

**THE PHILOSOPHY OF BHINNEKA TUNGGAL IKA IN THE
INDONESIAN CONSTITUTION
(SIYASAH DUSTURIYAH PERSPECTIVE)**



Bachelor Thesis

Submitted in Fulfilment of Bachelor Degree in Islamic Law

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ABSTRACT

A constitution is an aggregation of basic principles and values, which becomes rules, that defines the nature and extent of the government. When looking into a country's constitution, we look at their philosophical value which unites the people together in one defining body (government). Therefore the studies of values in governance are key to understand the goals that the country tries to achieve in their national agenda. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika was not only used in the Majapahit era but also gain its significance in modern Indonesia. Making it timeless in its universality as a value of its people. The phrase Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is used as Indonesia's national motto through inscribes in the national symbol, Garuda Pancasila. And is also mentioned specifically in article 36A of the Constitution of Indonesia (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945). This phrase is a quotation from Old Javanese poem Kakawin Sutasoma, written by Mpu Tantular during the reign of the Majapahit Empire around 14th century, during the reign of King Rajasanagara, also known as Hayam Wuruk. Studying Kakawin Sutasoma's text is not only studying the past, but it is also a contemporary study in Indonesia Constitution. Therefore this research would like to look at Sutasoma and its significance to the constitution of Indonesia. And also how it was used in the Majapahit Era. Through studies of justice, law, legal, and also politics.

The type of research used in this thesis is library research. This research is descriptive-analytical. The approach used is a conceptual approach (comparative approach) with the *siyāsah dustūriyyah* theory. Sources of data in this study are divided into 3 (three), namely: primary, secondary, and tertiary sources.

This thesis's research conclusively shows that applying Bhinneka Tunggal Ika's constitutional value with all its aspects, including concepts and objectives, is in accordance and relevant to the principles contained in *siyāsah dustūriyyah*. Especially in the aspect of protecting equality in Islam, Musawah and Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar.

Keywords: *Dusturiyya, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Diversity, Constitution, Indonesia, Nusantara, Unity.*

ABSTRAK

Konstitusi adalah penyatuan prinsip dasar dan nilai di masyarakat, untuk selanjutnya menjadi hukum dan membentuk unsur dan ruang lingkup pemerintah. Ketika melihat konstitusi suatu negara, kita melihat nilai filosofis yang dikandung di dalamnya yang menjadi pendorong untuk mempersatukan masyarakat di dalam satu badan (pemerintah). Berdasarkan pemahaman ini, mempelajari nilai dalam kenegaraan adalah kunci untuk bisa melihat tujuan yang ingin dicapai oleh suatu negara. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika tidak hanya menjadi nilai pada zaman Kerajaan Majapahit namun signifikan untuk Indonesia pada saat ini. Ini membuktikan bahwa sebagai sebuah nilai dalam konstitusi ia tetap relevan dalam masyarakat hingga saat ini. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika adalah semboyan nasional yang diukir pada simbol nasional Garuda Pancasila. Secara spesifik semboyan ini disebutkan di dalam Undang-Undang No 36 (a) Tahun 1945. Semboyan ini merupakan salah satu kalimat di dalam manuskrip Kakawin Sutasoma, yang digubah oleh Mpu Tantular pada abad 14 di Majapahit, pada masa kekuasaan Rajasanagara, atau biasa diketahui sebagai Hayam Wuruk. Mempelajari Kakawin Sutasoma bukan hanya mempelajari masa lalu, tapi ia merupakan studi kontemporer di dalam konstitusi Indonesia. Oleh karena itu penelitian ini berharap untuk mengkaji Sutasoma Bhinneka Tunggal Ika dan relevansinya di Konstitusi Indonesia dibandingkan dengan bagaimana ia digunakan di Majapahit. Melalui studi keadilan, hukum, legal, dan politik.

Jenis penelitian yang digunakan dalam penyusunan skripsi ini adalah penelitian pustaka (*library research*). Penelitian ini bersifat deskriptif-analitis. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah pendekatan konseptual (*comparative approach*) dengan teori *siyāsah dustūriyyah*. Sumber data dalam penelitian ini terbagi menjadi 3 (tiga) yaitu: sumber primer, sekunder dan tersier.

Hasil penelitian dalam skripsi ini menunjukkan bahwa penerapan nilai konstitusional Bhinneka Tunggal Ika dengan segala aspeknya yang meliputi konsep, serta tujuan telah sesuai dan relevan dengan prinsip-prinsip yang ada di dalam *siyāsah dustūriyyah*. Khususnya dalam aspek perlindungan Kesetaraan dalam islam, Musawah dan Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar.

Keywords: *Dusturiyya, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Perbedaan, Konstitusi, Indonesia, Nusantara, Kesatuan.*

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Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Setelah membaca, meneliti, dan mengoreksi serta menyarankan perbaikan seperlunya, maka kami berpendapat bahwa skripsi saudara:

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sudah dapat diajukan kepada Prodi Hukum Tata Negara (Siyasah) Fakultas Syari'ah dan Hukum UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta sebagai salah satu syarat memperoleh gelar sarjana strata satu dalam Hukum Islam.

Dengan ini kami mengharap agar skripsi atau tugas akhir saudara tersebut di atas dapat segera dimunaqasyahkan. Atas perhatiannya kami ucapkan terima kasih.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

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MOTTO

Here are words from the greatest thinker of our time that shaped every chapter of my student life.

Shadows, indeed, may indicate the sun's presence.

But only the sun displays the light of life.

(Jalaludin Rumi)

A cynic is a man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.

(Oscar Wilde)

Submerging yourself in a shallow thought does not turn it into a deep thought.

What I need is a diet that will lose me the weight of the world.

(Daniel Armand Lee)

DEDICATION

This bachelor thesis was dedicated to:

My family

And all the young people who persist through their personal quest in this
perplexing and pallid world.



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PEDOMAN TRANSLITERASI ARAB-LATIN

Transliterasi huruf Arab-Latin yang dipakai dalam penyusunan skripsi ini berpedoman pada surat keputusan bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia Nomor: 158/1987 dan 0543b/u/1987 tertanggal 22 Januari 1988.

A. Konsonan Tunggal

<i>Huruf Arab</i>	Nama	<i>Huruf Latin</i>	Keterangan
ا	Alif	Tidak dilambangkan	
ب	Ba'	B	Be
ت	Ta'	T	Te
ث	ša'	š	s (dengan titik di atas)
ج	Jīm	J	Je
ح	Hâ'	ḥ	Ha (dengan titik di bawah)
خ	Kha'	Kh	K dan h
د	Dāl	D	De
ذ	Ẓāl	Ẓ	Z (dengan titik di atas)
ر	Ra'	R	Er
ز	Za'	Z	Zet
س	Sīn	S	Es
ش	Syīn	Sy	Es dan ye
ص	Sâd	ṣ	Es (dengan titik di bawah)
ض	Dâd	ḍ	De (dengan titik di bawah)

ط	Tâ'	ṭ	Te (dengan titik di bawah)
ظ	Zâ'	ẓ	Zet (dengan titik di bawah)
ع	'Aīn	'	Koma terbalik ke atas
غ	Gāin	G	Ge
ف	Fa'	F	Ef
ق	Qāf	Q	Qi
ك	Kāf	K	Ka
ل	Lām	L	'el
م	Mīm	M	'em
ن	Nūn	N	'en
و	Wāwu	W	W
ه	Ha'	H	Ha
ء	Hamzah	'	Apostrof
ي	Ya'	Y	Ye

B. Konsonan Rangkap Karena Syaddah ditulis rangkap

مُتَعَدِّدَةٌ	Ditulis	Muta'addidah
عِدَّة	Ditulis	'iddah

C. Ta' Marbūtah di akhir kata

1. Bila *ta' Marbūtah* di baca mati ditulis dengan *h*, kecuali kata-kata Arab yang sudah terserap menjadi bahasa Indonesia, seperti salat, zakat dan sebagainya.

حِكْمَةٌ	Ditulis	<i>ḥikmah</i>
جِزْيَةٌ	Ditulis	<i>Jizyah</i>

2. Bila *ta' Marbūtah* diikuti dengan kata sandang “*al*” serta bacaan kedua itu terpisah, maka ditulis dengan *h*

كَرَامَةُ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ	Ditulis	<i>Karāmah al-auliyā'</i>
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3. Bila *ta' Marbūtah* hidup dengan *hârakat fathâḥ, kasrah dan dâmmah* ditulis *t*

زَكَاةُ الْفِطْرِ	Ditulis	<i>Zakāt al-ḥiṭr</i>
-------------------	---------	----------------------

D. Vokal Pendek

َ	<i>fathah</i>	Ditulis	A
ِ	<i>Kasrah</i>	Ditulis	I
ُ	<i>dammah</i>	Ditulis	U

E. Vokal Panjang

1	<i>fathah+alif</i>	Ditulis	<i>Ā</i>
	جَاهِلِيَّةٌ	Ditulis	<i>Jāhiliyyah</i>
2	<i>fathah+ya' mati</i>	Ditulis	<i>Ā</i>
	تَنْسَى	Ditulis	<i>Tansā</i>

3	<i>Kasrah+ya' Mati</i>	Ditulis	<i>Ī</i>
	كَرِيمٌ	Ditulis	<i>Karīm</i>
4	<i>ḍammah+wawu mati</i>	Ditulis	<i>Ū</i>
	فُرُوضٌ	Ditulis	<i>furūḍ</i>

F. Vokal Rangkap

1	<i>fathah+ya' mati</i>	Ditulis	<i>Ai</i>
	بَيْنَكُمْ	Ditulis	<i>bainakum</i>
2	<i>fathah+wawu mati</i>	Ditulis	<i>Au</i>
	قَوْلٌ	Ditulis	<i>Qaul</i>

G. Vokal pendek yang berurutan dalam satu kata

Penulisan vokal pendek yang berurutan dalam satu kata dipisahkan dengan tanda apostrof (‘)

1	أَنْتُمْ	Ditulis	<i>a'antum</i>
2	لَأَنْ تَسْكُرْتُمْ	Ditulis	<i>La'in syakartum</i>

H. Kata Sandang Alif+Lām

1. Bila kata sandang *Alif+Lām* diikuti huruf *qamariyyah* ditulis dengan *al*.

الْقُرْآنُ	Ditulis	<i>Al-Qur'ān</i>
الْقِيَّاسُ	Ditulis	<i>Al-Qiyās</i>

2. Bila kata sandang *Alīf+Lām* diikuti *Syamsiyyah* ditulis dengan menggunakan huruf *Syamsiyyah* yang mengikutinya, serta dihilangkan huruf *l* (el)-nya.

السَّمَاءُ	Ditulis	<i>as-Samā</i>
الشَّمْسُ	Ditulis	<i>as-Syams</i>

I. Huruf Besar

Penulisan huruf besar disesuaikan dengan Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan (EYD).

J. Penulisan kata-kata dalam rangkaian kalimat

Kata-kata dalam rangkaian kalimat ditulis menurut bunyi atau pengucapannya.

ذَوِي الْفُرُوضِ	Ditulis	<i>Ẓawî al-furūḍ</i>
أَهْلِ السُّنَّةِ	Ditulis	<i>ahl as-Sunnah</i>

K. Pengecualian

Sistem transliterasi ini tidak berlaku pada:

- Kosa kata Arab yang lazim dalam Bahasa Indonesia dan terdapat dalam Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia, misalnya: al-Qur'an, hadis, mazhab, syariat, lafaz.
- Judul buku yang menggunakan kata Arab, namun sudah dilatinkan oleh penerbit, seperti judul buku *al-Hijab*.

- c. Nama pengarang yang menggunakan nama Arab, tapi berasal dari negara yang menggunakan huruf latin, misalnya Quraish Shihab, Ahmad Syukri Soleh.
- d. Nama penerbit di Indonesia yang menggunakan kata Arab, misalnya Toko Hidayah, Mizan.



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In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful. May God, the Almighty and Sublime, grant all of us success in serving our religion and our Umma and become rahmat for the universe. Peace, God's mercy and blessings be upon people who had contributed to this bachelor thesis, which whom the writer would not be able to finish it without them. Shalawat and salam may always be declared for Prophet Muhammad SAW. we hope for his syafa'at in *yaumul akhir*. Amiin.

This bachelor thesis with the title "***THE PHILOSOPHY OF BHINNEKA TUNGGAL IKA IN THE INDONESIAN CONSTITUTION (SIYASAH DUSTURIYAH PERSPECTIVE)***" is done thanks to all the people that have given their advice, help, and support to the writer. They are the people whose contribution made this bachelor thesis possible:

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11. To you who are reading this appalling thesis. I hope you will do better than me when you start writing one. I am praying that eventhough my writing cannot be an example; it can at least be a warning signs to what you should not and cannot do. That a supportive and like-minded advisor is crucial and that you should camp to their house if they go out of reach. They are just busy and sometimes groveling is the only way to make them realize you exist. And please make sure your mk wajib and mk pilihan is adequate enough to graduate, because sometimes the total sks could be camouflaging the truth before it is too late. And your friend will be your greatest ally.

As a closing statement, I hope this bachelor thesis could be of help to everyone who reads and to me who wrote it. *Amin ya rabbal 'aalamin.*

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Yogyakarta, 1 Februari 2021

Humble Writer,



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

When looking at this bachelor thesis we need to take a lens to the past when the word “religion” and religiosity” was not understand the way it was today. Because the Bhinneka Tunggal Ika studied in this bachelor thesis would like to look at it not from the perspective of religious politics, rather it would like to look at its enjoined existence in Indonesia that made this word eternal to the national philosophy of Indonesia in the past and towards the future.

Imagine for a second of the golden age in Islamic Dynasty, there was a library that was also a madrasa. A place where people from around the world comes to discuss the scientific and theological matter. These people, some off them wear turbans, some wore a traditional Roman Catholic clothes, there were also some eastern garment person joining the discussions together. They will discuss the matter of math, physics, chemistry, philosophy, and religion in a full comprehension of the substantial truth of what they are discussing. There were no people waiting at the gate to see which religion you belong, you just come here to embellish the place with fruitful discussions. In that kind of environment, how would tolerance be maintained? Maybe without no effort, as there are no vicious attempts of being the right one, what matters is that the knowledge at hand was being enriched thoroughly. Whether Abrahamic or Eastern Religions, they

come together to discuss the abstract truth. And they shy away from reification. This discussion belongs there.

The term *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* was first popularized by Mohammad Yamin, a Javanese Scholar who is also a lawyer, as a proposal in Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence Meeting (BPUPKI) on 1959. The diversity of Indonesia in all aspects including religion, culture, and geographical climates was understood by Mohammad Yamin, which made him believe that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is the ideal goal for Indonesia as a diverse nation. The term was later officiated in 1945 Indonesian Constitution as a national motto and national principle. And also become the reference to all policy and policy-making in Indonesia.

The term *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* comes from a *Kakawin* Manuscript “*Sutasoma*” authored by Majapahit Scholars and Advisor Mpu Tantular in the 14th century, the term is in Old Javanese/*Kakawin* language and consists of two words *Bhinna Ika*, *Bhinna* means split, pierced; divided into parts; different from others, separated. And *Ika* is a pronoun for a third person since *Bhinna* is ended with a vowel; therefore, the rule of sandhi is applied, and the word *Bhinna* becomes a single word combined with *Ika*, *Bhinneka*. So *Bhinneka* means It is diverse. And *Tunggal Ika*, *Tuṅgal* means one; one only, sole, unique; one with another, united; one in kind (shape, etc.). So *Tunggal Ika* means It is one.

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika means Unity in Diversity. The first president of Indonesia, Soekarno elaborates on the matter, saying that *Bhinna Ika* is the *Das*

Sein (factual truth) while *Tunggal Ika* is the *Das Sollen* (ideal truth). Indonesia as a nation is diverse, but to be united is the purpose of this nation. This is aligned with the nature of diversity in Indonesia which has been the case since ancient times. This understanding later manifested in the presidential statute PP/66/1951 regarding the national symbol of Garuda Pancasila, that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is to be inscribed below the Garuda Pancasila gripped by the claws of the Garuda, as shown below.



Figure-1. Garuda Pancasila

Sutasoma is the original manuscript containing the words *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the words were a part of CXXXIX in the fifth verse, written by Mpu Tantular on the start of Hayam Wuruk reign, circa 1350. Soewito Santoso through his dissertation called the significance of Sutasoma as a book of *pewayangan pakem* (shadow puppet show), a guide for the *dalang* (shadow master) usually intended to be performed as a shadow play to give instruction on the path to enlightenment. The story features Prince Sutasoma as the heroin similar to that of Javanese stories in general, called *lakon* which has a general narration of the fight between good

and evil. Mpu Tantular wrote the manuscript as a show for the public and its king to the virtue of a good and fair leader when governing the kingdom as he praised the king at the end of the book:

Bhrastang durjana cunya kaya kumeter mawedi giri-giri, de sri Rajasa
rajabhupati sang angditi ratu ri Jawa, cuddhambek sang asewa tan salah asing
pawatah ira tinut, sok wiradhika mewu yeka magawe resa ning ari teka.¹

Hayam Wuruk is a Majapahit king who brought the kingdom into massive expansion alongside his famous prime minister, Gajah Mada. Culture also plays a vital part as Hayam Wuruk is also a dancer, and many well-known Javanese poems are created during his reign. Many of his achievements reflect the Majapahit in general, the values of the country and the tolerance evolved in society. Where believers of Buddhism and Hinduism come hand in hand to prosper the country with their teachings.

This proposition will later become significant in the future of Indonesia's independence through the fundamental debate of the national fabric that aspires to be inclusive and embracing all the diverse needs of the people. This discourse is recorded in the notes on the preparatory meeting which accounts the debate of identity and unity. History was also highlighted to draw the conclusion on primordial concepts of unity in Indonesia and this is where Bhinneka Tunggal Ika stood as a principle.

¹ Santoso, Soewito. "Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana," Doctoral Dissertation University of New Delhi (1974, Vol. 2: canto 139).

B. Research Problems

1. How did Majapahit and Indonesia differ in their amalgamation of the principle of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika?
2. How would Siyasa Dustiriyya views Bhinneka Tunggal Ika from Majapahit and Indonesia Constitution?

C. Objectives

The objective of researching into Bhinneka Tunggal Ika through its original manuscript are to extract the roots and reflects it to the trees, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika has a long history in Nusantara, spanning from Majapahit to Indonesia. Since the reign of Rajasanagara in 1350 through the present times, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika has lived in the spirit of the nation for more than 600 years. However, with the industrial revolution and modern discourse, we would like to see whether Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is still understood in the same way as its original time or whether it has changed through times and era.

D. Significance

UIN Sunan Kalijaga as an Islamic University in Indonesia needs to contribute into the study of Indonesian Islam or as NU called it “Islam Nusantara”. This study was needed to further the discourse of Islam, Nusantara, and general knowledge.

This study could be of use to students, scholars, and the general public in understanding Bhinneka Tunggal Ika through the changing times.

E. Literary Review

The researcher found several papers with similar objects researched in this paper. Based on the papers found by the researcher, some similarities and theories become other foundations for writing this paper.

The first research is “Boddakawya Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana Text – Translation - Commentary” by Soewita Santoso, a doctorate thesis. He analysed many versions of Sutasoma through the supervision of Zoetmulder (a renowned Javanese scholars), and through that, he chose one to be translated, and explain its significance in Javanese Culture (Wayang) and Javanese Architecture (Borobudur). Soewito Santoso criticized the misconceptions surrounding Javanese culture; one of these misconceptions were autochthonic of Wayang. There are some doubts that wayang is from India. This paper is crucial for the researcher because the translations of Sutasoma comes from this dissertation. However, this paper is different from the researcher’s paper as it tries to look at the text in an applied subject, Law, and this research focused on the original manuscript and its discourse instead of attempting to apply it to into modern context. The relation between Soewita Santoso’s and the researcher’s bachelor thesis is one of prospering knowledge, as a hand to bring his research into life.

The second is “The Kakawin Sutasoma: A Look at ‘Bhinneka Tunggal Ika’ and Perceptions of the Text’s Religious Implications” by Hana Aghababian, a project report of SIT Graduate Insitute. She analysed the manuscript from the perspective of its significance in literature and its implication in Indonesian

society. This paper is important for this research because through this research, the author can acquire the skill to research on ancient manuscripts and reflect it to the Indonesian society. However, this paper is different from the researcher's paper as it tries to look at the text in an applied subject, Law, and because this research was of literature research.

The third is "Islamisasi Di Lingkungan Kerajaan Majapahit by Maulana Malik Ibrahim Tahun 1391-1419 M" written by Hesti Yuliantini, History of Adab and Cultural Science Faculty, State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga on 2017. In this graduating paper, the researcher talks about the role of Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Majapahit Islamization. This paper helps the researcher to know more about how to research on Java and Islam. But this paper is different from the researcher's paper because it does not talk about the Javanese teachings in Majapahit, but only Islamization.

The fourth is "Wacana Constitutional Question Di Mahkamah Konstitusi Perspektif Siyāsah Dustūriyyah" written by Althof Dinantama, Constitutional Law of Sharia and Law Faculty, State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga on 2019. In this graduating paper, the researcher uses the constitutional theory of Siyasa to identify the problems surrounding the constitutional question. This paper helps in research using Siyasa Dusturiyya theory and how it could be applied to analysing policies and social changes in Indonesia.

The fifth is "Rethinking Javanese Islam. Towards new descriptions of Javanese traditions" written by Jochem van den Boogert, a doctorate thesis from Leiden University. In this thesis, the researcher analyses the predetermined

understanding on Javanese Islam. This paper is important because this research provides a basic perception of how Islam and Java can be studied together as an existing living entity in Indonesian society. However, this paper is different from researcher's paper because it compares and tried to legitimize the comparisons and similarities between Java and Indonesia while this bachelor thesis analyses the implications and factual applications resulting of the Java-Islam interaction.

F. Theoretical Approach

1. Siyasa Dusturiyya (Constitutional Studies)

Fiqh Siyasa consists of the words fiqh and siyasa, fiqh generally defined as the study of laws and syara' from the source in detail, while Siyasa coined from the word yasa-yasusu, which means caring, training and riding animals, especially horses.

This word is historically used to describe animal trainers or syce. Later this word becomes a significant explanation of the heart of Leadership in Islam as a caregiver, trainer, and rider (leading-leader) of his people. A horse seen as a living being is a point that I want to stress when we compare it to the theory of government. It is from the word *kubernan*, which means a ship. We can reflect on Philological theory, that a language, directly and indirectly, affects the understanding and use of the words. And for the use of government to have resulted in a ship (an inanimate object) means a leader is like a sailor to its people, and the people is the ship. We can see that it reflects on the theories of

the governance in the western culture, where leaders become the main control of its state.

But for Siyasa, the relationship is not strictly based on control, but on walking together and achieving balance together. Because horse is not inanimate objects, they are living beings which makes them unique. Although leader is seen as holding the leash, it will not get stability and harmony in its process if the relationship between riders and horses are not nurtured well, failing to develop trust. Middle East perspective alone offers the etymological perspective which creates an epistemological understanding different from those from Western perspectives. And these instruments are important to delve into Bhinneka Tunggal Ika reflected in Majapahit and modern-day Indonesia, because this understanding of governance and leader affect the methods used to run the Government body. Since the research will focus more on constitution, therefore the focus of the Siyasa is on the constitution or originally named as Siyasa Dusturiyya.

G. Method of Research

The research methods used in this study are as follows:

1. Type of Research

The type of research used in the preparation of this thesis is library research (qualitative research). Literature review can be carried out by selecting and sorting library data sources that are relevant and in accordance with the field of science and the field of study to be used

as research, which is related to the concept of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika and the concept of siyāsah dustūriyya.

2. Nature of Research

This research is descriptive-analytical in nature, which is a method that describes all the data or state of the subject / research object discussed and then analyzed and compared based on the current reality and then tries to provide a solution to the problem.

3. Research Approach

The type of approach to the problem in this research is the conceptual approach (comparative approach) using the siyāsah dustūriyyah theory, which is to approach the existing problems by examining the legal principles and legal theories found in the view of the siyāsah dustūriyyah. Then analyzed its relevance related to the problems in this study.

4. Data Sources

Sources of data in this study are divided into 3 (three), namely as follows:²

a. Primary Source

The primary data sources used in this study include binding laws and regulations, including the following:

- 1) The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.
- 2) Notes on The Preparatory Meeting of Indonesia's Independence 1945

² Rusdin Pohan, *Metodologi Penelitian Pendidikan*, (Yogyakarta: Lanarka Publisher, 2007), pg.57.

3) Soewito Santoso Translation of Kakawin Manuscript Sutasoma 1974

b. Secondary Source

Secondary sources are materials that are closely related to primary data sources and can help analyze and understand primary data source materials. Among them can be books, theses, theses, dissertations, journals, magazines, scientific papers, articles, research reports, developments in the Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and constitutional discourse, which are of course related to the discussion in this research.

c. Tertiary Source

Tertiary data sources are materials used to obtain instructions and explanations for primary and secondary data sources,³ including the Dictionary, Old Javanese dictionaries, encyclopedias, news, and lectures.⁴

H. Paper organization

This paper consists of four chapters. Chapter one consists of background, problem statements, objective of study, significant of study, literary review, theoretical approach and method of research.

Chapter two consists of all intrinsic elements about the object, such as image, formulating, interpreting, comparing, and reflecting the analysis of the elements in the object.

³ Suratman, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2014), pg. 67.

⁴ Zainuddin Ali, *Metode Penelitian Hukum* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2009), pg. 24

In chapter three, the researcher discusses the study with the finding archetypes throughout the text.

Chapter four is the conclusion. In this chapter, the researcher attempts to conclude all of the discussion itself.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A. Conclusion

To sum the discussion from the previous chapters, the author would like to conclude the discussion based on the research problems mentioned in chapter 1:

1. Although they differ in the process of incorporating the principle of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, both government shows a process of consolidation between the principle and the custom of the era. But its main function still stands whether in Majapahit or Indonesia, that is the diversity of this land shall be its greatest strength in unity.
2. The principle of equality (Musawah) looks at diversity as a universal truth for the mankind and that this factor encourages every human being to relish in the difference and learn from each other is aligned to Indonesia's national principle of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

B. Recommendation

The most important thing is for this study to be developed into something more straightforward and accessible to the general public. So one day, through this study, there will be a new formula for Indonesian citizens against the

complexity of the nation's modern life and identities, which was unceasingly debatable and reviewed. Because through this product, every sphere's decision was made, and people are to identify themselves with it. This is a matter of stability and national security. To finally reach the destination of 'Negara Berdaulat,' a Sovereign Nation. So we might be asking ourselves what this can pose to us, as Indonesian citizens, the fully national identity. This study was only taken from a Javanese discourse perspective, so to speak, although the object used in this material was of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. This study should encourage all ethnicities to contribute and review their indigenous knowledge and colored our national regulation of the meaning that we adopt today to define who we are as a nation.

There is a saying that said to destroy a nation; one must dominate the people's ideology and perception. Feeling inferior and discouraged of our own belief, and compared it to the so-called developed nation a.k.a first world countries. This must not happen in the future. We have to be able to give colors to our national proceedings, not only for the sake of our statesmen but also for the benefit of all indigenous people in the world. Segregated by modernity and its political people, we, Indonesian, have to show the world that we are much more ready and independent in overcoming the threats from inside and outside through maintaining and flourishing our indigenous knowledge. Because the strength is within each of us, the knowledge we carry transports the golden knowledge and wisdom maintained through generations. Just because they belong to our ancestors, labeling them as traditional and unsuitable to modern life is like saying

the same thing as people who forsake them. As the new generation, we do not have any say in reincorporating the passing messages of our ancestors. That we are not smart enough to ponder the abstraction of the essential meaning that was universal in humanity in viewing the life around them. That we did not have the vision of the past and that we are narrow-minded, we cannot reconcile the past to the present. All these misconceptions are false. After all, as the new generation, we go through even dangerous perils than our previous generations because we had to defend our national principle and identity not only on the national level but also on the international level. It is through this intention that this research was done.



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