

## **Critical Discourse Analysis Of Pembukaan UUD 1945 Base On The Pesantren Tradition**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The texture text of Pembukaan UUD 1945 is more complete than the text of Pancasila, but there is still less research or discourse on the Pembukaan compared to Pancasila. This article efforted to fill the empty point with Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method base on the pesantren tradition as the basis of its analysis. The results showed that the pesantren tradition which is the subject of the study did not assign Pembukaan as an important discourse. Even so, the practice in Pesantren has shown that there is conformity and agreement with the Pembukaan except for the concept of Peoples,s Sovereignty if it is interpreted as democracy based on the Western paradigm. This research has shown a model of democratic practice named Maniis which can be followed up in further research. the Maniis model shows that democracy has been accepted in the axiological aspect but is unacceptable in the different epistemological aspects. In practice, there are no negative consequences for democracy, the Maniis model is actually very democratic and shows the characteristics of civil society. This invention is important because it shows direction and trend in the relation between religion and politics in Indonesia. especially related to the study of democracy and Islam in Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** *Critical Discourse Analysis, Democracy, Pembukaan UUD 1945, Pesantren Tradition.*

### **Background**

This writing aims to show an interpretation of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution based on the pesantren tradition which is expected to be an alternative or a different narrative from the will of the state. In terms of democracy, this interpretation is the interpretation of civil society which can signify the hegemonic power of the political society. In this case, the state is actually more interested in providing an interpretation of Pancasila than the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution.

Pancasila is still a debate in the state order in Indonesia. The Draft Law on Haluan Idiologi Pancasila( the Path of Pancasila Ideology) , for example, emphasizes that the struggle for the meaning of Pancasila is still ongoing in the realm of power. There was quite an influential difference of opinion between the government and civil society which was marked by the rejection of the HIP Draft. Among those who refused were NU and Muhammadiyah as the

largest civil society organizations in Indonesia which had been established before Indonesia's independence. In an official statement read by the General Secretary of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive, representing several other religious civil society organizations, he considered that constitutionally the position of Pancasila was strong and the explanation must be in accordance with the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (hereinafter referred to as the Preamble), not based on formulation or other documents (Mu'ti: 2020).

The interpretation of Pancasila should indeed be based on the Preamble text as the node. This at least provides an sphere that is more textually responsible when compared to ignore it from the Preamble text. The Orde Lama regime, for example, explained Pancasila based on the doctrines compiled by Soekarno. The meaning of Pancasila depends on the explanation of USDEK's Political Manifestations (UUD 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, Indonesian Personality), Trisakti (Sovereign in Politics, Independent in Economy, Personality in Culture), and the spirit of gotong royong described in Nasakom (Nationalist, Religious, Communist). The idea of Nasakom itself can be traced from Soekarno's ideas about the ones entitled Nationalism, Islamism, and Marxism (Soekarno: 2016). The interpretation of Pancasila to Nasakom was considered correct at the time, but was considered heretical in the Orde Baru regime. Communism was banned and considered a dangerous ideology for the state which had rebelled in 1948 and 1965.

The Orde Baru regime called Pancasila an open ideology, which requires openness in the context of its development and implementation, but still relies on the basics that are fixed and contained in the Preamble. According to Sudharmono (Sudharmono: 1995) Pancasila from the beginning was the result of the spirit of openness to various thoughts, including Soekarno's thoughts which were rejected by the Orde Baru Regime of his time.

Critical studies of the Pancasila argument as the ideology of the Indonesian nation continue to be carried out in various discourses. During the Reformation period, Pancasila was reinterpreted with the spirit of correcting various mistakes in the Orde Baru regime. These various meanings are important, but it is also important to see how Pancasila is interpreted by the community as an inseparable part of the Preamble text. Therefore, it is necessary to listen to the narratives of a heterogeneous society, not in the framework of concluding it, but in order to listen and understand it. In this way too, Pancasila can be interpreted from the text of its original place.

Pancasila, actually becomes an inseparable text from the Preamble. Therefore, the Preamble can provide a more satisfactory explanation to explain Pancasila. What is more important than that is that the Preamble can be a more perfect text to be explained as a state ideology because the order of discourse in the Preamble is more complete so that it is able to provide an explanation between one word or concept to another.

## Literature Review

The study of the Preamble has not been carried out as seriously as the study of Pancasila (conclusions in a discussion with a researcher at the UGM Center for Pancasila Studies in 2019). The cause of this situation cannot be ascertained, but several important things can be said to predict this situation. First, because every ruling regime prefers to interpret Pancasila rather than interpreting the Preamble, the agenda for the Preamble's discourse is considered sufficient by discussing Pancasila. Further questions should be asked as to why the regime chose Pancasila over the Preamble. One possibility is that Pancasila can be used more as part of political propaganda that is more profitable for the regime than the Preamble. Second, perhaps because Soekarno first elected and popularized it, and became one of the important points of the development of the doctrine of power after the Presidential Decree (1959) because Soekarno was considered the person who introduced the term Pancasila at the BPUPK meeting on June 1, 1945.

Speculation of answers is important to do if need a rational discourse related to Pancasila and the Preamble. The problem is, the narrative about Pancasila and the Preamble is more dominated by the discourse structure of the authorities than the community itself. As a result, Pancasila and the Preamble have become elitist which are only discussed by the elite for the interest of power. The community itself does not actually talk about it seriously because it lacks relevance to the social life of the community.

The mainstreaming of Pancasila and or the neglect of the Preamble is also seen from the production of knowledge carried out by intellectuals. Kaelan for example, although explaining the very important position of the Preamble as a legal ideal in the Indonesian state as a regulatory and constitutive function, places Pancasila as the core of the functions possessed by the Preamble. So, actually Kaelan is not conducting a study on the Preamble, but on Pancasila (Kaelan: 180-208). In this case, Kaelan actually agreed that the Preamble was more ideological in character (Rudy: 2013) than the law, but chose to explain Pancasila.

In his book, Kaelan does not explain some of the words that may be key and important concepts in the Preamble. The number of pages used to analyze the Preamble is only a few pages and is not exhaustive. The focus of the study remains on Pancasila, which is about Pancasila being the explanation for the Preamble and not the other way around.

Yudi Latif (2017) also wrote a book in the same way, Pancasila is not explained by the Preamble. Pancasila is more explained as or in Soekarno's view of seeing Pancasila as a basic norm and not a positive norm, this ignores some historical facts and legal reviews (Sumakto; 2012). In fact, the book Negara Paripurna was written with a fairly clear intention, but neglected some very basic things such as the Preamble as a whole text.

*"This book is intended as a reference source, by reconstructing the nature of Pancasila thought as idealized by the founding fathers of the nation. This reconstruction effort is intended to represent "ideal types" in Max Weber's sense, namely an ideal construction of the ideas of the founding fathers of the nation related to Pancasila and the Constitution as its derivatives..." (Latif: 50)*

The explanation based on the reconstruction effort cannot show the nature of Islamic thought and is more representative of the nature of Western thought. This idea is the same as when explaining the context of religion in religious terms (Zulfirman: 2018) and not *deen*. The idea of the nature of Islamic thought is considered non-universal, or at least less universal as can be seen from the comments on the disillusionment of the Islamic group towards the results of the PPKI meeting on August 18, 1945 which was considered identity politics.

*"The disappointment of some Islamic leaders reflects the continued ferment of the spirit of "identity politics", which is generally defined more by painful memories from the past, rather than by a vision for the future." (Latif: 37)*

Some examples of these studies have contributed greatly to the study of Pancasila and the Preamble, but do not let these studies place Pancasila as a myth because it stops questions. One of the ways to stop the question is through the intervention of power, such as the determination of the birthday of Pancasila on June 1 (Presidential Decree no. 24 of 2016). The Pancasila narrative that was born on June 1 has confirmed the dominance of the interpretation of Pancasila following Soekarno, because it is in the form of a conclusion that the substance or ontology of Soekarno's June 1 speech is the same as the current Pancasila. In fact, the two texts (Soekarno's June 1 speech with the Preamble) still have floating signifier that can be critically explained because one unified process is not necessarily one unified substance.

Pardi's research (2019) regarding the words Tuhan and Allah in the third paragraph can show that discourse has not yet entered the issue. Using history, he questions the word but has not seen it in discourse analysis. In his conclusion, Pardi said "So it becomes an interesting discourse if we review the history of the dynamics of the word...". The conclusion only stops at that level but has not entered into a more substantial interest related to the paradigm.

Therefore, to continue to develop the discourse, it is important to provide a different narrative so that it can become the antithesis in the process of developing social science. Through the critical discourse analysis method from Norman Fairclough (1995), the Preamble will try to be interpreted with the tradition of the *pesantren* that has lived in the Priangan culture that has lasted for hundreds of years until now (for example, the Condong *Pesantren* in Tasikmalaya was founded in 1864 until now, (Sind:2020))

Through this alternative narrative, it is hoped that it can provide a new perspective in the discourse that has been dominant, or at least reaffirm, clarify, or straighten various conclusions. Especially the most important thing from this article is to raise the Preamble as a more complete text to explain Pancasila and the basics of state life. As a more complete text, the Preamble has a more complete discourse structure for the benefit of the life of the nation and state.

The alternative discourse comes from social practices in the *pesantren* tradition that have lived and been together in the history of society and the nation before the presence of the state. It must be stated, even though it may be something that is not expected, that the country has changed, and may continue to change, but society is maintained along with traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation. *Pesantren* has existed during the

colonial period of the Dutch East Indies, during the Pasundan State, until the current state of the Republic of Indonesia.

## Method

Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) guides the research process on the Preamble. In CDA's perspective, text is a discourse that will influence social practice and social practice will also have an influence on the text (Fairclough, 1995: 71-73). Therefore, the text will be viewed from the production and consumption processes. The production process will show how the text is influenced by social practice, and consumption will show how the text affects social practice.

CDA divides the text into three sections of assessment. The first part is an assessment of the text itself through a linguistic study process. In this stage the text will be seen in terms of word-to-word relationships in one sentence, sentences with subordinate clauses, and between sentences. The second part will look at the text in the process of production and consumption as described previously. The first part is called text analysis, while the second part is called discourse practice. The third part is to look at the text in the socio-cultural context that surrounds it. In this section, the socio-cultural situation will broadly give meaning to the text and explain how the relationship between the text and social practice (Phillips: 2007).

The preamble will be reviewed based on CDA in the process of consuming texts which will have an influence on social practices. Pesantren as a subject that consumes texts has a socio-cultural context that provides an explanation of how and why the consumption of texts is like that. So, CDA will only be carried out for part two in the consumption process and part three related to the explanation of the socio-cultural context. The first part (text analysis) and the first second part (text production) should be explained in other studies more specifically.

The selected pesantren are those that have experience in intensive social practice. That is, the pesantren has influence and its influence shows the results of changes in social practice. For the purposes of this paper, the name and location of the pesantren will be given the name "Maniis" as a signifier for the actual signified. The boarding school is located in West Java in the socio-cultural context of the Priangan community.

## Result and Discussion

It is important to first emphasize some of the important concepts used in this research so that the analysis of the results obtained can be better understood. The concepts of discourse and pesantren are two things that must be explained in order to provide the right framework, including in this case the relationship between these two things and reality and social history in Indonesia.

Although placing the relationship between discourse and social practice differently, Fairclough follows the notion of discourse given by Laclau and Mouffe. Discourse is;

*"Any practice that seeks to establish the relationship between elements so that their identity changes as a result of articulatory practice is called articulation. The structured totality that comes*

*from articulatory practice we call the method. Different positions seem to be articulated in a discourse, we call them moments. Instead, we call element to refer to any distinction that is not discursively articulated." (Phillips:47)*

If according to Laclau and Moufe discourse builds or gives meaning to social practice, Fairclough sees the both as influencing each other (Fairclough: 73). According to Fairclough, discourse is shaped by structure (social practice), but discourse also plays a role in shaping, reproducing and transforming social practice. Therefore, the production and consumption of texts can change social practices and vice versa. Therefore, Fairclough mentions discourse as the most important thing in building a hegemony that combines the use of violence and discourse (Gramsci: 57).

Pesantren in Indonesia have the potential to carry out a hegemonic process because they have the ability to produce texts and be consumed by the community. This is possible, because pesantren have a socio-cultural role in society, and even become part of the community. the history shows, since the era of the Majapahit kingdom, Islamic kingdoms, the independence of Indonesia, until now, pesantren have played a major role in socio-political dynamics. In the struggle for Indonesian independence, for example, pesantren on the one side build public awareness to oppose colonialism (this is the influence of social practice on texts), as well as mobilize people to carry out jihad to fight against colonialism (this is the effect of texts on social practice) as in the incident on Sepuluh November in Surabaya.

This position can be understood because pesantren has five elements (Mudzofier: 79-99) that allow it to become an inseparable part of society. The first is the pondok (lodge) where the students and teachers stay. Pondok is needed because many students come from far away places, as well as the unavailability of lodging places from the community (such as boarding houses). In addition, the pondok shows a father-son relationship between the kyai and the santri. Second is mosques, apart from being a place for congregational prayers five times or Friday, the mosque is also a place for recitations that are held both for students and for the local community. Third, our teaching of classical Islam from various types of knowledge in the Islamic tradition. Fourth, santri (students) consisting of santri mukim (who come from faraway areas and live in pesantren) and santri kalong (who come from local areas and usually do not settle). These santri not only study us, but work with teachers or the community such as trading, farming and others. Fifth, the kyai as the most important element of the pesantren. A pesantren cannot be called a pesantren if there is no kyai, and the quality of the pesantren will be largely determined by the quality of its kyai. In Priangan, a mountainous region in southeastern West Java (Ekadjati; 17), Kyai are called Ajengan.

### **Maniis and Consumption The Preamble Text**

Of the five pesantren elements , two of them are still not perfect, namely the mosque and Ajengan. There is a mushola (little mosque, not use to Jumatan) where students pray and recite the Koran, but it is not used by the general public. This is because there is a mosque that existed before the pesantren was founded and developed. The mosque is used for the five daily prayers and Friday prayers, as well as recitations, one of which is also filled by Maniis.

Ajengan who founded Maniis, who had died several years earlier and was replaced by his son -who was still not called an ajengan by the community. However, his son has religious knowledge and is able to teach classical Islamic lesson because he has studied at several pesantren and other places of Islamic studies, including the pesantren where his father used to study (called Babakan).

Along with more than a thousand other pesantren, Maniis is listed as an alumni pesantren from Babakan, a large pesantren that has great influence in the socio-political situation in Priangan. The Babakan family has a close relationship with the history of the Islamic movement in Priangan, which is influential at the international level and has been studied at the international level. Now, Babakan is influential in public policy and participates in local political contestations.

Babakan provides influenced for Maniis, but interaction with the community is largely determined by the quality of interaction with other parties. There are several activities that connect Maniis with society and the government, namely education, economics/agriculture, politics, and youth activity. Educational activities consist of religious education for children, recitation for the community in general, and the study of classical books. Education in Maniis is dynamic, religious education for children is the best. Maniis alumni engage and have communication which usually holds a meeting at least once a year.

In the economic, relations with the community mainly occur in agricultural activities and trade in agricultural products. Maniis accesses grants or assistance from the government and coordinates in various other government policies. When Maniis was still held by the first generation, relations with the government were very limited, even almost non-existent. The situation is very different from the current second generation which is open and interacting mutually.

In the politics, some of the Maniist families interacted with electoral political actors, and one of them even participated in becoming a legislative candidate from a party that was not based on an ideology or an Islamic mass base and was not elected as a member of the local legislature. One of the other family members, had participated in the village administration and made the village an achievement village. This situation does not occur in the first generation who have never participated in the government system in Indonesia, and even tend to avoid it.

The last field in the youth activity, is marked by the participation of several members of the Maniis family in youth organizations at both local and national levels. Participation in this youth organization has helped build a network of pesantren in various government and non-government programs. So, apart from being close to youth at the village level, Maniis is connected to youth at the regional and national levels.

These circumstances may explain how Maniis will consumption the Preamble text. It can be concluded that Maniis in the second generation has received various information and insights from various experiences and parties which will form the basis for the consumption process of the Preamble text.

To find out the process of text consumption, the researcher started by opening various discussions on various themes in the socio-political. Although not all of the Maniis family were present, they represented various expressions in various activities, namely economics, politics, education, and youth. The discussion process took place openly and without any obstacles, both psychologically and sociologically.

The Maniis family handed over an explanation of the consumption of the text of the Preamble to one of his family who is responsible for education (hereinafter referred to as Asep). The religious knowledge (fiqh and aqidah) of the entire family followed Asep and he was considered the person who had the authority to explain and decide on the matter. Included in this is to provide comments on the contents and explanations of the Preamble.

Asep explained that the entire contents of the Preamble were approved and in accordance with Islam, except for the issue of people's sovereignty. According to him, the sovereignty of the people must not conflict with or exceed the sovereignty of God. More specifically, especially about the right to make laws which is the right of Allah.

According to Asep, humans should not make laws because the law is the right of God. Therefore, if the sovereignty of the people means the sovereignty to make any law, whether it is appropriate or not in accordance with Islam, then it has violated the rights of Allah. This opinion is in line with the concept of Al Hakimiyah Al Ilaihiyah as explained by Al Maududi that Allah knows best about affairs and humans, and therefore all human affairs must follow the rules that Allah has set (Al Maududi: 1996).

Asep's thoughts are based on An Nas's letter which explains that Allah is not only the Rab (Lord) who created humans, but also the Malik (King) for humans as well as God for humans. So, as a king, Allah rules and all humans must obey the rules that Allah has set for humans. Therefore, the phrase "people's sovereignty" written in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble is considered contrary to the concept of Allah as king for humans, not Allah as Lord and God (Ilah).

Although there are similarities between Al Maududi's thoughts and Asep's, in practice there are very clear differences. Al Maududi wants a territorial separation between India and Pakistan which is based on the idea that it is mandatory to live under Allah's laws – so that according to him the one square kilometer area established by Allah's law is more valuable than the Indian peninsula. Asep is different, he and his family do not try to separate themselves from the socio-political life in Indonesia which is governed by laws (derived from) Allah or not from Allah.

The explanation of the different relationship between text consumption and social practice can be explained by the context of the Maniist socio-cultural situation and the text of the Preamble. This explanation will provide information on how to understand the relationship between discourse and social practice as well as provide considerations for the future that may be developed in socio-political in Indonesia.



## Socio-Cultural Context

Socio-cultural context is a broader explanation related to socio-cultural conditions that provide an interpretation for the process of consumption or meaning of the text. In this way, the relationship between texts and social practice is not just a linear relationship, but is random following the circumstances and interpretations of the socio-cultural context of the persona who consumes the text.

The important question that arises is why it is The Maniists who reject the fundamental conception of democracy but do not prevent them from participating in democracy. Democracy is the official interpretation of the political rulers and the current violence against Pancasila and the Preamble. Thus, the important statement can also read why it is the Maniists who reject the official interpretation of the authorities on Pancasila and the Preamble but do not prevent them from participating in government and dealing with the government.

Researcher have reached the final conclusion during understanding Maniis (until early 2021) about it. That the Manis have placed religion as something contextual, but still adhere to the textual. Religion is placed by the Maniists as something that has remained as a text, or rather holy revelation. But even though religion has remained as a holy revelation, the context that continues to change requires them to use reason to judge the most beneficial thing for the sake of humanity and religion itself. It can be said that the Maniists remained radical in thought and attitude, but were very flexible in behavior.

In this case, Huntington's thesis that Islam will confront civilization with the West is not proven. Islam and the West only face each other in terms of thought or worldview, but civilizationally, in social practice they can coexist. Maniists show that the West is incapable of hegemony over the choice of mind and neither does social or political attitudes. Although Maniis participates in all its terms in democracy (whether through elections, government policies, or strengthening civil society), Maniis itself gives a different meaning to this participation.

Maniis said that what they did was in an effort to survive in the face of worsening conditions. In the past, when their parents were young and they (the second generation) were still child, the elders and scholars met and discussed how and what knowledge would be imparted to the community. Every community issue is discussed and decided, so that people's lives are sustainable and in accordance with religion.

But now, when parents and elders are gone, anyone can talk about what in the community through recitation. There are no longer gatherings and deliberation that substantially discuss community problems. Indeed, there is an Indonesian Ulema Council at the sub-district level, but they have become more of an extension of government than of preserving community values and sustainability.

Apart from the social , the same thing also happened in the economic . The youths go to the cities and leave the villages with all their potential untapped. Agriculture has more than the last 5 years difficulties in dealing with weather that is more difficult to understand than in previous years (changes in weather, rain cycles, solar heat and others that may be caused

by various industrial pollutions). Maniis tries to keep upstream so that the water that reaches their village remains sufficient and clear. They have to deal with Perhutani which always wants production forest, pine forest, which prevents water from being absorbed upstream. To survive in the face of nature, also to survive in the face of unfair business competition, either because of government regulations or because of the monopoly of large companies.

Maniis once opened a chicken farm which slowly continued to grow. However, the development of chicken farming cannot continue because the market is more profitable for large companies. The price of feed and the price of livestock products in the market does not allow them to make a profit, sometimes even a loss. The government can't do anything and just let the people's livestock bankrupt.

Maniis sometimes get help or grants from the government, but they are not seeker and depend on these aids and grants. They say that with or without assistance from the government, they will continue to achieve the vision that has been made. But that does not mean that they are also antipathy to all that, they are active in participating in government programs and helping the success of these programs. They also understand how difficult the government is, both because of bureaucratic pathology and because of the condition of the people.

They have come to a conclusion that the government and bureaucratic processes cannot provide greater benefits to society because of the unsupportive work culture of the bureaucrats. The budgeting process has also limited government performance and made creativity difficult. The conclusion was drawn after one member of the Maniis family was able to become a part of the bureaucracy and bring achievements to government institutions. So, the conclusion was made rationally and empirically.

Pathology in government also occur because of the condition of the people who depend on the government. Various government programs are only worth a project, completed in the program and a fair report at the inspectorate without providing sustainable impacts and benefits in the community. There are some people who for various reasons are able to access various assistance or government program activities, but cannot provide sustainable benefits. The government also cannot avoid them because these groups will determine the success of the program. (Bureaucracy) The government does not want to take on more roles, it is content with reports that are reasonable according to the government administration.

All these experiences and conclusions form the basis for Maniis to act and behave. They do not change their fixed understanding (Islam), but they change their behavior in interacting with various parties. They did not change their stance and interpretation of the Preamble, but at the same time, they were able to change their behavior. Therefore, when the authorities stated that the interpretation of the Preamble was democracy, civil society, they did not follow that. But even so, they did not express hostility towards the government because of various opinions. They continue to participate and assist government programs.

## Maniis, Islam and Democracy

The interpretation of the Preamble in the pesantren tradition has led to the focus of the discussion on Islam and democracy. What is the relationship between Islam and democracy? Are Islam and democracy compatible, or are they not compatible. Maniis has become a model for the relationship between Islam and democracy

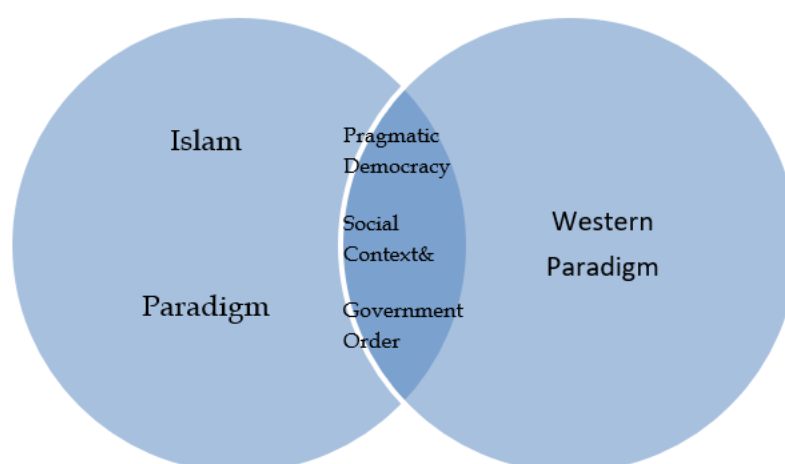
Lipson has divided democracy into three contexts, namely philosophy, social and governance. With the help of this division of the study of democracy according to Lipson, the Maniist model can be explained as rejecting in a philosophical context, but still accepting in terms of social and governance. This is demonstrated by the socialist practice of interacting with governments and other organizations, but not accepting the fundamental ideas or philosophy of democracy.

For example, it is about tolerance. In a democracy that is based on Western culture with a secular meaning, tolerance means recognizing that what is considered right by us today may be wrong in the future. Nurcholis Madjid mentioned a willingness to accept that there may not be a right answer to a problem. Tolerance in this sense is one of the most important civility values of democracy because it follows the socio-political practice that prevailed in the Greek period (which became the prototype of democratic freedom).

Maniis will certainly not accept this democratic philosophy of tolerance. However, the Maniist experience shows that tolerance in the context of social and governance is still implemented. That is, there are things that are pragmatically, axiologically appropriate but ontologically and epistemologically cannot be adjusted.

Maniis, can be a model of the relationship between Islam and democracy in the Indonesian context.

**Figure 1.**



Sources: obtained from primary data

In the Maniis model, Islam and the Western can meet in the context of social and governmental arrangements in relation to the pragmatic need for democracy. However, Islam and the Western cannot meet in democracy in terms of its fundamental values or paradigms. Of course there must be further investigation, whether the slice shows that the social context and government order are accepted because they are in full accordance with the Islamic paradigm or only because of pragmatic interests. Against this interest, there needs to be a further study that can explain this Maniis model.

## **Conclusion**

The process of interpreting the Preamble which is based on the pesantren tradition by taking one of the pesantren (and its alumni network) has placed democracy as its main discourse. There is nothing that is considered problematic by pesantren regarding the Preamble except the interpretation of the word people's sovereignty if it is interpreted as democracy based on the Western paradigm. The Preamble itself does not become an important discourse in pesantren, but that does not mean that these values do not exist in pesantren. Pesantren can understand and recognize these values and practice them in socio-political life because substantially they have become part of the life of the pesantren itself.

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