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# Essence of Muhammad Hatta's democracy: relevance to the development of regional autonomy

*Esencia de la democracia de Muhammad Hatta: relevancia para el desarrollo de la autonomía regional*

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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to critically and systematically find out, inventory, and interpret the concept of Muhammad Hatta's democracy. The method used is library research. Data analysis was carried out by using elements of qualitative research method in the field of philosophy, which includes historical methods, descriptions, internal coherence, and hermeneutics. The theory used is Colar Gould, which is a four theses work of the concept of freedom. The results show a concept of freedom that must be more widely understood on the availability of social and material conditions, legal politics, as well as socioeconomic equality, reciprocating equality of participation.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Muhammad Hatta, regional autonomy.

### RESUMEN

El propósito de este artículo es descubrir, inventariar e interpretar de manera crítica y sistemática el concepto de democracia de Muhammad Hatta. El método utilizado es la revisión bibliográfica. El análisis de datos se realizó utilizando elementos del método de investigación cualitativa en el campo de la filosofía, que incluye métodos históricos, descripciones, coherencia interna y hermenéutica. La teoría utilizada es Colar Gould, que consta de cuatro tesis del concepto de libertad. Los resultados muestran un concepto de libertad que debe entenderse más ampliamente sobre la disponibilidad de condiciones sociales y materiales, políticas legales, así como la igualdad socioeconómica y reciprocidad de participación.

**Palabras clave:** Autonomía regional, democracia, Muhammad Hatta.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia since the era of colonialism has lost its freedom. It was preceded by autocratic rules, and feudalism carried out by kings and invaders, causing the oppression of Indonesian people. After the independence of Indonesia, the existing theories of freedom can be just applied. Indonesia has experienced three periods of power, namely the period of independence revolutionary, the period of national development and the period of reformation. Every time, there have been various kinds of democratic experiences that show the glory of the nation, in addition there are also concerned experiences. The concern can be seen during the Old Order government with guided democracy turned out to have caused a not-conducive situation of political, economic, and security. During the New Order era, the government tended to be militaristic; bringing so many negative impacts that causes a sense of injustice in all aspects. During the reform era, anarchist phenomena became more prominent, conflict resolution by violence had become a political model as if it had been institutionalized in Indonesian society.

The idea of Muhammad Hatta as the proclaimer, the Founding Fathers of the Republic, as well as being the Vice President, had accommodative principle ideas in his struggle, not only in economic development, especially cooperatives, and economic politics. Muhammad Hatta is also a scholar, political expert, and state administration expert.

The freedom of the people as individuals to determine all problems of community life is based on the concept that humans are free from all other human restraints. Some rules in society are required to protect individual freedoms from conflicts. It means that the applicable regulations become law in society. The basis of Indonesian democracy is listed in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution.

Indonesian democracy is a Pancasila democracy based on the basis of genuine democracy that lives in Indonesian villages. Democracy in Indonesia must continue because of (1) The ideals of democracy that lived in the nationalist movement in the colonial era which gave encouragement to the struggle for independence and (2) The native life of the Indonesian nation based on democracy, which is still present in Indonesian villages (Hatta: 1960a).

Muhammad Hatta's political thinking developed and became a strategy to achieve an independent Indonesia. Muhammad Hatta's idea of democracy is that the sovereignty of the people of Indonesia's creation must be rooted in the association of one's own life which is characterized by collectivism.

Indonesia consists of various islands and ethnic groups, so every small and large group needs to get autonomy, get the right to determine their own destiny (Gonggong: 2002). A Republican state with decentralization illustrates the division of regional autonomy powers in which regions are given power to regulate their regions. Democratic governance must apply at lower levels of government, so the principle of regional autonomy in implementing governance is absolutely necessary. Indonesia is one and inward consisting of several bodies, and regions, consisting of Provincial and Regency/City levels, each of which has autonomy.

One of the pioneers of the idea of regional autonomy is Muhammad Hatta. Muhammad Hatta states that the development of democratic governance must apply to lower levels of government. It could be realized in the Indonesian state today, given the essence of democracy is intended to reveal Muhammad Hatta's ideas about the struggle for independence and the progress of the Indonesian people.

## **Democracy**

Democracy is literally a people's government to refer to various types of social structures in society including political democracy, economic democracy and social democracy. The term democracy applies to organizations as well as to the state. It has similarities in determining power holders based on choice rather than appointment. The holder power in a democracy is elected by all its citizens and has the same rights and responsibilities.

Democracy in Indonesia in accordance with the opening of the 1945 Constitution uses Pancasila democracy, where the sovereignty of the people is based on God Almighty, Humanity that is just and civilized,

Indonesian Unity, Society led by wisdom in deliberation / representation, and by realizing social justice for throughout the Indonesian people (Kirdi Dipoyudo: 1985) with the democratic Pancasila will lead to and determine political actions.

Political equality does not necessarily guarantee prosperity, therefore political equality must be developed into economic equality and social equality, by expanding economic and social democracy, reducing social inequality between the rich and the poor, political struggles, and increasing public participation towards prosperity and justice.

The main points of democracy include the sovereignty of the people, representative government, free consent of the people, the exercise of social rights, limited governmental power (Kirdil Dipoyudo: 1985). The implementation of government is limited by the people, from the people and for the people. Democracy (Swasono: 1992), can work well if there is a sense of responsibility and tolerance towards political leaders. To carry out democracy in the basics of humanity must be carried out in all aspects of life, including the relationship of people and people, between employers and laborers, between nations, association of life must be encompassed by an atmosphere of kinship and brotherhood.

Building people's sovereignty should be sourced from human nature. Human nature requires relationships with each other, relationships not only for personal progress, but also for mutual progress. Living together presupposes politics, and politics presupposes individual rights and obligations that must be accepted and given to build society (Alfarizi: 2009). Society is politically dependent on each individual and society will be destroyed if the individual is not given the opportunity to develop themselves.

### **Muhammad Hatta's democracy**

Indonesia is a democracy based on Pancasila. Pancasila democracy can only live if it is based on the law, for that the government needs a firm hand (Hatta: 1980) in order to people know that every action against the law has its sanctions. People's democracy based on consensus agreement, not based on numbers where the majority must not oppress the minority. Democracy during the reform era loses the metaphysical dimension of God, so that there is an abuse of power that is carried out under the guise of democracy. This situation actually becomes counter-productive because of the very large problem gap between speech and action. It is formally god but in action as if not god. Maintaining the continuity of democracy is to turn on the metaphysical dimension as a moral foundation in democracy, moral decline is the cause of the destruction of democracy, for that it is necessary to create individuals who have high moral integrity through improving cadre education, by improving the lives of society as a whole.

The ideals of people sovereignty for Muhammad Hatta is eliminating the cultural nationalism and strata in society, increasing the degree of the people through cooperatives, fostering unity in the bosom of many people, and programs solely based on people's needs. People's sovereignty is a democratic government, where people's opinions about justice are the source of all power (Hatta: 1980). Justice being the source of all power requires mutual cooperation to make it happen.

Democracy is based on political, economic and social democracy. The inaccuracy of democracy in Indonesia is occurred when democracy is only understood as political democracy, while economic and social democracy lacks place. According to Muhammad Hatta, political democracy alone does not carry out equality and brotherhood, in addition to political democracy there must be economic democracy. The ideal of Indonesian democracy is social democracy encompassing the entire environment that determines human destiny (Hatta: 1960b). The ideals of social justice become a program to be implemented in the practice of national and state life. To realize the ideals of democracy in Indonesia, responsibility and tolerance must be fostered. Democracy without responsibility and tolerance will slip into anarchy, autocracy and in turn will eliminate democracy.

The people are the holders of the deciding authority, because the people hold sovereignty. Therefore, the people must be given the opportunity to empower, efforts to empower the community by giving various roles.

Democracy in Indonesia, the people is who determine, the people have the power and dominance to create their freedom. The people must be given autonomy, decentralized regional autonomy in regencies and cities.

The rationale for putting autonomy in the regency is the reality that exists in the people of Indonesia who are *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* which means diverse needs to be given strength in the framework of efforts to democratize shared life and must start from the bottom. The rationale is an effort to accelerate the process of strengthening the position of the people, so that democratization and prosperity will be more open and faster.

Putting regional autonomy in regencies and cities is to bring democracy responsible, not to discard the role of the province. Province is a coordinating body of regencies in its environment (Hatta: 1966). The thought of regional autonomy is intended to create a life together and prosperous. Indonesia as the Republic United Nations of Indonesia is a shared identity, while autonomy as a form of sovereign people who have sovereignty creates independence and with the principle of kinship to achieve mutual prosperity. The position of the province is to act as a coordinator connecting districts, cities and the central government. Through regional autonomy, the people have the freedom to grow in creative dynamics both personally and collectively along with the people are given a central position to sovereign to obtain space for freedom and prosperity together.

The basic principle in the administration of regional autonomy contained in the Act No. 22 of 1999, has now been changed to the Act No. 32 of 2004 which contains the principle of decentralization. Therefore, the autonomy owned by regencies is round and full, provinces carry out more assistance, coordination task. The idea of the Act Law No. 32 of 2004 is a contribution of Muhammad Hatta's thoughts which wants the province to become a coordinating body of the regencies in its environment (Hatta: 1966). The implementation of provincial autonomy carries out more de-concentration and assistance tasks, but in reality provincial and central government interventions cannot be avoided.

The Act No. 25 of 1999 on Financial Fiscal between the central and regional governments states financial balance between the central and regional governments as well as equal distribution between regions proportionally, democratically, fairly and transparently, taking into account regional potentials, conditions and needs. The Act No. 25 of 1999 will affect the management of regional finances. This relates to autonomy which in essence gives power, authority and breadth to local governments to regulate and determine the use of funds to carry out regional functions.

The purpose of regional autonomy is to improve public services and advance the regional economy. This purpose is in the context of providing regional strengthening to grow businesses through self-help to make the region able to empower its natural environment.

The main characteristic of regional autonomy is the existence of executive Regional Representative Institutions that functions as local political institutions. Consequently, at the level of local government, local people's representative institutions become the main actors in determining policy which implies that the performance of regional executives is very much determined by the performance of the regional legislative body. Autonomy means gaining the right to regulate people's own destiny, regulate government according to people's own needs and beliefs, but must not encounter to basics of general government. So, outward Indonesia as unitary state and inward consists of several bodies that have broad autonomy for the regions.

### **Philosophical Reflections on the Idea of Muhammad Hatta's Democracy**

The most concrete manifestation of the essence of Muhammad Hatta's democracy is when social justice is created, both distributive, commutative and legal. Indonesian state politics has undergone several changes, the Old Order, the New Order and the Reform Order. Social justice should have been created, but in the reality of Indonesia is still in decline. This situation clearly shows a fundamental misunderstanding of the meaning life of national and state. Basic misconceptions are indicated on the basis of village democracy as a field for training to develop democratic attitudes, which impact on the ontological status of democracy (what democracy really is), epistemological status (the process of democracy offered) and axiological status (for what the state democracy established).

## **Ontological foundation**

Issue of the ontology is people face how to explain the nature of everything that exists. Ontology investigates the order and direction of universality of reality (Bakker, Ahmad: 2001). Ontology inquiries how is the nature and relationship between two kinds of reality. Ontology theory has direct implications for the reality of political view. Ontology inquiries how are the nature and the relationship between two kinds of reality. The ontological approach to democracy means seeking the deepest reality and essence of democracy. The essence of Muhammad Hatta's democracy is rule by people (populist) as the essence of the fourth in accordance to the essence of the people and the essence of the populist is people.

## **The Reality of Democracy**

The ontological reality of democracy implies that there is tyranny. The first thing to understand democracy is to understand what tyranny is. Tyranny is the worst form of government that arises due to the decline of democracy; people are not protected and even oppressed (Rapar: 1978). The tyrannies generally come from nobles who by way of a power debate make themselves rulers. The beginning of the tyranny of the rulers is as protectors of the people. However, after having strong power, the tyranny acted arbitrarily suppressing their people.

Muhammad Hatta based Indonesian Democracy on Pancasila which was at the same time the ideals of the Indonesian state. It is contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution to Alinia IV which explicitly explains that the state is based on the Godhead of the Almighty, Just and civilized humanity, unified of Indonesia, Democracy led by the wisdom in a consensus or representatives, and Social justice for all Indonesians.

Based on Pancasila, democratic state of Indonesia has a moral basis in God and political foundation in managing the country. However, in the reality, Indonesia has not been able to realize its moral and political ideals. Democracy is the antithesis of the tyrannical system. The capital of democratic development is Pancasila. It is said to be capital because the basis of Pancasila meets the basic requirements to realize the social political order or democracy for the good of all. The main principle is symbolized by the principle of the Almighty God as an orientation to transcendental life. A godly nation should live a life of political democracy based on morals and ethics, a phenomenon of political life that is far from moral and ethical merits raises the question of practicing the precepts of the Godhead.

Upholding democracy according to Muhammad Hatta must be followed by morals and ethics derived from the precepts of the Godhead as the first precept that illuminates the four other precepts in Pancasila. A democracy from the Godhead makes the activities of state democracy have a metaphysical basis, resulting in a commitment to the awareness that all human actions will accounted before God. Democratization needs to be developed by both the Indonesian people and the government. A critical and vocal society as a result of development needs to understand the principles of democracy in voicing and expressing aspirations (Saefullah: 1994). The moral and political norms of the state should be used to convey aspirations.

Democracy during the reform period misses the metaphysical dimension of God, so that abuse of power authority is carried out under the guise of democracy. This situation actually becomes counterproductive. There is enormous disparity of problem between speech and action which is in formal reality believes in god but not in action. Preserving the continuity of democracy is to turn on the metaphysical dimension as a moral foundation in democracy. Moral decline is the cause of the destruction of democracy, for that it is necessary to create individuals who have high moral integrity through improving cadre education by improving people's lives as a whole.

The failure of democracy occurs when personal, party and group interests are mixed with public interest. The fact shows that the plurality of Indonesian society demands a republican government with decentralization rather than discrimination of centralistic authority with expanded regional autonomy. Ontologically, democracy

requires popular participation. Short of people's political participation creates no democracy, and there will be no popular participation without transparency, political openness, along with openness will run optimally only in a democratic climate and environment. Therefore, if there are leaders in the government, civil, military ranks that respect the rights of political participation the people, then there is a strong representative institution to articulate, channel and oversee the realization of people's aspirations.

### **The Essence Of Democratic Democracy**

The people are all citizens who reside in a country and become supporters of the elements of the state. The nature of the people shows that the whole consists of parts, between the whole and the parts that have a relationship, then there needs to be cooperation, there must be mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*). *Gotong* means to do work and produce work together, *royong* means work together. The people work together from the people, by the people and for the people to solve common problems. It must be led by wisdom, reaching consensus through deliberations called democracy.

The aspirations of popular sovereignty for Muhammad Hatta eliminate the cultural strata and strata in society, increase the degree of the people through cooperatives, foster unity in the hands of the people, programs based solely on people's needs. The sovereignty of the people is not because the voice of the leader, but the leader voices because there is a sentiment in the hearts of the people, which the people cannot voice. The fate of the people must be considered to capture the will of the people. People's sovereignty is a democratic government, where people's opinions about justice are the source of all power (Hatta: 1980). Justice becomes the source of all power, so it requires mutual cooperation to make it happen.

Development in a democracy is carried out according to the will of the people (Bagun: 2003). Healthy democracy in the original meaning is not government by pitting numbers or by absolute majority vote, but government with the consent of the people (Tiro: 1999). This majority vote brings the failure of a democratic state of thought, which requires deliberation to reach consensus. The majority vote becomes a tool of tyranny of the majority against the minority, through consensus agreement on the foundation of justice, truth and togetherness, democracy can be implemented.

Democracy with the most votes carried out today eliminates the principle of consensus agreement. Almost every decision that should be resolved by deliberation is always taken by way of voting. The minority group is always defeated by the majority group through this voting.

The basis of Indonesian democracy as a political principle must be extended to the theory of popular sovereignty. The people's sovereignty is the people's government, but because there are too many people, the government is regulated through representation (Hatta: 1953a, 1953b, 1953c, 1953d). People's sovereignty through the House of Representatives determines the law, but the DPR and MPR representative institutions have not displayed performance as institutions that hold people's sovereignty, both in terms of products and performance mechanisms. The weak position of the DPR and MPR institutions is not only because of internal procedures created by themselves, but from the recruitment mechanism of representative cadres and party leaders to political organizations. The district system is a system that guarantees people's political aspirations and participation, but there is a concern in regions where cadres of leaders whose human resources are qualified are not available.

The process of democratization in Indonesia is still hampered by the fact that there is no strong and independent middle class to deal with a too much strong government. People's participation reflected in political control and political agreement in the 'checks and balance' mechanism has expectedly not proceeded. Political unity and political setting are the sources of various diseases that still plague social, political, legal, and moral culture. There are many bureaucratic abuses, nepotism, corruption, and apparatus violence against the people, community violence against the community, vigilantism due to people's distrust of law enforcement, the occurrence of legal mafia, informant powerlessness, and character assassination. Then, to strengthen democracy and create political and information openness, it must strengthen society vis a vis the state, the power to be able to exercise social control and effective political control.

Middle class of society is formed due to changes in the structure of society. The success of economic development is formed by the middle class that grows from the bottom. They are not only economically independent, but also as a professional group they have their own interests. The presence of the middle class is a sign that the formation of a group in society that is able to release themselves from the bonds of *primordialism* and secularism. Growing economic power makes them more independent of the government, which binds them not only social origins but interests in society. In turn the government is forced to listen to their voices, while at that time transparency is forced to open and information disclosure becomes a necessity for dialogue.

Sovereignty of the people demands freedom. Freedom as self-development requires equality and social cooperation, whereas social co-op in the equality of society is individual freedom as an agent. Direct involvement creates opportunities for individuals to apply their behavior in determining the nature and actions of joint activities. Direct participation is useful for developing the freedom of choice possessed by individuals and the development of abilities in a variety of situations. It functions as a vehicle for more complete self-development. Participation is the most convincing and accurate way to involve each individual interest in common activities.

Values of individual freedom, equality and social cooperatives are expected as manifestations of mutual need for one another, which is manifested in social practices. Individual freedom to determine itself is carried out together with other individuals in community activities.

The step that must be taken is the need for economic policies that do not merely emphasize growth. It is necessary to build a stronger commitment to develop economic policies that refer to economic democracy so that the distribution of wealth is not concentrated in a particular small group. The importance of political stability is how to overcome economic inequality and encourage equality in an effort to accelerate the formation of the middle class as a force and a trigger for democratization.

People's sovereignty is a collective agreement to realize a fair and prosperous society, whereas a prosperous just society is a future socialist society (Bagun: 2003). Democracy of people's sovereignty is that people can take action in accordance with the feelings of truth and justice that live in their class. Sovereignty of the people means that people who are "in power to determine the rules regarding living together in the country, the people are responsible for all the consequences of the regulations they make" (Hatta: 1960a). People's sovereignty gives the highest authority to the people but has a great responsibility. The basis of a just government is whoever gets the power that is responsible. When the people get power according to the sovereignty of the people, then the people are responsible for justice.

## **Foundation of Epistemology**

Epistemology discusses the source, origin, and nature of knowledge, and the validity and reliability of claims to knowledge. Epistemology studies and tries to determine the nature and scope of knowledge (Hadi: 1994). Democracy according to Muhammad Hatta originated from Western socialism, as a basis for humanity; Islamic teachings demand divine truth and justice in society and brotherhood between humans as God's creatures; and Knowledge that Indonesian society is based on collectivism (Hatta: 1960b).

Since independence August 17, 1945, Indonesia has always tried to realize the culture of democracy, to realize justice and prosperity. Soekarno sparked the idea of guided democracy to create justice and prosperity of the people in the atmosphere of the independence revolution. Suharto wanted to realize justice and prosperity of the people in an atmosphere of national development. Ideas are always adjusted to people's aspirations and the spirit of the times. The idea of national idealism that wants to make a just government in the implementation of democracy for the prosperity of the people is collided with the reality of government that is increasingly distant from democracy. The beauty of political culture is always trapped in the culture of power, why political culture is always trapped in absolute power, so that the authorities forget the prosperity of the people.

Western socialism as the basis of humanity was obtained by Muhammad Hatta through contact with Western socialist ideas. But the thought of Muhammad Hatta's socialism began with the teachings of Islam not solely because of Karl Marx's class conflict, so socialism to create a just and prosperous society is religious socialism.

The source of popular democracy is Western socialism, which upholds humanity, Islamic teachings that teach justice, and the collectivism of the Indonesian people in the villages. Humanity as the basis of freedom and independence is crucial and the inclusion of Islam is as a supporter of democracy because of the element of truth. Justice is an act that must be accounted for as a consequence of godly people.

The prosperity of the people can be achieved through socialism. Socialism is not understood as the atmosphere of a new society that comes by itself and as a carrier of the development of society on the encouragement of dialectical law, but desired as a demand of the heart. Socialism is seen as a social life that guarantees prosperity for all people. All socialism requires a life of association where there is no more oppression and exploitation and the people are guaranteed, for each person, prosperity and the certainty of life and the development of his personality.

Muhammad Hatta excluded genuine democracy, and preferred to call village democracy, given that genuine democracy can give the impression as if in the archipelago since there has always been a democratic government system. In terms of government structure in the archipelago it is always feudal and autocratic and the people are only used for the interests of the king and genuine democracy can legitimize the form of people's sovereignty, where the people are not sovereign. Democracy is a reality in a village communal environment; village democracy consists of deliberation, consensus, the people's right to protest and the ideal of helping.

Village democracy as a field for training to develop democratic attitudes, where the people have been able to make common decisions, compromise, debate and finally support mutual agreement. This is needed in modern democracy; from this village democracy shows that Muhammad Hatta's people sovereignty is manifested in democracy west.

Prosperity will be achieved if there is democratic freedom, epistemologically the process of the occurrence of democracy, for Muhammad Hatta (1966), the successful political demands of the Indonesian Nation from the colonial grace of God, implies that Indonesia was free of blessing by God, because the Indonesian people fought for independence in earnest. The ideals that guide not only national independence, but an independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous Indonesia, this statement becomes a moral obligation.

The spirit of the Declaration of Human Rights as an inspiration for the process of democracy in Indonesia, because it prioritizes respect for the rights of citizens, but the individualist system was rejected by Muhammad Hatta. Muhammad Hatta's disagreement with individualist understanding was directed in his view that humans live in groups and villages never live alone, if humans live alone they will die of longing (Alfarizi: 2009). Humans are only meaningful when in relationship with others.

Muhammad Hatta respected the individual so that state arbitrariness did not occur, but individual understanding must be limited by a sense of collectivism. Democracy of the sovereignty of the people of Muhammad Hatta is based on the spirit of individualism based on a sense of collective togetherness that includes economic and social politics. Individual people are given the right to self-determination to the widest possible extent, form their own government and regulate the economy to achieve a society based on justice and truth.

Building people's sovereignty should be sourced from human nature. Human nature requires relationships with each other, relationships not only for personal progress, but also for mutual progress. Living together presupposes politics, and politics presupposes individual rights and obligations that must be accepted and given to build society (Alfarizi: 2009). Society is politically dependent on each individual/individual and society will be destroyed if the individual/individual is not given the opportunity to develop themselves.

Communities and individuals have the right to carry out life together, how to carry on that life is maintained, of course through shared life or politics. It gives rise to further questions, what needs to be arranged for the

sake of community sustainability. To answer this, Muhammad Hatta reached the economic point. Humans need a life of well-being and happiness, because humans need economic access, while politics is needed to organize the people's economy, because how can humans live happily when their economic resources are controlled by other humans.

The economy becomes an important point in people's lives, even every colonialist; every political activity that takes place is based on economic motives. Muhammad Hatta revealed that the nature of Indonesian people began to live together in groups. Obviously this refers to the way of life in Indonesian society. Since the past until now, Indonesian people have a tendency to live collectively, with the term people basically Indonesian people uphold collectivity, a sense of togetherness. This is very evident in a variety of community activities, such as meetings, deliberations and consensus to determine work related to an issue of living together. A sense of commonness also appears in mutual assistance and mutual assistance. Therefore, the arrangement of life collectively (together) is not only for economic welfare but also for social welfare.

Democratic governance from the bottom up is difficult to realize if feudalism reigns over it. Therefore, the sovereignty of the people and Indonesian democracy still requires a long time to mature in the arena of world democracy. The process of democracy leading to maturity can be seen in the trial on 15 July 1945 by the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Agency (BPUPKI). Within the session, they argued whether democratic freedoms, the right to express opinions verbally and in writing, the right to assemble and the right to association, are stipulated in the Constitution. From the trial Soekarno and Supomo refused with two first reasons that individual citizens have certain basic rights as well as opening the door for individualists. Both people need social justice where this becomes a concern of Muhammad Hatta toward the emergence of liberality. However, Muhammad Hatta did not want to give unlimited power to the state, which became a power state. State power must be limited, because it requires the empowerment of people's democracy.

### **Axiological foundation**

Axiology is understood as a theory of values related to the usefulness of science. Knowledge is the result of works that are openly communicated and reviewed by the community (Suriasumantri: 2001). Within the scope of the philosophy of value refers to thinking or a system such as politics that must be adapted to the cultural and moral values of a society. So that the value of the usefulness of the knowledge can be felt by the community in its efforts to improve shared prosperity, not the other way around instead creating disaster. Axiology is values as a benchmark of truth (scientific), and ethics and morals as a normative basis in research and exploration, as well as the application of science. Axiology is important when it comes to theories about the knowledge of basic human rights. The basic human right is collective freedom. The axiological problem is a matter of values, values or actions, the axiology of democracy is a set of values and principles of actions chosen that can be categorized as democratic sovereignty of the people.

The axiology of Muhammad Hatta's democracy is the implication of the ontological basis of collectivism and the epistemology of democratic freedom based on justice and truth manifested in village democracy. Muhammad Hatta's thoughts are on how to practice democracy, because there was a reaction to oppression in the past that led to opposing all forms of alliance (Hatta: 1960b). The sovereignty of the people is often understood that the people may act as they wish.

### **Collectivism**

Indonesian democracy for Muhammad Hatta is based on collectivism rather than individualism. Democracy is mutual cooperation which is inspired by Pancasila to be blessed by God Almighty "Our Democracy" must be carried out based on truth, justice, honesty, kindness, brotherhood and humanity (Hatta: 2004). Democracy is carried by full conviction about responsibility and tolerance and willingness to implement the principles of the right man in the right place. Working together requires togetherness. Equality will give birth to positive things, with a positive equation can be arranged a state and community development program that bases decisions based on consensus.

Mutual cooperation as a form of a sense of collectivism has been engraved in society, but the location of the sense of collectivism lies only in the people, not owned by officials or leaders. The leaders of the executive, the legislative and the judiciary are concerned with power, autocracy and individualism, and the people prefer to follow the leaders. Here is the failure of democracy, government from the people, by the people and for the people, as a form of sovereignty. According to Muhammad Hatta, people's sovereignty is composed from the bottom up. The government of the country is regulated through representation through meetings from the village level to the central level, but Hatta's weakness did not explain in detail how the process was presented, Muhammad Hatta himself was anti feudalism but Muhammad Hatta did not elaborate on how feudalism was eliminated.

The thought of collectivism, and its rejection of individualism, did not make Muhammad Hatta trapped into totalitarianism or ignored the guarantee of individual autonomy with fundamental rights. Besides political democracy there must be economic democracy to realize the principles of truth and justice.

Opposing collectivism is individualism. Reciprocal relationships can generally be defined as relationships in which principal's act with respect for other actors. It is based on the mutual understanding on the basis of free agreements that result in the act of respecting others equal to the actions of others in respect (Gould: 1993). The willingness of each individual to cooperate in an organized manner to achieve common goals and the willingness to behave in ways that can help achieve those goals is an essential pattern of behavior for complex modern societies (Andrews: 1982). Through mutual recognition each individual can meet their needs, in the form of reciprocity of the instrument which means that each actor deals with other people, only to the extent that the person benefits himself; whereas non-instrumental reciprocity is called social reciprocity as social relations in the recognition of an actor towards other actors. It involves a clear understanding of their needs and interests, thereby being ready to elevate the goals of others into their own considerations and actions (Gould: 1993). Reciprocal relationships are based on the individual's need for cooperation and get support from others to realize individual or shared goals. So sociality is one of the conditions for freedom as self-development. Reciprocal relations are not only obtained through reciprocity but can also be through domination and exploitation of others, even though the perpetrators of domination and exploitation threaten the same positive freedoms and the same rights to the conditions of self-development.

Individualism clearly contradicts collectivism which requires mutual cooperation. Collectivism appears in the nature of helping and mutual ownership of land-living (Hatta: 1960a). Every community is willing to sacrifice for the benefit of the greater community because the village community always considers each member of the community as part of the other members. The present condition of land ownership rights is no longer a collective right but the workmanship and distribution is not free from a sense of collectivism.

In contrast to Sukarno who rejected the philosophy of individualism because it would be a source of economic liberalism and trigger capitalism, imperialism and war. Muhammad Hatta did not eliminate individualism, this meant "Don't give unlimited power to the state and make an independent Indonesian state a state of power, therefore citizens are given the right to assemble, the right of association, assembly and correspondence" (Hatta: 2002). Individuals are recognized; but rejecting individualism can have implications for the sovereignty of the people abused by the state. The authority of the President must be limited and not given the opportunity to give rise to state power.

Muhammad Hatta tended individualism to be limited by collectivism, togetherness as members of the family were able to issue equality so that the established state would take care of the members of the community and not become a power state or an oppressive state. The ruler is balanced by civil society accompanied by freedom of association, thought, and voice as a form of democracy to correct the ruler. Citizens' rights then become the most important part of human rights to have freedom of association and freedom of expression.

### **Development of an expansion of political democracy**

Democracy is based on political, economic and social democracy. The inaccuracy of democracy in Indonesia is when democracy is only understood as political democracy, while social democracy does not have a place. According to Muhammad Hatta, political democracy alone does not carry out equality and brotherhood, in addition to political democracy there must be economic democracy. The ideal of Indonesian democracy is social democracy encompassing the entire environment that determines human destiny (Hatta: 1960a). Democracy is not only political democracy but includes economic and social democracy (Swasono: 2002). Political democracy alone cannot carry out equality and brotherhood, so next to political democracy economic democracy must apply. The ideals of social justice become a program to be implemented in the practice of national and state life. Social democracy encompasses the entire environment that determines human destiny (Hatta: 1960a). To realize the ideals of democracy in Indonesia, responsibility and tolerance must be fostered; democracy without responsibility and tolerance will slip into anarchy, autocracy and in turn will eliminate democracy.

There must be social democracy besides political democracy. The economy is in line with the opinion of Carol C. Gould (1993), democratic policy making should not only be determined in the political field but extends in the economic and social cultural life. Employee management (self-management of the company by employees) and participation in economic policy are diffuse actions that demand policy actions in social and cultural institutions (Gould: 1993). Democracy is not only political freedom but economic equality in the context of the theory of distributive justice. Basic equality of freedom includes civil liberties and political rights. This reflects political democracy that equality of employment opportunities must be opened (Rows: 1995). Extending democracy from the political sphere to the socioeconomic sphere into all regions, and decision making must be participated as broadly as possible not only by representation but needs to be distributed. Individual freedom is not only understood as the ability to choose liberally, but the equal treatment for everyone, because everyone is an equal agent and social cooperatives are needed for individual self-development. This principle of distribution is to solve the problem of conflict in order to eradicate some social conflicts, because "The conflict between so many prerequisites and inadequate tool of satisfaction leads to certain attitudes in human action (Hatta: 1942). Conflict can be avoided if the distribution can be evenly distributed to meet their interests.

The view of economic issues, that access to material conditions for prosperity is a condition needed for human development. Here individual equality is required to expand togetherness to obtain various social and material conditions. So that equal rights are needed to participate in making policies concerning joint activities, one of which is an act of wisdom in all political areas.

People's sovereignty is not only in political democracy but also includes economic democracy to create a just and prosperous society, so that there is an increase in social life. Holistic socialism views economic welfare as seen as a necessary condition for political democracy itself and therefore emphasizes the importance of various democratic participations in making decisions about the distribution of economic goods (Gould: 1993). The view of holistic socialism is represented by the first theory of economic democracy as a more equitably way of distributing goods and opportunities in the context of forms of democracy. Both theories emphasize the need for democracy in controlling production and distribution.

The view of holistic socialism then turned into socialist theory. First, it emphasizes participation of individuals in decision making process for economic and political life. Second, it understands community or society as a whole and sees the form of government under economic life (Gould: 1993). The ultimate goal of the whole process is determined by the community itself as a whole. Socialism demands a society in which production is carried out by many people for the people under the leadership of community bodies.

### Regional community empowerment

According to Muhammad Hatta (Bagun: 2003), the struggle towards a just and prosperous society must be convincingly realized that in the early days of independence, the regions were hardly touched by the central economy. The joining of the Indonesian archipelago into the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia should be understood not merely to reassemble the regions of the former Dutch East Indies into one Greater Indonesia territory, but rather how to bind the regions with appropriate policies. So that the regions feel safe joining in one region of Indonesia, because to build a just and prosperous society, development should be carried out according to the will of the people.

Development with people's participation is carried out with the principle of prioritizing regional participation. Empowerment of the people must be evident in the regions, only big matters and involve the livelihoods of the people who are managed by the center. Regional participation according to Muhammad Hatta that autonomy is placed in the district (Bagun: 2003). The province is the coordinating body of all districts in its environment. Focusing on the autonomy of the district, then district can lead the development of village autonomy.

The main characteristic of regional autonomy is the existence of executive Regional Representative Institutions that function as local political institutions. Consequently, at the level of local government, local people's representative institutions become the main actors in determining policy. The institution implies that the performance of regional executives is very much determined by the performance of the regional legislative body. Autonomy means gaining the right to regulate one's own destiny, governing government according to one's own needs and beliefs, but must not conflict with the basics of general government. So out of Indonesia one unitary state and inward consists of several bodies that have broad autonomy for the regions.

## **CONCLUSION**

The essence of democracy is people's sovereignty composed from the bottom up. The state government is regulated through representation with assemblies from the village level to the central level. Democracy is not only in politics but expanded into economic, social, and psychological democracy. The realization of the ideals of Indonesian democracy must be fostered with responsibility and tolerance. Democracy without responsibility and tolerance will slip on anarchy, autocracy.

Autonomy develops direct democracy in the undercurrent and guarantees stable development in the regions. Autonomous regions are given the right to generously use available funds without waiting for instructions from the central government. Regional governments can utilize funds in accordance with regional development needs. The essence of regional autonomy is community empowerment in general covering economic, political, psychological and social dimensions. The availability of freedom and independence is to cultivate the natural potential in the region.

The implementation of regional autonomy is relevant to the spirit of democracy desired by Muhammad Hatta. The autonomy is implemented through the spirit of mutual cooperation and empowering layers of society, with different political, religious, ethnic backgrounds in development planning and decision making, encouraging equal distribution of resources and investment by the government. Local communities are encouraged to improve their ability to take on their duties and functions in accordance with their capacity and social access and the ability of the region to build and establish cooperation with the community. Autonomy empowers people and regional independence, people hold high rights and authority to determine their regional development needs, and people are actively involved in development and control the course of regional government.

The contribution of Muhammad Hatta's democratic ideas can be seen from the decentralization of political thought that gave birth to regional autonomy as an expression of people's democracy. In terms of the

contribution of Muhammad Hatta's ideas, by bringing democracy responsible to the people, carrying out democratic ideals, the focus of government was placed on districts and cities. Province is the coordinating body of all districts; the province carries out more de-concentration and assistance tasks. The idea of popular democracy contains an inherent political manifesto and reality supports the nationalism movement, strengthens the spirit of revolutionary struggle, and sharpens non-cooperative attitudes and strengthens solidarity.

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