presence gave the spirit and inspiration for the Palestinians to carry out massive attacks on the invaders. It is said that in one speech, Sheikh Izzudin Al-Qassam pulled out a gun and said 'if you believe in the afterlife, you must have this'. he also strongly discouraged too much pretentiousness in mosque renovations. His movement was detected by the British, then he fought in guerrilla warfare and finally he was martyred in 1935.¹³

After Sheikh Izzudin Al-Qasam was martyred, the Islamic resistance movement was not as well organised as the FATAH movement. The Islamic movement saw the importance of a gradualist movement; starting from a small scale to a large scale, starting from a strong foundation giving birth to a solid building. As a result, the impression of the Islamic Movement tends to be that it is static and considered harmless by Israel. Sometimes there are accusations that the Islamic Movement was formed by Zionists because in that period, the Islamic Movement had not yet emerged as a military-based movement. In addition, studies often warned about the dangers of Communism, Secularism, etc. However, these allegations were successfully dismissed with the birth of the Intifada Movement (1987), which involved many Muslim communities. This Intifada movement occurred as a form of reaction to the tragedy of the ramming of Palestinians. The Intifada Movement eventually became the momentum for the birth of the HAMAS Military Faction which would later be named the Izzudin Al-Qassam Brigades. The naming of the Izzudin Al-Qassam Brigade

¹³ Al - A` raaf," Fenomena sekularisme", *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat*, vol.XI, NO.2. (juli-desember 2014).

seemed to be an affirmation that the Islamic Movement had already played a role in fighting for Palestinian independence.¹⁴

In addition to HAMAS, there are actually many Islamic movements that appear to fight for Palestinian Independence, such as Sheikh Taqiyudiin An-Nabhani who later founded Hizbutahrir, PIJ (Palestine Islamic Jihad) founded by Fathi Shaqaqi, Abdul Aziz Odeh and Bashir Moussa, and many other Islamic movements. Without intending to negate the role of other Islamic movements, in this era (when this journal was written) we see the existence of HAMAS soaring. Especially after the attack on Tuhfanul Aqsa on 7 October 2023, the name of the HAMAS organisation became the talk of the world community. Not half-heartedly, HAMAS actually shared footage of its war against IDF soldiers. The surge in media coverage of Palestine occurred because of the role of social media which is very free to access, in contrast to the previous decades where the coverage of the Palestinian issue was very difficult. According to Maimon Heriawati (expert in Palestinian studies), the American media coverage that Israel is the occupier of Palestine is only 4%. So the Tuhfanul-Aqsa attack that occurred in this era is not only targeting the physical and financial impact on Israel, but targeting the Global Opinion Change regarding the Israeli Occupation of the Palestinian People as well as confirming the existence of Islam as a strong ideology in carrying out the mission of Palestinian independence.

A Glimpse Of Hamas (Harakah Muqawama Islamiyyah)

Hamas was founded by a Palestinian-born cleric. That is Sheikh Ahmad Yassin. He was born in the village of Al-Jaurah. He followed the Egyptian Muslim movement called the Muslim Brotherhood. From that movement, he adopted

¹⁴ Dwi Andhika, "Profil Syekh Ahmad Yassin, Pendiri Hamas yang Sukses Jebol Pertahanan Israel " [www.tempo.co. https://dunia.tempo.co/read/1783554/profil-syeikh-ahmad-yassin-pendiri-hamas-yang-sukses-jebol-pertahanan-israel?page_num=2](https://dunia.tempo.co/read/1783554/profil-syeikh-ahmad-yassin-pendiri-hamas-yang-sukses-jebol-pertahanan-israel?page_num=2). Diakses pada 22 Juni 2024.

Hasan Al-Banna's thoughts which he then applied in the ideological foundation of HAMAS.¹⁵

Based on the HAMAS founding charter, they expressed their vision of 'Palestine is absolutely free and will never recognise the existence of Israel as a state'. As we have explained, before HAMAS established its military faction they built social facilities such as universities, sports and arts clubs and clinics. The organisation also established religious facilities and revived the Qur'anic circles. It was only when HAMAS was mature that it initiated its military faction. Interestingly, the rise of the HAMAS military faction almost coincided with the change in the pattern of the FATAH movement, which was originally very aggressive in carrying out military attacks.

HAMAS's reluctant vision of recognising Israel's existence led the faction to aggressively attack Israel, and they also made breakthroughs in military technology to strengthen their attacks on Israel. In 2006 HAMAS won the election in Palestine. Thus, the existence of HAMAS as one of the Islamic factions is a clear statement that the existence of the ideology of Pan-Islamism has not disappeared.

The Dynamics of Islamic Ideology In Indonesia And The Emergence of A Wave of Public Concern For Palestine

In 1945, Indonesia declared its independence, and the Indonesian people rejoiced. In contrast, the escalation of Israeli imperialism was on the rise, as evidenced by the events of NAKBA (14 May 1948) and even more heartbreakingly, at the same time Israel declared itself a state. In the midst of the turmoil of the war, Mufti Amin Husaini helped voice the independence of Indonesia, assisted by several Egyptian movement figures. Unmitigated, the Palestinian state was also among the earliest countries to recognise Indonesia's

¹⁵ Atif 'Adwan. *Syeikh Ahmad Yasin Hayaatuhu wa jihaaduhu*; Dian Erawati, "Gerakan Syeikh Ahmad Yasin Dan Misi Pembebasan Palestina "Skripsi, UIN Ar-Raniry Program Studi Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam, 2021

independence. So it is fitting that Indonesia has a debt of gratitude to the Palestinian state as well as being responsible for defending al-aqsa.¹⁶

Like any other country, when Indonesia was about to become independent, there were fierce ideological battles, starting from the formulation of the State Constitution to the form of the state. Among the ideologies that competed strongly were Pan-Islamism, Nationalism, and Communism. Over time and the greatness of the battle, communism was finally eliminated. As the international Communist pattern achieved its power; namely by coup and massacre, the Indonesian communists also did the same way. the difference, the Indonesian communist coup was premature and less structured. In short, the Soeharto regime muzzled the communist movement. Instead of eradicating communist ideology - which was very dangerous - the New Order regime also restricted the Islamic political movement. As a result, masyumi, which was the manifestation of Serekeat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Nahdhatul ulama, and Persis (if there are other organisations that are not mentioned, without negating their role), could not move freely as before and eventually, many masyumi leaders then focused on education development. In short, masyumi figures such as Muhammad Natsir then established DDII (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia) on 26 February 1967.¹⁷

As a result of the restriction of Islamic parties and the reduction of Islamic influence in government, secularism has naturally become ingrained in the behaviour of Muslims. There is also an attempt to remove Islamic symbols. A case study that indicates an attempt to remove Islamic symbols is the issuance of Decree 052/C/Kep/D.82 which led to the banning of the jilbab by the regime. The impact of this regulation was very destructive. Many women were interrogated by military officers, teachers, and even expelled from their schools. In Panji Masyarakat magazine, it was mentioned that there were 4 students of

¹⁶ Hendri F. Isnaeni, Palestina (bukan) Harga Mati. www.historia.id. diakses pada 13 Agustus 2024. <https://historia.id/politik/articles/palestina-bukan-harga-mati-DEkwP/page/1>

¹⁷ Ida Liana Tanjuang, "Muhamad Natsir ". <https://esi.kemdikbud.go.id/>. diakses pada sabtu, 14 september 2024. https://esi.kemdikbud.go.id/wiki/Muhammad_Natsir

SMA Negeri 68 Jakarta who were expelled for wearing headscarves. The most vociferous accusation was 'poisonous headscarf', which had connotations of Muslim extremist affiliation.¹⁸ Although the political atmosphere at that time was very difficult to control, the education sector, especially the campus, provided a wider field for da'wah. So, to answer the challenges of the times, DDII maximised its da'wah movement in the campus world. DDII became one of the driving forces of the 'Campus Islamic Movement'. Muhamamad Natsir himself at that time served as deputy chairman of Rabithah alam al-islamiyaah. he then opened access to education for Indonesian children studying in Arab countries. Muhammad Natsir's lobby is what later became the forerunner of the establishment of LIPIA (Institute of Islamic Science and Arabic Language) in Indonesia.

Educational investments made by DDII began to show results at the end of the New Order. Students on national campuses who studied with a secular curriculum also participated in Halaqoh-based campus Islamic studies - learning by sitting in a circle - which eventually grew their Islamic worldview. At the same time, Indonesian students in the Middle East returned home with various Islamic ideologies. In short, the meeting of Indonesian students who graduated from the Middle East and national university students - who followed the Islamic Movement - gathered into several movements, including the Tarbiyah Movement, which brought a new worldview in viewing global political issues, especially those related to Islam. These movements then often raised the issue of Palestine. They also invested in lifestyle dakwah, such as inspiring the creation of Islamic novels in which the issue of Palestine is inserted, from novels to religious films. Also in the world of music, these movements colour the world

¹⁸ Hendi Jo, "Jilbab terlarang di era orde baru ". <https://historia.id/> diakses pada sabtu, 14 september 2024. <https://historia.id/kultur/articles/jilbab-terlarang-di-era-orde-baru-6k4Xn>. Setiardi, "pelarangan jilbab 1980-an : dikeluarkan sekolah, jilbab beracun ". [republika.co.id](https://analisis.republika.co.id/berita/q0bmat385/pelarang-jilbab-1980-an-dikeluarkan-sekolah-jilbab-beracun?). diakses pada sabtu, 14 september 2024. <https://analisis.republika.co.id/berita/q0bmat385/pelarang-jilbab-1980-an-dikeluarkan-sekolah-jilbab-beracun?>

of religious music in the country, which is familiarly called nasyid music. The nasyid group that most intensively incorporates the issue of Palestine in its music albums is 'shoutul harakah'. They also routinely hold Palestinian actions and fundraising for the Palestinian people.

Over time, the campus movements' efforts - to disseminate the issue of Palestine - seem to have produced massive results. Perhaps we can see that after the events of 7 October 2023, many Indonesians held large rallies. Social media was filled with footage of solidarity for Palestine. There was even a unique movement, the Julid Fi sabilillah movement. In addition to massive moral support, Indonesia has also proven to provide enormous moral support such as the existence of the Indonesian hospital (2011) in Gaza, kindergartens, and volunteers who are ready to deal with various Palestinian patients. It is no exaggeration to say that Indonesia is the country that provides the most support to Palestine. This phenomenon is once again a sea of facts that cannot be denied that Pan-Islamism will continue to exist and even develop.

Conclusion

Islamic ideology is often labelled as an obstacle to progress because it is considered too conservative and fundamentalist. Ironically, many of those who express this label come from the mouth of a Muslim. So, it would not be wrong if we say that one of the factors of the collapse of Ottoman Turkey was due to the change in the perspective of the country's Muslims. In addition, the colonialism polemic not only took away the physical independence, but also took away the confidence of Muslims in their own ideology. We can also witness how the reality of history records that the glory of Islam was taken away by two giant ideological revolutions, namely Capitalism and Communism. However, with the phenomenon of the rise of Islamic Ideology in Palestine may be able to provide enough concrete evidence to us, that Islamic Ideology will still exist in answering the challenges of the times.

A deep ideological understanding of each individual Muslim is needed. The call for nationalism must be balanced with pan-islamism in order to create

a complex way of thinking of individuals and not limited to the materialistic worldview and kept away from secular ideology.

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