

HAMKA'S THOUGHTS ON *TAQWA* DEMOCRACY

Heri Herdiawanto

Universitas Al-Azhar Indonesia
Kompleks Masjid Agung Al Azhar Jln. Sisingamangaraja, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta 12110
E-mail: heriherdiawanto@gmail.com

Valina Singka Subekti

Universitas Indonesia
Jl. Lingkar, Pondok Cina, Kecamatan Beji, Kota Depok, Jawa Barat 16424
E-mail: valinasingka@ymail.com

Firman Noor

Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional
Gedung BJ Habibie, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No.8, RT.2/RW.1, Kb. Sirih, Kec. Menteng,
Kota Jakarta Pusat, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 10340
E-mail: firman.noor@yahoo.co.id

Accepted: 30 November 2023; Revised: 05 March 2024; Approved 05: March 2024

Abstract

The phenomenon of Western democracy as an ideal political system, has been continuously debatable among Muslims. Muslim societies respond to Western democracy with three groups of attitudes, namely acceptance (“pro”), rejection (contra, “con”) and critical accommodation. The main argument of the contra camp is the rejection of secularism as the main characteristic of Western democracy. On the other hand, the pro and critical accommodative camps consider democracy to achieve Islamic goals. One of the prominent Indonesian thinkers in the critical accommodative camp was Hamka or Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah. Hamka (1908–1981), one of the leading Islamic intellectuals in Indonesia in the modern era, was known for his monumental work, Tafsir Al Azhar. Hamka was well-known as an Indonesian ulama (cleric), Muhammadiyah activist, and Masyumi Party politician who was directly involved in the ideological debates in the Constituent Assembly in Bandung (1956–1959). This paper presents a descriptive-analytical research report conducted in 2015–2019. This aims to explain Hamka’s view of democracy through Islamic perspective. Hamka believes that democracy is the way to achieve Islamic goals. Tauhid and shura are the basis of Hamka’s thoughts about democracy. In contrast to secular Western democracy, Hamka coined the Islamic concept of democracy, which was named “Taqwa Democracy”.

Keywords: *Western democracy, politics, Islam, Hamka, Taqwa democracy.*

Abstrak

Fenomena demokrasi Barat sebagai sistem politik yang ideal, terus menerus menjadi perdebatan di kalangan umat Islam. Masyarakat Islam menyikapi demokrasi Barat dengan tiga kelompok sikap, yaitu penerimaan (“pro”), penolakan (contra, “con”) dan akomodatif kritis. Argumen utama kubu kontra adalah penolakan terhadap sekularisme sebagai ciri utama demokrasi barat. Di sisi lain, kubu pro dan kubu akomodatif kritis menganggap demokrasi sebagai sarana untuk mencapai tujuan Islam. Salah satu tokoh pemikir Indonesia yang berhaluan akomodatif kritis adalah Hamka atau Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah. Hamka (1908–1981), salah satu intelektual Islam terkemuka di Indonesia pada era modern, dikenal dengan karya monumentalnya, Tafsir Al Azhar. Hamka terkenal sebagai ulama Indonesia, aktivis Muhammadiyah, dan politikus Partai Masyumi yang terlibat langsung dalam perdebatan

ideologi di Majelis Konstituante di Bandung (1956–1959). Tulisan ini menyajikan laporan penelitian deskriptif-analitis yang dilakukan pada tahun 2015–2019. Hal ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan pandangan Hamka tentang demokrasi melalui perspektif Islam. Hamka meyakini bahwa demokrasi adalah jalan untuk mencapai tujuan Islam. Tauhid dan syura menjadi landasan pemikiran Hamka tentang demokrasi. Berbeda dengan demokrasi Barat yang sekuler, Hamka mencetuskan konsep demokrasi Islam yang diberi nama “Demokrasi Taqwa”.

Kata Kunci: Demokrasi Barat, politik, Islam, Hamka, demokrasi Taqwa.

Introduction

As a prominent historical personality, the life of Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah or Hamka (1908–1981) as an *ulama* (cleric), cultural scholar, poet, and journalist has been extensively prominent in the large number of publications. This study focuses on Hamka’s thoughts in politics, particularly “*Taqwa Democracy*”. Democracy is a Western political system which has influenced modern Islamic political thought. The development of Islamic political thought began in the classical era and continued into the modern age, where it interacted with traditions of Western political thought. This interaction caused a variety of responses such as accommodation and rejection (Syamsuddin, 2001, p. 20).

The phenomenon of democratization received attention from Islamic thinkers in the modern era (early 20th century). They were famous as Islamic enlightenment figures: Jamaluddin al Afghani, Mohammad Abduh, and Rasyid Ridha. In Indonesia, these included H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, Agus Salim, Haji Rasul, Mohamad Natsir, and Hamka. The emergence of modern-era Islamic political thought, according to Munawir Sjadzali, was triggered by three things. First, the fragility and deterioration of Islamic world caused by internal factors, which resulted in enlightenment and purification movements caused it. The second is Western colonial encroachment of the Islamic world, which resulted in political hegemony and domination. Politically, most areas in the Islamic world such as Egypt, North Africa, and Asia were under Western domination and imperialism. The third one is the rising awareness of Moslem society towards Western excellence in science and technology (Sadjali, 2011, p. 115).

This study aims to discover the concept of Hamka’s thoughts about democracy based on *Shura* (deliberation) and suggestions Hamka offered for a political system based on Islamic universal values. Hamka’s thoughts could contribute in the development of Islamic political thought, as well as strengthening the participation and awareness of Indonesian Muslims, as a majority, in order to support a more democratic and just Republic of Indonesia.

This research used the descriptive-analytical method with a qualitative approach. For data collection, we used library research with primary sources from Hamka’s works, secondary sources from other relevant scholarly works, and last, we used transcriptions from interviews to substantiate our findings. The data analysis method consisted of data collection process, data reduction, data presentation, and deduction (Milles & Huberman, 2007, p. 37). Based on this we propose the main questions namely: 1) How is the concept of ‘*Taqwa Democracy*’ according to Hamka? 2) What kind of democracy concepts are compatible with the Islamic system of governance?.

Theoretical Framework

Sundhaussen (1992, p. 64) argues that democracy as a political system has to meet the following criteria: (1) a guarantee of every citizen’s rights to vote and be voted in regular and free elections, that effectively offers a chance for a turnover of the governing elites; (2) every citizen receives information and has a religion; and (3) equality before law. Meanwhile, for Schumpeter (1952, p. 269), democracy emerges in capitalist economic systems because the democratic

processes exist in a competitive situation, open for public demand, where individuals (organized, maybe in political parties) have time to make political decisions. For Schumpeter, democracy is simply a market mechanism, in which voters are the consumers and politicians are the entrepreneurs. Robert A. Dahl believes that the democratic system and process has the following advantages: (1) unlike other systems, democracy improves forms of freedom, such as freedom of self-determination individually or collectively, and freedom of moral autonomy; (2) democracy improves human capacity for self-determination, moral autonomy thinking, and responsibility for choices; and (3) democracy is a tried and tested means for people to protect and advance common interests and virtues (Schumpeter, 1952, p. 21).

Some Muslim thinkers, Al Mawduddi (1999, pp. 93-109) and Iqbal (1982, pp. 79-84) among others, consider that Islam and democracy have similarities and differences. Islam and democracy converges in the several insights and characteristics among others, both upholds justice among people (*Quran* chapter *Asy Shura*, 42:15), equality between Muslims (chapter *Al Hujurat*, 49: 10 and 13), accountability (responsibility) of government (chapter *An Nisa*, 4:58), deliberation (chapters *Ali Imran*, 3: 159 and *Asy Shura*, 42:38), obedience in virtue (chapter *Al-Mumtahanah*, 60: 12), prohibition of seeking power for oneself (chapter *Al Qashash*, 28: 83), the goals of the state (chapters *Al Baqarah*, 2: 143, *Ali Imran*, 3: 110, *Al Hajj*, 22:41), and the rights of the opposition (chapters *An Nisa*, 4: 135, *Al Maidah*, 5: 2, *At Taubah*, 9: 67 and 71, and *Al Ahzab*, 33:70).

On the other hand, Al Mawduddi (1990, p. 243) explains the crucial differences between Islam and democracy. He writes,

“Our democracy also has a similar insight, but the difference lies because if in the Western system a democratic country enjoys absolute sovereign rights, then in (our) Islamic democracy, the caliphate is defined to be limited by the boundaries outlined by Divine Law”.

According to Al Mawduddi, in modern Western concepts, democracy is a philosophy

of political organization which assumes that the people are the owners of absolute sovereignty. In Islam, people do not have absolute sovereignty, but they only enjoy the right to be the caliphate (steward) of God, as the holder of sovereignty.

Islam affirms that sovereignty in all its aspects rests solely with God. God holds sovereignty over all His creatures, including all human beings. This view is called the “democratic caliphate doctrine” (Thaha, 2005, p. 49). Muhammad Dhiya al-Din Rais discussed at length the points of similarities and differences between Islam and democracy (Huwaydi). Rais, a history lecturer at the Darul Ulum University, Egypt, admits that Islam and democracy have similarities in political system issues such as the relationship between people (*ummah*) and rulers, and the responsibility of government. The elements and features of democracy are also clearly visible in Islam.

Rais (2002, pp. 265-321) also noted several differences between Islam and democracy. *First*, the definition of a nation in Western democracy differs from the definition of *ummah* of Islam. In the concept of Western democracy, a nation or people is limited by geographical location, climate, blood ties, languages and other customs, which can be defined as nationalism. In Islam, the *ummah* is not limited by geographic location, blood relations or languages, but is bound by faith. People who reside and live in any country are still considered being members of an Islamic state. Therefore, the Islamic concept of *ummah* is very internationalist. *Second*, the goals of Western democracy and Islam are different. The goal of Western democracy is secular or material, which is to only provide welfare for people in the worldly life. In contrast, the goal of the Islamic system includes not only worldly or material purposes but also to meet spiritual needs. This spiritual goal considered more important and very fundamental. Therefore, all activities of the nation or the people aimed for benefits in this world and beyond.

Third, power or sovereignty of the people is absolute in Western democracy. People are the holders of the highest power. It is the people (or a representative assembly) who have the

rights to make and nullify laws. However, in Islam, power or sovereignty of the people is not absolute, but is bound by the religious *sharia* (Islamic law). The actions of the people must not exceed the limits of the *sharia*.

Discussion

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF TAQWA DEMOCRACY

Based on the theoretical framework of the relationship between Islam and democracy, Hamka belongs to a critical accommodative group who has a positive view of the democratic political system but rejects the secularism practiced in the West. In his thoughts about democracy, Hamka always emphasizes that its implementation refers to the principle of devotion (*Taqwa*) and the idea is called *Taqwa* Democracy (Hamka, 2015, pp. 22-32). *Taqwa* Democracy for Hamka is an Islamic democratic idea, therefore its practice must refer to the principles of community and state development and based on the *Quran* and *Hadiths*. This shows that Islam regulates political issues universally. Normatively, Islam has historical precedents and guidelines for a political system based on the *Quran* and *Hadiths*. Hamka's *Taqwa* Democracy is an implementation of *sharia* values in Islamic governance. Hamka proposes an Islamic nuance for democracy to replace its secular basis with *Tauhid* (or *Tauheed*, God's oneness) and *Shura* (Asy-Syawari, 1997, pp. 19-27). Hamka writes,

“Democracy is the seed of governance based on Shura (deliberation). Democracy is one among various systems of government that people adopt. The word democracy is exquisite, but if it is not accompanied by Tauhid, democracy will only be a tool to gain power. Tauhid by itself prevents dishonesty in contests among leaders. People struggle for power because they misunderstand the meaning of glory and splendor. Some think that glory and splendor are in the offices and ranks, possessions and beautiful mansions, the stars pinned to their chests, praises and accolades they received wherever they go” (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2019, p. 84).

Taqwa Democracy closely related to the concept of *Tauhid*. Hamka clearly provides a theological basis for the recognition of democracy from an Islamic perspective

(Busyairi H. B., 2016)¹. He states,

“Sovereignty of the people is a statement of faith from people who upheld [Pancasila's first principle] Belief in the One and Only God. Anyone who claims to believe in God Almighty will naturally believe in the sovereignty of the people, human sovereignty. In their belief, no human being may control other humans. There is no dictator in a society like this” (Hamka Y. R., 2001, p. 155).

Taqwa Democracy for Hamka means that implementing democracy must be in line with the Islamic principles that the human duty is to be a caliph who must uphold Islamic principles. Hamka's criticism of democracy is as follows,

“What is the name you will give to this principle? Will you name it democracy? Yes, it is democracy, but it is also higher than democracy. Because we should not turn a blind eye to the disappointments democracy caused to humanity. Is it democracy, if some nations, for example France, enjoy equality, independence, and fraternity, while other nations are dominated and bled dry? Can we say that it is democracy when those who occupy government offices or become representatives of the people are only the rich, landlords, barons, nobility, and bankers?” (Hamka Y. R., 2001, p. 21).

FOUNDATIONS OF HAMKA'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

1. Islam as a Universal Teaching

Hamka viewed Islam as a religion of mercy for the universe (*rahmatan lil alamin*). Islam claims a special status as a religion of mercy to the universe which complements previous religions. The concept of *rahmatan lil alamin* presents a distinctive, comprehensive and holistic face of Islam. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) taught Muslims to practice Islamic teachings in its totality (Hamka, 1982, p. 197)². Islam is a revealed religion which claims to be universal, humanistic, dynamic, contextual, and eternal. Islam claims to be the final religion, with the holy *Quran* as the final scripture, and Muhammad (PBUH) as the last Messenger and Prophet (Hamka, 2008)³.

¹ Interview with H. Badruzzaman Busyairi.

² See also Hamka's Explanation in *Tafsir Al Azhar*, 2008; *Quran* Chapter *Al Baqarah* (2): 208.

³ See also *Quran* Chapter *Al Ahzab* (33): 40.

Hamka states that the core of the Muslim view of life is *Tauhid*. Therefore, all activities in life are supposed to be based on *Tauhid*, including morality. He states,

“The belief in Tauhid that is instilled in such a way through the religion taught by the Prophet Muhammad to influence the morality of its followers. It is a steadfast morality, which believes that there is nothing to fear, nothing to submit to, no place of refuge except for Allah. This steadfast morality strengthened further by a principle of belief, namely destiny (takdir), in which everything that happens in nature, ever since the creation of heaven and earth, up to the smallest creatures, has been preordained, in due time. There is a predetermined time for life and death” (Hamka, 2002, p. 236).

2. The Quran and Hadiths as Main References

Hamka always believes that the *Quran* and *Hadiths* contain guiding values for democracy. The *Quran* and *Hadiths* are clearly the main references to understand the democratic system. According to Hamka, the *Quran* and *Hadiths* have provided instructions regarding the implementation of a democratic system within the corridors of Islam.

According to Hamka, Allah the Almighty has revealed the *Quran* as a universal guidance for human life. The *Quran* contains four important pillars in life. *First*, as a guide for all humankind. *Second*, as a differentiator between the truth and falsehood. *Third*, a remedy for sorrow. *Fourth*, it contains lessons and examples for morals, character, attitude, and good works. These lead to the obedience to Allah. The following is a Quranic verse which Hamka interprets as the command to obey Allah the Almighty and His Messenger:

“O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Prophet, and Ulil Amr (those with authority) among you. If you have different opinions about something, then return it to Allah (Quran) and the Messenger (Hadiths), if you really believe in Allah and the hereafter. That is the best and the most beautiful of understanding” (Hamka, 2008). [Quran 4:59]⁴

The main point is: “If you have different opinions about something, then return it to Allah and Rasul”. The result of deliberation is a consensus that brings benefits to all, so it would

⁴ See also Quran Chapter An-Nisa (4): 59.

be easy to carry out. But from time to time there would certainly be disagreements between those in authority (*Ulil Amr*), or *Ahlul-Halli Wal ‘aqdi* (deliberative assembly). Thus, if there is a difference between those who consult or are invited to deliberate, they should compare the results with Allah and the Prophet. Allah the Almighty and the Prophet includes the *Quran* and *Hadiths*, or to the essence of the *sharia* by considering the opinions of Islamic scholars in the past, or by using the comparative (*qiyas*) method. It considered clear that a deliberation on state affairs should not have ill intentions towards the people.

3. Approving *Ijtihad* to Encourage the Growth of New Thought

Hamka, as a self-taught Muslim scholar and intellectual, is the figure who believes that freedom to state the results of proper thought processes as *ijtihad* shall become the foundation of democracy. Democracy must adhere to the basic requirements of *Shura*, namely to maintain civility and politeness even when stating what one considers as the truth. The advancement of Islamic civilization and knowledge, such as in the fields of *Ushul Fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence), *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Tafseer* (Quranic exegesis), Sufism and others, resulted from the opening of the door to *ijtihad*. Likewise, great scholars who have established four schools of *fiqh* in Islam were the fruits of the freedom of doing *ijtihad* (Prof. Dr. Yunan Yusuf, 2019)⁵.

Hamka believes that the necessity of intellectual in democracy is the foundation of *ijtihad*. Intellectual is a guide to human presence as *al-hayawān al-nātiq*, which has a function to distinguish between *haq* and *bātil*, in determining the action to perform. Islamic teachings provide an opportunity for everyone to use their intellectual abilities to think in order to seek and find truth. According to Hamka, the conditions that must fulfilled within the search for truth is by freeing oneself from excessive worldly desires or in other terms indulging in the lust of anger (Hamka, 1986, p. 22). Intellectual in Hamka’s view cannot stand alone or deny its

⁵ Interview with Prof. Dr. Yunan Yusuf, MA., Muhammadiyah Figure and UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Scholar.

relationship with *syar' i* or Allah the Almighty's legal rules that are inherent in humans. This relationship appears to measure the morals of a human being against other humans, as well as towards the Almighty.

Hamka further believes that *ijtihad* is in line with the fourth principle of Pancasila. The fourth principle, in Hamka's view, represents the human ability to engage in *ijtihad* to produce the right political decisions. Hamka believed that the right political decisions achieved if the mind remains guided by religious teachings, in relation with events in the natural world and events that occur to humans as *khalīfah fi'l-ard*. Hamka understands the *Quran* as showing a close relationship between reason and revelation (Yakub, 2013, p. 75):

“The Quran also strongly recommends using reason and the mind to contemplate all these natural wonders. Exceptional humans are those who are knowledgeable about some of the hidden secrets of nature. (They) reflected on the natural motions. Why does the Sun never fall down, why don't the stars ever shift? When a ball is kicked high into the sky, it will finally fall down. Lighter things float upward, heavier things fall down. Why are the Sun and Moon like that, never falling down, even though they are heavy too? There are so many stars in the sky, countless; they never clashed and collided with one another”.

According to Hamka, the spirit of *ijtihad* as the basis of democracy has began since the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Scholars agree that it is imperative for the Prophet (PBUH) to carry out *ijtihad*, especially on issues related to the benefit of the world (*masalih ad-dunya*) and managing wars (*tadbir al-hurub*) and so on. The companions also performed *ijtihad* even though the Prophet (PBUH) was still alive, but the companions confirmed the results of their *ijtihad* directly to the Prophet. Hamka states,

“One example of the Prophet's ijtihad is the provision of the call to prayer (azan). The birth of the provisions for the call to prayer originated from a discussion between several friends. Some of the Prophet's companions argue that to tell people about prayer times, it is better to use a bell like a church bell (Christian). Others recommended the use of trumpets like the ones used in (Jewish) synagogues. Then Umar bin al-Khattab asked the Prophet: “Why did you not send someone to invite prayers?” The Prophet (PBUH) then said, “O Bilal, stand up and call

people to pray!”. The terminology of *ijtihad* can be found in almost all the books of *ushul fiqh* and it remains a theme that will remain relevant to the context of the times. *Ijtihad* has always been defined by its experts, from classical to modern times. Etymologically, *ijtihad* comes from the root *jahada*, which means “to devote all abilities”” (Hamka, 2002, p. 174).

Hamka considered that *ijtihad* does not only become the basis for the development of religious *fiqh*. He also extends its usage to become the basis for the development of state *fiqh* or the establishment of a state administration under Islamic principles.

When discussing *ijtihad* in politics Hamka always used historical examples. For example, Hamka discussed the political maneuvers of Sultan Mahmud II of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey was surrounded by Tsarist Russia. Ottomans lost every battle because their tactics were obsolete compared to those of Russians and several other countries, especially Napoleonic France, which had perfected a more organized method for battle. Sultan Mahmud II still relied on the Janissaries, an ancient army that relied only on courage. During the time of Sultan Mehmed II Fetih in the 15th century, Janissaries contributed majorly in the conquest of Constantinople. But times have changed, and progress is necessary in order to uphold Islam. Sultan Mahmud II gave instructions to hire retired officers of the Napoleonic army to train a new army, one that could keep up with their European counterparts. However, Sultan Mahmud II's ideas were criticized by the ancient army, in league with narrow-minded scholars who used some hadith for propaganda. Thus, Sultan Mahmud II had an *ijtihad* to prevent the destruction of the Ottoman Empire by reforming the army (Hamka, 2008, p. Juz 5).⁶

Hamka said that the historical example showed that the door to *ijtihad* has not been closed for good, and *ijtihad* is not limited to matters of worship, but it can include in the politics, including accepting a democratic system. The expansion of the meaning of *ijtihad* in politics, for example, can be used in the concept of *Ahlul halli Wal Aqdi* or *Ulil Amri*. *Ahlul halli Wal Aqdi* and *Ulil Amri* can be broadened

⁶ See also Quran Chapter An Nisa (4): 59.

to include modern political institutions that adhere to the principles of *Shura*, for example the concept of parliament, as well as the modern presidential or parliamentary systems of government. The concept of *Ulil Amri* can also be used for presidents or prime ministers. *Ulil Amri* can also include subordinate political leaders under the state, such as governors, mayors, and others.

The previous statement shows Hamka's openness to democratic ideas that reflect the spirit of modernizing the political system. Political modernization cannot be avoided by Islamic society. According to Hamka, Muslims must be able to adopt the existing political system, namely democracy. Yet democracy in Islamic countries must be based on the principles of faith. Hamka also believes that *ijtihad* in constitutional law must be able to influence the existing government system. Hamka believes that any *ijtihad* effort to produce state laws that is beneficial to the interests of all humanity is a positive thing, even though the results of *ijtihad* in making state laws are not always correct. Hamka's thoughts regarding *ijtihad* in constitutional law are based on the *Hadith* of 'Amr bin al-'Ash, collected by Imam Bukhari, Muslim, and Ahmad, which states that the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said:

"If a judge determines the law by doing ijtihad, and it is correct, then he gets two rewards. However, if his ijtihad result is wrong, then he gets one reward" (Hadith Collection of Bukhari and Muslim, p. 268).⁷

Hamka believes that *ijtihad* must continue in Indonesian politics with the principle of openness. Hamka's principle of openness of *ijtihad* in politics can be observed from two things. The first related to Hamka's view, namely that there is no need to change every term in the existing system, such as general elections, People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), People's Representative Council (DPR), Supreme Court, Regional Representative Council, Cabinet (Hamka, 2015, p. 39). Hamka argues that the most important thing is upholding *Shura* in society, namely *Shura* which adheres to the basic principles that have been taught

⁷ Hadith Collection of Bukhari and Muslim, from Umar bin al-'As, No. 268.

in Islam; referring to the *Quran* and *Hadiths*, discussing laws that have not stipulated in the *sharia* so that they get a decision that is closest to the *Quran* and *Hadiths*, and emphasizes the characteristics of those who are consulted (Saputro & Shobron, 2016, p. 65).

4. Rejecting Secularism in Social and Political Life

Hamka believes that implementing democracy does not have to follow the principle of secularization. Secularization has always meant the separation of the state from religion. Basically, secularization means detachment from religious ties. In secularization, it is not only the state that becomes secular but also other social institutions, such as the secular economy, secular education, secular marriage, secular culture and so on. Humans also become secular if they break away from religion, as in big cities. When many members of society break away from religion, that society becomes secular (Hamka, 2002, pp. 270-271). The process of breaking away from religious ties is called secularization, and this process exists not only in Western societies but also in Islamic societies, with the difference that secularization in the West leads people to break free from all religious ties, so that people there are no longer religious. Whereas in Islam, separation is only from certain ties from religion, and people still have religion.

Hamka as a modernist firmly rejects secularism. He considered that religion cannot be separated from social and political life. Islam includes everything, deals not only with the afterlife but also deals with worldly life. These two things cannot be separable from one another. Hamka also believes that the idea of separating Islam from the state was contrary to the first principle of Pancasila. Hamka considered the first principle to mean the integration between the state and Islam.

Hamka's rejection of secularism needs to be linked to the relevant groups of political thought. Hamka's counter-attitude towards secularism shows his closeness to the integralist group of thought. Integralist thinking sees that the relationship between state and religion

is not antagonistic. The integralist paradigm that reflects the integration between state and religion is clearly visible in Hamka's arguments. Hamka, like the integralists, believes that the state plays an important role as a political institution and a religious institution. Hamka also views that the head of state is the holder of religious and political power. Supporters of this paradigm believes that the government is organized based on "Divine Sovereignty", and sovereignty originates from and is in "the hand of God" (Wahid & Rumaidi, 2001, p. 24).

Hamka's rejection of secularism can also be comparable with the paradigm of fundamentalism. Hamka seemed to be aligned with fundamentalists when he emphasized the unity of Islam and the State. Hamka also has a close relationship with fundamentalist thought because he believes Islam is a comprehensive religion, covering all aspects of life. Islam is viewed as a system, covering all cultural areas (cultural universal). Therefore, Islam and the state cannot be separated (integrated). The domain of religion also includes politics and the state. Thus, according to this paradigm, the state is a political and religious institution at the same time and the government of the state organized on the basis of "divine sovereignty" (Busyairi H. B., 2016).⁸

However, Hamka's rejection of secular views does not mean he is a fundamentalist. The reason is that he still accepts the doctrine of democracy as long as it adheres to the principles of *Shura* and *Tauhid*. Hamka believes that the state and Islam can find a common ground as long as the *Shura* system works well. *Shura* or deliberation can also take place as a forum that is open to all members of society and as a forum for communication between the state and the community. In accepting a modified democracy which abandons the principles of secularism, Hamka positioned himself in the symbiotic and modernist groups. Hamka also showed an adaptive attitude towards the existing secular system by continuing to strive for the Islamization process.

5. Appreciating Differences in Political Views

According to Hamka, respect for differences in political views is a principle which is under democracy and Pancasila, as well as with Islam. Respect for differences in political views also shows the awareness that society is externally and internally plural. Pluralism must be respected. Islam provides guidance for human beings with *ijtihad* to build a system: the system that is considered as something flexible, depending on the needs of the times. Islam teaches principles, while their application is left to *ijtihad*. Implementing democracy according to Hamka is a consequence of differences in political views in Islam. Islam, according to Hamka, does not show which state model is compatible with the religion. Hamka believes any model can be accepted, as long as the basic principles of democracy are fulfilled, namely justice, rule of law, *Shura*, and attention for public interest. The structure of the state can be adapted to the needs of the times and the real needs of a nation, as long as it is under Islamic principles. According to Hamka, a democratic system of capable of embracing existing differences in harmony.

Hamka has consistently accepted the concept of democracy since he became a member of the Masyumi Party. Hamka supports the proposal of Islam as the basis of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Hamka as a Masyumi figure remained willing to do dialogue during the discussion and attempted to find common ground with all political groups in the Constituent Assembly. During a Constituent Assembly session 1956–1959 in Bandung, he stated,

"Mr. Chairman, with freedom from fear and protected from all kinds of intimidation, after three weeks we discussed principles to form the basis of our country. The country we love, the country we have upheld with blood and tears. We said everything that is felt, we express our thoughts and we compete, and hopefully we can be united. We meet at a common ground, namely the love of the country. We will not be narrow-minded in hearing other people's opinions, which differ from ours" (Hamka, 2005, p. 56).

In Constituent Assembly debates, several Muhammadiyah figures were actively involved,

⁸ Interview with H. Badruzzaman Busyairi, 2016.

such as Kahar Muzakkir, Hasbi Ashshiddiqy and Hamka himself. In their respective capacities, they had articulated their arguments as part of Islamic political theology work (Nurmadi, 2015, p. 4). During his time as a Masyumi politician, Hamka also applied the principle of respect for differences. Hamka could reject arguments from secular circles regarding the basis of the state or state construction in the constituent assembly, but could still accept political decisions at the session and he tried to understand the different points of view, even from those who opposed to his ideas. Hamka's respect for differences in political views shows the hallmark of the Islamic modernist movement. Hamka, as a supporter of the ideology of Islamic modernism, certainly still aspires for Indonesia to become a modern and advanced country under Islamic principles. However, Hamka also realizes the fact that Indonesia is a pluralistic country, so that the formation of a democratic government system to ensure peace and harmony is important. Implementing a democratic system can continue to be in line with *sharia* as long as Islam is taken as a source of inspiration to face the challenges of the changing times. The spirit of Islam will continue to inspire and energize the life of the nation and state and bring benefits to all citizens (Mahendra, 2018).

Differences in political views is inevitable, yet there is a common goal that humans must achieve together, namely carrying the mandate of Islam wherever they set foot on this earth. The *Quran* certainly has to be a guidance for all people and able to unify all the different perceptions among humans, but the principle of flexibility is still needed. Hamka realized that efforts to implement the *Quran* and *Hadiths* as the main source of law would certainly lead to different political views. Differences in political views in Indonesia are inevitable because Indonesia is a pluralistic country that has cultural diversity. Hamka argues,

“There’s English, there’s French, there’s German, there’s Russian and other languages in Eastern Europe, and there’s Italian, there’s Spanish. Never mind that, while in Indonesia as an archipelagic country alone, there are no less than 300 regional languages. If there was no unified Indonesian language, which was formerly called Malay, which became the lin-

gua franca that unites these islands, it would be difficult for such a big country” (Hamka, 2002, p. 85).

Besides linguistic differences, there are variety in skin colour and body form among humans. Diversity is considered *Sunnatullah*, the law of Allah the Almighty. Hamka considered differences in opinion as inevitable, but these differences can be overcome as long as each individual can utilize their mind to produce the right decisions. Certainly, these decisions require extensive knowledge on many issues, including in the political field. Different views in politics must be properly addressed rationally and people should not denigrate the opinions of other parties. Hamka's argument regarding political differences seems to be based on the *Quran*, Chapter Al Hujurat, verse 11.

Hamka's understanding of different political views is also the reason of his acceptance of Pancasila. Hamka considers that national unity is an important thing to maintain Indonesia's existence as a country. In Hamka's view, Indonesian unity does not mean that all humans are the same, but it shows that humans have differences. People must be able to unite in order to negotiate differences in political views for the survival of Indonesia. Different political views do not have to be a source of conflict, but rather it needs to be mediated properly through a deliberation process. At this point, Hamka made deliberation, the core of the fourth Pancasila principle, as the basis for the unity of the Muslim *Ummah* with other peoples within the framework of Indonesia.

6. Politics Must be Based on Morals

Hamka's views on morals as foundations of politics seem to be his reason for accepting Pancasila. Hamka considers that the second principle of Pancasila, "Just and Civilized Humanity" reflects the principles of good morals in politics. Hamka considered that morals will prevent people from acting unfairly and uncivilized to others. Hamka then expands the concept of morals to the state level. According to Hamka, state morals related to the purpose of implementing state law. The state has a role

to create laws that prevent criminal activities that will endanger humans. A good country will make laws to protect humanity. The existing laws also play a role in judging humans who have done wrong. Hamka's views on morals were eventually broadened. Morals, in connection with the concept of a just and civilized humanity, oblige the state to safeguard humanity and judge the uncivilized (Hamka, 2016).

Hamka's view of morality which combines individual piety and social piety closely related to al-Ghazali's thoughts (Hamka, 1981, pp. 123-139), which is expressed in the book *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn*, where morals considered being formed from the following circumstances: *First*, *Akhlak* (morals) means spiritual improvement, where bad qualities become good qualities which are attached to the character of the *ulamā'* (the knowledgeable), *shuhadā'* (martyrs), *ṣiddīqīn* (the righteous), and prophets. *Second*, good or praiseworthy morals provide balance between the three forces in humans: intellect, lust, and anger. *Third*, *Akhlak* are the habitual way of the soul that remains unchanged in humans. Morals emerge without the need to think, because they arise and grow from human actions and behavior. Virtue emerges from kind and praiseworthy actions and behavior, and on the other hand, vice will emerge from bad and vicious actions and behavior. *Fourth*, the description of a person's heart is reflected in their acts. *Fifth*, the human personality has a tendency towards virtue that accepts influence from outside itself. The formation of a good personality is influenced by the ability to accept good things based on the truth that is called the truth of knowledge (*mu'amalah*), which is the knowledge that can be written systematically and relates to words that can be accepted and learned by others. Whereas abstract truth resides in a transcendent idea which is called disclosure (*mukashafah*). This transcendent knowledge is indescribable and beyond comprehension (Lubis, 2012, p. 102). *Sixth*, the soul can be trained, adapted, changed, with noble and praiseworthy ethics. Each trait growing out of the human heart exerts its effects on the limbs (Abdullah, 2006, p. 528).

7. Freedom in Politics

Hamka stated that one of the basic principles in upholding democratic power is freedom or independence, with an explanation as follows,

"... that freedom means freedom to spread wings, to follow one's heart, to prove the existence of rights. Everyone has the right to assembly, the right to speak and express opinions, the right to organize and govern the country. In addition, everyone has the obligation to submit to the public will by suppressing personal interests" (Sobahussurur, 2008, p. 149).

For Hamka, independence has three main points: 1) *Iradah* (will), which is the freedom to rule, order, state, recommend, and create things that are good; 2) Freedom of thought, which is the freedom to express disagreement, namely prohibiting, restraining, protesting, challenging what is wrong, which is opposed by society; and 3) Freedom of the soul, which is freedom from fear, so that everyone is not afraid of being poor, and is not arrogant because wealth (Hamka, pp. 156-157). Hamka stated that equality is the right of all humans. Since humans created equal, the necessities of life are the same. They must have the same rights in life and before the law. Therefore, the government has an obligation to provide various means to improve people's standard of living (Hamka, 1981, pp. 260-261). Hamka defines justice as being upright in the middle when organizing, leading, or conducting transactions. A leader does not take sides with one while ignoring the other. Justice contains three elements, namely equality, independence, and property rights (Sobahussurur, 2008, p. 149).

Regarding freedom, Hamka believes that political freedom does not need to refer to the principles of Liberalism, Marxism, and others, only Islam itself, so that people need to be educated for political awareness. Political education approaches the concept of "political ethics" which is defined as education to change the way of thinking to become based on principles of moral ethics, including religion. Political education therefore needs to be provided through faith. Faith by itself also provides political education, because if people have been trained to form a small community

around the mosque, hopefully they could regulate the wider community.

Political freedom as a reflection of *Tauhid* is the reason Hamka accepts the democratic system. Hamka's acceptance of a democratic system reflects his belief that a democratic system is able to provide free space for people to express political opinions and choices. Democracy in Hamka's view also has the principle of rejecting colonialism of fellow humans. Hamka also seems to be inclined to disapprove of a political system that places power in the hands of only one individual. The reason for Hamka's disagreement with the one-man power system was because it actually led to colonialism between fellow humans. Meanwhile, democracy provides space for citizens to control state power so that it can prevent the state from acting unfairly and can prevent the state from violating *sharia* law, which refers to the *Quran* and *Hadiths* (Mansyur H. H., 2017)⁹.

TAQWA DEMOCRACY BASED ON SHURA (DELIBERATION)

Taqwa Democracy in Hamka's view places *Shura* and the principle of monotheism (*Tauhid*) as the foundation of Islamic governance. *Shura* is a political mechanism that is open to all participants (Shihab, 2002, pp. 446-449)¹⁰. *Shura* becomes the basic foundation for democracy participants to make useful choices and avoid harm, reflecting the principles of Islamic governance. The arrangement of the *Shura* mechanism in *Taqwa* Democracy is clearly a matter of open *ijtihad* in accordance with the Hadith, "*Antum a'lamu bi umuri dunyakum*", which means "you know better about the affairs of your world". However, implementing the *Shura* must still refer to the *Quran* (Hamka, 2015, p. 32). *Shura* according to Hamka is the foundation of Islamic society that has been formed since

⁹ Interview with H. Hanif Rasyid bin Sutan Mansyur, Head of the Hamka Birth House Museum, 2017.

¹⁰ The word *Shura* originally meant removing honey from the beehive. This meaning then expanded to include everything that can be taken or removed from others (including opinions). The word *Shura* is basically used for things that are good (in accordance) with the basic meaning.

the early days of Mecca Islam and developed in Medina. When the Muslim community of Medina had grown into a significant entity and the Messenger of Allah had become the leader of the Community and Supreme Commander of War, its Constitution was uncontested Divine Revelation. However, its implementation is based on the wisdom of the Prophet (PBUH) as the Head and Leader of the Community. He has emphasized the division of affairs, namely religious affairs and world affairs. Religious matters, such as *ibadat*, *sharia* and basic laws, are regulated by Allah's provisions. Muhammad leads and all must submit. But worldly matters, such as war and peace, economy, livestock and farming, as well as ordinary human relations, must be discussed accordingly. All should be based on considerations of *maslahat* (benefit) and *mafsadat* (harm) (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2019, p. 389).

Shura as part of the *Taqwa* Democracy seeks to answer contemporary political problems, and this clearly requires *ijtihad*. *Ijtihad* was originally rooted in the view that it is necessary to overcome the stagnation of religious thinking due to *taqlid* (conformity) which had become too strong in Islamic thought (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2019, pp. 169-170)¹¹. The desire to solve new problems raises the awareness that *ijtihad* must be open again. According to Hamka, *ijtihad* must reflect the justice of Allah the Almighty. Then, Hamka interpreted *ijtihad* as the process of expanding the meaning of the *Quran* and the *Hadiths* of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in accordance with the principles of *sharia* (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2019, pp. 170-173).

Hamka's logical conclusion was formed after analyzing the social and political situation in Islamic history from the early days. Before the Prophet was divinely ordered to carry out deliberation, the Prophet had repeatedly implemented it as his own wisdom in dealing with common problems. When he was preparing for the battle of Badr, he consulted his Muhajirin companions first. After everything was unanimous, he also invited his Ansar

¹¹ Hamka did not agree that the door to *ijtihad* was closed and we would be better off if we continue to do *ijtihad*.

companions. After both groups had unanimous opinion, he advanced to battle. Hamka also explained that even when the Prophet was on the battlefield, deliberations still took place. The Companions of the Prophet understood they would obey absolutely in matters concerning religion alone. But in cases where they doubted whether a decision was based on revelation or mere tactics of war, they asked the Messenger. This was what Al-Habbab bin al-Mundzir bin al-Jumawwah did when the army was ordered to stop by the Prophet in a place far from water. Then Al-Habbab asked,

“O Allah’s Messenger! Instantly you choose this place, is it an order from Allah, so that we should not precede it or turn our back, or is this just your own opinion in warfare and tactics?” The Messenger replied, “Only opinion, in war and tactics.” Al-Habbab welcomed again, “Then, O Allah’s Messenger, this place is not suitable. Let’s command everyone, we move to a place near the water, before the enemy comes, so that we are the ones who decide.” The Messenger replied, “Your suggestion is very correct” (Hakim & Thalhah, 2005, pp. 48-49).

The Prophet (PBUH) then ordered to take the position before the enemy occupied it (Hakim & Thalhah, 2005, pp. 48-49). This is the result of deliberation and also faith and trust in the Messenger. The companions asked beforehand whether it was right to interfere with the Prophet’s command at such a time. He also answered firmly and honestly, that his decision was not a revelation, but the result of the consideration of his own thoughts which, if it turned out to be wrong, could be replaced with something better. Hamka then explained that after the Battle of Badr, there were 70 prisoners. The Prophet (PBUH) held a proper deliberation with two of his most trusted companions (Abu Bakr and Umar) about what to do with the prisoners, whether they should be released, killed, or given a chance to redeem themselves (Hakim & Thalhah, 2005, p. 49).

Hamka explains that the principles of *Taqwa* Democracy have been instilled since the time of Mecca and in Medina. After moving to Medina, a large Muslim community had been formed, so deliberations included a large crowd of people. The people of Medina discussed issues together in the Prophet’s Mosque. Hamka

considered the Prophet’s Mosque as an embryo of the political representation system of the Islamic *ummah* whose modern counterpart is the parliament.

Hamka further believes that *Shura* as the foundation of *Taqwa* Democracy has been implemented since the early days of Islam. Hamka views that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) always consulted community members in determining state policy, and the decision-making mechanism in matters of mutual interest reflected *Taqwa* Democracy. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) always used deliberation in political matters to discuss various issues, such as defense strategies (Hamka, 2016, pp. 90-97). The Prophet and his companions always emphasized the principle of egalitarian openness during deliberations, so that each companion could state the best political viewpoint according to the current situation. Hamka believes that if Prophet Muhammad gave the example of providing openness in deliberation, then Muslims must be able to apply the same principles to run a democratic government. Nonetheless, Hamka certainly understands that the arguments derived from the *Quran* and *Hadiths* are still needed, because the Prophet’s deliberations were still within the corridors of revelation.

The growth of *Taqwa* Democracy in Hamka’s view is almost the same as the growth of democracy in ancient Greek city-state. Democracy has been around since ancient times. Each city-state had its own democracy and everyone has the right to attend meetings and express opinions. Then democracy develops according to the times and places. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) did not leave a detailed political testament about the technique or how to organize the *Shura*. Thus, there is freedom on how to do *Shura* according to the circumstances of the place and time. The Prophet did not bind us in a way which could become obsolete in the ever-evolving times. In this case, *ijtihad* can be used to suggest how to discuss and vote and make decisions.

COMPARISON OF *TAQWA* DEMOCRACY WITH WESTERN DEMOCRACY

Some Muslims identify between *Shura*-based democracy and Western democracy, or consider the two are the same, or at least justify democracy because *Shura* is also substantially recognized in the democratic system. This section attempts to describe *Shura* briefly and will eventually lead to explain the differences and similarities between *Shura* and democracy as a product of secularism.

On Democracy, Hamka states,

“Although Democracy refers to the West, our democracy also has roots in Islam in the past centuries, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) showed us the way. The Prophet and his companions practiced a form of democracy, in which important decisions were made by deliberation (Shura). All modern democratic values already exist in the Quran and Hadiths and these values include equality of all humans before Allah the Almighty, freedom from tyranny, freedom of thought and speech, as well as equality and social justice” (Rush, 2017, p. 102).

The following table lists similarities and differences between *Taqwa* Democracy and Western Democracy.

Table. Comparison of *Taqwa* Democracy and Western Democracy¹²

Similarities
1. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy and Western Democracy support freedom of expression and expression of opinions with full openness and honesty.
2. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy and Western Democracy contain egalitarian
3. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy and Western Democracy reject tyrannical rule and give all parties the opportunity to participate in running the government.
4. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy and Western Democracy guarantee the fundamentals of politics, namely the principle of equality before the law, freedom of thought and belief, social justice, guaranteeing the right to live freely, the right to get a job, as well as freedom from fear and freedom of religion.

¹² Hamka, *Keadilan Sosial dalam Islam, 1st edition*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2015); Hamka, *Tafsir Al Azhar*, (Jakarta: Panjimas, 2008); Quran Chapter Al Baqarah (2): 233; Al Imran (3): 159; Asy-Shura: 38.

Differences ¹³	
Western Democracy	<i>Taqwa</i> Democracy
1. Western Democracy is based on rules and laws made by human beings.	1. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy is based on revelations such as <i>Shura</i> and the principle of <i>Tauhid</i> as the rule of Allah the Almighty.
2. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy is seen as part of religion.	2. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy is seen as part of religion
3. Western Democracy: Representati-ve institutions, contains people who come from all levels of society.	3. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy requires <i>Shura</i> institutions to include knowledge-able people as representa-tives of the <i>ulama</i> , fiqh experts, as well as people who have specialized abilities and knowledge. They are the ones who can deliberate bills that are presented to them, referring to Islamic <i>sharia</i> law.
4. Everyone is considered equal: for example, a knowledge-able person is equal to an ignorant person, a pious person’s opinions has the same weight as an unbeliever’s.	4. In <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy, everyone is equal, and what distinguishes among people is devotion.
5. Western Democracy: The ultimate determinant of law and wisdom is the majority, not God.	5. In <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy, the maker and determinant of law is Allah the Almighty.
6. Western Democracy: All problems in society are to be addressed without involving religious matters because religion is considered as a private matter.	6. Deliberation (<i>Shura</i>) in Islam is only applied to issues of <i>ijtihad</i> that are not in the <i>Qur’an</i> or <i>ulama’s ijma</i> (consensus).
7. Western Democracy recognizes the absolute sovereignty of the people.	7. <i>Taqwa</i> Democracy recognizes the sovereignty of God and the sovereignty of the people in the status of humans as God’s caliphs so that they must submit to God who gave the status of caliph.

The comparison of *Taqwa* Democracy and Western Democracy lies in its substance and foundation. In short, for Hamka, democracy has a fundamental weakness, namely its secular character which ignores normative considerations based on religion, whereas *Taqwa* Democracy is primarily based on core religious values (Islam). *Taqwa* Democracy makes *Tauhid* and *Shura* or *Sharia* as the main references. In

¹³ The Sources Referred to, among others, *Keadilan Sosial dalam Islam*, 1st edition, (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2015); Tafsir Quran Chapter Asy-Shura, verse 38; and PSBH, *Ensiklopedia Buya Hamka*, 2019; M. Iqbal, *Fiqh Siyasah Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Politik*, (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2014).

Western democracy, *syari'at* (religious law) are not valuable because democracy is built on the principle of *al-Laadiniyah/al- 'Ilmaniyah* (atheism). Therefore, democracy often produces laws opposing the teachings of the Islamic religion such as legalizing usury, adultery, and various laws that are not in line with what Allah the Almighty has revealed.

The difference between an Islamic government system, one of which is *Shura* and a democratic system, is summarized in the following points: The people in a democratic system can be said to be a group of humans who occupy a certain area, where each individual gather in an awareness to live together, and among the factors which contributed to the formation of the people is the existence of racial and linguistic unity (Mufti & Nafisah, 2013, p. 489). Whereas in the Islamic system, the definition of *ummah* is very different from what was previously mentioned, because in the *ummah's* definition in Islam is not limited to the factor of territorial unity, race and language. However, the *ummah* in Islam has a broader definition because is the Islamic creed becomes the bond among individual Muslims without distinction of region, race and language. Thus, even though the Muslims are diverse in terms of race, language and territory, they are all one *ummah*, one unity in the view of Islam (Mufti & Nafisah, 2013, p. 25).

Hamka thought that the democratic system only seeks to pursue various material objectives in order to elevate the dignity of the nation from an economic, political and military perspective. This system ignores the religious aspect. The Islamic system, in contrast, pays attention to these factors without neglecting the religious aspect. In fact, the religious aspect is the basis and goal in the Islamic system. In the Islamic system, the spiritual aspect becomes a priority for the purpose and benefit of humans (Mufti & Nafisah, 2013, p. 25).

In the modern Western democratic system, people are in full control as the holders of absolute sovereignty. A law is drafted and amended based on public opinion or views. Every regulation that is rejected by the community can be countered; on the other hand,

new regulations that are in accordance with the wishes and goals of society can be drafted and applied. In the Islamic system, all controls are based on the law of Allah the Almighty. People being disabled to stipulate any rule unless the regulation is under Islamic law which by God in the *Quran* and His Prophet (PBUH). Likewise, in *ijtihadiah*, a regulation is formed under political laws in line with *sharia*. The authority of the *Shura* council in Islam is tied to the *sharia* textual basis and obedience to the *waliyul amr* (government).

Hamka points out that *Taqwa* Democracy is not in line with the principles of secularism. Secularism in the West occurs because people there felt that Christianity does not teach the importance of establishing an empire in this world. Christianity focuses in "the kingdom of God which is in heaven". During medieval times when the church or clergy were in power, they had acted arbitrarily in the name of God. Western secularism emerged after the Renaissance era, when people struggled to free themselves from the confinement of the Church which was considered to stifle intellectual progress. Secularism also arose because when religion was brought into government, and the Church had dominant power, the result was religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants that took place between the 16th–17th centuries. Secularism reached its peak in Western Europe with the birth of communism born, which negated the role of religion in a diametric way. Religion was considered by Karl Marx as opium for the people, and a poison. In the end, communism completely rejects religion and God (Hamka, 2018, p. 119).

Hamka provides an example of the practice of secularism in a country with a Muslim population, namely Turkey, which was initiated by Kemal Pasya Ataturk, that failed. Gradually the Turkish people realized that secularism was incompatible with the cultural roots and soul of the Turkish people. This is shown by an example of a real and written case in the history of Islam in Turkey, namely the 1950 electoral victory of Celal Bayar and his Democratic party over Ismet Inonu's Republican party left behind by Kemal Pasya Ataturk. The victory was inseparable

from Celal Bayar's campaign strategy that promised to restore the practice of worship as before, for example, the Turkish Adhan would be returned in Arabic, so that when the Adhan was echoed back thousands of Turks prostrated in gratitude on the streets. Hamka admits that to a certain extent, *Taqwa* Democracy and Western Democracy had several similarities, among others, rejecting tyrannical power and giving all parties the opportunity to participate in running the government. For Hamka, *Taqwa* Democracy and Western Democracy guarantee the fundamentals of politics, namely, the principle of equality before the law; freedom of thought and association and assembly, and freedom to express opinions in the public interest responsibly.

Conclusion

This study concludes four important things. *First*, *Taqwa* Democracy for Hamka is a democracy that emphasizes the principle of *Tauhid* as the main foundation. The principle of *Tauhid* causes democracy to make *sharia* law the main source of reference in the state lawmaking. The process of formulating laws or legislation is carried out in a democratic manner through technical *Shura* or deliberation. *Second*, *Shura* and the principles of *Tauhid* and *Ijtihad* are the main footholds in the essence's elaboration of *sharia* law in formal legal products that exist in the *Taqwa* Democracy system. *Ijtihad* is a necessity because it allows Islamic law to overcome various political and constitutional problems.

Everyone's position in deliberation is equal. The standard of truth does not lie in the majority vote but in the *sharia*'s guidance for the common benefit. However, details on how to carry out all objectives should be discussed openly. *Third*, *Taqwa* Democracy has a meeting point with the concept of Western democracy. The meeting point is shown starting from the idea of limiting state power from Liberal Democracy with the concept of *amar ma'ruf nahyi munkar*, freedom of political participation for individuals in politics, to the rejection of discrimination. Islam strongly opposes tyranny and oppression between human beings. *Fourth*, *Taqwa* Democracy still has differences with

Western Democracy, particularly concerning the *Taqwa* Democracy's rejection of Western Democracy's principle of secularism.

Hamka emphasizes that secularism is against *Tauhid*. Hamka considered secularism makes it possible for political decisions to conflict with *sharia*. Meanwhile, *Taqwa* Democracy through *Shura* instruments may not produce decisions that legalize *sharia* violations. The theoretical implication confirms Ebenstein and Fogelman's theory of democracy which discusses the criteria of democracy in which deliberation and consensus are recognized in Hamka's political thoughts. However, the superiority of democracy is not entirely true when secularism is applied in Islamic political practice. Therefore, the concept of Hamka on *Taqwa* Democracy completes the shortcomings of Western democracy.

Bibliography

- Abdullah, Y. (2006). *Pengantar Studi Etika*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- Asy-Syawi, T. (1997). *Shura Bukan Demokrasi*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
- Hadith Collection of Bukhari and Muslim, from Umar bin al-'As. (n.d.).
- Hakim, A., & Thalhan, M. (2005). *Politik Bermoral Agama, Tafsir Politik Hamka*. Yogyakarta: UII Press.
- Hamka. (1981). *Falsafah Hidup* (8th ed.). Jakarta: Penerbit Umminda.
- (1982). *Studi Islam*. (R. Hamka, Ed.) Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas.
- (1986). *Lembaga Hidup*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas.
- Urat Tunggang Pancasila*. In Yusran Rusydi Hamka. (2001). *Debat Dasar Negara Islam dan Pancasila Konstituante 1957*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas.
- (2002). *Dari Hati Ke Hati Tentang Agama, Sosial Budaya, Politik* (1st ed.). Jakarta: Panji Masyarakat.
- (2005). *Risalah Sidang tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia, Badan Konstituante, Jilid III, 1956- 1959*.

- Bandung: UI Salemba.
- (2008). *Tafsir Al Azhar*. Jakarta: Panjimas.
- (2015). *Keadilan Sosial dalam Islam* (Reprint ed.). Jakarta: Gema Insani.
- (2016a). *Pandangan Hidup Muslim*. Jakarta: Gema Insani.
- (2016b). *Sejarah Umat Islam Pra-Kenabian Hingga Islam di Nusantara*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
- (2018). *Islam Revolusi Ideologi dan Keadilan Sosial* (Reprint ed.). Jakarta: Gema Insani.
- Hamka, Y. R. (2001). *Debat Dasar Negara Islam dan Pancasila Konstituante 1957*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas.
- Huwaydi, F. (n.d.). *Demokrasi Oposisi dan Masyarakat Madani: Isu-isu Besar Politik Islam*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Iqbal, H. B. (1982). *Sekilas tentang Hidup dan Pikiran-pikirannya*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- Lubis, M. (2012). *Manusia Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Mahendra, Y. I. (2018). *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme dalam Politik Islam Perbandingan Partai Masyumi (Indonesia) dan Partai Jama'at-i-Islam (Pakistan)*. Jakarta: Paramadina.
- Mawduddi, A. A. (1990). *Sistem Politik Islam: Hukum dan Konstitusi* (1st ed. printed). (A. Hikmat, Trans.) Bandung: Mizan.
- (1999). *Khilafah dan Kerajaan: Evaluasi Kritis atas Sejarah Pemerintahan Islam*. (M. A-Baqir, Trans.) Bandung: Mizan.
- Milles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (2007). *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber tentang Metode-Metode Baru*. (Trans.) Jakarta: UI Press.
- Mufti, M., & Nafisah, D. D. (2013). *Teori-Teori Demokrasi*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Nurmadi, A. (2015). *Ijtihad Politik Muhammadiyah: Politik Sebagai Amal Usaha*. Yogyakarta: UMY.
- Rais, M. D. (2002). *Teori Politik Islam*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
- Rush, J. R. (2017). *Adicerita Hamka, Visi Islam Sang Penulis Besar untuk Indonesia Modern*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Sadjali, M. (2011). *Islam Dan Tata Negara, Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran* (5th ed. printed). Jakarta: UI Press.
- Saputro, & Shobron. (2016). *Konsep Shura Menurut Hamka Dan M. Quraish Shihab (Studi Komparatif Tafsir Al- Azhar and Tafsir Al-Mishbah)*. Solo: Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (UMS).
- Schumpeter, J. (1952). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Shihab, Q. (2002). *Tafsir al Misbah: Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian Al Qur'an*. Jakarta: Lentera Hati.
- Sobahussurur. (2008). *Mengenang 100 Tahun Hamka*. Jakarta: YPI Al-Azhar.
- Suara Muhammadiyah. (2019). *Ensiklopedia Buya Hamka, Percikan Pemikiran, Penafsiran, Pemahaman dan Imajinasi Autentik Buya Hamka*. Retrieved from PSBH.
- Sundhaussen, U. (1992). *Demokrasi dan Kelas Menengah: Refleksi Mengenai Pembangunan Politik*. Jakarta: Prisma.
- Syamsuddin, M. D. (2001). *Islam dan Politik Era Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Logos.
- Thaha, I. (2005). *Demokrasi Religius, Pemikiran Nurcholish Madjid dan M. Amien Rais*. Bandung: Teraju PT. Mizan Publik.
- Wahid, M., & Rumaiddi. (2001). *Fiqh Madzhab Negara: Kritik Atas Politik Hukum Islam di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Yakub, M. (2013). *Historiografi Islam Indonesia: Perspektif Sejarawan Informal*. *MIQOT*, Vol. XXXVII (No. 1), 75.
- Interview with H. Afif Hamka (Son of Buya Hamka). YPI Al Azhar Supervisory Board. Sunday, after Dzuhur, February, 8th 2016, at Masjid Agung Al Azhar, Jakarta.
- Interview with H. Badruzzaman Busyairi. Editor of Panji Masyarakat, Author of 65 years YPI Al Azhar and Activist of the Indonesian Da'wah Council. Sunday, after Dzuhur, February 22th 2016, at the Masjid Al Azhar Summarecon Campus, Bekasi.

Interview with H. Hanif Rasyid bin Sutan Mansyur. Head of the Hamka Birth House Museum. Sunday, January 8th, 2017, located at the Hamka Birth House Museum in Lake Maninjau, Agam Regency, West Sumatra.

Interview with Prof. Dr. Jimly Asshiddiqie, S.H. Chairman of the DKPP Republic of Indonesia & Chairman of the YPI Al Azhar Indonesia Advisory Board. March 3rd, 2015, at the DKPP Office, Bawaslu RI Building.