

## **DEBATE OF ISLAM AND COUNTRIES IN THE CONSTITUANTE BOARD, 1956-1959: STUDY OF HAMKA POLITICAL THOUGHT**

By: Heri Herdiawanto, M.Si. & Dr. Valina Singka Subekti, M.Si  
FISIP Universitas Al Azhar Indonesia

### **Abstract**

This study examines Hamka's political thinking about Islam and the State in the Basic State debate that took place in the Constituent Assembly 1956-1959. Hamka belongs to the basic group of defenders of the Islamic state with Mohammad Natsir in the Masyumi faction, fighting for Islamic law before other factions namely the Nationalists, Communists, Socialists, Catholics-Protestants and members of the Constituent Assembly who are not fractured. Specifically examines the issue of why Islam is fought for as a state basis by Hamka. and how Hamka thought about the relationship between Islam and the state.

The research method used is a type of library research with literature studies or documents consisting of primary and secondary data and reinforced by interviews. The theory used in this study is the theory of religious relations (Islam) and the state.

This study found the first, according to Hamka, the Islamic struggle as the basis of the state was as a continuation of the historical ideals of the Indonesian national movement. The second was found that the constituent debate was the repetition of Islamic and nationalist ideological debates in the formulation of the Jakarta Charter. Third, this study also found Hamka's view that the One and Only God Almighty means Tauhid or the concept of the Essence of Allah SWT.

The implication of this research theory is to strengthen Islamic thinking legally formally, that is thinking that requires Islam formally plays a major role in state life.

The conclusion is that Indonesian society is a heterogeneous society in terms of religion. This means that constitutionally the state recognizes the diversity of religions embraced by the Indonesian people and guarantees the freedom of every individual to embrace religion and realize the teachings he believes in all aspects of life. Hamka in the Constituent Assembly stated that the struggle to establish a state based on Islam rather than a secular state for Islamic groups was a continuation of the ideals of historical will.

**Keywords:** Islam, State, Hamka, Pancasila, Constituent Assembly, Political Thought

## PRELIMINARY

### A. Background

In the initial process of establishing the Indonesian state, the most crucial issue that is often the subject of debate among the founding fathers is the agreement on the basis of the state. This was evident in the BPUPKI hearings (the Agency for Investigating the Preparations for Indonesian Independence). When the main issues discussed include the form of the state, form of government, national borders, and other matters related to the constitutional problem, it runs smoothly, but on the contrary when discussing the basis of the state there is a sharp debate between the leaders of secular nationalist groups, including; Soekarno, Hatta, Soepomo, M. Yamin and political Islam groups, among the characters; Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, KH. Wachid Hasjim, Kahar Muzakar, KH. Achmad Sanusi.

The ideological debate turned out to continue along with the process leading up to and after Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, namely the momentum of the Jakarta Charter was closely related to the idea of a form of Islamic-based state that had surfaced since Indonesia was not yet independent. The Jakarta Charter's political compromise was marked by seven words (with the obligation to implement the Islamic Shari'a for its adherents, to be the principle of the One Godhead). The loss of the seven words was felt by Muslims as a big loss and not infrequently who regretted it. But all of that in the framework of unity or meant that non-Muslim groups, especially Eastern Indonesia, do not separate themselves.

The above shows that the configuration of the thinking of the Indonesian political elite has a fundamental potential for conflict when it comes to the question of state basics. This is evident in the political conditions of the Indonesian state at the beginning of the twenty-first century when some elites tried to actualize the "Jakarta Charter" idea. The function and meaning of the Jakarta Charter is a moral agreement that is very sublime as it was before among religious groups and national groups, supporters of the Godhead ideology, plus other ideological groups that accept and support Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Some parties make opinions about the charter not only as an aspiration to place Islamic shari'ah as the basis of the state, but further as a movement to establish an Islamic state. Besides this opinion, another explanation emerged that stated that the charter only wanted to base the state on Islamic values, and not in the sense of forming an Islamic state, as the Indonesian Islamic state movement conducted by Kartosuwiryo in 1949 or the Darul Islam movement in Aceh in 1953.

The next historical trail after the Jakarta Charter was the debate in the Constituent Assembly as an institution produced through the 1955 elections, when the election was only held more than ten years after Indonesia's independence, precisely on December 15, 1955. And the inauguration of members of the Constituent Assembly was carried out by President Soekarno on November 10, 1956. The net results of the 1955 elections in Indonesia showed that Islamic parties obtained less than 45 percent of all votes cast. Islamic parties won 230 seats; while the other parties (Nationalist, Protestant, Catholic, Socialist and Communist) received 286 seats.

Thus, the balance between the two groups, once again around 4: 5. Based on the results of this election, it was evident that the Islam was not properly represented, both in the investigative body (25%) and moreover in the preparatory committee (12%), only in the 9th committee that formulated the Jakarta Charter on 22 June 1945 Islamic groups were adequately represented (44%).

To follow the debates on the Basic State in this Constituent Assembly, we must pay attention to several important events in the 1950-1955 period. An example of Soekarno's shocking statement on January 27, 1953 at Amuntai South Kalimantan when he said:

"The country that we form and what we want is a national country that covers all of Indonesia. If we establish a state based on Islam, then many areas that are not Muslim will break away like Maluku, Bali, Plores, Timor, Kai and also West Irian which has not yet entered Indonesian territory.

Soekarno's statement received a lot of strong reactions from various Islamic groups, such as NU, front of the Mubaligh, Islamic Youth, Perti also Exactly. The Islamic group considered that

President Soekarno's statement was ambitious and his spirit was undemocratic and non-constitutional, and had a tendency to fight and disturb Muslims, the statement was also not a policy because it contained a challenge to the Islamic ideology which was mostly embraced by the majority of Indonesian citizens. Natsir and Soekiman tried to minimize the issue by convincing the people that "these differences of opinion are the result of a confusion of terms, and this problem is an internal problem of the Muslim community and does not need to be discussed exaggeratedly outside the environment. So the atmosphere between 1953 and the lead up to the 1955 elections gave an impression and influence on the situation and atmosphere in the Constituent Assembly when the Council began its work in November 1956.

Of all the agenda of the Constituent Assembly in its task of drafting a new Constitution, it was about the Basic State debate which had become a problem since the efforts to prepare for the independence of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the beginning there were three proposals that emerged to be a basic alternative to the state, namely Pancasila, Islam and Socioeconomics. Finally, there were only 2 choices, namely Pancasila and Islam as the basis of the state because of the third proposal, Socio-Economy was only supported by nine members, namely 5 from the Labor party and 4 from the Murba party. Because of the proportion of votes and because of the fact that the decision on the Basic State requires a two-thirds majority, a compromise between the Pancasila and Islam factions is needed, because the Social-Economic faction is only supported by a small number of votes, so their position is considered insignificant in the decision-making process regarding the Basic State . The two major factions (Pancasila and Islam) consider that the aspirations of the Social-Economic faction have actually been fully included in a better form in their view of the Basic State.

The debate was basically an ideological confrontation between supporters of Pancasila and Islam. Each party emphasizes the superiority of the ideology that is proposed because the source of the ideology is considered superior. Pancasila is considered a true platform for every ideology that exists in Indonesia, and because it is in accordance with Indonesia's personality; only Pancasila can guarantee unity in pluralistic Indonesian society. According to its supporters, Islam is a divine

revelation that contains the most complete and perfect laws and teachings, both to regulate the lives of individuals and society and to regulate religious, political and economic matters. These views are repeated many times and developed with various variations during the debate.

This research will only discuss the ideological struggle between Islam and Pancasila in which Hamka belongs to the basic group of defenders of the Islamic State and is incorporated in the Masyumi Party. Together with M. Natsir in the Masyumi faction, Hamka who is also a Muhammadiyah figure took part in fighting for Islamic Sharia before other Nationalist, Islamic, Communist and socialist, Catholic-Protestant factions and members of the constituent assembly which were not fractured. Hamka argues that Indonesian society is a heterogeneous society in terms of religion. In the sense that, constitutionally, the state recognizes the diversity of religions embraced by the Indonesian people and guarantees the freedom of every individual to embrace religion and realize the teachings he believes in all aspects of life so that the idea of establishing a state based on Islam rather than a secular state is natural.

According to Hamka, the struggle to uphold a country based on Islam has been a dream for a long time from all Islamic movements in Indonesia, namely since the 19th century. Hamka mentioned the names of heroes including; Prince Diponegoro, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, Teuku Cik Ditiro, Pangeran Antasari and Hasanuddin. - who had fought against Dutch colonialism in order to create a state based on Islam. In this connection, Hamka said, 'what is represented by representatives of Islam in the Constituent Assembly session is solely to realize the will and ideals of the heroes'. On the part of the Pancasila defenders it seems unable to convince the basic Islamic support group that Pancasila is not a secular attribute that is strongly opposed by Islamic groups. In general what is commonly proposed is that Pancasila is a "Noble Moral Agreement" between secular nationalists and Islamic groups. That Pancasila is the result of compromise, no one can deny it. Then Prof. Soeripto, a defender of Pancasila, accused the Islamic group of denying this moral agreement, but on the contrary the Islamic group reminded that the secular nationalist group had damaged the noble agreement, namely by crossing out clauses about "the obligation to implement Islamic law for its adherents" from the opening of the 1945 Constitution and from his

torso. The debate about the basis of this country was so tough and until 1959 the Presidential Decree had not been completed to return to the 1945 Constitution.

## B. Problem Formulation

From the background above this research seeks to study Hamka's political thinking with the following formulation of research questions;

- a. How is the struggle for the thought of the Basic Islamic State and the Pancasila State Basis at the Constituent Assembly?
- b. What is Hamka's political thinking about the basis of the Islamic State in the debate Konstituante council meeting?

## C. Socio-Political Conditions and their influence on Hamka's Thought

In the early 1900s, Ranah Minang, as the birthplace of Buya HAMKA, was highlighted as the area where the Islamic revival movement was called the PADERI movement, a movement that had not been well organized was present in the atmosphere of Dutch colonialism in the archipelago. The resurrection was spearheaded by four figures, Sheikh Taher Jamaluddin, Sheikh Muhammad Jamil Jambek, Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrillah (Hamka's father), and Aji Abdullah Ahmad. Although Syeikh Taher Djalaludin settled in Singapore, Namur had a great influence on the last three characters who were his colleagues and students. The influence was transmitted through the *al-Imam* (1906-1909) magazine containing articles on religious issues, important events that occurred in the Muslim world, and the thought of Muhammad Abduh and also through *al-Iqbal al-Islamiyah* schools.

The reform steps taken by the three tribes, Sheikh Muhammad Djambek, Sheikh Abdul Karim Amrullah through his book *Qoti'u Razbi al-Mulhidun*, and Abdullah Ahmad through the *al-Munir* magazine, got a hard reaction, especially amongst clerical scholars old. Their actions in

eradicating bid'ah, superstition, and superstition are viewed by the Old Scientists to insist their position on the periphery. This fact indicates the heightened intensity of religious debates in Minangkabau in the early twentieth century, which Taufik Abdullah said has created Social Polarization. The situation grew louder when scholars and young people raised educational institutions and also gave birth to a political organization known as PERMI (Indonesian Muslimin Association) as an advanced process of the regeneration of Sumatra Thawalib. Social tensions in the form of polarization of the elderly and young people, with the convergence of indigenous and Dutch colonial governments, has led to a sharpening iritistic attitude in the minds of religions in Minangkabau, and created cultural attitudes that identified Minangkabau with Islam. In the middle of social background, Buya Hamka was born and raised by her parents.

The consciousness of fighting for religion and nation began to grow from Hamka's brother-in-law's motivation, namely A.R Sutan Manssur, when the young Hamka spent his study at about six months in Pekalongan. Where the initial awareness he had previously acquired in Yogyakarta, the new spirit of manifestation of Islam in the form of social and political movements and religion in Yogyakarta, had made Hamka dissolved in it. The idea of Islamic reform in Java, with the identification of the movements displayed by Muslim companies and Muhammadiyah, seems to be more oriented towards efforts to combat underdevelopment, ignorance and poverty as well as the danger of Christianization supported by the Dutch colonial government.

Islamic companies appear to mobilize the economic power of indigenous peoples and jira and the spirit of Islam, while Muhammadiyah offers various formal education institutions in an effort to educate the lives of the nation. In February 1927, Hamka left for Makkah, which was generally pushed by 1). the desire to test one's own life in the midst of foreign people, both economically and in a way of life. 2. encouraged by the advice of an Arab so that he read a lot of books in the bookshelves of Sheikh Hamid bin Madjid Kurdi 3. made a speech in front of the Nusantara traveler in the city of Mecca, such as straightening the understanding of the Shafi'i School which is often practiced by laypeople improperly . The most obvious advantage he felt during traveling in Mecca was around five six months, namely; reading activities, especially books that speak Arabic, not only love but have ingrained, the clearer their independence in opinion and

---

the more confident. This is the basic capital in wading the struggle in the middle of the archipelago at that time.

In 1959, not long after the functioning of the Al Azhar mosque, the political atmosphere described earlier began to emerge. Agitation of the PKI in discrediting people who are not in line with their policies is increasingly binding, Al Azhar mosque is not spared from that condition. The mosque is accused of being a den of "Neo Masyumi" and Hamkaism ". Unexpectedly before, on Monday 12 Ramadhan 1382 which coincided with January 27, 1964, shortly after Hamka gave a recitation in front of less than a hundred Mothers at the Al Azhar mosque, he was arrested by the ruler of Orla. Then thrown into custody. As a political prisoner, Hamka was placed in several vacation homes in the Puncak area, namely Herlina Bungalow. Harjuna, Bungalow of Mega Mendung Mobile Brigade and Cimacan police detention room. In this prison, Hamka had the opportunity to write Al-Azhar Interpretation. Finally after the fall of the Old Order, and the New Order rose under Soeharto's rule and the PKI's power was taken away, Hamka was acquitted of all charges. This opportunity was used by Hamka to improve and perfect the Al-Azhar interpretation he had written in several previous detention centers.

Thus, in addition to being influenced by the thoughts of figures such as M. Abduh, Sayid Quthb, H. O.S Cokroaminoto, A. R Sutan Mansyur, Hamka's thoughts were also influenced by the socio-political conditions that occurred during his life. In his Tafsir Al Azhar, which in it is much associated with contemporary events and the history of the struggle of the Indonesian people, which has been integrated into the framework of thought contained in the Al quran and Hadith.

#### D. Hamka Political Thought about Islam and state

Since the end of the nineteenth century, political thinking among Islamic thinkers has undergone a shift and a plurality of thoughts about Islam and state administration has developed. Six thinkers who are considered to represent Islamic political thought in the classical and middle ages, (Ibn Abi Rabi ', al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, al-Gazali, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Khaldun) basically accept and no longer oppose the validity of the monarchical system of government they found in their respective times, with a Caliph, Sultan or King who ruled on the basis of hereditary, supra

---

national, and with absolute or almost absolute power based on the principle that he was the shadow of God on earth.

In the context of understanding the relationship between religion and the state, Hamka did not approve of the closure between religion and the state, because they are two elements that are closely related and complementary. This opinion is based on his argument, that Islamic teachings are able to unite a material and spirit, and unite people from different backgrounds in a pluralistic community. As history has proven, that at the time of the Caliphate of the Prophet Muhammad, and the Companions, several countries that have been successfully controlled by Islam where the majority of the population are the majority of non-Muslim communities with different backgrounds, turned out to be able to live peacefully and side by side fellow than before the arrival of Islam in the country which has been controlled by infidels colored by various conflicts and social unrest that haunts the lives of the residents who are in the lower layers specifically, because the law that has been applied there is the law of the jungle as a manifestation of the culture of jahiliyyah life . Whether it is refuted or not, in a certain country there is no country that is inhabited by a particular community (homogeneous). The territory of a country is always filled with pluralities of all things that are in the area of ethnicity, religion and race (SARA) with various consequences that require them to live together in a certain area. As the word of Allah SWT, which has outlined it;

"O People, indeed We created you from a man and a woman, and made you nations and tribes, so you know each other." (Q.S. Al-Hujurat: 13).

Textually, the verse reveals the purpose of the plurality, namely to get to know each other. However, something that is implied from the text can be in the form of a continued consequence of the purpose of the ta'aruf itself, namely amar mustatir (hidden / implied recommendations) to create unity and unity in a diverse community, within the framework of religious morality. Because without this spirit of unity, between one community and another it is impossible to live peacefully. What is the meaning of an introduction, both between Muslims and non-Muslims if in the end there will be resistance. This is where the importance of the spirit of unity is important. The

technique or the way to realize this goal is as stated by Hamka, that Islam is a complete religion of the principles and ethics of life in society and state. So this is one indication and evidence that in Islam a system of society and state is regulated. Or what is later called Islamic politics with a variety of theories that use the basic framework of thought from the Qur'an and al-Sunnah.

The above is closely related to what is called the Islamic epistemology which is a rational epistemology, which by Fazlur Rahman and Armahedi Mazhar is called an integralistic way of thinking. Namely all the existing reality comes from God (Innalillahi) and will return to God too (Wainnalillahi Roji'un) or with a more linear picture than the cycle can be said, that all reality originates from God and ends in God too. All of these facts are related to the concept of the essence of God (Tawheed). Muhammad Iqbal and Murtado Muthohari also emphasized the importance of the principle of the Islamic Tawhid as a religion that is universal in terms of space, and eternal in terms of time which is related to the reality of the special days of the sun, so that there is a continuum or irregular order from the essence of God and reality. That is authentic Islam (al-dinul al-qayyum).

Regarding the relationship between Religion and the State, al-Maududi has the same view as Hamka, he clearly states that; Islam does not approve the separation of religion and politics, Islam wants to carry out politics in line with the demands that have been given religion and use the state as servants of God. The Koran affirms that God is the holder of sovereignty and determines the law, and the law revealed by him must be applied as law on earth; Contemporary Islamic thinkers, especially Muhammad Rasyid Ridla, Sayyid qutb and al-Mawdudi have expressed their view that Islam is a religion complete with instructions that govern all aspects of life, especially life in society and state. In other words, state life is one of the religious discourses which has implications for a relationship or relationship between Religion and the State which is doctrinally regulated in Islam.

This view is different from the opinion of Muhammad Haikal who rejects that Islam is complete with all the arrangements for all aspects of social life including the political system, but on the contrary he thinks that Islam is no different from other religions in the sense that it has

nothing to do with the life of society and state. However, this can also mean that Islam is not a religion that governs the state separately, but in it there is an ethical value and principle in the life of the state. So according to this view, Islam is not so synonymous with practical political problems, but rather tends to limit itself to the plain moral and ethical values.

Regarding the discussion of the state, Hamka also explained that Islam teaches his people to practice the system of shura (democracy), but the problem for him is that the Koran and al-Hadith do not provide detailed information on how to do shura. So that the analysis put forward is to base the system and form shura on the needs of the community. In other words, the form of shura practiced in a country with another country is different. Because the form of shura is based on the needs of each community which is relatively different. We can see this in various countries that have different forms of government within a certain period of time, such as the Indonesian State which uses a voting system in decision making in the MPR session (democratic system) because this is seen as an appropriate effort in resolving various opinions different according to the character of the Indonesian people. In contrast to the form of deliberation in the country of Saudi Arabia that uses the form of government (monarchy / kingdom). In this form all decisions taken are based on the wisdom of the head of the kingdom, but still go through a process of deliberation with some of his subordinate officials.

From the explanation above, it can be seen that Hamka's thoughts were influenced by the thoughts of Muhammad Abduh (modern Egyptian thinker), through his work *Tafsir al-Manar* which was edited by his students. Muhammad Rashid Ridha who clearly saw the problems of religion in shari'ah by giving strict orders to the problems of the world (*al-ummur al-duyawiyah*), which included in the ideology of state decisions, and the implementation of democracy, namely by adjusting verses of the Koran with political and social developments that are in accordance with the times when the interpretation is compiled.

In addition Hamka also influenced a lot of the thoughts of Sayyid Qutb who wrote the book of commentary entitled *Fi Dhilal al-Qur'an* (under the auspices of the Qur'an), a work of interpretation that is very relevant to the development of the present, although in terms of history

he has not can overcome the superiority of the interpretation of al-Manar but in terms of the verses he has been able to adapt to the post-world war II model of thought known as the atomic age.

In the context of the debate in the Constituent Assembly, Hamka shared his ideas at the Constituent Assembly forum in Bandung, which essentially supported.

Basic Islamic State through the Masyumi Faction. The formulation of the idea of the Masyumi Islamic party can be seen below.

#### E. State Basis Devices In Constituante Assembly

##### 1. 1955 Election and Constituent Formation

In September and December 1955, the Indonesian people had succeeded in holding elections to elect the parliament and members of the Constituent Assembly. His job was to make a Draft Law which remained as a substitute for the 1950 Constitution (article 137 UUDS 1950). The foundation of the implementation of the first election was marked by the issuance of Law no. 7/1953 and implemented by government regulation no. 9/1954 which was held directly with a balanced (proportional) representation system to elect members of Parliament and Constituent Assembly. The first election was held during the system of state governance based on Parliamentary Democracy with the Constitution of the Provisional Constitution of 1950. Article 35, jo. Article 135 paragraph (2) of the 1950 Provisional Constitution states that there is a need for the Act in the holding of general elections. Indeed, the program for organizing the General Elections was announced during the Natsir cabinet (6 September 1950-27 April 1951). However, new elections were carried out during the Burhanuddin Harahap Cabinet (12 August 1955 - 3 March 1956). The first election was held on 29 September 1955 to elect members of Parliament (DPR), and the second was on 15 December 1955 to elect members of the Constituent Assembly.

Finally, the results of the 1955 elections were as follows; The Parliament (DPR) is 272 people (each member is supported by 300,000 votes) which is attended by 28 political parties. There are 4 political parties that have majority votes, namely; Masyumi (60 representatives), PNI

---

(58 representatives), NU (47 representatives), and PKI (32 representatives). These four parties become 4 factions in the DPR. In addition to these four factions there are fifteen other factions, namely; Progressive national faction, proclamation support faction, PSII faction, Parkindo faction, Catholic faction, PSI faction, Perti faction, Pancasila Defender Movement faction, P3RI faction, AKUI individual faction, PPTI faction, PIR Hazairin faction, United faction representing West Irian. The inauguration of members of Parliament (DPR) was held at the State Palace on March 25, 1956, with a total of 18 factions and 2 representatives who did not have a faction. The DPR's authority at that time was in the Legislative field to control the Executive.

Members of the Constituent Assembly amounted to 542 people consisting of members elected in the General Election December 15, 1955, For the Constituent Assembly generally produced a composition of the top 4 votes, namely: Masyumi, NU, PNI and PKI. His inauguration was held in Bandung on November 10, 1956, as well as the opening of the first session by President Soekarno, with the main task of forming a new Constitution.

The net results of the 1955 General Election in Indonesia showed that Islamic parties obtained less than 45 percent of all votes cast. According to the 1950 Constitution which also regulated the Election, the status of the new Constitution became valid when the draft was approved by at least 2/3 of the members present at the meeting. Thus, based on this provision a constitutional struggle that aims to create an Islamic state or a state based on Islam becomes impossible. However, as it is understood together that the debate on the basic problems of the country took place fiercely until the Constituent Assembly was dissolved by President Soekarno in July 1959 in an effort to create a new political structure known as the debutant of guided democracy 1959-1965.

The birth of constitutional if viewed in terms of freedom to express opinions, views, freedom of speech, then the constituent is an important milestone of our process of state. Because it was in the constitutional period that ideas emerged about what system the Unitary Republic of Indonesia wanted to take. The ideologies that developed in the colonial era were suppressed then in the independence period the opportunity to establish open parties and become contestants in the

first elections of 1955. The Constituent Assembly in 1957-1959 convened, in a democratic atmosphere political ideologies fought to offer ideas the thoughts fought through the political elites who sit as members of the constituent assembly.

In the Constituent Assembly, there were initially three drafts of the state base proposed by three factions. The three designs are; Pancasila, Islam, and socio-economy. But the latter, proposed by the Murba and Labor parties, will not be discussed here because it is only supported by small groups. This paper will only discuss the ideological struggle between Islam and Pancasila for the second time in the post-Independence period after the first in the Jakarta Charter.

## 2. Hamka's view of the basis of the Islamic State in the Constituent Assembly.

Hamka in the constituent assembly was one of the representatives of the Masjumi Party led by M. Natsir, he had the opportunity to present his ideas in the debate on the Basic State, namely as follows;

"The struggle to uphold a country based on Islam, has long been the goal of all Islamic movements in Indonesia, namely since the 19th century, Hamka mentioned the names of heroes - Prince Diponegoro, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, Teuku Cikditiro, Teuku Umar, Prince Antasari, Sultan Hasanuddin and others who have fought against Dutch colonialism in order to create a state based on Islam. In this connection, Hamka said, that what is represented by representatives of Islam in the assembly is solely to realize the long-held desires of the heroes above in the context of the 20th century. "We are the ones who continue their will, said Hamka," and you can see the chairman of the logic of what I have to say. It might be said that the one who betrayed the spirit of the ancestors of the previous leader was the one who exchanged their struggle with Pancasila. However, the speaker, Hamka then softened the tone of his statement by saying: "But ... I do not want to convey conclusions there, because we are now pitting the mind to combine Even as Muslims, I give forgiveness to those who accuse us of being traitors, because we know that his knowledge about the history of his ancestors still needs to be added ".

Indeed there is no doubt that the names called Hamka are the names of heroes who have graced the pages of Indonesian history. They were great fighters against foreign rule, even though they ran aground in battle because the opponent's weaponry was far superior. In line with Buya Hamka's opinion Muhammad Isa Anshary (Masyumi) enthusiastically claimed that these heroes had a single purpose in their souls, namely upholding the Islamic State of Indonesia. In the sense of historical preservation, Hamka's argument above contains the truth. Indeed, most of Indonesia's national heroes are Muslim. Islamic teachings about jihad are a source of motivation for their rebellion.

#### F. Conclusion

From the description Hamka speech in front of the Constituent Assembly can be concluded that, "To the Islamists struggle to uphold a state based on Islam, has been a long time aspiration of all Islamic movements in Indonesia, which since the 19th century". Hamka mention the names of heroes, namely: Prince Diponegoro, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, Teuku Cikditiro, Teuku Umar, Pangeran Antasari, Sultan Hasanuddin and others, who had fought against Dutch colonialism in order to create a state based on Islam. In this connection, Hamka said, that what is represented by Islamic representatives in the Constituent Assembly is solely to realize the long-held desires of the heroes in the context of the 20th century. "We are the ones who continue their will, said Hamka," and you can see the chairman of the logic of what I have to say. It might be said that the one who betrayed the spirit of the ancestors of the previous leader was the one who exchanged their struggle with Pancasila. However, speaker, Hamka then soften the tone of his statement by saying: "But ... I do not want to convey the conclusions there, because we now are middle pitted mind to mempadu Even as a Muslim, I give pardon those who accuse us traitors, because we know that His knowledge about the history of his ancestors still needs to be added.

Indeed there is no doubt that the names called Hamka are the names of heroes who have graced the pages of Indonesian history. They were great fighters against foreign rule, even though they ran aground in battle because the opponent's weaponry was far superior. In line with Buya Hamka's opinion Muhammad Isa Anshary (Masyumi) enthusiastically claimed that these heroes

had a single purpose in their souls. namely upholding the Islamic State of Indonesia. In the sense of historical preservation, Hamka's argument above contains the truth. Indeed, most of Indonesia's national heroes are Muslim. Islamic teachings about jihad are a source of motivation for their rebellion.

As for all the arguments of representatives of Islam, each other reinforces there is no significant difference between Nahdatul Ulama leaders and Muhammadiyah individuals in Masyumi in conveying the basis of the Islamic state.

A fact is that Islam is embraced by the largest group of Indonesians. The influence of the religion of Islam has its roots in its culture and customs. It can be said that people do not know other features in Indonesia, except Islam.

Pancasila as the State Philosophy of Indonesia, will live in a fertile manner and can be guaranteed, if the Muslims truly understand their religion, so that religion becomes a view and influences all steps of their lives. There is no religion (ideologie) that can guarantee the fertility of Pancasila in Indonesia beyond Islam. First because it is guaranteed by the unity of the teachings of Islam itself. Secondly because Islam is the biggest in Indonesia. And the attempt to steal the waterway to guarantee the fertility of Pancasila in Indonesia is a Tahsisu'l 'Umyaan; Like the touch of a blind person, in a dark night. What is contained is scattered, the pursued cannot. So to guarantee Pancasila let us the Indonesian people who recognize God as their God, and Muhammad as the Apostle together revives the Islamic Religion in our society. Our suggestion is consistent with what ever uttered by the president, at a meeting of employees of the Ministry of Information on 28 March 1952. Pancasila has long been owned by Indonesia since the inception of the Islamic Syarekat.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al Qur'anul Karim, *Translation*, Jakarta: Ministry of Religion of the Republic

Indonesia, 1983.

Suhelmi, Ahmad, Dr. 2001, *From the Right of Islam to the Left of Islam; Biography and Political Thought*, (Jakarta: Darul Falah).

\_\_\_\_\_ *Islamic and State Politics, (Soekarno Versus Natsir), The victory of the Megawati Barisan Secular Nationalist Reincarnation*, (Jakarta: Darul Falah, 1999).

Maarif, Syafi'i Ahmad. 1985, *Islam and State Problems in the Constituent Assembly*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985.

Adnan Buyung Nasution, *Aspiration of Constitutional Government in Indonesia; Socio-Legal Study of Constituents 1956-1959*, (Jakarta: Grafiti, 2001).

Ahmad A. Sofyan & M. Roychan Madjid, *The Idea of Cak Nur About the Country &*

*Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Titian Divine Press, 2003).

Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Thought of KH Ahmad Dahlan and Muhammadiyah in the perspective of Social change*, Cet. I (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1990).

Ali, Mukti, *Method of Religion Science, in Taufiq Abdullah and M. Ruslin Karim (ed) Research Methodology Religion: an introduction*, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1989

Ahmad Hakim and M. Thalhah, *Moral Religion Politics, Hamka's Political Interpretation* (Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2005).

Abdurrahman Wahid, *Making Islamic Law a support Development*, in Prisma, no. 4 (Jakarta: LP3ES, August, 1975).

Abdurrahman Wahid, *"Is it true that Buya Hamka is a big man? A Introduction "*, in *Hamka in the eyes of the Heart of the Community*. tt

Abdul Wahab Khallaf, *Islamic Law Politics*, linguist Zainuddin Adnan, Cet. I

(Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana, 1994).

A. Syaikh, *Hamka: Political-Ulama*, in *Hamka in Mata Hati Umat*, Editor: Nasir Tamara, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984).

Buntaran Sanusi, Nasir Tamara, Vincent Jauhari (editor), *"Hamka in the eyes hati Umat "*, Jakarta: Sinar Harapan Publisher. 1984.

Bahtiar Effendy, (Re) *Islamic politicization: Has Islam ever stopped politics*,

Bandung: Mizan, 2000.

Budiyanto, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Tata Negara*, Jakarta: Erlangga. 2003

Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State: Transformation of Political Thought and Practice Islam in Indonesia*, Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998

Deliar Noer, Prof. Dr. *"Foreword"*, in *Ahmad Suhelmi.MA, Polemik*

*Islam country; Soekarno versus Natsir*, (Jakarta: Teraju-Mizan 2002).

Herbert Feith and Lance Castles (Ed), *Indonesian Political Thought 1945-1965*,

(Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988).

*Hamka, my father, the biography of Hamka and the struggle of the religion in*

*Sumatra*, Jakarta: Umminda Publisher. Cet. IV. Th. 1982.

*Hamka, Urat Tough Pancasila*, Cet. 1 and 2 (Jakarta: Family Library. 1951,

Media Da'wah.1985).

Hamka, *Tafsir Al Azhar*, Juzu 1-30, Cet. II (Jakarta: Library Panjimas, 2000)

Hamka., *Lembaga Budi*, Jakarta: Panjimas Library Publisher, th. 1983.

Hamka., *Renungan Tasauf*, Jakarta: Publisher of Panjimas Library, th. 1995.

Hamka, *Islamic Ideology Revolution and social justice*, Cet. I (Jakarta: Library

Panjimas, 1984)

..... *Remember 70 th Buya Hamka*, Jakarta: Publisher of Nurul Foundation

Islam, 1978.

James, Rush, *ADICERITA Hamka Islamic Vision of the Great Writer for Modern Indonesia*, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017.

Lexy J. Maleong, *Qualitative Research Methodology*, cet. 11 (Bandung: PT Remaja

Rosdakarya. 2000)

Muin Salim, Abdul, *Fiqh Siyasaah, Conception of Political Power in the Qur'an*,

Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada, 1994.

Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam and State Administration*,V Edition (Jakarta: UI Press, 1993)

M. Amien Rais, *Horizon of Islam-Between Cita and Facts*, Bandung: Mizan, 1989.

----- *Islam in Indonesia, An Effort to Read Yourself*, Jakarta: CV. Rajawali, 1986

M. Amin Abdullah, *Study of Religion: Normativity or Historicity* (Yogyakarta:

Student Library, 1999).

Miriam Budiardjo, *Various Thought about Kuasa dan Wibawa*, (Jakarta:

Library of Sinar Harapan, 1991).

Muhammad Muslehudin, *Philosophy of Islamic law and Orientalist thought*, pent .:

Yudian Wahyudi et al, Cet. II (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1997

Notonagoro, *the Popular Scientific Pancasila*, Cet. X (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1997)

Nana Sudjana, *Guidelines for Preparation of Scientific Work*, Papers, Dissertation, Cet. II (Bandung: Sinar Baru, 1991).

Salim al-Bahnasawi, *Insight on Islamic Political Systems*, Interpretation by Mustolah

Manfur, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: Library Al Kautsar, 1996).

Soerjono Soekanto, *Introduction to Legal Research*, Cet. II (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1986).

Said Aqiel Siradj, *Ahlussunnah Wa'al Jama'ah, in Cross History*, Cet. I (Yogyakarta: LKPSM, 1997).