

SCHOLARS AND POWER: THE ROLE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS IN A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY

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Abstract: In sociological taxonomy, scientists or intellectuals are categorized as a middle class whose role is to bridge the interests of the elite (power) and grassroots movements that want change. In carrying out the task of bridging, they often have to deal with power tools that lead to imprisonment. In a democracy, they have a vital role. They are the ones who can break the deadlock in political communication between elite interests and grass-root demands. The dysfunction of the middle class in a democratic country will destroy the integrity of a country; otherwise, the elite who pays attention to the pressure of the middle class will be able to maintain the integrity of a democratic country.

Keywords: Scholars, a middle class, Democracy, Democratic Country, Political Communication.

Introduction

"I am more eager to discuss in the corners of Ciputat compared to discussions with the State. Because when we take to the streets carrying an argument, the resonance of the communication presented to us is full of sentiment. There is no argument to us so that we can answer with science."

(Sultan Rivandi, Head of Students Board of Islamic State University Jakarta, 2019)

Sultan Rivandi's statement regarding the demonstration against the ratification of the KPK Bill to the DPR in September 2019, which was conveyed in a talk show on one of the national private television channels, deserves attention. The narration conveyed at least contains some concepts related to science and power, namely the State, discussion, demonstration, communication, sentiment, and argument. From this expression, Rivandi hopes that the power should face demonstrations carried out by students by bringing arguments about something in question by bringing arguments as well so that they can answer the thirst for curiosity and enlightenment on the dark matters relating to issues that need to be discussed, not answered with sentiments in the form of actions. Security forces sprayed violence and tear gas as an instrument of the State to protect people. The security apparatus should be present

to secure the course of "discussions" between mandated and those who mandate power. In dialogue and a safe atmosphere, the security forces should be in a neutral position by giving space to both parties to give each other arguments. In certain circumstances, if necessary, the apparatus can force the government to attend and appear to explain to the people, instead of committing acts of violence blindly, as if the government is right. In a situation like this, do not blame it if parties think that the security apparatus is no longer neutral and has transformed into an apparatus of power, not a state apparatus.

This incident leaves at least three questions related to the interaction between science and power in state management; first, how ideally does a democratic country exercise its power to implement the people's mandate? Second, how is the interaction between intellectuals and power glorifying truth concerning intellectuals? Is there an atmosphere of dialogue between scholars and rulers? Or did the rulers take repressive measures? Finally, thirdly, what is the role of intellectuals as a middle group in a social structure in building a democratic state?

Discussion And Analysis

A. Country And Power

The State can be defined as a group of people occupying certain lands held by the legitimate and sovereign State. The government is a region with a rule or regulation that applies to all citizens and is free. The first requirement is to have the people, their land, and an independent state. In addition, the second requirement is to get recognition from other countries. Results should be explained in a logical order using text, tables, and illustrations to clarify the research protocol. Where appropriate, the test shall be described and supported concerning the original citation of the test.

Bierens de Haan, as quoted by Yusril Ihza Mahendra, put forward a view that the State is essentially a collection of community units that form an organization because of a particular will. Character as a social being gives rise to society as a unit. Based on particular thoughts, they will give rise to the existence of a state. So, the State does not arise naturally. Ideals (*een idee*) manifest the will and thoughts that can bridge community units in fulfilling common interests.

The formation of Indonesia as a country is based on very simple but very noble ideals, namely wanting to create an independent, just, prosperous, united sovereign. The second paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution is the formulation of these ideals. As stated in many works of literature, the Indonesian nation's national goal is to increase development/general welfare, education in the nation's life, play an active role, and participate in implementing a world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice.

In political science, the study of power is the most prominent. The party can influence the party to comply with the policies or rules with power. With power, the community may be bound and obedient so that the ruler can realize the ideals he wants (Haryanto, 2017).

Furthermore, in social science, Russell (2019) states that the fundamental concept of social science is the concept of power. Russell equates it with the concept of energy in physics, hence social power, political power, belief power, economic power, ideology, and power.

In the State, with a shared desire, the community or people give their power mandate to the state administrators. In connection, power is understood as a person or group of people who use it by their authority. In addition, it is also argued that ability is also known ability of individuals or groups to influence the behaviour of other people or groups under the wishes of the perpetrator or influence other parties to think and act on the desire to influence.

According to Montesquieu, in a democratic country, the power given by the people to state administrators gives birth to three state functions which are popular with the trias-politica theory, namely (a) the legislative function, which is authorized to make laws, (b) the executive, which is authorized to implement laws. The Law, and (c) the judiciary, which has the authority to oversee that all regulations are obeyed or have a judicial function.

With Montesquieu's trias-politica, the division of power in Indonesia can be grouped into two categories of power, namely vertical power and horizontal power. The division of state power based on levels, namely the Provincial and City/Regency levels, is a vertical power. In this vertical power, autonomy is at the Regency/City level, except for the DKI Jakarta province, autonomy is at the provincial level.

Furthermore, the division of power carried out by the central government and local governments based on the functions of certain institutions is referred to as horizontal power. After the amendment, there was a shift in power at the central level, from three powers to six powers. The following will present the officials and the powers they carry, namely (a) the President as the holder of Executive power, namely the power to carry out the Law, (b) the House of Representatives (DPR) as the holder of legislative power, namely the power to form laws, (c) The Supreme Court (MA) and the Constitutional Court (MK) as the holder of the Judicial power, namely the power to enforce law and justice, (d) the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) as the holder of the Constitutive power, namely the power to change and enact the Constitution, (e) The Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) as the holder of the Examiner or Inspective power, namely the power related to the implementation of the audit or management and responsibility of state finances, and (f) Bank Indonesia (BI) as the Monetary power, namely the power to determine and implement monetary policy.

With the division of power in many state institutions, both vertically and horizontally, Indonesia is expected to become a democratic country that pays attention to the interests of its people to achieve happiness as citizens.

B. Scientists, Scholars, Intellectual

"Ilm" is an Arabic word absorbed into Indonesian knowledge. Knowledge can be interpreted as understanding a specific knowledge based on the word's origin. Called certain knowledge because science is different from other knowledge, science is a unique knowledge in which a person knows the object of his knowledge, how to

obtain it, and what its use is for the benefit of humanity. The function of science is to describe, explain, predict, and control a reality. When science is used in managing life, a peaceful, happy, and prosperous state will be created, characterized by human behaviour that is polite, civilized, and with common sense.

In modern times like today, said Chalmers, science gets very high appreciation. It is a widely held belief that science and its various methods have something special. Claims on the pattern of scientific research reasoning are nothing but the intent to be trustworthy or reliable. Chalmers' view can be understood because the latest global facts show that progress and prosperity are correlated with the progress of its civilization. One of them is shown by the progress of science and technology in the country in question.

Alfin Toffler, as quoted by Suradika and Virgana (2012), views that science as a powerful force that has replaced other forces such as money and power. If a person has one billion dollars, then the power of that money runs out when used by the owner. Likewise, when one person uses his power, other people cannot use that power simultaneously. However, millions of people can use science and its power simultaneously. As a result of scientific discoveries and advances, nuclear discoveries have been used by various countries and thousands of experts for various purposes. However, the tremendous power of science can be disastrous when used without moral considerations. Knowledge is like a double-edged sword: it can be used for good and evil. In the hands of good people, knowledge will bring many benefits; on the contrary, in the hands of bad people, knowledge will bring misery to many people.

Those knowledgeable are called scientists, namely, experts who have much knowledge about a science or people involved in science. Other scholars often refer to him as a scholar, which Julien refers to as anyone who cultivates the art or science or metaphysical reflection as a way to find joy. They have an unearthly treasure, who say in their way: "My kingdom is not in this world. In other words, the scholar is not a person whose core activity is not the pursuit of practical ends. Their activities constituted a resolute resistance to mass realism. Realism is an understanding based on reality, which can be seen and touched. In other words, it can be argued that intellectuals struggle with the world of ideas, ideals, and the nobility of reason."

Another word that is often equated with scientists and scholars is intellectuals. M. Amien Rais (2008) defines an intellectual as someone who captures the ongoing phenomena in his community, nation, and country and has a commitment to defend his nation's interests, and can take risks in the struggle for justice and truth. To capture the phenomenon in question, he must have adequate general knowledge.

Social changes, even revolutions that occur in a country, always involve intellectuals because they have and play an essential and decisive role in every change. They have a universal view of humanity, can get out of the confines of society and their country, and do not hesitate to dissect the rotten political and economic power of their own country. That is one of the characteristics shared by intellectuals.

In Amien Rais's view, intellectuals can be categorized into three groups, namely intellectuals (a) who serve truth, justice, and universal humanity, (b) those who

oppose change and prefer to support the establishment, and (c) "neutral" who do not take sides in the name of the objectivity of science.

C. Interaction Of Science And Power

The exercise of power constantly forms a relationship. Some are in a command position in this relationship, and some are ruled. Humans act as subjects as well as objects of power. There are various types of dynamic interactions, one of which interaction between science as a finding from humans are ruled by the understanding of the truth embraced by the authorities.

In Michael H. Hart's (2012) historical tracing, Galilei Galileo, born on February 15, 1564, had an uncomfortable relationship with church authorities. The laws of motion, mechanics, astronomy, and modern science, are the discoveries that made him widely known. He had shifted the Aristotelian model of reasoning until the 17th century was still followed, which often erred in predicting cause and effect. The shift occurred because Galileo succeeded in laying the basis of observational reasoning and careful measurement to find scientific facts. The way to accept the truth of Nicolas Copernicus' heliocentric theory was wide open thanks to Galileo's observations of celestial phenomena. The doctrine of the Catholic church is very different from this heliocentric theory. Therefore this view is considered too radical.

In 1616 he was ordered not to teach the Copernican hypothesis. He was sentenced to house confinement, suffered from blindness, and died under house arrest on January 8, 1642. In this regard, the church feels they need to sanction Galileo to maintain the truth of the church's opinion as to the party with the authority of truth.

Galilei Galileo's experience results from the absence of democracy, which presents the risk of suffering people with knowledge when their views or opinions about the truth conflict with those of the authorities. In the interaction between scholars and power dynamics in Indonesia, Buya Hamka has also experienced suffering due to sour relations with power. The Soekarno regime imprisoned Buya in early 1964, precisely on January 27 in Ramadan, the 12th. Around 11 pm, Buya Hamka was picked up, arrested, and detained. Day and night, morning and evening inspections are held that do not stop, rest when eating and praying (*Buya HAMKA: Komitmen Menegakkan Risalah Kebenaran*, n.d.). For 15 days and 15 nights, various questions were asked non-stop. Even though there were no wrongdoings or wrongdoings, it seems that Buya Hamka was already at fault. If he does not admit he made a mistake, do not expect to sleep. The allegation of holding a clandestine meeting in Tangerang for the plot to assassinate the Minister of Religion and President Soekarno is a fabricated reason to put Buya Hamka in prison. In addition, Buya Hamka is also planning a coup against the government with financial support from Malaysian Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman.

Buya Hamka hopes that the leaders will act pretty and avoid undesirable traits that make people miserable. Buya said what he thought was right. Hamka has never been hostile to the leader; therefore, he also hopes that the people will use a polite and wise way of reprimanding leaders who are seen as wrong. Hamka also invited the people to help leaders to lead better. With Buya Hamka's good nature, it was not

surprising that when Soekarno died, Buya Hamka became the priest of the funeral prayer, even though Soekarno had thrown him into prison. Buya had great respect for Soekarno because he was one of the leaders who had brought Indonesia to independence. In Buya Hamka's view, Soekarno was also a human who could make mistakes.

Why is Buya Hamka considered against Sukarno? In 1955, representing the Masjumi party, Buya Hamka joined the Constituent Body. Muhammadiyah nominated Buya to represent the Masjumi constituency in Central Java. Hamka's voice against the idea of guided democracy in this body sounded very loud. In 1958 at an event in Bandung, Buya Hamka delivered a speech rejecting the idea of guided democracy openly.

That same year, during a heated debate, the Islamic Symposium in Lahore was held. Hamka received an invitation and became a member of the Indonesian delegation to attend the event. After that, he visited Egypt. He had the honour of obtaining a Doctorate Honoris Causa (HC) from Al-Azhar University, Cairo. He conveyed his thoughts on Muhammad Abduh's influence in Indonesia at the forum in his inaugural speech as an extraordinary professor. Hamka's criticism of the idea of guided democracy and his speech about Abduh's influence in Indonesia were seen as factors that caused Soekarno to position Hamka as a politician who interfered with the existence of Indonesia in the future.

From the campus, students are a group of young intellectuals who also play a significant role in voicing the truth to maintain the country's existence. Students are a group of teenagers and young people studying in a particular field of science. The temporary nature is attached to the status of students while they are studying. After finishing college, the student's status will be lost, and he will enter the category of scientist or scholar. They are the successor cadres who have an essential role in maintaining the existence of the State. Students are one of many groups who will inherit what a country has, which will continue to achieve goals and maintain the nation's future. Therefore, students must have a solid character to build their nation and country, have strong faith, have good character, understand and follow the development of science and technology to compete globally to realize the nation's ideals in the future with full responsibility.

The role of students and youth in the pre-independence, old order, new order, reform, and post-reform eras are traces of the journey of students and youth that can be traced to understand their role in the history of the nation's struggle. The establishment of Budi Utomo in 1908, May 20, is a milestone in the history of the role of students and youth in the history of the nation's struggle. The nation's revival has begun. Through national awakening, the students and youth have sparked the spirit of unity. They fight for the Indonesian people to become one nation, not divided into ethnicity, race, religion, and other national barriers.

Furthermore, in 1928, on October 28, the youth oath event was an authentic trace of the role of students and youth in forming the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Likewise, at the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, Indonesian students and youth actively formed the Unitary State of the

Republic of Indonesia. The trail is continuing, the youth, student, and student movement in 1966, students and youth also participated in fighting for the values of truth to establish the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Likewise, when the fall of the New Order in 1998, with Amien Rais as the locomotive of change, students and youth were the main actors in overthrowing the authoritarian regime that had been in power for 32 years. The collapse of the new order regime also brought the Indonesian nation into a reform period. From this historical trajectory, it is obvious how students as young intellectuals play an active role in the process of struggle and development of the nation.

The year 2019, in the view of many experts and observers, is the year of awakening awareness of young scholars about the importance of their critical attitude in addressing the nation's problems. Various state policies that are seen as deflecting the direction of reform have moved students to the streets.

Fadrik Aziz Firdausi noted the 2019 student movement. In various cities, there were mass movements that demanded various things. "The Victory of Calling" is a student and community demonstration movement that calls itself the Yogyakarta Movement of People's Alliance. They held a peaceful demonstration in Yogyakarta on Monday, September 23, 2019. The motion of no confidence in the DPR and the political elite was one of the movement's aspirations. The Alliance is suing the RKUHP, which has killed democracy and violated human rights. The article on treason is clearly at risk of becoming a rubber article that will suppress democracy. The rubber articles in the draft law can criminalize homeless people with a fine of one million rupiahs. Article 34 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution states that the poor and neglected children are cared for by the State. So it is clear that this article contradicts the 1945 Constitution. Other issues that were also raised were related to the rotten plan to weaken the KPK, burning forests and mines, and other vital issues.

As happened in Yogyakarta, in Jakarta at the same time, the Indonesian Parliament Building was packed with masses of students from various universities. The University of Indonesia, Syarif Hidayatullah Islamic State University of Jakarta, University of Muhammadiyah Jakarta, Al-Azhar University, Atma Jaya University, Christian University of Indonesia, and several other universities joined the demonstration. The issues raised by Jakarta students were injuries to democracy contained in the RKUHP, the revised KPK Law, and other drafts and revisions of laws. During the demonstration, at least six Syarif Hidayatullah, the Islamic State University of Jakarta, were arrested and detained by the police (Polda Metro Jaya) from September 23 until September 24, 2019.

Although it has not produced anything optimal and has resulted in several victims due to the repressive actions of the security forces, it should be noted that the demonstrations carried out by students in 2019 showed that as intellectuals, Indonesian students were still eager to fight for the truth even though they had to face the risk of repressive actions by the security forces.

D. The Role Of The Middle Class In The Country

Scholars, scientists, and intellectuals, including students, have an important position in the life of the State. Following the thoughts of some sociologists about

social structure, they can be categorized as a middle group that supports the existence of a social group, including the State, when conflicts occur between elites and grassroots. The absence or death of the middle group in the social structure is tantamount to digging the grave of the bankruptcy of a social group. There is no longer a group that can translate grassroots wishes to the elite and vice versa. As a social group, some countries disbanded because of the absence of a middle group.

Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union can be used as examples to explain the importance of the position of the middle class. The two countries with communist ideologies that were multiethnic and multicultural in the European region finally collapsed and split into several small countries because of the absence or not maximizing the function of the middle class as a bridge for political communication in the two countries.

Under the reliable rule of President for life Josip Broz Tito until 1980, Yugoslavia was a powerful country in the European region, with high economic growth and reliable political stability. Yugoslavia adhered to a federal model of government and a compromise between a guided and liberal economy. After Tito's rule ended, the federal government system weakened so that it was no longer able to handle increasingly complicated political and economic challenges. Yugoslavia disbanded due to conflicts and political turmoil in the early 1990s.

A continuation of political tensions and unresolved problems in the 1980s led to intense ethnic wars in Yugoslavia. This war mainly affected Bosnia and Croatia. The member republics of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are disbanded. The absence of an intermediate group renders negotiations ineffective at the federal level. This ineffectiveness is marked by the absence of agreement between the conflicting parties. The people do not understand the elite's thinking and vice versa; the elite does not understand the people's wishes because power deals directly with the people without middle-class mediation.

The ineffectiveness of the negotiations carried out by the Serb ethnic group is seen as a challenge and can contribute to increasing the independence of the Serbian provinces. In the first multi-party elections in all countries except Serbia and Montenegro, the Socialist Party was defeated by the patriotic party, in which Milosevic and his allies won the general election. In 1991, the member republics declared their independence due to the growing nationalist insurgency from various parties, except for Serbia and Montenegro. However, the problem of the situation of the Serb ethnic minorities outside Serbia remains unresolved. War broke out in Yugoslavia after several incidents of ethnic conflict. It started in Croatia, then spread and had a devastating impact in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This multiethnic conflict has caused prolonged political and economic tensions. This separation eventually led to the division of Yugoslavia into smaller states.

The Soviet Union, as stated by Adara Primadia, was the strongest rival of the United States and was one of the world's superpowers. Since 1917, on October 25, this country has been the largest communist country globally. Its political power cannot be ignored. Three years after Vladimir Lenin founded this country, in 1920, the Comintern Movement (Communist International) tried to spread the wings of

communism beyond Eastern Europe. There are internal and external factors behind the collapse of a country as big as the Soviet Union. The external factor is the cold war with the United States. In contrast, the internal factor is various sporadic movements that destroy the country's sovereignty, such as the problem of Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism, conflicts between ethnic groups, lack of transparency, and several other problems.

The central government can no longer meet guarantees for the welfare of the entire State. According to Adara Primadia, this situation has caused many parties to be dissatisfied with the government's performance. Disgruntled parties carried out sporadic movements against the central government. The totalitarian system is the system adopted by the government of the Soviet Union from Lenin's time onwards. The people are forced to trust the State and orders fully. This coercive strategy is intended by the power to create an order in the State to achieve its goals quickly. In this situation, the dialogue space between elite and grass-root is closed. The middle group cannot play a mediating the People who protest. Scholars are silenced. Anyone who disobeys will be severely punished, imprisoned, and even killed. Finally, the Soviet Union collapsed on December 25, 1991.

Indonesia has experienced a multidimensional crisis that, if not handled with a statesmanship attitude, could lead to divisions that led to the dissolution of Indonesia into smaller countries such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The multidimensional crisis that occurred in 1998 included a political crisis, a legal crisis, an economic crisis, and a crisis of confidence. The political crisis was the end and culmination of various errors in the political policies of the New Order government under Suharto's leadership. Under the pretext of implementing Pancasila purely and consistently, various political policies were issued to maintain the existence of the Suharto government. In the view of critics, including students as young intellectuals, the democracy implemented by the Suharto government is not democracy in the true sense but pseudo-democracy, as if democracy, even though it is not democracy. Suharto's pseudo-democracy is not the democracy of the people but the democracy of rulers. The New Order government under Suharto's leadership was very repressive. Anyone who is critical and opposes the government is suppressed and criminalized.

Five things at least mark this repressive political life, namely (a) every person or group that is critical of criticizing government policies is accused of being a subversive group that opposes the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, (b) pseudo-democracy or pseudo-democracy occurs through the implementation of the Five Packages of Laws. Politics, (c) society has almost no control over the behaviour of KKN (Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism) carried out by power, (d) deprivation of the freedom of every civilian by implementing the dual function of ABRI, and (e) despotic power in which all powers centred on Suharto so that it gave birth to a situation where the President had unlimited power. Although Suharto became President because he was elected through the General Assembly of the MPR, the election was engineered and undemocratic because everyone who sat as a member of the MPR was, with Suharto's approval, because of his President's position, was also

the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and the Trustees of Golkar and two Political Parties (PPP and PDI).

The 1945 Constitution, article 24, was not implemented. The article states that judicial power is independent and independent from government (executive) power. In reality, the government is also doing engineering and intervention. Judicial power that should be exercised to fulfil the people's sense of justice serves the rulers' interests. The Law is often used to justify wrong actions by the authorities. That fact is contrary to the provisions that should be. This situation gave birth to a legal crisis in the New Order era. Various human rights violations exacerbate this crisis. The practice of human rights violations in question includes the suppression of the Free Papua Organization (OPM) in Papua, the implementation of the Military Operations Area (DOM) in Aceh, the kidnapping of reform student activists, the Marsinah case, cases of human rights violations including murder, kidnapping, torture, and disappearance of people.

In July 1996, countries in Southeast Asia experienced a monetary crisis as the global crisis. This crisis affected the Indonesian economy, marked by the skyrocketing US dollar exchange rate, which had implications for weakening the rupiah exchange rate. The rupiah exchange rate fell from Rp2,575.00 to Rp2,603.00 on August 1, 1997, weakening again to Rp5,000.00/dollar in December 1997, declining to Rp16,000.00 March 1999. The following conditions are signs of the occurrence of the economic crisis, namely (a) the depreciation of the rupiah against the US dollar, (b) the government conducted liquidation in 1997 of sixteen troubled banks, (c) the establishment of the National Bank Restructuring Agency (IBRA) which oversees forty other troubled banks, (d) State-owned and private companies are unable to pay their maturing foreign debts, (e) the increasing number of layoffs (PHK) as a result of the continuation of the many companies that made efficiency or stopped their activities altogether, and (f) At the end of 1997 the supply of nine essential commodities on the market began to run low.

A social crisis results from a political, legal, and economic crisis. For example, anti-Chinese riots occurred in various areas due to the authorities' repressive actions and casualties. Inequality of control over economic assets occurs. Unemployment, limited supplies of nine essential commodities, high prices of necessities, and lower purchasing power of the people are the factors causing the birth of the social crisis.

The public's trust in Suharto's leadership was increasingly eroded due to the multidimensional crisis. The government's inability to enforce the implementation of the Law and justice system and the implementation of economic development favours the people at large, and the inability to build a democratic political life creates a crisis of trust. This crisis eventually led to Suharto's resignation from the presidency. According to the Constitution, B.J Habibie was sworn in as the 3rd President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Suharto's resignation from the presidency can be seen as an attitude of statesmanship. He is more concerned with the existence of the Republic of Indonesia than the egoism of his power. He heard the views and inputs of the various parties invited to the palace. It is conceivable that if Suharto did not want to have a dialogue

and was "insisted" to maintain his power, a civil war might erupt, and Indonesia would be just a history of the past. The critical role of the middle class that some figures have played is very much needed in a democracy.

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