

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **A. Background**

Indonesia is a multicultural country that has many tribes, nations, languages and religions on thousands of islands. There are more than different ethnicities in Indonesia, each with its own cultural identity, and over two hundred and fifty languages spoken in the Indonesian archipelago. Religious beliefs are diverse, almost all of the world's most important religions are embraced by its inhabitants and in addition to various indigenous religions and beliefs of indonesia. (Lane, 2014: 34).

In the 20th century, Nusantara archipelago is in grip of Dutch colonialism, England, Spain and Portugal. The economic, cultural, and political life of the Nusantara Archipelago has been dwarfed within the limits of colonial interests and policies since the early 16th century. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, had previously been long in the archipelago with different breadth and depth through local dynamics. From the sixteenth century onwards, the seizure of prosperity and entanglement rather than knowledge has become the norm. But Culture Culture of Nusantara Archipelago Changed into "tradition" kept by colonial policy and guarded by forced man.

The word "Indonesia" has been used by Indonesian students studying in the Netherlands in 1917, as a title for the Dutch East Indies to strengthen the legitimacy

of their recognition of the right to fight for its nationality. In 1928, during a youth congress in Batavia, youth activists from the month of the Nias Islands affirmed their loyalty to build a new nation by declaring the Youth Pledge as the foundation of the colonization of One, One Nation, One Nation and One Language. The Indonesian language that originated from the root of the Malay language is the nexus of the archipelago or the official language used by the people of the archipelago. The word "Indonesia" has been used by Indonesian students studying in the Netherlands in 1917, as a title for the Dutch East Indies to strengthen the legitimacy of their recognition of the right to fight for its nationality.

Therefore, if we look back on history before Indonesian independence, in 1928 their founders of Indonesia chose the Malay language to make the Indonesian national language even though most of the majority of languages and tribes in Indonesia was Java. Because of their pluralistic attitude too, in 1945 they made *Pancasila* as the foundation of the state even though almost the majority of Indonesians 90% were Islamic and did not give a special position to the Islamic religion itself. (Suseno, 2015: 125).

Recognition of pluralism, Pancasila is the state ideology of Indonesia, means Indonesia is as a "Multicultural State" or "Pluralist State" because of its cultural diversity across the nation. This part of the paper uses the theory of a "multicultural state" to build an understanding of Indonesia as a nation. The republic of Indonesia carries a national philosophy, 'Unity in Diversity,' with five principles of the state, namely, 'In one God we trust', humanitarianism, unity of nation, representation of the people and social justice (Indonesia's Constitution; Lanti 2006). And *the*

*Constitution Article 29 paragraph (2) which guarantees freedom of religion and worship according to their respective religions and beliefs.* This decision is a decision that guarantees freedom of religion, and there is no religious discrimination in Indonesia. Not only that, the existence of the Youth Pledge (Sumpah Pemuda) which appeared on 28 October 1928 was an oath and awareness of the need for unity in differences and pluralism in Indonesia. Pluralism also exists in the motto of the Republic of Indonesia "*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*" meaningful although different but essentially one in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. On the slogan, it can illustrate the existence of unity and unity over a wide range of cultures, languages, races, tribes, nations, religions and beliefs.

Similarly, the content of the Qur'an in the letter of *Al-Hujurat* Verse 13 which reads:

“O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquaintedd”

Thus, the Indonesian nation has a strong constitutional basis for managing the difference in a good and right way. The foundation is also supported by the culture of the Indonesian Nation known as friendly, polite, tolerant, mutual respect and helping each other.

Pluralism in Indonesia is a historical fact that no one can deny. Through the process of history with its various dimensions, this pluralism is then understood and uniqueness when compared to pluralism in other countries. Because of that pluralism Indonesia does not take shape and decide as a religious state on a particular religion,

nor does it take the form of a secular state that separates religion and state. Instead, reform at Indonesia into a state of *Pancasila*. If we discuss pluralism, it is highly controversial of the words and dynamics surrounding pluralism, including the pluralism of religious. It is a hot topic, not only in Indonesia but also among the world as in the World Summit Conference or Organization of Islamic Conference in Dakar, Senegal on 13-14 March 2008. The question of pluralism is indeed an alarming and frightening discussion for some groups and individuals for the world community including the Muslim community. Pluralism itself does not cause fear and anxiety, but because of misunderstanding about the essence and meaning of pluralism, because there is no openness to communication and dialogue about the real understanding of pluralism. So that many groups and individuals of different views remained in the narrow and closed thinking in interpreting the teachings and religious concepts in the embrace and neighbor meaning of life. (Effendi, 2011).

Pluralism shall be seen positively and responded with constructive steps. In such ways, the Indonesian people become strong and advanced and can form a beautiful configuration. That development should be a mutual orientation of humankind for the sake of realizing peace in the world. If we discuss pluralism, we will be reminded directly of the figure of the national and the fourth Indonesian president who is KH. Abdurahman Wahid who to be called by Gus Dur. Gus Dur is a pluralism figure or often refers to as the father of pluralism in Indonesia who has a charismatic, high morality in looking at life in a way sincerity, honest, simple and full of simplicity. During his lifetime, Gus Dur often to defend minorities that oppressed and against the violence of radicalism in the name of religion. Gus Dur

was blessed as the father of Indonesian pluralism because he always sided with minorities, both among his fellow Muslims and his non-Muslim religions, such as Christianity, Catholics, and ethnic Chinese. (Hamid, 2014: 89).

The Indonesian state, which has religious, tribal and cultural backgrounds, then Gus Dur is the nation's most important teacher for the advancement of humankind in Indonesia and the world. Gus Dur had contributed to his political thought about pluralism and role model to the Indonesian nation. Gus Dur's teachings and thoughts in the minds of the people were alive and studied even though the Almighty had summoned Gus Dur. However, all of Gus Dur's struggle made about pluralism can be accepted by all groups and people of Indonesia.

Gus Dur is a statesman. He is well known in national and international circles. When viewed from him about the national figure, Gus Dur was an exemplary man because Gus Dur gave many examples of his thoughts and behaviors based on the nationality morality which is very difficult to find among the political elite at this time. Although Gus Dur is the founder of a political party and well respected political figure, he is not only a politician who is more concerned with power, but Gus Dur is a true statesman and thinker who can bring the nation's progress. (Hamid, 2014: 84).

Besides being regarded as the Nation Master, Gus Dur also considered being a humanist figure in every circle of Indonesian people. Gus Dur always emphasized the need for togetherness and harmony among religious people in every teaching. For with it all humankind can live peacefully. For Catholics, Gus Dur is a figure of fad

and a figure who deserves to be regarded as a great teacher and father of the nation, for serving others with love without distinguishing one another. As for Buddhists, Gus Dur's teachings can bring people to build Indonesia based on unity. To create unity is a weighty task that must be maintained by all elements of Indonesian society. For Chinese citizens, Gus Dur was asked as the Father of China. The service of Gus Dur was deeply imprinted on Chinese citizens because Gus Dur had championed the rights of Chinese citizens by admitting that Confucianism was one of the official religious beliefs in Indonesia and included the Lunar New Year as a national holiday. Therefore, pluralism thought by Gus Dur not only be the inspiration of this nation's element but the nation in the world.

Gus Dur is a teacher of the nation who encourages real democracy in Indonesia and has been long before his plan on democracy before the reform of Indonesia echoed. He is not only a multicultural figure but also a driver of Indonesian democracy by combining democracy with Islamic values that he studied since childhood. While serving as president, the value of political thought about Gus Dur's pluralism was translated by uniting religious, ethnic, and national differences under the framework of democracy. He succeeds in convincing that democracy can be developed together in a plural society. (Kompas, 2009).

Leadership Gus Dur became the 4th President for his role and his political thought turned out to change the image of Muslims in the western world. In general, the people of the world of the west and the media always cornered that Islam is a radical religion, anarchy, intolerant and terrorist. On October 21, 1999, however, the headlines of the International *Herald Tribune* with the Title of Jakarta News's

Leader: Moderate, Tolerant, and Impetuous. This is an international news media called Herald Tribune which in fact many in it in the domination of non-Muslims but preaching to the global world that the President of Indonesia is Gus Dur as a moderate, tolerant and expert. This is indeed an objective recognition of the international mass media that can change the image of Muslims in the west and the global world that they are looking at Muslims as an aggressive, exclusive and militant group. (Sukidi, 2010: 83). This is proof that Gus Dur is not only a national figure but an international figure who can change the image of Islam in the global world because of his political thinking.

Discussing the father of pluralism in Indonesia, there was also the father of pluralism in India who was born before Gus Dur Namely Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi commonly called Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma itself in the Sanskrit language means the great soul. The title was given by the people around because Gandhi had been fighting for justice. But Mahatma Gandhi prefers to call Bapu which means "father". Mahatma Gandhi is a man born in Porbandar, a small town on the west coast of India. In his lifetime Gandhi always struggled with upholding justice within the Indian community by fighting to wipe out caste or to wipe out injustice to people he considered so low that no human being could be touched (so toil) so they had no caste.

India geographically has a very strategic location. With this strategic point makes India to be one of the path that is often passed as a trade route. In addition to favorable geographical terms, India also has a lot of great natural potential. Call it agriculture and forest are abundant. With an enormous territory, India is one of the

most populous countries in the world. Under British colonies, the former Indian territory included Pakistan and Bangladesh. Before England came to rule India, Mughol's kingdom stood for seven centuries. After England came to rule the kingdom Mughol began to decline. The British are looking for a loophole to break down the Mughol kingdom.

Gandhi was an essential person in the effort of the Indian independence movement. He is a thinker, activist, and politician who does not at all commit acts of violence or commonly called the principle of nonviolence. Gandhi was not the originator of the Nonviolence principle, but Gandhi was the first person in India to apply the principle of nonviolence teaching that significantly affected the large political field of the day. The principle of nonviolence is the teaching that carries the Indian independence movement through a peaceful democracy against the British high resistance which at that time was colonizing India. Gandhi is a Hindu religious figure, but Gandhi loves the ideas of Islam and Christianity. At that time, the people, tribe and religion residing in India believe that to reach a country should be broken down according to different groups to have their own country. So did the Hindu and Muslim majority. But Mahatma Gandhi strongly disagreed with it. He believes that humans of all religions such as Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity have equal rights in peaceful coexistence within one country, namely the state of India.

During his lifetime Gandhi was very diligent in fighting for the oppressed and daring to say what he thought was right and what he thought was wrong. In the struggle for his life, for the sake of the battle for an independent and just India, much of Mahatma Gandhi's political movements and political thinking were like a joint



campaign of peasants followed by Hindu Indians and significant Muslim minorities, then Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Christians and other countless religious groups. In addition to the campaign with the farmers, Gandhi also conducted a salt campaign that was performed by nonviolence teaching

Gandhi is a great figure in the eyes of Hindus in India. He is very much in love with his life. The lesson of nonviolence and the thought of pluralism has brought itself to life. He is a poor man's possessions, but he has a love affair in his heart. An American journalist Louis Fischer has attended several years of Gandhi's campaign in India and was amazed by the wisdom of this little man's life. Gandhi has greatness by applying the law of love in the heat of political upheaval in India. (Easwaran, 2011: 2).

The reason the author discusses the two figures of a Gandhi and Gus Dur because interested in the political thought about pluralism to create peace. When viewed from these two figures, Gandhi and Gus Dur are two figures who are very religious and obedient to his religion. They are both fighting for peace in their respective countries. Gandhi is a Hindu figure, in which Hindu religion in India is a majority religion and many adherents. But Gandhi vigorously defends minorities who are not Hinduism. Although Gandhi is Hindu, Gandhi is in several positions such as majorities and minorities to fight for peace in India. While Gus Dur is an Islamic figure, Gus Dur was born in the *Pesantren*. Although Gus Dur is in the circle of Islam and the majority tribe, Gus Dur vigorously defends the much oppressed minority. Gus Dur always keeps every group in Indonesia be it majorities or minorities.

Mahatma Gandhi and Gus Dur were born in the midst of the most populous country and the most numerous in the world, namely the Indian and Indonesian states. India has the second most populous nation in the world. While Indonesia has the fourth most inhabitants in the world. Both countries have various problems as well as religious, racial, and colonial conflicts. Discussing these two figures is very interesting because there are differences in background, time and place between these two figures. Gandhi's struggle in leading the revolution of the people of India from 1914 to the end of British domination in India until 1947. In that period, Gandhi fought during the British colonial period. He fought to resist the oppression and violence that the British government carried out against the Indian people. As a consistent man for Indian independence, Gandhi was confronted to prepare for Indian independence after British domination ended. Gandhi as the founding father of the Indian state is entitled to how to determine the basic form of the Indian state.

While in the struggle of Gus Dur, he took part in the reform era long after Indonesia's independence. At the time he became the fourth President, the situation of Indonesia is experiencing some problems of the nation such as, economy, ideology, militarism, and inter-religious conflict. If we relate the situation to Gus Dur's time, the situation corresponds to Max Lane (2008). He said that Indonesia is an 'unfinished nation,' meaning that Indonesia is open to the possibility as to whether it will become a strong or weak state, secular or religious state, centralized or decentralized state, and an authoritarian or democratic state. Now, racial and religious conflicts threaten Indonesia as a multi-ethnic community, and thousands have died. The state, to some degree, is failing to feed its self, govern independently,

and build the security of its territory and its citizens. If the national government continues to fail to manage this issue, I can predict that sooner or later this unitary state will be separated in another form of state.

In Gus Dur's struggle during his pre-and post-Gus Dur become President, Gus Dur was really trying to implement a democratic state that wanted freedom from a plurality in which religion existed. A democratic country can change the incidence of each group's direction to be together towards the maturity and progress of the nation's integrity. However, the unfinished Indonesian Ideology battle hampered Gus Dur's struggle. To date, the biggest question, which does not have an exact answer, is does Pancasila should be the final State Ideology of Indonesia. The groups on either side of this question argue for Indonesian as either a religious (Islamic) state or a "Pancasila" (multicultural state). The "Pancasila" state is often understood as a secular state by many Islamic fundamentalists. However, both sides actually agree that Indonesia is neither secular nor liberal. (Efendi, et.al, 2017).

As stated by Mohammad Hatta (2008), Indonesia is facing two major ideologies, capitalism and socialism, and Indonesia needs to take 'the third way' because neither ideology fits with the culture of Indonesia. In 2010, the parliament and the media reenlivened the discourse on whether or not Indonesia should become a religious state or remain secular and liberal (Kompas, 11/26/2010).

In the development of an understanding of pluralism in the current era is very important in implementing its teachings with political science to run the diversity and interests of the state stability to achieve a peaceful of Indonesia. Like Mahatma Gandhi's example of gaining independence and peace in India, he combines

pluralism with politics. Likewise, with Gus Dur, he plays a role to achieve peace and national and world security using pluralism and politics. So politics and pluralism are both significant.

Not only that, so far the study of previous studies such as books and journals that exist about political thinking about pluralism between the two figures is still fragmented and no merging and comparison is explaining the special and special subject between Gandhi and Gus Dur. Therefore the author tries to discuss and examine the political thinking of Mahatma Gandhi and Gus Dur figures about pluralism by studying the two figures by way of describing and comparing ideas of his thoughts.

## **B. Resesarch Questions**

To reveal from what the issues mentioned above clearly and straightforwardly, then in writing this essay the author will provide the next discussion will formulate the problem that became the subject matter that will be studied and discussed in writing this undergraduate thesis. That research and analysis of this undergraduate thesis only includes political thought and struggle Gandhi and Gus Dur about pluralism contained in research questions as follows:

- 1) How are Gandhi and Gus Dur's political thought about pluralism?
- 2) How do Gandhi and Gus Dur role in the struggle for pluralism?

### **C. Research Objectives**

Under benefits made, the objectives and benefits of this study are:

1. To know the political thinking and the role of Gandhi and Gus Dur about pluralism and the differences in the thought of these two figures.
2. Research and developing political thought to increase the repertoire of political knowledge in India and Indonesia in the political thought of Gandhi and Gus Dur about pluralism and because these two figures are quite active and important figures in the history of the political struggle on pluralism in India and Indonesia.

### **D. Previous Study**

This research is conducted regardless of the results of previous studies that have been done as a comparison and study materials. The results of research that made the comparison cannot be separated from the topic of research that is about Thought Gandhi and Gus Dur About Pluralism studied from previous research taken from several books that include:

In a book entitled the Constitutional Court wrote an Autobiography OR The Story of My Experiment with Truth. Gandhi and translated into Indonesian by the publisher *Narasi Yogyakarta* in 2009. In this book, Gandhi attempted to write an autobiography which aims to retell Gandhi's experiments with truth because in him does not merely contain experiments with the belief that from each of his experiments about the fact has an invaluable value to its readers. This experiment is

spiritual, moral, and includes anti-violence principles. For Gandhi, the truth is the highest principle. Truth is not only honesty in words but also honesty in thought.

Ved Mehta wrote the Book Title of Mahatma Gandhi and His Apostles published by Penguin Books in New York in 1977 and translated in Indonesian under the title Mahatma Gandhi's Teachings published by *Pustaka Pelajar Yogyakarta* in the first print in 2002 In this book is discussed at length about how much and how Gandhi influences and moves people outside him. How these ideas are understood and applied, how they are then ignored and commemorated, how the real journey of his life. And discussed Gandhi's closest disciples and relatives.

Eknath Easwaran wrote the title of Gandhi The Man book published by Nilgiri Press in 2011 and translated into Indonesian with publisher *Bentang Pustaka* with a print in 2013. In this book, the author explains the figure of Gandhi successfully inspired people of various races, back, and religion. Gandhi was able to turn anger into compassion, turning hatred into love. Gandhi was not only a great political leader but a timeless figure. Four hundred million Indians have been touched and willing to fight for independence without war.

The title of Gandhi Man Wise From the East book published by *Garasi Yogyakarta* in 2012 and written by Wied Prana. This book describes Mahatma Gandhi as light from the east. Its rays bring blessings not only in India and South Africa but also illuminate the whole world. Nonviolent beliefs and principles become a philosophy that is believed by millions of people.

The title of *All men are brother* first published by UNESCO in 1958 and printed by Navijan Trust, Ahmedabad. Translated into Indonesia language with the title *Semua Orang Bersaudara* by the Foundation *Pustaka Obor Indonesia* with a second printing in 2016. This book contains a story of life and Gandhi's broad and deep insight into human life as a whole.

The title of *Gus Dur's Biography Book* published by *LKiS Yogyakarta* in 2003 written by Greg Barton. The contents of this book discuss the biography of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid or commonly called Gus Dur at the beginning of the birth of Gus Dur in the pesantren family environment, the formation of an intellectual by studying in Cairo, Baghdad, Europe until the struggle of Gus Dur became President of Indonesia.

Book Title *Trace Master Nation* published by *Galang Pustaka Yogyakarta* in 2014 and written by M. Hamid. This book is a testimony to recall that there was once a figure who during his life persistent struggle to create harmony in the presence of nation and state. Gus Dur advocated tolerance as the absolute attitude of every citizen. He believes that with tolerance will be realized harmony lives in a country that consists of various tribes, religions, races, and groups.

Book title *Answering Times Changes* published by *Kompas Media Nusantara* in 2010. The contents of this book is a collection of writings about Gus Dur's legacy of thought during his life in social and political action and to commemorate his services. Many see Gus Dur as a mystery, as a human being unreached by rationality. This view is, in fact, a reflection of the fact that it is not easy for everyone to

understand Abdurrahman, a figure with a vast, complex and multidimensional area of thought.

Book the title of Gus Dur's Political Position Thought Book published by *Erlangga* in 2010 and written by Dr Ali Masykur Musa, M. Si., M. Hum. In this book, the author describes that Gus Dur is a figure who cannot be silent what happens in the life of his people. Gus Dur was not only speechless but also acting strictly on what he thought was worth defending and helping. Some events that occurred during his lifetime whether religious, social, or political life directly involved him were a totality of Gus Dur in his thoughts and deeds.

*Pustaka Pelajar* published the Book Title of Democratization and Prospects of Islamic Law in Indonesia in 2002 and written by Abdul Ghofur. M. Ag. In this book, the author discusses Gus Dur's ideas by specifically placing the implications of democratization on the formulation of Islamic law.

## **E. Theoretical Framework**

### **1. Political Thought**

#### **a. Definition**

Political thought is part of the political philosophy. When viewed from political science and political theories, political thought is the result. Political thought can be learned with two kinds, namely by objective and subjective. Political thought



objectively is a political thought that focuses on its political thought on the work generated by the intellect and intellect of its thinker. While political thinking is subjectively political thought that focuses on the person and person who produces that political thought. (Semma, 2008).

In the opinion of Getel, political thought can be divided into two kinds. Political thought are political thought of conservative and critical political thought. Conservative political thought is thought that can produce satisfaction by explaining the political system of its day at that time with the aim of maintaining the status quo of power. Political thought had taken place in medieval times about the king's doctrines as in the British and French empires whose contents concerning the rights of kings of god. The doctrine took place at the time of Fair'aun (Ramses III) in Egypt. While the critical political thought is a thought contrary to conservative thinking. Critical political thinking is a political thought arising from the political situation at that time in which there were an attempt and purpose to present the weaknesses and shortcomings of the existing political system by criticizing, demonstrating, narrating and moving a group and organization. (Semma, 2008).

Political thought can be defined by looking at existing problems such as thinking which aims to solve the issues and provide solutions to problems in political society. Political society here is a society that has a special institution to regulate society. Then the existing rules are established in law and law and implemented in the community to obey them for the stability of community life and the state. So the Political thinking is thought that aims to provide solutions to the problems posed by political society.

## **b. Contribution**

Political thought greatly contributes to the journey of world civilization. Especially for the development of knowledge and even divinity. When viewed from the contribution of western political thought, political thought is developed by three civilizations that have a very important role in the emergence of the scientific tradition and political thinking in the west. According to *Ahmad Suhelmi*, *civilizations that have an important part and bequeath intellectuals are Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian, and Islam.*

Political thought at the time of Greco-Roman civilization significantly contributed to all aspects of civilization and scholarship in the west such as art, science, philosophy, ethics, politics, medicine, mathematics and others. As an example in the field of political thought or political philosophy, Plato and Aristotle as a Greek philosopher were scientists who greatly influenced western political thought and philosophy. Aristotle's influence can be seen from various works of thinkers such as Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Hegel and Karl Max. While the greatest contribution of Roman civilization is to western thinking is in the field of thought legal system and political institutions. The influence of both can be seen from developed countries in Western Europe such as France, Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany who always review the thinking of the legal system. Seen regarding political thought, the Romans have contributed to the understanding and teaching of the empire theory that discusses the power and authority of the state. (Suhelmi, 2001).

Similarly, political thought during the Judeo-Christian civilization is a second civilization that contributes significantly to provide the contrast of intellectual foundations and a solid philosophy of Western civilization. Like Maimonides's works for hundreds of years has had a very significant influence on western thought and philosophy of knowledge. The Jews had given birth to some of the most influential figures in the world in the field of his knowledge and philosophy to produce such thinkers as Marx, Hegel, Sigmund Freud, Nietzsche, Bertrand Russell, Charles Darwin, Albert Einstein, John Stuart Mill, Henri Bergson, Schopenhauer, and others -other. From these figures so that the birth of influential ideas or ideologies in the world such as Marxism, Liberalism, Capitalism, Darwinism. Communism, Psychoanalysis, and Evolutionism. Besides Jews, Christian thought contributes to western civilization. The organization of the church has a role in western civilization after Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire. The church was instrumental in contributing when the Roman Empire declined. The Church plays a rescue role by taking over some vital functions and helping to control social chaos by avoiding Europe from the complete destruction of the Roman Empire. (Suhelmi, 2011).

Political thought also greatly influenced the Islamic civilization, especially in Europe. The intellectuals of Islam significantly contribute to civilization in Europe. Islamic civilization is the third pillar with the birth of the western progress. For seven centuries, Andalusia Islamic civilization significantly contributed to western civilization throughout Europe. From the center of Andalusia, Europe began to evolve in the direction of intellectual enlightenment. Muslim intellectuals who

contribute to western thought are Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Haitham, Ibn Rushd and other figures. At that time, Islam has studied open attitude, tolerance and even pluralism against the influence of different foreign civilizations. Although Islam at that time came to power, Islam at that time accepted the heritage of Greece and Rome creatively in the countries of its conquest without destroying its civilization. (Suhelmi, 2011).

### **c. Types**

Political thought if the most appropriate translation in English is political thought, but the term that more often we find in English literature, especially coming from the United States is a political theory. If we examine the relationship between political thought and political theory it can be understood that logically we at least find three possibilities. Thoughts only, if in the sense of the theory that we also enter things that have nothing to do with thinking. *First*, the idea is broader in scope than the theory, if we argue that theory is essentially nothing more than just something. *Second*, the notion of theory may be broader in scope than the idea of the form of thought alone. And *third*, we can also imagine that there are fields that are only covered by the theoretical sense that they have nothing to do with thinking, and there may even be fields that are covered only by thought so that they have nothing to do with theory. (Elisa, 2016).

According to Prof. Miriam Budiardjo *political theory is the discussion and generalization of political phenomena*. In other words, political theory is a discussion and reflection on the purpose of political activity, the means of achieving the goals,

possibilities, and needs generated by a particular political situation and the obligations imposed by that political objective.

According to Thomas P. Jenkin in *The Study of Political Theory* quoted by Miriam Budiardjo in the book *Fundamentals of political science* political theory can be divided into two kinds (Budiardjo, 2008).

a. The theory that has a moral basis or theory that is morally by determining the norms for political behavior such as:

### 1. Political philosophy.

Political philosophy is a theory that seeks a rational explanation. The main idea of political philosophy is that the problems associated with the universe, such as metaphysics and epistemology, must be solved first before our political problems can be overcome. Like Plato's example, justice is the essence of the universe and a guide to a better life.

### 2. Systematic Political Theory

The systematic political theory is politically different from political Philosophy. This theory is more based on the views that have been commonly accepted at that time by not explaining the origin or the way the birth of norms and just trying to realise the norms in a political program.

### 3. Political Ideology

Political ideology is a set of values, ideas, or norms, beliefs or beliefs possessed by a person or group of people by how to determine his or her attitude toward an event or

political problem he faces and which establishes his political behavior. These values and ideas are a seamless system. The basis of political ideology is a key to an ideal pattern of social and political order. Political ideology includes discussion and fibre diagnosis of suggestions on how to achieve that ideal one.

b. Theories that describe and discuss phenomena and facts of politics by not questioning the norms or values. This theory can be called in-non-valuational or usually descriptive and comparative. Theory explains the points of political life that can be systematized and summed up in generalizations.

## **2. Pluralism**

The word "pluralism" is the two combined words of plural and ism. The word "*plural*" here is indicated by showing many or more than one. While the word "*Isme*" is defined by something related to a believer or belief flow. So the word "pluralism" is interpreted as meaning more than one or many. Whereas in Big Indonesian Dictionary Pluralism is defined as a social attitude in the willingness and psychological ability to accept plurality and diversity. If seen in the perspective of religious sociology in terminology pluralism is defined as an attitude that recognizes and accepts plurality and difference as a positive value and is a gift of God's grace given to human beings. Pluralism can also be interpreted as a social attitude in the willingness and psychological ability to accept plurality and diversity. (Suseno, 2015).

According to Harvard pluralism study expert Professor Diana Eck, pluralism is not just tolerance, but a process of actively seeking understanding through the boundaries of difference. Pluralism is also different from syncretism or misunderstanding of religious teachings such as New Age for example. Pluralism also does not mean generalization of doctrine. The latter is called "singularism", not "pluralism". Pluralism is also not relativism because in pluralism there is a kind of "meeting of commitment" that is absent in relativism. While plurality according to one of Indonesian Muslim leaders Cak Nur argued about the definition of plurality is a basis that is positive in accepting the plurality of all things in the aspects of socio-cultural life in which there is religion.

Pluralism is seen from a view of life that is to recognize and accept by pluralism or diversity within a community group regarding religion, race, and customs. From there it usually becomes the basis for the formation of smaller, distinctive, finite and distinctive groups that distinguish one group from another within a larger and larger group of people. For example, the pluralistic Indonesian society, which consists of various religious, ethnic, and racial groups, which have multiple cultures or customs. (Ulahayanan, 2008).

Pluralism, when viewed from the context of religion, has several points of view. *The first* is pluralism from a social point of view, are all religions are entitled to exist and live. Which means that every religion is together for mutual tolerance and respect for the beliefs of every adherent of the religion. *The second* is pluralism from an ethical and moral point of view, that is, all religious people see that the ethics and morals of each religion are relative and legitimate. So the whole religious

people not to judge other believers. *The third* pluralism from philosophical theology, which is necessarily all religions have the same purpose and have the doctrine of the good by leading to truth and salvation by worshipping the omnipotent God. Hence the notion of religious pluralism is a misunderstanding that all religions have coexisting, cooperating and interconnected lives. And it can be called an attitude of recognizing, respecting, respecting and nurturing life safely and peacefully in a pluralist way. (Saerozi, 2004).

Thus, what is meant by "pluralism" is that there are many different backgrounds in social life which have an attitude toward the pluralistic situation in society, culture, politic, and religion by way of building coexistence with social interaction and interaction between group one with group others. Each group is required to respect each other by recognizing its existence and rights in an attempt to understand the differences and similarities to create a life of harmony and peace.

If we discuss broadly, Alwi Shihab gives an idea of pluralism as follows: (Shihab, 1999).

- a) Pluralism not only shows the fact of pluralism. But the pluralism here is an active involvement in the realities of such pluralism. Someone can be said to be pluralist if he can interact well in a pluralistic environment such as at work, school, even in the marketplace.
- b) Pluralism must be distinguished from cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitan shows with a state of life in the form of reality wherein place there are various religions, races, and nations. Just as the example is the city of New York. The city of New



York is a cosmopolitan city in the United States and the World. In the city, there are various religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and some who have no religion. But the interaction between them about religion is very minimal because they live Individually even a lot of religious discrimination such as Islam Phobia and others.

- c) The concept of pluralism cannot be equated with relativity. A relativist will assume that things concerning "truth" or "value" are defined by a live view and a person's or society's frame of mind. As an example of relativism about religious belief that all religions are true or all religions are the same. If all religions are correct, then where is the pluralistic location. Therefore this concept does not recognize absolute truth or eternal truth.
- d) Religious pluralism is not syncretism, that is, to create a religion by combining the teachings of some religions to become a new religion.

A true pluralist is not only in demand by opening up to interact with religious diversity or respecting tolerance. But a true pluralist must have a strong commitment to his or her religion, and that is the most important requirement to be a pluralist. With such attitude can be avoided from the attitude of religious relativism that leads astray and not in line with Unity in Diversity.

## **F. Aspects Discusses and Compare**

The elements discussed and compared in this study the authors refer to the book of political comparison theory by Ronal H. Chilcote which describes the characters of Samuel Beer and Adam Ulam which so many years ago has formulated the stages of comparative research which include description/exposure, equations, and differences, hypotheses, empirical observations, and findings. However, because this study uses literature study, the authors only take three of the five stages of the comparative which include:

### **1. Description**

In this study will describe how the struggles and roots of Gandhi and Gus Dur's political thinking about pluralism. Gandhi's struggle for pluralism will be discussed at a time when Gandhi is in South Africa struggling to defend humanity to the oppressed and plunge into Indian politics to uphold justice and achieve India's independence from British colonialism and create a peaceful atmosphere of life on the differences of race, religion in India. As for Gus Dur will describe how Gus Dur's struggle when creating peace in plural Indonesian society by defending humanity during the New Order era, the reform period and served as President of Indonesia.

The roots of Gandhi and Gus Dur's political thought, Gandhi's ideas on political thought will be discussed nationalism and humanity inspired by spiritual sources of value. Religious values are the main principles underlying the main idea of his social politics in nationalism and humanity. While the root of Gus Dur's political thought, actually based on humanitarian commitment (humanism-insanity)

in the teachings of Islam. In his view, the humanitarian commitment can be used as the basis for solving the main plural society's problems in Indonesia.

## **2. Similarities and Differences**

This study uses a comparative research method by comparing the similarities and differences of the political thought of Gandhi and Gus Dur about pluralism and determining various other types of ideologies in the world by ways and patterns of thought. Gandhi and Gus Dur's political ideas on pluralism will be discussed as to how the roots of his thinking are influenced by political ideologies that inspire and produce the political thought in both figures.

## **3. Findings**

These findings will determine how the comparative Gandhi and Gus Dur's political thought of pluralism conclude the position and construction of his thinking and dictates what the authors disagree from the mindsets of the two figures from different perspectives.

## **G. Scope of Research**

1. The author limits the writing of this essay to Mahatma Gandhi's struggle for pluralism only when the struggle for transformation into Indian politics and

Indian independence. It was during this period that Mahatma Gandhi struggled a lot concerning political thought, pluralism and movements that induced Indian independence from British colonial rule and fought for a safe, peaceful and safe India life of all ethnic, racial and religious differences. As for Gus, Dur authors limit the writing of this thesis only discussed when Indonesia in the New Order, reform and Gus Dur became the fourth President of the Republic of Indonesia. Because during that time Gus Dur contributed a lot to the people and the nation of Indonesia regarding political thought, religious thought, the struggle for pluralism and peace.

2. In this writing, the author will limit the discussion only about Mahatma Gandhi's pluralistic ideology in India about the Nonviolence, Satyagraha and peace teachings in India and Gus Dur about his pluralist ideology in the quest for peace in a multicultural society in Indonesia. But the authors cannot escape from the events of the background of the issue which then remains will be an essential thing to help the subjective picture that can help writing this thesis.

## **H. Conceptual Definition**

### **1. Political Thought**

In the opinion of Getel, political thought can be divided into two kinds. Political thinking is the political thought of conservative and critical political thought. Conservative political thought is thought that can produce satisfaction by

explaining the political system of its day at that time with the aim of maintaining the status quo. While the Critical political thought is a political thought arising from the political situation at that time in which there are effort and purpose to show the weaknesses and deficiencies of the existing political system at that time by criticizing, demonstrating, narrating and moving a group and organization

## **2. Pluralism**

Pluralism is a life that many backgrounds in social life has an attitude towards a pluralistic situation in social, cultural, political, and religion by way of building coexistence with social interaction and interaction between group one with another group. Each group is required to respect each other by recognizing its existence and rights in an attempt to understand the differences and similarities to create a life of harmony and peace.

## **I. Research Methods**

### **1. Type of Research**

Type of research conducted by the authors in this thesis is a type of qualitative research with the methodology of biography studies and descriptive comparative. The nature of biography studies is an in-depth, systematic, critical study of the history of biography, original ideas or ideas and the socio-historical context surrounding the person being studied. In the perspective of philosophy of

science, the validity of biography studies as one of the research methods can be analyzed from the point of ontology, epistemology, and axiology. One of the tasks of researchers when they want to do a biography study is to see the feasibility of people who want to be examined to be the object of research studies of figures. One's personality can be seen from at least three indicators. First, the integrity of the figures. Second, monumental works. Third, the contribution (service) or its influence is seen or felt by the community (Harahap, 2011: 8).

The purpose of the study of real figures to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the thoughts, ideas, concepts, and theories of a person who studied the biography studies. (Mustaqim, 2012) The objectives are:

1. To get a complete picture of the perceptions, motivations, aspirations, ambitions, and achievements of the character of the field involved.
2. To obtain a complete and objective description of the techniques and strategies used in carrying out the field involved.
3. To show the originality of thought, the sides of the strengths and weaknesses of the character are examined based on specific measures, so that we can provide academic contribute values for subsequent studies.
4. To find the relevance and contextualization of the thinking of the character studied in the present context.

While descriptive method aims to describe an event and event factually and carefully but the implementation of this study is not limited to the collection of data.

Because descriptive research can detail fully about the condition or symptoms of a particular group. (Koentjoroningrat, 1997). Descriptive here alone will examine the picture of the behavior and attributes that affect his thought. (Kamaruzzaman, 2001). While comparative here is a relationship of two thoughts of the figures discussed in this thesis by comparing the two figures. Therefore, descriptive and comparative research in writing this thesis gives the results of precise and sharper objects. This comparison determines the similarities and differences of thinking between the two stores. (Bakker et al., 1999).

In this thesis research, writer use method of research of character according to prof. Dr. Syahrin Harahap, M.A. With the concept of Character Recognition. In the introduction of Gandhi and Gus Dur figures to be studied, there are several concepts that need to be known.

a. Internal and external Background.

The author tries to examine the thoughts of Gandhi and Gus Dur in recognition of the internal background that includes, the background of life, education, experiences that shape his perspective, and the development of his thinking. While from the external background, the special circumstances experienced by Gandhi and Gus Dur with socioeconomic, political, cultural, literary and philosophical. This is important because a character is a child of his day.

b. Method of thinking and development of mind.

The approach used by the thinking of a Gandhi and Gus Dur figure can be seen from three sides. First, from the point of view of the approach it uses. Second, the

functional side of the ratio (sense) and access. Third, in terms of approach or discipline that is used in analyzing each problem.

c. Influence

The thinking of previous thinkers became a reference for later thinkers. From that reference gave birth to a distinctive idea. For influence, even lending does not mean eliminating the peculiarities of a thinker or a nation's culture.

Research figures Gandhi and Gus Dur using Piere Bourdieu theory (1986) Social capital and cultural capital. Social capital examines the actual and potential resources possessed by someone Gandhi and Gus Dur from a social network background. As for cultural capital examines Gandhi and Gus Dur about education and knowledge

## **2. Data and Data Source**

The source of data required from this author in solving a problem and the problem is with premier data and secondary data.

a. Primary data.

The premier data used by the author in this study is from a book written by Mahatma Gandhi and Gus Dur itself (Autobiography).

b. Secondary Data

Secondary data in this study is obtained from various books written by historians and politicians about Mahatma Gandhi and Gus Dur and the opinions of the people closest to the two figures.



### **3. Data Collection Techniques**

Data and sources of data in this study are to find the sources of library data (library research), by way of materials in the library used as the primary source. In this study, the author uses two fundamental methods by obtaining knowledge from two figures simultaneously. *The first* is the research of the minds and teachings of the two figures, and *the second* is the study of biographies and roles from the beginning to the end of the study.

### **4. Data Analysis Technique**

Based on the description that has been submitted, the data analysis techniques used are qualitative analysis by way of data obtained trying to be clarified and described with the language and sentences that are defined according to categories to get conclusions. Next, is done by analyzing the object under study by interpreting existing data with a coherent theory and using the overall meaning.

