

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS RESULTS

As discussed in the introduction and description of the object of this study, which explains the role of ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group, for that there are several indicators that will be the benchmark in this study. In this context, this research will discuss about the role of ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group study case Abdurrahman to Konghucu religion.

Role is a combination of various theories, orientations, and disciplines. The term "role" is taken from the world of theater. In theater, an actor must play as a certain character and in his position as a character he is expected to behave in a certain way. Role means effort that emerged from an entity (people, thing) which constructing a character, trust or one behavioral. Ulama is Muslim who well-knowledge on Islam. Ulama in general are intellectual who place the equal position as scholar. Ulama role means the way of religious intellectual participate in politic process in Indonesia for the benefit of Muslims. Ulama hold crucial and strategic role in term sociology and religion realities. Ulama in this case are considered to have duties and roles that are very important for the life of the people. This is done in order to harmonize the life of the state and religion, because with the role of ulama in the political process, all sectors of life will be accompanied by religious elements.

In this section the author will explicitly convey the role of ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group study case abdurrahman to Konghucu

religion. In this study, the author uses the theory of Mintzberg as an indicator in measuring the role of Ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group, namely Controlling, role as a figure, role model, decisional role, enacted role, and role as leaders, which are used as a benchmark in this research. For this reason, the authors explain the results of this study based on the measurement indicators that are used as references in the role of ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group.

A. The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Supporting Indonesia's Konghucu

1. Political Hegemony Discrimination to Konghucu Citizens

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 Mulyo which contained a ban on foreigners trading in the field of retail trade at the district level down and must transfer their business to citizens of Indonesia.

Mahfud (2013: 112), explained that in the New Order era, there was an Evidence of Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia (SKBRI), which was mainly aimed at

Konghucu groups of Indonesian citizens and their descendants. Basically, the implementation of the SKBRI is similar to the effort to put the Chinese ethnic into a "still questionable" status from the point of view of the Indonesian citizenship law. Many policies and laws regarding Chinese descent limit the development of Chinese cultural identity.

On September 30, 1965 (known as G30S / PKI), according to Suryadinata (1978: 45-47), there was a coup d'état that struck Indonesian Government and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI). The Soekarno government suspected that the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) was trying to take power and leadership of Indonesia. As the largest communist country, China, which is also one of Indonesia's neighbors, is allegedly involved in the G30S / PKI and its existence and supporters pose a threat to Indonesia's national security. Chinese descendants still want to maintain their cultural status even though in previous periods they still had political uncertainty. As a result, the government felt threatened by the above conditions because they thought that Chinese descendants were still part of Communist China.

Therefore, the government of the Republic of Indonesia must regain the confidence of the Chinese community in ensuring the safety of Indonesia. Because, most leaders including Soekarno and Hatta thought that Indonesia could return to safety if all its people were united. And for that it is expected that there will be no differences in ethnicity, status, and culture. As a result, the government issued a complete assimilation or renewal policy towards the Chinese and decided to issue

a law to achieve their goals. Some discriminatory laws created to support the decisions and policies of the ruling regime at that time were:

- a. 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.
- b. 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.
- c. 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.
- d. 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.

- e. 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 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.
- f. 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.

Mahfud (2013 : 205-206), explained that discriminatory actions against Konghucu were legitimized by the new order which clearly suppressed the socio-cultural life of Konghucu in Indonesia such as:

- a. Prohibition of using Chinese letters
- b. Chinese language
- c. Chinese newspaper restrictions
- d. Chinese school closure
- e. Restrictions on Chinese New Year celebrations and processions (Cap Gomeh)

- f. Restrictions on temple ceremonies and the formalization of the use of Chinese terms
- g. Restrictions on temple ceremonies and the formalization of the use of Chinese terms
- 2. The steps of Abdurrahman Wahid as Ulama and Politicians in supporting the existence of Konghucu in Indonesia
 - a. As Ulama
 - 1) Controlling

Explained by Al-Hamdi (2015 : 176) Indonesia contains at least six main religions: Islam, Christians, Catholics, Buddhists, Hindu, Konghucu and various beliefs. Islam as a dominant religion and others are minority. In particular case, Islam is a tiny religion in some provinces such as in Bali, North Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara and Papua. Therefore, based on one of the characteristics of the good governance that realising human development should involve the participation and equity among civil society so that it is a common responsibility to obtain stability and to remove differential colours among society whether religion, tribe, or ethnic.

With the existence of different religions and ethnic diversity, Indonesia is prone to conflict and discrimination between minority and majority citizens, as evidenced by the fact that in the new order of the Tionghoa ethnic group it was unclear in Indonesia because government policies were discriminatory, therefore a leader must have control, in order to create a condition or a stable system.

Abdurrahman Wahid, as an Ulama, came to give control to the majority towards minority groups, as explained by Mahfud (2013: 20) during President Soeharto leadership talking about Konghucu groups was very taboo, due to their lack of clarity in Indonesia, even in 1997. during the monetary crisis, the majority ethnic Tionghoa Konghucu went abroad because it was accused of being one of the causes of economic turmoil in this country, even Konghucu who were in Indonesia were forced to convert and change their names to indigenous names.

Wicaksana explained (2018: 99) At a very chaotic moment 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 an Ulama, Abdurrahman Wahid provided control and arrange for NU citizens to accept and blend with Konghucu groups. The control was intended to create peace for the Konghucu group 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.

2) Role as a Figure

Which is the role taken to represent the organization he leads in every opportunity and problem that arises formally. As a figure Abdurrahman Wahid provides an example of pluralism to its members. Abdurrahman Wahid can provide a good example to the community, especially about equality and mutual respect in living life. As written by Wicaksana (2018: 91) Abdurrahman Wahid

always defended and sided with minority groups, both in Muslim circles, Christians, Catholics, Konghucu and followers of other religions. His defense and partiality have even been acknowledged in Indonesia and other countries around the world. In another example in Wicaksana (2018: 41). He built friendship with Soerjadjadja, a Chinese businessman, and they even collaborated in establishing Nusumma Bank in 1990.

a. Establishment of Nusumma Bank

According to Wicaksana (2018: 43), in 1990 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. He moved forward by forming business cooperation to build a people's economy. Abdurrahman Wahid and the Soerjadjaja family, Chinese entrepreneurs who controlled business networks, formed banks for the people. Bank Summa, which is under the Astra group, is invited as a business partner that supplies funds. So, NU-Summa was formed. Nusumma Bank is Abdurrahman Wahid's response to economic problems and financial credit for the small people.

Abdurrahman Wahid has consistently defended Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent and people of various faiths, especially those who have been discriminated against by the ruling political policies. The Chinese felt indebted to Abdurrahman Wahid because of his courageous defense against political discrimination from the era of the Soeharto government. Many figures supported the establishment of Nusumma Bank, including Minister of Religion Munawir

Syadzjali, who said that the founder of Bank Nusumma was a strategic step and should have happened earlier. Another figure is Dorodjatun Kuntjorojakti, economist and Dean of the Faculty of Economics UI, who emphasized that the idea of the founder of Nusumma was a big idea.

The initiation of the founding of Bank Nusumma brought important memories for Indonesian Chinese. Natalia Soebagjo wrote the important role of Abdurrahman Wahid in bringing Chinese people closer to Indonesian citizens. If all this time the Chinese were considered "not Indonesians", Abdurrahman Wahid clearly and concretely brought these two forces closer through business institutions. One of his creative efforts to bring native and Chinese descent closer was cooperation with the Summa Bank, owned by the Soeryadjaya family, to establish community credit banks. Abdurrahman Wahid wanted to show that Islamic organizations could cooperate with a Chinese descendant. NU-Summa became a historical record about Abdurrahman Wahid's relationship with Chinese people in this country.

With his actions as a figure, Abdurrahman Wahid provides a good example for the life of a country in a country that has a diverse religion, ethnicity and culture. Abdurrahman Wahid always gives an example of pluralism and mutual respect between religious people.

3) Role Model

Role model is someone whose behavior we follow. In this case Abdurrahman Wahid gave an example for good state and religion. Abdurrahman

Wahid gave an example as a good role model in the state and religion, as explained by Wicaksana (2018: 21-23), Abdurrahman Wahid carried out religious activities as a cleric and also carried out political activities well, proven Abdurrahman Wahid was believed to be the head of arts Jakarta (DKJ), Chairperson of Tahfidz PBNU, Chair of the Indonesian Film Festival Board (FFI) and Chair of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI). This can be a role model for the community because with the attitude of pluralism that his students succeeded in making Abdurrahman Whid become someone who promotes human rights, of course Abdurrahman Wahid can become a role model not only for the majority but also for minorities.

Even as a leader, the role in protecting Konghucu on the basis of human rights can be a role model. According to Wicaksana (2018: 46), in 1998 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 ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. In addition Abdurrahman Wahid gave instructions to members of the PBNU to accept and mingle with Konghucu people. This resulted in the return of ethnic Chinese Konghucu 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.

b. As a Politician

1) 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. In this case Abdurrahman Wahid decided to revoke the Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 describing the ethnic Tionghoa. and the Anacted Role is the real role and way that someone actually performs the role.

According to Mahfud (2013: 124) Through the 1999 election Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as President. Discrimination against Chinese citizens has indeed begun to be eliminated since his leadership. 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 the Tionghoa group. Since then various activities related to Chinese culture are no longer prohibited. 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.

So it is very relevant behind Abdurrahman Wahid's idea when removing all racist and discriminatory regulations in Indonesia. according to Mustajab (2015: 158), his good intention in fighting racism is nothing but to foster a spirit of respect for diversity in our heterogeneous society. The policy also indicated that Abdurrahman Wahid wanted all ethnic groups living in this country to be able to respect each other. Collaborate with each other in any matter and make a

positive contribution to the nation regardless of ethnicity and religion. It was acknowledged that Abdurrahman Wahid was the leader of the country who first championed the citizenship of Tionghoa descendants in Indonesia in the proper position as other citizens in an equal position without exception. Abdurrahman Wahid's struggle was not without reason. explained by Rasyid (in Mustajab 2015: 159), Abdurrahman Wahid is a fighter of rights that are fundamental in each individual who is castrated by his freedom, such as the right to be cultured, the right to choose beliefs, and religion.

In 2000 Abdurrahman Wahid announced the Chinese New Year as a voluntary national holiday by issuing a Presidential Decree Number 19/2001 on April 9, 2001. This was only felt by Konghucu in the era of Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership because in previous leadership the congregation was banned from celebrating Chinese New Year and prohibited from closing the shop at the celebration of the feast.

2) As leader

As a leader in this role, leader act as leader. He conducts interpersonal relationships with those who are led, by carrying out key functions including leader, motivating, developing, and controlling. 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.

Ulama is someone whose background is a person who deepens the knowledge of Islamic religion, in terms of politics in Indonesia *Ulama* must be

able to put themselves as well as possible to realize good governance. As stated by Al-Hamdi (2015: 171) about the definition of Islam and good governance. He explained: There has been a shared consensus in the world recently that good governance is important for human resource development in any community or country. Many international institutions such as the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) play their important roles in achieving democratic governance. Muslims have bequeathed a set of scientific knowledge and civilization to the world which was later Islamized and westernized, then a system of government that allows for the rule of law, sovereignty, justice, human rights and joint consultation should not have escaped the knowledge of the western world . In addition, good governance can be defined as a bridge to struggle in achieving justice in society, maintaining individual dignity and protecting group freedom.

Abdurrahman Wahid is like a bridge that tries to connect many people so that everyone is able to establish a balanced and equal communication. For Abdurrahman Wahid described in Wicaksana (2018: 99), every form of difference, including differences in belief or religion is not a problem for the creation of harmony and cooperation. He emphasized this by always departing from the teachings of Islam that are peaceful and universal and that place humans as God's creation. Because humans are God's creation, there are no white, yellow, brown, or black human groupings. Although born and raised in an Islamic environment that is very close to religious values, Abdurrahman Wahid is a figure who values diversity and always dares to defend the rights of people

who have different beliefs from him. He will defend anyone, not just defend the rights of people from his own group, Even he dared to defend anyone who was oppressed.

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:

1) Democracy as the Pillar of Equality in Religions

According to Wahid (1994: 272), Democracy means equality of rights and status of each citizen before the law, regardless of ethnic, religious, gender, and language differences. Every religion is given freedom and guaranteed law in practicing its religious teachings without any pressure, intimidation and interference from anywhere. This is the democracy that was won by Abdurrahman Wahid. Abdurrahman Wahid wants to emphasize that with democracy every religion is given the same rights and position to work and express opinions in solving common problems. explained by Fuad (2007: 99), Focused on democracy in Indonesia in particular, Abdurrahman Wahid highlighted the basic values associated with it such as humanity, equality and justice. Human relations are very important because it will not be possible in an era where modernization is developing. A human does not interact with people of different faiths. In this case Abdurrahman Wahid often quotes the

Qur'an verses of surah al Hujarat verse 13, which in essence is actually human difference is the will of God who has the character to know each other.

According to Wahid (in Sahfutra 2014: 98), In terms of the relation between religion and democracy, Abdurrahman Wahid argued that religion must show its transformative function for the democratization of social life. In this case, according to him, religion must formulate conceptions of human dignity, equality of human status before the law, and true solidarity between human beings. Every religion must interact with other religions in the form of acceptance of a number of universal basic values, which will bring interreligious relations in a stage, where religion serves the community in a very concrete form, such as tackling poverty, upholding the law and guaranteeing freedom of speech .

Abdurrahman Wahid positions democracy as a supporting pillar that gives equal rights to every religion. Abdurrahman Wahid also opposes a country giving an interpretation of a religion, namely determining which are religious and not religious. according to Wahid (in Sahfutra 2014: 101), Abdurrahman Wahid gave an example in the New Order that Tionghoa citizens had to replace their names as indigenous names, were not allowed to establish schools, were prohibited from making mandarin newspapers and were prohibited from Konghucu, because this belief was assumed a philosophy of life, not religion.

2) Religious Tolerance

According to Barton (in Sahfutra 2014: 103), Abdurrahman Wahid viewed tolerance as a necessity in a cosmopolitan life so that tolerance must be possessed by those who want the order of life to be peaceful and peaceful, because tolerance as a respect for this foundation begins with accepting pluralism in acting and thinking. A tolerant attitude does not depend on the high level of formal education or the intelligence of thought naturally, but the problem of the heart, the problem of behavior, and not necessarily must be rich first. In fact, often this enthusiasm is found in those who are not smart and also not rich, but rather in ordinary people, and often referred to as "the best people".explained by Wahid (1994: 545), Abdurrahman Wahid who is often referred to as a Muslim scholar of neo-modernism links tolerance with universal teachings and Islamic cosmopolitanism, which is based on the existence of 5 (five) basic guarantees that Islam provides to citizens, both individuals and groups. The five basic guarantees are as follows:

- a) Physical safety of citizens from physical actions is outside the legal provisions. The guarantee of physical safety of citizens requires the existence of a law-based government, with fair treatment of all citizens without exception, in accordance with their respective rights. Only with the certainty of law, can a community be able to develop an understanding of equal rights and degrees among its citizens, while the two types of similarities that guarantee the realization of social justice in the true sense. Whereas we know that the life *worldview* ,

Weltanschauung is most clearly its universality is the view of social justice.

- b) Safety of their respective religious beliefs, without any compulsion to convert to religion. This guarantee underlies the relationship between community members on the basis of mutual respect, which will encourage a growing framework of tolerance and mutual understanding. Regardless of how thick the history of history is with oppression, narrow vision, and injustice towards minority groups who have different religious beliefs than majority beliefs, the history of the human race proves that tolerance is actually an inherent part of human life.
- c) Family and descent safety. The basic guarantee of family safety displays a very strong moral figure, both moral in the sense of a whole ethical framework and in the sense of morality. Family sanctity is protected as strongly as possible, because the family is the most basic social bond, therefore it should not be used as an arena for any form of manipulation by the existing power system. It is this family sanctity that underlies the faith that radiates tolerance in a very high degree. In larger groups, there is always a tendency to over formalize teachings, thus suppressing the freedom of individuals to embrace the truth. Supra-family groups always try to eliminate, or at least narrow, individual movements for citizens to experiment with their own views, and to test the boundaries of truth in faith.

- d) Safety of property and personal property outside legal procedures. The basic guarantee of property safety (al-milk, property) is a means for the development of individual rights fairly and proportionally, in relation to the rights of the community to individuals. Communities can determine their desired obligations collectively for each individual citizen. But the stipulation of obligations is the limit, and individual citizens cannot be subject to obligations for society more than those limits.
- e) Safety profession. The basic guarantee of professional safety displays another figure of the universality of Islamic teachings. Appreciation to the freedom of adherents of the profession means the freedom to make choices at their own risk, about the successes to be achieved and the failure to imagine them. In other words, freedom to adopt a chosen profession means the opportunity to determine the direction of life complete with its own responsibilities. However, that choice remains within the framework of the general flow of people's lives, because the choice of profession means putting themselves in the general flow of community activity, which is full of its own measurements.

The issue of tolerance among religious people is a problem that raises a variety of interpretations of the scriptural doctrine, Wahid (in Sahfutra 2014: 107) explains, so that inter-religious people find it difficult to recognize each other's existence. This was realized by Abdurrahman Wahid himself through his opinion on the Qur'an surah al-Baqarah verse 120 :

وَلَنْ تَرْضَىٰ عَنْكَ الْيَهُودُ وَلَا النَّصَارَىٰ حَتَّىٰ تَتَّبِعَ مِلَّتَهُمْ قُلْ إِنْ هَدَىٰ
 اللَّهُ هُوَ الْهُدَىٰ وَلَئِنْ اتَّبَعْتَ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ بَعْدَ الَّذِي جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ مَا لَكَ
 مِنَ اللَّهِ مِنْ وَلِيٍّ وَلَا نَصِيرٍ ﴿١٢٠﴾

Meaning:

Jews and Christians will not be happy with you until you follow their religion. Say: "Verily the guidance of Allah is the guide (the right)". And if you follow their will after knowledge comes to you, then Allah is no longer a protector and helper for you.

Based on Abdillah (in Sahfutra 2014: 98), according to him this verse is always the basis of acts of intolerance between religious people. Verse 120 surah Al-Baqarah above is actually not an absolute verse, but a historical verse. Because it must also be understood historically, because of the fact when Muhammah in Mecca and Medina still respected the existence of a plurality of religions other than Islam. If the purpose of the above verse is absolute, then the appeal of the faithful, or all humans, but not. This shows that Islam highly respects religious diversity and is very tolerant.

3. Interfaith and Inter-religious Dialogue

The term dialogue means a conversation between two or more characters, directly speaking (kamus besar bahasa Indonesia online). Ali (in Sahfutra 2014:108), Inter and inter-religious dialogue in Indonesia has been

initiated since the time of A. Mukti Ali, namely the father of Comparative Indonesian Religion which pioneered interfaith dialogue. He wants that every religious community is willing to dialogue dialogically to be able to unite perceptions and views so that things that can cause stigma or negative views among religious people can be minimized. In addition, according to Mukti Ali, the initial dialogue must be limited to not discussing and discussing differences in theological fields, but rather on social problems which are of mutual interest. This is the initial stage of dialogue between religious groups. Wahid (in Sahfutra 2014: 108), Abdurrahman Wahid in relation to inter-and inter-religious dialogue also has a very strong spirit. Because without dialogue between and among religious people, they will not know each other, both the teachings and the views regarding the problems that are being faced.

Abdurrahman Wahid stated that differences in beliefs do not limit or prohibit cooperation between Islam and other religions, especially in matters relating to the interests of humanity. Acceptance of Islam for cooperation will certainly be realized in the practice of life, if there is interfaith dialogue. The difference in faith / belief does not need to be debated or equated totally, because each religion has a belief that is considered true. Wahid (in Sahfutra 2014: 108), therefore, Abdurrahman Wahid said that each belief does not need to be compared or contested. Because the reality is different. Abdurrahman Wahid added that thus it was clear that to be able to cooperate between one adherent of a religion and another adherent of religion is to open a space for dialogue, because this is needed to deal with the problems of people's lives.

Wahid (2007: 135), according to Abdurrahman Wahid, each of each religion has the obligation to create birth welfare (justice and prosperity) in a shared life, nation and state, although the forms are different. Here, later, according to Abdurrahman Wahid, there was an equality between religions, not in the teachings / creeds adhered to, but only at the level of material achievement. Because the size of the material uses quantitative evidence, such as the level of income of the average citizen or number of ownership, for example, while that which is not, like a measure of justice, can be observed empirically in the life of a social system.

Building inter-religious cooperation that begins with inter-religious dialogue, according to Abdurrahman Wahid, is a command and teachings of Islamic doctrine contained in the Al-Qur'an, namely Surah al-Hujarat verse 13 below:

يٰۤاَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اِنَّا خَلَقْنٰكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَّاُنْثٰى وَجَعَلْنٰكُمْ شُعُوْبًا وَّقَبَاۤىِٕلَ
لِتَعَارَفُوْۤا اِنَّ اَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللّٰهِ اَتْقٰىكُمْ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ عَلِيْمٌ خَبِيْرٌ ﴿١٣﴾

Meaning :

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

Wahid (in Sahfutra 2014: 108) said that the verse above shows differences that always exist between men and women, as well as between various nations and ethnic groups. Thus, according to Abdurrahman Wahid,

difference is something that is recognized by Islam, while what is prohibited is division and separation (tafarruq). Abdurrahman Wahid emphasized a dialogue that was born on the basis of mutual interests for mutual benefit, whatever his religion was not important because what he saw was his contribution. Inter-religious dialogue is more emphasized in dialogue in terms of muamalat, which is to improve the common destiny of achieving material prosperity. They can work together for such welfare by using their respective teachings.

According to Arifinsyah (in Sahfutra 2014: 110), in order to create a unified vision and perception of interreligious relations-oriented dialogue to find solutions to shared problems, a critical attitude and effort to listen to each other, learn more and understand others more deeply must be done , at least reflecting the three characteristics of the following dialog:

- a. Openness, controlling that conversations between two parties or more require willingness to hear from all parties in a fair and equal portion. For this reason, transparency and honesty in dialogue are requirements of a dialogic communication.
- b. Although the dialogue intends to seek more open and fair religious understanding of differences of opinion, it does not mean that productive dialogue can be carried out, the intended benefit is if the two dialogue partners can raise critical objections to the positions of each party.
- c. A characteristic of a dialogical meeting is the willingness to listen to each other and to express opinions equally. In an atmosphere like this dialogue partners can ask specific questions and learn from others.

Dialogue is not to express hatred to others but to seek insight that is owned by the dialogue partner. Therefore, dialogue must be based on love, maturity, and kinship so that the dialogue produced can provide the widest possible benefit to both parties in dialogue.

Finally, Chinese people slowly began to dare to appear in the wider community because they felt a little safe with protecting laws. The percentage of followers of Konghucu also increased after the government revoked the ban on such beliefs in 2000, such as the right to openly commemorate the Chinese New Year. The fresh wind continues to greet hands when the awareness of the people about the multiculturalism of the tribe and the nation grows. Not only is recognition as an Indonesian citizen who has been transparently shown by the government but the religion of the majority of Tionghoa citizens, Konghucu also has a place equal to the ranks of religions that have been legitimate in Indonesia.

According to Bakhtir (in Mustajab 2015: 170), in terms of religion, Abdurrahman Wahid argues that religion and belief cannot be forced, a belief is religion, it cannot be determined by the government but by its adherents. The government must not interfere in religious affairs. Abdurrahman Wahid also believes that Konghucuism is a religion, it is not fair that the government rejects the existence of this minority religion.

Explained by Cenggana (in Mustajab 2015: 170) Even the freedom to embrace religion is in line with the constitution in Indonesia, namely in the 1945 Constitution Article 29 Paragraph (2) which reads, "The state guarantees the independence of each resident to embrace their respective religion and to worship according to his

religion and his belief ". In addition, the belief in a religion and religious orders must be carried out, in article 28 E paragraph (1) states "Every person is free to embrace religion and worship according to his religion, choose education and teaching, choose citizenship, choose a place to live in the country and leave it, and right back ", paragraph (2) states that" Every person has the right to freedom of belief, express thoughts and attitudes, in accordance with his conscience ". Religious rights are also recognized as rights that cannot be reduced under any circumstances in accordance with article 28I paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution. The consequence of this guarantee is that everyone is obliged to respect the freedom of religion of others (Article 28 J Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution). On the other hand, the state is responsible for protecting, advancing, and fulfilling religious freedom as a human right (Article 28 I Paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution). The state must also ensure that a person is not treated discriminatively on the basis of the religion he believes in and the worship he performs (Article 28 I Paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution).

Abdurrahman Wahid was directly involved in making policies regarding the recognition of Konghucu religion in Indonesia, and that could also be called an Anaced role. There are many impacts felt by Konghucu with the involvement and concrete actions of Abdurrahman Wahid in making policies regarding the removal of discriminatory regulations. According toMustajab (2015: 177), Konghucu was banned from its existence in the New Order era. After reformation, the Konghucu religion was allowed to develop again. This is a positive thing for the religion of Konghucu itself and Tionghoa citizens in general. With the freedom to practice

religion, ethnic Tionghoa can express their desires, so the existence of these policies has several impacts, including, Mustajab (2015: 177):

a. Impact on Aspects of Religion

With the recognition of Konghucu religion in Indonesia during the reformation period, people who have Konghucu beliefs can officially embrace the Konghucu religion. Tionghoa civil rights were restored. Population administration is equated with other citizens, including on the KTP and Family Card (KK) that can be included as konghucu religion. Likewise the marriage of konghucu people can be listed at the Civil Registry Office. Konghucu worship can be celebrated freely without complicated permission and without pressure or disturbance. Tionghoa native traditions can be held freely anywhere.

With these various facilities, there are Buddhists who formally convert to Konghucu religion. The people who moved were especially from Konghucu who had indeed been Konghucu when the religion was still permitted by the government. So they are people who care about their religious status and want to implement Konghucu teachings well.

b. Impact on Aspects of Places of Worship

The temple as a place of worship for Konghucu people who had previously been built and was not active for a long time began to be reactivated, the ownership of the temples was independent and there were also those that belonged to a foundation. Besides the celebration of the day to Konghucu could

be celebrated publicly and openly. with a sense of security and comfort because of legal protection from the government.

c. Impact on Organizational Aspects

From the Konghucu, certainly trying to develop wings by strengthening the organization in order to get more people so that Konghucu develops faster.

d. Impact on Social Aspects

Most Tionghoa citizens regardless of their official religion, especially Konghucu can carry out their traditions long ago, such as the Barong sai show and celebration of the gomeh stamp So that inter-people relations remain harmonious, and the programs are carried out freely, besides Konghucu people are socially acceptable slowly by Indonesians.

B. Factors Affecting Abdurrahman Wahid as a leader in fighting for Konghucu rights

1. Sociological Background Factors

a. Educational factors

According to Hasan (2015: 33) When viewed from Abdurrahman Wahid's educational factor from a small age, he had indeed begun to come into contact with western culture, it began when he moved to Jakarta and studied Dutch with a person named Willem Bhul, he was a German citizen who became a Muslim. From there Abdurrahman Wahid began to know the western world, he began to like classical music. And after growing up he continued his 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 in Iraq. 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.

It can be seen that Abdurrahman Wahid has completed his undergraduate education studies. This shows that Abdurrahman Wahid was a civilized educated group. He studied undergraduate at a foreign university. Geographically, Abdurrahman Wahid's chosen university was one of the factors influencing his attitude. Besides that, there are main factors which are influences, namely in terms of choosing the field of study and scientific concentration. When Abdurrahman Wahid attended Al Azhar Islamic University, he took a course in the department of higher Islamic and Arabic University and while studying in Baghdad he focused on studies in the department of Religion where he studied Arabic literature, philosophy, and social theories. 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-Sunnah. With Abdurrahman

Wahid's ability to speak Arabic, his understanding of philosophy, and social theories, he was able to understand the contents of the verses of the Qur'an. Wahid (1999: 77), once stated "There is no standard form of a country and the process of transferring power in the permanent form left by the Prophet Muhammad, either through the verses of the Qur'an or Hadis, making historical changes to existing state buildings inevitable or prevented again. In other words, the agreement on the form of the state is not based on the naqli argument but on the needs of the people at one time.

According to Kuntowijoyo (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 103), Islam does not dichotomize between religion and the world. Both are inseparable entities for structuring the system of social, political, economic and cultural life. We certainly know the "faith-science-charity" trilogy. Faith must culminate in charity or action. Tawheed (the center of faith in God) must be actualized which ends in humans.

b. Working factors

Based on his life journey, Abdurrahman Wahid is an academic, writer, and politician. According to Haedar Nashir (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 106), as stated by Mahfud MD (Gatra No.48, 12/10/2006), work is one of the determining factors that changes a person's character from a radical attitude to a moderate or open attitude. 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. Working at the embassy of the Republic of Indonesia provides a very valuable experience for him, such as conducting research, making reports and participating in various meetings of Indonesian Embassy staff with various foreign parties, this adds to his experience and ways of thinking about politics. In addition Abdurrahman Wahid began to intersect with political issues, especially he criticized the government in that era through his writings, as an educator in the pesantren, he was very concerned about discrimination issues.

Nasher (2017), After completing his studies and returning to Indonesia, Gus Dur was invited to join Dawam Rahardjo at the Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information (LP3ES) with two other friends, Aswab Mahasin and Adi Sasono. From here, he continued his career as a writer for magazines and newspapers. His name is also widely known as an intellectual because of his thinking and critical power in seeing problems. Ranging from nationality, politics, boarding schools, Islam, to soccer. Not only as an intellectual Abdurrahman Wahid also moved as an activist. Together with Arief Rahman, Rahman Tolleng, Marsilam Simanjuntak, and Bondan Gunawan, he joined the Democracy Forum (*Fordem*) as a form of resistance to the authoritarian New Order regime.

Explains by Syarkun (2013: 55), As an Ulama or Kiai Abdurrahman Wahid broadcasts da'wah with a humanitarian Islamic background. Namely Islam that reflects the attitude of *tawasuth* (moderate), *tasamuh* (tolerant), *i'tidal* (being fair), and *tawazun* (balanced). In his preaching Abdurrahman Wahid spread a

lot of teachings about peace between religious groups. The principle of struggle through da'wah always uses peaceful means and rejects violence. This can not be separated from the good relations with religious leaders, both Islam and other religions as well as championing Pancasila as the basis of state ideology, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the 1945 Constitution.

c. Relationships Factors

Seen from the relations of relations Abdurrahman Wahid had started a good relationship for a long time with other groups besides his congregation in the pesantren, the most historic of which was one of his friendships with Chinese families. in Wicaksana (2018: 41). He built friendship with Soerjadjadja, a Chinese businessman, and they even collaborated in establishing Nusumma Bank in 1990.

According to Wicaksana (2018: 43), in 1990 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. He moved forward by forming business cooperation to build a people's economy. Abdurrahman Wahid and the Soerjadjaja family, Chinese entrepreneurs who controlled business networks, formed banks for the people. Bank Summa, which is under the Astra group, is invited as a business partner that supplies funds. So, NU-Summa was formed. Nusumma Bank is Abdurrahman Wahid's response to economic problems and financial credit for

the small people. Abdurrahman Wahid has consistently defended Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent and people of various faiths, especially those who have been discriminated against by the ruling political policies. The Chinese felt indebted to Abdurrahman Wahid because of his courageous defense against political discrimination from the era of the Soeharto government. Many figures supported the establishment of Nusumma Bank, including Minister of Religion Munawir Syadzjali, who said that the founder of Bank Nusumma was a strategic step and should have happened earlier. Another figure is Dorodjatun Kuntjorojakti, economist and Dean of the Faculty of Economics UI, who emphasized that the idea of the founder of Nusumma was a big idea.

The initiation of the founding of Bank Nusumma brought important memories for Indonesian Chinese. Natalia Soebagjo wrote the important role of Abdurrahman Wahid in bringing Chinese people closer to Indonesian citizens. If all this time the Chinese were considered "not Indonesians", Abdurrahman Wahid clearly and concretely brought these two forces closer through business institutions. One of his creative efforts to bring native and Chinese descent closer was cooperation with the Summa Bank, owned by the Soeryadjaya family, to establish community credit banks. Abdurrahman Wahid wanted to show that Islamic organizations could cooperate with a Chinese descendant. NU-Summa became a historical record about Abdurrahman Wahid's relationship with Chinese people in this country.

d. Individual Political Orientation Factors

Explained by Hata (2008: 103), Factors of Political Orientation of Abdurrahman Wahid Individuals, can be seen from his thoughts, he is not anti-Islamic or anti-Western. However, both are dialogue to answer various kinds of problems faced by him as ulama or politicians. This is for the benefit of society in general without being limited to religion, ethnicity, ethnicity or culture, such as when looking at religious and cultural issues he uses adagium al-adatu muhakkamah, that adat can be used as law. Other political thought is that he uses Maqasid Ash-Shari'ah which is then combined with the philosophy of humanism as a paradigm or basis of thought.

This thought was carried out on the wheels of his government when he served as president of the Republic of Indonesia for national unity and unity, freedom, equal rights and social justice for all Indonesian people. All these thoughts are at the core of his political thought ideas, both about democratization, secularization and the Pancasila. There is no doubt that he has a pluralist character because he has insight into the understanding of true religions as well as genuine love for the Indonesian people. During his lifetime Abdurrahman Wahid was always consistent with three things, namely Islam and democracy, human rights, and pluralism. These three things are described as follows:

1) Islam and Democracy

Setiawan (2017 :64), Islamic relations with democracy are basically very axiomatic, because Islam is a religion and treatise which contains principles

that govern worship, human morals. Meanwhile, democracy is a system of government and a working mechanism between members of the community and symbols that are believed to bring many positive things. The polemic of the relationship between democracy and Islam is rooted in a "theological tension" between the sense of necessity to understand the established doctrine of the history of Muslim dynasties with the intention to provide a new understanding of the doctrine in response to changing social phenomena. The relationship between Islam and democracy is a complex relationship. Because, the Islamic world does not live in ideological uniformity so there is a long spectrum related to the relationship between Islam and democracy.

Explain by Setiawan (2017 :64) democracy according to Abdurrahman Wahid contains three values, namely freedom, justice and deliberation. What is meant by freedom here is individual freedom in the face of state power and society. Justice is the cornerstone of democracy in the sense that it opens opportunities to every level of society to build lives according to their wishes. Justice is important in the sense that someone has the right to determine the way of life. Deliberation is a form or way to maintain freedom and fight for justice through deliberation. For him the core values of democracy have something in common with religious missions. Basically religion aims to uphold justice for the people's welfare. Therefore democracy must be in line with religious teachings in building the life of a just and civilized society. Abdurrahman Wahid did not justify the existence of democracy that was against the teachings of religion.

2) Human rights

According to Wahid in Setiawan (2017: 64), religion is very much related to human rights. In Islam religion formulates about human rights which aims to support to foster and form beings who are morally perfected. Human rights formulated by Abdurrahman Wahid aim to eliminate discrimination in plural societies as is often the case in Indonesia. This is because Indonesia adheres to the principle of Unity in Diversity and the ideology of Pancasila, which implies that there is no dominance of the majority towards the minority. The concept of human rights in Abdurrahman Wahid's view requires that every society in Indonesia has the right to obtain rights and carry out its obligations freely. The community has an equal position with one another.

3) Pluralism

Explained by Syarkun (2013 : 76), The idea of Abdurrahman Wahid's pluralism begins with an awareness of the importance of difference and diversity. Differences must be understood as fitrah that must be celebrated and arranged into the power to build harmony. Theologically, in every belief, there is no justification for the belief that religion is the same, but religion becomes the basis for every religious community to have good relations with anyone. The pluralism initiated by Abdurrahman Wahid is an important part in the effort to aspire to this nation to live harmoniously and safely in its diversity, this is an important foundation in life and humanity, because a nation as diverse as Indonesia is wrong when managing various religious ideologies, streams ,

tribes, etc. will create tension, hostility, and social violence that lead to national disintegration. The concept of Abdurrahman Wahid's pluralism can be seen from his actions as follows:

a) Tionghoa and Konghucu in Indonesia.

According to Syarkun (2013: 12) Abdurrahman Wahid is a person who is consistent in defending the rights of oppressed minorities. Abdurrahman's great service in his defense of the recognition of Konghucu in Indonesia would never be forgotten for the people of Indonesia, especially the Tionghoa community. Abdurrahman began an important step in the life of the country that all citizens must be carried out fairly and equally. Previously, Konghucu was forbidden to be taught in schools and the writing of Konghucu in KTP was also prohibited, so that its existence was not recognized. In addition, Tionghoa people cannot forget the services of Abdurrahman Wahid who can sincerely protect Muslims in communist-majority China. More than 120 million Chinese citizens are Muslim. Initially, Muslims in China found it difficult to carry out their worship, starting from Friday prayers, Ramadan fasting, recitation, Haji, all of which were difficult for Muslims in China. But since religious freedom in Indonesia has been enforced by freeing Khonghucu people to worship, the Chinese state has also participated in implementing religious freedom. And since then, many Chinese Muslims who have been able to leave freely to perform the Hajj have not stopped until now. Where when Gus Dur became president of the Republic of Indonesia at that time issued a Presidential Decree Number 19/2001 dated

April 9, 2001 which inaugurated the Chinese New Year as a fululative holiday.

Firm attitude and recognition of Abdurrahman Wahid.

Setiawan (2017 : 43), Abdurrahman Wahid to treat Chinese citizens, as an inseparable part of the Republic of Indonesia and is a historic step that will never be forgotten. Gus Dur is a leader who has an open mind, anti-discrimination and respects the difference in humanity as the glory of the Creator. Gus Dur's subsequent actions regarding his defense of the Chinese minority were his support for Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). Abdurrahman Wahid support for Ahok began when he resigned from his position as Regent of Bangka Belitung and wanted to run for the Governor of Bangka Belitung in 2007. As a ethnic Tionghoa, Ahok is part of a minority that is difficult to get support, especially the majority of Bangka Belitung residents are Muslim. But after his meeting with Abdurrahman Wahid and expressing his wishes and asking for support to become governor, Abdurrahman Wahid advanced as a supporter of Ahok. At that time various blasphemies came to Abdurrahman Wahid, some said that Abdurrahman Wahid was a false kiai because he had supported an infidel to become a governor. However, with various blasphemies, Abdurrahman Wahid was not afraid to support Ahok. Abdurrahman Wahid has given a trace of an inclusive political struggle in the country so that pluralism is not only limited to discourse, limited to political conversation, or mere plans, but in actions and concrete actions.

2. Organizational factor

a. Factor of organizational political culture

Based on Anwar (2004: 119-120), with his educational background, association and introduction to the cosmopolitan world of science, Abdurrahman Wahid began to surface on the Indonesian intellectual scene with his brilliant ideas in the 1970s, when he became active in several social institutions, NGOs and discussion forums. Abdurrahman Wahid's attitude was heard by activists from NGOs (non-governmental organizations) in Jakarta, mainly those who joined LP3ES (Institute for Information Research and Economic and Social Education). One that is responsive to the phenomenon. Abdurrahman Wahid at that time was Dawam Raharjo. Therefore, then he tried to present Abdurrahman Wahid in Jakarta and made him one of the functionaries at LP3ES. From then on Abdurrahman Wahid lives in Jakarta and works at LP3ES and mixes well with NGO activists, both from Jakarta and from other countries.

LP3ES is also interesting for Abdurrahman Wahid because this institution shows great interest in the world of pesantren and tries to combine it with community development. Still remembered by Abdurrahman Wahid how he felt motivated by respect and deep recognition that was shown by the leadership of this institution on what could be donated to this organization. To LP3ES given by Abdurrahman Wahid's understanding of the world of traditional Islamic schools and Islamic schools, and from this institution he learned about practical and critical aspects of community development. In 1977 he was approached and offered the position of Dean of the Ushuluddin Faculty at Hasyim Asy'ari University in Jombang. He happily accepted this offer. This

Islamic University was named the grandfather Abdurrahman Wahid and was founded by a boarding school consortium to provide university level education to Islamic boarding school graduates.

In 1979 Abdurrahman Wahid began to be heavily involved in NU's leadership, namely in Syuriah NU. But the activities in the pesantren world were not abandoned, by caring for the Ciganjur boarding school, South Jakarta. As a consequence of his move to Jakarta and his work in the NGO world since the late 1970s, as already mentioned, he began to get acquainted with figures and groups with different backgrounds, and involved in various projects and social activities. Since then too, he has held frequent contact with progressive young intellectuals and reformers such as Nurcholis Madjid and Djohan Effendy through academic forums and study group circles. Then from 1980-1990 he held a lecture at the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).

According to Asmawi (1999: 46), 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. Genetically he is a descendant of "*darah biru*" boarding schools. Culturally Abdurrahman Wahid is able to show that he is always in touch with the culture of boarding schools that are very hierarchical, closed, and full of formal ethics. NU as an Islamic organization has its own perspective in political participation, Abdurrahman Wahid, as an elite figure in NU, established an Islamic political party called the *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional* (PKB), which was intended to represent the thoughts of NU members in the political process.

PKB was born from the background of Islamic thinking with the culture of boarding schools (*Pesantren*).

b. Factors in the organization's political interests

According to Tohadi and Abidin (2002: 48) After more than three decades, the New Order government was under the leadership of President Soeharto, a government that operates by implementing a state of life in which the state has a very strong role and can subordinate people's power and various elements in it, including political parties, finally fell on 21 May 1998 at the urging of the Reformation.

The strong and successful flow of the Reformation which pushed President Soeharto's withdrawal from power was a bright spot for the creation of a more democratic Indonesia. The opening up of the 'incomplete faucet' of democracy, the freedom of the people that had long been tightly closed and the recovery of the civil society building which had been destroyed were the hopes and aspirations of all the people of Indonesia who had long been buried. With the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian power and the opening of 'faucets' of democracy and freedom, including the freedom to form political parties, at the same time dozens of new political parties were born with different platforms, as a form of political expression for the Indonesian people, which appeared like mushrooms in the rainy season.

One of the largest Islamic organizations in the country, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which has long buried its political desires since the NU stated it was no longer organizationally bound by any political organization in the 27th

Congress in Situbondo by declaring itself back to the 1926 *Khittah*, again moved his political lust to take part in improving the nation which had long fallen in the New Order political puddle for almost 32 years.

Choirie (2002: 168) explains, the reappearance of the passion for political euphoria of the Nahdhiyyin people is certainly not just wanting to follow along or unconsciously. Internally the organization, the wishes of the NU people are generally based on three things. First, patterned preaching in order to carry out amar ma'rūf nahī munkar which has long been the doctrine of NU's political teachings. Second, the sociological and historical potential where NU's solidarity and emotionality have the potential to become political forces. And third, in history, the politic role of NU citizens for almost three decades marginalized in politics and seemed inexhaustible received unfair treatment, both from the state and from other Islamic groups.

Now after the power of the Soeharto regime collapsed and the Reformation movement was launched, the day after the historic event, the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) began to be flooded with proposals from NU residents in all corners of the country. The proposal that went to PBNU was very diverse, and the proposal that was most widely heard was the desire of the NU people to immediately establish their own Political Party as a forum for the political aspirations of the Nahdhiyyin community. The seriousness of the NU community to be involved politically practically is evidenced by the many proposals that enter the PBNU's pockets, there are those who propose Political

Parties 'Vision and Mission, Political Parties' AD / ART, the names of Political Parties and even the names of political party organizers.

According to Barton (2004: 310) Initially, Abdurrahman was concerned that the NU groups wanted to establish the NU Political Party, because this meant that he would injure the 1926 re-khitah commitment he struggled with in the Situbondo congress in 1984 by linking NU with the political world. party. But by July, his attitude had begun to relax and it seemed almost certain that there would be some kind of NU party, with or without his blessing. If NU wants to make a serious contribution to the politics of this country, then it must be channeled through one party based on broad NU membership.

Therefore, on the 23rd of July 1998 the *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional* (PKB) was declared at the residence. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Ciganjur, South Jakarta, with the election of Matori Abdul Djilil as General Chair of the Tanfidz Council. Formally the PKB as a forum for NU citizens' political aspirations in particular and the entire Indonesian people in general, based on the One Godhead, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, popularism led by wisdom in deliberation / representation, and social justice for all Indonesian people. This was then reinforced in the principle of the struggle of the *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional*, which is devotion to Allah SWT, upholding truth and honesty, upholding justice, maintaining unity, fostering brotherhood and togetherness in accordance with the Islamic values of *Ahlussunah Waljama'ah*.

From the various explanations above, it can be concluded that NU as a large organization urged and changed Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts on his view of participating in the political process, the insistence of NU interest in participating in Indonesian politics made Abdurrahman Wahid approve the creation of political parties. From there Abdurrahman Wahid political maneuvers began with NU through the *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional* (PKB) 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.

c. Factors of Characteristics and Direction of PKB's Political Struggle

Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (PKB) as a forum for NU's political aspirations and struggles has the character of a Party based on the character and line of struggle where this Party was born. As *Jam'iyah Diniyyah*, which is obliged by amar *ma'rūf nahī munkar* in the life of the community, nation and state, both personally and in groups, NU cannot avoid the responsibility to play a role in building a just, democratic and noble political life in the Indonesian nation. the foundations of devotion to Allah SWT.pkb.id (2019), The following is Mabda` Siyasi (*pondasi*) PKB :

- 1) The ideal of the proclamation of the independence of the Indonesian nation is the realization of a nation that is free, united, just and prosperous, physically and spiritually, dignified and equal to other nations in the world, and able to

realize a government of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia that protects all Indonesians towards achieving general welfare, educating the nation's life, social justice and guaranteeing the fulfillment of human rights and participating in carrying out world order.

- 2) For the *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*, the manifestation of the aspired nation is a society that has human rights guaranteed that embodies the values of honesty, truth, sincerity and openness originating from conscience (*as-shidqu*), trustworthy, faithful and right promises and able to solve social problems faced (*al-amanah wa al-wafa-u bi al-ahdli*), behave and act fairly in all situations (*al-'adalah*), please help in virtue (*al-ta'awun*) and consistently implementing the agreed-upon provisions (*al-istiqomah*) deliberation in resolving social problems (*al-syuro*) which places democracy as the main pillar and the equal position of every citizen in front of law (*al-musawa*) is a basic principle that must be upheld.
- 3) In realizing what has always been aspired to, the main mission carried out by the PKB is the order of a civilized society that is physically and spiritually prosperous, in which every citizen is able to manifest his human values. Which includes the maintenance of body and soul, fulfillment of independence, fulfillment of basic human rights such as food, clothing and shelter, the right to livelihood / protection of work, the right to safety and freedom from persecution (*hifdzu al-Nafs*), the maintenance of religion and prohibition coercion of religion (*hifdzu al-din*), maintenance of reason and guarantee of freedom of expression and opinion (*hifdzu al-Aql*), maintenance of offspring,

guarantee of future protection of future generations (*hifdzu al-nasl*) and maintenance of property (*hifdzu al-mal*) This mission is pursued by the approach of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, which is called for virtue and prevents all possibilities and facts that contain *kemunkaran*.

- 4) The description of the mission embodied in order to achieve the realization of the society that is reported cannot be achieved through the involvement of public policy setting. The path of power becomes very important in the process of influencing public policy making through the struggle for empowerment of the weak, marginalized and oppressed people, providing security, peace and protection for minority groups and dismantling the political, economic, legal and socio-cultural systems that suppress popular sovereignty. For the *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional*, efforts to articulate the lines of political struggle in the path of power are necessary and accountable.
- 5) *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional* is aware and convinced that the power is truly the property of God Almighty. Power that exists in humans is a deposit and mandate of God which is entrusted to humans which can only be given to humans who have the expertise and ability to carry and carry it. Expertise in holding the mandate of power requires the ability to apply honesty, justice and struggle that always side with the giver of the mandate.
- 6) In relation to the life of the community, nation and state of power that is of such nature, it must be managed as well as possible in order to uphold religious values that are able to spread grace, peace and benefit for the universe. The manifestation of power must be used to fight for the empowerment of the

people to be able to solve their life problems more massively. The PKB is determined that the authority which is the essence of the mandate must be accountable before God and can be controlled by the people. Control of power is only possible when power is not unlimited and not centered in one hand, and is in an institutionalistic system mechanism, rather than relying on individualistic power, space must be opened for competition of power and balance of power as an arena for honing ideas improving the quality of the nation in the real sense. Understanding of this does not only apply when looking at power in the state order, but also must be reflected in the internal party.

- 7) The PKB realizes that as a pluralistic nation consisting of various tribes, religions and races, the order of life of the Indonesian nation must always rest on the values of the One Godhead, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, populism led by wisdom of wisdom in consultation / representation, and social justice for all Indonesian people. The application of the Pancasila values must be imbued with the attitude of developing a relationship of kinship among others who are bound by religious ties (*ukhuwah diniyah*), nationality (*ukhuwah wathoniyah*), and humanity (*ukhuwah insaniyah*), always upholding an accommodative, cooperative and integrative spirit. without having to be contradicted between something and the other.
- 8) The PKB is characterized by religious humanism (*insaniyah diniyah*), deeply concerned with religious human values, with nationalism insight. Maintaining and preserving good traditions and taking new things that are better to be

narrated become the style of struggle pursued by polite and noble ways. The party is a nursery field to realize the civilized society that is reported, as well as being a vehicle and vehicle as well as a forum for regeneration of national leadership. The party in this position wishes to absorb, accommodate, formulate, deliver and fight for the people's aspirations to uphold the rights of the people and ensure the implementation of an honest, fair and democratic constitution.

- 9) The PKB is an open party in the sense of interfaith, ethnicity, race, and cross-group that is manipulated in the form of vision, mission, struggle program, membership and leadership. *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional* is independent in the sense of rejecting all forms of power from any party that is contrary to the purpose of the establishment of the party.

According to Choirie (2002: 175) For *Partai kebangkitan Bangsa*, the manifestation of the nation that was proclaimed was a society that guaranteed human rights, embodied the values of honesty, truth, sincerity, and openness sourced from the conscience (*al-Sidqu*), trustworthy, faithful and proper promise, able to solve social problems faced (*al-Amānah wa al-Wafā'u bi al-'Ahd*), behave and act fairly in all situations (*al-'Adalah*), please help in virtue (*al-Ta'awwūn*) and consistently carry out the agreed-upon provisions (*al-Istiqāmah*), deliberation in resolving social problems (*al-Shurā*) which places democracy as its main pillar, and the equal position of every citizen before the law (*al-Musawwa'*) is a basic principle that must always be upheld.

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. The Party upholds the dignity and human dignity, fights for people's sovereignty, democracy, social justice, welfare, and prosperity for all the people of Indonesia. The party aspires to the realization of a unified, just, democratic and egalitarian society order, where all citizens have the same opportunity to develop their personalities freely.

With NU's various ideals and ideals for a society that is guaranteed to have human rights, it embodies the values of honesty, truth, sincerity and openness based on conscience, which further encourages Abdurrahman Wahid's agreement with minority groups in the case of this research. is a Konghucu religion.

