

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH OBJECT

This chapter will describe the profile of Abdurrahman Wahid from many aspect like aspect like family background, education, career. An overview and profile of the Konghucu religion in Indonesia, from the beginning of the arrival of the Konghucu religion and the religious data ofkonghucu religion are also explained in this chapter. In addition, this chapter also describes a general description of the relationship between Abdurrahman Wahid and the Konghucu Religion.

A. Profile of Abdurrahman Wahid

Abdurrahman Wahid was born in Denanyar, Jombang, Easst Java on September 7, 1940 he was the first son of six siblings. Bakri (2004: 24), states that Abdurrahman Wahid has actually the full name Abdurrahman Addakhil. The name Wahid is taken from the name Wahid Hasyim, the parent of Abdurrahman Addakhil Wahid and a pioneer of the *Umayyah* dynasty in the glory of Islams in Spain. The last name "Addakhil" was not well known and finally was renamed by "Wahid", Abdurahman Wahid was later better known as *Gus Dur*. Bakri (2004: 24), detines *Gus* as typical honorific call for santri Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) to a child of kyai which means brother or *mas* in javanese.

Genetically Abdurahman Wahid is a descendant of blue blood. His father, Wahid Hasyim is the son of K. H. Hasyim Asy'ari, founder of jam'iyah Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic mass organization in Indonesia and founder of the Tebu Ireng Jombang Islamic Boarding School. His mother, Hj. Sholehan is

the daughter of the founder of the Denanyar Jombang Boarding School. Her mother's grandfather was also a NU figure who became *Rais 'Aam* PBNU after K. H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah. Thus, Abdurrahman Wahid was the grandson of two NU *Ulama* and also two great figures in Indonesia. In 1949, Halim (1999: 32) states that, when the clash with the Dutch government ended, Abdurrahman Wahid's father was appointed as the First Minister of Religion, so Wahid Hasyim's family moved to Jakarta. Indirectly Abdurrahman Wahid began to get acquainted with the political world which other been heard by him from his father's colleagues who often "gathered" at his home.

1. Education and Early Career of Abdurrahman Wahid

Barton (2002: 24), explains that Abdurrahman Wahid began learning from his grandfather Hasyim Asy'ari. He was taught to read the Qur'an. Abdurrahman Wahid also took formal education, namely the Elementary School of Jakarta and in addition to formal study at the school Abdurrahman Wahid also entered private lessons in Dutch. His tutor name was Willem Buhl, a German who had converted to Islam and changed his name to Iskandar. From his tutor, it was the first time for Abdurrahman Wahid to know the Western world begin to be interested and love classical music. After graduating from elementary school, Abdurrahman Wahid was sent by his parents to study in Yogyakarta. In 1953 Abdurrahman Wahid, as described in Alfian (1983: 245), entered SMEP (*Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Pertama*) Gowongan and stayed at Krapyak boarding school. This school was even though managed by the Roman Catholic Church, it fully used a secular curriculum. At this school Abdurrahman Wahid first studied English.

Because he felt confined to live in a pesantren, he finally asked to move to the city and lived in the house of H. Junaidi, a local leader of Muhammadiyah and an influential person in SMEP. His routine activities after Fajr prayer was reciting Al Qur'an at K. H. Maksun Krapyak, during the school day in SMEP, and at night he participated in discussions with H. Junaidi and other Muhammadiyah members. After graduation from SMEP Abdurrahman Wahid continued his studies at the Tegarejo Magelang Islamic boarding school in Central Java. This pesantren was raised by K. H. Chudhari. Kyai Chudhari introduced Abdurrahman Wahid with Sufi rites and instilled mystical ritual practices. Under the guidance of the Kyai, Abdurrahman Wahid visited a sacred tomb of the saints in Java. When he entered the pesantren, Abdurrahman Wahid brought a whole collection of his books which made other santri astonished. At this time Abdurrahman Wahid has been able to show his ability to joke and talk.

In 1963 he received a scholarship from the Indonesian Ministry of Religion to continue his education at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Mesir In 1966 Abdurrahman Wahid chose to leave Al-Azhar and moved to Baghdad to study at the Department of Religion at Baghdad University.

Abdurrahman Wahid career journey as told by Tara (2002: 112), began when he returned to Jombang and decided to become a teacher. In 1971, Abdurrahman Wahid joined the Faculty Usuludin of Tebu Ireng University and at the same time he began to become a writer. His writing talent was a concern because of his ideas and thoughts, even Djohan Efendi, who at the time was a prominent intellectual, considered that Abdurrahman Wahid was a critical person in thinking.

Abdurrahman Wahid then began to join and be involved in NGO activities namely LP3ES in the pesantren development project. In 1979 Abdurrahman Wahid moved to Jakarta and began pioneering the establishment of a Ciganjur Islamic boarding school.

Muslim (2005: 32) explains that, in 1980 Abdurrahman Wahid was entrusted as the representative of the Katib Syuriah of the PBNU, from which he began to engage with serious debates and discussions on the issues of religion, tribe and politics which resulted in his writings on political culture and Islamic thought emerged. In 1984 he became Chairman of the PBNU Tanfidz Board and in 1987 he became Chair of the Indonesian Islamic Ulama Council (MUI). His career continued to increase and two years later he became a member of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly (MPR RI).

2. Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama

Wicaksana (2018: 37) told that, formally Abdurrahman Wahid was active in the NU organization in 1970. His position was at the top of the organization when he replaced Idham Chalid in the NU Congress in Situbondo, East Java, in 1984. Abdurrahman Wahid was able to quickly enter the NU elite ranks because he entered the NU organizational ethics which at that time was having problems with organizational orientation. As an active consequence of NU's politics, NU paid more attention to political issues. Then Abdurrahman Wahid was there by bringing the idea of "returning to khittah 1926" (*"kembali ke khittah 1926"*). The aim was to restore the interests of NU citizens and get around it with authoritarian politics in the new order. However, NU was not politically passive, because NU

members could channel their political aspirations through existing parties. The idea of Abdurrahman Wahid was finally accepted by NU kyai. In addition to the socio-political factors of Abdurrahman Wahid leadership, it was also related to his family tree. Another reason was the personal quality of Abdurrahman Wahid. As an Ulama, he was a thinker and leader who had good ability to lead NU. With these factors, Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as the new PBNU leader in the 27th NU Congress in Situbondo. His position was reaffirmed in the 28th NU Congress at the Krapyak Yogyakarta Islamic Boarding School in 1989 and the NU Congress in Cipasung, West Java in 1994.

Wicaksana (2018: 38-45) later states that, during Abdurrahman Wahid leadership, NU was not free from internal turmoil. The upheaval was caused by Abdurrahman Wahid ideas which were considered controversial, such as the notion of "indigenosity of Islam" (*"pribumisasi Islam"*), "relations between Islam and the state" (*"hubungan Islam dan negara"*), pluralism and democracy, as well as the courage to speak before Christians in the Church. Abdurrahman Wahid's move when he became an Ulama became more widespread. He became chairman of the Democracy forum for the period 1991-1999, with a number of members consisting of various groups, especially nationalists, and non-Muslims. Abdurrahman Wahid succeeded as chairman of the PBNU for the third time in 1998, the position of Abdurrahman Wahid as PBNU general chair ended after he was appointed President of the Republic Indonesia in 1999.

3. Abdurrahman Wahid as President in 1999 - 2001

In 1999, Abdurrahman Wahid was elected president. The election was democratic and transparent. Because the support of Islamic parties, such as PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan), PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa), the United Nations (Partai Bulan Bintang) Abdurrahman Wahid could outperform other pairs. Abdurrahman Wahid was officially elected on October 20, 1999 and was sworn in on October 21, 1999 accompanied by Megawati as vice president. His first speech after being elected president included the tasks he would carry out, namely increasing people's income, upholding justice to bring prosperity, maintaining the integrity of the nation and state. Abdurrahman Wahid formed a cabinet called the National Unity Cabinet (*Kabinet Persatuan Nasional*). In addition to political speeches and the formation of a cabinet, Abdurrahman Wahid issued many controversial policies, decisions, or actions.

a. Abdurrahman Wahid Type of Leadership

Abdurrahman Wahid, during his tenure as president, had a unique leadership style, Wicaksana (2018: 61). Remembering his background as an ulama or Islamic figure, but he could dilute the conflict tensions that were occurred. It was proven by a large number of his followers and supporters. Interestingly, followers and supporters of Abdurrahman Wahid did not question the values adopted. Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership was charismatic. Charisma is a power that cannot be explained logically and is not owned by every leader. Charismatic leaders are usually born of religious groups who get religious education and have high morality so that they are able to attract the sympathy of the people. During his reign as the president of Republic Indonesia many advantages and

disadvantages. Wicaksana (2018: 63) told that Abdurrahman Wahid always tried to maintain the ideology of the Pancasila for the sake of the unity of Indonesia. Culturally, he was able to show that he always came into contact with the pesantren culture which was very hierarchical, closed, and full of formal ethics.

b. Controversial events during Abdurrahman Wahid leadership as President of the Republic of Indonesia

Some important events also occurred during Gus Dur's reign. He made different approaches in addressing the nation's problems. He took a more sympathetic approach to the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) group, protected the Chinese ethnic, apologized to the victims of the 1965/66 massacres, and so on. Wicaksana (2018: 54). Another controversy was Abdurrahman Wahid proposal regarding revocation of MPR Decree No. XXV / MPRS / 1966 which contains the prohibition of Marxism / Leninism (Communism) in Indonesia. This proposal received a strong reaction from the public because the communists were considered to have carried out a rebellion in Indonesia. This caused Abdurrahman Wahid's prestige to drop dramatically.

For Abdurrahman Wahid himself, this proposal was raised because he considered the regulation undemocratic and violated human rights. The idea of opening trade relations with Israel was also a matter of controversy. Muslims cannot accept this. This idea received strong opposition, considering that Israel is a country that colonizes and has committed many acts of violation of Human Rights (HAM) against Palestinians who are mostly diverse Muslims. Opening

trade relations with Israel is tantamount to violating what is contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution which explains that Indonesia is a country that calls for colonialism to be abolished. This issue is associated with Abdurrahman Wahid's membership of the Simon Peres Foundation. Wicaksana (2018: 54) explained that, this incident made Abdurrahman Wahid's image as a representative of Muslims even worse.

In May 2001, a case of Bruneigate and Buloggate emerged. The Logistics Agency (Bulog) reported that wealth worth US \$ 4 million disappeared from Bulog's cash inventory. Abdurrahman Wahid was also accused of saving money given by the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam. Regarding the issue of Bruneigate and Buloggate I, the DPR issued Memorandum I and Memorandum II to the president. This Memorandum contained a warning that the president would improve his performance and focused more on addressing state issues in accordance with the State Policy Outline (GBHN). President Abdurrahman Wahid replied to the memorandum from the House of Representatives by issuing a declaration on May 28, 2001. The statement which also responded to the Memorandum II was read by the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Social Affairs and Security Minister Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on May 29, 2001 which included the freezing of MPR institutions and DPR.

July 7, 2001 Abdurrahman Wahid intended to hold a political compromise by inviting representatives from political parties to discuss the issue with the DPR. The result was that no single party attended the meeting. He then held a press conference by saying that if until July 31, 2001 there was no political settlement

between the government and the DPR, then he would establish Indonesia in a political emergency. Wicaksana (2018: 54-55) explains that the beginning of the end of Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership as President of the Republic of Indonesia, namely when he issued a Presidential Decree on July 22, 2001. There were three things included in the decree as follows:

- 1) Deactivating the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR) and the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR);
- 2) Returning sovereignty to the people and take action and form the body needed to hold elections within one year.
- 3) Saving the total reform movement from the elements of the New Order by deactivating the Partai Golongan Karya by awaiting a Supreme Court decision, ordering all members of the TNI and Polri to secure the steps to save the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and declaring to all Indonesians to remain calm and carry out social life and economy as usual.

The issuance of the Presidential Decree has caused various reactions in the community. The political map in Indonesia turned into political resistance. Abdurrahman Wahid was attacked through impeachment by DPR members. Eventually he was overthrown by the Special Session of the MPR RI which at that time the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly was led by Amien Rais. On July 23, 2001 at 08.00, the MPR decided that the Presidential Decree issued had violated the country's direction. Gus Dur's leadership period was finally only 21 months, from October 20, 1999 to July 24, 2001.

c. History of Abdurrahman Wahid thoughts

Tara (2002: 116) writes that Abdurrahman Wahid met with various kinds of people living with different ideological, cultural, interests, social strata and thinking backgrounds. In terms of understanding religion and ideology, Abdurrahman Wahid crossed the path of a more complex life, starting from the traditional, ideological, fundamentalist, to modernist and secular. In terms of culture, Abdurrahman Wahid experienced life in the middle of a polite, closed, polite, and up-to-date Eastern culture, up to an open, modern and liberal Western culture. Likewise, his contact with thinkers ranging from conservatives, orthodox to liberals and radicals was all experienced. Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts about religion were obtained from the world of pesantren. This institution forms a religious character that is full of ethics, formal and structural. Meanwhile his journey to the Middle East has brought Abdurrahman Wahid together with various shades of religious thought, from conservative, symbolic, fundamentalist to radical and radical.

Tara (2002: 117), In the field of humanity, the thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid were much influenced by Western thinkers with a philosophy of humanism. In a sense and humanist behavior practice, the influence of the Kyai who educate and guide him has a big contribution in shaping Abdurrahman Wahid's thinking. The story of Kyai Fatah from Tambak Beras, K. H. Ali Ma'shun from Krpyak and Kyai Chudhori from Tegalorejo has made Abdurrahman Wahid very sensitive to human touches. In terms of culture, Abdurrahman Wahid passed three cultural layers. First, Abdurrahman Wahid

came into contact with the world culture of boarding schools which were very hierarchical, closed, and full of formal ethics. Second, the East is open and hard meanwhile thirdly western are, liberal, rational and secular. All of them seem to contribute to make him as a person and form a synergy in him. Almost no dominantly influential person formed the person of Abdurahman Wahid. Until now each of them held a dialogue within Abdurahman Wahid. This is why Abdurahman Wahid always looked dynamic and difficult to understand.s

4. Pluralism according Abdurrahman Wahid

Accords to Wicaksana (2018: 91-96), Pluralism in Abdurrahman Wahid thoughts and attitudes departed from the perspective of the victims, especially religious minorities, gender, beliefs, ethnicity, skin color, and social position. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, God does not need to be defended, but his people or humans in general need to be defended. One consequence of the defense was criticism, and sometimes he was forced to criticize if he has passed the tolerance threshold. Based on his pluralism, he always defended and sided with minority groups, both in Muslim circles and Christians, Catholics, Konghucu, and followers of other religions. His defense and partisanship have been recognized in Indonesia and other countries throughout the world. He was also named the father of pluralism.

In looking at pluralism Abdurahman Wahid once said "no matter what your religion or your tribe is. If you can do something good for everyone, people will never ask what your religion is (*"tidak penting apapun agama dan sukumu. Kalau kamu bisa melakukan sesuatu yang baik untuk semua orang, orang tidak*

akan pernah tanya apa agamamu.”). "His life-minded and practical values of pluralism are very much in line with the conclusions of a pluralistic Indonesian society. He also said, "Indonesia is not a religion, but a religious country" (*"Indonesia bukan negara agama, tapi negara beragama"*). There are six religions recognized by Indonesia, therefore people should respect other religions. "Abdurrahman Wahid practiced pluralism by understanding the teachings of Islam. According to him, the Prophet Muhammad SAW in the 6th century had taught how we should respond to religious differences without being discriminatory towards people of different religions. His consistency in protecting equality of religious rights could be seen in his assertiveness when addressing acts of violence in religion. In addition to always calling for peace efforts, he also constantly reminded others not to commit violence, especially in the context of religion. According to him we did not need to hurt our fellow human beings by pretext to defend God. For him God has everything and humans don't have to bother defending it.

5. Masterpiece of Abdurrahman Wahid

a. Politics

- 1) Wahid (1998), *Buku Islam Indonesia: Legitimasi Dan Resistensi Kultural Gus Dur Di Era Orde Baru* was written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by the Pyramid Circle of Jakarta in 1998. This book discusses a collection of writings on Islamic articles from a viewpoint to Indonesia and this book was also written in the era of the new order.

- 2) Wahid (1999), *Buku Islam, Negara, dan Demokrasi* was written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by Erlangga in 1999. This book discusses the thoughts and ideas of K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid about various actual problems by the community and considered to have given a new discourse to the community. This book is a collection of Gus Dur writings that have been circulating in Media Indonesia newspapers at the time of the reformation (Indonesia).
- 3) Wahid (2002), *Kumpulan Kolom dan Artikel Abdurrahman Wahid Selama Era Lengser* was a book written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by LKIS in 2002. In this collection of column books, the first writing was written on the issue of terrorism after the September 11, 2001 tragedy, a week after the incident occurred.
- 4) Wahid & Kariawan (2004), The book entitled *Mengatasi Krisis Ekonomi: Membangun Ekonomi Kelautan, Tinjauan Sejarah dan Perspektif Ekonomi* written by Abdurrahman Wahid and Hendi Kariawan published by Teplok Press in 2004. This book emphasizes the basic reorientation and development of the land economy into a marine-based economy.

b. Religion

- 1) Wahid (1981), A book with a title *Muslim di Tengah Pergumulan* was written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by Leppenas in 1981. In this book Abdurrahman Wahid raised and discussed important issues of the life of this nation from 1971-1981, and was still relevant. The problems written in this book include: the rise of Islam, the struggle of Islam with the problem of

development, the Islamic view of population, the development of society through a religious approach, and so on.

- 2) Wahid (1989), Book a *Dialog Mencari Kejelasan: Gus Dur Diadili Kiai-Kiai* written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by Jawa Pos in 1989. This book been discussed since Abdurrahman was elected General Chair of the PBNU in the 27th Congress in Situbondo, December 1984, many of which he revealed and controversial statements. The Kiai were made busy receiving complaints and statements regarding his statements in the newspapers. On that basis, RMI facilitated Gus Dur and the kiai who had felt troubled to answer questions either from fellow kiai friends or from their followers and santri regarding Gus Dur. The meeting was set up in the form of dialogue and took place at the Darul at-Tauhid Islamic Boarding School, Arjawinangun, Cirebon, West Java, March 8-9 1989. The results of the dialogue were recorded and given the title as stated above.
- 3) Wahid (2001), The book entitled *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-Esai Pesantren* Written by Abdurrahman Wahid was published by LKIS in 2001. This book is based on a specific theme, namely Islamic Boarding Schools. Abdurrahman was already known as a figure who came from Islamic boarding schools, however, few people knew what Gus Dur's thoughts on pesantren actually were in facing the wave of change.
- 4) Wahid (2010), The title of the book is *Khazanah Kiai Bisri Syansuri; Pecinta Fiqh Sepanjang Hayat* written by K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid and published Pensil-324 in 2010. This book discusses the Kiai Bisri Syansuri, a great ulama,

as a follower, lover and executor of true fiqh law. His consistency in the theory and practice of fiqh law can be seen. Therefore, complete is the legal meaning of fiqh for Kiai Bisri Syansuri so that his attitude to other people including his own children and grandchildren is fully implemented in the provisions of the fiqh. He is reflected in his fair treatment of anyone in any matter and the ability to serve others in good treatment in their respective social positions, without sacrificing his own meaning as a great scholar. He also appears in willingness to be the centre of consciousness of the people he leads when facing severe trials, with no signs of ignoring the slightest risk that might occur on his personal self.

c. Pluralism

- 1) Wahid (1998), The book entitled *Tabayun Gus Dur, Pribumisasi Islam, Hak Minoritas, Reformasi Kultural* was written by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid and published by LKIS in 1998. This book contains various results of Gus Dur's interviews with various media at length until 1998. The theme of his interview is also very broad, from football to family, from politics to occult questions, from humor to the issue of prestige, and from organization to personal.
- 2) Wahid (2007), *Islam Kosmopolitan; Nilai-Nilai Indonesia dan Transformasi Kebudayaan* was written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by The Wahid Institute in 2007. Abdurrahman wanted Islam to provide a wider opportunity for everyone to work without being limited by anything, such as political and ethnic identity. Gus Dur's in this book recommends the importance of harmonization among fellow human beings, even with diverse backgrounds.

- 3) Wahid (2006), *90 Menit Bersama Gus Dur* was written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by the Student Library in 2006. This book is a transcript of dialogue with Gus Dur, in 2000 with the current agenda in this republic. The dialogue was attended by around 300 figures from various inter-racial groups in Central Java and the Special Region of Yogyakarta. They consisted of a number of Kiai, Pastors, Romo, Bhiku, Haksu, thinkers, religious activists and NGOs.
 - 4) Wahid & Ikeda (2010), The title of the book *dialog Peradaban untuk Toleransi dan Perdamaian* by K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid and Daisaku Ikeda was published by Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta in 2010. This book contains dialogues of Gus Dur and Daisaku Ikeda held in various sessions that have been neatly arranged and classified in important chapters that are interesting to read. The two leaders voiced noble teachings about peace, tolerance and human rights.
- d. State and Religion
- 1) Wahid (2001), *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan* was book written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by Desantara in 2001. The state never existed and should not relate to culture. Because culture is the art of living or human social life that builds on interactions between humans; individuals and groups. Culture is thus a representation of human emancipation in the direction of more survival. The state's top intervention - Gus Dur's term, cultural bureaucratization would only turn it in the opposite direction, namely the freezing of the creativity of the people who were in a major change.

- 2) Wahid (2000), The book entitled *Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur* was written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published by LKIS in 2000. This book introduces Gus Dur's old thoughts from the 70s to 80s, regarding the relationship between religion and the State, State and religious movements, human rights , culture and national integration of Islamic boarding schools, and others.
- 3) Wahid (2005), *Gus Dur Bertutur* was a book written by Abdurrahman Wahid and published in the Proaksi and Gus Dur Foundation Daily in 2005. This book was a collection of Gus Dur's writings in the Proaksi daily newspaper from October 2004 to the end of February 2005, which collected 43 writings.
- 4) Wahid (2010), The title of *Kiai Nyentrik Membela Pemerintah* written by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid was published by LKIS in 2010. In this book, a collection of essays, the scholarship of Kiai Abdurrahman Wahid is more interesting than what the scholars have written. First, this essay is written very scientifically. These essays were mostly written in the period of the early 1980s and published tempo. A period which can be referred to as the "scientific period" does not end. Namely, when Gus Dur is again infatuated with the use of social science methodology, especially anthropology, to explain his "ideology". Secondly, essays in this book which can generally be called "Kiai anthropology," written by "insiders" in the fullest sense, which cannot be matched by even a crazy ethnologist. The musty smell of pesantren which is often smelled by outsiders, becomes fragrant with the analysis of Gus Dur. The pattern of conflict, integration, and solidarity in the pesantren community which often makes foreign observers dizzy, becomes something that is easy to digest, moves

between the Kiai and becomes a mob. Moreover, the clash of modern values and the pesantren tradition become a dialectic of life faced with mediocrity, however, then invite an understandable smile.

- 5) Wahid (2010), The title of the book *Membaca Sejarah Nusantara: Dua Puluh Lima Kolom Sejarah Gus Dur* was written by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid and published by LKIS in 2010. The politics of Gus Dur is something very real, as a struggle of ideas and forces. The brief period of the presidency of Gus Dur illustrates how the struggle was thrilling, in an arena that was quite 'free' to pull back on interests. Uncertainty, so an Indonesian observer explains politics here. The change of power is always coloured by uncertainty. Sometimes it is accompanied by violence. Sometimes with intrigue and deception. This book is a new version of Gus Dur book that was published several years earlier, with the title of a collection of columns and articles from Abdurrahman Wahid during the Lengser era (LKIS, 2002). The collection of Gus Dur's history columns in the book is very valuable to re-read as the treasure that he left behind, and therefore the publisher published it again in a new version.
- 6) Wahid & Grasindo (1999), The book entitled *Mengurai Hubungan Agama dan Negara* was written by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid and Grasindo and published in 1999. This book helps readers to have a look at Gus Dur fully. With this book, later it will be able to find a complete personality of Gus Dur, such as the genealogy of Gus Dur, the pesantren culture, and including the political culture that developed among Sunni Muslims.

B. KONGHUCU IN INDONESIA

Mahfud (2013 : 187) explained that Konghucu was developed at the beginning of its birth region, namely in a country called Lu in rural Chang Ping. The general development of Konghucu religion was in Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the PRC. Meanwhile the development of Konghucu in Indonesia has been going on for centuries and its development began with the construction of the Ban Hing Kiong Temple in Manado in 1819. In Surabaya a Konghucu religious place was established called: Boen Tjhiang Soe, then restored and called Boen Bio in 1906. Up to now Boen Bio located on Jalan Kapasan 131 Surabaya is still well maintained under the care of the Konghucu Religious Council (MAKIN) "Bio Boen" Surabaya. The construction of shrines or places of worship in congregation became a sign of the emergence of this religion in Indonesia.

1. Konghucu in Hindia-Belanda era

Basically the arrival of ethnic Chinese to the archipelago long before the days of the Dutch East Indies but its existence is less clear, Septiono (2008: 19). Allegations have only been based on the findings of ancient objects such as pottery from China in West Java, Lampung, Batanghari, and West Kalimantan as well as those stored in various palaces. Likewise with the findings of various polished stone axes from the Neolithic era which have in common with the jade or emerald ax found in China and from the same era. Therefore, the author began the entry of ethnic Chinese into the archipelago from the days of the Hindia-Belanda.

Indarto (2010: 2) states that Konghucuism developed from time to time, beginning with the Chinese migrants who migrated to the land of the Southern

Ocean, from the country of their ancestors who were hit by chaos, built a house of worship called a temple to continue the inner peace of ancestors and land water left behind.

In the colonial period in Indonesia, according to Suryadinata (2002: 19), there were three major socio-political orientations including, firstly, local Chinese, namely those oriented towards China (Sin Po Group), who believed that local Chinese were members of the Chinese nation. Second, they were oriented to the Dutch East Indies (Chung Hwa Hui), who understand their position as Dutch natives while continuing their lives as offspring Chinese. Thirdly, those who called themselves members of the Indonesian nation (Indonesian Chinese Party). Most Chinese leaders in the Indonesian colonial period, especially new immigrants, were oriented to China, but the second and third groups were mostly made up of offspring Chinese.

Suryadinata (2002: 17) later explained that Konghucu communities in Java before the end of the 19th century were basically offspring (*keturunan*) communities. The members of this community have lost their ability to speak Chinese language which was a language of Konghucu religion and used Malay as their communication language. These Chinese offspring (*peranakan*) people, before the 20th century were generally illiterate and only interested in making money. Some people were able to hire a private teacher to teach their sons Chinese characters and sometimes gave lessons about Konghucu classics. However, the education of girls were not noticed. Daughters were raised by their

mothers according to the habits and patterns of indigenous people. Of course the customs, beliefs and religions of the Chinese on Java became very mixed. From the father who was born in China, the Chinese inherited customs from China but from his mother, he inherited indigenous customs.

However, the situation had changed in the 1800s. The Dutch issued a regulation containing a ban on Chinese descent into Islam and a ban on indigenous groups marrying Chinese groups. The Dutch seemed afraid of seeing Chinese and Muslims unite. This regulation has an impact on the lives of the people of the archipelago in looking at Chinese descent. Chinese descendants became a marginalized group, ostracized and despised by other groups of people because the relationship with them meant catastrophe that came from the Dutch colonial government towards the end of the 19th century with the emergence of Western-educated crossbreed (*peranakan*) Chinese leaders in the Indies, along with the emergence of anti-Chinese policies from the Dutch colonial government. Williams (1968: 35-42) said that the Indies Chinese were restricted in their movements and important sources of income, namely the Pacht Percukiaan system was abolished. However, Suryadinata (2002: 159) said that Western-educated Chinese descent who hated Dutch policies, was just as critical of the customs prevailing in their communities, especially the customs of marriage and funeral. Therefore they initiated a reform movement to improve their cultural and national conditions.

Meanwhile, Khonghucism was being revived by Chinese reformers in China. One of the most prominent was Kang Youwei. These renewed ideas also

spreaded to Southeast Asia and a Konghucu community was founded in Singapore, which Kang youwei used as a base when the renewal movement failed in China. Kang Youwei's presence in Singapore had a major impact on overseas Chinese and since that time his influence was felt in Jakarta and other major cities in the Hindia.

In 1900 as explained in Suryadinata (2002: 161), the Governor of the General of the Hindia-Belanda agreed to the establishment of THHK (Tiong Hoa hwee Koan) in Jakarta with the main aim to renew the customs and customs of the Chinese on Java, who were still advocates of Konghucu teachings. In 1923, the Khong Kauw Hwe representatives gathered in Jogjakarta to form the Khong Kauw Tjong Hwe or the center of the Khong Kauw (Konghucu Religion) association which chose its central management in Bandung with the chairman of Poey Kok Gwan (Bandung), deputy chairman Tjiok Khe Bing (Jogja) , Secretary Tjia Tjip Ling (Cilacap). Meanwhile Khong Kauw Tjong Hwe was only a few years active then passive and Khong Kauw Hwe-Khong Kauw Hwe walked alone. Indarto (2010: 3) explained that, the meeting report was published in Khong Kauw Goat Po or Monthly Khong Kauw which was published on December 8, 1923.

The existence of Konghucu organizations during the colonial period showed the existence of Konghucu religion long before Indonesia's independence. It was undeniable that with this existence many Chinese ethnic groups also fought to liberate Indonesia from the invaders' snares that occurred on the earth. Although the teachings and traditions they practices came from their ancestors but they

also considered Indonesia to be the homeland and its country because they were born in Indonesia.

2. Konghucu in independence era

a. Old Order Period

Indarto (2010: 5-6) said that since December 1923 there has been an intention to form the Center for Khong Kauw Hwe Association or Khong Kauw Tjong Hwe. The goal was to unite all religious activities in uniformity. In December, 1954, several leaders of Khong Kauw Hwe held a meeting in Solo discussing the possibility of the establishment of the Khong Kauw Hwe Center. Then, on April 16, 1955, a federation of Khung Chiao Hui Indonesia (PKCHI) was formed, although it remained in one faith. The PKCHI held congress I in Solo on July 6-7 1956 with Dr. Kwik Tjie Tiok as the first chairman.

National congregations I, II, and III were held in 1956, 1957, and 1959, the fourth meeting held in Solo in 1961 to replace the name "Union of Khung Chiao Hui Indonesia" became "Institute of Teachings of the Indonesian Konghucu (LASKI)". On December 22-23, 1963 a conference was held with its decision, among others, to change the name of LASKI to become "The Joint Association of Konghucu Religion in Indonesia (GAPAKSI)". The fifth congress in Tasikmalaya on December 5-6, 1964 replaced the "Combined Association of Konghucu Religion in Indonesia (GAPAKSI)" replaced with "Combined Association of Konghucu Religion throughout Indonesia (GAPAKSI)".

Hadian and Asto (2016: 65), described that in 1965 President Soekarna issued Presidential Decree No.1 / Pn.ps / 1965, concerning the prevention of

abuse and / or blasphemy of Religion, in which explained that the religions embraced by the Indonesian population based on history existed six, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Konghucu. Iksan (2005: 104), According to Eka Dharmaputra, as quoted by Lasiyo in his dissertation and cited again by Chandra Setiawan, stated that the selection of the six religions above was based on the definition of religion as proposed by the minister of religion at that time which the religion should have at least: Scripture, Prophet, trust in one God, and worship for followers.

b. New Order Period

Basically the New Order period, the Indonesian government was a bit in favor of the Chinese. Especially in the fields of economics and culture, because the New Order government wanted the legitimacy of success in the field of economic development. The New Order government prefers to embrace the economy, but still suspects and oversees them in the political sphere, Ibad and Fikri (2012: 69-70).

However, Konghucu began to experience a daunting task, Indarto (2010: 6). In the period of 1965-1967 there was a national tragedy of the events of the G. 30S PKI, which occurred in 1965 which ended the Old Order period into the New Order Period. Here the board of GAPAKSI was obliged to increase religious mental and moral coaching as well as intensify worship services throughout Indonesia.

Iksan (2005: 104) explained that, on 23-27 August 1967 a VI GAPAKSI congress was held in Solo attended by delegates from 17 regions. Decisions

taken in the congress included:

- 1) President of the Republic of Indonesia, General Soeharto was pleased to give a written speech, which among other things conveyed, "Konghucu has a decent place in our country based on this Pancasila."
- 2) The name of the Combined Konghucu Religion was perfected into The Indonesian Upper House of Konghucu Religion (Matakin).

In December 1967, all religious activities and customs that had the nuances of Chinese traditions were prohibited from being held in public. This was because the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 concerning Chinese religion, beliefs and customs by President Suharto.

Iksan (2005: 105), on July 14, 1978 Konghucu should not be included in the 'religion' column on the KTP and the Cabinet Session on January 27, 1979 firmly said, " Konghucuism is not Religion". Since then the status of Konghucuism had become unclear. In the New Order era, the Soeharto government banned all forms of Chinese culture and traditions in Indonesia. This caused many traditional Chinese believers to become non-members of one of the five recognized religions. To avoid political problems (accused of being atheists and communists), followers of the faith were then required to embrace one of the recognized religions, the majority being Christians or Buddhists. The temple, which is a place of worship of traditional Chinese beliefs, was also forced to change its name and immerse itself as a monastery which is a place of worship for Buddhism.

c. Reformation period

During the reform era, Konghucu religion had a better chance. As described by Setiawan (2012: 134), President Habibie had abolished the terms indigenous and non-indigenous (Inpres No. 26/1998), several seminars were also held regarding the existence of Konghucu religion in Indonesia, one of them was held at IAIN Jakarta in 1998. Iksan (2005: 105) explained that there are also writings concerning Konghucu religion, including "Konghucu Religious and Marriage Rights: Social, Legal and Theological Perspectives" issued by PT. Gramedia 1998. This book was written by various figures who viewed Konghucuism from various angles. Ajaran Agama Khonghucu.

The teachings of the Konghucu religion, as explained in Imron (2015: 249), are teachings that contain things related to the concept of metaphysics, not too much touched on in the book Su Si. This teaching about metaphysics is based more on the classic book that had existed since before the birth of Konghucu. The definition of metaphysics is the teaching that covers God, human, the universe and the concept of life after death or eschatology.

3. Pros and Cons of Konghucu Religion in Indonesia

The pro sides of Konghucu the recognized as a religion alleged that its opponents have certain motives around the followers (people) and based on mere material problems. The more followers, the more funds can be collected. They saw it from reality in the field, where many certain religious figures were aggressive in "saving" humanity; especially the Chinese, from the "power of darkness". For simplicity, they called it XY religion, religion X from sect Y.

On the contrary, the counter parties also put forward various arguments. First was the argument that developed from the teachings of monotheism which states that religion is a revelation from God revealed through the Prophet recorded in each of the Scriptures, whereas the Prophet is a messenger of God. Because Konghucu are from ordinary people, not the prophets recorded in the scriptures of the monotheism, Konghucuism can not be recognized as religion.

This argument is basically a conflict between the teachings of monotheism and polytheism. This argument can also invite endless debate, because in fact there is a Prophet from one monotheistic religion that is not recognized by other religions, even further there are religions which internally do not recognize other religions. Believed by various parties, contradicts Konghucu confession in basically the argument above, but many people who do not want to openly express these arguments. Even if this argument is used, then Buddhism which is recognized as the official religion in Indonesia will also be affected.

4. Data members of Konghucu Religion in Indonesia

Table 2.1 of the number of religious members in Indonesia

Religion	Total followers of religion	Persentase
Islam	207.176.162	87,18
Christian	16.528.513	6,96
Catholic	6.907.873	2,91
Hindu	4.012.116	1,69
Buddha	1.703.254	0,72
Konghucu	117.091	0,05

the others	299.617	0,13
not answered	139.582	0,06
not asked	757.118	0,32
Total	237.641.326	100
Source : 2010 Population Census BPS Indonesia		

BPS.go.id (2018), Based on the Indonesian BPS census in 2010, the religion most widely adhered to by the population of Indonesia is Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Konghucu and others. Muslims in 2010 reached 207.2 million (87.18 percent) and followed by Christians of 16.5 million (6.96 percent). Then there were 6.9 million of Catholics (2.91 percent). Whereas Hindus are 4,012,116 (1.69 percent) and Buddhism is 1,703,254 people (0.72 percent). Finally the youngest religion recognized by the Indonesian government, Khonghucu, was followed by around 117.1 thousand people (0.05 percent).

5. The general description about relationship between Abdurrahman Wahid and Konghucu Religion

For decades Konghucu has never been clear about its status as a religion or not in Indonesia. However, the struggle of the Konghucu people to obtain their civil rights as citizens of Indonesia continues to be sought. Evidently in the era of the administration of President Abdurrahman Wahid, the Presidential Decree came

out which indirectly acknowledged Konghucu. This was done not only by the close relationship between Konghucu and Abdurrahman Wahid, but also because of the ideas of Pluralism that Abdurrahman Wahid had. Abdurrahman Wahid role in efforts to restore Konghucu position as a religion and fight for his civil rights is very meaningful for Konghucu. Abdurrahman Wahid role in protecting the rights of the ethnic Chinese minority made him crowned the Indonesian Tionghoa Father.