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**HIGHS AND LOWS IN THE RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN HAMKA AND MUAHAMMADIYAH DURING  
THE PERIOD OF GUIDED DEMOCRACY**

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**ABSTRACT**

Following the dissolution of Masyumi in 1960, the political climate was rather unfriendly for the Islamic movement in Indonesia. Since 1959, Muhammadiyah had given up its special membership status in Masyumi, while some of its administrators pursued political careers elsewhere. Muhammadiyah maintained good relations with Soekarno, notably after Soekarno's speech in Muhammadiyah's 35th National Congress in 1962. Hamka, a devoted member of Muhammadiyah, was stuck in a rather unique position due to this progress of events. This study aims to describe the highs and lows of the relationships between Hamka and Muhammadiyah during the Guided Democracy era (1959-1966). Literature study will be conducted by examining official Muhammadiyah documents, Soekarno's speeches, Hamka's writings and other materials available. Evidently, at one point, Muhammadiyah gave Soekarno the title of 'The Faithful Member' (*Anggota Setia*) and 'The Great Protector' (*Pengayom Agung*) of Muhammadiyah, and the Muhammadiyah University awarded him with the title of honorary doctorate in the Philosophy of Tawheed Science field. Hamka then launched harsh criticisms to Muhammadiyah regarding its attitude and closeness towards Soekarno which he considered to be rather unnatural. Nevertheless, Muhammadiyah never revised its actions, while Hamka continued to be one of Muhammadiyah's lifelong devoted member.

**KEYWORDS:** Hamka, Muhammadiyah, Soekarno, Guided Democracy, Indonesia

**INTRODUCTION**

H. Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, better known as Buya Hamka, is one of the prominent figures in the history of Muhammadiyah. Multitalented, he was known as an author, journalist, historian, humanist, philosopher, academic, one of Muhammadiyah's cultural leaders, politician of the Majelis Syuro Muslimin (Masyumi) Party, member of the Konstituante Assembly, an *'ulama*, receiver of an honorary doctorate from Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt, the author of *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, and the first General Chairman of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI).

After the 1955 General Election, Hamka was appointed as a member of the Konstituante Assembly representing Masyumi. In the Konstituante debate sessions, Hamka often attacked secularism and communism. After the dissolution of Konstituante in 1959, and Masyumi followed a year later, Hamka was no longer involved in politics, but nevertheless he consistently launch criticisms to secularism and communism. Having been retired from politics, Hamka occupied himself by writing, publishing magazines, namely *Pandji Masjarakat* and *Gema Islam*, and contributing to a number of important seminars. However, in 1964, Hamka was arrested and imprisoned without trial for two years on charges of conspiring to commit treason and planning the assassination of President Soekarno. After the collapse of Guided Democracy, the Masyumi administrators detained earlier were gradually released, including Hamka who was released in 1966.

While Hamka's relationship with the Guided Democracy continued to deteriorate, this is not the case with Muhammadiyah. In this period, Muhammadiyah had given the title '*Anggota Setia*' (The Faithful Member) and '*Pengayom Agung*' (The Great Protector) to Soekarno. In 1962, Soekarno attended the Muhammadiyah's National Congress and gave a speech at the closing ceremony. On that occasion, Soekarno stressed that he was indeed a faithful member of Muhammadiyah and will always be committed to the organization (Soekarno, 1963). Prior to the collapse of the Guided Democracy, in 1965, when Hamka was still in custody, Muhammadiyah University in Jakarta gave an Honorary Doctorate in the field of Philosophy of Tawheed Science to Soekarno.

After being released from custody, using the *Pandji Masjarakat* Magazine which was resurrected in 1966, Hamka aggressively evaluated the Guided Democracy. In the article "*Kegagalan Manusia*" which was included in the first edition, Hamka said that the collapse of the communist plot in 1965 was just another example of human failure to destroy Islam and the Muslim society (Hamka, 1966b). In the following edition, Hamka launched his criticisms directly to Muhammadiyah. In his article entitled "*Taubat Nasuha*", Hamka praised the courage of the Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) to admit their mistakes during the Guided Democracy period, while questioning the courage of Muhammadiyah to do the same (Hamka, 1966g). The title of the article, using the terminology '*taubat nasuha*', which means to rid oneself of mistakes completely, shows that Hamka really considers the mistakes in the Guided Democracy period to be a serious problem for Muhammadiyah, not just a political attitude that can be viewed as mere realistic or necessary.

In subsequent editions, Hamka continued his criticisms, so much that the *Pandji Masjarakat* Magazine seemed to be very political in nature, no longer limit itself to discussing the issues around Islam and culture as it was before. In "*Pancasilais Munafik*", Hamka attacked some leading figures from Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) who always carried the name of Pancasila, even though they themselves were the destroyers of Pancasila (Hamka, 1966e). "*Kesatuan Atau Persatuan Umat Islam*" is the article in which Hamka reminded the importance of unity of the *ummah*, just as before when welcoming the Proclamation of the Indonesian Independence in 1945, and also when fighting the communists and the dictatorship of the Soekarno administration (Hamka, 1966d). In "*Kembalilah ke Masjid*", Hamka condemned Soekarno for having demeaned A.R. Sutan Mansur, Hamka's brother-in-law who is also one of the teachers whom he respected the most (Hamka, 1966c). Here, Hamka also 'dragged' Muhammadiyah into the problem, given

the attitude of Muhammadiyah at that time which was more in favor of Soekarno, even though Mansur was a former Chairman and Advisor for the PP Muhammadiyah. The harshest criticism addressed directly to Soekarno perhaps can be found in the article “*Jawaban yang Jitu*”, in which Hamka insisted that all the chaos that led to the fall of the Soekarno administration was the result of his own actions, and he was most responsible for the fragmentation of the people due to the ideological conflict that he allowed to occur (Hamka, 1966a).

During the Tanwir Congress in February 2019 in Bengkulu, the closeness of Muhammadiyah with Soekarno is once again talked about. According to Syamsul Arifin, a Professor at the University of Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM), it was in Bengkulu that Soekarno first joined Muhammadiyah, based on the introduction by Hassan Din, Fatmawati’s father (Arifin, 2019). Puan Maharani, one of Soekarno’s granddaughters, at the National Consultative Meeting held by the Suluh Kebangsaan Movement in Jakarta on February 27, 2019, stressed that Soekarno was indeed a student of KH. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2019).

Efforts to ‘bring’ Muhammadiyah closer to Soekarno in public memory, or even between Hamka and Soekarno, were not just present in recent days. In the Tanwir Congress of the Pemuda Muhammadiyah at the end of 2016, Haedar Nashir also mentioned the closeness of Soekarno with Muhammadiyah (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2016). Eight years earlier, Baitul Muslimin, the Islamic wing organization of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP), a secular political party that often portrayed itself as the heir of Soekarno’s ideology, held a symposium to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Buya Hamka (Detik, 2008). In this event, A. Syafii Maarif, a former Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, also attended as one of the speakers. Interestingly, Maarif was also the one who once criticized the Guided Democracy administration for dividing the Indonesian Muslims. This criticism was presented in his book, *Islam dan Politik di Indonesia Pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959-1965)*, which was developed from his thesis in the Department of History, Ohio University, the United States. According to Maarif, in the same book, Muhammadiyah’s ‘approach’ to Soekarno in that era was nothing more than a pragmatic attitude in order to guarantee the safety of the organization (Maarif, 1988). The same conclusion was observed in the book *1 Abad Muhammadiyah: Gagasan Pembaruan Sosial Keagamaan*, which epilogue was given also by Maarif (Jurdi, Nasiwan, Mawardi, & Kurniawan, 2010).

A number of studies have attempted to examine Masyumi, especially in the period of the Guided Democracy. Remy Madinier discussed Masyumi in depth in the book *Islam and Politics in Indonesia: The Masyumi Party, Between Democracy and Integralism* (Madinier, 2015). In this book, Madinier also discussed Masyumi's internal problems relating to Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), as well as the influence of the government policies in that era on the two organizations. Madinier book also briefly discussed Hamka’s contributions as a writer who launched harsh criticisms on Soekarno. While Madinier focused his research on Masyumi, Maarif examined how Guided Democracy influences the Islamic political movements. This study was elaborated through his book, *Islam dan Politik di Indonesia Pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959-1965)*.

Several studies have discussed Hamka from various perspectives. Jeffrey Hadler, for example, discusses Hamka’s role as his father’s heir and also as a cultural figure of Minangkabau in the article “*Home, Fatherhood, Succession: Three Generations of Amrullahs in Twentieth-*

*Century Indonesia*" (Hadler, 1998). Julia Day Howell, in the article "Indonesia's Salafist Sufis", focuses on Hamka's tendency towards *tashawwuf* teachings (Howell, 2010). Hairus Salim, in the article "Indonesian Muslims and Cultural Networks", which was included in the book *Heirs to World Culture: Being Indonesian, 1950-1965*, discusses a number of figures who were considered to be the 'cultural brokers' between Indonesia and other parts of the world, including Hamka (Salim, 2012). Although not addressing the issue of the Guided Democracy specifically, in this article Salim reviews how Hamka lead the *Pandji Masjarakat* and *Gema Islam* Magazine to unite the power of Islam in an effort to rival the leftist culturally.

While Hamka and Muhammadiyah's attitude towards the Guided Democracy had been widely reviewed, there is no research that specifically examine Hamka's attitude towards Muhammadiyah in that era. Thus, this research is expected to enrich the discussion about the political situation at that time.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study aims to reveal the highs and lows of Hamka's relationship with Muhammadiyah in the period of Guided Democracy. This research is expected to contribute to providing a comprehensive image of the political conditions in that period, especially those relating to the Indonesian Muslims. To provide the answer, the historical method consisting of heuristic, criticism, interpretation and historiography shall be applied, and the results shall be presented in a narrative manner.

To elaborate on the problem, firstly, Hamka's relationship with Muhammadiyah shall be described as a context. Then, a number of findings shall be presented to illustrate Hamka's attitude towards the Guided Democracy, and also Hamka's attitude towards Muhammadiyah's closeness with the regime. Finally, to complete the description of the relationship between Hamka and Muhammadiyah, this study shall also discuss the nature of their relationships after the collapse of the Guided Democracy.

## **HAMKA AND MUHAMMADIYAH**

The relationship between Hamka and Muhammadiyah can be described at least in three contexts. *Firstly*, Hamka as the heir of Haji Rasul; the great ulama who were considered to be the most responsible person to 'bring' Muhammadiyah to West Sumatra. *Secondly*, Hamka himself as a Muhammadiyah cadre. *Thirdly*, Hamka as a member of Konstituante Assembly representing Masyumi; a political party in which Muhammadiyah channeled its political aspirations before its special membership status was being revoked in 1959.

## **HAMKA AS THE HEIR OF HAJUI RASUL**

Hamka's father, H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, also known as Haji Rasul, was a highly respected ulama from Minangkabau. He was the most beloved student of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi, another great Minangkabau ulama who had served as Imam of the Masjidil

Haram in Mecca (Hamka, 1967a). In addition to being known as having an assertive nature, Haji Rasul is also a very productive writer. In the world of journalism, he is known as one of the leaders of the Minangkabau press who was in charge of giving birth to *Al-Munir* Magazine with his best friend, H. Abdullah Ahmad (Hamka, 1967a).

One of the faithful readers of *Al-Munir*, first published in 1911, KH. Ahmad Dahlan became acquainted with Haji Rasul and his thoughts. The articles in the magazine were often used by Dahlan to add to his reference in fending off attacks from people who did not appreciate his reformist ideas, until he founded Muhammadiyah in 1912 (Hamka, 1967a).

In 1917, Haji Rasul visited Yogyakarta. In his honor, Dahlan himself came to pick him up at the Tugu Station, Yogyakarta, and then accepted Haji Rasul as a guest at his residence for a few days. During his visit, Haji Rasul expressed his support for Muhammadiyah (Hamka, 1967a). After visiting Yogya for the second time in 1925, KH. Ahmad Dahlan had then already passed away, Haji Rasul himself would lend a hand to establish Muhammadiyah in West Sumatra (Hamka, 1974).

Although Haji Rasul never officially signed up to become a member of Muhammadiyah, he was the one who invited everyone in Minangkabau to support the organization (Hamka, 1967a). Haji Rasul's influence was so great that, at the time, Muhammadiyah in West Sumatra had very different characteristics from its parent organization in Java. This can be seen in the strict rejection of the enactment of the *Guru Ordonnantie* rules which were expressed by the Muhammadiyah in West Sumatera, also supported by the ulamas from other organizations. The same rule, though, did not generate the same resistance from Muhammadiyah when applied in Java. Since then, the Dutch assumed that Muhammadiyah in West Sumatra is no longer a non-political organization (Djamal, 2002). In fact, they also consider that the Muhammadiyah of West Sumatra is no longer a branch of its parent organization on Java (Abdullah, 2018).

Haji Rasul himself later used Muhammadiyah as his political vehicle. After the school he had built, namely Sumatra Thawalib, was no longer under his control because of the massive attacks of his own students who turned to communist ideology, Haji Rasul found a good opportunity with the presence of Muhammadiyah. With Muhammadiyah, Haji Rasul succeeded in winning the dominance of the *Kaum Mudo* over *Kaum Tuo*, while also establishing a strong anti-Dutch and anti-communism ideology in the Minangkabau (Alfian, 1989).

In 1921, the Haji Rasul's son-in-law, A.R. St. Mansur, moved to Pekalongan. There, Mansur studied directly under KH. Ahmad Dahlan. Shortly, he became one of the main figures of Muhammadiyah, entrusted to lead the Pekalongan Branch (Hamka, 1974). Four years later, Mansur accompanied Haji Rasul to Yogyakarta for his second visit there. It was on this occasion that Haji Rasul had a debate with an Ahmadi leader who had succeeded in influencing a number of Muhammadiyah administrators. After that debate, Muhammadiyah leaders became very much aware of the Ahmadiyya heresy (Hamka, 1967a). In that same year, after returning from Java, Haji Rasul immediately established the Muhammadiyah Branch in Sungai Batang, which was then led by his younger brother, Yusuf Amrullah. The Haji Rasul himself later built the *Tabligh Muhammadiyah* association at his home in Padang Panjang. In the *Tabligh* gathering, Haji Rasul taught once a week and gave the students the opportunity to take turns in delivering speeches. Muhammadiyah in Padang Panjang then published a monthly magazine entitled *Khatibul Ummah*,



in which Hamka was appointed to lead (Hamka, 1974). At the end of that year, A.R. St. Mansur was ordered by the Muhammadiyah to raise the organization in his hometown (Hamka, 1974).

Haji Rasul's reputation has indeed helped Muhammadiyah to develop rapidly throughout Sumatra. Haji Rasul attended various Muhammadiyah's congresses in Sumatra, starting from Bengkulu, Palembang, Lampung, East Sumatra, Aceh, Tapanuli, Riau and so on. In every Muhammadiyah congresses, Haji Rasul was seated with the Central Committee, and even right next to the Chairman, to honor him (Hamka, 1974). Haji Rasul also taught at *Kulliyatul Muballighin*, an educational institution for Muhammadiyah *muballigh* founded by Hamka in Padang Panjang. Hamka was forced to abandon the institution in 1936 to work with the *Pedoman Masjarakat* newspaper. Haji Rasul then continued this work until 1941, before he was detained by the Dutch (Hamka, 1974).

It is also important to note that Haji Rasul, however strong his support for Muhammadiyah, was never hesitant to correct Muhammadiyah when deemed necessary. Such had happened when the Muhammadiyah National Congress in 1930 was held on Bukittinggi. At that time, the Committee had planned the speech of Siti Rasyidah, a prominent Aisyiyah figure who was only 19 years old. However, Haji Rasul and other senior Minangkabau ulamas rejected this plan, because they assumed that women should not deliver a speech before male audiences. Although he was finally willing to reduce the fatwa from *haram* (forbidden) into *makruh* (better be avoided), the speech was eventually cancelled anyway, based on the advice of Syaikh Muhammad Jamil Jambek who said that this sort of things could not be accepted traditionally in Minangkabau at that time and could result in difficulty for Muhammadiyah's acceptance there (Hamka, 1967a). This loyalty to Muhammadiyah, coupled with the courage to criticize it openly, seems to be inherited to Hamka.

## **HAMKA AS A CADRE OF MUHAMMADIYAH**

As one of Haji Rasul's sons, Hamka had been closely involved in raising Muhammadiyah in the West Sumatera since he was young. At the age of 17 years, Hamka had been entrusted with the responsibility of leading the *Khatibul Ummah* Magazine. In 1931, he was ordered to Makassar to help the preparation for the Muhammadiyah's 21st National Congress that was to be held a year after (Hamka, 2015). However, after the congress was finished, Hamka was asked to stay for some time by the people there. This shows, as a *muballigh* and a young Muhammadiyah cadre, Hamka had already been regarded highly in the Muslim community. After his service in Makassar, Hamka's career in Muhammadiyah was skyrocketed. He got along really well with KH. Mas Mansur, who later became the third leader of the Muhammadiyah, as told in his own autobiography (Hamka, 2015).

In 1934, Hamka established the *Kulliyatul Muballighin* education program in Padang Panjang. Based on the results of the congress in 1930 in Bukittinggi, consuls were held in each region. When A.R. Sutan Mansur was appointed as the Consul of Muhammadiyah for the West Sumatra region, Hamka was appointed as Consul for the East Sumatra region (Hamka, 1974). While the peak of Mansur's career in Muhammadiyah was as the General Chairperson of PP Muhammadiyah, the peak of Hamka's career was as an Advisor of PP Muhammadiyah.

As a Muhammadiyah's cadre, there are also times when not everything is going well for Hamka. While working as the Chief Editor of the *Pedoman Masyarakat* Magazine and the Muhammadiyah Consul in Medan, Hamka along with a number of other ulamas had been cooperative with Japan. When Japan lost the World War in 1945, Hamka went back to West Sumatra with his entire family. After receiving the news of the Proclamation of Independence in August 17, Hamka returned to Medan, but his colleagues at Muhammadiyah had lost confidence in him. Hamka was accused of being a sycophant and coward (Hamka, 1974). To his children, Hamka once said that even the attack of Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (Lekra) and PKI in the era of Guided Democracy was not as devastating as the slander he had suffered in Medan (Hamka, 1981).

Only a month before the Guided Democracy was formally enforced by the Presidential Decree in July 1959, the *Pandji Masyarakat* Magazine was published. Although this magazine was not formally representing Muhammadiyah, Hamka built it along with another prominent Muhammadiyah's figure who would also served as the General Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, namely KH. Faqih Usman. *Pandji Masyarakat* would often reviews about the lives of ulamas whom Muhammadiyah considered as its role models, such as Said Jamaluddin Al-Afghany, Muhammad 'Abduh, and KH. Ahmad Dahlan. The magazine also often reports news about Muhammadiyah.

#### **HAMKA AS A MEMBER OF THE KONSTITUANTE ASSEMBLY REPRESENTING MASYUMI**

Muhammadiyah, as one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, contributes in tackling every issue that concerns the interests of Indonesian Muslims. When the Masyumi was founded in 1943, Muhammadiyah assumed a very important role in it, along with other organizations, including the largest Islamic organizations, namely the NU. Even though Muhammadiyah was not a political organization, it did not hesitate to take part when Masyumi developed into a political party in 1945. Since then, Muhammadiyah had enjoyed a special membership status in Masyumi.

Muhammadiyah finally revoked his special membership status from Masyumi in 1959, when the political situation became increasingly uncertain. Masyumi was considered a dangerous opposition, and several of its administrators were involved in the actions of the Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (PRRI). These developments would also impacted Muhammadiyah greatly (Maarif, 1988).

After the Physical Revolution ended, Indonesia organized itself for several years thereafter. After the 1955 General Election, Hamka took a major political role in Masyumi. He was appointed to become a member of the Konstituante Assembly, representing Masyumi. Later, Hamka would explain that he never consider himself as a politician; according to him, cultural issues are a lot more fundamental than politics (Hamka, 1981).

In the Konstituante, Hamka and other Masyumi representatives were involved in lengthy debates, especially about the state foundation. Masyumi, along with other Islamic parties, proposed that Islam should be accepted as the state foundation, while Pancasila became a basic state

philosophy, so that the Pancasila could be interpreted according to the Islamic perspective. This opinion received strong opposition from the secular parties, while the most powerful ideological opposition came from the PKI. Since the number of supporters in both camps were almost equal, the quorum was never reached.

The debates in the Konstituante ended abruptly with the issuance of the Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959. The decree, among others, resolved that the 1945 Constitution shall be enforced; a decision that also means negating the Konstituante role, or effectively dissolve it. This decree also became the starting point of the Guided Democracy; a democratic system that was widely criticized because it was considered not at all democratic, but rather authoritarian, including by Mohammad Hatta who had accompanied Soekarno as the Vice President until his resignation in 1956.

In his state address at the Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, on August 17, 1960, Soekarno declared the dissolution of Masyumi along with the Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI). Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah continued to establish closeness with Soekarno. Hamka, who was always very critical of Soekarno's leadership and his closeness to the communist party, did not fail to criticize the closeness of Muhammadiyah with Soekarno, which he considered to be artificial and exaggerating.

## **HAMKA AND THE GUIDED DEMOCRACY**

There were at least two things that Hamka would never agree with the Guided Democracy, namely the tolerance given to communism and the authoritarian nature of Soekarno's leadership. Hamka's opposition to communism was actually not developed during the Guided Democracy period, but was rooted far from his past in West Sumatra.

In his youth, Hamka witnessed Haji Rasul's struggle to build an ideal Islamic movement. In the late 1920s, West Sumatra was enlivened by debates between the *Kaum Tuo* and *Kaum Mudo*; Haji Rasul was one of the main figures of the latter. The emergence of new ideas among the Minangkabau youth was driven by the tradition of migrating (*merantau*), namely migrating to other places with many purposes, one of them is to seek knowledge. In addition to bringing new ideas that shaped the new modern form of movement to defend Islam, this trend also made the communism's infiltration possible, one of which was done by the Sumatra Thawalib alumni. The influence of communism on Sumatra Thawalib students turned them against Haji Rasul. In 1927, a PKI rebellion took place in West Sumatra. This rebellion, which was shortlived, was indeed not approved by a prominent PKI figure at that time who was in exile, namely Tan Malaka. According to Malaka, who was also a native of Minangkabau, this rebellion was not preceded by proper planning and preparations (Kahin, 1996).

In the Konstituante Assembly, Hamka also had his turn to confront the communists. In the philosophical debate about the state foundation, Hamka often disagreed with the PKI, and even launched direct attacks on the PKI. According to Hamka, Islam should be the state foundation, because the strength of the Indonesians in fighting all invaders since centuries ago came from Islamic teachings, not Pancasila which was only formulated in 1945 (Hamka, 2008, pp. 151-153). Njoto, for example, asserted that even though PKI decided to compromise and accepting Pancasila, it actually objected the first principle (*sila*), the '*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*' (Belief in The One



and Only God), which, according to him, should be replaced with ‘religious freedom’ which would also mean freedom to be non-religious (Njoto, 2008, pp. 317-319). On another occasion, Hamka also insinuated the paradox that occurred when an anti-God ideology of communism was allowed to live in a country which the first principle of the state foundation stated ‘*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*’ (Hamka, 2008, p. 164).

Communism, which often intersects with atheism, had often been an object of Hamka’s criticisms conveyed openly and straightforwardly. Hamka never held himself back to criticize communism, even though PKI at that time had a very close relationship with Soekarno. This can be seen, for example, in the Eid Al-Adha 1382 Sermon delivered by Hamka at the Al-Azhar Mosque in Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta, which was published in *Gema Islam Magazine*. In the sermon, Hamka said that communist-atheist groups deliberately manipulated the poor to achieve their goal of keeping people away from religion:

*Kemiskinan adalah pasaran jang laris bagi iblis, baik iblis halus apatah lagi iblis kasar, buat mengadjak orang supaya kafir. Supaya membelakangi Tuhan, supaya mengutuk agama, supaya menuduh bahwa agama itu adalah tjandu jang meratjun rakjat.* (Hamka, 1961).

[Poverty is a market that is in demand for the devils, both the subtle devils and also the crude ones, to invite people to be infidels. In order to turn their backs on God, to condemn religion, to accuse the religion of being the opium which poisoned the people.]

In contrast to his attitude which was always in conflict with communism from the beginning, Hamka’s relationship with Soekarno was initially characterized by a very close friendship. The friendship began when Soekarno was exiled to Bengkulu. Soekarno, who greatly enjoyed Hamka’s writings published in the *Pedoman Masyarakat*, was even more interested in being acquainted after learning that Hamka had never graduated from any schools. In 1941, the two met for the first time. In his autobiography, Hamka wrote with bitterness:

*Bung Haji sendiri yang datang menziarahi pemimpin besar itu ke Bengkulu. Persahabatan yang timbul di zaman Bintang masih gelap, di tanah pengasingan, jauh lebih murni daripada persahabatan yang didapat setelah Presiden Soekarno duduk di Istana Merdeka!* (Hamka, 2015).

[Bung Haji (Hamka) himself came to visit the great leader to Bengkulu. The friendship that arose still in darker times, in the land of exile, far purer than the friendship after President Soekarno was seated in the Merdeka Palace!]

Despite the disagreement which often happened, especially after Soekarno increasingly showed his closeness with PKI, it is important to note that the criticisms delivered by Hamka to Soekarno or the government at this time were not at all harsh, compared to his criticisms of communism, or when compared to his criticisms after being released from prison in 1966. The first edition of the *Pandji Masyarakat Magazine*, June 1959, in which Hamka served as its Chief Editor, published in full the prohibition of political activities issued by the military officials (Harsono, 1959). The publishing of this regulation shows that the magazine did not intend to violate or criticize this or any other regulations. *Pandji Masyarakat*, after all, was a cultural magazine, not political.

Nevertheless, consistently, this magazine shows indirect opposition to communism, for example, by explaining the treatment of various countries towards religion through the article “*Kedudukan Agama dalam Beberapa Negara*” (Pandji Masjarakat, 1959), or by reviewing the misfortunes of Muslims in communist countries such as the Soviet Union in the article “*Nasib Masjarakat Islam di Sovjet Rusia*” (Pandji Masjarakat, 1959).

In an article entitled “*Ucapan Sjukur dan Terimakasih*”, Hamka wrote about the issuance of a regulation in August 1959 which required every state’s civil servant to choose between the civil service career or the membership in a political party. Hamka, who at that time was working with the Ministry of Religion and a member of the Masyumi, chose to resign from his duties as a civil servant. Apparently, however, he quit his civil service not to become a full-time politician, but an ulama (by then he had received an honorary doctorate from Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt) and as a Chief Editor in *Pandji Masjarakat* (Hamka, 1959). All these facts proved that Hamka, through the media he led, had never actually attacked Soekarno harshly or directly.

A rather harsh criticism can actually be found in the article “*Demokrasi Kita*” written by Muhammad Hatta and published in the 22nd edition of *Pandji Masjarakat* (Hatta, 1960), which then led to the banning of the magazine. However, in the first edition of the *Gema Islam* Magazine, in which Hamka served after the banning of *Pandji Masjarakat*, another positive response to the government was evident, in this case regarding the issue of West Irian (*Gema Islam*, 1960).

Other than in his writings, for example in a sermon at the Al-Azhar Mosque, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta, on August 9, 1959, Hamka had stated that Islam was in danger, while reflecting on the history of Islam in Spain. However, instead of attacking the government directly, Hamka underlined another problem, namely the ignorance of some scholars regarding the situation of the people in the country, and also education that is less in favor of Islam (Abadi, 1960). It can be concluded that Hamka, through his writings or magazines that he led, has been quite objective towards the Soekarno administration, by giving criticism when necessary, and providing support when it is due.

## **HAMKA’S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUHAMMADIYAH’S APPROACH TO SOEKARNO**

On June 20, 1959, Hamka's article “*Maka Petjahlah Muhammadiyah*” was published by the *Abadi* Newspaper. In this article, Hamka criticizes a number of Muhammadiyah cadres who pursued political careers in parties outside the Masyumi. At that time, Muhammadiyah had relinquished its special membership status in Masyumi. In the August 10, 1959 edition, in an article entitled “*Penjelesaian Muhammadiyah Tidak Petjah*”, Hamka stated his agreement with Soekarno’s opinion delivered in his speech at the Muhammadiyah National Congress in Palembang, namely that the Muhammadiyah should be consistent in its *da’wah* tasks and should not let itself be dragged into politics. However, by relinquishing this special membership status, according to Hamka, Muhammadiyah should withdraw from politics completely, not pursuing politics through a path that is contrary to Masyumi, let alone to deliberately hide various things from Muhammadiyah leaders who happens to be former administrators of the Masyumi (Hamka, 1960).

The great influence of Hamka's comments in the first article resulted in the holding of the Tanwir Council in Yogyakarta on July 31 to August 2, 1959. There, it was decided that the Muhammadiyah's figures who wanted to pursue a career in practical politics must first be permitted by the board of leaders, and their political activities should not be representing Muhammadiyah, instead, they represent themselves only. However, in the same article, Hamka also admitted that he also had his share of mistakes, namely raising Muhammadiyah's internal problems in the public sphere and offending a number of his own colleagues (Hamka, 1960).

Since the incident in the *Abadi* Newspaper, Hamka had not launched any harsh criticisms of Muhammadiyah's close relationship with Soekarno openly. In *Pandji Masjarakat* and *Gema Islam*, he was the Chief Editor for both, no such criticism was found. Prior to the 35th Muhammadiyah National Congress in Jakarta in 1962, for example, the *Gema Islam* Magazine reviewed excerpts of comments from national figures who attended the previous National Congress in Palembang, including Soekarno (Gema Islam, 1962). If there are any harsh criticism from Hamka, as stated in the previous section, he aimed it at communism and atheism, not to Soekarno nor Muhammadiyah.

The reason for the absence of open criticism to Soekarno at these times can be read in the article "*Pandji Masjarakat Terbit Kembali*", published in the first edition of this magazine in 1966; the first publication after it was previously. In the article, Hamka reflected on his experience when *Pandji Masjarakat* was banned because it was not in line with the Guided Democracy:

*Jang berkuasa pada masa itu membreidel, memberangus sekalian surat kabar, baik harian ataupun madjalah, jang isinja masih sadya belum pandai menjesuaikan diri dengan negara jang telah mulai menudju Kultus Perseorangan dan Diktatur. Dan bagi kita jang distop, perintah itu diterima, tidak memprotes lagi. Sebab protes pada masa itu pertjuma, hanja memperberat beban. Tetapi bersjukur kepada Allah sebab merasa lebih baik dihentikan terbitnja, dari pada terbit djuga padahal pengasuhnja harus mendustai dirinya sendiri, dan mengeluarkan apa jang tidak terasa dalam hati sanubarinja.* (Hamka, 1966f).

[Those in power at that time banned, suppressed all newspapers, both daily and magazines, which contents were still not adjusted to the country that had begun to develop into the Individual Cult and Dictatorship. And for those of us whose work were halted, the ban was accepted, no longer resisted. Since resistance at that time was useless, it will only make it worse. But (we) give thanks to Allah because we feel better to stop the publication, rather than keep on publishing, but the caregiver must lie to himself, and bring out what is not felt in his heartstrings.]

Thus, it can be concluded that in the period of Guided Democracy, Hamka was also forced to adjust himself to the prevailing political climate. Rather than fighting the regime openly, Hamka would rather support those who oppose and their ideas. Communism was opposed by religion, PKI's infiltration to cultural discourse was confronted with a magazine that specifically discussed the relationship between Islam and culture, also by publishing Moh. Hatta's article, who was no longer in line with Soekarno, even though they've fought alongside each other in the past.

Hamka's true opinion on Soekarno's authoritarian leadership was only conveyed after the Guided Democracy collapsed. This opinion may need to be put in the context of two-year detention

without trial which he experienced in 1964-1966. In the article “*Ditudjukan pada Djendral SUHARTO dan para Penegak2 Keadilan*”, Hamka poured his anger out:

*21 tahun Tuhan membiarkan Soekarno “bergadentjak” dalam negeri ini. Mulanja masih baik, masih djudjur. Tetapi bertambah sehari bertambah meninggalkan dasar keadilan dan kebenaran. Tapi berputar edaran malam, tambah dia membuat dosa jang baru. Dilanggarnya Undang-undang dasar seketika dia mengangkat dirinja sendiri djadi Formatur Kabinet. Dibubarkannya Konstituante dan Parlemen, jang keduanya pilihan rakjat. Didekritnja kembali ke-UUD 45, buat dichianatinja. Katanja waktu itu, sebarispun tidak boleh dirobah dan dikurangi. Tetapi setelah UUD itu dikuasainja, dibisikinjalah kaki-kaki tangannja supaja mengangkatnja djadi Presiden seumur hidup.*

*Dia bertambah bangga dan sombong. Dia menjangka bahwa Tuhan telah meridhoinya. Pernah dia mendabik dada, mengatakan bahwa Tuhan berada dipihak dia selalu, sebab segala pertjobaan hendak membunuhnja gagal. Lalu ditambahnja dosa lagi dan dosa lagi. Dia mendjadi Pemimpin Besar Korupsi. Dia mendjadi teladan dari feodal model baru. Dia beristeri sebanjak berapa dia suka. Dia suruh tangkapi segala orang jang ditjurigainja. Bahkan disuruhnja bunuh! (Hamka, 1967b).*

[21 years God had allowed Soekarno to “rampant” in this country. At first he was still doing good, still being honest. But each day he had gone further leaving justice and truth. In each night, he made a new sin. He violated the basic constitution the moment he appointed himself as the Cabinet Former. He dissolved the Konstituante Assembly and the Parliament, both of which were the people's choice. He made a decree to return to the 1945 Constitution, only to betray. He said at that time, not even one line should be changed and reduced. But after he dominated the constitution, he whispered his accomplices in order to make him President for life.

He grew proud and arrogant. He thought that God had blessed him. Once he was being so arrogant, saying that God was always on his side, because all attempts to kill him had failed. Then he added more and more sins. He became the Great Leader of Corruption. He set the example of a new feudalism. He married as many (women) as he likes. He ordered the apprehension of everyone he suspected. He even gave orders to kill (them)!

Although criticisms of Muhammadiyah was no longer conveyed openly after the ‘incident’ in the *Abadi* Newspaper, but by paying attention to Hamka’s comments since 1966, it can be concluded that Hamka did not agree with Muhammadiyah’s attitude. In the article “*Taubat Nasuha*” published in the second edition of the *Pandji Masjarakat* Magazine after it was re-published in 1966, Hamka explained in detail the things he criticized from Muhammadiyah regarding its attitude towards Soekarno during the Guided Democracy. *Firstly*, awarding the title of ‘The Faithful Member’, which according to him was not worth giving to Soekarno, while there were so many Muhammadiyah cadres who sacrificed more and kept themselves in the corridor of Islam as mandated by Muhammadiyah (Hamka, 1966g).

The *second* thing criticized by Hamka was the awarding of the title ‘The Great Protector’ to Soekarno and the inauguration of PP Muhammadiyah at the Bogor Palace. Muhammadiyah’s respect for Soekarno was then contrasted with Muhammadiyah's attitude which dismissed A.R. St. Mansur’s from the position of Advisor, and also Faqih Usman who was shifted from the position of member of the Central Board to Advisor (Hamka, 1966g).

The *third* criticism is about the awarding of an Honorary Doctorate Degree in the field of the Philosophy of Tawheed Science which was given by Muhammadiyah University to Soekarno. According to Hamka, the granting of the title was already proven as a mistake, because, in his promotional ceremony speech, Soekarno encouraged people to visit the tombs of his parents, to ask his parents to submit pray for God's help to those who visited their graves (Hamka, 1966g). Asking help to people who have been deceased, according to Islam, is a serious violation of Tawheed.

As explained earlier, many people consider that the Muhammadiyah's attitude towards the ruling regime in the period of Guided Democracy was realistic and pragmatic, for the safety of the organization. However, Hamka seems to disagree. Hamka called on Muhammadiyah to reflect on the attitude of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal who did not change his opinion even though he was tortured by the authorities of his era. Hamka's opinion was concluded with the phrase:

*Kita hendak mempertahankan hidup organisasi Muhammadiyah, walaupun untuk itu, "Jiwa utama Muhammadiyah" sendiri telah mati. Kita telah mempertahankan bangkai!* (Hamka, 1966g).

[We want to preserve the life of the Muhammadiyah organization, even though in order to do that, the "main soul of Muhammadiyah" itself was killed. We have been preserving a carcass!]

The statement above shows that Hamka fully understands the reasons behind Muhammadiyah's attitude. He may also accept the fact that Muhammadiyah has a different view from his personal opinion. Nevertheless, he also insisted on his original opinion and suggested that Muhammadiyah evaluated and repent for its attitude in the period of Guided Democracy.

## **AFTER THE STORM**

Using the *Panji Masyarakat* Magazine which was resurrected in 1966, Hamka launched a barrage of backlash to the Guided Democracy, mainly to the ideology of communism that flourished at that time and the authoritarian leadership of Soekarno. When Hamka attacked communism in the Eid Al-Adha Sermon, the Guided Democracy was still in force. His attacks, through his lectures and writings, would only intensified after the regime had collapsed.

Along with the collapse of all the political infrastructure of the Guided Democracy, Hamka slowly reduced the intensity of his attacks. He already reconciled with Mohammad Yamin prior to Yamin's passing in 1962 (Hamka, 1962). Hamka also later soften his attitude towards people who opposed him, including Pramodya Ananta Toer (Hamka, 1981) and Soekarno. In 1971, after Soekarno passed away, Hamka led the prayer at his funeral, following Soekarno's own will (Hamka, 1981).

Meanwhile, Hamka continued to be a faithful cadre of Muhammadiyah throughout his life. Although Hamka's call on Muhammadiyah to repent and revoke the titles given to Soekarno (which was implied in the article "*Taubat Nasuha*") was never followed up, Hamka never separated himself from Muhammadiyah. After being approved as the General Chairman of the MUI, Hamka reduced its activities in Muhammadiyah, but continued to manage the *Panji*



*Masyarakat* Magazine and also fostering another magazine affiliated with Muhammadiyah, namely *Adil*. He continued this until his passing in 1981.

## CONCLUSION

Through his lectures and writings, we can see that Hamka is one of the prominent opposition figures to the Guided Democracy. His criticisms on communism, besides originating from his belief as an ulama, can also be traced to his past when he came into contact with communism and its movements in West Sumatra. His criticisms were also directed at Soekarno's leadership. As a Masyumi's representative who had spent a lot of time in long debates in the Konstituante Assembly, Hamka witnessed how Soekarno acted arbitrarily by disbanding the Konstituante, despite its legitimacy, and then he dissolved Masyumi too. Hamka himself felt firsthand the iron fist of the Soekarno's regime when the *Pandji Masyarakat* Magazine that he managed was banned, even more so after Hamka himself was detained without trial for more than two years. Hamka's relationship with Soekarno is even more interesting if we underline the fact that the two were once close friends after Hamka visited Soekarno in his exile in Bengkulu.

The unfavorable political situation in 1959 prompted Muhammadiyah to renounce its special membership status from Masyumi. Although Hamka can accept this decision, even openly expressing his support, Hamka reacts violently when a number of Muhammadiyah cadres pursue political careers outside the Islamic path. Because, in Hamka's view, the breaking of the structural relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi from the beginning was intended to help Muhammadiyah focus on Islamic *da'wah*, not to obscure the commitment of Muhammadiyah and its cadres towards Islamic politics.

Hamka was forced to adapt to the political climate he faced at that time. Rather than expressing his direct criticisms, Hamka supported ideas contrary to the views of the Guided Democracy through his writings in *Pandji Masyarakat* and *Gema Islam* Magazine. However, he didn't hesitate to attack the regime once it was collapsed, and criticized Muhammadiyah harshly while doing so.

Even though Hamka never withdrew his opinion on Muhammadiyah, and Muhammadiyah never corrected its actions during the Guided Democracy, Hamka continued to contribute to Muhammadiyah. This proved that he sees the problem as quite fundamental, but at the same time, the continuity of the Muhammadiyah's *da'wah* and its integrity was no less important.

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