

## PANCASILA AS THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE (COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE VIEWS OF BUYA HAMKA AND MUNAWIR SJADZALI)

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**Abstract:** The main problem in this research is Buya Hamka's view of Pancasila as the basis of the State and Munawir Sjadjali's view of Pancasila as the basis of the State. The aim of this research is to find out and explain Buya Hamka's views on Pancasila as the basis of the State and Munawir Sjadjali's views on Pancasila as the basis of the State. This type of research is normative research, with a library research type research method where the data obtained from primary legal materials are basic legal sources originating from the Al-Qur'an, Hadith, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the book Urat Tunggang Pancasila written by Buya Hamka, as well as primary legal materials obtained from books, journals, and articles related to Pancasila as the Foundation of the State (Comparative Study of the Views of Buya Hamka and Munawir Sjadjali).

Judging from the results of this research, even though he had rejected Pancasila as the basis of the State, Buya Hamka had accepted Pancasila as the basis of the State finally and implemented Pancasila by emphasizing the Principle of Belief in One Almighty God in the sense of carrying out Allah's commands and abandoning His prohibitions. The values contained in Pancasila reflect values that have been prescribed by the Islamic religion. Munawir Sadjzali also accepted Pancasila as the final basis of the State. In fact, he emphasized that there was no obligation for Muslims to uphold Islam as the Foundation of the State, because in the Medina Charter, which became the constitution of the city of Medina when the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) led, he did not make Islam the basis of the State. Therefore, we, as Muslims, are obliged to accept and practice the existing principles of the State, which we know as Pancasila.

**Keywords:** Pancasila as the State Foundation, Buya Hamka's Views on Pancasila, Munawir Sjadjali's Views on Pancasila

### Introduction

Pancasila, which serves as the state foundation and national ideology, significantly impacts the basic values of Pancasila as the primary and fundamental foundation for the governance of Indonesia. Pancasila consists of five principles that fundamentally contain five essential values. These basic values of Pancasila are the value of Belief in One Supreme God, the value of Just and Civilized Humanity, the value of Indonesian Unity, the value of Democracy guided by the wisdom of deliberation/representation, and the value of Social Justice for all Indonesians. It can be concluded that the fundamental values of Pancasila are the values of divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and justice. The first principle, which contains the value of Belief in One Supreme God, serves as a compass or reference for the people in Indonesia, requiring every individual to believe in a religion.

A religious society has noble teachings that keep its adherents on the path of goodness and truth as long as they follow their religious teachings. The belief in One Supreme God implies that even though Indonesia is not a religious state, religion is a noble value highly esteemed in the governance of the country. Soekarno emphasized that the independence of Indonesia is a blessing and grace from God. Therefore, the principle of divinity cannot be separated from the foundation of the Indonesian state (Rohman, 2011). However, Pancasila as the state foundation has been tarnished by organizations or movements aiming to change Indonesia's governance system into a caliphate system, such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), which proposes that the problems faced by Muslims today are due to the absence of Islamic laws in society. The only system that can guarantee the application of Islamic laws in society is the Islamic Caliphate (Rhodi, 2012).

This study attempts to reinforce previous research, the first of which discusses the perspective of Islamic Law on the analysis of the implementation of the values of Belief in One Supreme God in Pancasila, as viewed from Fiqh Siyasah, researched by Khairul Ramadhan. Similarly, a related study was conducted by Dea Fanny Utari, entitled "Analysis of Fiqh Siyasah regarding the legal state of Pancasila." Based on the literature, this study opens up the discussion of Pancasila as the state foundation (a comparative study of the views of Buya Hamka and Munawir Sjadjali).

This study aims to answer the question of Pancasila as the state foundation according to the views of Buya Hamka and Munawir Sjadjali. Therefore, to address this issue, the study first explores Pancasila as the state foundation according to Buya Hamka and Munawir Sjadjali.

Continuing this study is important considering the research addresses the similarities and differences in the thinking patterns of these two prominent figures regarding Pancasila as the state foundation. Discussing this issue is significant, and this research will provide new insights related to Pancasila as the state foundation. The author concretizes this with a scholarly work entitled "Pancasila as the State Foundation (Comparative Study of the Views of Buya Hamka and Munawir Sjadjali)."

## Method

This type of research is normative research, using a library research method where the data obtained from primary legal materials are fundamental legal sources originating from the Al-Qur'an, Hadith, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and the book "Urat Tunggang Pancasila" written by Buya Hamka. Additionally, primary legal materials are obtained from books, journals, and articles related to "Pancasila as the State Foundation" (a Comparative Study of the Views of Buya Hamka and Munawir Sjadjali)

## Results and Discussion

In this research, there are three theoretical foundations, which are: Pancasila as the state ideology, Buya Hamka's perspective on Pancasila, and Munawir Sjadjali's perspective on Pancasila. These three theories are adequate to solve the problems addressed by the author. Etymologically, the term "Pancasila" originates from the Sanskrit language. According to Muhammad Yamin, in Sanskrit, Pancasila has two lexical meanings: *panca* means "five," *syila* with a short 'i' vowel means "foundation stone," and *syiila* with a long 'i' vowel means "good conduct regulations, significant or appropriate" (Kaelan, 2010, p. 21).

Pancasila as the state ideology means that the values of Pancasila are used as the fundamental basis in state administration. The fundamental values of Pancasila are abstract and normative. Pancasila as the state ideology means that all implementation and administration of the government must reflect the values of Pancasila and must not contradict Pancasila.

The term ideology comes from the word *idea*, which means a thought, concept, fundamental understanding, or aspiration, and *logos*, which means knowledge. Literally, ideology can be interpreted as the science of fundamental understanding or ideas. In everyday life, ideology can be

interpreted as an aspiration. The aspiration referred to is a fixed and attainable ideal that also serves as a foundation or worldview.

The meaning of Pancasila as the nation's ideology is that the values contained in Pancasila become the normative aspirations for state administration. The values contained in Pancasila essentially represent a depiction of how national life should be conducted. Pancasila as an ideology is not rigid and closed, but rather dynamic, reformative, and open (Sulasmono, 2015, p. 68).

A value system is a comprehensive concept or idea about what is considered good, valuable, and important in life, which exists in the mind of an individual or part of society. Pancasila as a value system encompasses a series of interrelated values that are inseparable. The series of values contained in Pancasila include the value of divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and justice. Pancasila as a value system also recognizes other values in a complete and harmonious manner, including truth, aesthetic, ethical, and religious values.

In Greek civilization, God is denoted by the word "deus," which means the god Zeus, and later evolved into the term Theos, which means God (Weisman, 2015, p. 11). According to Aristotle, God is the mover of the universe. In the actus-potency theory, nature is an object with the potential to effect change; in other words, nature has the potential to realize itself according to its purpose. In other words, according to Aristotle, God is the prime mover of life in the universe (Sumanto, 2018).

According to the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia), God is something believed in, worshipped, and revered by humans as the Almighty, All-Powerful, and so on. The concept of God and divinity throughout human history has undergone a long and winding evolution. The need for God and belief is inherent in human nature. Therefore, historically, the relationship between humans and what is considered Almighty has a long history. The belief in something has been sought after from ancient times to the present because humans require a form of belief in a supernatural force. This belief will give rise to a set of values to support cultural life. These values then become institutionalized in traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation and bind the members of the society that support them.

It is well known that belief in God does not contradict human existence, as every individual has experiences related to religion and transcendent matters in the world. To say that belief in God is very much aligned with human existence is entirely appropriate, for within it there are real things that transcend worldly realities. Many philosophers have attempted to present their opinions and provide various kinds of rational facts or evidence. These facts or evidence are often referred to by philosophers as existential evidence because ultimately they can answer questions related to reason, thus existential evidence meets human needs as a whole, as existence. Rational evidence is more objective, so such evidence is more scientific in nature and requires objective thinking to be accepted as a statement (Praja, 2003, p. 53).

**Constitution of Medina.** Discussing the history of the Medina constitution (Constitution of Medina) cannot be separated from the discussion of the Medina Charter (Charter of Medina), which naturally includes a discussion of the society in Medina, especially during the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Historically, Yathrib at that time was a fertile oasis environment. The city (Medina) was inhabited by pagan Arabs with the main tribes being 'Aus and Khazraj. The city seems to have existed since ancient times under the name Yathrib or, according to geographical records, Yetroba. The success of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in forming a Muslim society initially took the form of a city-state, but with support from various tribes from all over the Arabian Peninsula, it eventually formed a Nation State in the phase of building a new ummah in Medina (new society) (Arief, 1992, p. 85).

The formation of the Medina constitution was supported by the establishment of a community (ummah/society) in Medina that became a social group (community) with political power during the post-Mecca period under the leadership of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the head of the state of Medina, which became a strong and independent ummah community, eventually forming the Constitution of the State of Medina (Pulungan, 1996, pp. 77-78). In the Medina Charter, ummah is the key principle for understanding the community of Medina residents, because this concept is the main glue for the diverse Medina society to unite (unity) into a harmonious ummah, forming a basis

for cooperation among various social groups within the pluralistic configuration of Medina, including the Muslim community in Medina (al-mujtama' al-Islâmi fî al-Madînah).

In Indonesia, it is crucial to apply the values in the Prophet's Charter, because from a societal perspective, Indonesia is very complex in terms of language, culture, religion, race, and ethnicity, so if the values of the Prophet's Charter can be implemented, the Indonesian society will have greater mutual respect, especially among religious communities. The discussion of ummah/society in the Prophet Muhammad's Charter is a central focus for Islamic political history scholars (fiqh siyâsah) and has even become an interesting topic for researchers around the world, leading to the concept of civil society in state studies.

### **Pancasila as the State Foundation: Buya Hamka's Perspective**

There are three key points that explain Hamka's reasons for supporting Islam as the foundation of the state. First, the spirit of Islam has long been used by Muslims, who are the absolute majority religion in Indonesia, as the basis for their struggle to expel colonizers long before Pancasila was discussed. Second, Islam itself has the ability to inspire the spirit of resistance and also the resilience of the soul to face the hardships of struggle, allowing a Muslim to heal their sorrow in facing the death of a child or relative because of Islam's teachings that honor jihad. Third, everything formulated by the Indonesian nation, regardless of the principles used, is essentially inspired by Islamic teachings as the majority religion. Pancasila, in fact, was formulated by a committee where 8 out of 9 members were Muslims, and 4 of them were prominent Muslim figures and scholars. Thus, it can be said that from the beginning, Islamic teachings have imbued the spirit of those who wrote Pancasila.

Buya Hamka began his speech in the Constituent Assembly, as can be read in the transcript, by emphasizing that the spirit of the Indonesian nation's struggle to achieve independence (or what he called the "spirit of the August 17 Proclamation") originated from Pancasila. According to Hamka, this spirit of struggle is "...the spirit of freedom, the spirit of not wanting to be colonized anymore." To awaken a spirit of resistance that could endanger life, each group sought support from its own religion. For Muslims, this spirit of struggle was naturally based on Islamic teachings.

Here is Hamka's statement, which will be quoted in full to be understood clearly: "Muslims, Mr. Chairman, regardless of whether they now belong to the Indonesian Muslim Council (Masjumi) or the Indonesian National Party (P.N.I.), Nahdlatul Ulama (N.U.) or the Socialists, the Islamic Education Union (Perti) or the Labor Party, imbued the spirit of the independence proclamation on August 17, 1945, with their religious teachings! People were willing to see their sons' corpses brought home covered in blood, lifeless, because they spontaneously felt that the dead son had died a martyr's death! There is no fear except of Allah! 'Allahu Akbar!' Only Allah is the Greatest; the rest are insignificant! 'La-ilâha-illâh,' no God to worship, to fear, to seek refuge from, but Allah! When a father receives the news that his beloved son has died in battle, the first question asked is from which direction did the bullet enter, from his back or from the front? Because if it was from the back, he might have died while running to save himself, thus doubting his martyrdom! But if it was from the front, it indicates he died fighting! And one of the seven major sins is to turn your back in the face of battle!"

This is what we know as the spirit that imbued the proclamation on August 17, not Pancasila. Truly, Mr. Chairman, Pancasila has never, and did not during Dutch colonial times, strike fear into the heart and was never known, was not popular, and was never heard of! What was heard was only the chant of 'Allahu Akbar.' And the flame that burns in this chest until now, Mr. Chairman, is not Pancasila, but 'Allahu Akbar!' In fact, most of the defenders of Pancasila today, except for members of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.), the flame in their hearts until this moment is, in essence, 'Allahu Akbar!'

If you were to ask a defender of Pancasila what they felt in their heart when their beloved son was killed and escorted to the grave, would it be Pancasila or Allahu Akbar? Surely they would answer: 'Allahu Akbar!' Thus, only then would their hearts be satisfied. The conscience that never lies!

It is 'Allahu Akbar' written in your chest that we now request to be realized. 'Allahu Akbar,' which contains all sorts of principles, whether panca or sampa, or ika, or dasa, 'Allahu Akbar' that became your defense when you faced great danger! 'Allahu Akbar,' which became your defense when death loomed over your head. 'Allahu Akbar,' to whom you entrusted your beloved son! 'Allahu Akbar,' which greeted you when you were born from your mother's womb (Hamka, 1958).

Considering the history of the Indonesian nation to ensure its future, Hamka believed that, just as the nation's struggle was always based on the spirit of jihad, the dangers faced by the Republic of Indonesia in the future can also be overcome if the people's spirit is filled with the same fervor. Hamka also rejected the notion that if Islam were accepted as the foundation of the state, it would lead to intolerance towards other religions. In reality, the majority of the people of the Nusantara have long accepted and practiced Islamic teachings, yet religious harmony remains guaranteed. The reason for this harmony, Hamka added, is because Islam itself requires its followers to guarantee the freedom of other religious communities to practice their respective teachings (Hamka, 1958).

At the end of his speech, Hamka took a firmer stance against members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) whom he deemed unethical in their arguments. According to Hamka, some PKI figures in the Constituent Assembly who claimed to be Christians and those who identified as Muslims were indeed contradictory because Marxism is not compatible with any religion. Hamka also emphasized that the PKI's stance as adherents of communism who accepted Pancasila should be viewed skeptically, as he stated:

"If the Communists are willing to do something unusual, to acknowledge God, even though their core belief is atheism, wise people should understand quickly. Do not be overjoyed because they have supported you; do not laugh. I feel sorry if your laughter today will turn into regret in the near future.

Your true friends are those who are willing to speak honestly to you, even though their words may be harsh. Harsh words out of love are better than sweet words that lead you astray. The experiences of the past 12 years have shown that we who are fighting for Islam are your true friends. If not with the Indonesian Muslim Council (Masjumi), you would surely govern with Nahdlatul Ulama (N.U.), but we cannot be separated. Therefore, open your hearts, my nationalist brothers. Open your hearts to accept Islam (Hamka, 1958)."

Hamka concluded his speech with a very sympathetic statement, also opening himself to the possibility of Islam being rejected as the state foundation: "I do not yet know, Mr. Chairman, what the final decision we will make will be. Whether we will be sent home empty-handed, whether Pancasila will be defended with force because there is no other way, and Islam will be outright rejected because of the barriers others have put up, one thing never leaves my heart: 'No matter how harshly our struggle, which is just, fair, and logical, is rejected, all those who reject it are still our brothers. They are all our nation, our compatriots, who have faced the joys and sorrows of history together for 12 years, sharing blood and tears alike.' The Red and White flag flies above all our heads.

Hamka took a firmer stance against members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) whom he deemed unethical in their arguments. According to Hamka, some PKI figures in the Constituent Assembly who claimed to be Christians and those who identified as Muslims were indeed contradictory because Marxism is not compatible with any religion. Hamka also emphasized that the PKI's stance as adherents of communism who accepted Pancasila should be viewed skeptically. Hamka's rejection of Pancasila as the foundation of the state was not because of Pancasila itself, but because Pancasila can be interpreted according to each person's desire. In reality, Pancasila was born from the spirit of the Indonesian people, and the majority of Indonesians have for centuries thought using Islam as their guide.

In his book titled "The Main Axis of Pancasila," Hamka stated, "Let us Muslims strive within the main axis of Pancasila. The principle of Belief in One God alone, which means full commitment. Because by striving with just the principle of Belief in One God, it guarantees the preservation of the other four principles." The purpose of striving with the first principle of Pancasila is to apply the divine values in practicing the principles of just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy guided by the inner wisdom in unanimity arising out of deliberations among

representatives, and social justice for all Indonesians. The religious teachings conveyed by their adherents already encompass national and religious life. He also explained that due to the depth of the principle of Belief in One God, other principles may emerge, Pancasila, Sapta Sila, Thousand Sila, because human creations are not permanent, and only God's creations are permanent. At the end of his book, he stated, "Pancasila has long been possessed by the Indonesian people, ever since the call of Islam reached Indonesia and was accepted by the Indonesian people.

Here are Buya Hamka's explanations:

a. Principle of Humanity By practicing Belief in One God alone, they will automatically have a high sense of humanity, because the highest form of humanity, in their belief and faith, in their practical lives, is the one closest to God. Only God is their place of trust in this matter. As for the call for humanity, it is sometimes just in words, but far from reality. (Hamka, The Main Axis of Pancasila, 1952)

b. Principle of Social Justice It is a lie for someone to claim they believe in Belief in One God if they do not take care of the poor, even if they perform five daily prayers and additional prayers, if they do not engage in mutual help and cooperation. Even if they believe in Belief in One God, it is a lie if they harm their neighbors. Therefore, those who believe in Belief in One God alone automatically demand social justice. Regulations such as zakat, infaq, and charity, which originate from Belief in One God. So if one only adheres to Belief in One God, it will inevitably demand justice. (Hamka, The Main Axis of Pancasila, 1952)

c. Principle of People's Sovereignty Anyone who claims to believe in Belief in One God alone will automatically believe in people's sovereignty. Betraying this trust is betraying Allah SWT. Therefore, people are given the freedom to choose the form of government according to the structure they desire, with a fixed basis, namely deliberation. The people are obliged to deliberate to choose the form of government, and if someone is elected to hold power, the power holder is also obliged to deliberate with those who gave them power. Buya Hamka emphasized, "To those who hold power, if you strain your neck and heart to help, people will distance themselves from you." Those in government are required to exercise power with justice, while the people who give power are required to monitor if the one given power deviates from their duties. (Hamka, The Main Axis of Pancasila, 1952)

d. Principle of Nationalism Belief in One God is the first and foremost struggle to be undertaken, so the Principle of Nationalism can naturally be carried out in the best possible way. Because blind nationalism (chauvinism) has passed, it can now be explained that what is meant by nationalism today is the state, with specific rules and conditions, its constitution, head of state, symbols, and slogans. No longer boasting of the greatness of historical times, and from the Principle of Belief in One God, it is taught that all nations are friends, all humans are companions, and the ultimate goal is to establish a just and prosperous world. (Hamka, The Main Axis of Pancasila, 1952).

### **Munawir Sadzjali's Views on Pancasila as the Foundation of the State**

One thing worth noting is that the Charter of Medina, which many political experts consider to be the first constitution of an Islamic state, does not mention a state religion" (Sadzjali, 2011). Munawir argues that the concept of an Islamic state does not exist, nor is there such a thing as an Islamic State. In Islam, there is only a set of principles and ethical values for societal and state life as found in the Qur'an, which have flexibility in their implementation and application, taking into account differences in situations and conditions between one era and another, as well as between one culture and another.

Based on Munawir Sadzjali's opinion above, the Charter of Medina does not mention Islam as the state religion, which implies that Prophet Muhammad SAW did not actually call upon his followers to establish a religious state where Islam would be the sole foundational ideology. According to Munawir, the Charter of Medina was only a foundation for community life, not for forming a state.

For Munawir Sjadjali, Islam does not have a specific conceptual or theoretical preference regarding the structure of a state and its system of governance. On this basis, it can also be said that

Islam does not specifically require its followers to establish a state, let alone one that is theocratic. However, although Islam does not recognize a fixed concept of state or politics, it provides a set of values or political principles such as justice, consultation, and equality. It is the substantive implementation of these values, as exemplified by Prophet Muhammad, that Islam demands in the process of state governance. The Charter of Medina is only considered a constitution of a state (Effendy, 1995).

According to Munawir Sjadjali, the Islamic political system is not singular, but diverse. The diversity of the Islamic political system, whether from the Muslim experience in managing states or the opinions of Islamic thinkers, is closely related to the social settings of each politician and Islamic thinker. Take for example, the experience of Prophet Muhammad leading the state of Medina. After becoming the head of state in Medina, the Prophet immediately drafted a constitution as the basis for building the state of Medina, which is referred to as the Charter of Medina. In this charter, Munawir notes, Islam is not mentioned as the basis of the state. Referring to this fact, Munawir concludes that there is no obligation for a Muslim to strive for Islam as the basis of the state. A Muslim can accept a foundation other than Islam as long as it allows for the implementation of Islamic values in life. In the context of Indonesia, Pancasila as the foundation of the state, as interpreted by the New Order, must be accepted as final with the ratification of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation. Munawir states: "In this context, we, the Indonesian people, especially Muslims, should be grateful to Allah SWT. That our predecessors, the founders of the Republic of Indonesia, formulated Pancasila to be the state ideology. Let us compare the five principles of Pancasila with the principles and values mandated by the Qur'an. We will see the similarities, including in spirit" (Sadzjali, 2011).

In general, Pancasila contains values of divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and justice. The spirit of Pancasila values is very much in line with Islamic values. In fact, what Pancasila advocates overall is aligned with the vision of Islam in its message. Only in terms of existence do both have their own autonomy. This means that Islam is a religion, while Pancasila is an ideology. (Sadzjali, 2011)

The Islamic values contained in Pancasila:

a. First Principle: Belief in One Almighty God

The Islamic value or teaching contained in the first principle of Pancasila is that in the Qur'an, Allah teaches His people to always believe in the oneness of God, as in Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 163:

وَلَا هُنْ مُشْرِكُونَ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ لَا إِلَهٌ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ

"And your God is One God. There is no deity except Him, the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful."

And Surah Al-Ikhlas, verse 1:

فَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ شَرِيكٌ

"Say, 'He is Allah, [who is] One.'"

This concept indicates that the foundation of the state life of the Indonesian people is divinity. In Islam, this concept is commonly referred to as hablum min Allah, which is the essence of monotheism in the relationship between humans and Allah SWT.

b. Second Principle: Just and Civilized Humanity

The second principle of Pancasila shows that the Indonesian people respect and honor the inherent rights of every human being without exception. The relationship between humans in the form of mutual respect as creatures created by God is civilized. There is no difference in rights and obligations as fellow creatures of God, meaning that there should be no discrimination among

humans. Acting justly in all matters is a humanitarian principle found in the second principle of Pancasila, which is reflected in the Qur'an, Surah Al-Maa'idah, verse 8:

يَأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُوْنُوا قَوَامِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَآنُ قَوْمٍ عَلَى أَلَا تَعْدِلُوا إِلَّا عَدْلُوا هُوَ أَقْرَبُ  
لِلتَّقْوَىٰ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ حَبِّيرٌ مَا تَعْمَلُونَ

*“O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm for Allah, witnesses in justice, and do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just. Be just; that is nearer to righteousness. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is Acquainted with what you do.”*

#### c. Third Principle: The Unity of Indonesia

The concept of unity within the framework of Islamic teachings includes Ukhuhwah Islamiyah (unity among Muslims) and also Ukhuhwah Insaniyah (unity as fellow human beings). These two concepts should go hand in hand to create a harmonious society that is free from division and conflict due to differences in religion, ethnicity, or race. Islam always advocates the importance of unity as stated in the Qur'an, Surah Ali-Imran, verse 103:

وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرُّقُوا وَإِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءَ فَالْفَلَّاثَةُ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَاصْبِرُهُمْ  
بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِحْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَىٰ شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِّنَ النَّارِ فَانْقَذَكُمْ مِّنْهَا كَذَلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ أَيْتَهُ لَعَلَّكُمْ هَمَدُونَ

*“And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided. And remember the favor of Allah upon you - when you were enemies and He brought your hearts together and you became, by His favor, brothers. And you were on the edge of a pit of the Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus does Allah make clear to you His verses that you may be guided.”*

#### d. Fourth Principle: Democracy Guided by the Inner Wisdom of Deliberation of Representatives

The fourth principle of Pancasila, which emphasizes the importance of life based on consultation, aligns with the noble values in Islamic teachings. Consultation (syura) is considered the best way to find solutions where each party stands on equal ground without any differences. The result of consultation is a mutual agreement that must be implemented sincerely. The Islamic concept of consultation in resolving issues is known as syura (consultation). This concept is reflected in several Qur'anic verses, including Surah Ali Imran, verse 159:

فِيمَا رَحْمَةٌ مِّنَ اللَّهِ لِنَتَّهُمْ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًّا غَلِيلًا لَا نَفْصُوْمُ مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاغْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْهُمْ  
وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَرَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ

*“So by mercy from Allah, [O Muhammad], you were lenient with them. And if you had been rude [in speech] and harsh in heart, they would have disbanded from about you. So pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely [upon Him].”*

#### e. Fifth Principle: Social Justice for All the People of Indonesia

Justice that can be felt by all the people of Indonesia without exception, regardless of differences in religion, race, and so on. Islamic teachings encompass various concepts of justice, both justice towards oneself and others. The major goal of Islam is welfare and the implementation of justice in all aspects of life. Therefore, Islam commands Muslims to always act justly in all matters and avoid disputes and enmity so that a good social order can be created. The fifth principle, which emphasizes social justice, essentially reflects the Islamic concept of justice. Regarding justice in Islamic teachings, it can be seen in the Qur'an, Surah An-Nahl, verse 16:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَيَنْهَا عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ

*"Indeed, Allah commands justice, good conduct, and giving to relatives and forbids immorality, bad conduct, and oppression. He admonishes you that perhaps you will be reminded."*

Munawir provides ample space for the implementation of Islamic values in daily life, even suggesting that the principles in Pancasila are in line with Islamic teachings. Pancasila, with Belief in One Almighty God as its first principle, is the most acceptable foundation for the entire Indonesian people, who adhere to various religions. Meanwhile, the first principle, Belief in One Almighty God, which for Muslims means monotheism, is also in line with Islamic teachings. Additionally, the development and experience of Islam in our country, which is based on Pancasila, is at least as advanced and vibrant compared to Islamic countries (Sadzjali, 2011).

## Conclusion

Hamka's rejection of Pancasila as the basis of the state was not due to Pancasila itself, but rather because Pancasila can be interpreted according to each person's wishes. In reality, Pancasila was born from the spirit of the Indonesian nation, and the majority of the Indonesian people have, for centuries, thought with Islam as their guide. Therefore, in essence, Pancasila does not contradict Islam. However, Pancasila can also be misused by irresponsible parties, such as the communists who actually have a worldview that contradicts the principle of Belief in One Supreme God.

According to Munawir Sjadjali, the Islamic political system is not singular but diverse. The diversity of Islamic political systems, both from the experience of Muslims managing states and from the opinions of Islamic thinkers, is closely related to the social settings of each politician and Islamic thinker. Take, for example, the experience of Prophet Muhammad leading the state of Medina. After becoming the head of state in Medina, the Prophet immediately drafted a constitution as the basis for building the state of Medina, which is referred to as the Charter of Medina. In this charter, according to Munawir, Islam is not mentioned as the basis of the state. Referring to this fact, Munawir concluded that there is no obligation for a Muslim to advocate for Islam as the basis of the state. A Muslim can accept a basis other than Islam as long as it provides opportunities for the implementation of Islamic values in life. In the context of Indonesia, Pancasila as the basis of the state, as interpreted by the New Order, must be accepted as final.

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