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The Concept of Islamic Governance According to HAMKA's Thought

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ABSTRACT

The absence of Islamic governance has brought various implications and challenges to the Muslim societies. Therefore, it is timely and relevant to discuss the need for Islamic governance as an effort to create a societal framework that aligns with Islamic values and principles. This paper explores the concept of Islamic governance according to HAMKA's perspective which can be considered a significant contribution to the field of Islamic political thought. Although HAMKA did not outline a detailed blueprint for Islamic governance, he proposed its core principles in a holistic manner which include shura, social justice, ethical leadership, and social wellbeing. This study employs a qualitative method based on library research. The data were obtained through various sources, including books, manuscripts, articles, and documents relevant to the topic. The study found that HAMKA's approach to Islamic governance reflects his attempt to harmonize traditional Islamic principles with the needs and challenges of modern times. His ideas were characterized by his understanding of Islam and his observations of the cultural and historical context of his society.

INTRODUCTION

Under the impact of Western domination from the late nineteenth century onwards, the Muslim world has been losing its Islamic identity in its political thought and system of administration. Since the religious position gradually decline, many Muslim scholars undertook initiatives for Islamic political reform. Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, prominently known as HAMKA, was one of the significant figures who argued for the necessity of Islamic governance in the Malay world, particularly in Indonesia. As a country with a Muslim majority, HAMKA emphasized that Indonesia should establish a clear religious position in society. Thus, he advocated for an Islamic state based on the principles of Islam.

The debate on the form of government was raised from various perspectives and platforms by political leaders in Indonesia both before and after Indonesian independence in August 1945. There was a conflict between the advocates of an Islamic state and those supporting a secular form of government. HAMKA belonged to the group of defenders of an Islamic state, opposing nationalists, communists, and socialist groups, including Soekarno. He channelled his notion of establishing an Islamic state together with

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Muhammad Natsir through the MASYUMI party, the biggest Islamic party in Indonesia. As one of the representatives of the MASYUMI party, HAMKA had an opportunity to share his idea of an Islamic state during the Constituent Assembly. In this session, he mentioned that the struggle to uphold a country based on Islam had been the goal of all Islamic movements and Muslim revivalists in Indonesia since the 19th century.

For HAMKA, an Islamic state is founded on Divine sovereignty. Islam is not considered only a personal faith, but it also guides the structure and functioning of society and government. Since Islam is a complete religion, it regulates all aspects of life, including politics, economics, and social well-being. Therefore, state affairs and administration cannot be separated from religion. In his writing, HAMKA emphasized the integration of religion and the state. Religion and the state are inseparable, as both depend on one another. The state needs religion to guide people on the right path of virtues, which is essential for its survival. On the other hand, religion requires the state as a tool or instrument for carrying out the laws of God and upholding the principles of Islam (HAMKA, 2015a). In this sense, HAMKA stressed the importance of the state's role in the contextualization of Islam and considered it a tool or religious instrument. In fact, one of the most important religious obligations of the state is to regulate people's affairs in accordance with the teachings of Islam and its values. Therefore, HAMKA stated that religion and the state mutually complement each other. Otherwise, both will collapse.

METHODOLOGY

This study analyses the concept of Islamic governance from the perspective of the Indonesian scholar, HAMKA. It is based on a qualitative method, employing descriptive, analytical and evaluative approaches. These methods are mostly applied to explain the principles of Islamic governance as well as the implications of HAMKA's political thought on state administration in Indonesia. Since the topic is theoretical in nature, this study is confined to library research, with references obtained from both primary and secondary sources, including books and journal articles.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

BIOGRAPHY OF HAMKA

Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, widely known as HAMKA, was an influential Indonesian Islamic scholar, writer, and philosopher. He was born on February 17, 1908, in Sungai Batang, West Sumatra, during Dutch colonial rule. HAMKA emerged as a significant figure in Indonesia's intellectual and religious landscape, known for his contributions to literature, Islamic thought, and socio-political movements. HAMKA grew up in a deeply religious environment. His father, Abdul Karim Amrullah, was a prominent Islamic scholar, which greatly influenced his early education. He pursued Islamic studies in Mecca at a young age, shaping his understanding of Islam and the modern world. His education laid the foundation for his later work as a reformist scholar who sought to reconcile Islam with contemporary challenges. As a writer, HAMKA was prolific, producing numerous books on Islam, philosophy, and history. One of his most famous novels, *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck*, remains a classic in Indonesian literature, blending romance with deep social and religious themes. His scholarly works, including *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, a comprehensive interpretation of the Quran, showcase his intellectual depth and commitment to spreading Islamic teachings. Beyond literature, HAMKA was an influential religious leader. He played a pivotal role in Muhammadiyah, a major Islamic organization in Indonesia, advocating for educational reform and Islamic modernization. He also served as the chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), where he provided religious guidance on national issues.

HAMKA faced significant political challenges, including imprisonment during President Sukarno's regime due to his criticism of government policies. However, he remained steadfast in his beliefs and

continued his intellectual pursuits even during difficult times. His resilience and contributions earned him immense respect across Indonesia and the broader Muslim world. HAMKA passed away on July 24, 1981, leaving behind a legacy of scholarship, religious leadership, and literary excellence. His works continue to inspire generations, reflecting his enduring impact on Indonesia's intellectual and spiritual life.

THE NECESSARY PRINCIPLES FOR ISLAMIC GOVERNANCE

The interpretation of Islamic governance among scholars varies depending on cultural, historical, and regional considerations. For HAMKA, his interpretation of Islamic governance is based on his interpretations of the Quran and *Sunnah*, his understanding of Islamic history and traditions, and his observations of Indonesia's cultural circumstances during his time. In his writings, HAMKA highlighted several key aspects of Islamic governance.

1. Implementation of Shariah as the Basis of Law

Hamka emphasized on the comprehensive nature of Shariah as a legal system that governs all aspects of life, including social, economic, and political matters. Therefore, he asserted that Shariah should be the primary source of law and governance in an Islamic government. Since Islam is a complete religion that outlines the principles and ethics for both society and the state, governance should be based on the framework of the Quran and *Sunnah*. However, HAMKA also acknowledged the role of rational human reasoning in state governance, recognizing that society is dynamic and subject to change over time. Although he believed in reconciling Islamic principles within governance, he stressed the need for flexibility and adaptation to local contexts. Thus, he did not advocate for a rigid implementation of Islamic law but instead called for interpretations that align with the cultural and social realities of society. This notion aligns with the concept of Islam as a dynamic and adaptable religion. HAMKA believed that the implementation of Shariah should be gradual and occur in phases, as he recognized practical challenges and the need for society to be adequately prepared and educated on the principles of Shariah before full enforcement. Additionally, he emphasized the role of *ijtihad*—the process of independent reasoning by Muslim scholars—in interpreting and applying Shariah to contemporary issues.

2. The Practice of *Shura* (Consultation)

The concept of *shura* (consultation) is a key element in Islamic governance, ensuring collective decision-making and consensus-building. For HAMKA, good governance must incorporate *shura* in the decision-making process, where leaders seek opinions and consent from knowledgeable individuals representing society. This approach ensures that decisions are well-informed and reflect the collective interests of people. HAMKA strongly advocated for inclusive *shura*, involving a wide range of participants, including experts in various fields, community leaders and ordinary citizens. This inclusivity ensures diverse perspectives in governance, making decision-making more representative and just. HAMKA also viewed *shura* as the political foundation of government and state leadership. He observed that *shura* encourages accountability and responsibility among leaders, as it reminds them that they are answerable to the people and must act in the best interests of the community. Furthermore, HAMKA emphasized that *shura* acts as a safeguard against tyranny and authoritarianism, as it prevents the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual or elite group. By promoting shared decision-making, *shura* ensures a balanced and just governance system that aligns with Islamic principles.

HAMKA argued that terms related to existing consultative institutions such as elections, the Supreme Advisory Council, the Senate Council, the Council of Ministers, or the Cabinet, do not need to be changed. The most important aspect is upholding the principle of *shura*, which must adhere to the basic principles of Islam and be guided by the spirit of the Quran and the *Sunnah*. Therefore, HAMKA placed the Quran and *Sunnah* as the primary sources of reference for decision-making. The scope of *shura* includes all matters

not explicitly established in the Quran and *Sunnah*, while excluding discussions on *qath'iy* (definitive) provisions. Regarding the characteristics of *shura* members, HAMKA emphasized that they must be trustworthy, knowledgeable, and highly skilled. HAMKA's interpretation of *shura* aligns with both classical and contemporary scholars. He analysed the *asbab an-Nuzul* (historical context of Quranic revelations) and sought to relate *shura*'s principles to existing social realities. He believed that *shura* must be adaptable to the context and needs of modern governance. HAMKA harmonized the Islamic tradition of *shura* with contemporary political and social structures. He viewed *shura* not as a static system but as a continuous process—one that allows governments to address evolving issues and remain responsive to the needs of the people. As part of Islamic governance, *shura* aims to resolve contemporary political challenges, which necessitates *ijtihad* (independent reasoning). *Ijtihad* was originally rooted in the need to overcome the stagnation of religious thought caused by *taqlid* (blind imitation). HAMKA argued that the door of *ijtihad* must remain open to address new issues. He interpreted *ijtihad* as the process of expanding the meaning of the Quran and Hadith in accordance with the principles of Shariah (Muhammadiyah, 2019).

It is important to note that HAMKA did not equate *shura* with democracy, although there are certain similarities between the two. The implementation of democracy in Indonesia differs from the *shura* advocated by HAMKA. He argued that some elements of democracy are not fully aligned with the principles of *shura* in Islam. HAMKA stated:

“Democracy originates from the West. However, our democracy has deep roots in Islam, dating back centuries. Prophet Muhammad PBUH showed us the way. The Prophet and his companions practiced a form of democracy in which important decisions were made through deliberation (*shura*). All modern democratic values already exist in the Quran and Hadith, including the equality of all humans before Allah the Almighty, freedom from tyranny, freedom of thought and speech, as well as equality and social justice” (Rush, 2017).

The comparison between Western democracy and *shura* lies in its substance and foundation. According to HAMKA, the fundamental weakness of democracy is its secular nature, which disregards normative considerations based on religion. In contrast, *shura* is deeply rooted in core religious values. The authority of the *Shura* Council in Islam is bound by the principles of Shariah and textual sources. As a result, *shura* cannot produce decisions that contradict or legalize violations of Shariah.

3. Upholding Social Justice

In most of his writings, HAMKA highlights the significance of social justice in society. He emphasized that the government must remain attentive to the needs of people and ensure their well-being. For HAMKA, social justice is a fundamental principle of governance, essential for eliminating social, economic, and political inequalities while ensuring fair treatment and equal opportunities for all members of society.

It is imperative for a government to uphold the social justice and ensure a harmonious society. HAMKA emphasized the concept of *amanah* in establishing social justice. The word *amanah* is derived from *امن* which literally means faithfulness, reliability, trustworthiness, assurance, safeguarding, and guaranteeing. According to HAMKA, a state will guarantee the well-being of its people if it is governed by an *amanah* (trustworthy) ruler. He believed that social justice would prevail in a society where its leader fully understands and upholds the Islamic concept of *amanah* in governance and in protecting both the country and its people (HAMKA, 2018).

HAMKA emphasized that one of the primary responsibilities of an Islamic government is to protect every citizen from injustice and oppression. The role of a government extends beyond maintaining law and order or defending its territory from external threats; it must also strive to build a healthy, progressive

society free from exploitation, poverty, and social injustice. HAMKA regarded justice as the highest obligation, surpassing all other duties in life. Social justice serves as a framework for assigning rights and responsibilities within a society's fundamental institutions and ensures the fair distribution of the benefits and burdens of social cooperation. According to HAMKA, social justice can only be achieved if the government remains accountable to the people. He observed that corruption is prevalent in many countries, particularly in Indonesia, due to a lack of *amanah* among rulers and government officials. HAMKA viewed corruption as a deeply rooted and destructive disease that leads to social injustice. He argued that corruption creates a significant disparity between the rich and the poor, further entrenching inequality within society.

In his work *Keadilan Sosial Dalam Islam*, HAMKA wrote that Islam is a religion that should be a catalyst for progress in society, meaning it should provide material, spiritual, and welfare support, as well as social assistance, regardless of race and religion. He further added:

“The objective of Islam is not to bring good only to one group, but to everyone. Islam does not belong exclusively to Muslims; it is a divine revelation from God for the benefit of all mankind.” (HAMKA, 2015b).

According to HAMKA, zakat can be considered as a mechanism to establish and maintain the basis of social justice. He stressed the importance of zakat in reducing poverty in society as it provides the poor people with provisions, shelter, and facilities. Therefore, the government should play a role in empowering the implementation of zakat so that it is distributed justly throughout society. HAMKA even claimed that non-Muslims should also be eligible for zakat, since Islam is a religion for humanity. This view was against the mainstream Islamic thought in the Malay world during his time.

His idea of social justice is also manifested through his fight for women's rights within family and society during his time. He expressed this concern in several of his writings, such as, *Kedudukan Perempuan dalam Islam*, and *Tafsir al Azhar*. In addition, HAMKA criticized the misuse and practice of polygamy, which he argued was against the spirit and true principles of Islam. He reminded that such a practice might affect the well-beings of wives and children, subsequently leading to the dysfunction of the family institution. He observed that the polygamy practised by his society was against the spirit and principles of this act, thus, he sought to reinterpret the meaning of polygamy and its true principles. At the same time, he emphasized the wisdom of monogamy and men's responsibility towards their wives and families.

4. The Need for Integrity Leadership

HAMKA discussed the importance of leaders observing and demonstrating ethical and moral values, such as honesty, justice, responsibility, accountability, and others. He believed that leaders should serve as role models for society. Leadership, for HAMKA, is closely related to the concept of *amanah* (duty or responsibility). The sense of duty and responsibility, according to Hamka, emerges from two aspects of human nature which are internal and external. The internal aspect refers to the sense of virtue in a man's soul and the external aspect refers to the rights of the others that must be fulfilled. He explained that when a person sees a needy person, the sense of sympathy emerges from his heart. It then develops into the intention to help that person. When he helps that person, his action is called a duty. Thus, for HAMKA, doing good deeds is a duty. He summarized that the sense of sympathy towards others is called virtue and the effort to perform an action is called duty.

HAMKA mentioned a few terms synonymous with leaders, such as, caliph and imam. Caliph means succeeding the Prophet in governing the administrative affairs of the state and acting as an agent to enforce the laws of God, whereas imam means a leader of the followers. Therefore, a person who has no leader (imam) to follow might go astray (HAMKA, 1999). HAMKA wrote that leaders...

“Lead with uprightness. Guide so that you may walk steadily. Hold to prevent falling! Or lift up those who have slipped and fallen. Stand tall when danger threatens” (HAMKA, 1975).

HAMKA discussed matters related to leadership in *Tafsir al Azhar* specifically in volumes 1 to 5 and volume 8. His discussions mostly revolve around topics such as choosing leaders, the qualities of leaders, giving constructive criticism to leaders, the prohibition of appointing non-Muslims as leaders, *istiqamah* in leadership and the notion that the higher a leader’s position, the more apparent his weaknesses become (Mohd Zaid Kadri, 1997).

According to HAMKA, several factors drive a person to become a leader, such as heredity, strength, intelligence and recognition by other leaders. Being knowledgeable can also motivate a person to take on leadership. However, HAMKA noted that some leaders are neither highly intelligent nor exceptionally qualified; instead, they rely on knowledgeable individuals as assistants to achieve their goals. For HAMKA, true leaders possess distinct qualities that set them apart from others. Therefore, heredity and knowledge are not the primary factors that make a true leader, and not all true leaders possess such qualities (HAMKA, 1973). HAMKA further stated that a passion for power can lead a person to hypocrisy, viewing leadership as a personal glory (HAMKA, 1999). Therefore, the Prophet PBUH prohibited seeking or begging for leadership positions, as stated in the Hadith:

“Reported from Abdul Rahman Samurah, he said that the Prophet PBUH said to me: O Abdul Rahman! Do not ask to be a leader. If you are given the power because you asked for it, you will be burdened by it. On the other hand, if you are given power without asking, then you will be helped (by God)” (Yahya ibn Sharaf an-Nawawi, 2003).

According to HAMKA, there are three elements of leadership, namely, Allah, the Messenger, and the believers. This is stated in Surah Al-Ma'idah (5: 55-56), which means:

“Verily, your helper is only Allah, and His Messenger, and those who believe, who establish prayers, and perform zakat, while they submit to uphold Allah's commandments. And whoever makes Allah, His messengers, and believers as his helpers, because surely the group who uphold to religion will win”.

This verse explains the concept of leadership in Islam, which originates from Allah, is conveyed by His Messenger, and is carried out by the believers. There are no laws that surpass the laws of Allah, nor are there any better than His laws. Allah's laws are revealed to His Messenger, and the believers are responsible for implementing them. HAMKA emphasized that Allah is the supreme Master and leader, providing the right guidance to humanity. The second leader for Muslims is the Messenger of Allah, who represents Allah and leads the believers through his *Sunnah*. The third leader is a believer who guides others along the path of Islam (HAMKA, 1973).

According to HAMKA, there are two essential criteria that a leader must possess, namely, courage and heroic mindset. He cited Saidina Umar Al-Khattab as an example due to his generosity, forgiveness, and gentleness. For HAMKA, leaders should embody qualities that align with the spirit of democracy, such as knowledgeable, selflessness, confidence, kindness, justice, eloquence, willingness to spread *da'wah*, steadfastness, patience, consideration and resilience (HAMKA, 1973). Essentially, leaders should emulate the spirit of Prophet’s leadership. HAMKA highlighted three key characteristics of Prophet’s leadership: caring for the affairs of his people, being merciful and compassionate, and serving the needs of the people (HAMKA, 1999).

At the same time, HAMKA outlined several factors contributing to leadership failure:

- a) Excessive praise for leaders. HAMKA observed that some people excessively venerate their leaders out of fear of demotion or dismissal, which could impact their financial stability. He wrote,

“As a result, over time, he increasingly worships the person he has idolized. Then, when the President whom he reveres and fears steps down, or the King whom he worships and humbly serves passes away, he becomes even more sycophantic, lavishing praise upon their successor. Thus, his entire life is consumed by fear” (HAMKA, 1999).

Thus, HAMKA opposed the act of flattering leaders. He shared a personal experience in which his wife was advised by a friend to write a letter of apology to President Sukarno as an appeal for his release from prison. However, HAMKA forbade his wife from doing so. He argued,

“I told him that this imprisonment was a political matter. There was no personal animosity between me and President Sukarno. I was arrested because the President did not approve of my political ideology. How could I change that? I explained to my wife that the friend's suggestion, whether intentional or not, would ultimately tarnish my reputation.” (HAMKA, 1999).

HAMKA strongly warned the readers of *Tafsir Al-Azhar* against seeking to please the unjust government, as such would ultimately compromise their dignity as human beings. In contemporary society, people often excessively flatter their leaders for personal gains. As a result, leaders who are accustomed to constant praise struggle to accept criticism. When someone dares to criticise them, they are quickly labelled as hostile or as an enemy of the government. Consequently, they may be deprived of their rights, and their lives may become miserable.

- b) Breaking promises. According to HAMKA, leaders who break their promises must be held accountable and punished. Such punishments are necessary to ensure that they do not repeat their actions and to uphold the integrity of leadership (HAMKA, 1999).
- c) Unjust leaders. HAMKA argued that some corrupt leaders follow their own desires, engage in corruption, misuse public property, and exploit the nation's wealth for personal gains. According to him, the more acts of injustice these leaders commit, the closer they are to their downfall. HAMKA described:

“In the name of Democracy, the tyrant enforces an autocratic rule. Man appoints himself as God. Whoever offers sincere warnings is accused of being an enemy of the state, then persecuted, tortured, exiled, and imprisoned. Such tyranny cannot be restrained, for his desires have blinded his sound judgment. The longer he persists, the further he strays from the path approved by Allah” (HAMKA, 1999).

HAMKA pointed out that unjust leaders often use tactics to maintain power by shifting blame to external enemies such as imperialists, colonialists, and others. (HAMKA, 1999). This strategy is intended to divert public attention from the government's weaknesses, which have caused widespread suffering in society.

- d) Moral decadence among leaders. HAMKA believed that leaders indulge in their desires without restraint will become accustomed to a life of luxury and excess
- e) Ignoring the leaders' mistakes. HAMKA emphasized that addressing a leader's weaknesses requires mutual counselling constructive reprimanding. While a leader should guide the people, it

is even more crucial for the people to advise and correct their leader. People should not conceal a leader's flaws but should offer advice with sincerity, honesty, gentleness, and compassion.

- f) Lack of relationship between *ulama*' and the Government. According to HAMKA, *umara*' (rulers) and *ulama* (scholars) must collaborate and understand each other's responsibilities, as they cannot be separated. A good partnership between *umara*' and *ulama* ensures the well-being and prosperity of society. In this context, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) was established with the primary purpose of advising the government on religious matters, whether the advice was requested by the government or initiated by the council itself. Additionally, MUI serves as a bridge between the government and the people, conveying the concerns of the people to the authorities while also communicating the government's intentions to the public.
- g) Negligence of tasks and duties of the leader. For HAMKA, a true leader is one who is willing to sacrifice his high rank and great salary for the sake of his people. A genuine leader does not isolate himself in privilege but instead immerses himself in the lives of the people, understanding their struggles and sharing in their suffering. True leadership requires empathy, selflessness, and a deep sense of responsibility towards the well-being of society.
- h) Appointing non-Muslims as leaders. HAMKA expressed concern about the potential clash of interests between Muslims and non-Muslims (HAMKA, 1999). However, he acknowledged that Islam permits cooperation with non-Muslims, provided that they do not engage in hostilities or expel Muslims from their homeland. Therefore, if the top leadership remains in the hands of Muslims, a Muslim leader is permitted to entrust non-Muslims with secondary positions in government or administration.

In short, HAMKA emphasized that the essence of Islamic governance lies in moral and ethical leadership. His discussion on leadership issues serves as a valuable guide for contemporary leaders in navigating the challenges of governance with integrity and righteousness.

5. Preserving Islamic Culture and Identity

HAMKA regarded the preservation and promotion of Islamic culture and identity as crucial for maintaining the essence and values of Islamic governance. He believed that Islamic culture embodies spiritual and moral values that are essential for guiding both personal and communal life. Preserving these values is necessary to uphold an ethical society. For HAMKA, a strong sense of Islamic culture and identity fosters unity, ensuring that society shares common purposes and values. Maintaining this identity is vital for societal cohesion, particularly in the face of external influences. Indeed, HAMKA was a strong opponent of colonialism and foreign influence in Indonesia during his time. He advocated for preserving Indonesia's identity and cultural values in accordance with Islam, seeing culture as a means to unite Indonesia's diverse society and uphold the nation's unique identity.

HAMKA emphasized the importance of aligning culture with Islamic values and teachings. He believed that a society's culture should be in harmony with Islamic principles, advocating for the integration of Islamic values into daily life, including cultural practices and customs. At the same time, HAMKA also championed cultural pluralism and tolerance. He acknowledged the diversity of cultures within Indonesia and promoted mutual understanding and respect among different cultural and religious communities. He believed that a society thrives when its members appreciate and tolerate each other's cultural differences, fostering unity and social harmony.

It is important to note that HAMKA made significant contributions to Indonesian literature, including novels, essays, and religious writings. His literary works often incorporated elements of culture, history, and Islamic teachings, providing insights into Indonesian society and culture during his time. In addition, HAMKA believed that language played a crucial role in preserving and transmitting culture. He emphasized

the importance of using and promoting the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) as a unifying factor among the diverse linguistic and cultural groups in Indonesia.

While HAMKA emphasized the importance of preserving Islamic culture, he also recognized the need for adaptation and modernization. Thus, he advocated for a cultural balance that embraced both traditional values and modernization. He believed that maintaining this balance was essential for the progress and development of society. However, HAMKA stressed that Islamic governance must ensure that Islamic values remain relevant and applicable in modern society. He believed that modernization should not come at the expense of Islamic principles, but rather, it should complement and strengthen them.

6. Education

HAMKA emphasized the importance of education in Islamic governance. For him, education plays a crucial role in shaping the nation, as it develops a psychologically and scientifically robust generation. HAMKA believed that education is fundamental in shaping a society grounded in Islamic values, contributing to the moral fabric of the community and preparing future leaders. Therefore, he stressed that the government must ensure a well-structured educational system that instills morality and a sense of responsibility in individuals for the betterment of society. This perspective aligns with Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 20 of 2003, Chapter II, which outlines the objectives of the national education system in fostering moral integrity and national development.

The essence of education, according to HAMKA, is divided into two parts: first, physical education; second, spiritual education. Both the physical and spiritual elements have a tendency to develop; thus, they need to be cultivated through education. Education is the most appropriate means to ensure the optimal development of both elements. HAMKA also stated that:

‘Based on their mind, humans can create good civilization, and this phenomenon was proven through human history.’

For HAMKA, education serves multiple functions. It is not merely a process of intellectual and personality development, but also a means of socializing learners within their environment. Moreover, HAMKA emphasized that education plays a vital role in preventing oppression, particularly protecting the weak from being dominated by the strong, which he referred to as a form of tyranny. According to HAMKA, true education must cultivate individuals who serve with reason and knowledge, rather than being driven by desires or subjugation. In his book *Falsafah Hidup*, HAMKA elaborated further on this principle.

“Children must be educated and raised according to their talents and abilities, in line with the demands of the times. The purpose of education is to shape children into useful members of society. It should prepare generations who are capable in all areas of life—social, political, economic, health, technology, and education—so that they do not become mere passengers or consumers of Western products. In other words, education should help create independent individuals” (HAMKA, 1981).

HAMKA did not provide a detailed explanation of the Islamic education curriculum. However, he implicitly outlined its key components, which include at least two aspects. Firstly, religious studies, encompassing the Quran, *Sunnah*, Shariah, theology, Islamic metaphysics (*tasawuf*), Arabic, and literature. Secondly, rational, intellectual, and philosophical studies, covering social studies, applied sciences, and technology (HAMKA, 1981). In summary, HAMKA believed that education empowers individuals to participate actively in society and contribute to the overall welfare of the community. For him, education was not merely a means of acquiring knowledge but a crucial tool for achieving a prosperous state and

establishing Islamic governance. He emphasized that an educated population is essential for the successful implementation of Islamic principles in governance.

7. Preserving Human Rights

Upholding human rights is fundamental to human dignity. HAMKA argued that the government, through its laws, should uphold and protect the rights of all citizens, regardless of their religious and cultural backgrounds. He discussed several basic human rights, including freedom of religion and freedom of expression. However, it is important to note that HAMKA addressed human rights within the framework of Islam, rather than from a Western perspective. For HAMKA, all individuals should have the freedom to express themselves, as he stated:

“Freedom means the liberty to spread one’s wings, to follow one’s heart, and to affirm the existence of one’s rights. Everyone has the right to assemble, to speak, and to express opinions, as well as the right to participate in governance. However, alongside these rights, every individual also bears the obligation to submit to the collective will by prioritising the common good over personal interests”.

Freedom, according to HAMKA, encompasses three fundamental aspects. First, the freedom to govern, regulate, guide, propose, and create things that contribute to goodness. Second, the freedom to express disagreement, including the right to forbid, restrain, protest, and challenge what is deemed wrong by society. Third, the freedom from fear, ensuring that individuals do not live in fear of poverty or become arrogant due to wealth. HAMKA strongly advocated for equality as a fundamental human right. Since all humans are created equal, their basic needs remain the same. Therefore, everyone must be granted equal rights in life and before the law. In line with this, the government has a duty to provide various means to improve the standard of living of its people (HAMKA, 1981). HAMKA defined justice as maintaining balance and fairness in governance, leadership, and transactions. A just leader does not favour one party while neglecting another but remains impartial and ensures equity for all.

CONCLUSION

HAMKA's concept of Islamic governance emphasized the integration of Islamic principles and values into state policies, practices, and functions. For HAMKA, politics attains nobility when it is closely connected with religion. Although he emerged from a traditional educational background, his views reflect many modern insights. He was deeply concerned with societal issues, and his approach to Islamic governance combined traditional Islamic jurisprudence with aspects of modern governance, particularly within Indonesia's socio-political context. His ideas significantly influenced discussions on Islam's role in state governance, particularly in the Malay world and Indonesia. HAMKA's views on Islamic governance contributed to positive developments in Indonesian state administration, such as the establishment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Indonesian Ulama Council in 1975. The spirit of Islam has permeated many aspects of individual and societal life in Indonesia. Beyond politics, HAMKA's intellectual contributions extend across various aspects of social life, as reflected in his extensive writings on religion, literature, history, Sufism, and ethics. His deep knowledge of Islamic sciences has made his work widely studied, particularly in the Malay world.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors agree that this research was conducted without any self-benefits or commercial or financial conflicts.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

The author is the sole author of the paper in which she has carried out the research, wrote and revised the article all by herself.

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