

## Chapter One

### Introduction

#### A. Background of Study

In this modern era, Muslims face the challenge of political secularization, where religious values in which of stagnation and are therefore are viewed as causes.<sup>1</sup> Historically, that the Church played a role in pre-Renaissance Western civilization and was the cause of its decline in various aspects of life, particularly in politics. As a result, people began to demand freedom from religious authority.<sup>2</sup>

According to Al-Attas, the historical events that took place in the West cannot be equated with the experience of Islam. Islam is not merely a religion or a belief system; it is a *din*, or way of life, that encompasses spiritual, social, economic, and political dimensions.<sup>3</sup>

According to Al-Attas, the secularization of Islam and politics is tantamount to the desacralization of politics. Islam regards all aspects

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Ghosh, *Max Weber and The Protestant Ethic : Twin Histories*, 1st ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), 219. et al. Latief, Mohamad., "Problems of the Secular State and Its Impact on Justice," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 23, no. 1 (n.d.): 72, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v23i1.18500>.

<sup>2</sup> Graeme Smith, *A Short History of Secularism*, 1st ed. (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2008), 141.

<sup>3</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Islam And Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993).

of life as containing sacred values, which should not be separated.<sup>4</sup>

Another consequence of the secularization of politics is the disappearance of the moral and spiritual values both in political institutions and in community practices,<sup>5</sup> as well as the practices of the community. This is because the community's practices are often shaped by the moral orientation of governmental policies.

In addition to the disappearance of moral values from society, another serious consequence of secularization is the loss of clear standards for distinguishing between good and evil in political practice. The basis of secularization is the disappearance of absolutism, which is replaced by pluralism toward all religions. The majority vote becomes the reference point for truth.<sup>6</sup>

One of the countries that experienced secularization is the Turkish caliphate. The most prominent impact was the change in philosophical values within the government and the changes in the structure of government and social institutions related to the

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<sup>4</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-attas, *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1995), 41–42.

<sup>5</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islam in the Modern World: Challenged by the West, Threatened by Fundamentalism, Keeping Faith with Tradition* (Happerone, 2010), 79–80. Mohamad Latief, Amal Fathullah Zarkasyi, and Amir Reza Kusuma, "Problem Sekuler Hubungan Agama Dan Negara Menurut Ali Abdul Raziq," *Fikri : Jurnal Kajian Agama, Sosial Dan Budaya* 7, no. 2 (December 31, 2022): 6, <https://doi.org/10.25217/jf.v7i2.2542>.

<sup>6</sup> Mohamad Latief and Mifedwil Jandra, "Islam, State, and Secularism : Abalysis on The Substantive Political Paradigm in Indonesia," *UMRAN - International Journal of Islamic and Civilizational Studies (EISSN: 2289-8204)* 3, no. 3–1 (December 18, 2016): 31, <https://doi.org/10.11113/umran2016.3n3-1.145>.

implementation of politics, economics, and education. These changes were very allergic to the practical implementation of religion, as if religion should not play a role in government and should only be considered in a limited capacity.<sup>7</sup>

The ontological impact of the secularization of the Turkish government is the loss of Tawhid values in its political implementation. The integration of Tawhid in the political realm has a long-standing presence in Muslim history and is usually called the religio-political institution.<sup>8</sup> The discourse of Tawhid Allah is not confined to kalam; it is also extends to fiqh practice, especially in politics.<sup>9</sup> In the epistemological sense, all sources of Islamic knowledge must be derived from from the Qur'ân and al Sunnah. In politics, this falls into the realm of *wilayat fiqh*.<sup>10</sup> However, with secularization, foundations of constitutional law and political practice shifted, shifting from religious sources to rational ones.

The secularization process initiated by Mustafa Kemal had a profound impact. In 1940, 80% of Turkey's population of 17.8 million

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<sup>7</sup> Andrea Mura, *The Simblolic Scenarios of Islamism : A Study in Islamic Politic Thought*, (United Kingdom: Ashgate Press, 2015), 32.

<sup>8</sup> Nuha A. Alshaar, *Ethics in Islam : Friendship in the Political Though of Al Tawhidi and His Contemporaries*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (New York: Curzon Press, 2015), 1–2.

<sup>9</sup> Alshaar, 61.

<sup>10</sup> & Susanne Olsson Kersten, Carool., *Alternative Islamic Discourses and Religious Authoritiy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge Press, 2016), 38.



was illiterate, and over 31,000 of the 40,000 villages lacked schools. This was due to the prohibition of religious schools led by sheikhs who had received the title of molla in Turkey.<sup>11</sup>

Amidst the turmoil of changes to the government system and constitution of the Turkish state, Said Nursi, a Muslim figure born at the end of the 19th century, and his political movement moved from city to city until his death.<sup>12</sup> His followers continued the movement after his death.<sup>13</sup>

Said and his followers did not reject the entire government system or the republican constitution promoted by Mustafa Kemal. They only rejected policies that did not align with Islamic values,<sup>14</sup> such as those of the political parties in power at the time.<sup>15</sup>

There are two main reasons for Said Nursi's rejection of the party that led Turkey after the revolution: the party kept people away from religion,<sup>16</sup> and its leaders abandoned prayer and consumed alcohol.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Trias Kuncahyono, *Turki: Revolusi Tak Pernah Henti* (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2018), 210.

<sup>12</sup> Fulya Atacan, "A Kurdish Islamist Group in Modern Turkey : Shifting Identities," *Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 3 (2001): 113–14.

<sup>13</sup> Atacan, 115.

<sup>14</sup> One of the government policies after Mushtafa Kemal's revolution was the abolition of the compulsory hijab for women, especially Muslim women, see : Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, *The Rays*, ed. Ihsan Qasim As Salihi, Fourth (Istanbul: Sozler Publication, 2007), 454–55.

<sup>15</sup> Atacan, "A Kurdish Islamist Group in Modern Turkey : Shifting Identities," 115.

<sup>16</sup> Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, *Emirdag-2*, ed. Ihsan Qasim As Salihi (Istanbul: Sozler Publication, 2008), 370–71, 399.

<sup>17</sup> Nursi, *The Rays*, 446. Nursi, *Emirdag-2*, 304.



According to Said Nursi, a secular state (republic) is not problematic as long as it does not abolish religious rules from the constitution or prohibit religious practices, because doing so would go against conscience, he stated :

*"If you are asking about the secular republic, what I understand by it is that secularism means being unbiased; that is, in accordance with the principle of freedom of conscience, it refers to a government that does not interfere with reiligously-minded and pious people, the same as it does not interfere the irreligious and dissolute."*<sup>18</sup>

However, the reality that Said Nursi faced regarding the secularization that occurred in Turkey did not align with his earlier. They argued that secularization aims to achieve freedom from religion. Consequently, secularization in Turkey led to the closure of Sufi orders and religious schools (madrasahs), as well as the replacement of Islamic principles in the state with nationalism.<sup>19</sup> The promotion of nationalism marginalized Muslims within their respective countries regionally, resulting in the loss of universal Muslim brotherhood based on faith in one God.<sup>20</sup>

Islam and politics cannot be separated from each other, According to Said Nursi, Islam and politics are inseparable. Political practice is not only concerned with this world; it is also connected to the afterlife in accordance with Islamic beliefs. Islam's role here is to guide

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<sup>18</sup> Nursi, *The Rays*, 305.

<sup>19</sup> Nursi, 428.

<sup>20</sup> Ramadan Tariq, *Islam, the West and the Challenges of Modernity* (United Kingdom: Islamic Found Publication, 2001), 213.

politics.<sup>21</sup> In addition to political practices guided by Islam, the political authority must also support the Islamic preaching in order to address the problem of secularization in Turkey by integrating Islam and politics again.<sup>22</sup>

Integrating Islam and politics will lead to the emergence of Islamic politics, which aims to make Islam more practical and accessible by returning to its core political principles: consultation, freedom, justice, equality, nationalism, and jihad.<sup>23</sup> The second of the previously mentioned basic principles is tawhid,<sup>24</sup> It serves as the initial foundation for justice and equal rights. These concepts have been fragmented by the secularization process, which distinguishes between people who are pro-religion and those who are anti-religion.<sup>25</sup>

In the modern era, integrating Islamic principles into is equivalent to reintroducing Islamic values, such as shari'a and the

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<sup>21</sup> Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, *The Flashes*, ed. Ihsan Qasim As Salihi (Istanbul: Sozler Publication, 2009), 228.

<sup>22</sup> Nursi, *The Rays*, 105.

<sup>23</sup> Nabila Huringiin, Achmad Reza Hutama Al-Faruqi, and Achmad Wildan Sayyidul Bachr, "Harmonizing Society: Bediuzzaman Said Nursi's Vision of Islamic Politics," *MUHARRIK: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial* 6, no. 2 (October 20, 2023): 193, <https://doi.org/10.37680/muharrrik.v6i2.3528>.

<sup>24</sup> According to Said Nursi, Tawhid as the basis of politics is a comprehensive principle, not only as a very basic principle in the implementation of politics, but also as a belief that will shape political ethics for its implementers so that they are fully aware of the application of the previous principles. see : Muhamad Fajar Pramono, Mohamad Latief, and Chandra Dwisetoyo Widodo, "Ethical Politic in the View of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: A Response to Political Pragmatism," *Dialogia* 22, no. 1 (July 2, 2024): 39, <https://doi.org/10.21154/dialogia.v22i1.7091>.

<sup>25</sup> Huringiin, Hutama Al-Faruqi, and Sayyidul Bachr, "Harmonizing Society: Bediuzzaman Said Nursi's Vision of Islamic Politics," 195–96.

Qur'ân.<sup>26</sup> According to Said Nursi, Muslims can only achieve unity across ethnic differences by restoring these values. To achieve this, he left behind two legacies: the *Risale-i Nur* and the *Tullab al-Nur*.<sup>27</sup>

This thesis will focus on discussing Said Nursi's pattern of integrating the Qur'ân—as articulated in the *Risale-i Nur*, into secular political practices. The goal is to demonstrate how the spiritual dimensions of the Qur'ân can positively influence political life for the benefit of humanity.<sup>28</sup> This integration will create an Islamization process in modern politics because the Quran will influence the basic beliefs in the constitution, making it an Islamic vision.<sup>29</sup>

Said Nursi's integration theory is unique. It differs from Muhammad As-Siba'i's view, which asserts that religion and the state are inseparable. However, the four elements that form the basis for the integration of Islam and politics are *al 'adalah*, *al musawah*, *al taysir*, and *al mashlahah*.<sup>30</sup>

From the statements above, it can be understood that the integration of Islam and politics in the modern era is an ongoing

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<sup>26</sup> Ian and Suendam Birinci Pirim Markham., *An Introduction to Said Nursi : Life, Thought, and Writings*, 1st ed. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 6.

<sup>27</sup> Markham., 17–18.

<sup>28</sup> M. Fethullah Gullen, *The Essentials of the Islamic Faith*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Light Publisher, n.d.), 193.

<sup>29</sup> Abu al-A'la Al Mawdûdî, *The Process of Islamic Revolution*, 3rd ed. (New York: MMI Publisher, 2022), 42.

<sup>30</sup> Musthafa As Siba'i, *Al-Diin Wa Al-Daulah Fii Al Islaam* (Beirut, 1373), 44–56.



discussion because the Islamic values instilled in must be contextualized to align with the needs of the present time. In this study, researchers will discuss several issues, including the integration of Islam and politics. What was the political situation during Said's lifetime? And must Islamic values in a country's political system be adapted to the modern era in order to be accepted by all segments of society?

## **B. Problem Formulation**

Based on the previous background information, the researcher formulated the following problems regarding the integration of Islam and politics from Said Nursi's perspective:

1. How is the concept of Islamic and Political Integration according to Said Nursi?
2. How is the application of Islamic and Political Integration according to Said Nursi?

## **C. Purpose of Study**

Based on the formulated problems, the objectives of this study must also be stated. The objectives of this research are to:

1. To analyze the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi.

2. To analyze the application of the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi

#### **D. Importance of Study**

The benefits and Importances of this study with title " The Integration of Islam and Politics according to Said Nursi" are as follows:

##### **1. Academic Importance**

Academically, this research is expected to provide scientific construction in the study of The Integration Islam and Politic, also on the figure of Badiuzzaman Said Nursi. Studies on the The Integration Islam and politics are already quite diverse as well as the figures of Badiuzzaman Said Nursi. However, there are still few that focus specifically on this topic. Therefore, this research is expected to be able to provide a new reference about the Integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi and also to develop political science and political theory in Islam, politics based on Faith in God, strengthening that Aqidah as the mother of Sciences at the University of Darussalam Gontor in particular and for the wider academic community

##### **2. Practical Importance**

Practically, this research is expected provide benefits not only

for individuals and specific institutions, but also for society at large. Through this research it is expected to become reading material and discussion that can add more knowledge about the Integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi.

And from this research the concepts presented can be easily understood by a broader audience, help illustrate the relevance of this integration in addressing contemporary political issues that have been mentioned above. Then the researchers also expect there is further research that will be able to explain it better and can be used as input for another research with a different theme or approach.

#### **E. Literature Review**

To test the authenticity and validity of the article "Integration of Islam and Politics According to Said Nursi," the researcher will reveal several previous articles discussing Said Nursi and his thoughts. These articles include:

A thesis written by Fawwaz Rizaka with the title "*al Fikri al Siyasi inda Bediuzzaman Said Nursi*" in order to obtain a Master's degree in Aqidah and Islamic Philosophy at Darussalam Gontor University, 2021 with a descriptive-analytical method and a philosophical approach, Fawwaz found that Said Nursi's political thought refers to the unity of his nation, which is inseparable from aqidah and tazkiyah nafs, in



accordance with Said Nursi's thoughts, which dominate the aspects of tasawwuf and kalam. The thesis will focus on the problem of secularization carried out by Mustafa Kemal and its solution through the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi. Although Fawwaz's thesis contains a secular discussion, he ultimately resolves it with Said Nursi's political thought. Said Nursi's political thought is merely the cause of the emergence of his thought, not the problem to be resolved.

The dissertation, entitled *'The Political and Religious Thought of Ottoman Renovator (Islamic) Said Nursi, from 1908 to 1926,'* was written by Müşerref Yardım and submitted for the Doctorate at the University of Liège in Liège, Wallonia, Belgium in May 2015. In the dissertation, Müşerref discusses the use of government institutions and agencies, the role of ministries and political parties, and elections in democracy, in accordance with the main principles of Ottoman law. The result of Müşerref's research is that the Ottoman Caliphate government is a state based on Islamic law that can be adopted. While the thesis refers more to the problem of secularisation carried out by Mustafa Kemal, who proposed the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi, the dissertation refers more to a general discussion of Said Nursi's political ethics in state administration and political practice.

The journal article, titled *"Pemikiran Politik Kebangsaan Said Nursi di Tengah Transisi Turki menuju Republik,"* was written by Ahmad Fajar Shodik, Muhammad Faiz and Hasbi Sen and published in the *Adalah*

journal at IAIN Jember in 2020. The research concludes that the government system should not be based on identity politics using religion for political gain, but rather should be founded on the principles of freedom, justice and deliberation, in accordance with Islamic teachings rather than secular understanding. This is despite the fact that the form of government is not a khilafah. The thesis focuses more on the problems arising from Mustafa Kemal's secularisation of the Ottoman Turkish state and the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi. However, there are a few similarities in the application of political principles in Islam that must be applied in practice, even though the integration method has not been used.

A journal article written by Zeko Saritoprak, in the Routledge Journal, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* with the title "*Islam and Politics in the Light of Said Nursi Writings*" in 2008. The article concludes that Said Nursi's thought does not reject the current Turkish government system, but rather advocates adopting positive aspects of the new system while combatting negative elements. Zeko then compares the government systems based on shari'a proposed by Said Nursi and Sayyid Qutb. The thesis focuses on the problems arising from the secularisation of Mustafa Kemal in the Turkish state, offering an analysis of Said Nursi's political thought in the context of the

integration of Islam and politics. Although there are similarities in the use of Sayyid Qutb's theory, Zeko only uses a comparison of the impact caused by secularisation, not the integration solution that the author will propose.

Another journal article, titled "*A Political Analysis of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi's Damascus Sermon*," was written by Kamil Fadel and Eren Tatari and published in the journal *Humanities and Social Sciences* in 2016. The article discusses Said Nursi's thoughts on politics in general. Nursi does not emphasise the form of an Islamic state, but rather the implementation of political practices with elements such as freedom, a constitution and nationalism, all of which must be based on Allah Ta'ala as the Creator. In its implementation, absolute justice and truth must also be observed. While this thesis focuses more on the impact of Mustafa Kemal's secularisation and the solution of integrating Islam and Said Nursi's politics, Kamil and Eren also present Said Nursi's political principles. However, he has not attempted to implement the model of integrating Islam and Said Nursi's politics, as the researcher will discuss in this thesis.

A journal article written by Muhammad Fajar Pramono et al. and titled "*Ethical Politics in the View of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: A Response to Political Pragmatism*" was published in *Dialogia*, Vol. 22, No. 1, January–



June 2024. This article, written using a critical-analytical method, discusses Said Nursi's political ethics, which criticise the use of pragmatism in politics for self-interest, as this is not an Islamic teaching, but rather the pursuit of the common good and the creation of welfare and stability within the state. While this thesis focuses more on the problems caused by Mustafa Kemal's secularisation in Turkey, this article discusses some of Said Nursi's thoughts on political principles in Islam. However, it primarily focuses on Said Nursi's political ethics aimed at pragmatic practitioners who have not adopted the model of integration of Islam and politics, as will be discussed in the thesis.

A journal article, written by Sya'lan Abdul Qadir Ibrahim and titled "*Al Bu'du al Siyasi fi Hayati Badi'izzaman Said al Nursi*" was published in *Majallatu Tikrit lil'ulum al Siyasiyyah*, Vol. 3, No. 8, May 2019. In this article, Sya'lan discusses the political aspects of Said Nursi's life using an analytical method. He also adds that, when dealing with secular politics in the Turkish state, it is necessary to revitalise Islamic values and faith in each individual in order to protect them from secularism. While the thesis will focus more on the impact of the secularisation carried out by Mustafa Kemal, offering solutions for the integration of Islam and politics, Sya'lan focuses solely on revitalising Islamic values and faith to combat political secularisation in Turkey. Other researchers offer solutions based on Said Nursi's principles of integrating political principles with Islam to solve the problem of secularisation promoted by Mustafa Kemal.

A journal article written by Resat Adak and titled "*Mawaqif al-Ustadz Badi'uzzaman Said Nursi al-Siyasiyyah wa Isytighaluhu bihā Fi'liyyan fi Marhalati Sa'id al-Qadim (1876–1926)*" which was published in the December 2022 issue of the journal *Arastirma*, Vol. 1, No. 2. Adak wrote this article using an analytical method that focuses on the discussion of Said Nursi, who was still involved in practical politics. Nursi was opposed to tyrannical political practitioners because tyranny is contrary to Islamic Shari'a. He also advocated that the Turkish state stick to the principle of shura when determining the constitution, which had begun to become secularised. While the thesis focuses more on the problem of secularisation carried out by Mustafa Kemal, offering solutions to integrate Islam and politics, Resat focuses only on applying shura to the secular constitution of the Turkish state. The researcher, however, discusses the integration of Islam and politics by Said Nursi in more depth.

A journal article written by Nabilah Huringin et al., titled "*Harmonising Society: Bediuzzaman Said Nursi's Vision of Islamic Politics*" published in *Muharrrik: Journal of Da'wah and Social Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2023), employs qualitative methods and Islamic political approaches. In this article, Nabilah discusses problematic political practices, such as prioritising personal interests over the greater good, and how Said

Nursi's Islamic political thought can address the resulting loss of social stability. While this thesis focuses on the problems arising from the secularisation of Mustafa Kemal, which caused social problems, especially for Muslims and people of other faiths, disturbing the harmony of social life in Ottoman Turkey, Nabilah focuses on the political principles contained in Said Nursi's Islamic political thought in this article. The aim of this thesis is to integrate these principles into secular Turkish politics.

A thesis entitled *"Integrasi Agama dan Politik : Tela'ah Pemikiran Hamka terhadap ayat-ayat Politik dalam Tafsir al-Azhar"* written by Mismubarok to obtain a Master's degree in Qur'ân and Tafsir Studies at the Postgraduate Faculty of the PTIQ Institute in Jakarta, was completed in 1441 H/2019 AD. In this thesis, Mismubarok uses the interpretation-analysis method to discuss the discourse on the separation between religion and the state, finding that this discourse is caused by the debate that politics is based on the will of civil society, which is not spiritual. Religion is absolute, whereas politics is relative. This opinion is based on the fact that religion is a spiritual relationship between a servant and God; the essence of religion is faith attached to one's conscience and heart. The results of the thesis's research are that there are verses related to politics in the Qur'ân, and that, as Muslims,



we must also engage in politics, but with religious moralisation. Meanwhile, another thesis discusses Said Nursi's thoughts on the integration of Islam and politics, with a focus on the problem of political secularisation in the era of Mustafa Kemal, and how to instil political principles of Islam into secular Turkish politics according to Said Nursi.

Of all the previous studies mentioned by the author, several articles on Said Nursi's political thought, as well as a thesis discussing Buya Hamka's integration of religion and politics, prove that this research is novel and free from plagiarism.

#### **F. Theoretical Framework**

Before discussing the theoretical framework of this study, the researcher will first provide a general definition. The theoretical framework forms the basis of our research. It indirectly guides us in determining how we will analyse or process the data.<sup>31</sup> The theoretical framework will serve as a conceptual and practical reference for the discussion of 'Integration of Islam and Politics from Said Nursi's Perspective', which is based on Sayyid Qutb's *Al tashawur al islâmy* (Islamic Worldview). This concept is connected to the application of Shari'a in political practice, and both will serve as the fundamental

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<sup>31</sup> Kaelan, *Metode Penelitian Agama Kualitatif Interdisipliner* (Yogyakarta: Paradigma Press, 2010), 239–41. & Cheryl N. Poth Creswell, John W., *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design : Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 4th ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2018), 49.

principles for integration. Following this, the study will also draw on the integration theory proposed by Sheikh Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, which builds on Sayyid Qutb's theory and involves two stages: first, restoring the relationship between Islam and politics in practice; and second, integrating Islamic values into modern secular politics.

### 1. Al tashawur al Islâmy

Before extensively discussing *Al tashawur al islâmy* from Sayyid Qutb's perspective, the researcher will begin with the definition he provided in his book “إن التصور الإسلامي هو التصور الاعتقادي الوحيد الباقي : بأصله الرباني” (Indeed, *Al tashawur al islâmy* is the only *Al Tashawwur* (conception) of belief that has survived with its Rabbany origin.)<sup>32</sup>

From the explanation above, we understand that *Tawhid* of Allah Ta'ala is absolute and is also the basic creed of a Muslim. *Aqidah* functions as a source of unlimited spiritual energy for humans. According to Sayyid Qutb, the human *nafs* has limited power and is mortal; however, the provides boundless strength and connects the human self to the eternal. With *aqidah*, humans will not easily despair or be exposed to negative psychological diseases because, because

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<sup>32</sup> Sayyid Qutb, *Khasais Al tashawur al Islâmy Wa Muqawwamaatuhu*, 15th ed. (Cairo: Daar el Syuruq, 1423), 45.

when adversity occurs, those with true aqidah understand that there is wisdom behind every event.<sup>33</sup>

In this modern era, human values are eroded, leading to a future of self-destruction. This loss of humanity is due to the overvaluation of material things, a concept coined by Karl Marx. The only way to preserve humanity is to embrace *al-Tashawwur al-Islamy, al-Manhaj al-Islamy, al-Hayat al-Islamiyyah and al-Mujtama' al-Islamy*.<sup>34</sup>

The concept of *al-Tashawwur al-Islamy*, as expounded by Sayyid Qutb, is also inseparable from the Qur'ân and Shari'a, which form the basis of a Muslim's way of life. In this context, he states:

تسلم الإسلام القيادة بهذا القرآن، وبالتصور الجديد الذي جاء به القرآن وبالشريعة المستمدة من هذا التصور؛ فكان ذلك مولداً جديداً للإنسان أعظم في حقيقته من المولد الذي كانت به نشأته. لقد أنشأ هذا القرآن للبشرية تصوراً جديداً عن الوجود والحياة والقيم والنظم، كما حقق لها واقعا اجتماعياً فريداً، كان يعز على خيالها تصوره مجرد تصور،<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the Qur'ân, which serves as a reference point for human life and is the basis for the formation of the Islamic concept, human life cannot be separated from the shari'a, which serves as a

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<sup>33</sup> Sayyid Quthb, *As Salam Al 'Alamy Wa Al Islam*, 12th ed. (Cairo: Daar el Syuruq, 1413), 5-8.

<sup>34</sup> Sayyid Quthb, *Al Islaamu Wa Musykilaatu Al Hadlarah*, 9th ed. (Cairo: Daar el Syuruq, 1412), 5-7.

<sup>35</sup> Sayyid Quthb, *Al Hayat Fii Dhilaali Al Qur'aani Al Kariim*, 4th ed. (Al Jazirah: Markaz Al A'laam Al 'Araby, 1432), 48.

reference point for the functioning of the universe in general and for human life in social contexts.

إن شريعة الله للناس هي طرف من قانونه الكلي في الكون. فإنفاذ هذه الشريعة لا بد أن يكون له أثر إيجابي في التنسيق بين سيرة الناس وسيرة الكون.. والشريعة إن هي إلا ثمرة الإيمان لا تقوم وحدها بغير أصلها الكبير. فهي موضوعة لتنفيذ في مجتمع مسلم، كما أنها موضوعة لتساهم في بناء المجتمع المسلم. وهي متكاملة مع التصور الإسلامي كله للوجود الكبير وللوجود الإنساني، ومع ما ينشئه هذا التصور من تقوى في الضمير، ونظافة في الشعور، وضخامة في الاهتمامات، ورفعة في الخلق، واستقامة في السلوك...<sup>36</sup>

He understands shari'a not only in terms of laws relating to worship, but also as shari'a *kauniyyah* (universal laws), created by Allah, to which all creatures in this universe are subject, and Submission to these laws constitutes a form of worship (*ubudiyyah*) to Allah Ta'ala. This should be the guiding principle of *al-tashawwur*, the perspective that permeates all aspects of human life, making life more organised in an Islamic manner.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Quthb, 54–55.

<sup>37</sup> In his book, Sayyid Quthb emphasises that the basis of human life is *al-tashawwur al-islami*, or the Islamic way of life:

إن الإسلام حين يقيم بناءه كله على هذا الأساس، بحيث تمثل شهادة أن لا إله إلا الله وأن محمدا رسول الله منهج الحياة في الإسلام، وتصور ملامح هذا المنهج، وتقرر خصائصه..

see: Sayyid Quthb, *Ma'aalim Fii Ath Thuruq*, 6th ed. (Cairo: Daar el Syuruq, 1388),



## 2. Integration's Theory

After a brief discussion of al tashawwur al-Islamy, the second point in this theoretical framework will focus on the concept of integration, beginning with an overview of the different types of relationships between Islam and politics, which is divided into three types: Orthodoxist/Fundamentalist relations, Secularist relations, and Integrative relations.<sup>38</sup> In Orthodoxist relations, Islam is emphasised as a principle in the state, including constitutionalism, whereby the legislative system must be in accordance with Sharia, and the state takes the form of a caliphate led by a caliph.<sup>39</sup> According to this understanding, the khilafah and the caliph are believed to be an extension of the Prophet Muhammad's da'wah. During his lifetime, the Prophet was responsible for ensuring that shari'a was applied in the lives of individuals and communities.<sup>40</sup>

Secondly, in the secularist perspective / from a secularist standpoint, Islam is regarded as unrelated to politics or the state; the two must be completely separate. This view is based on the understanding

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<sup>38</sup> Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam Dan Tata Negara : Ajaran, Sejarah, Dan Pemikiran*, 5th ed. (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 2008), 2.

<sup>39</sup> Abu Al Hasan Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam Al Sulthaniyyah Wa Al Wilayat Al Diniyyah* (Kuwait: Maktabah Daar Ibnu Qutaibah, 1409), 3.

<sup>40</sup> Abu Al Hasan Al Mawardi, *Qawaaniinu Al Wizaarah Wa Siyaasatu Al Mulk*, 1st ed. (Daar el Thula'iah, 1979), 20.

that the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was only responsible for spreading da'wah, not for becoming a leader (*al-malik*) who governs a country..<sup>41</sup>

The third is an integrative relationship that attempts to reconcile the principles of Islamic orthodoxy or theocracy with the modern government system of democracy, thereby creating a new system of government known as a theodemocracy.

وأما الشقراطية التي جاء بها الإسلام فلا تستبد بأمرها طبقة من السدنة أو الشايخ، بل هي تكون في أيدي المسلمين عامة وهم الذين يتولون أمرها والقيام بشؤونها وفق ما ورد به كتاب الله وسنة رسوله، ولئن سمحتم لي بايتداع مصطلح جديد لآثرت كنية (الشقراطية الديمقراطية)<sup>42</sup>

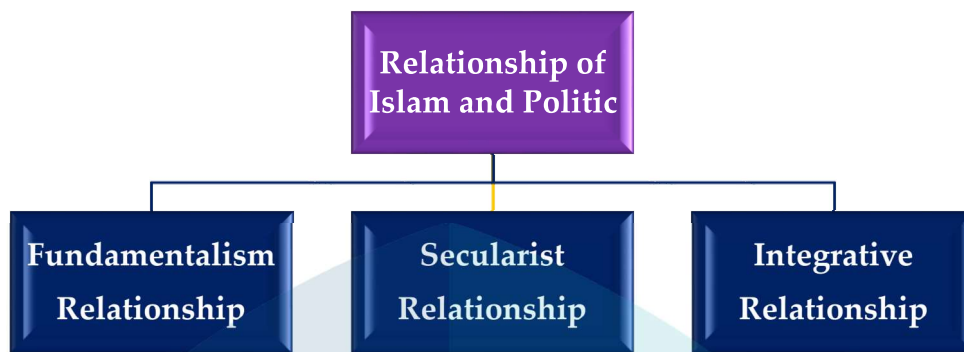
The integration approach combines two political ideologies, Islamic and modern (Western), by adopting principles that align with Islamic values while rejecting those that do not, without discarding the whole. In general, the researcher will present a table illustrating the relationship between Islam and politics.

<sup>41</sup> This opinion is stated by Ali Abdi Roziq in his book:

ذلك هو القول بأن محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلم ما كان إلا رسولا لدعوة دينية خالصة للدين، لا تشوبها نزعة ملك ولا حكومة، وأنه صلى الله عليه وسلم لم يقم بتأسيس مملكة، بالمعنى الذي يفهم سياسة من هذه الكلمة ومرادفاتها. ما كان إلا رسولا كإخوانه الخالين من الرسل. وما كان ملكا ولا مؤسس دولة، ولا داعيا إلى ملك.

see : Ali Abdi Raziq, *Al Islaamu Wa Ushulu Al Hukmi*, ed. Ali Ahma Al Khatib (Cairo: Al Azhar Press, 1414), 154.

<sup>42</sup> Abu al-A'la Al Mawdûdî, *Nazhariyyatu Al-Islam Al-Siyasiyah* (Beirut: Lajnatu al Syabab al Muslim, n.d.), 31.



*Figure 1.6.1 The division of the relationship between religion and politics in Islam*

Of the three types of relationship between Islam and politics mentioned above, researchers will focus on the integration of Islam and politics. Historically, the contemporary era has been dominated by secularist perspectives, and his study aims to address these issues. Before discussing the theory of integration, the researchers will briefly explain the meaning and concept of integration. The Oxford Dictionary defines integration as *'the act or process of combining two or more things so that they work together, or the act or process of mixing people who have previously been separated'*<sup>43</sup>

Ian G. Barbour argues that integration involves uniting all theological, empirical and metaphysical elements.<sup>44</sup> He states that integration is a synthesis of three theories. These theories aim to solve the problem of separation between religion and science in the modern era.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> A S. Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 8th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 809.

<sup>44</sup> Ian G. Barbour, *When Science Meets Religion* (Canada: HaperSanFransisco Press, n.d.), 18.

<sup>45</sup> Tiga teori yang dimaksud adalah Conflict, Independence, Dialogue, lihat :Barbour, 1.

This is because integration provides an easy way to accept that all elements of science and religion are connected and inseparable.

In his book, Ahmad Amin uses the term 'integration' alongside the word '*al-itimamat*,'<sup>46</sup> He juxtaposes this word with '*laa yunaafii*' (inseparable). According to him, the separation of several aspects of life in the modern era from religion is the result of a group that favours reason over religion. While Islam is a religion that glorifies and prioritizes reason, it is not unique in this regard.<sup>47</sup>

We can conclude that integration involves bringing two elements together, provided we determine which elements can and cannot be combined. From the perspective of modern Islamic knowledge, integration can also be described as 'islamisation'.<sup>48</sup> This study employs a methodology developed by Al Attas to integrate Islam with modern politics. This methodology has two stages. First, it separates key elements and concepts of Western culture and civilisation from modern secular political practices.<sup>49</sup> Second, it incorporates complete Islamic elements, including their concepts, into modern political science<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ahmad Amin, *Al-Takamul Fii Al-Islam*, 1st ed. (Lebanon: Syirkah al Ilmi Press, 1432), 54.

<sup>47</sup> Amin, 58–62.

<sup>48</sup> G. Hussein Rassool, *Advancing Islamic Psychology Education: Knowledge Integration, Model, and Application*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge Press, 2023), 88–89.

<sup>49</sup> Al-attas, *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam*, 114.

<sup>50</sup> Al-attas, 118.



Al Attas also mentioned that, in the collective and social realm, Islamisation is meant to signify a return to the community's struggle to achieve moral and ethical qualities, as part of the social versatility achieved during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him.<sup>51</sup>

Integrating Islam into modern secular politics will restore its glory, enabling us as Muslims to introduce the term 'Islamic' into political discussions with the aim of integrating the values of tawhid into secular society. This will influence the formulation and implementation of Islamic-oriented policies.<sup>52</sup>

## **G. Research Methodology**

In this research, appropriate methods and approaches are needed to achieve research objectives. Therefore, several methods and approaches will be used in this study, adapted to the type and/or research model.

### **1. Type of Research**

The researcher employs qualitative research in this study. This study is classified a library research, as it aligns with the objective of the thesis. Firstly, it is essential to document all the finding pertaining to

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<sup>51</sup> Al-Attas, *Islam And Secularism*.

<sup>52</sup> Sami Al Daghistani, *The Making of Islamic Economic Thought : Islamization, Law, and Moral Discourses*, 1st ed. (UK: Cambridge Unviersity Press, 2021), 56.

integration Islam and politic in Said Nursi's framework, as presented in existing research discussions and publications. Additionally, it is crucial to consider the most recent findings related to comparable ideas that may impact the outcomes of this discussion. Next, after recording notes, proceed to incorporate all discoveries, including theories and fresh findings, into the debate. Next, thoroughly examine the conclusions drawn from many readings, focusing on the shortcomings of each source, the merits, or the interconnections of the examined discourses within them. The final objective is to offer critical analysis by presenting novel finding that build upon existing research, particularly in this research, which focuses on the integration islam and politic according to Badiuzzaman Said Nursi's framework.<sup>53</sup>

Kaelan suggests that literature research can possess descriptive and historical attributes on certain occasions. It is considered historical due to the inclusion of historical components and religious study in many studies of this nature. This literature inquiry encompasses the analysis of ideas, investigation into the historical aspects of religion and politic as well as the examination of specific literary works or texts.

Hence, conducting library research entails accessing a wide range of textual sources atau extensive textual materials, which requires a

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<sup>53</sup> Mestika Zed, *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2004), 34.

systematic and critical approach. Therefore, when conducting library research, the process of acquiring books should be carried out incrementally to avoid any challenges<sup>54</sup>

These requirements can be fulfilled through various means such as libraries, bookstores, maktabah syamilah, research centers, and internet networks by accessing literature and information about the Integration of Islam and Politics according to Said Nursi. By utilizing data from diverse sources, including both primary and secondary references. The data is gathered through documentation techniques, which involve the examination, analysis, and recording of relevant literature on the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi.<sup>55</sup>

## **2. The Technique of Data Collection**

The researcher will employ data collection techniques by sourcing information from various scholarly sources such as books, papers, articles, magazines, journals, and websites. The collected data will pertain to the topic of integration of islam and politic and will be in the form of notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, and other relevant materials. In order to facilitate the dissemination of data

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<sup>54</sup> Kaelan, *Metode Penelitian Agama Kualitatif Interdisipliner*, 134–35.

<sup>55</sup> Zed, *Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan*, 37.

sources among academics for data collection purposes. This study relies on both primary and secondary data

The researcher utilized primary data in the form of books authored by Badiuzzaman Said Nursi, specifically the entire collection of his books known as Risale an-Nur that include : *Al Kalimat (Sozler)*, *Al Maktubat (al Maktubat)*, *Al Lama'at (Lem'alar)*, *Al Sya'aat (Sualar)*, *Isyaratul I'jaz (Isarat-Ul I'caz)*, *Al Matsnawi Al 'Arabi Al Nuuri (Mesnevi-i Nuriye)*, *Al Malahiq (Lahikalar)*, *Shaiqal Al Islam (Saykal -Ul Islam)*, *Sirah Dzatiyah (Tarihce-I Hayat)*. Secondary data sources refer to data that is indirectly related to the specified problem. This data serves as a support and supplement to primary data and was collected via conversations on the opinions of Badiuzzaman Said Nursi. It aids researchers in understanding the main problem. The research incorporates secondary data obtained from many sources such as books, journals, articles, periodicals, and other relevant media pertaining to the discussed characters and titles

### **3. The Technique of Discussion Approach**

Given that this research investigates the perspectives of philosophers who are accustomed to analyzing issues in the political sciences, the methodology employed in this research is philosophical methodology in political science. The philosophy of politic aims to



achieve clarity on the fundamental concepts, assumptions within political theory or political science. It encompasses different disciplines that aim to delineate the scope and limitations of political knowledge.<sup>56</sup> Thus, this philosophical approach serves as a set of instruments used to analyze, compare and critically examine concepts in the political sciences with the aim of finding the central problem.

The instruments used in this philosophical approach are epistemology to analyze theory and methodology in the political sciences,<sup>57</sup> also about metaphysics to read paradigms and metaphysical beliefs in the political sciences what enter in ontological research,<sup>58</sup> axiology and ethics to understand the relationship between basic assumptions in political science and the resulting environmental and social problems,<sup>59</sup> and logic to read the flow of arguments and establish a conclusion on the premises used.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the researcher adopts a philosophical approach in this research

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<sup>56</sup> Adib Muhammad, *Filsafat Ilmu : Ontologi, Epistemologi, Aksiologi, Dan Logika Ilmu Pengetahuan*, 3rd ed. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka, 2014), 53.

<sup>57</sup> Kacper Grass, "The Three Logics of Qualitative Research: Epistemology, Ontology, and Methodology in Political Science," *American Journal of Qualitative Research* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2024): 44–47, <https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/14083>.

<sup>58</sup> Grass, 47–49. Musthafa Abdullah Abu Al Qasim Khasyimi, *Manahiju Wa Asalibu Al Bahtsi Al Siyasy*, 1st ed. (Bulgaria: Daar al Kutub al Wathaniyyah, 1996), 40.

<sup>59</sup> Jerome R. Ravetz, *Scientific Knowledge and Its Social Problems* (London: Transaction Publisher, 1996), 25. Mark D. and Alexey V. Ivanov Goldfein, *Applied Natural Science: Environmental Issues and Global Perspectives* (New Jersey: Aple Academic Press, 2016), 35.

<sup>60</sup> Alex Rosenberg, *Philosophy Of Science : A Contemporary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 50–51.

#### **4. The Techniques of Discussion Method**

The researcher employs the following methods to search for data that will be used to achieve the purpose of the discussion, facilitate the writing process, and deepen the exploration. These methods also contribute to the comprehension of Badiuzzaman Said Nursi's model for the Islamic constitution in Modern Era :

##### **a) Descriptive Method**

The descriptive method is a method of examining the status of a group of people, an object, a set of conditions, a system of thought or a class of events.<sup>61</sup> The purpose of this descriptive research is to provide a systematic, factual, and accurate account, characteristics and relationships between the phenomena and or objects studied.<sup>62</sup> the researcher intends to describe the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi

##### **b) Analytical Method**

The analytical method is a research activity which consists of a series of activities to parse, differentiate and sort out an object of research to regroup according to certain criteria and then look for

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<sup>61</sup> Rosemarie Rizzo Parse, *Qualitative Inquiry: The Path of Sciencing* (London: NLN Press, 2001), 57.

<sup>62</sup> Mariano M. Ariola, *Principles and Methods of Research* (Manilla: REX Book Store, 2006), 47.

the relationship and then interpret the meaning.<sup>63</sup> In a series of activities to parse, differentiate and sort out a research object, the researcher will observe a research object in detail by outlining its constituent components or assembling these components for further study.<sup>64</sup> With this method, the researcher aims to analyze the Integration of Islam and Politics according to Said Nursi.

In the methodology of data analysis, the researcher employs a compare and contrast technique. This approach is necessary because this study aims to present multiple perspectives on the intersection between Islam and politics atau the integration of Islam and politics. Therefore, a comparative methodology is required to highlight areas of convergence and divergence among these perspectives, as well as to establish the criteria for accurate knowledge acquisition. As such, this method enables a comprehensive examination of the similarities and differences in views that concern politic elements. Technically, this is accomplished by cross-checking the references, re-examining them, and comparing them with other pertinent data

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<sup>63</sup> Gyung-Jin Park, *Analytic Methods for Design Practice* (London: Springer International Publishing, 2007), 6.

<sup>64</sup> Kenneth M. Sayre, *Plato's Analytic Method* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 22–25.

## H. Organization of Study

To facilitate the writing, the author has divided it into several chapters, each of which is divided into sections that discuss the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi. This paper's systematic discussion includes:

**Chapter One: Introduction**, this chapter contains the reasons why the author is interested in discussing the concept of the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi. It also contains the formulation of the problems, objectives and benefits of the research, as well as a literature review of previous research results related to Said Nursi's political thought or the integration of Islam and politics, in order to find novel discussions and theoretical frameworks that can be used as a reference for analysing the concept of the integration of Islam and politics according to Said Nursi. It also contains the research methods used by researchers to discuss the concept of the integration of Islam and politics.

**Chapter Two: Biography of Said Nursi and the Relationship between Religion and Politics in Islam**, in this chapter, the author divides the subject into two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter discusses Said Nursi's biography, covering his growth and learning period and the political situation during his lifetime. It concludes with Said Nursi's life



phase and his role in the Turkish political scene. The second sub-chapter discusses the relationship between Islam and politics as seen through the eyes of the three groups mentioned in the previous theoretical framework. This will serve as a reference for analysing the unique nature of Said Nursi's integration of Islam and politics.

### **Chapter Three : Integration of Islam and Politics According to Said**

**Nursi** Researcher has specifically entered the topic of 'Integration of Islam and Politics According to Said Nursi', which is divided into two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter discusses the basic principles of the integration of Islam and politics and consists of two sections. The first section discusses how to implicate al tashawwur al-Islamy into political practice, followed by a discussion of shari'a as a political reference. The second sub-chapter discusses the process of the integration of Islam and politics and consists of two sections. The first section discusses how to desecularise politics, while the second section discusses how to continue integrating Islamic values into politics.

**Chapter Four : Closing,** This is the final chapter of the paper, in which the author provides a summary of the details. Conclusion, Criticism,

Suggestions, Recommendations and Closing