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THE ROLE OF ULAMA IN SUPPORTING AN INDONESIAN MINORITY GROUP:

THE CASE OF ABDURRAHAMAN WAHID TO KONGHUCU RELIGION IN 1998 -

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THE ROLE OF ULAMA IN SUPPORTING AN INDONESIAN MINORITY

GROUP : THE CASE OF ABDURRAHAMAN WAHID TO KONGHUCU

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ABSTRACT

Pluralism in Abdurrahman Wahid thoughts and attitudes was departed from the perspective of the victims, especially religious minorities, gender, beliefs, ethnicity, skin color, and social position. Abdurrahman Wahid is a political actor as well as an ulama who highly upholds equality between the majority and minority, where when all the rulers in this country turned a blind eye to the intolerance shown to minorities. Abdurrahman Wahid came with his courage to defend minorities. His defense of the minority groups "Konghucu" in Indonesia is very appropriate in the context of the new order's discriminatory politics against people who are Konghucu in Indonesia. This research will discuss about (1) Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama and politician supported Konghuchu in Indonesia; (2) The driving factors influencing Abdurrahman Wahid in supporting such religion.

This type of research is qualitative research with a case study approach. This method performed to gain indepth explanation on an particular issue or social phenomena. The crucial part is describing the procedure, such as why an approach is chosen, data analysis, the technique to gather data and data validity. Present research perform reality approach to observe ulama support to minority groups in Indonesia. Due to the empirical reality on the ulama support to Minority groups, the writer focused on Abdurrahman Wahid and Konghucu religion.

The results of the research on Abdurrahman Wahid's steps as an Islamic leader and politician in supporting the existence of minority groups in Indonesia were the first role as ulama. As an Ulama, Abdurrahman Wahid maintained control and was able to arrange especially for NU members and their congregation to accept and mingle with Konghucu believer. The Role as a figure and Role Model means, as an Ulama of Abdurrahman Wahid was made a figure for NU members and their worshipers. Meanwhile as a politician, Abdurrahman Wahid became President who issued a regulation to free Konghucu from discrimination. This was done on the basis of Decisional Roles and Anacted Roles which means Abdurrahman Wahid had the power to influence policies and make policies. As a leader Abdurrahman Wahid has the power to control all these indicators to run well. The

driving factors of Abdurrahman Wahid in fighting for Konghucu rights are sociological background factors and organizational factors in which educational factors, education is very important for the influence of Abdurrahman Wahid's Puralism thinking. The working factor was when Abdurrahman Wahid met a lot of people with different backgrounds, which made Abdurrahman Wahid understood and appreciated differences. Meanwhile for relationship Factors Abdurrahman Wahid since childhood had met and mingled with many people including people from the west. In terms of factor interest organizations, it was strongly influenced by Abdurrahman Wahid's thinking style. Character factors and direction of the organization's struggle were determined by Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts.

Abdurrahman Wahid had a view on pluralism and defended their human rights. The most influential is social background, particularly education factors, in which the education factor indirectly builds Abdurrahman's thinking about his views on pluralism, because he studied western ideas through discussions or reading books during his education. Factor relations is also the most important indicator because since Abdurrahman Wahid was still young, he has known people from different backgrounds so he can understand differences and appreciate them. Abdurrahman Wahid was fought for the rights of Konghucu, both when he became an Ulama and a politician. However the thing that was very influential for Konghucu was when Abdurrahman Wahid became a politician, because when he was a politician, Abdurrahman Wahid was able to participate in policy making.

Keywords: Abdurrahman Wahid, Pluralism, Minority Group, Democracy, Tolerance.

A. BACKGROUND

Ulama, an Islamic intellectual figure, had crucial roles for the period of state independences. The majority Indonesian's population is muslim and shariah (religion pillars) isactively and properly practiced though it is not established as State foundation. Therefore ulama, in Indonesia frequently consider them selves as Khalifah. Khalifah is muslims who obligate to carry on Prophet Muhammad SAW, struggle on Islam. However, the state founding fathers had established Indonesia as unitary state and based on Pancasila.

According to Sarwat (2017), the definition of *ulama* in the term *fiqih* is indeed very specific so that its use should not be on any person. All conditions are clear and specific and approved by Muslims.

All of that is an absolute requirement for a *ulama* in order to be able to apply the law from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Another case with the title of chaplain, which is not a standars term form Islam. *Kiai* calls are

At the very least, he mastered certain sciences such as the knowledge of the Qur'an, hadits, ushul fiqih, qawaid fiqhiyah and mastered legal arguments from the Our'an and the sunnah. Also understand the problem of the mansukh nasikh argument, the arguments amm and khash, mujmal and mubayyan arguments and others. And the key to all og that is sufficient mastery of the Arabic language and its knowledge. Like the problem of nahwu, sharf, balaghah, bayan and others. Coupled with one more, namely the scientific science which is also very important. Also not to be forgotten is knowledge and insight into the problem of example sharia for knowing juruspridence that has developed in various existing schools.

very local, maybe only on the island of Java even just central and east java. In west java people use term *Ajengan*. Usually the term kiyai is also pinned to the elder, not only in religious matters. Even old objects of

historical heritage are often called kiai. Seeing this reality, it seems that the kiai's vocation does not always reflect religious.

Abdurrahman Wahid is a political actor as well as an *ulama* who highly upholds equality between the majority and minority, where when all the rulers in this country turn a blind eye to the intolerance shown to minorities. He came with his courage to defend minorities. Abdurrahman Wahid's defense of the minority religion

During the 1998 to 2001 era, it could be considered the periods of struggle in faighting of minorities, because there were many concrete steps taken by Abdurrahman Wahid, both when he served as PBNU chairman or when he served as president. Futhermore due to his steps which were very concerned about minorities, he got the nickname "Bapak Tianghoa" Father of Tionghoa.

20 years Konghucu have been plagued by uncertainty in the legality of religion, Precisely at the time of reform when Abdurrahman Wahid served as President of "Konghucu" in Indonesia is one of the examples the New Order's discriminatory politics in Indonesia. Chinese are discriminated in the fields of culture, work, language and politics. They had to abandon their culture and religion, altering to Christians to save themselves. They also changed their Chinese name to Indonesian name, because Chinese name made it difficult for them to become civil servants, or to get government positions. the Republic of Indonesia, he issued Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000 on the Revocation of Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 on Religion, Faith and Customs of China. The issuance of Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000 is a very important product of reform, because the decision had a great impact on the freedom of the Konghuchu in Indonesia, such as religious ceremonies of Konghucu can be carried out openly without permission. Contrary political situation from previous periods heightened with controversies provided firm security for Abdurrahman Wahid to

perform his ideas. However, as the iron law of history, unconventional ideas could never be long lasting otherwise it.

offerspersistent energy, inspiration, motivation, innovation and dynamism. Tolerance, Abdurahhaman Wahid political ideology and prevail as his power that was respected by every parties. He was open to meet people, paid attention to others and assembled mutual corporations with various parties, including individual and political figures whom hold opposition

Considering above background, I will further analyze the influence and position of ulama in Indonesia and Islam politics under the title The Role Of Ulama In

B. Research Question

In order to make this research study has a clear direction to interpret facts and data into this thesis, the first step is to formulating problem. Based on the background above, the formulates the research question as follows:

against him. He constantly appreciated cultural-human rights of Indonesian people despite how small the groups were. The freedom of faith and cultural religion is a basic human right that needs to be protected. This standpoint persistently practiced by Abdurrahman Wahid in his daily life, instead of limited in political interest and power, neither merely as president. Therefore it is noteworthy to observe his leadership as a president and ulama.

Supporting Indonesia Minority Group (The Case of Abdurrahaman Wahid of Konghucu Religion).

- 1. How does Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama and politician supports Konghuchu in Indonesia?
- 2. What the driving factors influencing Abdurrahman Wahid in supporting such religion?

C. Research Purposes

The purpose of this study was to identify Abdurrahman Wahid's steps as an Islamic figure and politician in supporting the existence of minority groups in Indonesia and the factors which were driving him.

D. Research Methodology

Research type

This type of research used in this research is qualitative research with a case study approach. This is a qualitative research. This method performed to gain

indepth explanation on an particular issue or social phenomena. The crucial part is describing the procedure, such as why an approach is chosen, data analysis, the technique to gather data and data validity. Present research perform reality approach to observe ulama support to minority groups in Indonesia. Due to the empirical reality on the ulama support to Minority writer focuses groups, the Abdurrahman Wahid and Konghucu Group.

E. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS RESULTS

- 1. The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Supporting Indonesia's Konghucu
 - a. Political HegemonyDiscrimination to KonghucuCitizens

The state in the new order became strong because it applied the methods of hegemony combined with coercive (violence). Hegemony, according to

Mahfud (2013: 112), is a way of subjugating others without violence, but using cultural methods, and even political policies. The history of political hegemony of discrimination took place in the old and new order era. In the era of the old order, the existence of political policies contained in Government Regulation Number 10 of 1959 which prohibited Konghucu citizens from trading outside the provincial capital and

regency. This resulted in extensive restrictions on the distribution of goods and ultimately the Indonesian economic downturn towards 1965. Government Regulation Number 10 of 1959, was a regulation issued in 1959 and signed by the Minister of Trade Rachmat Mujomisero which contained a ban on foreigners trying in the field of retail trade at the district level down and must transfer their business to citizens of Indonesia.

Some discriminatory laws created to support the decisions and policies of the ruling regime at that time were:

1) Greif (in Mahfud 2013 : 117),

Decision of Cabinet Presidium

Number 127 / U / Kep / 12/1966.

This law is about renaming for

Indonesian citizens who use

Chinese names. Renaming is not

mandatory for Chinese. However,

the new order government argued

that this effort would help renew

faster. Most members of the

- Chinese community chose to change their names, but in everyday life they used their Chinese names.
- 2) Bruchell (in Mahfud 2013 : 118), Presidential Instruction Number 14 1967 concerning Chinese religion, beliefs and customs. This law prohibits the practice of celebrating Chinese holidays, the use of Chinese, and the same customs in public. This law, although indirectly, rejects Konghucu Religion as the official Religion in Indonesia. This instruction was revoked by a presidential decree concerning revocation of presidential instruction no. 14 of 1967 concerning Chinese religion, beliefs and customs.
- 3) Circular SE.02 / SE Directorate

 General / PPG / K / 1998. This circular

 prohibits the publication and printing

 of writing or advertising

 advertisements and those that use

 Chinese in public. Tempo (in Mahfud

 2013: 118). This law was revoked by

 presidential instruction No.4 / 1999

- and allowed the study and use of Chinese.
- 4) Written at Tempo (in Mahfud 2013: 118). Housing minister regulation No.455.2-360 / 1988. This prohibits the use of land to establish, expand, or renew Chinese temples.
- 5) Greif (in Mahfud 2013: 118). Presidential Decree 240/1967 / April / 1967 concerning basic policies concerning foreign nationals. Suryadinata (in Mahfud 2013: 118) explains, even though this Law was created to encourage the existence of a goal of achieving complete renewal, there are still several laws, especially in the economic field that oppose this purpose. From this, it can be seen that even though the Soeharto government
- b. The steps of Abdurrahman Wahid as
 Ulama and Politicians in supporting
 the existence of Konghucu in
 Indonesia
 - 1) As Ulama
 - a) Controling

- wanted complete reform between the Chinese and non-Chinese communities, they still allowed activities and laws that encouraged and strengthened the separate identity of Chinese citizens.
- 6) According to Suryadinata (in Mahfud 2013: 119) Presidential Decree No. 14A / 1980. This law stipulates that all government and ministry institutions give preferential treatment to indigenous entrepreneurs. The law also requires that if there is a joint venture between a native and a non-native, indigenous entrepreneurs must have 50% of the value of the company and must also play an active role in running the company.

As a ulama, Abdurrahman wahid came go to give control to the majority towards minority group. Abdurrahman Wahid gave control, especially to NU members, where NU was one of the big Islamic organizations in Indonesia, as

an elite figure in NU and positioned itself as a Ulama, Abdurrahman Wahid provided control and arrange for NU citizens to accept and blend with Konghucu. The control was intended to create peace for the Konghucu and the maturity of the state for NU citizens. From the explanation, Abdurrahman Wahid as an ulama has provided control and regulation to create stability in the event of a disruption due to the view of discrimination against minorities.

b) As a figure

Abdurrahman Wahid can provide a good example to the community, especially about equality and mutual respect in living life. And in another example he built friendship with Soerjadjadja, a Chinese businessman, and they even collaborated in establishing Nusumma Bank in 1990.

c) As a role model

In this case Abdurrahman Wahid gave an example for good state and religion.

Even as a leader, the role in protecting Konghucu on the basis of human rights can be a role model. Abdurrahman Wahid as an ulama and chairman of the PBNU firmly issued a statement that he was responsible for the safety of followers of the Konghucu group in Indonesia. In addition Abdurrahman Wahid gave instructions to members of the PBNU to accept and mingle with Konghucu group. This resulted in the return of ethnic Chinese Confucians to Indonesia after fleeing abroad because they were thought to be the cause of the economic crisis in 1997 which caused major riots in 1998.

2) As Politician

a) Decisional role and anacted role

In this role leaders must be involved in the process of making strategies and making decisions in the organizations they lead. And anacted role is the real role and way someone actually performs the role. As a politician, Abdurrahman Wahid

resides as President of the Republic of
Indonesia and issues regulations that
free Konghucu group from
discrimination. These regulation are
based on decision and anacted role:

- (1) The most monumental regulation is Presidential Instruction Number 4 of 1999 which issued an instruction to all officials in government agencies to implement presidential decree No. 56 of 1996 governing the revocation of the Indonesian Citizenship Certificate (SBKRI) for Indonesian citizens of Tinghoa group. Since then various activities related to Chinese culture are no longer prohibited.
- (2) During his administration
 Abdurrahman Wahid issued
 Presidential Regulation No. 6 of
 2000 which revoked Presidential
 Instruction No. 14 of 1967 which
 was discriminatory against
 Konghucu. With the lifting of the
 ban, the way for the Tionghoa to

- revive their traditional culture, including the Konghucu religion.
- (3) In 2000 Abdurrahman Wahid announced the Chinese New Year as a voluntary public holiday by issuing a Presidential Decree Number 19/2001 on April 9, 2001.

With the freedom to practice religion, Tionghoa can express their desires, so the existence of these policies has impact on aspects of religion, impact on aspects of places of worship, impact on organizational aspects, and impact on social aspects.

3) As a leader

In this case Abdurrahman Wahid proved successful for interpersonal relations with those he led, for example he managed to establish good relations with minority and majority groups. He always defended and sided with minority groups, both in Muslim circles and followers of other religions. His defense and partisanship has been recognized in Indonesia and other

countries in the world. He was also named the Father of Pluralism. The factors that influence Abdurrahman Wahid in fighting for Konghucu rights are democracy as the pillar of equality in religions, religious tolerance, and interfaith and inter-religious dialogue.

2. Factors affecting Abdurrahman Wahid as a leader in fighting for Konghucu right

- a. Sociological Background Factors
- 1) Educational factors

Education at Al Azhar Islamic University, where he studied deep in the religious sciences, and even got the opportunity to join discussion groups that were followed by Egyptian intellectuals. At that time Egypt was under the government of President Gamal Abdul Nasser who gave freedom of opinion and adequate protection for academics and intellectuals. In 1966 Abdurrahman Wahid moved to Baghdad, Iraq and chose to study at the department of religion at Baghdad university. At that time Abdurrahman Wahid's political thinking

was much influenced by the political conditions that occurred Iraa. Abdurrahman Wahid went to Indonesia with the thought of starting steps to find the format of changes in the thoughts and actions of Muslims in Indonesia. Basically Abdurrahman Wahid took knowledge about religion, from which came an understanding of pluralism. This is based on his understanding of the verses in the Al-Qur'an. The single source doctrine of Islamic teachings is the Al-Qur'an and As-With Abdurrahman Wahid's Sunnah. ability to speak Arabic, his understanding of philosophy, and social theories, he was able to understand the contents of the verses of the Our'an.

2) Work Factors

As academics, writers and politicians Abdurrahman Wahid has a free way of thinking, in that case also why Abdurrahman Wahid has a strong view of pluralism. In Egypt, Abdurrahman Wahid worked at the Indonesian embassy. this

adds to his experience and ways of thinking about politics.

3) Relationship Factors

Abdurrahman Wahid as NU leader made surprising decisions including the birth of Nusumma Bank. Abdurrahman Wahid's friendship with Chinese people is indeed not just in the aspect of culture. The initiation of the founding of Bank Nusumma brought important memories for Indonesian Chinese. Abdurrahman Wahid wanted to show that Islamic organizations could cooperate with a Chinese descendant.

4) Individual Political Orientation Factors

Factors of Political Orientation of Abdurrahman Wahid Individuals, can be seen from his thoughts, he is not anti-Islamic or anti-Western. During his lifetime Abdurrahman Wahid was always consistent with three things, namely Islam and democracy, human rights, and pluralism. Gus Dur has given a trace of an inclusive political struggle in the country so that pluralism is not only limited to discourse, limited to political chatter, or mere plans,

but in real actions and actions as he did
Tionghoa and Konghucu in Indonesia.

b. Organizational factor

with a cosmopolitan educational background, and association with science, Abdurrahman Wahid has more organizational orientation towards tolerant Islamic approach, and he has the character in the political culture of Abdurrahman Wahid's organization, his leadership was charismatic. Charismatic leaders are usually born of religious groups who get religious education and have high morality. NU as an Islamic organization has its own perspective political participation, Abdurrahman Wahid, as an elite figure in NU, established an Islamic political party called Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (PKB), which was intended to represent the thoughts of NU members in the political process.

Factor in the organization's political interests

the insistence of NU interest in participating in Indonesian politics made

Abdurrahman Wahid approve the creation of political parties. From Abdurrahman Wahid political maneuvers began with NU through Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (KPB) Party. With its principles guided by the teachings of Islam and Pancasila, the main struggle is for the benefit of the entire Indonesian people, in this case not only for NU members or Muslims but also for the entire Indonesian nation. From there one of the factors that led Abdurrahman Wahid to behave in Pluralism and fight for the rights of minority groups without exception.

 Factors of Characteristics and Direction of PKB's Political Struggle

Partai Kebangkitan Nasional
(PKB) as a forum for NU's political

F. Conclusion

From the above indicators, it can be seen that Abdurrahman Wahid is a person who fights for minority groups.

It was evidenced by all his struggles, including the struggle when

aspirations and struggles has the character of a Party based on the character and line of struggle where this Party was born. As Jam'iyyah Diniyyah, which is obliged by amar ma'rūf nahī munkar in the life of the community, nation and state. personally and in groups, In realizing such political life, Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) has established political views and attitudes based on the basic principles of struggle. The basis of the struggle of Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa rests on national values that are based and integrated by and with the values of truth, freedom, openness, freedom, just and civilized humanity, justice, honesty, equality, brotherhood, non-discrimination and gender equality.

Abdurrahman Wahid became an Ulama or president that he made many policies that supported minorities. This can be assessed from his role as ulama who has several important indicators, namely as a figure, and as

a role model, as Abdurrahman Wahid's figure and role model became an influence for all his worshipers. With that, the instructions from him will be followed by the his followers and congregation.

Meanwhile his role as a politician there are indicators such as decisional roles, anacted roles, and role as a leaders. In a decisional role and anacted role, Abdurrahman Wahid can influence policy and have the power to make policies. This is evidenced by the existence of regulations that were made to free Konghucu from previous regulations that were discriminatory. The indicator as a leader is also very influential like when Abdurrahman Wahid foughtfor minority rights. This is because when he became a leader many instructions were received and followed by the community like when he instructed the natives to accept and mingle with the Konghucu.

Besides, there are driving factors why Abdurrahman Wahid had a view on pluralism and defended their human rights. The most influential is social background, particularly education factors, in which the education factor indirectly builds Abdurrahman's thinking about his views on pluralism because he studied western ideas through discussions or reading books during his education. Factor relations is also the most important indicator because since Abdurrahman Wahid was still young, he has known people from different backgrounds so he can understand differences and appreciate them.

From the explanation above, it can be seen that Abdurrahman Wahid was fought for the rights of Konghucu, both when he became an Ulama and a politician. However the thing that was very influential for Konghucu was when Abdurrahman Wahid became a political actor. because when he was

a politician, Abdurrahman Wahid was able to participate in policy making, where the policies produced can benefit the Konghucu, such as Confession of konghucu Religion, recognition of the feast of Konghucu, and the liberation of building a place of worship.

G. Suggestion

1. General suggestion

Abdurrahman Wahid is one of the leaders of pluralism in Indonesia and even other countries have acknowledged how he defended minority groups. In the condition of a pluralistic of Indonesian state, fellow citizens should always act in mutual respect without discriminating culture, tradition, religion, or language. Building a sense of tolerance must begin with each individual so that the practice of the principles of the Pancasila can be realized. In essence, tolerance must be maintained in this country. With high tolerance, peace will be created between religious people in Indonesia, so that no

more cases of blasphemy occur.

2. Suggestion for political actors

Having mutual respect among each other, establishing good relations between ethnicities, being able to participate in politics and national economic development, integrating and assimilating within the Indonesian nation as expected by Abdurrahman Wahid must be maintainedby not prioritizing the issue of sara, race and religion to achieve power.

- Suggestions for future researchers and college student
- a. For further research, it should be held
 on the character's thoughts in
 accordance with the disciplines they
 have.
- b. For students, it can be used as input
 for conducting research on
 Abdurrahman Wahid so that new
 theories are discovered.

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