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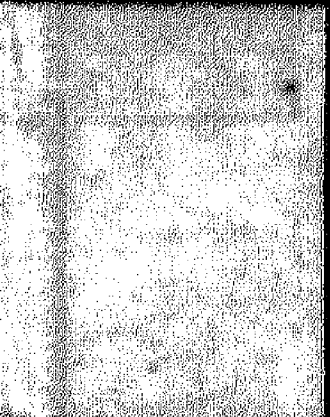
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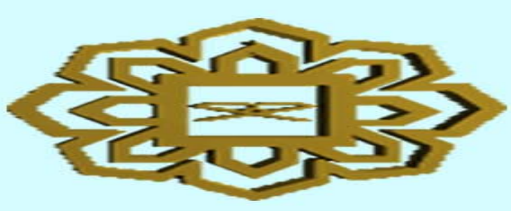
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الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية ماليزيا
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INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

**HAMKA'S VIEWS ON SOME MAJOR
RELIGIO-POLITICAL ISSUES
IN INDONESIA (1971-1981)**

BY

MUHAMMAD JAMIL

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OF ISLAMIC REVEALED KNOWLEDGE
AND HERITAGE**

**KULLIYAH OF ISLAMIC REVEALED KNOWLEDGE
AND HUMAN SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
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AUGUST, 1998

ABSTRACT

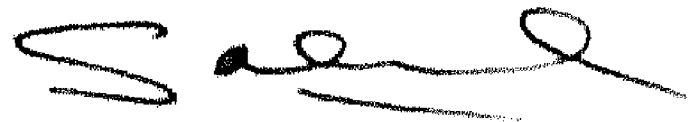
This study tries to get a clear picture of Hamka's views on and responses to some of the major religio-political issues in Indonesia during the period 1971 to 1981. The methodology employed in this study was mainly library research, relying both on the writings of Hamka and writings on Hamka. From the findings of this study, it is obvious that Hamka was of the view that the strained relationship between the Muslims and the Christians in Indonesia was caused by Christian missionary activities targeted towards the Muslims. Likewise, the debate on the state philosophy was also caused by the Christian and secular leaders' refusal to accept Islam as the state philosophy, and their various interpretations of the *Pancasila*, especially its first principle *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (Belief in the One Supreme God) which swerve from Islamic concept of God. He was also of the view that paying a great deal of attention to the *khulafiyah* (disagreement), *bid'ah* (innovation) and *khurafat*, (superstition) threaten the unity of the *Ummah*. In responding to the various issues, he was courageous and determined. Hamka spoke his mind, though some times, his views were diametrically opposed to those of the rulers. However, in non-principle issues, he showed a great deal of flexibility and sympathy. This wisdom was motivated by *amr bi al-ma'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* (enjoining righteousness and forbidding evil deeds) and his conviction that a competent Muslim scholar may modify his approach in the implementation of Islamic laws to accommodate socio-cultural and political conditions.

ملخص البحث

تحاول هذه الدراسة معرفة آراء حمكا وموقفه مما يستجد من بعض قضايا السياسة الدينية في أندونيسيا ما بين سنة ١٩٧١م - ١٩٨١م. المنهج المتبع في هذه الدراسة هو بالدرجة الأولى تحليل ما كتبه حمكا بالإضافة إلى ما كتبه الآخرون عنه. توصلت الدراسة إلى نتائج أهمها أن حمكا يعتقد بأن التنافر في العلاقة بين المسلمين والنصارى نابع عن الأنشطة التنصيرية التي تستهدف المسلمين، و رأى كذلك أن النزاع بين الفريقين في فلسفة الدولة يرجع إلى رفض النصارى والعلمانيين للإسلام كمبدأ أساسي للدولة واختلاف الفريقين في تفسيرهما لمبادئ الدولة الخمسة (*Pancasila*) وبوصفة خاصة ما يتعلق بالمبدأ الأول "الاعتقاد بإله واحد" الذي ينحرف النصارى في تفسيرهم له عن تفسير المسلمين. و إلى جانب ما سبق ذكره، رأى حمكا أن التركيز على الخلافات الفقهية والبدع والخرافات يهدد وحدة الأمة الإسلامية في أندونيسيا. و استحابة للقضايا السابق ذكرها لقد أقدم حمكا على إبداء آرائه والدفاع عنها وخاصة ما يتعلق بالأصول الإسلامية وإن كانت تعارض آراء الحكام. و أما فيما يتعلق بالمسائل الفرعية فإن حمكا يتميز بالتسامح والمران في قبول آراء الآخرين. والدافع وراء شدته ومرونته في الآراء وموقفه تجاه القضايا السابقة تمسكه بمبدأ "الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر" واعتقاده بأن العالم القادر يمكن أن يعدل في منهجه في تناول القانون الإسلامي طبقا لتغير الزمان والمكان.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Heritage (Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion).

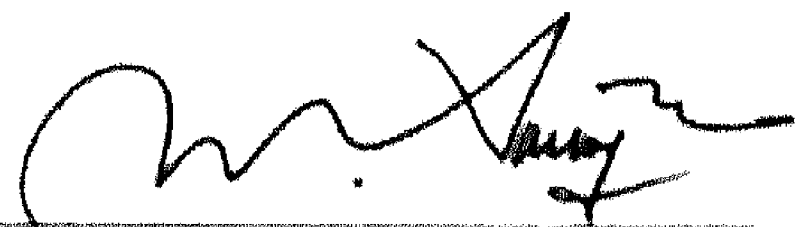


Dr. Sohirin Solihin

Supervisor

Date : 24/8/98

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Heritage (Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion)



Dr. Wan Sabri Wan Yusof

Examiner

Date : 24/8/98

This thesis was submitted to Department of Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion and is accepted as partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Master of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Heritage (Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion).



Dr. Wan Sabri Wan Yusof

Head, Department of Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion

Date : 24/8/98

This thesis was submitted to the Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences and is accepted as partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Master of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Heritage (Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion).



Dr. Abdullah Hassan

Dean,

Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences

Date : 25.8.98

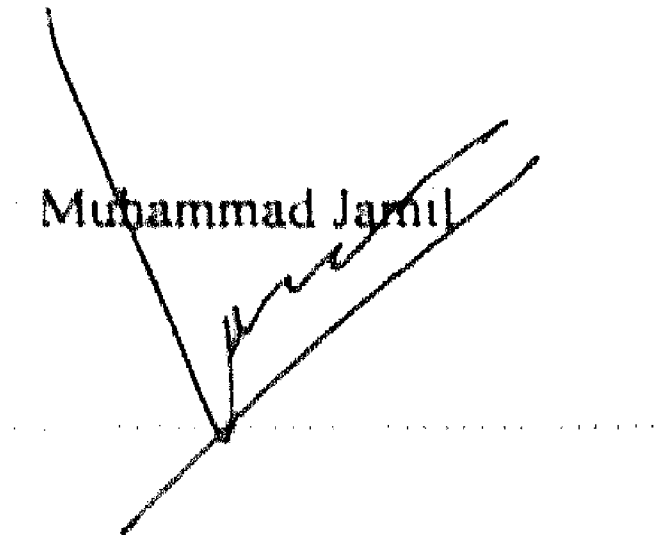
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references and a bibliography is appended.

Name

Muhammad Jamil

Signature



Date

24/8/1998

To those who devoted themselves
for the glory of Islam

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Gratitude is due to Almighty Allah the Merciful and Gracious, Who has bestowed upon me health and strength to learn and study in the Ocean of His Words. Peace and blessing of Allah be upon His Messenger, Muhammad (pbuh).

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May Allah's reward be showered on all of them

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

Indonesia is a country mainly inhabited by Muslims and it has the largest Muslim population in the Muslim world. According to the census, in 1971, Muslims represented 87.5 % of the population while in 1980 the figure decreased to 82.2 %. ¹

However, majority in number does not always guarantee success and prosperity. In fact, since independence, Indonesia has been encountering a number of problems especially in convincing secular Muslims and Christian leaders to accept Islam as the state ideology and to ensure them that Islam is a religion of peace which never endangers other people's faith. State ideology and religious tolerance became very crucial issues encountered by Muslim leaders not only in the early years of independence, but also in the 1970s and 1980s.

In fact, inter-religious relationship between different religious groups especially between Christians and Muslims had been strained, right from the beginning of Western colonization. The discordant Christian-Muslim relationship which had its

¹Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama Departemen Agama, *Statistik Keagamaan* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1981), p. 9

roots in the colonial occupation² continued to the early years of independence and was further perpetuated under the new order government.³

From 1967 onwards, Christian churches sprouted rapidly in the midst of the Muslim community.⁴ Churches were used to distribute food and to offer financial support to the deprived Muslim families.⁵ These activities sparked off anger from the Muslim communities. Whatever the complaints and objections which were exposed through the Muslim media, the government's response was always cold. To make matters worse, the authorities tended to accuse the Muslims of extremism. This situation echoed in the writings of many scholars. H. Hartono Mardjono, an ex-member of the Supreme Advisory Council, believes that during the last twenty years, Muslims have been marginalized from governmental key positions.⁶ Donald K.

² Muhammad Kamal Hasan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses to 'New Order' Modernization in Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1982), p. 7

³ Suharto was in power as early as March 11, 1966. On March 12, 1967, he was appointed by the Provisional People's Constituent Assembly (M P R S) as an acting president. On March 27, 1968, he was appointed as a President. Ateng Winarno & Martin Sallis Say, *Riwayat Para Menteri Kabinet Pembangunan VI* (Jakarta: Yayasan Metropolitan, 1993), p. 117

⁴ M. Natsir, *Mancari Modus Vivendi Antar Ummat Beragama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Media Da'wah, 1983), p. 7

⁵ Amin Rais, "Islam and Christianity in Indonesia", in *Studia Islamika Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, vol. 2 No. 1, 1995, pp. 69-71

⁶ H. Hartono Mardjono, *Politik Indonesia 1996-2003* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996), p. 37

Emmerson, a Western scholar, is of the view that the government-Muslim relationship has always been marked by mutual suspicions.⁷

The issue of deciding between Islam and the *Pancasila* as the state ideology remained crucial until 1980s. In fact, a few months prior to independence, Muslim and secular leaders were involved in heavy debates to determine whether Islam or the *Pancasila* was to be the basis of the state ideology. However, after the declaration of independence, the debates extended to the first principle of the *Pancasila*, Belief in the One Supreme God, and its link with the introductory part of the Jakarta Charter which states clearly the obligation of the implementation of *Shari'ah* for all Muslims.⁸ The idea of linking the *Pancasila* to religious elements has been totally rejected by secular leaders on the ground that the Jakarta Charter was no more than a historical document.⁹

Though Muslim leaders showed tolerant attitude in their discussions prior to and after independence, especially on August 18, 1945, and during Constituent Assembly (1955-1959) debates, they have always been accused by the rulers of being against the

⁷Donal K. Emmerson, "Islam in Modern Indonesia: Political Impasse, Cultural Opportunity", in Philip H. Stoddard et al (ed.), *Change and Muslim World* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1981), p. 56

⁸Saifuddin Anshari, *The Jakarta Charter 1945, The Struggle for an Islamic Constitution in Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia, ABIM, 1979), p. 40

⁹B. J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), p. 26

Pancasila as the state ideology. The *Darul Islam* movement led by Kartosuwirjo in West Java which ended in 1962, the Kahar Muzakkar in South Sulawesi which ended in 1965, and the Daud Bereuch in Aceh which ended in 1965, have always been used by the government to accuse Muslims of being anti *Pancasila*. This may be due to, if observed closely, the fact that in 1970s and 1980s the new order government has been surrounded by opportunists who successfully occupied strategic positions and controlled central leadership.

The culmination of the debates on the basis of the state ideology was the imposition of the *Pancasila* as the sole ideological foundation for all political and social organizations in Indonesia as legislated in May 1985. This controversial issue triggered riot and mass demonstration. The climax of the outburst was the '*Tanjong Priok*' incident where hundreds of Muslims were killed and some Muslim leaders were detained.¹⁰

There were also other crucial issues debated in the 1970s and 1980s. One was whether Javanese mysticism known as '*aliran kepercayaan*' could be considered as being of equal status with religion within the guidelines of the state constitution. Other issues included *khilafiyah* (disagreement), *bid'ah* (innovation), and *khurafat* (superstition). In the midst of these crucial debates lies the role of Hamka.

¹⁰ Syamsuddin, M. Sirajuddin, *Religion and Politics in Islam: The Case of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia's New Order* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1991), pp. 84-85 and 102.

Hamka, who had earned a number of honorary doctorates from universities, was known within academic circles as a knowledgeable and productive writer. Thus he was appointed as a member of the central board of *Muhammadiyah* (1953-1971), and as one of its advisors (1971-1981), as well as the chairman of the Council of Indonesian *'Ulama* (1975-1981).

He continuously struggled for the reformation of the Muslim society. He made known his views regarding various problems facing the Muslim and the State through writing books and articles, lecturing in a number of universities and giving sermons on the State radio and television.

As one of the advisors to the central board of the *Muhammadiyah* and as chairman of the Council of Indonesian *'Ulama*, Hamka had to deal with those crucial issues. Considering that, Hamka had to convey his views without any external interference as well as to adapt to the government's requests, he was quite successful.

This study has been undertaken in order to have a clear picture of his views regarding the above issues. For the purpose of practicality, this study limits its investigation to the period 1971-1981, during which Hamka was holding two important positions; an advisor to the central board of the *Muhammadiyah* and chairman of the Council of Indonesian *'Ulama*.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is summarized as follows:

1. To observe the actual crucial religio-political issues faced by Muslims specifically and the State in general in the period 1971-1981.
2. To probe into the government responses and approaches in dealing with the issues.
3. To get a clear picture of Hamka's views on and how he responded to the issues.
4. To expand his thought, views and works to the non Malay-Indonesian speaking readers

Review of Literature

This study concentrates on Hamka's views on some major religio-political issues in Indonesia within the period 1971-1981. As far as the topic is concerned, to the extent of the researcher's knowledge, no single work has been specifically undertaken by researchers in the field. However, issues that will be discussed have been reviewed in a number of books and articles.

Deliar Noer, a leading Indonesian scholar, towards the end of his book, *Administrasi Islam di Indonesia* (Administration of Islam in Indonesia), briefly discusses the issues which confronted the Council of Indonesian 'Ulama under Hamka's leadership, especially the issue of joint religious festival. He also touches on Hamka's views

regarding the *Pancasila* in approximately ten lines.¹¹ Among Deliar Noer's articles about Hamka are "Yamin dan Hamka: Dua Jalan Menuju Identitas Indonesia" (Yamin and Hamka: Two Ways Leading to the Identity of Indonesia) and "Hamka dan Sejarah" (Hamka and History). The former tries to compare similarities and differences between the two prominent figures of West Sumatra birth¹² who were different ideologically but had unity of purpose. The latter article talks about Hamka as a historian, how he dealt with history. In the last four pages of this article, Deliar touches on Hamka's views regarding the *Pancasila* which apparently, according to him, was inconsistent.¹³ Deliar, neither in his book nor articles, includes Hamka's arguments on inter-religious celebrations deliberated upon by Hamka. This is due to Deliar's topic of discussion which is not concentrated on that particular issue.

Mohamad Atho Mudzhar in his dissertation entitled *Fatwa's of the Council of Indonesian Ulama: A Study of Islamic Legal Thought in Indonesia, 1975-1988*, discusses at quite length a number of the *fatwas* of the Council, including the *fatwa* on Muslims' attendance at Christmas celebration. His concern on this issue is the content

¹¹ Deliar Noer, *Administrasi Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: CV Rajawali, 1983), pp 125-153

¹² Deliar Noer, "Yamin dan Hamka Dua Jalan Menuju Identitas Indonesia", in *Perception of the Past in Southeast Asia* (Jakarta: Gafiti Pers, December, 1983), pp 37-52

¹³ Deliar Noer, "Hamka dan Sejarah", in *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka* (ed.) Solihin Salam (Jakarta: Nurul Islam, 1978), pp 106-117 Hereafter cited as *Kenang-Kenangan*

of the *fatwa*. According to Mudzhar, the arguments presented by the *fatwa* are very elaborated. The *fatwa* quotes a number of verses from al-Qur'an, sayings of the Prophet (pbuh) as well as some rational arguments. After examining the *fatwa*, Mudzhar concludes that as far as the Qur'anic arguments are concerned, the *fatwa* is very solid. He even regards it as the most solid argument of a *fatwa* that the Council of Indonesian 'Ulama has ever had. In addition, according to him, the *fatwa* does not refer to any classical texts for the issue was considered to be a new development in the pluralistic community of Indonesia.¹⁴

A more informative work covering Hamka's views on the issues under consideration is the work of his son, H. Rusjdi entitled *Pribadi dan Martabat Buya Prof. Dr. Hamka* (A Biography of Hamka). This work includes Hamka's own writings such as "Catatan Dalam Tahanan Rejim Sukarno" (Notes Under the Arrest of Sukarno's Regime), "Sambutan Sebagai Ketua Umum Majelis Ulama Tanggal 22 Juli 1975" (First Speech as the Chairman of the Council of Indonesian 'Ulama), "Toleransi (Kerukunan Beragama)" (Religious Tolerance), "Surat Pribadi Kepada Presiden Suharto" (A Personal Letter to President Suharto) and *Pembahasan Dari Hal Intisari U.U.D. '45* (Discussion on the Essence of the 1945 Constitution).¹⁵

¹⁴Mohamad Atho Mudzhar, *Fatwas of the Council of Indonesian Ulama: A study of Islamic Legal Thought in Indonesia, 1975-1988* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1990), pp. 212-221.

¹⁵H. Rusjdi, *Pribadi dan Martabat Buya Prof. Dr. Hamka* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1983), pp. 237-334.

In his "Notes Under the Arrest of Sukarno's Regime", Hamka reported the inharmonious relationship between the government and Muslim's leaders. Hamka himself was detained from 27 January 1964 to 21 January 1966 under the accusation of holding a secret meeting aiming at assassinating President Sukarno, to carry out a coup d'etat. Hamka also remarked that he was accused of being anti-*Pancasila*, the State philosophy. However, Hamka rejected the accusations.¹⁶

Hamka's "First Speech as the Chairman of the Council of Indonesian '*Ulama*'" concentrated on three important topics namely: (i) the great contribution of '*Ulama*' towards the establishment of Indonesian government which according to him must not be undermined; (ii) the importance of the cooperation between the government and the '*Ulama*' for the betterment of the society; (iii) the urgency of sincerity of '*Ulama*' in carrying out their duties.¹⁷

In his article "Religious Tolerance", Hamka theorized about the concept of tolerance in Islam. He argued that a peaceful co-existence among religious followers is not only human hope but also Allah's wish as prescribed in a number Qur'anic verses and as

¹⁶Ibid , pp 237-263

¹⁷Ibid , pp 275-291

exemplified by the Holy Prophet (pbuh) and by his Companions as long as the tolerance is not meant to bargain Muslim's *aqidah* (faith).¹⁸

In his "Personal Letter to President Suharto", Hamka strongly refuted the idea of recognition of Javanese mysticism (*aliran kepercayaan*) as at equal status with religion,¹⁹ for it is the product of human thinking.

As in his "Notes Under the Arrest of Sukarno's Regime", Hamka, in his article "Discussion on the Essence of the 1945 Constitution", reaffirmed that *Pancasila* is fully supported by Indonesian people. According to him, it has never been incompatible with Islam, as long as its first principle (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*) referred to Allah as believed in Islam.²⁰

Karel Steenbrink, a Dutch orientalist wrote at least two long articles about Hamka: "Hamka (1908-1981) and the Integration of the Islamic Ummah of Indonesia", and "Qur'an Interpretations of Hamzah Fansuri (C.A. 1600) and Hamka (1908-1982)". In the first article, Steenbrink discusses Hamka's biography, covering his writings that concern reformation of the society. He also talks of Hamka as the chairman of the

¹⁸ Ibid., pp 293-301

¹⁹ Ibid., pp 303-312

²⁰ Ibid., pp 313-320

Council of Indonesian 'Ulama facing the issue of Muslims' participation in Christmas celebrations. In the article, Steenbrink mentions that Hamka issued a *fatwa* stating that the Muslim's participation in the celebration is *haram* (unlawful).²¹ In the second article, Steenbrink tries to examine the similarities and differences between Hamzah Fansuri's and Hamka's interpretations of the Qur'an by comparing interpretations of some verses of the Qur'an made by both.²² Steenbrink's discussion in the first article does not include any argumentation brought forward by Hamka in supporting the *fatwa* of the prohibition on Muslims attending Christmas celebration. He only mentions the content of the *fatwa* issued by Indonesian Council of 'Ulama under the leadership of Hamka.

Many books and articles have also been written on Hamka's life and works. In some of these, the issues of religious tolerance and the State philosophy were briefly discussed. The articles that had been written about Hamka by Indonesian scholars, writers as well as politicians were compiled into two thick books: *Kenang-Kenangan*

²¹ Karel Steenbrink, "Hamka (1908-1981) and Integration of Islamic Ummah of Indonesia", in *Studia Islamika Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, vol. 1 No. 3 1994, pp. 119-147

²² Karel Steenbrink, "Qur'an Interpretations of Hamzah Fansuri (C.A. 1600) and Hamka (1908-1982)", in *Studia Islamika Indonesia Journal for Islamic Studies*, vol. 2, No. 1, 1995, pp. 73-95