

Buya Hamka's Thoughts On Religious Moderation In The Political Context

R.M. Fakhri Ali Akbar¹, Ainur Ropik² and Ibrahim Mifthafariz Mirza³

^{1, 2, 3} Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah, Indonesia

Corresponding author: Ibrahim Mifthafariz Mirza, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah,

Email: Ibrahim.mifthafariz@gmail.com

Abstract

This research aims to examine Buya Hamka's thoughts on religious moderation in the political context based on his works. This study adopts a qualitative approach, utilizing the literature review research type and employing content analysis as the research method. The data source consists of Buya Hamka's works related to religious moderation. The research focuses on the ideas presented by Buya Hamka within his works. The theoretical framework used is the moderation thinking theory of Muhammad Quraish Shihab, which comprises three pillars of moderation. The first pillar is Justice. Buya Hamka really emphasizes the importance of being fair to everyone, which is reflected in his attitude regarding human rights among fellow citizens which must be upheld. The second pillar is Balance, advocating democracy in Islam which considers balance without discriminating against any group or religious view, this is demonstrated by a neutral attitude without taking sides with one particular group. The third pillar is Tolerance which guarantees coexistence between religious communities without weakening their beliefs, in order to encourage unity and harmony between citizens in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Thoughts, Buya Hamka, Religious Moderation, Politic*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji pemikiran Buya Hamka tentang moderasi beragama dalam konteks politik berdasarkan karya-karyanya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan menggunakan jenis penelitian tinjauan literatur dan menggunakan analisis isi sebagai metode penelitian. Sumber datanya berupa karya-karya Buya Hamka yang berkaitan dengan moderasi beragama. Penelitian ini berfokus pada gagasan yang disampaikan Buya Hamka dalam karya-karyanya. Kerangka teori yang digunakan adalah teori berpikir moderasi Muhammad Quraish Shihab yang terdiri dari tiga pilar moderasi. Pilar pertama adalah Keadilan. Buya Hamka sangat menekankan pentingnya bersikap adil kepada semua orang yang tercermin dari sikapnya mengenai Hak Asasi Manusia di antara sesama warga negara harus di junjung tinggi. Pilar kedua adalah Keseimbangan, menganjurkan demokrasi dalam Islam yang mempertimbangkan keseimbangan tanpa membedakan kelompok atau pandangan agama mana pun, hal ini ditunjukkan dengan sikap netral tanpa memihak pada salah satu kelompok tertentu. Pilar ketiga adalah Toleransi yang menjamin hidup berdampingan antar umat beragama tanpa melemahkan keyakinannya, guna mendorong persatuan dan kerukunan antar warga negara di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *Pemikiran, Buya Hamka, Moderasi Beragama, Politik*

INTRODUCTION

The term "moderation" in Arabic originates from the root word *م و ط*, which means "middle or moderate." Wasathan or wasathiyah in Islam refers to the understanding that Islamic teachings embrace a character or principle of moderate thinking in all matters, whether in actions, speech, or thoughts (Widodo and Karnawati, 2019:10). In the current era of democracy, the Constitution ensures freedom for people of faith to practice their religion according to their beliefs. This aligns with the Pancasila ideology, which emphasizes the principles of the One Almighty God (Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa) in the first precept and Social Justice for the Entire

People of Indonesia (Keadilan Sosial Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia) in the fifth precept. Therefore, Indonesian society must manifest a tolerant attitude in this diverse communal life. Indonesia is a diverse society. This diversity is not only in terms of various ethnicities and tribes but also in terms of religious beliefs. This condition poses a potential for disintegration if not handled wisely. Diversity can become a significant cause of division if the state fails to manage interreligious relations effectively (Salim, 2017: 16).

According to Fahrudin (2019), efforts to achieve harmony in the life of the nation and its diverse religious communities require religious moderation, which is an attitude that is balanced and not excessive. In Islam, moderation and tolerance are crucial not only in human interactions but also towards all creations and the universe. Hence, tolerance among religious communities in Islam holds a significant position as it relates to the existence of human belief in Allah Subhanahu wata'ala. Harmony undoubtedly becomes the key and cannot be separated from religious moderation. In building harmony using a local wisdom approach, knowledge and ethical insights that serve as societal guidelines can be well interwoven. This applies to both religious components and cultural aspects (Akhmadi, 2019). According to Abdurrahman Wahid, moderation (wasathiyyah) in the form of tolerance is considered a concept that can build a tolerant and harmonious attitude useful for strengthening relationships among people to enhance unity and integrity for the nation. Tolerance is the result of the close interaction among members of society in social life. Thus, there is no friction or division in religious social life, which can undoubtedly lead to peace and tranquility in realizing tolerance (Abror, 2020).

Islam recognizes that the diversity of human beliefs and religions is the will of Allah. Therefore, this diversity cannot be equated or unified. Islam comes as a religion that is a mercy to all creation (rahmatil lil' alamin). The religion of Islam was also disseminated by Prophet Muhammad to humanity without forcing individuals to believe in Allah Subhanahu wata'ala. This is evident in the Quran, specifically in Surah Al-Baqarah verse 256, as follows:

لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ ۚ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ ۚ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَىٰ لَا انْفِصَامَ لَهَا
(۲۵۶) (وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ)

"There is no compulsion in (embracing) the religion (of Islam); the right path has become distinct from the wrong path. Whoever rejects Taghut (false gods) and believes in Allah, then surely he has grasped the firmest handhold that will never break. And Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing."

Moderation, or "wasathiyyah" in Arabic, means taking the middle path, not leaning to the right or left. The purpose of religious moderation is to provide harmony in the plural and multicultural society of Indonesia. Religious moderation serves as a means to achieve the well-being of a harmonious, peaceful, and tolerant religious and national life for the progressive Indonesian nation. Fundamentally, differences should be considered an asset that needs to be preserved. Nurturing differences effectively can become a strength for a nation (Alzanaa & Harmawati, 2021).

In the context of Indonesia, Moderate Islam that implements the concept of Ummatan Wasathan is found within two groups, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Both reflect the teachings of Ahlussunnah wa al-Jama'ah, acknowledging tolerance and peace in their missionary activities (Fahri & Zainuri, 2019: 95-100). It cannot be denied that in the reality of life, there will be various different backgrounds, including pluralities in terms of culture, religion, intellectual perspectives, and politics. Because of this, it has become a natural law in the reality of life (Bashori, 2013). Islamic teachings emphasize avoiding extremism in religious practices. This goes against various conflicts that arise due to excessive and extreme religious attitudes. The causes of conflicts between religions are attributed to differences in theories, ethnicities leading to slight variations in customs within a doctrine, and most commonly, disputes over majority and minority issues (Rumagit, 2013: 59).

Looking back to the past, specifically in February 1981, Buya Hamka was the first Chairman of the Indonesian Ulama Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia), elected unanimously on July 26,

1975. Through Majelis Ulama Indonesia, a fatwa was issued on the prohibition for Muslims to participate in Christmas celebrations, precisely on March 7, 1981. This was due to the increasing trend at that time of government institutions combining Christmas and Eid al-Fitr celebrations because the two celebrations were close to each other.

Hamka rejected the joint celebration of Christmas and Eid al-Fitr as a form of tolerance. He believed that celebrating Christmas and Eid al-Fitr together was not a manifestation of tolerance but rather a forced act of hypocrisy. Majelis Ulama Indonesia declared it forbidden for Muslims to participate in Christmas celebrations. This drew criticism from the New Order government. The New Order government requested the withdrawal of the fatwa, stating that it disturbed the religious harmony between Muslims and Christians. However, instead of responding to the government's demand to revoke the fatwa, Buya Hamka chose to resign from the position of Chairman of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia.

Buya Hamka's stance in issuing the fatwa is intriguing because it is considered to be a firm perspective that religious tolerance can disrupt faith. According to Ibn Taymiyyah, extending congratulations on the religious celebrations of non-Muslims is prohibited. Approving their religious festivities implies approval of their disbelief, and consenting to certain minor aspects of their religion is akin to endorsing a branch of disbelief. The prohibition also extends to all matters related to the celebrations, such as giving gifts and food. (Manan, 2016:33). The current application of religious moderation is seen differently as it incorporates the concept of pluralism that treats all religions equally. Buya Hamka's strong conviction in matters of faith would indeed represent a different concept of religious moderation if compared to contemporary times.

Religious moderation in Indonesia today is based on the concept of pluralism because Indonesia is not an Islamic state but a religiously diverse nation based on the principle of the One Almighty God (Ketuhanan). This is the driving force behind the implementation of religious moderation in Indonesia. However, the implementation of religious moderation is hindered by various groups with different understandings who do not desire peace and development for Indonesia. According to Fathurahman, at the practical level, practicing religious moderation faces numerous challenges, both externally and internally within religious communities (Ulinnuha & Nafisah, 2020).

It must be acknowledged that in Indonesia itself, with its characteristics of multiculturalism and multireligiosity, the issue of identity often remains problematic. On one hand, this diversity is a richness of Indonesia's societal identity. At the same time, it poses a challenge for the state in building a harmonious social, cultural, religious, and political life. Integration efforts are generally carried out through interreligious dialogue activities, bringing together various identity groups in society to discuss themes related to religion, nationality, or issues of common concern. (Kamal, 2022:43)

Religious moderation serves as a spirit to seek a meeting point between two extreme poles in religious beliefs. Followers of extreme religious views firmly believe in the absolute truth of a particular interpretation of religious texts. Additionally, they consider interpretations from other groups to be misguided, leading to the characterization of such groups as ultra-conservative. On the other side, there are extreme groups that idolize reason to the extent of disregarding the sanctity of religion or sacrificing the fundamental beliefs of their religious teachings for misplaced tolerance towards followers of other religions. These groups are known as extreme liberals (Abqa, 2020:6).

Religious moderation is expected to serve as a unifying force for the nation to avoid division in the country. Moderation or being moderate in Islamic thought emphasizes a tolerant attitude towards religious differences, avoiding excessiveness in religious practices, and being open to anyone without regard to their social group. Openness to accepting diversity, whether in different schools of thought or within the realm of religion, is crucial. Differences should not hinder cooperation, guided by the principle of humanity (Dawing, 2017).

RESEARCH METHOD

In this article, the researcher will depict Buya Hamka's thoughts on Religious Moderation from a politic Perspective. The researcher obtained data through the narratives of Buya Hamka found in

his works. The collected data was then gathered and analyzed based on the democratic perspective, utilizing the theory of moderation by Quraish Shihab.

Theory : Theory is divided into three pillars: the pillar of justice, the pillar of balance, and the pillar of tolerance. Regarding moderation, Quraish Shihab provides his thoughts that within moderation (wasathiyyah), there are important pillars, as follows (Zamimah, 2018)

Method: The article entitled "Buya Hamka's Thoughts on Religious Moderation in a Political Perspective", this researcher uses qualitative methods with a literature review type of research, referring to books, journals or articles. Focuses on Buya Hamka's works such as: Tafsir Al-Azhar , From Heart to Heart, Philosophy of Life, and Islamic Revolution and Ideology.

This study adopts a qualitative approach, with the primary data consisting of the works produced by Buya Hamka. Therefore, to obtain this data, the author conducted research using data analysis techniques through the works of Buya Hamka. The data sources in this study were derived from the works of Buya Hamka related to religious moderation in the perspective of democracy.

The data collection technique employed by the researcher is the literature review method. A literature review is a data collection method focused on searching for data and information through documents, literary books, or articles. In this case, the author conducted research through the works of Buya Hamka, such as Tafsir Al-Azhar, Dari Hati Ke Hati, Falsafah Hidup, and Islam Revolusi dan Ideologi. Additionally, documentation techniques were also utilized as supporting data for the literature review. This technique involves collecting data that has been researched through literary books and journals.

In this study, the researcher utilized the qualitative descriptive data analysis technique. This method aims to develop theories built from data obtained in the field. The research involves three stages in analyzing data, using the analysis model from Miles and Huberman, namely: data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification (Huberman and Miles, 1992:16).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this article, the researcher will illustrate Buya Hamka's thoughts on Religious Moderation in the Perspective of Democracy. The researcher obtained data through the narratives of Buya Hamka found in his works. The collected data was then compiled by the researcher and analyzed based on the perspective of democracy using the theory of moderation by Quraish Shihab. This theory is divided into three pillars: the pillar of justice, the pillar of balance, and the pillar of tolerance.

1. Pillar of Justice

Islam, in general, has elaborated a full recognition of religious freedom, which is evidence that Islam highly values justice, freedom, and the manifestation of tolerance through religious moderation as a fundamental human value. According to Buya Hamka, in the conduct of life, justice is divided into two aspects:

- a) Do not commit harm to others except to defend yourself from harm inflicted by others.
- b) Do good to people according to the rights they deserve, and do good to yourself according to the rights you also deserve.

Looking at the context of religious differences, Buya Hamka, through his work "Dari Hati ke Hati," strongly emphasizes the importance of always acting justly and respecting each other. Buya Hamka states:

"For the sake of religious harmony and human rights, let us be vigilant together, preserving our unity, peace, and harmony, especially in matters of religion. Because religion is the belief that we will carry to the grave." (Hamka, 2002: 181)

Islam is a just religion in various aspects of life. This can be seen in Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 256, which states:

سَمِيعٌ ۖ وَاللَّهُ لَهَا انْفِصَامٌ لَا الْوُثْقَى بِالْعُرْوَةِ اسْتَمْسَكَكَ فَقَدْ بِاللَّهِ وَيُؤْمِنُ بِالطَّاغُوتِ يَكْفُرُ ۖ فَمَنْ ۖ الْغَيِّ مِنَ الرُّشْدِ تَبَيَّنَ ۚ قَدْ الدِّينَ فِي إِكْرَاهٍ لَا عَلَيْهِمْ

"There is no compulsion in (embracing) the religion (Islam). Indeed, the right path has become distinct from the wrong path. Whoever denies taghut and believes in Allah has certainly grasped the most trustworthy handhold which will never break. Allah is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."

In his work "Tafsir Al-Azhar," Buya Hamka explains the verse regarding compulsion and indicates that:

"A person will not be forced to choose Islam, but people are only invited to think. As long as one thinks rationally, they will arrive at Islam. However, if there is coercion, it will lead to the coercion of thoughts and also give rise to blind imitation. Blind imitation here means following the opinions of others without thinking." (Hamka, 1984: 624)

From this verse, Buya Hamka, through his work, narrates his view that Islam is a religion of peace in the conduct of life. In its dissemination, there is certainly no compulsion to embrace the Islamic faith. In essence, justice is the main characteristic of Islamic teachings. The application of justice also applies to non-Muslims.

In the context of differences, Islam highly upholds the value of justice even above group distinctions. This can be observed from the excerpt of Surah Al-Mumtahanah, verse 8, which is as follows:

لَا يَنْهٰكُمُ اللّٰهُ عَنِ الدِّينِ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِى الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوْكُمْ مِّنْ دِيَارِكُمْ اَنۢ تَبَرُّوْهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوْا اِلَيْهِمْ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِيْنَ

"Allah does not forbid you from being kind and just to those who do not fight against you because of religion and do not expel you from your homes. Surely, Allah loves those who act justly."

According to Buya Hamka in Tafsir Al-Azhar, this verse also emphasizes that:

"Indeed, Allah does not forbid you, O followers of Islam, the followers of Muhammad, from doing good, showing kindness, socializing amicably, and treating others with justice and honesty, whether they are Jews, Christians, or polytheists, as long as they do not fight against you, do not oppose you, or expel you from your homeland. Thus, a distinction should be made between differences in beliefs and everyday social interactions." (Hamka, 1984: 7303)

From this verse, Buya Hamka expresses his view unequivocally.

"When we can do good (act justly) towards fellow Muslims, we can also do good (act justly) towards those who are not Muslims (of different religions). Similarly, when those of different religions are in sorrow, we should also show our sympathy." (Hamka, 1984: 7304)

Based on the narrative conveyed by Buya Hamka through his work "Tafsir Al-Azhar," which dissects Surah Al-Mumtahanah verse 8, we can see that doing good to fellow Muslims and even to non-Muslims is a sign of a Muslim's faith. A Muslim who does good and acts justly without considering the religion reflects a moderate Muslim.

Therefore, the thoughts on moderation expressed in this work indirectly reveal Buya Hamka's perspectives on politics. In his other work, "Dari Hati ke Hati," he states that in Pancasila, which contains five principles that are important pillars in the life of the nation, the state, and in the context of religion in Indonesia.

Buya Hamka states that:

"The number one; that is the Oneness of God. The following four consecutive numbers represent Humanity, Nationalism, People's Sovereignty, and Social Justice,

all symbolized by zero. As long as the number one exists, so do the four zeros that follow it have value; but if the number one is lost, even if 4 zeros are added with 1000 more zeros, they have no value." (Hamka, 2002: 235)

Based on the narrative of Buya Hamka's thoughts above, the first principle, "Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa" (The Oneness of God), becomes a crucial pillar in the implementation of the other principles. Consequently, the other principles will follow and hold value when the first principle has been applied in life. Thus, it can be observed that Buya Hamka's opinion reflects that every citizen in Indonesia has equal rights. This includes equal rights in practicing religious life and equal rights in social justice, in accordance with our nation's ideology, Pancasila. This aligns with the first principle, "Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa" (The Oneness of God), and the fifth principle, "Keadilan Sosial Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia" (Social Justice for All of the People of Indonesia). According to Buya Hamka in his work "Falsafah Hidup," he states that:

"Justice has a very broad scope and possesses virtues that depend on it. This includes doing good to others, being sincere and sincere, defending humanity, loving the homeland, maintaining good character, being generous, and upholding the right to equality. In the fundamental laws of the world, justice encompasses three things: equality, freedom, and property rights." (Hamka, 1940: 317)

Based on the above statement, Buya Hamka intends to convey that the primary obligation in society is to respect others in their lives, freedom, and personal matters, including respecting their beliefs and property rights. Similarly, others should reciprocate this respect towards us—our selves, property, freedom, and the beliefs we hold. Respecting human life is the foremost goal of the principle of justice.

In the aspect of democracy, Buya Hamka's narrative aligns with Prophet Muhammad's actions when he created the Constitution of Medina, which stands as the world's first democratic constitution and marks the establishment of the Islamic state in Medina. This charter comprises an agreement between Prophet Muhammad, the leader of the Muslim community (Muhajirin and Ansar), and various groups, including the Jewish community in Medina. This can be seen in the points outlined in the Constitution of Medina:

- 1) "All Muslims and Jews participating in the agreement are categorized as one community and are obliged to collaborate in creating national security and defending the country in case of external enemy attacks."
- 2) "Medina is a sacred city, so warfare and bloodshed are prohibited, except against those who violate it, threaten the state's stability, and disrupt religious harmony."
- 3) "Both Muslims and Jews, along with their allies, are granted the freedom to practice their respective religions." (source: <https://islam.nu.or.id/>)

Based on the findings from various narratives by Buya Hamka, as explained above, it can be concluded that in Buya Hamka's concept of justice, the clear application of religious moderation, the implementation of equal human rights, and the provision of freedom and justice are crucial. This is similar to the approach taken by Prophet Muhammad in practicing democracy to build political relations by establishing the constitution of the Islamic state. Therefore, what Prophet Muhammad did serves as a reflection of Buya Hamka's perspective on the application of justice to everyone, including minority groups, and adopting a fair and just attitude towards anyone without considering their social status.

2. Pillar of Balance

"*Ummatan Wasatan*" refers to a community of people who are harmonious, in harmony, and balanced. This is the ideal form of society described in the Quran. The Quran, serving as a guide for the Islamic community, has explained the importance of balance. In Surah Al-Mulk, verse 3, Allah says:

فُطُورٍ مِّن تَرَى هَلْ الْبَصَرُ فَاَرَجِعْ ۝ تَفُوتٍ مِّن الرِّحْمَنِ خَلَقَ فِي تَرَى مَا ۝ طِبَاقًا سَمَوَاتٍ سَبْعَ خَلَقَ الَّذِي

"He is the One who created seven heavens in layers. You will not see in the creation of the Most Merciful any imbalance. So, look again! Do you see any flaws?"

Buya Hamka explains the meaning of this verse and says:

"Everything is created in order (balance), arranged neatly." (Hamka, 1984: 7533)

Based on Buya Hamka's narrative above, the meaning of the verse can be understood as everything created by Allah is always in balance. This is evident in the sun, moon, and the arrangement of stars in the sky, all circulating and arranged in a balanced manner. This is part of God's power that governs everything in balance. If there is no balance, all existing molecules will strive to balance themselves. This principle also applies to the implementation of religious moderation. Therefore, in its application, there needs to be balance.

Buya Hamka believes that: "Islam teaches peace in life. This was taught by Prophet Muhammad during his mission to spread Islam. The Prophet's preaching conveyed Allah's command without coercion, resulting in the creation of the best communities. This is what enables the followers of Muhammad to uphold the straight path as desired." (Hamka, 1984: 332)

Based on the narration of Buya Hamka, we can see that the followers of Prophet Muhammad, who are the moderate community, undoubtedly hold a balanced position in upholding the straight path. Creating equilibrium in living by spreading the message and commandments of Allah without coercion is the best way, leading to the establishment of balance in society, especially in religious moderation.

In Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 143, the position of the followers of Prophet Muhammad as the moderate community is explained as follows:

وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِتَكُونُوا شُهَدَاءَ عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْكُمْ شَهِيدًا ۚ وَمَا جَعَلْنَا الْقِبْلَةَ الَّتِي كُنْتَ عَلَيْهَا إِلَّا لِمَنْ كَانَ عَلَى الذِّينِ هُدًى مِنَ اللَّهِ ۚ وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُضِلَّ عَمَّا يُنْفِخُ الرُّسُولُ ۚ مِمَّنْ يَنْقَلِبُ عَلَى عَقْبَيْهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِالنَّاسِ لَرَّءُوفٌ رَحِيمٌ ١٤٣ إِيْمَانَكُمْ

"Likewise, We have made you (the Islamic community) a moderate community so that you may be witnesses over mankind, and the Messenger (Prophet Muhammad) may be a witness over you. We did not establish the Qiblah (the direction of prayer, initially facing Jerusalem) that you were upon, except to distinguish those who follow the Messenger from those who turn back on their heels. Indeed, the change in Qiblah is indeed a difficult matter, except for those guided by Allah. Allah will not waste your faith. Indeed, Allah is Most Compassionate, Most Merciful towards mankind."

As for Buya Hamka's discussion on how Prophet Muhammad built this moderate community, in his narration, Buya Hamka states:

"The Prophet Muhammad's mission, bringing teachings full of mercy to the people, undoubtedly awakens the 'ummatah wasathan', a community that treads the middle path, accepting life in its reality. Believing in the afterlife, engaging in worldly deeds, seeking wealth to uphold justice, prioritizing physical and spiritual well-being, emphasizing intellectual intelligence, but strengthening worship to refine emotions, seeking wealth abundantly because wealth is a tool for reciprocal action, becoming the vicegerent of Allah on earth, preparing for the hereafter." (Hamka, 1984: 333)

Buya Hamka develops his thoughts through the concept known as "demokrasi takwa," which is a democratic system rooted in Islam. In this concept, there are three principles:

a) Human as the Vicegerent of Allah on Earth

For Buya Hamka, humans as the vicegerent on Earth undoubtedly hold a special position, which is often misused by certain individuals or groups to wield absolute power and act arbitrarily. This can be observed in many practices within monarchical and theocratic state systems. Thus, it

can be seen here that all human beings have an equal and balanced position. There is no difference between one and another. There is no superiority of one person over another.

b) Mushawarah (discussion) as the Foundation of Social Living

"Mushawarah or discussion becomes a crucial pillar in Buya Hamka's 'democracy of taqwa' because Buya Hamka divides religious matters into two categories: ta'abuddi (purely religious), where there is no room for discussion, and compliance with existing regulations is obligatory for the Islamic community. Then there is ta'aqulli (matters open to consultation), particularly in the consideration of maslahah (benefit) and mafsadah (harm), including in the governance of the state. Consultation is a fundamental principle in Islamic politics, while its forms and procedures are left to the consensus of the Islamic community. It can take the form of a parliament, assembly, or other agreed-upon structures."

c) Taqwa as the Moral Foundation of Society

According to Hamka, piety serves as the distinguishing factor between Western democracy and Islamic democracy. From a practical standpoint, Western democracy often exhibits discriminatory or racist actions against black individuals, as frequently observed in the United States or African regions. In contrast, the principle of Islamic democracy does not consider wealth, ethnicity, skin color, lineage, or status; everyone has equal rights, and the differentiator lies only in the quality of piety.

Based on the concept of "demokrasi takwa" (piety-based democracy) developed by Buya Hamka, it can be observed that Islam emphasizes balance in democracy without favoring any particular group. It avoids oppression and strives for justice. Here, Buya Hamka establishes a crucial point in genuine Islamic democracy because, fundamentally, a just and non-oppressive Islamic democracy can be achieved as humans are considered vicegerents, consultation is the foundation of society, and piety serves as the moral foundation of the community. Examining this narrative, it is evident that Buya Hamka is more receptive to democracy when it guarantees equality, freedom of expression, justice, and checks on power. Here, it can also be seen that Buya Hamka advocates for morally grounded religious politics. Based on the narrative presented by Buya Hamka, it is apparent that in his approach to democracy, he prioritizes equality, which inherently involves justice and freedom of expression. In the context of moderation in diversity, such as religion, these principles apply without distinction. Based on the findings from various narratives by Buya Hamka explained above, it is evident that Buya Hamka clearly perceives that moderation in diversity, or even in religious matters, cannot be achieved if there is no element of balance in human life. This is notably reflected in Islamic democracy, where, according to Buya Hamka, Islam should embrace democracy by considering balance without favoring any particular group or even in matters of religion. Thus, justice is established, something that, according to Buya Hamka, cannot be found in any other form of democracy besides Islam.

3. Pillar of Tolerance

The concept of tolerance has been extensively explained in the Qur'an. The values outlined in the Qur'an are divided into two categories: tolerance towards fellow Muslims and tolerance towards non-Muslims. Tolerance towards non-Muslims is indeed a command and obligation that must be fulfilled by a Muslim. This is because Islam teaches reconciliation, whether among fellow Muslims or non-Muslims. It is important to note that the concept of tolerance applies only to worldly matters and does not involve religious and belief-related interests.

The concept of tolerance has been elaborated in various surahs (chapters) of the Qur'an. This can be observed in Surah Al-Hujurat, verse 13, which states as follows:

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

"O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted."

From the above verse, it can be understood that the purpose of diversity is for people to get to know one another. Buya Hamka, through his commentary in Tafsir Al Azhar, expresses his opinion on this verse:

"Human beings, fundamentally, come from the same lineage (Adam and Eve). Despite being far apart, they share a common origin. There is no difference between one and another, and there is no need to emphasize differences; rather, it is essential to realize the commonality of their descent." (Hamka, 1984: 6835)

Based on Buya Hamka's narrative, it is evident that he is trying to convey that differences in social groups should not be a barrier to unity. Humans are created from various diverse groups with the purpose of getting to know one another, fostering pluralistic relationships, and ultimately leading to unity and solidarity.

The teachings of Islam, which bring peace to its followers, also demand mutual respect and tolerance towards other religious communities without coercion and interference in the affairs and teachings of other religions. The embodiment of tolerance towards other religions has been explained in the Quran in Surah Al-Kafirun, verses 1 to 6, as follows:

وَلَا أَنْتُمْ عِبَادُونَ ۚ (وَلَا أَنَا عَابِدٌ مَّا عَبَدْتُمْ) ٣ (وَلَا أَنْتُمْ عِبَادُونَ مَّا أَعْبُدُ) ٢ (وَلَا أَعْبُدُ مَّا تَعْبُدُونَ) ١ (قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا الْكَافِرُونَ) ٦ (لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ) ٥ (مَّا أَعْبُدُ)

"Say, 'O disbelievers, I do not worship what you worship, nor are you worshippers of what I worship. Nor will I be a worshipper of what you worship, nor will you be worshippers of what I worship. For you is your religion, and for me is my religion.'"

According to Buya Hamka in Tafsir Al-Azhar, he explains:

"As for matters of faith, among them is the monotheism of recognizing Allah, which cannot be compromised or mixed with polytheism. Monotheism, when reconciled with polytheism, is undoubtedly a victory for polytheism." (Hamka, 1984: 8133)

Regarding this verse, Buya Hamka emphasizes that this surah provides clear guidance for the followers of Prophet Muhammad, stating:

"Faith cannot be compromised. Monotheism and polytheism cannot be reconciled. If truth is to be combined with falsehood, then surely falsehood will prevail." (Hamka, 1984: 8134)

Regarding the verse, Buya Hamka explains in the creed that it should never be mixed with evil. Because this can certainly disturb the belief of a Muslim. This means that Buya Hamka is very firm in matters of religion, as it is fundamentally a form of accountability that should be safeguarded with genuine belief.

This can be seen in Buya Hamka's work "Dari Hati ke Hati" where he narrates that in 1968, the Eid al-Fitr was celebrated twice a year, on January 1 and December 21, 1968. At that time, in the government, some ministers from President Soeharto's Development Cabinet issued an order for the joint celebration of Eid al-Fitr and Christmas. A simultaneous gathering was held in a government institution called "Lebaran - Natal."

In that event, Muslims were required to listen with full devotion that Allah has offspring, and Jesus is Allah. Similarly, Christians were instructed to listen calmly to the teachings about Prophet Muhammad, even though they were taught by their leaders that Prophet Muhammad is not a prophet but a criminal, and the Qur'an is not a holy book but a book written by Muhammad alone. Christians were told to listen to the Qur'an, and Muslims were told to listen that the Lord Allah is one plus two equals one. Everyone was told to listen to things they did not believe in and could not accept. Then, there was an opinion that this was a form of tolerance for the sake of the sanctity of Pancasila. Buya Hamka disagreed with this and believed that:

"That's not what tolerance is! In fact, it is damaging to religion, forcing people to swallow something contrary to the core of their beliefs. Religious leaders with sound

reasoning reject it. We are not rejecting Pancasila. However, we emphasize that the safety and security of Pancasila will only be guaranteed if religious communities, especially Muslims, faithfully practice their religion. They should not be forced to abandon their faith in favor of a vague concept called Pancasila. Tolerance does not mean creating ceremonies, worship, prayers, and so on together with followers of different faiths and beliefs." (Hamka, 2002: 211)

From the thoughts and events mentioned above, Buya Hamka emphatically states that tolerance does not involve participating in the religious celebrations of others, nor does it require others to participate in our religious celebrations. According to Buya Hamka, tolerance means adhering to the teachings of one's own religion, respecting each other without compromising one's religious beliefs. In his work "Islam, Revolusi, dan Ideologi," Buya Hamka states that:

"Let us hold steadfast to our respective religions. For we are born into them, and that is our home. In the teachings of the religion I embrace, there should be no compulsion in matters of faith. Instead, let us return to our original conscience, to the innate nature that Allah has instilled in each of us. That pure innate voice is our religion; let us, as humans, ascend together towards God without any intermediaries." (Hamka, 2018)

This event underlies Buya Hamka's decision as the Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia) to issue a fatwa prohibiting joint Christmas celebrations for Muslims. This event sparked controversy because Buya Hamka viewed it not as a form of tolerance but as forcing someone of a different religion to be hypocritical. This stance faced considerable pressure, even from the New Order Government. The government saw it as potentially disrupting the harmony among religious communities that they were trying to promote. Instead of revoking the fatwa, Buya Hamka chose to resign from his position as the Chairman of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia on May 18, 1981.

In the work "Dari Hati ke Hati," in terms of the political aspect of democracy, Buya Hamka states:

"And if Muslims are in power, if Muslims are the majority in a region or country, they should strengthen and fortify the defense of that state to defend all religions. When we are in power, we must look far ahead. We should not only prioritize our group. Think about the interests of others and the protection of others, their religion, and the best for all." (Hamka, 2002: 237)

In terms of the political aspect of democracy, Buya Hamka's narrative aligns well with the country's constitution, which guarantees freedom of religion. This is explicitly stated in Article 29 paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution, which reads: "The state guarantees the freedom of every resident to embrace their respective religions and to worship according to their religion and beliefs." It is clear that Indonesia highly values the freedom of each of its residents to choose their respective religions.

Certainly, looking at Buya Hamka's narrative, he is perceived as firm in his creed, but, in reality, he is also tolerant. However, his tolerance has certain limitations - limitations that Buya Hamka believes do not disturb the beliefs of each individual. Buya Hamka's view on tolerance and moderation is that Islam is not prohibited from socializing, establishing good relations, and treating non-Muslims fairly. This applies, of course, as long as they do not engage in hostilities against Muslims. Thus, Buya Hamka's perspective clearly states that Islam highly upholds tolerance and acts justly towards anyone without discrimination.

Based on the findings from various narratives of Buya Hamka that have been explained above, it can be concluded that in Buya Hamka's pillar of tolerance, the creed in Islam is clearly a crucial pillar that cannot be disturbed. There is no coercion in matters of religion and no interference in the affairs of other religions, ensuring that it does not disturb the creed or faith of each individual. On the democratic side, Buya Hamka argues that in governance, Islam teaches to guarantee the lives of many people, living side by side in various religious communities, thereby

creating unity and solidarity above differences in social groups. This aligns with the constitution of Indonesia based on Pancasila and Undang – Undang Dasar 1945.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research on Buya Hamka's Thoughts on Religious Moderation in the Perspective of Democracy, the researcher can draw the conclusion that according to Buya Hamka, in the pillar of justice, the application of equal rights, human rights, and providing freedom and justice is very important. Therefore, through his thoughts, Buya Hamka emphasizes the importance of always acting justly towards anyone and avoiding harm to others. According to Buya Hamka in the pillar of balance, the implementation of religious moderation can be seen in how one perceives human equality as a manifestation of balance in life. Moderation in diversity or even in religion cannot be achieved if there is no balance in human life. In terms of democracy, this can be observed in Islamic democracy, where according to Buya Hamka, Islam should practice democracy by considering balance without focusing on a particular group or religion.

According to Buya Hamka in the pillar of tolerance, faith is an important pillar that cannot be disturbed. In terms of moderation and democracy, Buya Hamka believes that religious moderation in line with Islamic teachings, which aims to ensure the lives of many people, is achieved by living side by side among various religious communities. This approach ensures that it does not disrupt the beliefs of each individual and fosters unity and solidarity above differences in groups. Researchers believe that with this approach, it will be possible to ensure that communities in Indonesia do not disturb each individual's beliefs and foster unity and solidarity above group differences. so that, in implementing moderation, balance will be created in perceiving equality in human life.

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