

## ABSTRACT

This research is intended to find out the political discourse of the NU scholar (kiai) during Gus Dur governmental era, looked from the Gramscian point of view. This is meant to comprehend how the scholar of NU faced the state domination. When it was governed by a scholar who was from the NU whether or not they would do as the organic intellectual or they would still be the traditional intellectual as the form of the prophetic role. What kind of scholars who did as the organic intellectual and what kind of scholars who acted as the traditional intellectual.

This research is focused on the NU scholars who are the PBNU administrators and the scholars who are actively participate in PKB or any other political party, and also the scholars who are not the administrator of a political party. This research use a discourse analysis approach, which focuses on the ideological meaning in text, enunciation and the scholars' arguments concerning the Gus Dur government dominance. The data collection was done by collecting the scholars' writings especially ones which deal with politics. The writer also attended several scholars' activities such as *istighosah*, *haul* and any kind of Islamic activities which involve the scholars. The data analysis was done by mapping the meaning of an ideological discourse which is improved by each scholar related to the background of the discourse.

From the data analysis, it can be found that in the Gus Dur governmental only a part of the scholars are the organic intellectuals that can defend Gus Dur's government. Some of the scholars are traditional intellectual, and some still follow the prophetic role, but there are some of scholars were the organic intellectual and the traditional intellectual as simultant.

Due to the fact, the organic intellectual scholars also have different self motivation. Some of their motivation was defending NU by seeing Gus Dur as the symbol of NU, besides there are some the scholars whose motivation was the fear of losing their privilege as a part of dominance group. The traditional intellectual