

Text Relationship with Power (Study of Critical Discourse Analysis of the Culture of Malay Parable in Tafsir Al-Azhar by Hamka)

¹Lukman Nul Hakim

ABSTRACT--- *The Malay Culture Parable is present as a text of Hamka's Tafsir Al-Azhar, not only does it show the suitability of meaning with the text of the Qur'anic verse being interpreted by Hamka, but behind the text it shows it as a text of authority discourse. Through a discourse analysis approach with a critical paradigm offered by Norman Fairclough, there are three dimensions: first, the text of the power of discourse is related to Sukarno as the actor of power "an individual cult"; second, based on historical context, the text of the power of authority is related primarily to the "presidential decree" event of 5 July 1959, which changed the system of government from parliamentary democracy to guided democracy; and third, the relation of the authority text of the power of "individual cult" with social culture in Indonesia becomes strong because of the feudal culture that has not been uprooted from its roots.*

Keywords--- *Interpretation, Culture, Authority, Power.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Melangkah di jaunt padang, b asilek di pangka karih, kato salalu baumpamo, rundiang salalu bakiasan,

In Malay culture (Minang), the pattern and style of personality to be able to capture the intent and purpose, it is necessary to consider two aspects, namely the aspect conveyed (explicit) and aspects behind conveyed (implied). And to catch the implied meaning need to pay attention to both the broad scope morale, material, mental and spiritual (Hakimy, 1988).

Hamka adorns Interpretation Al-Azhar by using the Malay cultural parable approach, certainly not alone as a Malay cultural identity with a distinctive pattern and style in constructing the meaning of the commentary texts he does, but he also constructs other meanings in the text, discourse on the view of power about social situations the power that surrounds it. Because strength, truth and knowledge cannot be separated from discourse. Praxis and social discourse are in the form of symbolic interactions that can be expressed in speech or writing. Social praxis requires meaning and meaning that cannot be separated from language, while sharpening the meaning and influence of what is done, then all social practices cannot be separated from the dimensions of discourse (Haryatmoko, 2017).

Hamka's Tafsir Al-Azhar, the language used as an interpretation of the Holy Qur'an, is directed to create discourses that have a relation to power, truth and knowledge. Because this interpretation is not present in empty space and time, but it is present as part of social events or discourse seen as language in social praxis.

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah, Palembang, Indonesia, lukmanulhakim_uin@radenfatah.ac.id.

Not a few that Hamka did in writing Tafsir Al-Azhar made the social experience of power, culture and religion as a departure field in interpreting the Al-Qur'an. Especially through Malay speech culture with parables has colored some of its interpretations about the dimension of the power of discourse.

Religion (Islam) and power (politics) have always been themes that attract social interest in Indonesian territory. This is when checked historical aspect, there is a movement of Islamic ideology were unfinished at the beginning of Indonesia stands out as a country, such as the insistence of a number of Islamic fighters to be formalized back in the Jakarta Charter (Boland, 1985). And in another aspect, the doctrine of Al-Qur'an which contains social criticism especially against vital parts of the social life of power, making the interpretation of Al-Qur'an as the work of Muslim intellectuals continue dynamic. Especially the interpretation of Al Qur'an with a contextual approach.

The rule of interpretation which says that the understanding gained from the general content of the text, not of reason in particular (Suryadilaga, 2005). So the Qur'an is not "disposable" to the time of the Prophet alone (Kuntowijoyo,2000). Required interpretation of Al-Qur'an with context-oriented approach reader (interpreter) Quranic text. With the social background of the historical reader (interpreter) where he lives and is, to experience the culture, history and its own social (reality) be used as a departure terrain interpretation. Therefore, the nature of its interpretation movement is from the bottom up: from the practical (context) to the reflection (text) (Gusmian, 2002).

Parables are part of the Malay proverb about 10 parables and which has authority with a power of about 4 parables, such as: "I bark like dogs barking past midnight to the caravan, but my bark lost in the atmosphere of the night and the caravan goes on." (Surah Al- Baqarah: 16 Juz 1); "... Those people who have entrusted their hokey power to him with sweet fat said, so people just sung lullabies with speech, but what is intended to grow old grow considerably. It's easy to call God their tongue like a cow in a slaughterhouse butchers, say "Bismillah" first before slit the throats of cows. He walked on earth, whose main work is ruined. "(Surah Al-Baqarah: 205, the Section 2); "... They bite the finger because hate is a very precise expression, like a woman who is angry with next-door, and requite with his son hit the innocent." (Surah Al 'Imran: 119, Juz 4); "Usually the Lord dropped into abject torment it, are those who over power and grandeur. He was delirious and thought that the world is already provided next to him. Upright will not stagger, wander unhindered, kill no regrets. He was with God like a frog who wants to want to be an ox, his belly finally erupting, because of the greatness that is forced. "(Surah Al 'Imran: 178, the Section 4). 119, the Section 4); "Usually the Lord dropped into abject torment it, are those who over power and grandeur. He was delirious and thought that the world is already provided next to him. Upright will not staggered, strolled unobstructed, kill not chop off. He was with God like a frog who wants to want to be an ox, his belly finally erupting, because of the greatness that is forced. "(Surah Al 'Imran: 178, the Section 4).

Critical discourse analysis paradigm on Malay culture metaphor in Tafsir Al-Azhar, attractive done for several reasons: first, the language used for the various functions that the consequences can be very diverse. Second, the language implies an interest, intent and purpose, then it took the acuity in his interpretation. Third, a critical attitude and a need to question the suspect interests, values or goals are hidden behind the language. Fourth, the language is at once constructed and constructed (Haryatmoko, 2017).

II. BRIEF HISTORY OF LIFE HAMKA

The author of Tafsir Al-Azhar better known as Hamka, is an abbreviation of the name of Haji Abdul Malik Kharim Amrullah (Amir & Kultsum, 2011). Hamka also more familiar in the call Buya. Hamka designation is his name after a pilgrimage in 1927 and received additional hajj (Hakiki, 2012). He was born in a village called Tanah Sirah, in Nagari Sungai Batang, on the shores of Lake Maninjau. West Sumatra, on February 17, 1908 (14 Muharram 1326).

His father Abdul Karim alias Haji Amrullah Prophet, a famous scholar ideology bearer of Islam in Minangkabau as well-known as clerical reformer of Islam in Minangkabau 1906 (Chamami, 2012), Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah born on 17 Safar 1296 Hijri M February 10, 1879 in the village of Chief Kabun, Jorong Betung Long, Nagari Sungai Batang, West Sumatra (Hamka, 2010). While the mother, Sitti Shafiyah, a female figure descended from Minangkabau artists. The grandfather Hamka, Amrullah known as a scholar Muhammad Naqshbandi followers (Amir & Kultsum, 2011).

Hamka talent as a writer, began to appear after he returned from Yogyakarta to Padang in 1925. As the first work entitled Chatibul Ummah. In February 1927 Hamka go to Mecca for pilgrimage and religious studying there, he had lived in Mecca for six months and worked at a printing place. July 1927 Hamka had returned from Mecca (Hamka, 1973). In the course of the pilgrimage, Hamka managed to write a novel with the title "Under the Protection Ka'bah" until the work was published by Balai Pustaka in 1938. Roman or this novel tells the love story between Abdul Hamid and Zainab, who ended with sadness (Suprpto, 2010).

On April 5, 1929, Hamka was married to Siti binti Endah Sutan Raham, who was the daughter of one of his mother's brother. From his marriage to Siti Raham, he was blessed with 11 children. They include Hisham, Zaky, Rushd, Fakhri, Azizah, Irfan, Aliyah, Fathiyah, Hilmi, Afif, and Syakib. After his wife died, one and a half years later, in 1973, he married a woman named Hj. Siti Khadijah (Abdurrahman, 2009).

Scientific owned and cultivated Hamka seemed to give the perfection of scientific grandfather and father. It thus can be seen from the figure coverage Hamka be multi-dimensional character. Among the scientific status inherent in Hamka include: literary, cultural, preachers, academics, commentators, historian even become a politician. The setatus later given its own color in the works of the famous commentary by the interpretation of al-Azhar (Sufri, 2004).

III. SUKARNO POWER DISCOURSE TEXTUALITY IN AL-AZHAR TAFSIR

Through the Malay culture, in the form of Hamka's parable, illustrating the authority of Sukarno's power, in text, he was mentioned as ruler of a dictator and individual cult.

The word dictatorship and individual cult, is obtained when Hamka interprets the QS. Al-Baqarah: 204-207 (Hamka, 1983). And indeed in its interpretation there is not a single word that mentions the name of Sukarno, but many discourses were deliberately built by Hamka as a move from the direction of his interpretation which points in the direction intended.

When interpreting verse 204, it can be seen that Hamka is making his interpretation a critic (satire) as well as a counter hegemony towards the perpetrators of "individual cult politics." Hamka imaginatively portrayed the character of the perpetrators of "individual cult politics" among other things, his words were very interesting, clever

he carried himself, as if he understood or paid attention to all important matters. As if he was thinking about human safety. As if he had good intentions and ideals, he meant to be honest, and for that he dared to swear to bring the name of God. His mouth is speechless because the sweetness of people can be attracted, and if necessary the name of Allah can be used as a witness, that he is an honest man. The more he talks, the more the names of Allah are called. Yet in his heartstrings lies a sense of revenge and animosity.

Especially when explaining verse 205, (at length) Hamka uses his interpretation at the base of the verse as a criticism and explanation of the direction and purpose of the perpetrators of the "personal cult politics", but none other than his own pomp and profit. This can be seen when Hamka uses words that are always repeated for the purpose of affirmation, namely "the splendor for himself, the benefits to be gained", "the plan is self-pomp". Hamka even made a hyperbolic statement and stated, "The rules from God, if they are seen as detrimental to his plans, will undoubtedly be obstructed and despised by him. Therefore, religion is only used which will benefit him. If it's detrimental, he will throw it. "Then Hamka emphasized again as if in closing that his aim was an "individual cult" which actually was his own advantage, he did not think that he had corrupted and harmed (Hamka, 1983).

At the end of verse 205 ("even though God does not like damage."), Hamka interprets at length, and from the commentary his interpretation shows that Hamka does not enforce the words "vulger" (abusive), who is the culprit of "individual cult politics" in question. Hamka only throws words that contain signals subtly, and that can be read or analyzed by paying attention to sentences or words that are always repeated. This shows the emphasis and affirmation and the purpose behind the writing. And there are 3 words, if you pay attention to it, it will look and feel if what Hamka means by the person who is building the "individual cult" is Sukarno as the old order regime. The 3 words are the word "speech" (3X), the word "your majesty" which is always written using two quotes (2X), and the word ruler (2X). First, said the speech, in the description of the interpretation is always attached to the shrewdness and greatness of the people in power in giving speeches even with his speech can lull the people. The word "your majesty", in the description of its interpretation is described for the "greatness" of a ruler. Sometimes Hamka sarcastically says, "almost every day the people are mobilized to watch the greatness of" your majesty ", applauding the speech" your majesty "so that the gardens and rice fields are neglected." The ruler said that Hamka was associated with the ruler of the state who acted as a dictator or an individual cult (Hamka, 1983). It further illustrates the reality of what is happening in the social life of power at that time. So it is easy to grasp the direction and motion of Hamka's interpretation that perhaps Hamka was referring to none other than Sukarno as the ruler of the old order during his lifetime.

In verse 206, at the base of the verse ("Fear God! Bring him by his arrogance to sin."), Hamka again criticizes the perpetrators of the "personal cult" power action by describing the subject, a dictator and tyranny, a coach of an individual cult. He should not be reprimanded, and should not be given advice. An honest person would be an enemy, a person who likes to take face, that's what he likes. Praise him, praise him. Give him titles.who is great to him, to be honestly reprimanded, new sins will be made, he is very proud of his power, and his arrogance will be added to by the takers who come to worship him (Hamka, 1983).

In verse 207, as the last collection of verses to be interpreted, Hamka writes that as ulemas or intellectuals have a very heavy obligation to stem the tyranny and give warnings and advice to the wrongdoers. When the mouth is silenced. God greets "weak faith" and is seen as a traitor to religious duties. And if the rebuke and advice are issued, the ruler or dictator will also be angry; he will also accuse a traitor. Then Hamka continued, that deprived

of independence was a bitter thing. Stored behind iron bars is a misery that hopefully doesn't meet. So if the faith is stronger, the matter of inner satisfaction, because the task has been completed. So after being imprisoned, he was troubled that life in prison became a beautiful inner training ground (Hamka, 1983).

IV. SUKARNO'S POWER DISCOURSE TEXTUALITY IN AL-AZHAR TAFSIR

The authority of Sukarno's power in Al-Azhar's interpretation in terms of historical context can be seen in the "presidential decree" event of 5 July 1959 and guided democracy during his reign.

Hamka's writing in his interpretation of the power of Sukarno's "personal cult" in historical context can be referred to the "Presidential Decree" July 5, 1959, which then changed the system of government from Parliamentary Democracy to Guided Democracy.

Guided democracy which changed parliamentary liberal democracy, showing Sukarno's unclear political direction and objectives, attracted a lot of criticism. Muhammad Hatta wrote in the article "Our Democracy", and argued that Indonesia's slipping into dictatorship represented an iron law of world history" (Hatta, 1960). That was the inevitable result of leaving the heavy 1945 constitution to the executive and using the parliamentary 1950 constitution. Indonesia's immature politics were not ready for the "ultrademocratic" system, which produced twenty-eight parties that competed in the 1955 Election and made the Sukarno-Hatta Dwitunggal a mere symbol without power.

In free competition, parties naturally maneuver to advance their own interests, not the interests of the state. "Corruption and demoralization are rampant," Hatta wrote. Not surprisingly, none of the coalition governments at that time managed to govern properly. Not surprisingly, when facing the possibility of anarchy, Sukarno seized power for himself in a dictatorship disguised as democracy, or democracy as mere mask "(Hatta, 1960).

His actions constituted a coup d'etat, Hatta wrote. But Indonesian democracy is not dead, just experiencing a crisis. Democracy is rooted in Indonesian village culture and also in the independence movement. When the dictatorship passes, democracy will rise again. The Democracy League is a pioneer that paves the way for the restoration of "healthy Indonesian democracy" "God willing," he concluded, "a democracy that lies dormant will be reawakened." (Hatta, 1960).

Hatta's request was very touching. The People's Flag became more popular after Hatta's article was published, then Hamka and his collaborators immediately republished the essay as a brochure. They dream of expanding the business, with magazines for women and children and new books from Hamka and other writers (Hatta, 1960). But Hatta's essay angered Sukarno; in August, Sukarno disbanded Masyumi and afterwards closed the Community Panji - first by stopping his paper supply, and finally banned the magazine from being published (Hamka, 2016). Also closed were two modernist-oriented newspapers, Masyumi's Rosihan Anwar and Abadi's Guidelines, and Indonesia Raya led by Mochtar Lubis who opposed Sukarno. As Sukarno closed the newspapers and magazines that opposed him the influence of official news and communist newspapers and magazines grew (Hamka, 2016). Facing this troubling shift, Hamka is increasingly active in her new mosque and her growing congregation. Hatta's criticism of Sukarno was clearly a counter hegemony of Sukarno's great power both in society and in government supported by the armed forces and the communists and other parties.

Hamka denounced the guided democracy as "totalitarianism". And this criticism opened social awareness that guided democracy only made it clear that Sukarno's "personal cult". On July 5, 1959 Sukarno dissolved the

Constituent Assembly and re-enacted the 1945 Constitution through a presidential decree, destroying remaining hopes of an Islamic-based constitution. Hamka accepted the defeat graciously saying, "All who reject [our view] are our brothers. All are our people, fellow countrymen. The Red and White flies above our heads." (Noer, 2001).

The romantic statement revealed Indonesia's extraordinary power of unity for Hamka, its democracy failed, and so did the struggles of its fellow Muslim reformers. In August 1960 Sukarno declared Masyumi a banned party and excommunicated his leaders (Ricklef, 2008). The worse will happen soon. Hamka also fully understands how her hopes for Indonesia to fulfill Adicerita are very much in conflict with other great forces in society, which are dangerous and are on the rise (Rush, 2016).

When viewed from its historical background, many factors led President Sukarno to make that decision. The failure of the constituents in establishing the constitution thus threatening Indonesia to the brink of collapse because Indonesia does not have a solid legal footing. The political situation is chaotic and getting worse. Conflicts between political parties disturb national stability. Many parties disagree with each other. And each political party justifies any means to achieve the objectives of his party. The Basic Law which became the basis of the administration of government cannot yet be removed while the 1950 Constitution with a liberal democratic government system is considered to be incompatible with the life of the Indonesian people.

Some see the positive impact of the "Presidential Decree" of July 5, 1959, as rescuing the country from prolonged divisions and political crises. Provide clear guidelines in running the government and state, namely the 1945 Constitution. Pioneering the formation of the highest state institution, namely, the MPRS and the high state institution, DPAS, which during the formation of Parliamentary Democracy was delayed.

Some others see the negative impact, among others: The 1945 Constitution in reality was not carried out purely and consequently. The 1945 Constitution which is supposed to be the basis of the constitutional law of the administration of government, but in its implementation only becomes mere empty slogans. Give great power to the President, MPR and other State High Institutions. This can be seen in the practice of power during the Guided Democracy and subsequent periods. Providing opportunities for the military to enter politics, and especially the Army, became a respected political force until the next order.

In the early 1960s the Indonesian political crisis worsened when Sukarno dissolved the DPR election results - the only thing left of the structure before Guided Democracy and replaced it with a DPR whose members he chose himself. "DPR Mutual Cooperation" (DPR-GR) did not include Masyumi and his allies. Following the winds of change, another major Islamic party in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama, joined the Sukarno DPR-GR together with the PNI, several functional groups, and around forty communists or appointed PKI members (Rush, 2016). Some Masjumi leaders who felt increasingly isolated were forming the Democratic League to protest the dictatorial path of Guided Democracy. Catholic, Protestant and secular leaders joined the effort together with several Army officers, and a small party linked to the Army Chief of Staff. Abdul Haris Nasution. However, the most prominent supporters of the Democratic League were Mohammad Hatta, Indonesia's first vice president, who had resigned in 1956. Although Hamka deliberately designed the Community Flag to fight in a cultural and not political war, in May 1960 he opened the door of his magazine to figures of the Indonesian independence movement the respected (Rush, 2016).

In the period of Guided Democracy Sukarno was increasingly in power, no longer heard the position of prime minister. Although before his fall, he had three Deputy Prime Ministers (Waperdam), namely Subandrio, Chaerul

Shaleh and Johannes Leimeina. And in the following years Sukarno was actually made president for life through the MPRS session decision on May 18, 1963, a decision that contradicted the 1945 Constitution but Sukarno who was increasingly aging just accepted an undemocratic decision. After the G30S failed, in 1967, Nasution, who no longer had an army, was appointed to lead a new style MPRS containing anti-communist and anti-Sukarno elements eager to overthrow Sukarno as President. Nasution, who used to help pave the way for Guided Democracy, finally took down Guided Democracy, which he said was authoritarian.

Feudalistic culture was one of the factors in the formation of Sukarno's "personal cult" power. Hamka criticized Sukarno as an actor of power oriented towards an "individual cult", because of a preserved feudal culture. Hamka asked, can a country whose people have called the president "His Majesty Jang the Honorable Lord My Lord" away from his feudal roots? Isn't Indonesia also experiencing a new form of feudalism which involves neo-priyayi, neo-kyai, and neo-military classes which have begun to emerge? Is the word "in the name of the people" the same empty here? And aren't the people of Indonesia "still suffering, because they are stupid, because they are hungry, and because they are sick"? (Rush, 2016).

The call, "Your Majesty, Your Excellency" arose from people around Sukarno. While calling "the Great Leader of the Revolution" after Guided Democracy came from Sukarno. In his speech he often delivered that he was the mouthpiece of the people. The name of the Great Leader of the Revolution was endorsed in TAP MPRS No. II / MPRS / May 1963 as well as establishing Sukarno as President for life. (<https://historia.id/>) This statement has negated Hamka's criticism of having a relationship as a counter hegemony against the Sukarno regime and opening up new social awareness, about the Indonesian people who are still suffering.

V. RELATIONSHIP OF SOEKARNO POWER DISCUSSION IN AL-AZHAR TAFSIR WITH SOCIAL CULTURE IN INDONESIA

Hamka stated in Al-Azhar's Tafsir as a criticism of his friend President Sukarno who was trapped in the action of the "personal cult" power, where the direction and purpose of his power was nothing but profit and grandeur for himself, to show off his greatness to get praise, he doesn't like to be rebuked and given advice. Religion will be used if it gives benefits to it, and if it harms it, it will be thrown. Honest people will be enemies and people who like to take face are favored (Hamka, 1983).

The ruler with the characteristics of the "individual cult", Hamka displays a number of cultures said Malay, "do not slice fiddle in the ears of buffalo" (Hamka, 1988). Because, the beauty of the fiddle can't be felt for people who do not have feelings anymore. "He is with God like a frog who wants to become an ox, finally his own stomach erupts, because of the forced greatness" (Hamka, 1983). An expression of proverbs that means failure and futility because it is too pushy (passionate) and do not heed the rules or norms of life. And Hamka predicts power with these characteristics really will not last long even will end in failure and waste, as the saying goes, "Too long so broken" (Hamka, 1985).

Perpetrators of power "individual cults" are identical with dictators or authoritarian where all governmental power is in his hands. In the historical context, Sukarno was trapped into authoritarian rule after issuing a decision called the "Presidential Decree" on July 5, 1959. And changing the direction of power from parliamentary liberal democracy to guided democracy.

The state naturally grows out of social order, because without central and unrivaled authority, society will be destroyed by unrelenting war. This is where the nature of human greed appears, even though not all greed is always negative - because it is precisely with that greed that people are driven to seek power, then create the capacity to govern. So that the government is not dangerous, that authority needs to be limited (Leege & Kellstedt, 2006). Because when there is no limit in authority, what happens is hegemony or absolutism, confined societies have no freedom at all. Thus, the authority of state sovereignty can be more dangerous than pre-state injustice, if the authority is based on uncontrolled tyranny (El-Affandi, 1994). That is in Hobbes's picture why many people choose the existence of a stateless society as a place to live rather than live under tyranny. Therefore, he proposed the idea of a limited government based on popular consent.

The state should serve the people, with a mechanism that convinces the government to be accountable to the people, not vice versa. The authorities should "to reign" not "to rule" (the government gives direction not merely uses power) (Schumman, 2015). Unlimited government has a tendency to create clashes of rulers, to prioritize personal goals, contrary to the public interest. To overcome this, political authority must be limited by the distribution of power (legislative and executive power should not be given to one organ).

It has become characteristic of the national elites seek and maintain power. Usually his efforts through awareness-forming institutions e.g. agencies, education, science and even religion, to support their interests. Mills related to these states, all elite directing his energies to the same interests that seek to maintain power, and then retain any of their policies.

On behalf of state policy, anyone who defies, disobeys, and is critical of the government must be removed. Two forces possessed by the state - in the term Althusser (Althusser, 1971) --Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) are effective forces to impose desires on the pretext of state policy against the people. The state - on the pretext of holding authority - truly utilizes power effectively as a means of production for hegemony, and only the state has that power.

Authority is nothing more than a mask of power, all the justification and legitimacy of elite rules for permits that are manipulated from those controlled. However - in Weber's perspective - the elite always tries to rationalize the rules, both for himself and when managing the masses by using political formulas or other methods of self-justification.

Business class not only justifies the de facto power, but trying to find a moral basis and legality. Similarly, the expansion of bureaucracy and no organization is more of a rationalization process that leads to the dominance-even questionable for / by whom that rational, whether it is rational for / by rulers or people-socialization and makes the form of planting confidence to the people who are affected.

The process of rationalizing bureaucracy of this kind - in Weber's terms - was transformed into an "iron cage" (Althusser, 1971). Covered by rationality, political power in essence oppresses society itself. The goal of building people who have autonomy is not achieved (Hardiman, 1993). This is in line with the adherents of the critical theory, Jurgen Habermas who considers that actions that emphasize the search for instruments (zweckrationalist) that refer to achieving the highest goals and not heeding the rationality of values (wertrationalitat), develop into "historical totality" of a "life form" (lebensform) who imprisoned the community. Both Habermas, Parsons, Arendt and Weberian followers agreed that the community had given the authorities the mandate to exercise power and even domination, both through violence and legitimacy. However, this only applies to the normative domain, not

used to deal with human greed, both individuals and groups in an organization. What often happens is that power is not exercised with the consent of the people, but in various ways, such as through manipulative decisions, persuasive opinion formation or even by the practice of domination.

The manipulation of the masses through the power of belief expressed in the form of a tangle of political, social, cultural, through means of persuasion and consensus through a mechanism that's called hegemony. This hegemony would then give birth to social formations which resulted in the emergence of asymmetric domination and arrogance of the elite that makes it even more distant from people's lives.

Is Antonio Gramsci, an Italian communist activist exponent School Frankfurt second period, detailing the domination of the state by looking at the state-run power modern. He testified that not a few people are willing to give loyalty to the state, although they had to face the crisis, they should not believe in the country, or even take the fight to the nation through revolution or elections, it turns out it was not done.

Society is not powerless against the state, because *-meminjam* term Gramsci- ruling basically had no other choice but to use the instrument of violence. They reduce the concept of unity as a function of military mobilization.

While, the extent of cultural unity is considered the political and territorial unity. Society is nothing more than an idea unorganized masses, not aware of the crimes that have plagued him, which is important they are given the pleasure gain a little, even if they are far from the collective activities because they are not involved in collective activities. The ruler in this case has a wrap-around violence by manipulation of public sentiment and provide the political justification to use a particular ideology. That is called hegemony. Besides, the government is able to use a slick authority legitimately, given by the people to him.

The description concludes, that power in general tends to be corrupt and greedy. Therefore, to avoid this power (especially the president) needs to be monitored and limited by a period of time and rules that uphold joint benefit.

VI. CONCLUSION

The power of Sukarno's "personal cult" in its historical reality produced authoritarian and unjust power, so it was necessary to make the President's power administratively and state law "supervised and restricted" and religious moral ethics needed to be understood that "power is not a gift but a divine mandate" to be directed and distributed towards justice and prosperity with the love and wisdom of a ruler

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