



Islamic Utopianism and Political Reality: Ali Hasjmy Reconsidered

This article describes the political philosophy of Ali Hasjmy in formulating the ideal Islamic state. Hasjmy is an intellectual who has produced many works in the topics of politics, literature, and culture that are very useful for the progress and welfare of the Acehnese people and the Indonesian nation in general. The main source of this research is the work and writings of Hasjmy which are directly oriented to politics and the concept of the state. By using analytical content, this article shows several premises on Hasjmy's utopian visions, which are; First, Muslims should not be anti-politics due to its important in achieving the benefit of the people; Second, the existence of a Islamic state as mandatory; Third, an Islamic state does not have to exist constitutionally but what must exist as Islamic values in a state; Fourth, the importance of obeying the leader; Fifth, every official or government element is responsible for exercising power.

Keywords: Ali Hasjmy; Islamic Utopianism; Political Philosophy; Islamic State

Artikel ini membahas filosofi politik Ali Hasjmy dalam merumuskan konsep negara Islam yang ideal. Hasjmy merupakan intelektual yang telah banyak menghasilkan karya di bidang politik, sastra, budaya yang sangat berguna bagi kemajuan dan kesejahteraan masyarakat Aceh dan bangsa Indonesia pada umumnya. Dengan menggunakan metode konten analisis, tulisan ini menunjukkan beberapa premis mengenai visi utopian dari Hasjmy, antara lain; pertama, muslim sebaiknya tidak anti berpolitik mengingat pentingnya dalam mencapai kemaslahatan umat; kedua, keberadaan negara dalam Islam adalah kewajiban. Ketiga, negara Islam tidak harus ada secara konstitusional, melainkan hadir sebagai nilai-nilai keislaman dalam suatu negara; keempat, pentingnya taat kepada pemimpin; Kelima, pejabat atau elemen pemerintah bertanggungjawab dalam menjalankan kekuasaan.

Kata Kunci: Ali Hasjmy; Islam Utopia; Filsafat Politik; Negara Islam

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Introduction

Discussing the idea of authority within a state cannot be separated its political context. Power without politics is like religion without morals,¹ said Surbakti in *Understanding Political Science*.² In any case, power remains as the core of political science and is hotly debated because political problems cover all aspects related to the state, it's the basis, the democratic process, the structure of government and laws.

This article questioning the idea of safety and prosperity within an Islamic state which could have been polarized. The politics referred in this writing is defined as the science of state governing. It is the task of a leader in an Islamic state is to guide his/her people from misleading beliefs.³ This task distinguishes the Islamic state from any other forms of bureaucracy.

Such idea was introduced by Indonesian political intellectuals such as Munawir Sjadzali, Muhammad Natsir, Zainal Abidin Ahmad, and Ali Hasjmy. Previous studies on Ali Hasjmy related to his thought on Islam, nationalism, education, gender equity, leadership and politics. Regarding to Hasjmy's idea on politics, he suggests that the power of the state and its sovereignty belongs to Allah while humans only have the mandate to administer the state in accordance with the provisions of His law.³

Hasjmy tends to place God in His high authority by providing a substantial foundation of what he called "the divine sovereignty" as the most essential mandate to humans. Humans or people seem to have no absolute source of power.⁴ On one hand, he based his utopianism using the verse of Q.S. (57): 5, "to Him belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. And to Allah all matters are returned." This verse referred that that

ability of comes from God therefore humans do not have the sovereignty.⁵

Meanwhile, on the other hand, Hasjmy rejected western paradigm that limited the area of God's sovereignty and power to things that were personal to His servants. Hasjmy believes that the Western paradigm will eliminate the significance of the religion and religious values by placing it in a marginal position and reduce its position only in personal-spiritual matters.⁶

For the purpose of mapping the political philosophy of Ali Hasjmy and its significance to the idea of Islamic state, this article used literary thematic studies on Hasjmy's works within the qualitative methods. The author used Hasjmy's works on Islamic politics as the primary sources in research. The data analysis is descriptive focusing on the analytical content of Hasjmy's works. This research supported from secondary source by other previous author who examined and discussed Ali Hasjmy's thoughts. The author split the two main themes within this article which are Hasjmy's intellectual biography and his utopianism on the concept of Islamic state in a different section in regard to facilitate a better understanding of his intellectualism.

Intellectual Biography of Ali Hasjmy

Ali Hasjmy is an Acehese figure known as a scholar, writer, and politician. He was born in Lampaseh, Aceh, on March 28, 1914. He is the second born out of eight of Teungku Hasyim, a retired civil servant. Ali Hasjmy married Zuriah Aziz on August 14, 1941.⁷ Hasjmy's born name is Muhammad Ali Hasjim. He has a number of pseudonyms used in his various essays on poetry and short stories, such as the names al-Hariry, Aria Hadiningsun, and Asmara Hakiki.

¹ M. Taufiq Rahman, "Islam as an Ideal Modern Social System: A Study of Ali Shariati's Thought," *Jispo: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* 6, No. 1 (June 2016): 42–51.

² Harahap Syahrin, *Metodologi Studi Tokoh Pemikiran Islam* (Jakarta: Istiqamah Mulya, 2006).

³ Ali Hasjmy, *Dustur Dakwah Menurut Alquran* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974), 45.

⁴ Ali Hasjmy, *Dakwah Islamiyah Membangun Manusia dan Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978), 92.

⁵ *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahnya: Juz 1-Juz 30*, I. (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, Republik Indonesia, Proyek Pengadaan Kitab Suci Al Qur'an, 1992), Q.S. Al-Hadid (57): 5.

⁶ Ali Hasjmy, *Dimana Letaknya Negara Islam* (Surabaya: Pt. Bina Ilmu, 1984), 102.

⁷ Arief Muammar, "Tentang Negara Islam dan Relevansinya dengan Penerapan Syariat Islam di Aceh" Program Studi Aqidah dan Filsafat Islam (N.D.): 75.





Hasjmy took his first formal education at the Government Inlandsche School Montasie Banda Aceh. He then continued his education at Madrasah Thawalib in Padang Panjang, both within the degree of junior high school into the senior one, where he got constructed with values of patriotism and nationality. Later, he got bachelor degree from the Department of Islamic Literature and Culture in the Islamic College of Padang. He then became a teacher in Aceh after finishing his education in Padang Panjang and Padang,. When Hasjmy was in his 50th, he attended the Faculty of Law at the Islamic University of North Sumatra, Medan.⁸

In 1935, Hasjmy initiated "Sepia" (Aceh Islamic Youth Union) together with a number of youths who had just returned from Padang. Hasjmy has been active as a member of PUSA Youth Committee (Aceh Ulama Association) of Aceh Besar district and as the deputy for the KI Scout Quartir (Kasysyafatul Islam) Aceh Besar since 1939.⁹ Later in the early of 1945, Hasjmy founded the IPI (Indonesian Youth Association) with numbers of youths from Aceh Sinbun and Domei. After the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17th, 1945, IPI actively carried out movements to defend Indonesia's independence.

A. Political Thought

Ali Hasjmy is a charismatic Acehnese figure who has multidimensional statuses as a cleric, politician, poet and cultural intellectual.¹⁰ His political thoughts contain various scopes from the political policy which I called as the religious multidimensional political thought.¹¹ Hasjmy increases his interest to study politics considering that his role as the cleric in Aceh.

⁸ Zaini Safitri and Effendi Hasan, "Pemikiran Ali Hasjmy tentang Konsep Kepemimpinan Politik Perempuan di Aceh," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fisip Unsyiah 4*, No. 1 (2018): 1–11.

⁹ Ghazali Ahmad, *Biografi Ali Jhasjmy* (Jakarta: Sicillia, 1978), 88.

¹⁰ Hasjmy, *Dimana Letaknya Negara Islam*, 56.

¹¹ Arief Muammar, Amroeni Drajat, and Katimin Katimin, "The Relevance of Ali Hasjmy's Thoughts on Islamic Country of Islamic Sharia Implementation in Aceh," *Budapest*

Between the 16th to late 19th centuries, Acehnese cleric played important roles in socioreligious, cultural, economic and political aspects.¹² This is because the Acehnese scholars have had an universalistic understanding, formed by various aspects of social dynamics of Acehnese people.

Hasjmy's political thought with a focus on outlining his conception of an Islamic state. This research is important to do because he is a productive scholar in every scientific discipline, such as education, arts and culture, politics to journalism. The problem to be explored related to the concept of his political thought has not been clearly mapped. This means that his political thought that have been developed as an authentic ideas are remote from the public. Not only that, even his political thinking has not been comprehensively understood through the sociopolitical perspective.¹³

Hasjmy's political ideas have not been reconsidered massively among the modern scholars. Accordingly, his personality tends to be identified only as a poet and writer, not as a statesman. In Hasjmy's utopia, ideal politics in an Islamic state demand prerequisites in the form of ideal leadership. For him, the figure of ideal leader is referred to the generalship of prophet Muhammad as the first statesman and imam of the Islamic state. By that mean, the position of a caliph defined as an ideal leader who masters both politics and religious matters.

B. National Thought

Hasjmy had a huge spirit of nationalism and patriotism. This was evidenced by its role in influencing the central government of the Republic of Indonesia to want to release Aceh from the confines of North Sumatra Province and

International Research and Critics Institute (Birci-Journal): Humanities and Social Sciences 2, No. 2 (2019): 228–240.

¹² M. Adil, "Membangun Aceh Melalui Pendidikan (Studi Analisis Konsep Kopelma Darussalam Ali Hasjmy)," *Tadabbur: Jurnal Peradaban Islam 1*, No. 2 (2019): 337–348.

¹³ Ali Hasjmy, *Semangat Merdeka 70 Tahun Menempuh Jalan Pergolakan dan Perjuangan Kemerdekaan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 43.





stand alone as a province. On January 1, 1957, his efforts were successfully approved by Soekarno. By the second Ali Sastroamidjoyo Cabinet, Hasjmy was asked to become the Governor of Aceh. Its most important task was to organize regional governance and restore security. He had managed to overcome the Darul Islam rebellion in a peaceful manner. He did this before the Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959 (to return to the 1945 Constitution on the basis of Pancasila), to be precise when the Cabinet of Works Special Session was held at the beginning of May 1959. This session specifically discussed the settlement of the Darul Islam / Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII). This session was chaired by Prime Minister Ir. H. Juanda, who was also attended by a number of state officials, including the Commander of the Military Command I Colonel Sjamaun Gaharu and the Governor of Aceh Hasjmy.¹⁴

During the session on DI/ TII, Hasjmy gave an explanation of the people's struggle in upholding and defending the Republic of Indonesia from the 1945 Revolution to the Round Table Conference (KMB) in The Hague, Netherlands. He invited Darul Islam to return to the bosom of the Republic of Indonesia by giving special status to Aceh Province. The meaning of specialness means strengthening the Republic of Indonesia which is guided by Pancasila, while still paying attention to the specificities and peculiarities of Aceh's socio-cultural history which was indeed based largely on Islamic teachings.¹⁵

Hasjmy argues that Acehnese shall not hinder the ideology of Pancasila. He believes that Pancasila is a guidance for nationalism that in-line with the concept of religiosity. Thus, the breath and life of the Acehnese people was the same as the structure and culture of the entire Indonesian nation within the framework of

Pancasila itself. So, the people of Aceh didn't need to be allergic to Pancasila.

As a follow-up to the Karya Cabinet Special Session, Prime Minister Juanda informed Hasjmy that the Karya Cabinet would send a Government Mission to Aceh under the Deputy of Prime Minister II Idham Chalid. Hasjmy rejected the appointment by suggesting that the leader of the government's mission be Hardi, Deputy Prime Minister I at the Karya Cabinet. In fact, Hardi was a nationalist figure (a member of the Central Board of PNI-Indonesian Nationalist Party), in contrast to Idham Chalid who clearly came from an Islamic group because he was a famous scholar of Nahdhatul Ulama at that time.¹⁶ When asked by Juanda about why he prefers to appoint Hardi rather than Idham Chalid, Hasjmy straightforwardly answered "NU", referring that Idham Chalid's party has supported Aceh in restoring the policy of security since the independence days.

While PNI since Ali Sastroamidjojo led the cabinet to continue to oppose the settlement in a wise manner. If Idham Chalid leads the mission, Hasjmy had strategic thoughts towards restoring conditions in Aceh peacefully. He does not care whether those who hold the mandate of the government's mission must come from an Islamic group or not, considering that Aceh is so thick with religious nuances. He thought that groups that had been contra (nationalist groups) needed to be embraced by making one of its figures the leader of the government's mission to Aceh (Hardi). It is entirely possible, then, that the PNI will not agree with the results achieved by the mission. Another case, if the person himself leads the mission, namely Deputy of Prime Minister in this way the interests of all groups can be accommodated, not just one group. Based on such thoughts, Hasjmy is a politician who is willing to be open to accepting various differences.¹⁷

¹⁴ Syama'un Gaharu, *Cuplikan Angan di Daerah Modal* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1998).

¹⁵ Ali Hasjmy, *Dimana Letaknya Negara Islam*, 29.

¹⁶ M Rahmat Effendi, "Pemikiran Politik Islam di Indonesia : Antara Simbolistik dan Substantivistik" (1998): 89–105.

¹⁷ Ali Hasjmy, *Dimana Letaknya Negara Islam*, 110.





C. Cultural and Religious Thought

A. Hasjmy's religious thoughts have a lot to do with the condition of Aceh, which has been known to be very thick with its Islamic nuances, in its social, political and religious life systems. In 1990, he served as Chairman of the LAKA (Aceh Cultural and Traditional Institution). LAKA was established to increase the role, function, and system of traditional and cultural institutions to suit the growth and development of the state administration of the Republic of Indonesia. The formulation of the objectives of LAKA is reflected in Article 32 of the 1945 Constitution which reads: The government advances national culture. In the explanation of the 1945 Constitution regarding article 32 it is stated that national culture is a culture that arises as the fruit of the cultivation of the Indonesian people as a whole. The old and original culture, which is the pinnacle of culture in regions throughout Indonesia, is counted as the national culture. Cultural efforts must advance towards the advancement of ethics, culture and unity, by not rejecting new materials from foreign cultures that can develop and enrich the culture of one's own nation, and increase the degree of will of the Indonesian people.¹⁸

Under the Hasjmy's leadership, LAKA carried out many activities to preserve Acehese customs and culture. In addition, this institution also refreshes the customs and culture by introducing positive influences from other customs and cultures outside Aceh. What Hasjmy has done together with his institution reflects the spirit of Indonesian nationalism that is not narrow, while still rooting in Acehese customs and culture. Hasjmy's interdisciplinary thoughts show the progressivity in his various intellectualism. He once said in an occasion that the application of Islamic law in Aceh does not need to be understood exclusively because

basically mankind is given the freedom to choose Islam. On this, he said: Islam is not coercive. You willingly choose Islam, we accept it, Aceh is always open.¹⁹ That is, Islam is a non-coercive religion. Islam is a religion that calls for goodness, so that mankind can accept it or not. It's just that people who can accept Islam as a way of life are the right people because they have made this religion their way of life.

Islam and indigenous traditions in the sociocultural context of Aceh seem inseparable. The close relationship between the two, for example, can be seen in Acehese arts or crafts which refer to many Islamic symbols. The idea of art and culture are not contradicting of religious values. Regarding to this matter, Hasjmy said: "We do not reject things that convey the impression of beauty, craftsmanship and serenity. Art is beautiful, it is born on the basis of realization and glory. So, it is not surprising that Acehese arts and crafts continue to develop."²⁰

Ali Hasjmy is known as a modest cleric. He wears a neat skullcap with different motives in daily. Hasjmy is also known to be very proud of wearing Acehese traditional clothes. There is a deep cultural meaning that the Acehese traditional clothes give a vibrant vibe to its wearer.²¹ Seeking this phenomenon within the perspective of Islamic culture, it is possible that Hasjmy is translating various forms of Islamic culture into cultural mode of fashion. Shortly, he indigenizes the worldly known Islamic culture into the local culture of Aceh.

D. Educational Thought

¹⁸ Muhammad Husin, *Adat Aceh* (Banda Aceh: Al-Farabi, 1963), 82.

¹⁹ Zumrotul Muhzinat, "Perekonomian Kerajaan Aceh Darussalam Era Sultan Iskandar Muda," *Tsaqofah & Tarikh: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan* 5, No. 2 (2020): 74–82.

²⁰ Hasjmy, *Sumbangan Kesusasteraan Aceh dalam Kesusasteraan Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1973), 201.

²¹ Raihan Raihan, "Implementasi Pemikiran Dakwah Mohammad Natsir di Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia Provinsi Aceh," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 15, No. 1 (2015): 67.





The level of education in Aceh was still very low at the early of 1945.²² This was indeed the intention of the Dutch so that they could be more powerful and colonize Aceh for a long time. When Hasjmy became the governor, he successfully managed several aspects of the people, especially education.²³ Hasjmy's special attention in developing education is beyond doubt. He attaches great importance to education that he advises the adolescents to pay attention to education as an important asset in life. His love for education is illustrated in the following poetry:

“Plucking devotion
It's really a burden for the youth
Protectors of the nation's hopeful people
Because it is, my young man
Pack up, brother, prepare yourself
Fill your chest with knowledge
Teach a high-minded heart

Let us be wealthy
Rich spiritual origin
Don't be compassionate
Because papa doesn't bear
What is the use of being rich in body
If the soul has bad luck

Remember my dear young man
Mother does not expect money
He awaits holy worship
From his son a new young man
Let my brother reap devotion
We give it to mother.”²⁴

Hasjmy improved the education system after retiring from his position as the governor of Aceh hence implementing a movement called

“Darussalam Education Conception”. This program aimed to produce virtuous, righteous, and knowledgeable learners. In order to achieve these objectives, the following stages were planned for the development of education centers: (a). Each sub-district capital was called Taman Pelajar, which included: Elementary School, Junior High School, Senior High School, teacher, student dormitory, and so on; (b). Each district capital, called the Student Village, contained: Junior High Schools, Senior High Schools, teachers' houses, student dormitories, and so on; (c). In the capital of the Special District of Aceh which was called Darussalam contained: high schools and various higher education institutions. There were two well-known large universities, namely Syiah Kuala University and Ar-Raniry State Islamic Institute (IAIN) which has now turned into the State Islamic University or UIN Ar-Raniry.²⁵

Human resource development in Aceh has obtained its premises through educational reform figures in the past, especially through the formation of a number of universities. In this case, Hasjmy has made an important contribution of the first Five-Year Development Basic Pattern or known as *Aceh Membangun*, which was stipulated by the Decree of the Aceh Governor No. 19/1962 dated 17 January 1962. The basis of the concept of *Aceh Membangun* was the ideals and personality of the Acehnese as stated in the Pancacita Charter.²⁶ This concept was carried out by a commission that was formally established through a decision of the Governor. Annually, this concept was described in detail so that it become clear in the implementation process.

Hasjmy issued Decree No. 90 of 1960 which sets the date of 2 September as Education Day for

²² K. Amin, “Pengaruh Konflik Terhadap Pembangunan Pendidikan di Aceh,” *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 1, No. 2 (2018): 159–176.

²³ Bambang Satriya, Andi Suwarta, And Ayi Budi Santosa, “Teungku Muhammad Daud Beureueh dan Revolusi di Aceh (1945-1950),” *Factum: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pendidikan Sejarah* 7, No. 1 (2018): 54.

²⁴ Ali Hasjmy, *Dakwah Islamiyah Membangun Manusia dan Masyarakat*, 65.

²⁵ Syahrin, *Metodologi Studi Tokoh Pemikiran Islam*, 55.

²⁶ Fadhil Ilhamsyah, “Gagasan Politik Hasan Muhammad di Tiro Tentang Nasionalisme Aceh,” *Jurnal Public Policy* 4, No. 1 (2018): 13–21.





Aceh. In the framework of Regional Education Day, rotating trophies are contested each year. At that time, two Mars songs were created, namely / Mars Hari Pendidikan and Mars Darussalam /. The two compulsory songs must be sung by elementary up to higher school students in Aceh. Well-integrated system of the education development was still running post Hasjmy's period. The younger generation afterwards can easily continue educational activities because they previously provided comprehensive guidelines on the concept of educational development. On May 13, 1967. The Governor, through his letter No. 27/1967 stipulated that the task of monitoring and building Kopelma Darussalam was left to the Chairperson of the YPD. Thus, it could be said that the development of Kopelma Darussalam which had been initiated since 1958 was still ongoing.²⁷

Hasjmy's Utopia on the Islamic State

A. Existence of State

If you want to build an Islamic state, a country must first achieve independence, the freedom to regulate the government system does not depend on other countries absolutely. Thus the state will easily build its nation according to the conscience of its people. In compiling state administration, not only seeing the success of the existing state system, but also ideology will determine, whether countries that reject religious teachings in fostering the practical life of the nation, or eventually they will embrace political Islam in the truest sense.²⁸

Hasjmy sees the side of Islamic ideology as a benchmark for success and the imperative side of the existence of a state. By quoting from Muhammad Asad's words, Ali Hasjmy describes how the problems of the basics of the state are now the main problem for Islamic leaders

everywhere. Therefore, it can be given a tasyri' (legal decree) that according to Islamic law the existence of a state is obligatory.²⁹

Thus Hasjmy promulgates three reasons, namely; *First*, the argument of aqli; *Second*, the proposition of syar'i; *Third*, the proposition of dating. For Ali Hasjmy, the aqli argument is essentially a syar'i argument. Because for Islam itself the necessity to use reason is absolutely absolute. Building the mind so that it develops and thinks, is one of the tasks of Islam.³⁰ The Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet are full of teachings that stimulate the mind, for example: "Do an investigation into all the contents of the heavens and the earth." (Q.S. 10:101) "A moment of thinking using reason, is better than worshiping for a year." (Hadith).

The syar'i argument for Ali Hasjmy is the same as the naqli argument, namely information taken from the Qur'an and the Prophet's hadith. The Qur'an has clearly established the necessity of a "state" and has also outlined the purpose of the state. Allah commanded His Messenger to familiarize and train oneself in state affairs, just as a similar command is also addressed to all Muslims, for example:

"Allah promises to appoint devoted believers to be world leaders. As has happened to those before them, and their religion that is pleasing to God will become strong, where fear turns to security, so that they will serenely devote themselves to Me and do not branch off their beliefs to others. Whereas those who disobeyed after that were the wicked." (Q.S. 24:55)³¹

This verse explains that Allah's promise to a devoted believer to be appointed as a world leader (khalifah), his religion (Islam) will be eternal, an anxious life will be replaced with a peaceful and happy life. All of this would not happen without a state and government.

²⁷ Ali Hasjmy, *Dustur Dakwah Menurut Alquran*, 81.

²⁸ Zulfiadi Ahmedy Effendi Hasan, "Transformasi Nasionalisme di Aceh," *Kajian Politik dan Masalah Pembangunan* 10, No. 02 (2014): 1569-1574.

²⁹ Safitri and Hasan, "Pemikiran Ali Hasjmy Tentang Konsep Kepemimpinan Politik Perempuan di Aceh," 24-25.

³⁰ Hany Nurpratiwi, "Dinamika Konflik dan Perdamaian Aceh," *History and Culture Journal* Volume 1, No. Issue 2 (2019): 96-107.

³¹ *Al-Qur'an*, Q.S. Al-Nur (24): 55.





The proposition of the date according to Ali Hasjmy is the historical narrative in the Qur'an and hadith about the existence of "state" and "government" in the pre-Islamic era. In the Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet, there are many historical stories from countries that existed before Muhammad was appointed as an Apostle. The obligation to establish a state for Muslims implies that power in a government must be realized.³² For Ali Hasjmy, the necessity of power is absolute, this is considering that the holder of power has a dual function, as the holder of a spiritual leader to maintain religion, as well as the head of state to regulate the social community in the life of the state.

Hasjmy added a caliph has an authority due to replacing the position of the seal prophet, Muhammad, after he died. In the arena of an Islamic state, power is held by the caliph or imam, almost all schools of thought in Islam agree that leadership for Muslims called the caliphate is obligatory (obligatory syar'i not aqli), because there is a just Imam who is in charge of carrying out Allah's commands and Islamic law in the midst of the ummah, is the main obligation for Muslims.³³

That is the opinion of the Ahlu as-Sunnah, Murjiah, Shia, Khawarij, and Mu'tazilah, except as-'Ammu from Mu'taziah and a small group of Khawrij. They say that the existence of the position of the Khilafah is not obligatory; not according to reason and not according to the Shari'a. For them, what is obligatory is only to carry out the Shari'a. If the people have all agreed to carry out justice and carry out God's law, then there is no need for the Imam and his appointment is not obligatory. That is, the position of the caliph does not reach the syar'i obligation, it is only obligatory 'aqli.

The existence of the position of Khilafah is seen as farḍū kifāyah as well as jihad and seeking knowledge, according to Al-Mawardis opinion. If the rightful person has appointed or assumed the position of caliphate, then the law is obligatory for other Muslims, and vice versa if there is no one who carries out that task, then all Muslims are sinful. Half of the scholars are of the opinion that sin is only affected by two groups (1) the clever (*ahl ar-ra'y*) who continue to sin until they succeed in choosing a caliph. (2) those who have the conditions to become khalfah, who also continue to sin until one of them is elected as caliph. Apart from these two groups, no one will sin if the election and appointment of the Caliph is delayed, Al-Mawardi continues.³⁴

Hasjmy agrees with Abdul Kadir Audah, who bases the necessity of the existence of a caliphate on two things, namely: obligatory syar'i and obligatory aqli. *First*, it is obligatory according to syara'. The existence of a khalfah (*imamah*) is necessary according to Islamic law, where syara' has made it mandatory for all Muslims to choose and appoint a caliph. When this work has been completed, the obligatory law on them will also be completed, until the time comes again for the khal to be fired or dies.³⁵

Second, it must be reasonable. As syara' has required the existence of a caliphate position, so also is reason, because the existence of a government among the people is a social necessity. It is impossible for people to live alone. People must come together and unite, whether in peace or in emergency³⁶. If unity and political unity become an absolute necessity for the congregation, then the existence of a leader is also an absolute as well. Intellect is of the opinion that without a government it will bring disaster to the people, so the existence of the position of

³² Takdir Ali Mukti Et Al, "The Future of Peace Between Aceh and Jakarta Under Helsinki Agreement 2005," *Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews* 8, No. 3 (2020): 657–664.

³³ Ali Hasjmy, *Dimana Letaknya Negara Islam*, 99.

³⁴ Mukhtar, "Ali Hasimy dan Konsep Kekuasaan dalam Islam," *Al-Ijtima'i* 3, No. 1 (2017): 55–70.

³⁵ Syabuddin Gade and Abdul Ghafar Don, "Peranan Ulama dalam Pembinaan Negara Bangsa: Pengalaman Dakwah Ali Hasjmy," *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara (Nun) Iv*, No. November (2011): 25–26.

³⁶ Mukhtar, "Ali Hasimy dan Konsep Kekuasaan dalam Islam," 55–70.





caliphate becomes an obligation according to reason's considerations.

B. Leader of Islamic State

According to Islamic ideology, the head of state still holds the greatest power as the absolute representative of the entire people. But that power is only used in times of emergency. It must also be remembered that above the head of state, the people still have the highest sovereignty, have the right to warn or fire him. Nevertheless, the power in an Islamic State, whether an executive (*Khalifah* or Imam) or legislative (*ahl al-hāl wa al-'aqd* or *ahl al-ra'y*), is a mandate from Allah, because the Constitution, the Law on Interpreters and Implementing the Constitution, has been regulated in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet.³⁷ The task of the head of state is only the executor and is required to carry out the teachings and laws contained in the Qur'an and Sunnah, conveyed to the people, the people are obliged to obey them as they are obliged to obey Allah and His Messenger.

For Ali Hasjmy, based on the Qur'an, the people are obliged to obey Allah as the rightful owner of the state and His sovereignty, to His Messenger as the holder of Allah's mandate (*risālat*) to exercise all executive and legislative powers in the state, and to *ulū al-amr* who became the Caliph of the Prophet after he died.³⁸ As is the case with the Messenger of Allah who holds and exercises executive and legislative powers, so does *uli al-amri*, if in exercising that power there are disputes and differences of opinion, then the problem must be returned to the provisions of the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Prophet.

In solving the problem, a caliph together with the *ahl al-ḥāl wa al-'aqdi*, make decisions on how to implement the Qur'an and Sunnah, which is called *fiqh*. Then they carry out the provisions

or laws that have been approved.³⁹ In matters where there is no text, it is required to ask for opinions and consult with clerics and intellectuals to give opinions and consult with the Khalifah, reciprocal activities occur.

In carrying out the law and the basic law (the Qur'an) and the implementing law (Sunnah), it is not allowed to reduce and add to, or may not be amended in any form. Hasjmy stated that the conditions for the caliphate were indeed severe, including having intelligence to the level of being able to perform *ijtihād* (lawmaking), meaning that a candidate for caliph must be a "mujtahid".⁴⁰ Hasjmy, linking his opinion with Ibn Khaldun, emphasized obedience to a caliph who holds the position of power in Islamic law, because one covers worldly and religious affairs. In accordance with Ibn Khaldun's concept of the Islamic state, Hasjmy distinguishes between an Islamic State from the secular states as the same as distinguishing between halal cuisines from the haram ones.

On the concept of power and authority within an Islamic state, Hasjmy adopted Abdul Kadir Audah's five categories, which are; *First*, the power to administer the law (*sulṭah tanfiziyyat*); *Second*, the power of law-making (*sulṭah tasyrī'iyat*); *Third*, the jurisprudential power (*sulṭah qadā'iyat*); *Fourth*, the financial power (*sulṭah māliyyah*); *Last*, the power of public supervision (*sulṭah murāqabat wa taqwīm*).⁴¹ Regarding to this five classification of authority in an Islamic state, Hasjmy adds another power named the *majazī* power. This reaction were given due to his adherence to the theory of divinity which essentially states that everything is determined by the khalifah. Even so, a caliph is always ordered to coordinate with the clerics (*ulamā'*) and intellectuals (*ahl al-ra'y*).

³⁷ Serambi Akademika Et Al., "Analisis Diksi dalam Antologi Puisi Karya Ali Hasjmy" V, No. 2 (2017): 81–88.

³⁸ Syabuddin Gade, "Konsep Pendidikan Islam dalam Perspektif Pemikiran Ali Hasjmy: Analisis Hakikat dan Tujuan Pendidikan Islam," *Fitra* 1, No. 2 (2015): 54–62.

³⁹ Ali Hasjmy, *Dakwah Islamiyah Membangun Manusia dan Masyarakat*, 90.

⁴⁰ Ali Hasjmy, *Dimana Letaknya Negara Islam*, 87.

⁴¹ Muammar, "Tentang Negara Islam dan Relevansinya dengan Penerapan Syariat Islam di Aceh." Program Studi Aqidah dan Filsafat Islam. 28





C. Accountability of Power

Talking about the responsibility of power cannot be separated from matters relating to the ruler or leader, because it is the leader who is the main basis of a government. In any case, "power remains a very central phenomenon in political science and is hotly debated. Differences in views about the nature of power among scholars seem to be a common thing.⁴² However, even though there are many different views on power, it seems that there is one point that appears in all of these formulations, namely that power is considered as the ability of an actor to influence the behavior of other actors in such a way that the final behavior becomes in accordance with the wishes of the actor.

In Islam, a ruler or leader is known as the term imam (*imamah*), because it is under the authority of the imam who determines the superpower of a political policy (policy), law (law), government (*daulah*) and so on. The existence of rulers in managing a government or state greatly affects the socio-political situation. For this reason, the responsibility of a ruler or leader is very significant to note.⁴³ Because in the hands of the rulers who determine the progress of a government which incidentally is the highest ruler in a country.

Substantially, human existence is basically a leader or khalifah on earth (QS 2:30), this is in line with the Prophet's hadith which means: "Each of you is a leader, and each of you is responsible for those he leads" (Bukhari & Muslim). Thus, a high responsibility is required in leading the country. Because it is not easy to lead a country, especially one with a heterogeneous society, both in terms of social, cultural and economic aspects. This condition was faced by the Prophet during his leadership.

Hasjmy also review the responsibility for a statesman. He argues caliphate is the highest position in an Islamic state, for that he must be fully responsible for all the obligations that have been imposed on his shoulders.⁴⁴ The caliph or head of state is responsible for all the mistakes he has made, negligence and lack of attention in carrying out his duties, and abuse of power even more so if he deliberately violates the limits of Allah's law and the lines of power that have been given to him. In terms of violating this law, the head of state or khalifah must submit to the provisions of general law, because Islam does not distinguish between individuals and individuals, nor is there any difference between "government" and "the people".

The responsibility of the head of state or khalifah is greater than anyone among the people, because the Messenger of Allah as the first head of Islamic state has outlined this, as mentioned above narrated by Bukhari and Muslim. Regarding the responsibility of the caliph, Ali Hasjmy quoted the opinion of Abdul Kadir Audah as follow:

*"According to the rules in Islamic law, that the imam must carry out criminal laws against himself, in all crimes and those he commits intentionally. If he kills a human being he is put to death, if he cuts off a human member, he will be punished by cutting off a similar member. The crime, whether done directly, such as hitting with a sword or as a result of his actions, such as imposing a death or beheading, while the patient is innocent. But the priest will not be accused of committing a crime or committing a crime, if his work is in accordance with the legal limits that have been set. If he has crossed these limits knowingly, then he will be charged with committing a crime. As for if his intentions are good, he does the work with the intention of carrying out his obligations, then he is not prosecuted in terms of violating the criminal law."*⁴⁵

⁴² M. Anzaikhan, "Hakikat Administrasi Pemerintahan Islam," *Al-Ijtima'I: International Journal of Government and Social Science* 5, No. 1 (2019): 113.

⁴³ Mukhtar, "Ali Hasimy dan Konsep Kekuasaan dalam Islam."

⁴⁴ Safitri and Hasan, "Pemikiran Ali Hasjmy tentang Konsep Kepemimpinan Politik Perempuan di Aceh."

⁴⁵ Andi Chandra Jaya, "Konsep Nation-State dalam Pemikiran Ideologi Politik Melayu Islam Pada Abad Ke-19 M: Studi Pemikiran Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi (1787-





Hasjmy obligate each leader or ruler to be responsible. Furthermore, he added that the positions that have power in Islam are all subject to the authority of the caliphate, because the position of the caliphate covers the fields of religion and the world. Regarding to this matter, he also followed the opinion that had been put forward by Ibn Khaldun, as stated below:

*"When it is clear that the true nature of the caliphate is a position representing the bearer of the Shari'ah to continue the maintenance of religion and the management of the world, the bearer of the Shari'ah has duties in two fields. Shari'ah to humans and obliges them to do it. Second, the political field is obliged to take care of the interests of the people in creating the progress of mankind."*⁴⁶

Therefore, according to Hasjmy's utopia, Islamic laws are related to all aspects of the power of a caliphate because of the expansion of shari'a law is in-accordance with all actions his/her servants.⁴⁷ Based on this premise, Hasjmy argues that the position of the caliphate has great responsibilities, both in his/her relation with God and in the caliphate's relation with His creations.

Conclusion

Ali Hasjmy is a political philosopher who had a direct involvement to the early days of the government of Indonesia. His utopian tries to synergize Islamic values with contemporary political theories due to its significance as a medium in building a power for the benefit of the people (*maṣlaḥah mursalah*). Hasjmy argues that the source of power is not from the people but from God hence muslims shall develop a government based on the values of the Qur'an and Sunna. A leader, specifically a caliph, have a mandate to guide the people from misleading beliefs. This task distinguishes the Islamic state from the other forms of bureaucracy worldwide.

Hasjmy suggests that the existence of Islamic state is a mandatory. He develops his utopian category of authority within an Islamic state—adopting Kadir's five classification of power—called as "*majazī* power". This category were made due to his adherence to the theory of divinity. His political thought is similar to the understanding the theory of divinity while emphasizing that Allah is the Absolute Ruler, humans are His servants who must submit to all His commands, and that His commands is in-accordance with the caliph. To do so, a caliph must constantly coordinate with the clerics (*ulamā'*) and intellectuals (*ahl al-ra'y*). Hasjmy put forward the significance of *syar'i 'aqli* for the state and power. He put forward both '*aqli* and *tārīkhi* obligatory as inseparable with *syarī'ah*.

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1854)," *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 15, No. 1 (2019): 1–25.

⁴⁶ K. Kamaruddin, "Pemikiran Politik Ibnu Khaldun dan Pembentukan Teori Sosiologi Politik," *Jurnal Ilmu Agama:*

Mengkaji Doktrin, Pemikiran, dan Fenomena Agama 16, No. 2 (2015): 66–80.

⁴⁷ Safitri and Hasan, "Pemikiran Ali Hasjmy tentang Konsep Kepemimpinan Politik Perempuan di Aceh."





Data Availability

Data sharing is not applicable to this article as no new data were created or analysed in this study.

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