

# BUKTI KINERJA SEBAGAI REVIEWER DI JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI JURNAL AL-TAMADDUN (SCOPUS Q1)

The screenshot shows a Gmail interface with a search bar containing "tamaddun review". The email is titled "[JAT] Article Review Request" and is from Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor. The email content includes a request to review a manuscript titled "From Integration of Islam-State to Integration of Ummah-State : The Political Biography of Buya HAMKA". The reviewer is asked to log into the journal website by 2023-01-25 and complete the review by 2023-02-08. The submission URL is provided as <https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/JAT/reviewer/submission?submissionId=41485&reviewId=13358&key=mg4aX2>. The email also includes a brief abstract of the article being reviewed.

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Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor <m\_roslan@um.edu.my> to me Wed, Jan 18, 12:29 PM

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Al Fatimah Nur Fuad:

I believe that you would serve as an excellent reviewer of the manuscript, "From Integration of Islam-State to Integration of Ummah-State : The Political Biography of Buya HAMKA," which has been submitted to Journal of Al-Tamaddun. The submission's abstract is inserted below, and I hope that you will consider undertaking this important task for us.

Please log into the journal web site by 2023-01-25 to indicate whether you will undertake the review or not, as well as to access the submission and to record your review and recommendation.

The review itself is due 2023-02-08.

Submission URL: <https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/JAT/reviewer/submission?submissionId=41485&reviewId=13358&key=mg4aX2>

Thank you for considering this request.

Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor  
[m\\_roslan@um.edu.my](mailto:m_roslan@um.edu.my)

"From Integration of Islam-State to Integration of Ummah-State : The Political Biography of Buya HAMKA"

This article discusses Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (HAMKA) as a political figure. The discussion is centered on his political role during the Parliamentary Democracy, Guided Democracy, and the New Order eras. Historical-biography approach is employed in this study as there were very few of literature on Hamka as an activist of political movement. Current studies on Hamka is heavily focused on his figure as an Ulama and a litterateur. Hamka's role as a political activist, either in political practices or in the process of influencing public policy are often neglected. This study concluded that in general, Hamka's political actions are aimed to make Islam and Islamic ummah as an important factor for Indonesia as a state. Hamka interpreted this objective into various actions based on the challenge of the era. During the parliamentary era, Hamka's political movement was aimed at integrating Islam into Indonesian Constitution. Whereas during the Guided-Democracy era, his political actions were intended to protect the ummah from anti-religious ideoloo (communism) that stronaly dominated the state power at that time. Finaliv, in the New Order era. Hamka's political movement were intended to integrate Islamic ummah into the process of the state life.

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Journal of Al-Tamaddun

**Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad** <fatimah\_nf@uhamka.ac.id> to Mohd

Sun, Feb 5, 9:35 PM

Dear Mohd Roslan,

Thank you very much for your invitation. I have responded to your invitation and **reviewed** the article through the OJS/website of your journal.

Thank you very much  
Best wishes,

**Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad, Ph.D**  
- Associate Professor  
- Vice Dean I of Academic Affairs, Faculty of Islamic Studies.  
Universitas Muhammadiyah Prof. Dr. HAMKA

**Recent Publications:**  
**Fuad, AFN. (2021).** Female Religious Authority among Tarbiyah Communities in Contemporary Indonesia. *Archipel*, 102. <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.2657>  
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**Fuad, AFN. (2019).** Modernity and the Islamists Notion of Active Da'wa. *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies*, 15 (2), 187-201. <http://dx.doi.org/10.18196/AIUIS.2019.0102.187-202>  
**Fuad, AFN. (2019).** Kajian Literatur tentang Perkembangan historis dan Transformasi Dakwah Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia. *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 17 (2), 349-382. <http://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v17i2.744>

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[JAT] Article Review Acknowledgement External inbox x

**Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor** <m\_roslan@um.edu.my> to me

Tue, Feb 7, 11:08 AM

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Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad:

Thank you for completing the **review** of the submission, "From Integration of Islam-State to Integration of Ummah-State : The Political Biography of Buya HAMKA," for Journal of Al-Tamaddun. We appreciate your contribution to the quality of the work that we publish.

Journal of Al-Tamaddun

Thanks a lot. Acknowledged. Thank you very much.

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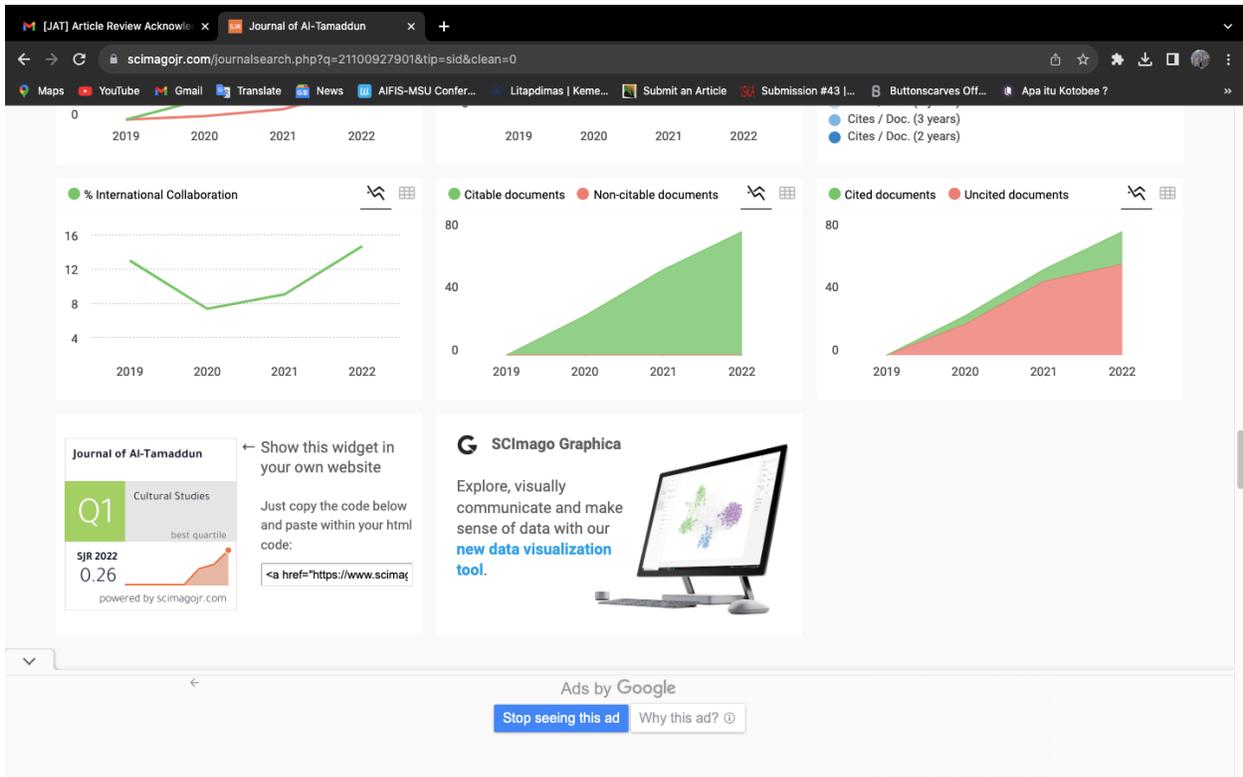
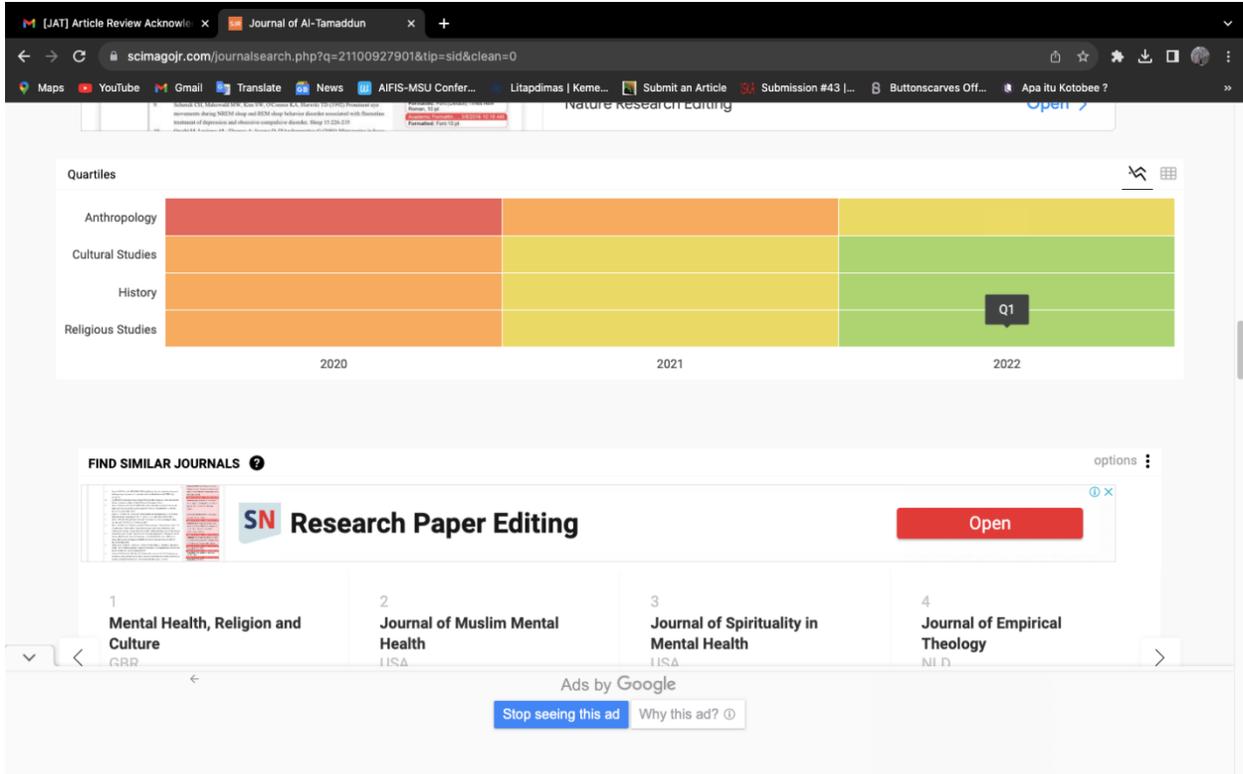
# INDEXED BY SCIMAGO/SCOPUS (Q1)

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**From Integration of Islam-State to Integration of Ummah-State:  
*The Political Biography of Buya HAMKA***

**Abstract**

This article discusses Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (HAMKA) as a political figure. The discussion is centered on his political role during the Parliamentary Democracy, Guided Democracy, and the New Order eras. Historical-biography approach is employed in this study as there were very few of literature on Hamka as an activist of political movement. Current studies on Hamka is heavily focused on his figure as an Ulama and a litterateur. Hamka's role as a political activist, either in political practices or in the process of influencing public policy are often neglected. This study concluded that in general, Hamka's political actions are aimed to make Islam and Islamic ummah as an important factor for Indonesia as a state. Hamka interpreted this objective into various actions based on the challenge of the era. During the parliamentary era, Hamka's political movement was aimed at integrating Islam into Indonesian Constitution. Whereas during the Guided-Democracy era, his political actions were intended to protect the ummah from anti-religious ideology (communism) that strongly dominated the state power at that time. Finally, in the New Order era, Hamka's political movement were intended to integrate Islamic ummah into the process of the state life.

**Keywords:** Hamka, Masyumi, Konstituante, The Jakarta Charter, MUI

## Introduction

Hamka was a prominent figure in Indonesian history with his various roles. Maarif calls him as an author, free thinker, litterateur, public historian, and even a mufasir.<sup>1</sup> Rush had a special place for Hamka as a public intellectual.<sup>2</sup> Abdullah considered Hamka as Second Generation Young Figure “who carried out Islamic ideologization efforts – how to make Islamic teaching as a fundamental strategy for the struggle and paradigm to understand reality?”<sup>3</sup> Hamka’s greatness, according to Wahid, laid on his ability to become a liaison figure for all.<sup>4</sup> It has to be acknowledged that Hamka is more widely known as litterateur and ulama. His political side is less known.

Hence, this present paper aims at describing Hamka from his political side. Historical biography approach is used in this present study to focus on Hamka’s political actions during his time as an activist of Masyumi, in the beginning of 1950s up to the time when he was appointed as the Chairman of Indonesian Council of Ulama (Majelis Ulama Indonesia/MUI). Within this timeline, Hamka existed in three different political era: Parliamentary Democracy, Guided Democracy, and the early days of the New Order.

## The Multidimension of Hamka

As a multitalented figure, Hamka is often viewed from different perspectives. Studies about Hamka has been extensively carried out, even before his passing. Hamzah wrote that there were influences of Muhammad Abduh in novels written by Hamka and that he was also inspired by Manfaluthi in the style of his story that contained sentimental human struggling.<sup>5</sup> The Manfaluthi factor that influences Hamka’s literary works and the influence of Abduh’s teaching were also discussed by S.I Poeradisatra.<sup>6</sup> However, these did not mean that Hamka’s novels, especially *Tenggelamnya Kapal van Der Wick*, was plagiarized from Manfaluthi as it was once accused by the Lekra litterateurs. Poeradisatra wrote that in his works, Hamka had always included the da’wah elements in his messages. Similar studies on Hamka as litterateur were also carried out by other researchers such as Azwar.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, Hamka’s side as an Ulama, mufassir, and Islamic reformer has also been extensively studied. Haris studied Hamka’s thought on ethics,<sup>8</sup> Jamil studied the legal aspect

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam Dan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi Tentang Perdebatan Dalam Konstituante* (Bandung: Mizan, 2017), ix–xviii; Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Hamka, Minangkabau, Dan Indonesia,” in *Buya Hamka*, ed. Afif Hamka (Jakarta: Uhamka Press, 2008), 20.

<sup>2</sup> James R. Rush, *Adicerita Hamka: Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar Untuk Indonesia Modern* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2017), xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Taufik Abdullah, “Buya Hamka: Aktor Di Atas Pentas Sejarah Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia,” in *Buya Hamka*, ed. Afif Hamka (Jakarta: Uhamka Press, 2008), 1–19.

<sup>4</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, “Benarkah Buya Hamka Seorang Besar?: Sebuah Pengantar,” in *Hamka Di Mata Hati Umat*, ed. Nasir Tamara (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1983), 19–50.

<sup>5</sup> Dwi Susanto, *Lekra, Lesbumi, Manifes Kebudayaan: Sejarah Sastra Indonesia Periode 1950-1965* (Yogyakarta: CAPS, 2018), 179–83.

<sup>6</sup> S.I Poeradisatra, “Dalam Karya Sastra Pun Berdakwah Dan Berkhotbah,” in *Hamka Di Mata Hati Umat*, ed. Nasir Tamara (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1983), 121–36.

<sup>7</sup> See Alfi Julizun Azwar, “Dimensi Tasawuf Dalam Karya Hamka: Analisis Roman ‘Di Bawah Lindungan Ka’Bah’ Dan ‘Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijk’” (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> See Abd. Haris, “Etika Islam: Studi Pemikiran Hamka” (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2005).

of *Tafsir Al-Azhar* written by Hamka,<sup>9</sup> Amin also studied *Tafsir Al-Azhar* focusing on the quality of its *asbab al-nuzul*.<sup>10</sup> Ranuwijaya study was focused on the quality of the hadiths on the law of marriage within the *Tafsir Al-Azhar*,<sup>11</sup> and Yunan Nasution studied its theological aspect.<sup>12</sup> In addition, a study of Hamka as a *muballigh*/preacher was carried out by Nazar.<sup>13</sup>

As its described above, studies on Hamka's others aspects have been extensively carried out, whereas his political side is relatively neglected. Maarif argued that this was due to Hamka himself who only wrote a few articles about politics.<sup>14</sup> Maarif's conclusion was refuted by Mahendra. Mahendra further described that Hamka's articles on politics were largely distributed during the Physical Revolution era who are scattered in small books and articles in mass media, but yet systematic and more general. The notion of Hamka as non-political activist and thinker, according to Mahendra was partly due to Hamka himself who in many occasions confessed that, "strategy (politics) is not my battlefield." Also, in later days, Hamka portrayed himself more as a litterateur and ulama.<sup>15</sup>

A few have tried to study Hamka's political role and ideas. Shobahussurur has provided an initial description of Hamka's political ideas on the inseparation between religion and the state.<sup>16</sup> Similar conclusion was also reached by Wibowo.<sup>17</sup> Another study by Yusoff and Abdullah on Islamic leadership concept within the *Tafsir al-Azhar*.<sup>18</sup> Mantovani and Santoso studied on women's political participation.<sup>19</sup> Each of these work, however, only focused on one particular theme of Hamka's political ideas. Their studies focus on Hamka as an ulama "that merely" wrote about politics, and not as a political actor. Nevertheless, these studies were part of foundation studies on Hamka's political thoughts.

Therefore, this article attempts to fill in the gap on studies about Hamka, which is Hamka as an actor in Indonesian national politics.

### **Hamka within the Dynamic of Masyumi Politics**

<sup>9</sup> See M Jamil, "Metode Istibat Hukum Hamka: Studi Terhadap Ayat-Ayat Ahkam Tafsir Al-Azhar" (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> See Muhammad Amin, "Kualitas Asbab Al-Nuzul Dalam Tafsir Al-Azhar" (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Utang Ranuwijaya, "Hadis-Hadis Pada Kitab Tafsir Al-Azhar Hamka: Analisis Sanad Pada Ayat-Ayat Hukum Bidang Perkawinan" (IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> See M. Yunan Yusuf, "Corak Pemikiran Kalam Tafsir Al-Azhar: Sebuah Telaah Tentang Pemikiran Hamka Dalam Teologi Islam" (IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 1989).

<sup>13</sup> See Muhammad Nazar, "Intelektualitas Dakwah Prof Dr Hamka: Kajian Tentang Konsep Dan Pendekatan" (IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Ahmad Syafii Maarif, "Hamka: Pribadi Multitalenta, Minangkabau Dan Indonesia," in *Adicerita Hamka: Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar Untuk Indonesia Modern* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2017), xiv.

<sup>15</sup> Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Ensiklopedi Pemikiran Yusril Ihza Mahendra 3* (Jakarta: Pro Deleader, n.d.), 298–99.

<sup>16</sup> Shobahussurur, "Relasi Islam Dan Kekuasaan Dalam Perspektif Hamka," *Asy-Syir'ah* 43, no. 1 (2009): 231–45, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.14421/asy-syir'ah.2009.%25x>.

<sup>17</sup> See Marsudi Fitro Wibowo, "Relasi Agama Dan Negara Perspektif Ulama Indonesia (Konstruksi Gagasan Politik Islam Hamka Pada Tahun 1928-1981)" (UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2018).

<sup>18</sup> Zulkifli Mohd Yusoff and Abdul Hafiz Abdullah, "Pemimpin Menurut Pandangan Hamka: Satu Tinjauan Dalam Tafsir Al-Azhar," *Al-Tamaddun* 8, no. 1 (2013): 17–38.

<sup>19</sup> Sarah Larasati & M Abdul Fattah Santoso Mantovani, "Pemikiran Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (Hamka) Tentang Partisipasi Politik Perempuan Di Tahun (1949-1963)," *Profetika* 16, no. 1 (2015): 83–92, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23917/profetika.v16i1.1835>.

Hamka's national political carrier was started when migration to Jakarta in January 1950. With Masyumi and Muhammadiyah Hamka fought for his ideas on an independence Indonesia that based on Islam. Formally, Hamka's position in Masyumi was as a member of Masyumi fraction in Konstituante (Constituent Assembly) and member of Party Council as representative of Muhammadiyah.<sup>20</sup> Emzita noted that in 1950s Hamka often visited the Masyumi office, and involved in "lunch club" where important figures in Masyumi discussed important matters, formulate their behind the screen's political strategy. Emzita also told that M Natsir often came at Night to Hamka's residence to discuss important matters.<sup>21</sup>

Masyumi was intended as the only organization for the political struggles of the Muslims in Indonesia.<sup>22</sup> However, this objective was unattainable. The Syarikat Islam Indonesia Party (PSII) withdrew in 1947, followed by NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) in 1952 due to the position of Minister of Religious Affair.<sup>23</sup>

On March 20<sup>th</sup> 1952, Wahab Hasbullah sent a petition to the chairmen of Masyumi to handover the position of Minister of Religious Affair to the representative from NU, and this was discussed during the Masyumi chairmen meeting on 23<sup>rd</sup> of March. However, Wahab was dissatisfied about the meeting decision.<sup>24</sup> Hamka was one of those who disagree with this demand of Wahab. He considered the matter about the Minister position was the party business and not the business of distinguished organization member. The willingness of the distinguished organization member should be delivered through the party channel, and not independently without coordination. Hamka also stated that it was better for NU to let go of their demand about this position, so there would be a revitalization within the Ministry considering that the representatives of NU had been appointed as Ministers for three consecutive times,<sup>25</sup> while other Distinguished Organization Members of Masyumi also had similar demand.<sup>26</sup>

NU separation from Masyumi had made him concerned. He said, separation is was "the peak of God's trial" in the struggle to uphold His religion.<sup>27</sup> Hamka accused PNI and PKI had had a role in NU separation in order to defeat Masyumi.<sup>28</sup> For Hamka, NU withdrawal would made it hard for Masyumi to go against its political opponents as "there are our own friends who

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<sup>20</sup> Hamka, *Muhammadiyah-Masyumi* (Jakarta: Masyarakat Islam, n.d.), 3; Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Modernisme Dan Fundamentalisme Dalam Politik Islam* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), 136.

<sup>21</sup> Emzita, "Seorang Ulama Dan Pujangga Islam Indonesia," in *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, ed. Solichin Salam (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979), 98–99; Rush, *Adicerita Hamka Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar Untuk Indones. Mod.*, 146.

<sup>22</sup> Samsuri, "Komunisme Dalam Pergumulan Wacana Ideologi Masyumi," *Millah Jurnal Studi Agama* 1, no. 1 (2001): 101, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol1.iss1.art8>.

<sup>23</sup> Deliar Noer, *Partai Islam Di Pentas Nasional* (Bandung: Mizan, 2000), 58; Maarif, *Islam Dan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi Tentang Perdebatan Dalam Konstituante*, 150–51.

<sup>24</sup> Noer, *Partai Islam Di Pentas Nasional*, 86–96; "Sekitar Pembentukan Kabinet," *Hikmah*, No 14, April 5, 1952, 6.

<sup>25</sup> "Nahdlatul Ulama Dan Masyumi," *Hikmah*, No 15-16, April 16, 1952, 6–7.

<sup>26</sup> Greg Fealy, *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU 1952-1967* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), 132–33; Mahendra, *Modernisme Dan Fundamentalisme Dalam Politik Islam*, 134.

<sup>27</sup> Emzita, "Seorang Ulama Dan Pujangga Islam Indonesia," 100.

<sup>28</sup> Hamka, "Undang-Undang Dasar Indonesia Dan Tjita-Tjita Islam," *Hikmah*, March 17, 1956, 9.

were put in the frontline”. Nevertheless, Hamka tried to comfort the Masyumi members. He was firm in his believe that Masyumi would be able to win the Election.<sup>29</sup>

If Hamka saw the role of PNI and PKI in NU withdrawal from Masyumi, Fealy saw the role of Soekarno on this.<sup>30</sup> It was indicated, he argued, that on the 29<sup>th</sup> of February 1952, Wahab met Soekarno at the Presidential Palace. Even though Wahab denied that the meeting did not discuss political matter, however, Fealy gained information that Wahab once admitted to his nephew that at that time he did discuss politics with Soekarno. Nevertheless, Razak considered that Soekarno played an indirect role. Soekarno had made use of the conflict within Masyumi for his interest.<sup>31</sup>

As representative of Muhammadiyah within Masyumi, Hamka has important role to ensure that his organization to stay within Masyumi. According to Syaifullah, the relation between Muhammadiyah – Masyumi had undergone three stages of dynamics, a loving and close relationship from 1945 to 1955; strained relationship from 1956 – 1959; and the end of the relationship on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1959. Even though he considered this period of 1956-1959 as a strained relationship period, Muhammadiyah had never let go of its position as Distinguished member organization of Masyumi. This period was the raise of aspirations from several internal Muhammadiyah figures who questioned the relevancy and urgency for Muhammadiyah to stay within Masyumi. This aspiration was brought forward in Muhammadiyah *tanwir* meeting in 1956 in Kaliurang, Yogyakarta.<sup>32</sup>

Syaifullah noted that at least there were four patterns of aspirations at that time. First, those who wanted Muhammadiyah to secede from Masyumi and became an independent political party. Second, those who wanted for Muhammadiyah to secede from Masyumi and focused as a da’wah movement; political path should be played by Muhammadiyah’s figures as their personal endeavor and not institutional endeavor. Third, Muhammadiyah withdrew from Masyumi and became an independent political party, then together with other Islamic Parties (like NU and PSII) established a federation. Fourth, an aspiration that wanted Muhammadiyah to stay as part of Masyumi.<sup>33</sup>

The Tanwir established a formator that consisted of four figures: AR Fachruddin, M Junan Nasution, H.A. Malik Ahmad, and Hamka. Hamka was among the group who wanted the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi to go back to its previous state.<sup>34</sup> In his remark within the *tanwir* meeting in 1956 he gave an analogy of the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi as inseparable like those of “nail and meat.” For Hamka, Muhammadiyah and Masyumi had similar objective that is “to upheld Islamic religion and to create an Islamic community”. “However, they started from different side, Masyumi in political

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<sup>29</sup> Emzita, “Seorang Ulama Dan Pujangga Islam Indonesia,” 100.

<sup>30</sup> Fealy, *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU 1952-1967*, 104 see footnote in no. 26.

<sup>31</sup> Abdul Razak, “Apakah Sukarno Berperan Dalam Perpecahan Masyumi,” *Al-Muslimun*, No 335 (Bangil, February 1998), 52.

<sup>32</sup> Syaifullah, *Gerak Politik Muhammadiyah Dalam Masyumi* (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1997), 190.

<sup>33</sup> Syaifullah, 190–98.

<sup>34</sup> Syaifullah, 201–5.

practices, and Muhammadiyah from developing of the good deeds! Masyumi to attain Islamic power, Muhammadiyah to fill those power,” stated Hamka.<sup>35</sup>

Hamka accused Masyumi’s opponents to have provoked Muhammadiyah to separate itself from Masyumi and to become an independent party. Although several figures within Muhammadiyah were provoked, Hamka was grateful that Muhammadiyah’s leaders have broad knowledge and vision and were not influence by those provocation. He considered the effort to separate Muhammadiyah from Masyumi as an effort to bring Muhammadiyah into conflict and to separate the Islamic ummah from their future goals.<sup>36</sup>

Another issue brought forward in relation to Muhammadiyah and Masyumi was the involvement of Moelyadi Djoyomartono as Social Minister within the Karya Cabinet which was rejected by Masyumi. Hamka considered this Muhammadiyah cadre to have created rift within the organization. Hamka called Moelyadi, who was supported by KH Farid Ma’ruf, as “palace people” who was trying to bring Muhammadiyah into the power circle. Hamka’s critics added the fuel to the internal conflict within the organization, as since the beginning the majority of Muhammadiyah members agreed with Masyumi’s attitude that refused to be involved with the President in establishment of Karya Cabinet. Hamka’s attitude was based on his concerned that Muhammadiyah and Islamic da’wah in general would bow down to the ruler, even more that Soekarno was so intimate with the communists.<sup>37</sup>

### **The Struggle in Konstituante/Constituent Assembly**

In 1955 General Election, Hamka was a candidate of Konstituante member from Jawa Tengah election region. His popularity as a writer and muballigh made him elected as a member of Konstituante from the region who was considered as the basis of NU, PKI, and PNI.<sup>38</sup> Hamka was one of the members of Konstituante who was actively involved in various debates in this parliament, especially related to the ideology of the state. Within the committee of Constitution Drafting, Hamka and other representatives from Islamic parties fight for Islam to be the ideology of the state by trying to put back the Jakarta Charter into the Constitution.<sup>39</sup>

On his speech during the third assembly, 72<sup>nd</sup> meeting, Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1957, Hamka stated that Indonesian independence on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August 1945 was based on “the spirit of freedom, the spirit of unwillingness to be colonized again” which was a reflection of Islamic teaching. To back up his statement, Hamka quoted various struggles against the West colonization throughout Indonesia. Pangeran Diponegoro, Imam Bonjol, Teuku Cik Ditiro, Teuku Umar Djohan Pahlawan, Pangeran Antasari, Sultan Hasanuddin, Maulanan Hasanuddin Banten, Sultan Khairun and Babullah, Raja Aji, Iskandar Muda, up to HOS Tjokroaminoto

<sup>35</sup> Hamka, *Muhammadiyah-Masyumi*, 9.

<sup>36</sup> Hamka, 3–9.

<sup>37</sup> Djarnawi Hadikusuma, “Buya Genius Hamka,” in *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, ed. Solichin Salam (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979), 32; Yusuf Maulana, *Buya Hamka: Ulama Umat Teladan Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: Pro-U Media, 2018), 253–64.

<sup>38</sup> Rusydi Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka* (Jakarta: Noura, 2016), 8.

<sup>39</sup> Endang Saifuddin Anshari, *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945: Sebuah Konsensus Nasional Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997), 85–86; Maarif, *Islam Dan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi Tentang Perdebatan Dalam Konstituante*, 170; Adnan Buyung Nasution, *Aspirasi Pemerintahan Konstitusional Di Indonesia: Studi Sosio-Legal Atas Konstituante 1956-1959* (Jakarta: Grafiti, 2001), 32–33.

were quoted in his speech. According to him, those heroes have fought against the colonization due to their religious belief.<sup>40</sup>

Hamka's statement was a rebuttal toward the speech by the Pancasila supporters who mentioned that the willingness to replace Pancasila with other foundation was a treason committed against those heroes' efforts for independence. This reference toward the heroes was Hamka's insistence that aspiration to build Indonesia based on Islam was not a treachery. In fact, it had solid historical background.<sup>41</sup>

At the end of his remark, Hamka stated his concern on two things: first, a secular Pancasila would result in life-confusion for people of various religion. In this case, Hamka noted various behaviors of the Pancasila's supporters, such as, visiting the Samakki graveyard to ask for their needs to those who were buried there by lighting the torch right at midnight and brought this torch to Kalibata and carried out a moment of silent there. There were also supporters of Pancasila who ascend Soekarno into a position of a prophet who received revelation in form of Pancasila.<sup>42</sup> His second concern was related to the communists' support toward Pancasila. Hamka was not convinced that the communists were sincere on their support for Pancasila, considering that they originally have anti-god belief,<sup>43</sup> and they rejected nationalism.<sup>44</sup>

This speech by Hamka gained wide responses from the Pancasila supporters' side. The Catholic fraction through PS Da Cunha refuted this on the basis of his Christian belief. Whereas, Njoto from PKI accused Hamka to try to overturn Pancasila from the spirit of independence. "His (Hamka) effort is as vain as an effort trying to separate two sides of a coin," said Njoto.<sup>45</sup>

During Konstituante's assembly on Indonesian's National Principle, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1959, the Djuanda Cabinet formally propose to revert to the 1945 Constitution. This proposal was affirmed by President Soekarno in his speech in front of Konstituante on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1959.<sup>46</sup> This government proposal had added fuel to the debate within the Konstituante. Masyumi and other Islamic parties firmly refused it. Hamka admitted that he lost his sense of awe and pride toward Soekarno.<sup>47</sup>

In his response given on the I assembly, May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1959, Hamka refuted Soekarno's accusation that Konstituante was too long-winded in their jobs. According to Hamka, "Composing a Constitution is not like rubbing Aladin's lantern." He further explained that composing a national's ideology involved different ideas and many challenges, and those can only be settled

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<sup>40</sup> Konstituante Republik Indonesia, *Risalah Perundangan Tahun 1957 Djilid VII*, n.d., 108–9.

<sup>41</sup> Indonesia, 110–11; Konstituante Republik Indonesia, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Dalam Konstituante, Djilid III* (Bandung: Konstituante RI, 1958), 59–60.

<sup>42</sup> Indonesia, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Dalam Konstituante, Djilid III*, 77–78.

<sup>43</sup> Indonesia, *Risalah Perundangan Tahun 1957 Djilid VII*, 128–31; Indonesia, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Dalam Konstituante, Djilid III*, 78.

<sup>44</sup> Hamka, "Undang-Undang Dasar Indonesia Dan Tjita-Tjita Islam," 7.

<sup>45</sup> Hendaru Tri Hanggoro, "Menjajal Medan Konstituante," *Historia* (Jakarta, 2015), 45.

<sup>46</sup> Konstituante Republik Indonesia, *Risalah Perundangan Tahun 1959 Djilid I*, n.d., 28.

<sup>47</sup> Indonesia, 362.

through deliberation. “There is only one thing left unclear, the National’s Principle,” he said. He asked all parties to persevere for Konstituante to complete their job.<sup>48</sup>

Hamka also accused that the idea to revert back to UUD 1945 was no other than an eagerness to realize Guided-Democracy (Demokrasi Terpimpin). He further considered that it was an effort to block the efforts of Islamists group to reinstate the Jakarta Chartered. He considered Soekarno’s statement about the Jakarta Chartered as a historical document was a “bit of temporary painkiller. In this case, Hamka likened Soekarno to a panicked doctor, hence, prescribed wrong medication that accelerate the death of his patient”.<sup>49</sup> Soekarno’s claim about reverting back to the 1945 Constitution as the people’s unstoppable desire was considered by Hamka as a campaign and a form of agitation that did not solve the problem and soon fade “after his fiery speech”.<sup>50</sup>

Hamka saw that various people’s demonstrations that often happened at that time as part of Soekarno’s efforts to intimidate and pressure Konstituante to agree to his proposal to revert to 1945 Constitution. About this intimidation, Hamka stated, “your heart would tremble if your faith is not strong, it felt ‘the honorable’ members of Konstituante were like students who are being scolded by their teacher, for unknown reasons, or like those of the convicts waiting for the judge’s decision”.<sup>51</sup> Hamka also criticized Asmara Hadi who stated that reverting back to the 1945 Constitution was “a *Shirathal Mustaqim* (a deciding bridge for people to go to heaven in the afterlife according to Islamic believe) that will guide toward the Firdaus heaven of fair and prosper society.” Instead of going to Firdaus heaven, reverting to the 1945 Constitution was a winding road to hell of Jahim.<sup>52</sup>

Even though he was persistent on refusing Soekarno’s idea of reverting to the 1945 Constitution, at the end, the Islamist group relented on their demand and made a new demand; they would accept the 1945 Constitution as long as it was amended with the Jakarta Charter to be included into its Preamble. It was noted in the history that through several times voting, the Konstituante was unable to make decision on the national ideology up to the recess time of the parliament. Amidst this recess, Soekarno took a shortcut to reinstate the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila through the Presidential Decree on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1959.

### **Hamka During the Demokrasi Terpimpin/Guided-Democracy Era**

Guided democracy was understood by Soekarno as a democracy, whose government system is based on deliberation and led by an “elder” who “lead” and “guided”, and not dictate.<sup>53</sup> Hamka negatively responded to “this democracy”. He said, there were two goals that Soekarno would like to attain with this kind of democracy; first, gather power within the President and establish Pancasila as the national ideology. When Guided Democracy was established, the state would be managed as of the president’s will, Trias Politica would no longer be clearly divided,

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<sup>48</sup> Indonesia, 360.

<sup>49</sup> Indonesia, 368–69.

<sup>50</sup> Indonesia, 360–64.

<sup>51</sup> Indonesia, 360–61.

<sup>52</sup> Indonesia, 365.

<sup>53</sup> Maarif, *Islam Dan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi Tentang Perdebatan Dalam Konstituante*, 249.

opposition would be dead, and all powers (legislative, judicial, and executive) would be in the hand of the President. At the end, Hamka affirmed, totalitarianism would prevail.<sup>54</sup>

Prime Minister Djuanda refuted this accusation and fired back by calling Hamka's statement as offensive, personal attack, and provocative.<sup>55</sup> Similar attack had also come from the supporters of government proposal within the Konstituante, such as from M Chanafiah and Anwar Nasution.<sup>56</sup> However, Hamka's firm attitude was appreciated by M Natsir who was in Sumpur Kudus, Sumatera Barat. "Hamka's point came as something unexpected," said Natsir. Natsir then composed a poem as a form of his support for Hamka.<sup>57</sup>

Following his success to dissolve Konstituante and force to revert to the 1945 Constitution through a Decree, Soekarno gained more freedom to amass power. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1960, he dissolved the People's Representative Council (DPR) elected by the people due to their rejection of the Draft of State Revenue and Expenditure (RAPBN) proposed by the government. Then on 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1960 Soekarno established a Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong (DPR-GR)/A representative council, where the members were elected by Soekarno himself without involving Masyumi and Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI/Indonesia Socialist Party) as both were considered as "hinderance to our revolution".<sup>58</sup>

During the Demokrasi Terpimpin era, the democracy hit its lowest. Many mass media were banned from circulating,<sup>59</sup> da'wah and political talks in mosques were prohibited.<sup>60</sup> Even, members of MPR-S (People's Consultative Assembly) should sworn their obedience to the Soekarno's Political Manifesto.<sup>61</sup> The figures that actively criticized the regime were target of terrors.<sup>62</sup> Dissolvement of several political parties (Masyumi and PSI) in 1960 had strengthened Soekarno's position,<sup>63</sup> and the climax was when MPR-S appointed him as president for life in 1962.<sup>64</sup>

It was in such political condition that Hamka decided to leave practical politics and return to the da'wah path to made al-Azhar Grand Mosque as his center of efforts. On this choice, Hamka commented, "We started our fights from the mosque, and all this time we have been neglecting

<sup>54</sup> Indonesia, *Risalah Perundangan Tahun 1959 Djilid I*, 365–66.

<sup>55</sup> Konstituante Republik Indonesia, *Risalah Perundangan Tahun 1959 Djilid III*, n.d., 802–3.

<sup>56</sup> Indonesia, 849.

<sup>57</sup> M Natsir, "Dua Kali Kami Berjumpa," in *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, ed. Solichin Salam (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979), 308–9.

<sup>58</sup> Noer, *Partai Islam Di Pentas Nasional*, 392–93; Remy Madinier, *Partai Masjumi: Antara Godaan Demokrasi & Islam Integral* (Bandung: Mizan, 2013), 261–62.

<sup>59</sup> MC Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2008* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2008), 553; Fajar Riadi, "Menegaskan Kawan Dan Lawan," *Historia* (Jakarta, 2013), 49; Edward C. Smith, *Pembreidelan Pers Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1986), 169–257.

<sup>60</sup> Mohamad Roem, *Bunga Rampai Dari Sejarah 3* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1983), 103–4; Mohamad Roem, "Politik Hamka," in *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, ed. Solichin Salam (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979), 9; "Kegiatan Agama," *Pandji Masjarakat*, No 4, August 1, 1959, 3.

<sup>61</sup> Noer, *Partai Islam Di Pentas Nasional*, 394.

<sup>62</sup> Madinier, *Partai Masjumi: Antara Godaan Demokrasi & Islam Integral*, 233–35; Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 174–75; Mochtar Lubis, *Hati Nurani Melawan Kezaliman: Surat-Surat Bung Hatta Kepada Presiden Soekarno 1957-1965* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1986), 49.

<sup>63</sup> Madinier, *Partai Masjumi: Antara Godaan Demokrasi & Islam Integral*, 256–57.

<sup>64</sup> Noer, *Partai Islam Di Pentas Nasional*, 394; Deliar Noer, *Mohammad Hatta: Hati Nurani Bangsa* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2012), 155; Lubis, *Hati Nurani Melawan Kezaliman: Surat-Surat Bung Hatta Kepada Presiden Soekarno 1957-1965*, 18.

the mosque as we have been too busy in the parliament”.<sup>65</sup> Together with KH Fakhri Usman, Hamka established the *Pandji Masyarakat* magazine in 1959.<sup>66</sup> Even though this magazine was focused on knowledge and culture, *Pandji Masyarakat* was often published critics on Soekarno. Hamka’s bravery to publish M. Hatta’s article titled “Demokrasi Kita” on the 22<sup>nd</sup> edition of *Pandji* (1<sup>st</sup> May 1960) made this magazine banned from published.<sup>67</sup> Republication of “Demokrasi Kita” in form of book was also banned.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to opposing Soekarno’s totalitarianism, Hamka also furthering his fight against the communists who was given more room during the Demokrasi Terpimpin.<sup>69</sup> In this struggle, Hamka became one of the casualty from the PKI propaganda. Their initial offence was commenced in a form of an article titled, “Hamka, Benarkah Dia Manfaluthi Indonesia?/Hamka, Is he Indonesian’s Manfaluthi?” written by Abdullah Said Patmadji published in *Bintang Timur* on 7th September 1962 edition who accused that the novel *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wick* written by Hamka as a plagiarized work from Egyptian author, Mustafa al-Manfaluthi titled *al-Majdulin*. The litterateurs and mass media affiliated with PKI extensively publicized this issue. However, various other authors like Usmar Ismail, A Rahim Mufty, Ali Audah, HB Jassin, and Anas Ma’ruf came forward to defend Hamka. In General, they believed that Hamka was influenced by Manfaluthi, but he did not plagiarize Manfaluthi’s work.<sup>70</sup> Hamka himself did not response to that accusation. He suggested that an academics literary committee was established to settle this issue.<sup>71</sup>

Even though he was attacked with this plagiarism issue, Hamka still focused on the Da’wah path in al-Azhar. Hamka called this step as “educating the ummah from the mosque and increase the Islamic da’wah” to fight against the wide-spreading influence of communism among the society. Therefore, in his lectures/preaches, Hamka often discussed the *tawhid* issues to protect the ummah not to be “taken with the indoctrination of Manipol-Usdek”. In cooperation with Brigjen Sudirman (the Chief of SESKOAD at that time) and Letkol Muchlas Rowi (Chairman of Islamic Center at the Ground Forces of the Army) Hamka founded Perpustakaan Islam Foundation and published a magazine named *Gema Islam*, which content was similar to those of *Pandji Masyarakat*.<sup>72</sup>

The first edition of *Gema Islam* was published on 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1962. The tagline was similar to *Pandji Masyarakat*: “Knowledge and Cultural Magazine”.<sup>73</sup> This magazine was focused on da’wah issues, knowledge, arts and culture, and also christianization who was booming at that

<sup>65</sup> Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 174–75.

<sup>66</sup> Sidi Gazalba, “Beberapa Peristiwa Bersama Buya Hamka,” in *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka* (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979), 226; Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 174–75.

<sup>67</sup> Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 174; Lubis, *Hati Nurani Melawan Kezaliman: Surat-Surat Bung Hatta Kepada Presiden Soekarno 1957-1965*, 14; Herbert Feith, *Soekarno-Militer Dalam Demokrasi Terpimpin* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1995), 85–86.

<sup>68</sup> Deliar Noer, *Membincangkan Tokoh-Tokoh Bangsa* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), 251.

<sup>69</sup> Feith, *Soekarno-Militer Dalam Demokrasi Terpimpin*, 29.

<sup>70</sup> “Polemik Kapal Van Der Wick,” *Historia* II, no. 21 (2015): 46–47.

<sup>71</sup> “Sambutan Hamka Atas Heboh Mengenai ‘Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck,’” *Gema Islam*, October 1962, 25.

<sup>72</sup> Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 122, 176–78.

<sup>73</sup> Rosihan Anwar, “Hamka Dan ‘Gema Islam’ Dan Kumandang Da’wah,” in *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, ed. Solichin Salam (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979), 156.

time. The fight against communism was concentrated more on the cultural and thoughts aspects.<sup>74</sup> In many of his cultural activities, Hamka always stated his ideas of Islamic colored culture, to balance the communism-colored cultures and other non-Islamic values. As a speaker in the first Kongers Kebudayaan Nasional/National Culture Congress in Bandung in 1953 and the second Congress in Solo in 1959, held by Badan Musyawarah Kebudayaan Nasional (BMKN/National Culture Council), Hamka had met several young Muslims cultural practitioners and stated his willingness to establish a Badan Musyawarah Kebudayaan Islam Indonesia (BMKII/Indonesian Islamic Culture Council ) if BKMN was to be dominated by Lekra (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat/People's Cultural Council). Hamka's plan was not realized as the Islamic young scholars were able to balance the Lekra's influence within the Congress.<sup>75</sup>

Cultural fights against the Lekra was also carried out in form of Himpunan Seni Budaya Islam (HSBI/Islamic Arts and Culture Union).<sup>76</sup> In this union, the Muslims artists and cultural practitioners were put into two bodies: first, the workers union, which consisted of "artists workers" which included into the Central Leader of HSBI; and the second is the Majelis Seniman Budayawan Islam (MASBI/ Islamic Artists and Cultural Practitioners Council) which consisted of the ulama, thinkers, and artists-cultural practitioners. MASBI was the "heart" of HSBI who made the *blue-prints* for Islamic arts chaired by Hamka.<sup>77</sup>

HSBI challenges came not only from LEKRA but also from other Islamic groups that considered it haram for arts. This became the obstacles in many places for the arts to be performed by HSBI. At the same time Lekra was so openly and widely carried out their activities among the society.<sup>78</sup> On the 15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> December 1961 MASBI held an Islamic Artists and Cultural Practitioners Meeting (Musyawarah Seniman Budayawan Islam) to discuss Islamic view on arts with the objective of "clearing the matters who are unclear for most of the Islamic ummah in Indonesia". There were 100s ulama, scholars, and Islamic artists and cultural practitioners involved in this gathering. This gathering issued a fatwa that "Islam allowed all branches of arts to improve morality and to improve their taqwa in front of Allah swt and those arts should not contains the elements of immorality and *shirk* and other things that may violate the rules set by Allah swt and His Prophet PBUH." Meanwhile, for the sculpted art, this gathering issued a fatwa as "allowed" as long as the purpose was for accessory, games, and teachings. Whereas sculpting for worshipping purposes (*ta'abbud*) was deemed as *shirk*.<sup>79</sup> Based on this fatwa, the HSBI artists were more freely work among the society to fight against the red arts spread by Lekra.<sup>80</sup> Hamka's fight against communism was put to stop when he was arrested and imprisoned for two years without trial process.

### **Hamka's Political Role in the New Order Era**

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<sup>74</sup> Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 178–84.

<sup>75</sup> Gazalba, "Beberapa Peristiwa Bersama Buya Hamka," 224–26.

<sup>76</sup> Taufiq Idris, "Seni Sebagai Media Dakwah," *Serial Media Dakwah*, No 88 (Jakarta, October 1981), 28.

<sup>77</sup> Junan Helmy Nasution, "Tudjuh Tahun HSBI: 24 Sept 1956-24 Sept 1963," *Gema Islam*, September 1963, 20.

<sup>78</sup> Gazalba, "Beberapa Peristiwa Bersama Buya Hamka," 227.

<sup>79</sup> Amura, "Musjawarah Besar Seniman Dan Kebudayaan Islam," *Gema Islam*, January 1962, 26.

<sup>80</sup> Gazalba, "Beberapa Peristiwa Bersama Buya Hamka," 227.

In January 1966 Hamka was released from prison. Hamka returned to his activity to give da'wah in al-Azhar mosque and republish the *Panji Masyarakat* magazine that was banned during the Old Order regime.<sup>81</sup> The New Order regime carried out a strict monitoring and control toward the Islamic political power (Thaba, 1996: 243-244). On this awareness, the ex-Masyumi leaders shifted their battlefield strategy. If they were previously focused in the party political path, now they shifted to da'wah path by establishing the Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII/Indonesian Islamic Council of Da'wah) in February 1967.<sup>82</sup>

Hamka had started his da'wah since the dissolution of Konstituante in 1959 and Masyumi in 1960. If in the Old Order Hamka's da'wah was focused on countering the influence of communism, then in the New Order era his da'wah was focused on several themes: countering christianization, reducing suspicion among the educated and bureaucrats on Islamic ummah, and enriching the modernization and development programs with Islamic values.<sup>83</sup> If during the Demokrasi Terpimpin Hamka carried out his da'wah by approaching the military (the Ground Forces Army/AD), then in the New Order era his strategy was to approach the middle class and the bureaucrats to get closer to Islam.

This effort was a success. Hamka was often invited to teach in government institutions, government official houses, and routinely carried out da'wah in RRI (national radio) and TVRI (national television).<sup>84</sup> Hamka also consistently carried out da'wah for the non-government middle class. In 1964, al-Azhar mosque opened up a Kindergarten and Elementary School for middle class family children who wanted modern-Islamic education. This modern Islamic education was becoming more popular. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January 1971, the first al-Azhar Junior High School was established, and on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1976, the first al-Azhar Senior High School was established.<sup>85</sup>

In this New Order era, Hamka became more of "city ulama or popular ulama". He was popular among the modernly educated community, those with less deep religious knowledge, and mostly were city dwellers. This literate people were trying to improve their religious knowledge through available literature, and Hamka's books were among the options.<sup>86</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid called him as the "national ulama" as a "liaison officer and communicator among various groups with different needs and interests".<sup>87</sup> The position as "national ulama" and his ability to bridge various groups and interests are among the reasons for President Soeharto to accept Hamka as the first Chairman of MUI.<sup>88</sup>

The government has long intended to establish a Council of Ulama. During the conference of Ulama carried out by Pusat Da'wah Islam (Islamic Da'wah Center) in Jakarta on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September up to the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1970, the Minister of Religious Affair, KH. Muhammad

<sup>81</sup> Rush, *Adicerita Hamka Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar Untuk Indones. Mod.*, 192.

<sup>82</sup> Lukman Hakiem, *Perjalanan Mencari Keadilan & Persatuan: Biografi Dr. Anwar Harjono, SH* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1993), 235–36.

<sup>83</sup> Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 185–206.

<sup>84</sup> Hamka, 203–4.

<sup>85</sup> Tim Historia, *Hamka: Ulama Serba Bisa Dalam Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2018), 125–34.

<sup>86</sup> Fachry Ali, "Hamka Dan Masyarakat Islam Indonesia: Catatan Pendahuluan Riwayat Dan Perjuangannya," *Prisma 2* (1983): 49.

<sup>87</sup> Wahid, "Benarkah Buya Hamka Seorang Besar?: Sebuah Pengantar," 36, 50.

<sup>88</sup> Rush, *Adicerita Hamka Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar Untuk Indones. Mod.*, 210.

Dahlan proposed an idea to establish a body for Indonesian ulama that provided fatwa for the ummah. The proposal was only responded by the Islamic ummah five years later. Mudzhar argued that this long period of no-response was due to the “distrust” political feelings between the Islamic ummah and the government.<sup>89</sup>

Hamka’s willingness to become chairman of MUI gained a strong protest from young Islamic groups who came to his house. Several other *muballigh/preachers* also scorned him for this. However, Hamka was not deterred. There were several considerations that made Hamka accepted this position: first, to fill in the “national security” program, especially on ideology security against communism, and development of the nation’s morale; second, to get rid of the suspicion and resentment between the Islamic ummah and the government.<sup>90</sup>

In general, Hamka’s relationship with the New Order government was smooth. Hamka often met the president and other government officials. The government also facilitated the needs of the MUI. Similarly, MUI often supported the government programs through their fatwas. However, this did not mean that there were no dynamics and strains in this relationship. Even though it appeared that the MUI was close to the authority, the “non-opposition attitude, but did not curry favor with the government attitude” taken by Hamka made him uneasy to be controlled by the authority. M Roem cited Hamka’s statement on this attitude: “if I were to be asked as the member of the ulama council, I would accept, however, know this, that as an ulama I cannot be bought”.<sup>91</sup> The presumption that MUI was a government tool to control the Islamic ummah was not relevant in Hamka’s era. The relation between both parties fluctuate, or in Sirry’s term *a complexity*.<sup>92</sup>

However, relationship Hamka-MUI and the government had once strained due to the fatwa on the forbiddance to celebrate Christmas together. Fatwa was issued in March 1981, it was due to the phenomenon of Christmas celebration involving the muslims. Under the disguise of tolerance and Pancasila, the Christian groups asked the muslims to celebrate Christmas together with them in churches, schools, work places, houses, and even in government offices.<sup>93</sup> Christmas celebration together was rooted from President Soeharto’s dream to integrate all layers of society and to prevent conflicts to escalate into national disintegration.<sup>94</sup> Hamka himself did not only forbade. Long time before the fatwa, he even considered the muslims who participate in the celebration of Christmas together as *kafir and mushrik*.<sup>95</sup> Based on the normative theological foundation, this fatwa was part of the trauma on the massive

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<sup>89</sup> Mohammad Atho Mudzhar, *Fatwa-Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia: Sebuah Studi Tentang Pemikiran Hukum Islam Di Indonesia, 1975-1988* (Jakarta: INIS, 1993), 54, 62.

<sup>90</sup> Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 64, 209–11.

<sup>91</sup> Roem, *Bunga Rampai Dari Sejarah* 3, 107.

<sup>92</sup> Mun’im Sirry, “Fatwas and Their Controversy: The Case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI),” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44, no. 1 (2013): 103.

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463412000641>; Wildan Insan Fauzi, “Hamka Sebagai Ketua Umum MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia) Dalam Menghadapi Masalah Sosial Politik Pada Masa Orde Baru 1975-1981,” *Factum* 6, no. 2 (2017): 278–95, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.17509/factum.v6i2.9984>.

<sup>93</sup> Idris, “Seni Sebagai Media Dakwah,” 35.

<sup>94</sup> Rush, *Adicerita Hamka Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar Untuk Indones. Mod.*, 204.

<sup>95</sup> Hamka, *Pribadi Dan Martabat Buya Hamka*, 241–42.

Christianization that happened not long-ago and that the trust of the ulama to the government was yet recovered.

The government strongly reacted to this fatwa and urged the MUI to revoke the fatwa. This strained the relationship of these two institutions. The newly-found harmony was threatened. At this point, Hamka “relented” and stated his resignation as chairman of MUI, by his unwillingness to revoke that fatwa. This option was taken by Hamka to preserve the existence of MUI, and to preserve the relationship between the ulama and the government.<sup>96</sup>

**Commented [MOU1]:** need more contextualization and interpretation on this relation between HAMKA and MUI

### Conclusion

Hamka’s political journey portrayed an assertive, moderate, and flexible character. This attitude made Hamka able to develop good relationship and cooperation, and develop compromise with different stakeholders. This character made Hamka’s attitude more open to various options to fight for his idealism, and did not stuck only on one rigid option. When he saw one way was too hard to be followed through, Hamka would open other options who he considered effective in his struggles, thus, there was an impression that he was pragmatic. Nevertheless, the strong tied between his values and dreams made Hamka assertive toward something that he considered contradictory with his idealism. This keeps Hamka on his path, even though his political journey seemed to have gone through a winding road.

In this frame, it is understandable if there were different political strategies employed by Hamka during his life. During the Parliamentarian Democracy, Hamka fought “to integrate Islam into the state’s constitution” by formally making Islam as the state’s ideology. During the Demokrasi Terpimpin era, his battlefield was focused on “protecting the Islamic ummah from the anti-religious ideology (communism)” through da’wah and cultural movements. Meanwhile, in the New Order, his political battle was aimed at “integrating Islamic ummah into the state’s life” employing da’wah movement as his political strategy. Regardless to the different strategies that he employed, the objective of Hamka’s political struggle did not change. It can be said that three political objectives of Hamka in three different eras were merely technical interpretation of his one unchangeable objective, that is: “to make Islam and the Islamic ummah as most important parts for an Independent Indonesia”.

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