

HAMKA's Thoughts on the Integration of Islamic Values and Indonesian Nationalism

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Abstract

The article focuses on the integration of Islamic values and Indonesian nationalism as interpreted by Hamka. In contemporary Indonesian society, there is a recurring tension between religious values and national identity, often resulting in societal discord and fragmented national unity. The purpose of this study is to analyze and elucidate Hamka's perspectives on the harmonization of Islamic teachings and Indonesian nationalism. By examining Hamka's works and thoughts, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how Islamic values can coexist and support the principles of Indonesian nationalism. The method used in this research is a descriptive-analytical method with an integration and interconnection approach. The primary data used in this research are Hamka's works. At the same time, the secondary data in this research are books, journal articles, and other websites that discuss Hamka's thoughts. The results showed that in applying and integrating Islamic values in the frame of nationality and Indonesianness, Hamka divided it into three main thoughts. First, Islam and the vision of humanity. The vision of Islam is a religion for all mankind and humanity and religion for the next generation, so that religious da'wah is sustainable, renewed, and emphasized to oneself the family, and society; Second, nationality and freedom. The spirit of nationality arises from true faith and does not break away from the roots of "tawhid"; Third, Indonesianness and welfare.

Keywords: *Hamka, Integration, Islamic, Nationality, Indonesianness.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini berfokus pada integrasi antara nilai-nilai Islam dan nasionalisme Indonesia sebagaimana diinterpretasikan oleh Hamka. Dalam masyarakat Indonesia kontemporer, terdapat ketegangan berulang antara nilai-nilai religius dan identitas nasional yang sering mengakibatkan ketidakselarasan sosial dan fragmentasi persatuan nasional. Tujuan dari studi ini adalah untuk menganalisis dan menjelaskan perspektif Hamka mengenai harmonisasi ajaran Islam dan nasionalisme Indonesia. Dengan mengkaji karya dan pemikiran Hamka, studi ini bertujuan untuk memberikan pemahaman yang komprehensif tentang bagaimana nilai-nilai Islam dapat berdampak dan mendukung prinsip-prinsip nasionalisme Indonesia. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode deskriptif-analitis dengan pendekatan integrasi dan interkoneksi. Data primer yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah karya-karya Hamka. Sedangkan data sekunder dalam penelitian ini adalah buku-buku, artikel jurnal, dan website lainnya yang membahas tentang pemikiran Hamka. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam mengaplikasikan dan mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai Islam dalam bingkai kebangsaan dan keindonesiaan, Hamka membaginya menjadi tiga pokok pemikiran. Pertama, Islam dan visi kemanusiaan. Visi Islam adalah agama bagi keseluruhan umat manusia untuk perikemanusiaan dan agama untuk generasi seterusnya, sehingga dakwah agama berkelanjutan, diperbaharui, dipertegas kepada diri sendiri kepada keluarga, dan kepada masyarakat; Kedua, kebangsaan dan kebebasan. Spirit kebangsaan tersebut timbul dari iman yang sejati dan tidak melepaskan diri dari akar “tauhid”; Ketiga, keindonesiaan dan kesejahteraan.

Kata Kunci: *Hamka, Integrasi, Islam, Kebangsaan, Keindonesiaan.*

Introduction

Indonesia, with its cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity, has carved a unique history by combining Islamic values with the spirit of nationality and Indonesianness.¹ As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Islam is not only the majority religion but also one of the main pillars in the formation of national and state identity. Since the arrival of Islam in the archipelago in the 7th century, Islamic values have synergized with local wisdom, forming a rich and diverse cultural landscape. This

¹ Ali Mursyid Azisi, “Islam Nusantara: Corak Keislaman Indonesia dan Perannya dalam Menghadapi Kelompok Puritan,” *Empirisma: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Kebudayaan Islam* 29, no. 2 (2020): 123–136, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.30762/empirisma.v29i2.430>.

acculturation process has created a unique Islamic identity in Indonesia, reflecting the inclusive spirit and interfaith harmony that characterize this nation.² In the context of nationality, Islamic values have permeated various aspects of Indonesian life, including the formation of the country's foundation.³ Pancasila, as the state philosophy, reflects universal values that are in line with Islamic teachings, such as just and civilized humanity.⁴ Thus, Islam is not only a religion but also one of the pillars in the construction of Indonesia's national identity.⁵

However, while the harmony between Islam and nationality has become a hallmark of Indonesia, challenges also exist in maintaining this harmony. Threats of extremism and radicalism that use religious narratives as pretexts for acts of violence test the integrity of nationhood. Therefore, a deep understanding of Islam within the framework of nationality and Indonesianness is important in maintaining the integrity of this pluralistic nation and society. In addition, a conception of collective consciousness is also needed to explore the role of Islam in the formation of Indonesian national identity, explore its contribution to strengthening the spirit of togetherness and justice, and review the challenges faced in maintaining harmony between Islam, nationality, and Indonesianness.

² Toharudin, "Nilai-nilai Keislaman dan Keindonesiaan dalam Membentuk Karakteristik Peradaban Melayu di Indonesia (Studi Pemikiran Munawir Sjadzali)," *Jurnal Intelektualita: Keislaman, Sosial, dan Sains* 7, no. 1 (2018): 41–58, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19109/intelektualita.v7i1.2340>.

³ Fathur Rohman, "Pendidikan Wawasan Kebangsaan dengan Pendekatan Bayani di Pondok Pesantren Darul Falah Bangsri Jepara," *Edukasia: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Islam* 13, no. 1 (2018): 53–78, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/edukasia.v13i1.2876>.

⁴ Sifa Arif Setiawan, "Pancasila dan Ajaran Islam: Menegaskan Kembali Argumen Penerimaan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara," *Muqarab: Jurnal Kajian Islam Kontemporer* 1, no. 1 (2019): 1–7, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18592/msr.v1i1.3266>.

⁵ Darliana Sormin and Muhammad Hasbie Ashshiddiqi, "Peran Agama dalam Membangun Karakter Bangsa," *Al-Fatih: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Keislaman* 2, no. 2 (2019): 230–246, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.30821/alfatih.v2i2.43>.

In exploring Hamka's thoughts, various literatures have tried to reveal his thoughts and relate them in the context of Islam, nationality, and Indonesianness. As expressed by Fakhrurrazi, it explains that what Hamka has formulated, especially regarding education, is his intellectual jihad to realize an ideal Islamic education system, namely an education system based on moral, spiritual, and religious values. According to him, education is a series of efforts made by educators to educate to help shape the character, morals, and personalities of students, while teaching is an effort to fill students' intellects with a variety of knowledge. Both contain integral and complementary meanings in order to achieve the same goal, because every educational process has a teaching process in it.⁶

The same thing was also conveyed by Damayanti and Astuti when Hamka explained that humans have three basic strengths, namely physical, spiritual, and reason, to be able to achieve happiness in the world and the hereafter. Therefore, education is one of the efforts that humans can make to achieve this. In the concept of Islamic education, Hamka leans towards the term *tarbiyah*, which consists of the process of transferring knowledge, character education, and potential development.⁷ In relation to multiculturalism, as expressed by Mukarromah et al., they explained that in education there must be multicultural values. This can be seen in one of Hamka's works, namely *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, in the interpretation of Q.S. Al-Hujurat verses 11–13, which contain the concepts, values, and applications of multicultural education. Among them are the value of peace, the value of wisdom, the value

⁶ Fakhrurrazi, "Aktualisasi Konsep Pendidikan Islam Kontemporer: Telaah Pemikiran Buya Hamka," *Jurnal Review Pendidikan dan Pengajaran* 7, no. 2 (2024): 3785–92, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31004/jrpp.v7i2.26322>.

⁷ Ellynia Ayu Damayanti dan Anita Puji Astuti, "Konsep Pendidikan Islam Menurut Buya Hamka dan Relevansinya dengan Era Society 5.0," *Indonesian Journal of Education Methods Development* 17, no. 4 (2022): 6–12, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21070/IJEMD.V20I.683>.

of inclusivism, the value of tolerance, and the value of humanism. In realizing these values, several efforts need to be made, including keeping away from attitudes and actions that make fun of and insult themselves, keeping away from prejudice, *tajassus*, and *ghibah*, and establishing brotherhood and knowing each other.⁸

Hamka, as explained by Fajri et al., explained that the religious aspect, namely the creed of faith, is one of the basic foundations of the nation and state. *Akidah-tauhid* is not just a belief; it must be implemented in the lives of individuals, professions, families, communities, even nations and mankind.⁹ For Hamka, as explained by Sesra et al., the principle of a value is determined by religion, where the corridors of religion are very much in line with universal human values. Therefore, Hamka's thought is considered relevant to modern life because it offers solutions to face spiritual and moral challenges in an increasingly secular and materialistic global society. His emphasis on moral improvement, self-control, and social sensitivity can contribute to the development of a more peaceful and just society.¹⁰

Not only that, Hamka also explained that Islam does not stop at the realm of creed and worship but is also integrated into various aspects of life. One of them, as explained by Amril et al., explains that the provisions in the world of politics in Islam must be based on natural law, moral law, and the law of human nature and serve the interests of individuals, not the interests of groups or the state.

⁸ Ivatul Mukarromah, Buyung Syukron, dan Isti Fathonah, "Nilai-nilai Pendidikan Multikultural dalam Perspektif Tafsir Al-Azhar Karya Buya Hamka," *At-Tajdid: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pemikiran Islam* 5, no. 1 (2021): 93–109, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24127/att.v5i01.1599>.

⁹ Muhammad Dwi Fajri et al., "Integrasi Pemikiran Hamka dalam Pembelajaran Akidah: Studi di Universitas Muhammadiyah," *MUADDIB: Studi Kependidikan dan Keislaman* 12, no. 2 (2022): 167–183, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24269/muaddib.v12i2.5248>.

¹⁰ Yon Sesra et al., "Pemikiran Tasawuf Hamka," *Nida Al-Qur'an: Jurnal Pengkajian Islam* 4, no. 2 (2023): 1–18, <https://journal.staipi.ac.id/index.php/niqu/article/view/98>.

The goal is to create justice for society, provide individual freedom, and create unity, brotherhood, and equality between people.¹¹

Ridwan and Ilyas also explained that for Hamka, the state is a means that will be able to defend religion; if there is no state, then religion will have difficulty developing; therefore, defending the country and loving the homeland is the same as defending religion, and loving the next religion is about morals, that a people is lived by the value of the life of the people themselves, with the rise or fall of morals, and the last Buya Hamka said in maintaining the existence of the nation's existence the need for strong faith as a milestone in defense of the nation's interests.¹²

Gozali et al. also explained that Hamka emphasized that Islamic values need to be implemented in a sense of nationalism through education. Therefore, the main value of nationalism through Islamic education is an effort to strengthen national values as an individual human being who is part of a large society in the formation of the state. The meaning of Hamka's nationalism related to collective consciousness in Islamic education can be seen in the idiom of recognition based on the first principle of Pancasila. The practice of religious values will be able to fortify the next generation of the nation from deviant actions.¹³

According to Hamka, nationalism is a view or spirit that defends and promotes the interests and pride of the nation and state. For him, nationalism is not only about love for the homeland

¹¹ Amril, Endrika Widdia Putri, dan Delavia Andrea, "Integrasi Islam dan Politik dalam Perspektif Hamka," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Ushuluddin* 25, no. 1 (2023): 74–84, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v25i1.17097>.

¹² Muhammad Ridwan dan Deddy Ilyas, "Nasionalisme Hamka (Studi Analisis Tafsir Al-Azhar Karya Hamka Tentang Cinta Tanah Air dan Bela Negara)," *Takwiluna: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an, Tafsir dan Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 1 (2022): 62–85, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.58401/takwiluna.v3i1.634>.

¹³ Muhammad Panji Gozali, Kurniawati, and Nurzengky Ibrahim, "Buya Hamka: Nationalism in Islamic Education in Indonesia," *International Journal of Social Science and Business* 6, no. 4 (2022): 528–535, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/ijssb.v6i4.46968>.

and culture but also about diversity in unity. Hamka viewed nationalism as an integral part of Islamic identity, where pride in the nation and state is seen as a form of solid faith. In his mind, nationalism must be accompanied by moral and spiritual values that are based on Islamic teachings, so as to bring goodness to society and the welfare of humanity as a whole.¹⁴

The method used in this research is a descriptive-analytical method with an integration and interconnection approach. In this study, we aim to explore the different perspectives on the role of religious in shaping nationalism in Indonesia. Some experts believe that religious can strengthen nationalism by instilling moral and ethical values that support love for the homeland. On the other hand, there are views that highlight the potential conflict between strong religious values and national identity, which can create tension in a multicultural society like Indonesia. The main issue addressed in this research is how religious can be effectively integrated into the national identity system to strengthen nationalist character without compromising the existing cultural and religious diversity. We also aim to identify the challenges and obstacles that may arise in this process and seek practical solutions that can be implemented. By understanding these opposing views, it is hoped that this research can make a significant contribution to the development of inclusive and sustainable policies in Indonesia.¹⁵ It tries to reveal Hamka's ideas and thoughts related to the study and interpretation of the application of Islamic values in the frame of nationality and Indonesianness.

¹⁴ Muhammad Haikal, Teuku Kusnafizal, and Teuku Abdullah, "The Development of Hamka Islamic Thought," *History: Educational Journal of History and Humanities* 4, no. 2 (2021): 136–147, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24815/jr.v4i2.28565>.

¹⁵ M. Amin Abdullah and et.al, *Islamic Studies, dalam Paradigma Integrasi Interkoneksi (Sebuah Antologi)*, ed. Fachrudin Faiz (Yogyakarta: SUKA Press, 2007).

Islam and the Vision of Humanity

Islam is a religion that was revealed to all mankind. Allah SWT. is the Lord and mercy for all nature. The Prophet Muhammad SAW. was sent to humans for the benefit of all. This is as found in Q.S. al-Anbiyâ' [21]: 107, also in Q.S. al-A'râf [7]: 158.¹⁶ The above verses provide guidance for every follower of Muhammad SAW, saying that the religion they embrace (Islam) is for the whole world, not for the Arabs alone. But for all mankind, not just certain people or groups. Then, this religion is a religion to bring mercy, not disaster.

Hamka emphasized that to realize Islam as a religion of *rahmatanlil'alamîn*, it is necessary for a da'wah effort in various multidimensions of life, especially in the realm of muamalah (social, political, economic, and so on). The condition is to first have a broad understanding, be broad-hearted, and see the whole world as his brother. The sense of brotherhood that is to be instilled in all humans in this world will not be achieved if the heart is filled with hatred. Therefore, the vision of Islam is a religion for all mankind and a religion for the next generation, so that religious da'wah is sustainable, renewed, and emphasized to oneself, to the family, and to society.¹⁷

Hamka then explained that Muslims should not be indifferent or apathetic. This is because breaking away from the bonds of humanity is something that is not possible. This was expressed by Hamka that our obligation to dig up the wealth that the Prophet Muhammad SAW. has left for us that we will use ourselves and will offer to humanity. Rasulullah SAW. also did not tell us to force people to embrace Islam; what he ordered was to offer the truth contained in it. As for the teachings of Islam instilled by the

¹⁶ Kementerian Agama RI, *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya* (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam, 2017).

¹⁷ Hamka, *Prinsip dan Kebijaksanaan Dakwah dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2018).

Prophet Muhammad. Since 14 centuries ago, humanity is one, and all are bound in universal brotherhood.¹⁸

Not only is humanity one, Hamka sees the universe as also bound to the unity of the rules. The rules contained in the smallest 'atom' on earth, after being investigated, are the same as the rules contained in the sun and its satellites," because if there is no unity of rules, there will be chaos in this nature. Every star and every creature on earth are subject to just one rule. Such is the unity of being, and the unified being was also created by the One Creator.¹⁹

Nationality and Freedom

The discourse on nationality or nationalism develops when a nation experiences intervention from another nation. Likewise, Indonesian nationalism flourished during the struggle for national independence. Nationalism is the first step for a nation to determine its own fate and is a form of love for its homeland. Nationalism was also influential in subsequent developments after independence to build a better government. A country that is built on the basis of a high sense of nationalism from its officials will transform into a solid country, both in structure and political policy.²⁰

Another term close to nationalism is loyalty to the state. Although the two literally have different meanings, they at least have the same motivation. Hamka interpreted nationalism as the embodiment of one's true love for one's nation.²¹ True love does not presuppose a return to what one loves. Likewise, love for the

¹⁸ Hamka, *Pandangan Hidup Muslim* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2018).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Jesika Ritonga et al., "Meningkatkan Rasa Cinta Tanah Air terhadap Indonesia melalui Pemahaman Identitas Nasional Bangsa dan Penanaman Sikap Nasionalisme pada Siswa SMP Negeri 39 Medan," *Jurnal Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan* 12, no. 2 (2022): 17–24, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org10.21009/JIMD>.

²¹ Hamka, *Lembaga Hidup*, ed. Muh. Iqbal Santosa (Jakarta: Republika Penerbit, 2015).

homeland does not demand reciprocity from the state, but love for the homeland is a necessity that must exist.

Love of country for Hamka is an instinct of human nature, a very subtle and deep feeling in the human heart. This feeling is a ‘character’ that lives in the soul of a rational human being. It begins with love for oneself and fellow human beings. Differences in religion, beliefs, and faith are not a barrier to loving one another. Nationalism is built on love, not hatred and enmity.²² Therefore, nationalism presupposes tolerance, mutual respect, and appreciation among fellow elements of the Indonesian nation. However, Hamka reminded us of one thing related to nationalism, namely that as adherents of nationalism, we should not keep ourselves away from the way of thinking of Islam. Islam recognizes nationalism and ethnic and national differences so that people know each other. However, nationalism imbued with secularism is an attempt to fly upwards, so that nationalism is higher than Islam. This will affect the position of faith, which is dominated by excessive nationalism.²³

Hamka’s emphasis on the element of religion (tawhid) as a binder of *asabiyah* reveals the influence of the originator of the theory of *ashabiyah* itself, namely Ibn Khaldun. According to Hamka, there are two kinds of nationality forbidden by Islam: *Jabilyyah-style* nationality and excessive nationality. The first kind of nationality he calls *aṣābiyyah jāhiliyyah*, which is *aṣābiyyah* that is narrowly limited to clans, tribes, and peoples. This model of *aṣābiyyah* is prohibited by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. because it can cause division. Hamka emphasized that the Prophet abolished the *aṣābiyyah* among the *Muhajirin*, *Anshar*, *Aus*, *Khazraj*, etc. and brought about a greater *aṣābiyyah* of “unity of the Arab

²² Ahmad Khoiril Fata, *Buya Hamka; Pemikiran dan Perannya di Pentas Politik Nasional*, ed. Moh Nor Ichwan (Semarang: RaSail Media Group, 2020).

²³ Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad and et.al, *Ensiklopedia Buya Hamka; Percikan Pemikiran, Penafsiran, Pemahaman, dan Imajinasi Autentik Buya Hamka* (Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Buya Hamka dan Suara Muhammadiyah, 2018).

nationality as a whole.” The unity of the Arab tribes was built on the foundation of *Tawhid*.

The second nationality forbidden by Islam is the nationality of boasting about one's own nation while despising other nations. Hamka refers to this nationality as *aṣābiyyah jinsiyah*. According to Hamka, such *aṣābiyyah* is a “narrow nationality” that can “destroy faith” and “become the source of all disasters on earth.” Narrow nationality will encourage a nation to gain the most benefit for its homeland, even at the expense of other nations.²⁴ This is what has led to wars and colonization around the world. This is expressed by Hamka:

“Pokok pangkalnya lain tidak hanyalah ‘kemegahan kebangsaan.’ Bangsakulah yang di atas sekali, dan selalu harus di atas sekali. Kedatanganku menjelajah negeri yang ‘masih terbelakang’ adalah didesak-desak oleh ‘tugas suci,’ tugas yang amat suci dan mulia, membawa peradaban. Padahal peradaban yang dari saat mulanya telah menanam dendam”.²⁵

As is the case with many countries in the West, many are caught up in narrow nationalism. Britain once boasted of being a country where “the sun never set because of the vastness of its colonies.” Hitler claimed the German nation as “the nation above all nations, because Arian blood is the cleanest blood and must always be clean.” Russia claimed communism as an international ideology. Not forgetting the United States, which made massive loans to the Third World with the aim of “getting these nations to stand behind America in the face of Russia,” This narrow nationality is what triggers bloodshed, wars, conflicts, social inequality, and so on.

At the time of colonization, Hamka participated in guerrilla warfare to provide a spirit of struggle among the nation's fighters. Likewise, in government, love for the country is the basis for running polite politics, or, in other words, love for the country

²⁴ Fata, *Buya Hamka; Pemikiran dan Perannya di Pentas Politik Nasional*.

²⁵ Hamka, *Pandangan Hidup Muslim*.

is a filter for every political deviation that may occur, which will certainly give birth to a statesman figure. Love for the country will give birth to a spirit of struggle, tolerance, and tolerance. This is as expressed by Hamka:

“Because we are protecting other religious minorities, Muslims should not overemphasize their religion because we are fellow countrymen. The word ‘tolerance’ is used to cover negligence and weakness.”²⁶

The attitude of tolerance will be formed by itself on the basis of a common purpose, namely love for the homeland or nationalism. However, there is something that must be underlined: nationalism can give birth to tolerance in the human dimension, while in the dimension of “belief,” it cannot be mixed up. Therefore, Hamka proposes a form of tolerance that is not based on pretense, so that religious people do not need to be forced to be hypocritical towards their own religion. The principle of religious tolerance taught by Hamka is in line with Q.S. al-Mumtaḥanah [60]: 7-8, namely that Muslims are not prohibited from living in harmony and peace with Ko i of other religions. Muslims are even commanded to be fair and live in harmony with them, as long as they do not fight and urge Muslims to leave their own homeland.²⁷

Therefore, Hamka asserts that instead of abolishing, Islam recognizes nationality. This is as Hamka asserted:

“Nationality is recognized by God, even made by God, not abolished by God.” This is because the spirit of nationality arises from true faith and does not break away from the roots of “tawhid,” so as not to fall into a false sense of nationality.”

Regarding human freedom, as living beings, humans are equipped with rights by God as provisions for them to live in the world. Hamka refers to these rights as “original rights,” later

²⁶ Hamka, *Ghirah dan Tantangan dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1982).

²⁷ Akmal Sjafril, *Buya Hamka; Antara Kelurusan 'Aqidah dan Pluralisme* (Bogor: Afnan Publishing, 2017).

referred to as human rights. In relation to the lives of society and the state, human rights are practically indispensable for justice. Human rights will not look at a person's origin, background, ethnicity, or religion. Every human child born into the world absolutely has the basic right to life, or original rights. In line with Sayyid Qutb's view, that:

“The Islamic state guarantees that ‘the rights of the dhimmis and the polytheists who are bound by a peace treaty with the Muslims are strictly enforced on humanitarian principles, without distinction between adherents of one religion and adherents of another when it comes to issues of human needs in general. Islam gives full freedom to the followers of other religions, guarantees absolute and perfect equality to the community, and aims at realizing the unity of humanity in the field of worship and social system.’”²⁸

There is no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims when it comes to human rights. Human beings are born free, so they have the power over themselves to live their lives. In the Islamic view, human rights are more profound in three respects: *first*, the right to declare what is good for society, or *amar ma'ruf*; *second*, the right to denounce what we live in as wrong, or *nahi munkar*, and *third*, the right to be responsible for what has been delivered, or faith in Allah. Therefore, human rights must be defended in order to realize the common good.²⁹ For Hamka, there are at least some human rights, or original rights, that exist in every individual. All forms of intervention and interference with these original rights are not justified in Islam.

First, the right to life. Human life in this world is the will of Allah to make him a caliph on earth, as stated in Q.S. al-Baqarah [2]: 30, and Hamka said that:

“Life is the first human right on the basis of other rights. It is like a stump for a wooden tree, on which other veins are equally dependent.

²⁸ Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam dan Tata Negara* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1990).

²⁹ Fuad and et.al, *Ensiklopedia Buya Hamka; Percikan Pemikiran, Penafsiran, Pemahaman, dan Imajinasi Autentik Buya Hamka*.

All rights are not able to fulfill man if he does not live. As a result, all human rights to life must be respected by others. Because life is the most important means of achieving all ideals.²³⁰

Man is equipped with the mind to think about how he should manage the world. Although humans have lust, it does not mean that God just lets it go so that it will cause bloodshed. So, in Hamka's view, in managing the world, God leaves these affairs to humans themselves with His limitations and instructions, either in the holy book that was revealed or the Messenger sent by Him. Humans are free, but will be held accountable in the afterlife for all their actions and deeds in this world.

Second, the right to freedom of thought and opinion. Life will be meaningless if humans are restrained in such a way that they cannot express their thoughts. Hamka calls freedom of speech the basis of freedom. Intervention or interference with physical freedom may be called a crime. Intervention and restraint on freedom of thought, then, are the progenitors of evil. What does it mean for a person to be physically free while his mind is frozen.

Freedom, or freedom of thought, is one of the ranks of progress. A society will achieve its highest dignity in this world if it has freedom.³¹ Hamka divides the meaning of freedom into three quintessences. *First*, freedom of will (*iradat*). *Second*, freedom of thought. *Third*, freedom of the soul from doubt. It is this freedom that will bring a society to a better state, encouraging it to achieve a more perfect state.³²

The life of Islam and the progress of an era depend greatly on the freedom of thought (*ijtihad*) and the freedom to express the results of that thought. The freedom of *ijtihad* is included in the framework of freedom of thought and freedom of expression, and the source of *ijtihad* remains the al-Qur`an and as-Sunnah.

³⁰ Hamka, *Lembaga Hidup*.

³¹ Hamka, *Falsafah Hidup*, ed. Muh. Iqbal Santosa (Jakarta: Republika, 2015).

³² Fuad and et.al, *Ensiklopedia Buya Hamka; Percikan Pemikiran, Penafsiran, Pemahaman, dan Imajinasi Autentik Buya Hamka*.

Therefore, Hamka's criticism of the silencing of freedom of *ijtihad* is the cause of the decline of thought in Muslims, resulting in the static that occurred in the seventh century hijri. In fact, many of the problems of the people that have just emerged in Islam cannot be solved if it only relies on *taklid* alone.³³ As a result, reason itself became frozen and static. If this freeze has appeared, it will result in the freezing of religious understanding and no longer shine. Therefore, *taklid* is the enemy of freedom of reason.³⁴

Furthermore, freedom of speech is not something that can be traded or mortgaged. Human identity will be lost if he cannot express his thoughts as a form of existence. Hamka argued that "freedom of feeling, consideration of one's own heart, and audible words whispered by the heart to the soul are the principals of all freedom."³⁵

Politics will run with balance if every individual has the right to express their opinions. The Indonesian state was not formed by an individual alone but by the collective struggle of all components of the Indonesian nation. For this reason, the state guarantees freedom of opinion for its people in formulating and directing the future orientation of the Indonesian nation. Even though the Indonesian nation is physically and mentally independent, there should be no reason for it to be left behind.

Third, the right to freedom to pursue knowledge. In Islam, Muslims are commanded to always seek knowledge. This is because, in Islam, intelligence is light and ignorance is darkness.³⁶ The state must guarantee the right to education for its citizens. A country will develop and progress rapidly if its people are aware of the need for knowledge. This is because the Indonesian people, since the colonial era, have experienced ignorance and illiteracy, as

³³ Hamka, *Panggilan Persatuan; Membangun Ummat Memajukan Bangsa* (Yogyakarta: Galata Media, 2018).

³⁴ Hamka, *Pelajaran Agama Islam* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2018).

³⁵ Hamka, *Lembaga Hidup*.

³⁶ Hamka, *Akblaqul Karimah* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2019).

well as limited access to formal education, which is only allowed for elite or noble families. After the Indonesian people gained their independence, it gave hope for the breadth of scientific development and improved the quality of education in Indonesia. If the people are stronger and have better intellectual quality, the life of the country will improve. Building the country's politics must also use knowledge and qualified abilities. The dignity of the Indonesian nation is seen in how this country manages its resources. This is as expressed by Hamka:

“Neglecting education and teaching for the people is the greatest sin for a government.”³⁷

Fourth, the right to respect and honor others. Disunity and chaos will occur if there is an imbalance between one individual and another. Every human being has the right to continue his or her life, so no one should intervene unlawfully. The nature of man is to be free to have an opinion and to have honor for himself. It is on this basis that any attempt to harm another person's standing and honor is not justified.³⁸ Humans may only give consideration to the stance of others on the condition that they do not impose it, in the sense of advising or giving advice. As in Hamka's view, that:

“Honor terms, prestige, prestige, and dignity are the names of human rights that are maintained in this life, which are expensive and cannot be bought. To maintain the honor of people and our own honor, it is strictly forbidden to gossip, denounce, cuss, slander, and say words that degrade the person.”³⁹

Fifth, the right to criticize. In the life of a nation or state, every citizen has the right to criticize the ruler or the prevailing government. Hamka divides criticism into two groups: “the praiseworthy” and “the despicable.” Not all criticism is positive, but it can also be negative. There is constructive criticism, and

³⁷ Hamka, *Lembaga Hidup*.

³⁸ Hamka, *Akhlakul Karimah*.

³⁹ Hamka, *Lembaga Hidup*.

there is also criticism that tries to bring others down. In order for criticism to be positive, it should not be used to put people down but as an attempt to make things better. In modern society, for example, criticism also functions as a social controller. The existence of criticism shows the people's appreciation of the course of a nation's government.⁴⁰

These five basic or original rights must be present in every individual to form a dignified polity. To lose even one of them is to degrade the most important element of a human being. At this time of independence, when all elements of human rights have been guaranteed by law, it is appropriate to use them for the progress of this nation. Hamka explains that original rights are rights that every human being must have and always will have. Respecting the rights of others, including human rights, is a crucial ethical demand. Moral judgment will fall apart if this rights issue is not handled well.⁴¹

Human rights, as a basic right possessed by every human being, aim to humanize human beings. The spirit of human rights is to provide justice for all human beings. Hamka mentioned the essence of the purpose of original rights, or human rights, as the culmination of justice. As Hamka said:

“The hand of the weak is guided so that it gains strength. Rights are taken from the hands of the strong and powerful and transferred to the weak so that balance is established. This is the life that Islam wants. This is the philosophy of life that we want. This is the kind of life that is demanded and sought by the conscious thinkers of today's world. This is the will of human rights.”⁴²

Therefore, the issue of human rights, or original rights, is crucial and fundamental to human political morality in the lives of society and the state. Without the existence of these rights, then, of course, the consequences, such as means, actors, and political

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ K. Bertens, *Etika* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 2013).

⁴² Hamka, *Falsafah Hidup*.

behavior, will be flawed before they develop. The essence of human rights is responsible freedom. That is, on the basis of individual human rights, one should not defeat the human rights of other individuals. The integration of society and the state requires the recognition and protection of human rights as a non-negotiable moral foundation of politics.

Some concluding statements about integration from the above perspective: *First*, failure to respect human rights can result in imperfections in political development, political actions, and the participation of political actors. *Second*, the essence of human rights is responsible freedom, where individual freedom should not sacrifice the human rights of other individuals. *Third*, healthy integration within society and the state necessitates the acknowledgment of the importance of respecting and protecting human rights as a fundamental moral principle. *Fourth*, harmony in political and social relations can only be achieved if human rights are respected and treated as the primary foundation of political morality.

Indonesianness and Prosperity

When Indonesia experienced the independence revolution with several upheavals in it, Hamka, like most people, rejoiced in the freedom that he began to contribute to the discourse on the Islamic state. Starting from the side of Islamic history, Hamka emphasized that the Prophet Muhammad did create the first state in the world based on Islam. But as “Muslims”, we must also act. Allah has given us reason, and we must act—use it in this moment of revolution—to correct the bad in society and build the state we dream of—a modern state based on Islamic principles, a true Muslim Indonesia.⁴³

⁴³ James R. Rush, *Adicerita Hamka; Visi Islam dan Sang Penulis Besar untuk Indonesia Modern* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2018).

To build on that, Islamic political history, according to him, has no answer. For centuries, in the great Islamic countries of the past, all-powerful caliphs who adhered to the monarchical system (hereditary) and narrow-minded scholars suppressed free thought and made the ummah enter the dark ages of slavery. Meanwhile, in the West, human reason, unrestrained by religion, led Western society to discover new social philosophies, new freedoms, and ultimately “democracy”. In this case, Hamka agrees that the concept of democracy has roots in Islam, when the Prophet Muhammad saw and his companions practiced democracy, where every decision was based on deliberation (shura).⁴⁴ Modern values are also found in the al-Qur`an, such as human equality, men and women, freedom from tyranny, freedom of speech and thought, and social justice. The Prophet himself never established a particular form of government, including the caliphate. In the al-Qur`an and Hadiths, the Prophet himself “gave freedom to Muslims to choose the form of government according to what was suitable for their times.”. Caliphate for Hamka is already a thing of the past.⁴⁵

Independent Indonesia became a modern country with a majority Muslim population and a republic. In relation to the term “republic,” the Prophet gave an example during his final farewell sermon, which was full of basic narratives about democracy. After the Prophet died, the four leaders—caliphs after him—were chosen by deliberation. Hamka then emphasized that Islam teaches justice, brotherhood, and humanity and that all worldly possessions belong to God, given as a blessing to mankind, which means that Islam here predates modern socialism and communism.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, modern communism in the West is preoccupied with the concept of conflict between classes and is off the rails of humanity. So the Republic of Indonesia should be based on

⁴⁴ Hamka, *Studi Islam* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2020).

⁴⁵ Hamka, *Keadilan Sosial dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2015).

⁴⁶ Fuad and et.al, *Ensiklopedia Buya Hamka; Percikan Pemikiran, Penafsiran, Pemahaman, dan Imajinasi Autentik Buya Hamka*.

Muslims themselves as state builders, even if it also uses lessons from the West. Indonesia does not have to be a theocracy. Indonesia is a pluralistic country consisting of various ethnicities, tribes, religions, languages, and cultures known as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. In Hamka's poem:

“Bernenek yang turun dari gunung Merapi
Berkiblat ke Ka’batullah
Berpikir yang dinamis
Bersatu dalam *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.”⁴⁷

If a semiotic message is drawn from Hamka's poem, it can be understood that the poem states, “We are Muslims; we are modern; we are Indonesians”. In the realm of legal policy-making in the state, for Hamka, state affairs must be separated from religious affairs. In terms of law, only matters of family life, such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, and the like, should be dealt with by sharia courts, because in these matters Islamic law is superior. Everything else, from determining ownership and business disputes to cases of disturbance of order, theft, and high crimes, should be heard in the secular high court, the Indonesian Ministry of Justice. War and peace matters are also left to statesmen, not ulama, because religious leaders, especially fiqh scholars, are not prepared to deal with such matters.⁴⁸

The ulama (by which Hamka meant the traditional ulama) did not understand democratic governance. He also added that in a republic, religious tolerance must be emphasized because it is supported by many texts in Islam. Later, when Hamka became chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council, he provided reinterpretation, boundary lines, and emphasis related to religious tolerance. Furthermore, Hamka approved the text of the 1945 Constitution by not raising the issue of the Jakarta Charter, which,

⁴⁷ Amura, *70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, ed. Solichin Salam (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1979).

⁴⁸ Rush, *Adicerita Hamka; Visi Islam dan Sang Penulis Besar untuk Indonesia Modern*.

according to him, if not removed from the text by Sukarno and other senior leaders, would have obliged Indonesian Muslims under the authority of sharia. In his pamphlet entitled "Islam and Democracy," published in 1946, Hamka strongly praised the clause that was used by the drafters of the Indonesian constitution as the first principle of Pancasila: belief in one God. For him, this is the authentic basis of the state. This is because belief in one God is a recognition of the existence of power above all human power. The One True God is the foundation of a belief in the unity of God, in his Godhead, in his actions, and in his power. Although God has many names, there is only one God, which is called the One True Godhead.⁴⁹

Although Hamka accepts Pancasila as the basis of state philosophy, there is something that must be underlined regarding Islam and Pancasila, as in the following quote.

"Then, we also decided to accept Pancasila as the basis of Indonesian state philosophy. Because Pancasila's first principle is belief in one God, but as a Muslim, I cannot put Pancasila as number one and then Islam under the auspices of Pancasila; on the contrary, Islam is above Pancasila because believing in the Supreme Power of God is the first and main basis in my life as a Muslim. So, to ensure the preservation of Pancasila, according to my belief, there is no other way. Therefore, it is not according to sound logic if someone says that Pancasila protects Islam because religion is divine revelation, while Pancasila as a state philosophy is the creation of all of us."⁵⁰

With the elements of a secular state (human rights and ecumenism) and the tendency towards national convergence, it does not mean that Indonesia cannot become an Islamic state. It all depends on Indonesian Muslims. In essence, the type of state Hamka wants for Indonesia is an Islamic state, not an Islamic state (theocracy). In the author's opinion, this is the *ijtihad* of modernist scholars like Hamka, because it is modernist Muslims who are

⁴⁹ Hamka, *Urat Tunggang Pantjasila* (Jakarta: Pustaka Keluarga, 1952).

⁵⁰ Hamka, *Studi Islam*.

considered capable of serving and discussing with nationalists regarding the relationship between religion and the state (the basis of the state) in the midst of the moment of modernization that swept the post-colonial world.

However, it should be underlined that the tendency of national convergence must be directed towards strengthening a more cosmopolitan outlook on life, namely a national social system, in the external and literal sense, which has an outlook that includes all members of the nation. Given the fact that Indonesian nationality is structured as a combination of various ethnic groupings that are so diverse that Indonesian culture is actually a summary of the culmination of various regional cultures, the value of Indonesianness must be accompanied by a spirit of cosmopolitanism, not nativism. This is because, in its natural course, nativism will only end in primordialism or sectarianism.⁵¹

General Indonesian values that are cosmopolitan in nature can be passively allowed to grow on their own, partly because they can be the net result of the interaction between various groups of members of the Indonesian nation supported by equal opportunities. Of these groups, one or more with cosmopolitan characteristics, both in their cosmopolitanism in traditional and modern worldviews, will naturally emerge and appear as the most important group filling Indonesia, due to its position as the common denominator of various national segments. However, this passive attitude can be justified if there is an assumption based on the fact that the natural growth of Indonesianness will not be affected by deliberate interference, for example, by the latent danger of communism, which is still a security doctrine in Indonesia. Therefore, the growth of Indonesianness is better handled actively, as well as deliberately, and not just left solely to its dynamic natural development.

⁵¹ Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan*, 2nd ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 2013).

Hamka provides an understanding of the discourse of Indonesian modernist Muslims, in which he bequeaths a narrative of harmonization between Islam and Indonesianness. As in the following quote.

“Therefore, whatever we will face in our country, whether the danger from the East or from the West, we will face it with the Islamic doctrine that we accept, namely freedom of soul and freedom of action. Thus, the Republic of Indonesia, based on Pancasila, will be upright.”⁵²

The narrative among Islamic modernists was reaffirmed in 2015 by Muhammadiyah, the Islamic organization he followed and where he served, in the credo of its 47th Summit in Makassar, South Sulawesi, that Indonesia is *darul-abdi wa ash-shahadah*, a country that is agreed upon and witnessed to be filled with Islamic values, so that a real Islamic society is formed, not the formation of an Islamic state.⁵³

Then, with regard to welfare, it cannot be separated from the factor of power, which is the most crucial factor in distributing justice and social welfare. Because the reins of power are a mandate that must be carried out as well as possible by the leader or ruler, don't let someone who is not an expert in their field be given power. Hamka requires that a potential leader be someone who has physical and scientific advantages. With these two things, a leader can lead and direct his subordinates as well as possible. The government will not run well if the leader is sick. Likewise, the government will be destroyed if it is led by stupid leaders. Even Rasulullah SAW. said that if conditions like this drag on, then there will only be destruction waiting.

A Muslim cannot be apathetic in choosing a leader, especially in the form of voting, for example. Even though one head only has one vote, if many people are apathetic, then they will be responsible

⁵² Hamka, *Studi Islam*.

⁵³ Mukhlis Rahmanto, “Hamka dan Tafsir Harmonisasi Keislaman dan Keindonesiaan,” *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 14, no. 1 (2018): 133–145, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18196/AIJIS.2018.0084.133-145>.

if the elected leader is a bad leader. Therefore, if you have chosen a leader candidate who is considered good but the person chosen is a less good leader, then *tawakkal* is the path that Muslims must choose while doing something to improve the existing situation.

A leader is elected by the people who are the best and most capable of leading. Hamka requires that someone who leads must be knowledgeable, but not all knowledge must be mastered. A leader must be proficient in government science so that he is able to place experts in their respective fields in government. In this way, all aspects of national and state political life can run smoothly. A leader must also be clever in choosing his subordinates who are truly sincere in serving their homeland and nation. Good subordinates are not only good scientifically but also good in morals and behavior. It would be the same if the leader was good while the subordinates were bad, and then gradually the government would be destroyed.

Apart from that, leaders must have firmness in leading, without discrimination, even if they are their subordinates. With adequate physique and knowledge, a leader will be respected by both friends and opponents. Therefore, there are times when a leader must be really firm, but there are also times when he must be gentle. It all depends on the situation and conditions he is facing. He is an intelligent and capable leader who understands how he positions himself. This is as stated in Taher bin Husain's letter to his son, which was quoted by Hamka:

“An intelligent person gets taufik from God. The higher the intelligence, the higher the trust in God. Taufik is the guideline, and people live happily in the world and the afterlife.”⁵⁴

A leader is obliged to act wisely with his authority in various situations and conditions. Although it is not impossible for a leader in a Muslim-majority country to be a non-Muslim, it would

⁵⁴ Hamka, *Lembaga Budi*, ed. Muh. Iqbal Santosa (Jakarta: Republika Penerbit, 2019).

be much better if the leader were a Muslim. This is because a Muslim leader will understand much better what is needed and what should be done for Muslims. A Muslim leader must fear Allah as a consequence of his faith. With piety reflected in his personality, a leader will always have a deep Islamic spirit. The goal is prosperity and justice on earth, based on the al-Qur'an and Sunnah as well as the *ijtihad*. It is understandable that in the Indonesian context, Hamka emphasizes the importance of religion (Islam) for the building of Indonesian nationhood. So, in this way, the struggle carried out by Hamka was intended for the purpose of making Islam an important factor in Indonesia's development.⁵⁵

Integrating Islamic principles in leadership ensures that governance aligns with the spiritual and moral values of the Muslim populace, fostering a sense of unity and purpose while promoting justice and prosperity. A Muslim leader is likely to be more attuned to the cultural and religious needs of the community, leading to more effective and empathetic governance that resonates with the people's beliefs and traditions. The emphasis on piety and fear of Allah in a Muslim leader instills a higher degree of moral accountability and integrity, essential for fair and just leadership.

Drawing from Hamka's views, the integration of Islam in nation-building is pivotal for developing a cohesive national identity, leveraging religious values to guide societal progress and development. While the preference might be for a Muslim leader in a Muslim-majority country, the ultimate goal remains the establishment of a just and prosperous society, which can be achieved through inclusive policies and respect for diverse perspectives within the framework of Islamic principles.

⁵⁵ Rahmat Hidayat, "Pemikiran Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (Hamka) Tentang Dakwah dan Implikasinya terhadap Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam", *Disertasi*, (Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Raden Intan Lampung, 2023), [http://repository.radenintan.ac.id/29583/1/Disertasi Cover s.d Bab 2 Rahmat Hidayat.pdf](http://repository.radenintan.ac.id/29583/1/Disertasi%20Cover%20s.d%20Bab%202%20Rahmat%20Hidayat.pdf).

Conclusion

Comprehensively, the role of Islam in forming Indonesia's national and Indonesian identity is very significant. Since its arrival in the archipelago until it became the majority religion, Islam has become one of the main pillars in strengthening the spirit of togetherness, justice, and inclusiveness in Indonesian society. Islamic values, such as tolerance, justice, and unity, have been integrated into the foundation of the state, creating a strong foundation for harmony between religion and nationality. Through the active participation of Muslims in social, economic, and political development, Islam plays a role in creating diversity enriched by the spirit of unity.

However, the challenges faced in maintaining this harmony cannot be ignored. The threat of extremism and radicalism demands a comprehensive and synergistic response from all levels of society. Thus, for Hamka, the importance of an inclusive approach to understanding Islam as an integral part of Indonesian nationhood is key to maintaining the integrity of the country and its diverse society. By maintaining a balance between Islamic values, national spirit, and Indonesianness, Indonesia can continue to be an example for the world in combining religious diversity with an inclusive and just spirit of togetherness. Through cooperation and deep understanding, Indonesia can strengthen the foundations of harmony, both between fellow citizens and between ethnicities, tribes, and religions, and realize the vision of a nation that is peaceful, advanced, and just for all its citizens.

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