



HAMKA: From the First Pancasila to the Integrity of Bhineka Tunggal Ika in Indonesia

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Abstract : *This problem begins with the fading of understanding and application of Pancasila values as a way of life in society, nation and state, especially the first principle in Indonesia. This has led to the emergence of various separatist movements that want to separate themselves from the Republic of Indonesia and groups that do not want to respect the red and white flag, sing the Indonesia Raya song and so on. HAMKA said that it was from the first precept of "Belief in One God" that everything began, from that precept as a vein of Pancasila, according to him if the Indonesian people really understood the meaning of this first precept, the next precepts would be well preserved and Bhineka Tunggal Ika was created. This article uses qualitative research methods and this type of research is literature. The primary data of this research is obtained through reading HAMKA's works while secondary data is obtained from books and journals related to Pancasila and Unity in Diversity. This article uses document study as the basis for data collection. This article finds HAMKA's wise attitude in maintaining the integrity of Bhineka Tunggal Ika, by giving a moderate response to Bung Karno's speech so as not to cause hatred and division and the proposal to hold halal bi halal Eid al Fitri and Christmas are equalized. This article has implications for strengthening the motto of Unity in Diversity in Indonesia.*

Keywords: HAMKA, Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika

INTRODUCTION

Pancasila is the foundation of Indonesia, which is known as a pluralistic country consisting of various religions, tribes, nations and so on. Then choose Pancasila as the basis of the state because Indonesia is not a secular state and also not a religious state, but a combination of both.(Qodir, 2020) For Indonesia, Pancasila is the benchmark or foundation of thinking and behavior of the Indonesian people.(Wartha, 2017) Although Pancasila has been finalized as the basis of the state, there are groups of people who want religion to be the basis of the state. The problem of the relationship between religion and Pancasila often targets the position of Pancasila as the basis of the national state, which is not the basis of the religious state. Whereas from the beginning, the founding fathers such as Soepomo emphasized, "The national state is not a religious state, but a state based on religious values".(Wartha, 2017) . In this era of modernization, Pancasila is faced with various challenges both from within and outside. The challenges from within include various

separatist movements that want to separate themselves from the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia,(S, O. R. dan Laurensius A, 2020) among these separatist movements such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Indonesian Mujahidin Assembly (MMI), Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Laskar Jihad, Salafi and others.(Miharja, 2018) Then in addition there are also movements that are still contrary to belief in Pancasila, such as not wanting to respect the red and white flag, sing the Indonesia Raya song and so on.(Subarkah, 2021) .

The above phenomenon shows that the problem is caused by a crisis of confidence in Pancasila, which starts from not knowing the true meaning of the precepts of Pancasila, especially the first precept, which leads to a fading understanding and application of Pancasila values as a way of life in society, nation and state.(Wisnaeni, 2019) In line with this problem, it seems that if this problem is viewed from HAMKA's point of view, it will find a bright spot because HAMKA is widely known by the Indonesian people as a charismatic figure who has high integrity in various fields of knowledge, both religious and general knowledge and has also succeeded in influencing Indonesian Islamic thought through the concepts and ideas he produced so that Fachry Ali called him a pioneer of Islamic modernization in Indonesia.(Ali, 1983).

HAMKA is also referred to as a philosopher by Mochtar Naim and Abd Haris, by showing a positive appreciation of HAMKA and his thoughts that tend to follow the flow of renewal in Islam so as to broaden the horizons of religion.(Sudin, 2011) Furthermore, HAMKA is also recognized as a Southeast Asian Islamic thinker.(Sudin, 2011) In relation to the issue of this paper, HAMKA emphasizes in his work that it is from the first precept of "Belief in One God" that everything begins, from that precept as the backbone of Pancasila, according to him, if the Indonesian people really understand the meaning of this first precept, the following precepts will be well preserved.(HAMKA, 1951).

Departing from the above framework, it is very potential to be examined further how HAMKA's views in understanding the problem of divinity contained in the first principle of "God Almighty", and show the separatist movement or the people who do not believe in the magic of Pancasila and the sacred meaning contained in Pancasila, so as to enlighten that religion and Pancasila should not be in conflict.(Wisnaeni, 2019) So that from the issues regarding the meaning, nature and urgency of the first precept of Pancasila according to HAMKA, as well as HAMKA's contribution to the harmony of people in Indonesia are to be resolved in this study with the title "HAMKA's View of Pancasila (Critical Study of the First Precept of Pancasila)".

RESEARCH METHODS

This article uses qualitative research methods and this type of research is included in the literature. The main data in this research is obtained through reading HAMKA's works such as *Urat Tunggang Pantjasila*, *Dari Hati Ke Hati*, *Islam Revolusi Ideologi Sosial*, *Keadilan Sosial dalam Islam*. Secondary data is obtained from books and journals related to Pancasila and Unity in Diversity. This article uses document study as the basis for data collection, data taken from reading and analyzing HAMKA's writings. HAMKA's works used in this study were selected based on his thoughts that have relevance to Pancasila and Unity in Diversity in Indonesia. The focus of this research is to find the values of the first principle and its urgency and to see its

relevance to Unity in Diversity in Indonesia. This article begins with the author's interest in the issues of Unity in Diversity in Indonesia which are very concerning, when reading the problems of Unity in Diversity that occur in Indonesia the author is reminded of HAMKA's work *Urat Tunggang Pantjasila*, from here the author formulates an answer to the problems that occur in Indonesia.

Data obtained from reading HAMKA's works will be analyzed using philosophical analysis. All data will be analyzed using the *verstehen* method, especially to explore HAMKA's views on Pancasila and its relevance to Unity in Diversity in Indonesia. Then proceed with the interpretation method, which is to formulate the basic ideas and meanings of Pancasila towards religious harmony obtained from various sources of literature either through disclosure, explanation, or translation, so that it will become a valid and scientifically accountable data. In the end, the understanding and interpretation that has been done will be critically analyzed in accordance with the approach used and connected with literature references as a theoretical basis. Data analysis is carried out logically and critically so that at the end of this part of the thesis will bring up suggestions that contain recommendations. Finally, the data will be presented in narrative form.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

TRAJEKTORI HAMKA

1. Life History

HAMKA was born in Maninjau, Agam Regency, West Sumatra,¹ on Sunday night or Monday night. (Nasit Tamara, 1996) HAMKA was named Abdul Malik by his father at birth. The name Abdul Malik was taken by his father in memory of the son of his teacher, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib in Mecca, whose name was also Abdul Malik, who had been the ambassador of the Hashimid kingdom in Egypt during the reign. The addition of the name Amrullah behind him was taken from his father's name Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah. (Nasit Tamara, 1996) Then the name HAMKA itself was obtained when Abdul Malik returned from Mecca after performing the pilgrimage in 1927. (Muhammad, 2006) HAMKA it self is an acronym for his own name, Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah and HAMAK is also used as a pen name for his writing. (Musyafa, 2018) After that, HAMKA was also called HAMKA by his son and the people closest to him, a nickname typical of scholars in Minangkabau. (HAMKA, 2015).

HAMKA came from a lineage of scholars. His father was Haji Abdul Karim Amarullah or often called Haji Rasul bin Sheikh Muhammad Amrullah bin Tuanku Abdullah Saleh, who is known as a pioneer scholar of the Islamic renewal movement and also a Muhammadiyah figure in Minangkabau. (Noer, 1985) While his mother was named Siti Shafiyah Binti Haji Zakaria, HAMKA came from the Tanjung tribe according to his mother's tribe. (Nizar, 2008) Then HAMKA was the first of four children, among his three younger siblings named Abdul Kuddus, Asma, and Abdul Mu'thi. (Muhammad, 2006) His wife was Siti Raham bint Endah. From his marriage, HAMKA was blessed by Allah with twelve children, two of whom died in childhood. (Rush, 2017) HAMKA's

surviving children are Zaky, Rusdi, Fakhri, Azizah, Irfan, Aliyah, Fathiyah, Hilmi, Afif, and Syakib.(Hamka, 1983) On January 1, 1972 Siti Raham died and a year later HAMKA remarried a woman from Cirebon named Siti Khadijah.(Hamka, 1983) On July 24, 1981 or 14 Ramadhan 1402 H at the age of 73 years and 5 months. HAMKA breathed his last and was buried in Tanah Kusir Cemetery, Jakarta. Little HAMKA was known as a naughty child,(Damami, 2000) which was caused by two things, first, his father's desire for his son to become a religious expert contradicted the wishes of little HAMKA who wanted to feel freedom and enjoy his childhood, so little HAMKA considered his father too rigid. Secondly, the divorce between his father and his beloved mother, which hit HAMKA hard and caused him to become more delinquent.(Damami, 2000)

2. HAMKA's Intellectual Journey and Career

HAMKA's formal education began at the age of 7 at a village school. In 1916, he attended Zainuddin Labay El Yunusy's Diniyah School. In 1918, Malik quit the Village School which he attended for only 3 years, because of his delinquency he was expelled from school.(Muhammad, 2006) Then after quitting the village school Haji Rasul sent HAMKA to Thawalib in Padang Panjang.(Salam, 1983) The learning system at Thawalib, which relied on memorization, made him bored. But in addition, it was in this Thawalib that HAMKA studied Arabic.(Hamim, 2009) . In his intellectual development, HAMKA gained more knowledge informally or autodidactically. Not only religious knowledge, but also fields of science such as philosophy, literature, history, sociology and politics, both Islamic and Western.(HAMKA, 1974) HAMKA, when he was a teenager, left Minang for Java.(Nizar, 2008) Once in Java he met his uncle, who introduced HAMKA to several teachers, namely H.O.S Cokrominoto, Haji Fakhruddin, R.M. Suryopranoto.(Damami, 2000) In mid-1925 he returned to Maninjau.(Nizar, 2008) In February 1927 he went to Mecca and lived there for several months.(Damami, 2000).

After returning from Mecca, he lived in Medan.(HAMKA, 1974) In Medan, HAMKA lived as a journalist for Pelita Andalas Medan and Seruan Islam, then began his career teaching Islam to the children of West Sumatran merchants residing in Tebing Tinggi. Shortly afterward, HAMKA returned home and became a teacher and principal at the West Sumatra Kuliyatul Mubalighin as well as a high priest and preacher at the Al-Azhar Grand Mosque in Jakarta.(HAMKA, 1974) After that, HAMKA went to Jakarta in May 1946. This is where he became a politician, a member of the Masyumi party.(HAMKA, 1984). HAMKA was active in the Muhammadiyah organization from 1930 until the end of 1960, because of his ability and scientific insight, he was always elected to the Muhammadiyah central leadership, even until the end of his life he was appointed as Muhammadiyah central advisor, especially after the congress in Padang in 1975. In 1974, HAMKA received another honorary degree of Doctor Honoris Causa from the University of Kebangsaan Malaysia. HAMKA received an Honoris Causa Doctorate in literature, as well as a Professorship from Mustopo University Jakarta.(Hamim, 2009) HAMKA was then appointed by the

Indonesian government as Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) on July 26, 1975. However, on May 21, 1981, he resigned as Chairman of the MUI.

THE MEANING OF THE FIRST PANCASILA ACCORDING TO HAMKA

Pancasila in HAMKA's view is the identity of the Indonesian people, HAMKA said that Pancasila has long been owned by the Indonesian people, namely since the call of Islam reached Indonesia and was accepted by the Indonesian people.(HAMKA, 1951) Pancasila is a way of life of a nation that believes in God.(HAMKA, 2015) Pancasila will live well and can be guaranteed if Muslims truly understand their religion, namely by recognizing the existence of God in Indonesian people.(HAMKA, 1951). Basically, HAMKA was inconsistent in viewing Pancasila as the basis of the state, where in pre-independence HAMKA strongly wanted Islam as the basis of the Indonesian state and opposed Pancasila. However, in the post-Independence period, HAMKA's views on Pancasila changed, because he adjusted the situation and conditions of the nation at that time, and he chose to interpret Pancasila in accordance with the spirit of Islam.(Hamka, 2020) As HAMKA's statement written in the book Islamic basic law and Islamic ideals:

"For Muslims themselves, the One Godhead can be interpreted as tawhid. Because there it is evident that Godhead is the basis of Godhead. And when the first has been accepted, as a Muslim it is not spriori will reject the later four. For the latter four are the natural consequences of the former. But not being able to reject, does not mean being dissatisfied! For what is desired is for the name Islam to be openly displayed".(HAMKA, 1956)

From HAMKA's statement above, it can be seen that the First Precept of Pancasila, which reads Belief in God Almighty, is interpreted in accordance with the teachings of the Tawheed of Muslims and becomes the core or tendon of Pancasila which remains even though the other precepts can change, where the first precept is used as the first basis and becomes the starting point for thinking and behaving in the life of society, nation and state in Indonesia. Then HAMKA also emphasized that Belief in God Almighty has made the Indonesian state neither secular not liberal.(Fata, 2020)

THE NATURE AND URGENCY OF THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF PANCASILA ACCORDING TO HAMKA

1. The Nature of the First Precept of Pancasila According to HAMKA

God for HAMKA is the first basic intention of this country for society and state, as well as the starting point in thinking, because everything that is done, practiced, and attempted in this country is with the intention of achieving God's pleasure.(HAMKA, 2015) Muslims to achieve God's pleasure need to hold on to two things, namely faith in the oneness of God and good deeds. After establishing faith in the oneness of God, it is then applied in good deeds. Good deeds in the affairs of the nation and state are created into humanity, doing for the nation and homeland (nationality), deliberating together in common affairs, and upholding social justice in society.(HAMKA, 2015)

The essence of the One God according to HAMKA's view is to emphasize the purpose of life of all nature, both animate and inanimate. The Supreme Godhead is three things (human, human life and nature) in one (God). In the basic belief of the One Godhead, all of nature is gathered into one, namely by the name of the creature (which is made) and God is the Creator who made it.(PSBH, 2018) From the mother's womb to struggling through the hardships of life and until entering the grave, God's mercy can be felt in human beings.(PSBH, 2018) Thus, the life of a Muslim always upholds worship and devotion to God. Therefore, with belief in the One True God alone as the principle of life, the human soul becomes dynamic.

The Almighty God is the only place to depend and rely on Soekarno, Moh. Hatta and all Indonesian people when fighting for independence.(PSBH, 2018) Even though they were tired of being colonized by the Dutch and Japanese, the Indonesian people did not give up even though they were forced to move to the hamlet, to the jungle, to the mountain by enduring hunger. The enemy thought that the spirit was caused by Soekarno and Hatta, when in fact the only thing that became a guide was the One True God.(PSBH, 2018)

As explained earlier, HAMKA said that if Belief in God Almighty is firmly established, the other precepts will grow one by one. If you believe in God Almighty, the second foundation, namely just and civilized Humanity, will logically and naturally grow.(HAMKA, 2015) As Allah says in Q.S An-Nisa verse 135:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ شُهَدَاءَ لِلَّهِ وَلَوْ عَلَىٰ أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَوِ الْوَالِدِينَ وَالْأَقْرَبِينَ إِن يَكُنْ غَنِيًّا أَوْ فَقِيرًا فَاللَّهُ أُولَىٰ بِهِمَا فَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا الْهَوَىٰ أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا وَإِنْ تَلَّوْا أَوْ تُعْرَضُوا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا

"O you who believe. Be ye men of justice, bearing witness for Allah's sake even if it be against yourselves or your parents and relatives. If he (the accused) is rich or poor, Allah knows better. So do not follow your lusts to deviate from the truth. And if you distort your words or are reluctant to bear witness, then know that Allah is the All-Knowing of all that you do."(An-Nisa: 135).

Furthermore, by believing in God Almighty, it must be logical and natural to generate a sense of Indonesian unity (nationality). Because Islam teaches that all humans are one people, then Allah also said in his words in Q.S Al-Hujurat verse 13:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

"O people, indeed, we have created you from a man and a woman, then we have made you into nations and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious." (Al-Hujurat: 13)

Thus, the nationality, ethnicity, race, gender of a person does not give rise to hatred.(HAMKA, 2015) Furthermore, believing in God Almighty will automatically lead to deliberation for consensus, which is sometimes called

democracy or popular sovereignty.(HAMKA, 2015) As Allah says in Q.S As-syura verse 38:

وَالَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لِرَبِّهِمْ وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَمْرُهُمْ شُورَى بَيْنَهُمْ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ

"And (for) those who accept (obey) the call of His Lord, and establish prayer, and their affairs (are) decided by deliberation between them, and they spend some of the wealth we give them." (As-syura: 38)

Then the last one, believing in the One True God, will automatically lead to the fifth principle, which is Social Justice. Fair and evenly prosperous because humans are destined by God to be the same. One of God's names is al-'Adl, which is justice. Therefore, it is a must to achieve justice, especially in the nation and state.(HAMKA, 2015) As Allah says in Q.S An-Nahl verse 90:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَى وَيَنْهَى عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ

Verily, Allah enjoins (mankind) to be just and to do good, and to give (alms) to relatives, and Allah forbids evil deeds, wrongdoing and enmity. He teaches you that you may learn." (An-Nahl: 90)

Because of the above, HAMKA argues that Pancasila as the philosophy of the Indonesian state has a great and vast wealth, and is given a numerical value of 10,000. The number in the foremost position is the number one, which is God Almighty. The next numbers are four zeros, namely Humanity, Nationality, People's Sovereignty, and Social Justice. Therefore, as long as the number one still exists, the zeros behind it have value or price. If the number one is lost, even if four zeros are added to 1000 zeros, then there will be no value or price. Although there are some people who object to recognizing the source of Pancasila is from the Islamic worldview, it cannot be denied that the basis of the first precept of Pancasila (Belief in One God) and with the first precept gave birth to the next precepts in accordance with the foundation of Islam, namely the Al-Quran and Hadith prophet.(HAMKA, 2015)

2. The Urgency of the First Precept of Pancasila According to HAMKA

Knowledge and understanding of the current generation of the nation's successors to the values contained in Pancasila is increasingly degraded by the swift new values that are not in accordance with the identity of the nation. The lack of understanding in interpreting Pancasila results in a crisis of confidence in Pancasila, and has an impact on people who begin to leave and forget Pancasila. Therefore, it is necessary to reactualize the values of Pancasila so that it can be used as a reference for the Indonesian people in overcoming the problems faced today and in the future.(Octavia, 2018) . Pancasila has values contained in each of its principles, and must be realized in social life. But the current reality, where reading the five points of Pancasila values seems to only be a routine reading in the flag ceremony, but very minimal in applying in everyday life. Whereas as the basis of the

state Pancasila must be reflected in every layer of Indonesian society. (Abdul, 2019) So it is necessary to reflect on where Indonesia has come as a truly independent nation for 76 years. If seen from HAMKA's view, for him, true independence is to be able to control yourself, control your passions, and control all symptoms of good will or bad will in yourself. (Hamka, 2020) . While in reality at this time there are still many people who have not been able to feel real independence, there are still many people who live in poverty, ignorance, cannot freely express their love for God, leaders and state officials often do not care about the suffering of the people, and the implementation of unfair laws. (Octavia, 2018) . And there are still divisions both because of ethnic and religious issues, such as the conflict that has occurred, the HTI organization that wants to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, then there are people who are identical to religions who do not want to respect the Red and White flag, and sing the Indonesia Raya song because they think it is heresy. (Abdul, 2019).

In addition, lately there has also been a proliferation of drugs among teenagers, public figures and others, then liquor that is widely spread in the community, blasphemy, and sexual violence against children. So that from the phenomena that occur, it means that Indonesia does not really know and understand Pancasila as the foundation of life in society, nation and state. Thus, as the young generation and the successor of the nation, we should introspect on this matter by starting to revive the values of Pancasila. Not only for the people but also for the government. (Abdul, 2019) . One of them is by understanding the idea of HAMKA's thought in interpreting Pancasila. Learning from the views of HAMKA, who views the basic or main precepts of Pancasila is the first precept. Therefore, one of the ways to regenerate the values of Pancasila in society is to start growing the first principle of Belief in One God. Which will grow the other four precepts. And if you want to grow the principle of Belief in God Almighty, you must foster the religious spirit of Indonesian society, namely by starting to re-foster the spirit of practicing the teachings of each religion and increasing knowledge in religion, especially Islam to increase its faith in Allah SWT, by carrying out all His commands and avoiding all His prohibitions according to what has been stated in the Qur'an and also the Hadith of the prophet. (Abdul, 2019)

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HAMKA'S THOUGHTS TO THE BHINEKA TINGGAL IKA IN INDONESIA

History records that there are several separatist movements that want to separate themselves from the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, among these separatist movements such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Laskar Jihad, Salafi and others. (S, 2020) Then in addition there are also movements that are still contrary to belief in Pancasila, such as not wanting to respect the red and white flag, singing the Indonesia Raya song and so on. (Miharja, 2018) Of course, actions like this can tarnish the values of Pancasila and the motto of Bhineka Tunggal Ika. Pancasila and the motto Bhineka Tunggal Ika were born through a long process. The formulation of the conceptualization of Pancasila began during the first trial

by the Investigation Board for Preparatory Efforts for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) on 29 May -1 June 1945. Soekarno initiated the formation of a committee of nine consisting of Soekarno (chairman), Mohammad Hatta, Muhammad Yamin, A.A. Maramis, Soebardjo (nationality group), H. Agus Salim and R. Abikusno Tjokrosoejoso (Islamic group). (Susanto, 2023) This committee has produced a draft concept of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and was approved on June 22, 1945, by Soekarno the draft preamble of the Basic Law was named Mukaddimah and M Yamin called "Jakarta Charter" but on August 18, 1945 the agreement contained in the Jakarta charter was changed at the end by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI). (Chomsah, 2022) This is seven words after the Godhead, which originally read "Godhead with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents" was changed to "God Almighty". The clause in the body of the 1945 Constitution Article 6 paragraph 1 regarding presidential requirements was also changed. Originally this paragraph required the president to be a Muslim but was later changed to only "must be a native Indonesian" Thus the conceptualization of Pancasila is final, it cannot be tampered with by anyone, because Pancasila is a joint work produced through a joint consensus.

Pancasila is a common denominator that unites our Indonesianness. Thus it is clear that the establishment of the Pancasila formulation is the final result that must be upheld by every Indonesian citizen in developing national and state life. The question is what causes some groups to even try to change the ideology of Pancasila and damage Bhineka Tunggal Ika?. The answer is quite simple, they do not see the text and context of the birth of Pancasila and the motto of Bhineka Tunggal Ika. Amin Abdullah in his book Kallam Philosophy in the Era of Postmodernism explains that in understanding a phenomenon or event one must be able to distinguish which is normative and which is historical. (Abdullah, 2009) In the case of the actions of saporatis, intolerance, and rebellion in Indonesia they ignore the normative dimension or even make the historical one normative. Pancasila is the normative dimension, while other people's interpretation or meaning of Pancasila is historical. From here, the root cause of the emergence of saporatis, intolerant and rebellious movements is known. They understand Pancasila from the historical dimension (the explanation of the leaders of their movement) not from the normative dimension (their own understanding of Pancasila).

HAMKA, as one of the phenomenal figures in Indonesia, contributed a lot to a number of scientific disciplines, among which HAMKA's famous works include the fields of religion, Sufism, theology, tafsir, philosophy, politics and literature. HAMKA's ideas also contributed to the development of Muslim thought in Indonesia. Although not the most important figure on the political or state stage, it does not mean that HAMKA did not make important contributions to the state. HAMKA participated in the ideological battle at the Constituent Assembly. In voicing his ideas and thoughts, HAMKA was not supported by narrow religious doctrines, because inclusive and tolerant thoughts are often found in his work. Among them, the book Urat Tunggang Pantjasila shows HAMKA as a representative of the Masyumi party in response to President Soekarno's speech

during the commemoration of the Isra' Mi'raj of the Prophet Muhammad SAW in 1951, which was considered an insinuation for Masyumi members. Soekarno explained that the Indonesian people should strengthen unity and not divide in fighting to uphold the Indonesian state. Because there are groups that only believe in the first precept and ignore the other precepts. and there are those who use the fifth precept only and ignore the others.(HAMKA, 1951) There was HAMKA's wisdom in thinking and behaving, able to condition the heated situation and conditions at that time by inviting Masyumi members to be kind to Bung Karno, because according to HAMKA, Soekarno was a person who liked diversity and peace, and the speech was aimed at religious groups, both Islam and other religions that were narrow-minded. And in response, HAMKA also emphasized in his work the essence and sacredness of the precepts of Belief in One God for Muslims.

In addition, the book *Dari Hati Ke Hati* also shows HAMKA's tolerant attitude in creating religious harmony in Indonesia. In 1968, Eid al-Fitr occurred twice, on January 1 and December 21, 1968. Therefore, some heads of government and some ministers of the Development Cabinet were inspired, and an order was issued for the halal bi halal commemoration of Eid al-Fitr and Christmas to be combined into one.(HAMKA, 2015) Seeing this activity, HAMKA argued that true tolerance is not to unite all religions in one event. HAMKA emphasized that the safety and security of Pancasila will be reflected if religious people obey and faithfully implement the teachings of their religion, not forcing people to accept something that is contrary to their beliefs, because it can damage religion.(HAMKA, 2015)

From HAMKA's attitude in responding to the above incident, it can be seen that HAMKA has an influence or contribution in creating harmony and peace in Indonesia with his thoughts and ideas without hurting the feelings of any party. So that it can create harmony and expand the understanding of the people, especially Muslims, to think dynamically instead of being closed and too rigid.

CONCLUSION

This problem begins with the fading of understanding and application of Pancasila values as a way of life in society, nation and state, especially the first principle. This has led to the emergence of various separatist movements that want to separate themselves from the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Laskar Jihad, Salafi and others. Then in addition there are also movements that are still contrary to belief in Pancasila, such as not wanting to respect the red and white flag, sing the Indonesia Raya song and so on. HAMKA said that it was from the first precept of "Belief in One God" that everything began, from that precept as a vein of Pancasila, according to him if the Indonesian people really understood the meaning of this first precept, the next precepts would be well preserved and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* would be created.

As an ulama and an influential figure in the Masyumi party, HAMKA tried to take a wise attitude, so as not to cause hatred and division among its members regarding Bung Karno's speech at that time. Where Bung Karno was considered

to be satirizing Masyumi members. In this condition, HAMKA invited Masyumi members to be kind to Soekarno's speech, saying that Soekarno was a person who liked diversity and peace, and the speech was intended for religious groups, both Islam and other religions that were narrow-minded. In addition, HAMKA also acted moderately towards the proposal to hold halal bi halal Eid al-Fitr and Christmas together.

This article is far from perfect in describing HAMKA's thoughts. However, at least it can lead the reader to know HAMKA's thoughts on the first principle. Furthermore, input or suggestions for readers who want to conduct research on HAMKA's thoughts, it would be nice to see the influence of HAMKA's first precept thinking on religious moderation in Indonesia.

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