

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF THE STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

MAHATMA GANDHI AND ABDURRAHMAN WAHID ON PLURALISM

A. The Political Struggle of Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman Wahid ON Pluralism

1. The Political Struggle of Mahatma Gandhi On Pluralism

1.1 Participate in Indian Politics

On January 9, 1915, Gandhi returned to Mumbai India after spending his trip from South Africa to Britain and arriving in India. By the time Gandhi came to India, Britain was still in power in his native land. Britain came to power through a colonial administrator who never once admitted that Indian society was equal to the English. British colonization of India has greatly flowed India's wealth into the British pockets and was little gained by Indian masses close to British rule. Therefore the distance between the rich and the poor is clear and real. (Prana, 2012: 68).

Many religious differences inhabit Indian society. The majority of Religions in India are Hinduism, and the big minority is Islam, and the rest are Buddhism, Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Christian and other religious groups. India's independence campaign has so far been waged by a small group of Indian intellectuals. Gandhi saw the struggle of a group of Indian intellectuals not going to work because independence would be achieved if the Indians came together from every class and

distinction. Gandhi independence was not a change of leadership from Britain to India but gave birth to a representative government with the achievement of freedom from poverty, ignorance, and discrimination. On 4 February Gandhi gave an opening speech at a Hindu University in Benares. Gandhi made a statement in shorts, rugged trousers, a robe of Kathiawar and turban. Gandhi gave a speech that India would not be free before those present at the show stripped them with jewelry attached to their bodies and gave it to those who fought for the sake of the independence of the State of India.

In 1917, Gandhi defended the peasants at Champaran which is a small area located at the foot of the Himalayas. The farmers in Champaran suffered injustice by working on a profit-sharing system whose practices were detrimental to the farmers. The persecution was carried out by the British landlords. Gandhi investigated the grievances of the peasants. Gandhi ignored the British commissioner and told him not to interfere. Gandhi rejected an official notice for Champaran out. For seven months, Gandhi and his associates live in Champaran devising a case against the landlords. Meanwhile, Gandhi founded the school and invited volunteer teachers to educate. His wife Kasturba came to teach the women about hygiene and sanitation. In the end, the local government prosecutes landlords and is ordered to return part of the money earned unfairly.

After from Champaran Gandhi heading to Ahmedabad to help textile workers struggling for decent wages and working hours. Gandhi suggested a peacemaker resolved the case. But Gandhi's proposal was rejected by factory owners. Upon this rejection, Gandhi invited the workers to strike. Two weeks passed the striking

workers were getting weak and going back to the factory. Gandhi asked for a bit of survival and Gandhi fasted to press for the factory owner to approve of his decision. Three days later the factory owners accepted an offer to use the interpreter. In the next campaign, Gandhi helped the villagers in Kheda, the western part of India. Their harvest failed, the famine epidemic and local villagers asked the government to defer taxes. In the end, Gandhi won this campaign with rich farmers paying taxes while poor farmers were not encouraged to pay taxes. (Prana, 2012: 72)

The World War 1 has ended up opening a new round of British oppression. Many societies struggle to achieve Indian independence. During that time many Indian nationalists were imprisoned for their criticism and opposition to the British. Gandhi called on all Indians to conduct a national strike. On April 6, 1919, there was a massive strike in India. From town to village there was a strike that made India paralyzed for 24 hours. Millions of Indians lined the streets, many of them captured. Gandhi then arranged training for *Satyagraha* volunteers to be able to help him provide education to the Indians. But his efforts can be said to be unsuccessful. Upheaval continues in Punjab. Gandhi tried to go to Punjab to calm things down. But on the way, he was arrested and returned to Bombay. Gandhi applied for permission to Punjab but was refused. Finally, He spends his time working in the Young India weekly newspaper. In the autumn of 1919, Gandhi was finally allowed into the Punjab. Gandhi visited the scene. Many people who believe in Gandhi turn into worship. Without an official position, Gandhi is the most important person in India.

For months Gandhi and his followers travelled through India to invite people to non-cooperation which meant not buying British-made goods, not going to school

in Britain and not paying taxes to Britain. Gandhi with a religious spirit invites them not to wear foreign-made clothes and to wear *khadi*. In August 1921 Gandhi led the opening of a store that opened a *khadi* sale in Bombay. When the Congress Party holds its annual meeting, Gandhi is elected to hold sole executive power. They want to do a massive campaign. But before the campaign began, in a city 480 km away riot that matures the police. For Gandhi, the incident made people aware that the people were not ready for the graduation yet. Therefore Britain concluded that Gandhi had lost and eventually Gandhi was arrested in Sabarmati.

In February Gandhi was released. India's situation is getting worse with the split of Hindu and Muslim rivals. Disappointed and sad finally Gandhi out of politics. To purify India and reconcile Hindus and Muslims Gandhi fast for 21 days. Gandhi then invited all the community leaders and the British people to meet and end the humiliating disputes of religion and humanity that took place in India. Seeing Gandhi's sincerity, millions of Hindus and Muslims promise to love each other. Over the next few years, Gandhi focused more on trying to encourage Indians with the aim of uniting Hindus and Muslims, removing pariah caste and using their weavings to build industries that could create jobs for poor Indians. Gandhi spent time travelling around India to deliver his teachings and raise funds to carry out his goals. Wherever Gandhi goes, He is worshipped by a crowd of Indians loyal to his words and receiving his blessings. (Prana, 2012: 79).

In 1927, Gandhi carried a nonviolent, self-woven platform, unity and equality of pariah caste and equality for women and abstinence. Gandhi was summoned by Viceroy (British government officials) to be informed that a commission in Britain

would come to investigate the state of India and would recommend reforms. But the commission that determines it is white people. Indians are angry and do not believe in commissions anymore. For the Indians, it is enough to be played by the commission. In the end, many Indians hung black flags on the streets, and many shouted "home" to the British commission. Seeing such a society, Gandhi finally decided to continue *Satyagraha* by starting a salt campaign.

Gandhi spent the year 1929 by travelling around India preparing for a great struggle. When the Congress party met in December with Jawaharlal Nehru as its president, an independence resolution was passed. Calling for total independence and parting from the kingdom. For a month Gandhi was looking for ways to start his campaign. Then in February 1930, he thought about the salt campaign. The British government has a salt monopoly. This monopoly makes dependence on the life of Indian society and cannot do freely. Whole people who object to this monopoly. On March 2 Gandhi wrote politely to the British government by indicating the British for a crime committed in India and warned that Gandhi would begin a 9-day civil war campaign.

On March 12, after praying Gandhi along with 79 students both women and men left Ashram Sabarmati to the south on foot. Gandhi said walking on behalf of God. Along the way, the farmers prostrate even they kiss the footprints. Every day volunteers and Indian society join thousands to thousands. Gandhi's age at that time was 61 years leading the march towards the beach named Dandi. Gandhi and his followers walk about as far as approximately 388 km. The journey takes 24 days. Gandhi and his followers prayed all night. At dawn, he walked to sea to take salt.

This is an event very much awaited by Indian society. Gandhi opposed the salt law and told all the people and invited him to do the same. The road is a nonviolence civil resistance which he chooses to achieve India's independence.

Indians simultaneously quit government work and boycott British goods and refuse to pay taxes. The whole of India is almost paralyzed. For a month after Gandhi campaigned for salt, many of the leaders of the Congress party became political prisoners. Many Indians continue to wage nonviolence war. Gandhi and his followers camped near Dandi. There on one night on May 4 as many as 30 armed police, two government officials and a judge came to arrest Gandhi. Without a trial and a verdict, Gandhi was imprisoned. Furthermore, Gandhi's son continued to lead the line. The demonstrators were treated inhumanely. When dozens of policemen rushed to the demonstrators by showering many blows and resulted in protesters falling and sprawling. But none of them raised their hands to withstand the blows. Unaware many of their skulls are cracked, and their shoulders are broken.

In Gujarat, civil resistance is rapidly moving. In the Balasore district of Orissa, many salt campaign volunteers are persecuted by the police. But they keep fighting back. The police at Balasore add people to tackle the volunteers. But more people from the nearby villages followed the volunteers' efforts. Many villagers boycotted government employees by not allowing to buy all kinds of necessities in the village. Many of the police cannot withstand the activities of Indian society and government is very hassle. This boycott spread to various places in India so that the government is increasingly furious.

In Delhi 10 *Satyagrahi* were injured, and five were seriously wounded for scrambling a salt basket with police. In Punjab 50 men were injured after being hit by a police baton. In Peshawar, the British soldiers shot a crowd of people gathering. When the front row falls, behind it forwards to take a shot. No one escaped, many wounded and died. Many bullets pierce the demonstrators' bodies from the front. The world is watching clearly for everything that happens in India. All that Britain has done to the people of India has resulted in that, if Britain did not engage in violence, Britain would lose and if Britain continued to violate it would still lose.

On 17 February 1931 Gandhi and the leaders of the Congress were released. Gandhi met with the British government for a discussion. After the discussion, Gandhi agreed to stop the civil war campaign, and the British agreed to allow Indians to mine salt and release political prisoners. Not only had that but in the discussion also arranged a conference in London to resolve the issue of Indian independence. In the fall of 1931, Gandhi went to London to attend a meeting and travel in England to call for a respectable partnership between the two countries. Her compassion and intelligence can attract the sympathy of poor people, youth, and the press. When invited to drink, Gandhi only uses the coil that he used to wear. (Prana, 2012: 87).

The outcome of the conference did not get good results. Some British delegates sent Indian representatives to extend minority rights. So at the end of the meeting, the discourse of Indian independence became isolated. When he returned to his country, the new cabinet was stronger in power. Some of the many congressional leaders in the hold include Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi negotiated with the King who had drunk with him, but the result was that he was imprisoned. Meanwhile, Britain is

building a new constitution for India. Britain prepares Hindu votes only for Hindus and Muslims only for Muslims and the Pariahs only for Pariah. Gandhi argues and always seeks that separate voters will only keep two groups and try to touch the Hindu conscience to accept the Pariahs. Finally, a compromise of Hindus and Pariahs will vote together and guarantee representation from Pariah. In the 1930s and 1940s, Gandhi suffered profound sorrow in the cause of communal violence in India. Hostilities grow among the communities, especially in northern India. Place of violence spread in area one and then followed by another area. Gandhi's frequent response is to go directly to the conflict zone. He speaks directly to the perpetrators of violence and protects the victims, both Hindus and Muslims over the communal conflict. (Easwaran, 2013: 221).

Looking at many of the problems that occurred in India, from 1940 to 1942, Gandhi devoted himself largely to the Indian social, economic and spiritual development with the efforts of the Gandhi Development Program or Constructive Work. Gandhi believed that progress and progress would be obtained not through constitutional constitutions and reforms, debates and political resolutions, but through struggles by his people. Such constructive work is an effort of Hindu-Muslim unity, Harijan Campaign, Khadi (Self-Implementation) Use and the importance of women's equality, rural industrial development, health education, skill-based education and "unity of heart" regardless of race, religion, rich or poor, and power. With all that, Gandhi wants to give the people of India an opportunity to live in dignity. To implement constructive work and achieve Indian independence, we can see clearly that Gandhi uses the role and political thinking of pluralism. From

the beginning, Gandhi called on Indians to unite from every class and distinction, resolve the religious conflict between Hindu-Islam, raise equality and equate the rights of the pariah caste and women, help the peasants and workers from the oppression of landlords and industrial owners, and participate joining a small community of civil resistance. With the politics of pluralism, Indian constructive work and independence will be easily achieved if the Indians unite from every class and distinction. (Metha, 2002: 323).

Gandhi's pluralism and political thinking and role can be proved as well as in February 1941 at a congress meeting in Punjab, Gandhi said that it is important for them to apply for constructive work in the independence movement. This constructive program is useful for an ideal nonviolent state concerning communal unity, rural sanitation, rural industry, farmers prosperity, prohibitions against liquor, defiled caste, *khadi*, education, health and civil resistance. Gandhi believed in the independence of every unit of the nation to become a humble nation without any discrimination of caste, color or differences of faith by applying the truth and nonviolent precepts. The principles of a constructive program are pure actions to strengthen morality in human beings. Cooperation and mutual help are very important in work. Voluntary is the essence of constructive work. By way of constructive work (Prana, 2012: 95).

1.2 The Struggle of Indian Unity

In March 1942. The British government sent Sir Stafford to India with a proposal whose contents about offering a dominion status for Indian independence. On the decision, Gandhi and the Congress rejected him because the decision of the dominion state would use a special treatment on the Indian prince and would result in each separate province. This meant that Britain came to power in India's independence role. Many Indians are angry, frustrated and disappointed. Congress would then threaten a civil-civic campaign to be led by Gandhi. After the decision, Gandhi and some members of the congress were arrested. Knowing Gandhi was captured, many Indians were angry with Britain against violence, murder, and rebellion across India. Gandhi did not know about the chaos because in Gandhi's prison it was not allowed to read the newspapers. But Britain accused Gandhi of being impotent in prison about the outcry going on outside. In fact, Gandhi does not know about it, and Gandhi is much hated about violence

Since in prison, Gandhi is already 72 years old Gandhi. Gandhi was imprisoned with his wife. On February 22nd in prison, Gandhi felt lost and sad that his wife died in his lap. Since then Gandhi felt alone. Shortly after his wife died, Gandhi suffered from malaria and severe bowel disease. Gandhi was finally released on 6 May 1944 because Britain feared that if Gandhi died in prison, many Indians would be angry. After Gandhi's health improved, Gandhi received disappointment. Conferences with Muslims resulted in disappointment as Mohammad Ali Jinnah of Muslim leaders wanted the separation of the special Muslim state of Pakistan before independence. They are worried if India is set by Hindus fear of discrimination. So the solution according to many Muslims is to establish a separate Muslim state.

Gandhi and Mohammad Ali Jinnah are very contradictory and disagreeable. To gain the support of the peasants in the effort to establish a separate Muslim state from India, Ali Jinnah makes the issue of hatred between Hindus and Muslims. But for Gandhi there is no Hindu and Muslim nation there is only Indian nation. Gandhi said to Ali Jinnah that "you better split me in two than you split India into two". (Prana, 2012: 98).

Ali Jinnah did not appreciate Gandhi's religious attitude to politics. Ali Jinnah belittled Gandhi's fast, Gandhi's campaigns and Gandhi's struggle. Ali Jinnah assumes that Gandhi uses the pretext of tolerance between Hindus and Muslims as a means of perpetuating Hindu domination over Muslims. On the other hand, Gandhi's notion of religious tolerance between Hindus and Muslims is considered Ali Jinnah as a fantasy and cannot be realized. In 1944, Ali Jinnah gained a large number of followers from the Muslim community and demanded that the British Government establish its separate state for the Muslims before the British left India. Ali Jinnah possessed a power which was a hindrance to Gandhi's ideal of independence, the United Indian state. This forces Gandhi to go to Ali Jinnah and ask him to revoke his demands and offer a policy that his joining the Indian State will grant Muslims the right to have a separate elected area and be able to play a role in India according to their wishes. But Ali Jinnah cannot withdraw his claim to establish the state of Pakistan.

World War II was over in 1945. The new government expressed desire by realizing the first step for an independent government in India. In March 1946 a cabinet mission was sent by Britain to India to determine how the transfer of power

would be carried out. Britain advised Muslims to unite with the federal government and obtain special security for Muslim minorities. A provisional government will be established and will draft a constitution. But Ali Jinnah refused to participate. On 12 August the British government ordered Jawaharlal Nehru to offer a choice of positions for the Muslim league but was rejected. At that time the situation of India at parliamentary level disputed between Hindus and Muslims while in every city of Hindu and Muslim kills each other.

Ali Jinnah's demand for British rule to establish a Pakistani state led to a long-running civil war between religious people. The battle that originally took place in parliament moved to the streets. Hindus and Sikhs on the one hand, while Muslims on the other. They fought each other from Lahore to Calcutta. Everywhere they burn and loot the markets, drive out and kill the neighbors, so many people are displaced. Seeing the infighting that goes everywhere, Gandhi personally sanctifies the sin of the violence. Gandhi trudged through the mud and swamps by preaching the message of total nonviolence and deciding to make pilgrimages to remote areas because religious wars had spread to the villages. Gandhi travelled 49 villages by walking barefoot by taking miles. Gandhi lives in every village to restore calm. (Metha, 2002: 346).

In February 1947, British premier Clement Attlee announced that Britain would leave India by June 1948 and appointed Lord Louis Mountbatten as Viceroy (British government official) to prepare for it. Then Louis Mountbatten conferred with Gandhi and Ali Jinnah and the leaders of the Congress. The congressional leaders wanted to avoid hunger and war in India's independence by accepting Ali

Jinnah's request. On June 3, 1947, Louis Mountbatten announced a partition plan approved by Congress and the Muslim League. Thus implicitly, the British government accepted the premise of Ali Jinnah that Muslims and Hindus could not live together peacefully and rejects Gandhi's thinking. In the end, Ali Jinnah won the Congress decision. Gandhi is betrayed, betrayed and humiliated. On the one hand, Gandhi also blames Ali Jinnah for inflating religious zeal as a spark ignition. On the other hand, he blamed the Congress for acting in haste. This congressional decision is very painful for Gandhi because he has fought for Indian independence for 32 years with Nonviolence and Satyagraha. But when independence finally materialised, the power of truth was destroyed by violence, and many of Gandhi's followers had no longer accepted the principle of nonviolence. (Prana, 2012: 100).

In the united effort of India, Gandhi proved how consistent he was in his role, and political pluralist thought to achieve Indian independence in the sphere of unity, peace, and tolerance to the gates of Indian independence. Although in the end, it was very disappointing for Gandhi, because his struggles and sacrifices felt betrayed and disrespected.

1.3 The Last Day of Mahatma Gandhi

On August 15, 1947, India was officially independent, and Pakistan celebrated its birth. But Gandhi refused to celebrate independence. Gandhi chose to be in Calcutta where the brutal unrest took place. He fasted and prayed in the home

of a Muslim. Gandhi was sad to see his nation divided. Both camps are dissolved in madness. Gandhi then lives in Delhi the capital city of the country. There the Hindu people without a sense of humanity massacred Muslims in the streets. Many of the anguish that Gandhi felt in his heart. Every morning Gandhi holds a prayer meeting where he lives. Gandhi always read the verses of the Qur'an and Hindu books accompanied by his family and students. Many of the Hindus accused him of being pro-Muslim, and many of the Muslims asked him for an explanation of the refusal of Pakistan's separation. To restore religious tolerance in the life of independent India, Gandhi fasted to death. However, eventually, Gandhi ended his fast after obtaining a pledge from Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh leaders that they would invite the people to mutual respect and reconciliation. (Metha, 2002: 350).

On January 20, when Gandhi spoke publicly, there was an explosion. Someone was trying to kill Gandhi with a bomb. Soon the culprit was caught from a Hindu fanatic group who wanted a total war with Pakistan to wipe out all Muslims from India. Because Gandhi looks on the side of Muslims and decides to kill him. Patel begged Gandhi to protect her from some security officers. But Gandhi refused and said that any precautions would not save him. Gandhi wrote a letter to Ali Jinnah to want to go to Pakistan to calm down and travel with 50 families through Lahore. Ali Jinnah welcomed Gandhi's wishes.

On January 30th, the day was as usual Gandhi in the morning cleansing himself and praying for the end of the battle dispute. On that day Gandhi was interviewed by the famous Life magazine photographer named Margaret Bourke White. Margaret asked about how long ago Gandhi had spoken to live 125 years. But

Gandhi's answer changed, he no longer had that hope. Because in the world many things happen. Gandhi did not want to live in the dark. Gandhi's next meeting met Patel. They are talking seriously about media exposure. In the afternoon it was also held an outdoor prayer meeting. About 250 people attended the event. Gandhi hurried to the place of prayer. Along the way through the crowd towards the stage to where He sits, Gandhi raises his hands to the forehead making a blessing movement in traditional Hindu. (Eswaran, 2014: 190).

The time is five o'clock. Everyone who attended the prayer was looking at Gandhi including the one who was present at the front of Nathuram Vinayak Godse, a Hindu fanatic group. No one noticed Nathuram Vinayak Godse stood up and walked in front of Gandhi, stood up and bowed respectfully and quickly took out a small pistol from his pocket shot Gandhi three shots. That night was a tearful night. The whole of India mourns Gandhi's death. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told the Indians that light had gone from our lives and darkness was everywhere. For view in this country is not ordinary light. Thousands of years later that light will still radiate the truth of life. (Prana, 2012: 106).

Gandhi's death has proved that there is a lifelong Indian figure who struggles with his property, life, and mind for the sake of a peaceful and harmonious Indian independence to the point of his death. By elevating human rights and rights, and striving to create a society of peace and mutual respect for one another. Thus, Gandhi deserves to be called the humanitarian, peace and pluralism of both India and the Eye of the World.

2. The Political Struggle of Abdurrahman Wahid About Pluralism

2.1 New Order Era

After studying abroad, Gus Dur returned to Indonesia. Upon arrival, Gus Dur joined the Institute for Educational Research and Economic and Social Information (LP3S) as a scholar and focused on journalism. The organization overshadowed the progressive Muslim intellectuals and democrats. At the same time, Gus Dur was also called to tour the *Pesantren* and *Madrasah* to keep the traditional values of *Pesantren* not eroded and to develop education in every *Pesantren*. Gus Dur's career continues to increase by becoming Tempo magazine writer and Kompas newspaper. Articles are well received and become social commentators. With his polity, Gus Dur received many invitations to give lectures and seminars. In 1974 Gus Dur became a teacher at *Pesantren Tambak Beras* in Jombang by teaching *Al-Hikam*. In 1977 Gus Dur became the dean of the Faculty of Practice and Islamic Faith at Hasyim Asy'ari University. Since Gus Dur came from the *Nahdlatul Ulama* family, Gus Dur was asked to play an active role in NU. But Gus Dur rejected it because it contradicted Gus Dur's aspirations as a public intellectual. But thanks to the offer of his grandfather K.H. Bisri Syamsuri Gus Dur finally agreed to join NU as a board of religious advisers and acted as an NU reformer. At that time NU was seen as a stagnant Islamic organization. Gus Dur plans to reform NU's body by forming a team to revive NU by asking NU chairman Idham Chalid to step down from his post. (Hamid, 2014: 41).

In 1983 Suharto was re-elected president for a fourth term appointed by the People's Consultative Assembly and made *Pancasila* the state ideology. At that time Gus Dur was assigned to prepare the NU response to consider the ideology of *Pancasila*. Abdurrahman consulted and considered with the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* as the foundation for seeking the truth. After deepening the balance finally, Gus Dur concluded that NU should accept Pancasila as the state ideology. NU's reforms made him very popular in the NU. At the 1984 National Assembly was elected chairman of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* Board (PBNU). Gus Dur's election to become chairman of PBNU was welcomed by the New Order regime for moderate thinking and showed more support for the New Order regime. During his tenure, Gus Dur focused on reforming the *Pesantren* education system and succeeded in improving the quality of the *Pesantren* education system by rivaling secular schools.

At the 1989 National Congress, Gus Dur was elected again to become the second chairman of the NU. In December 1989 the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) was formed to appeal to Muslim Intellectuals. Soeharto formed this organization and chaired by Baharudin Jusuf Habibie, which included Amien Rais and Nurcholis Madjid. In 1991 some ICMI members asked Gus Dur to join. But Gus Dur refused because the ICMI organization would make Suharto strong. One of Suharto's goals to establish ICMI was to separate the modernists from the traditionalists and thus they could not cooperate against them. In 1991 Gus Dur established a democratic forum consisting of 45 intellectuals from various religious and social communities to fight ICMI. This organization is quite calculated and harmful to the government. In March 1992 Gus Dur planned a great deliberation to

celebrate the 66th anniversary of NU. But the event was blocked by Soeharto, and Gus Dur sent a protest letter containing that NU was not given a chance to present an open, fair and tolerant Islam. (Baton, 2002: 223).

Indonesia is a plural country with many ethnic and religious communities living side by side in common without causing conflict problems. Indonesian culture is essentially tolerant and easy to accept anything. But by the mid-1990s, things began to change. What happened at the time was a warning that group violence would always threaten every society. In October 1996 anti-Christian and anti-Chinese riots occurred in Situbondo East Java. This riot comes after a person is tried for an insulting indictment of the Prophet Muhammad. In the event of the violent conflict, this resulted in 20 churches and dozens of shops belonging to citizens of Chinese descent burned and killed five people. In the violent conflict, it was heavily discussed that the violence was not caused by the outcome of the trial or religious differences. Most local people consider that the violent incident that occurred was triggered by provocateurs coming from out of town.

Gus Dur was suspicious that the violent conflict in Situbondo was an engineered incident. In fact, Gus Dur had been told by his friends in army intelligence that the ruling regime was planning a series of new attacks against him. This time, they will provoke an incident to discredit Gus Dur by showing the public that Gus Dur is incapable of controlling his Muslim community. The city of Situbondo is considered as the right place to entertain NU leaders. In this city also dwells a small group of Christians who have an important position in society as well as the Madurese. These Madurese are scattered in the settlements of East Java.

Madurese are hard-working and straightforward people, but they are famous for their overt and easily provoked attitude, but for them, they are loyal members of NU.

After the outbreak of violent conflict in Situbondo, Gus Dur went to Situbondo by emotionally apologizing to the Christian community there. He feels sorry that some of those involved in violence have links to NU. Gus Dur encouraged the Christian community and the Muslim community there to communicate more with each other. He also then advised Christian and Muslim leaders in Situbondo: "You lost some beautiful Churches, but you get something more valuable that is the relationship you have with each other." As for Father Mangun Wijaya, a Catholic priest, and social activist, he said that with the event of Church burning in Situbondo the Church began to appreciate the need to have interfaith dialogue and the importance of building good intergroup relations. Only a handful of church activists have called for this. After witnessing the violence, the church was aware of the importance of better relations between these two different religious communities. It is difficult to judge exactly how far the violence in Situbondo is engineered, but many analysts believe that there is a high level of provocation from outside forces and that the provocateurs may be associated with right-wing generals and connected with hardline Islam.

The violence that occurred in Situbondo to produce goodness is the first time communities of different religions know each other and create mutual relationships. But violence does not stop. In December a similar violent incident broke out in Tasikmalaya, West Java, adjacent to where the NU congress held in 1994. Ten churches were burned down, dozens of shops and homes belonging to Chinese

citizens and Christian schools were burned as well. The death toll was as many as four people and the local NU community accused of doing so. After that incident, Gus Dur attacked ICMI and the right Islam group. As quoted by the media, Gus Dur said that he knew who was involved.

In November 1994 Gus Dur was re-elected chairman of the NU and managed to avoid the full pressure of the Soeharto regime. But by 1996, Gus Dur was increasingly concerned about the tensions that plagued Indonesian society and the extreme measures used by Soeharto's forces. Many of the NU community and followers of Megawati experienced violent acts by the military. Eventually, Gus Dur realised that he had no choice but to negotiate peace with Suharto. On November 2, 1996, Gus Dur had a dialogue with Soeharto and stated that Gus Dur and NU supported Soeharto to become the seventh president. Hearing the news of the peace meeting many of the NU people were happy because the cold war between Gus Dur and Suharto was over. But many of Gus Dur's friends who were in the democracy movement were shocked and annoyed. However, in the Congress of the cleric, Gus Dur explained about reconciliation with Soeharto and his support for *Golkar* in the 1997 election campaign. At the end of the national congress, the scholars formally approved some Gus Dur's initiatives and attitudes.

By August 1997 Gus Dur was urged to consolidate the impetus for reform by joining Amien Rais and Megawati and calling for Suharto to resign. Gus Dur explained that he agreed with Amien Rais and Megawati, but Gus Dur refused any formal alliance. Because the military will suppress formal variations in these three figures in pushing forward the reforms. At that time Gus Dur argued that the

reformers had no choice but to be patient because Suharto was not willing to withdraw shortly. In this case, at least Suharto proved wrong. On January 19, 1998, Gus Dur was suddenly rushed to the hospital and diagnosed with a severe stroke. It seems that Gus Dur will not survive and neurosurgeons perform surgery to perform surgery. Although many of Gus Dur's friends rejected the operation because for this, it contained many risks of fearing the patient died at the operating table. But beyond expectations, this operation went well, and the next day Gus Dur was able to talk to the guests who visited him. Almost all the important people in Indonesia visit him in the hospital. Everyone was worried about Gus Dur's illness. Because if Gus Dur dies there will be instability. Even conservative generals consider Gus Dur, a man who can show moderation and rule the time at NU and beyond. For others, Gus Dur is a hero and a close friend.

When Gus Dur suffered a stroke, students across the country and all the important cities left the campus and staged a demonstration in the streets. Many students have a confrontation with the military. Increased again with the outbreak of violence in small towns in Central Java, and East Java, which is shown in general against Chinese citizens. Many people believe that the military engineered the violence. In the end, in May 1998 Soeharto resigned from the President and surrendered his power to Habibie

2.2 Reform Era

Personally, Gus Dur was very critical of Soeharto about how to use religious and group sentiments to strengthen his regime. According to Gus Dur's interpretation, the number of problems faced by the Indonesian nation is the cause of Soeharto's attempt to pit the elements of society to perpetuate his power. But after Soeharto stepped down as president, Gus Dur was reluctant to sue Soeharto for his mistakes directly because Suharto was still too strong. Gus Dur feared that the hard demands of students for Suharto to stand trial would elicit a reaction from military elements. Gus Dur surprisingly puts trust in Habibie as transitional president because there is no other choice and according to the constitution.

By mid-July 1998 many new political parties had emerged even though this would be permitted by the revising law. At first, Gus Dur was concerned that NU groups wanted to establish political parties and this would link religion with political parties. However, Gus Dur approved the idea of forming an NU party to defeat Golkar by utilizing NU followers. This is done because of an emergency and calls for action because it has no other choice. Therefore created the National Awakening Party (PKB). But PKB must be a non-sectarian party and open to every element of society. That is why the PKB Party has a ideology of Pancasila.

Gus Dur was still concerned about the ongoing violence that persisted after Soeharto's downfall. On Friday, November 13, the last day of the MPR session was a violent confrontation at the Semanggi Bridge of Central Jakarta between soldiers and students. Hundreds of students were injured, and fifteen people died. Students

demanded that the Assembly should be investigated in Soeharto's wealth and the military's political role was immediately terminated. At that time Gus Dur said that Suharto's wealth should be examined but to get rid of the military from politics is still too early because it took six years to reduce the military significantly. This is done to reduce widespread violence in Indonesia.

Throughout 1998, a form of violence occurred in Banyuwangi, East Java. More than 200 people have been killed. According to many victims were killed by a black-clad killer like a Japanese Ninja. At first, it seemed to imply that these killings were an attempt to wipe out witch doctors but the more visible the victims became members of the NU, including some *Ulama*. Gus Dur accused the murderers of being loyal to Suharto in an attempt to provoke and create violence. After that Gus Dur went directly to the area where the violence took place and persuaded him not to take revenge. Because these killings are the work of provocateurs, who want us to lose patience. According to Gus Dur, this violence occurred because Banyuwangi and East Java are the power centers of NU (PKB) and PDI-P or in other words followers of Gus Dur and Megawati. Therefore, Gus Dur urged all parties to refrain.

On 22 November, violence occurred in North Jakarta. On that day, several hundred Muslims gathered because they were told that Christian youths pelted the mosque. Eventually, the Muslims rampaged up to 10 Christians, and ten more were burned. A few days later there was revenge outside Jakarta. In West Timor Christians rampage with the destruction of dozens of Muslim homes and mosques by diverting their attention to Muslim migrants from Sulawesi. At the end of 1998, Aceh's situation deteriorated again. The rebels who joined the Free Aceh Movement (GAM)

dragged 7 Indonesian soldiers from a bus and killed him. On 19 January 1999, there was violence in Ambon between Christians and Muslims. This violence has something to do with the events in North Jakarta. The situation in Indonesia is getting worse due to the economic condition that marked the fall of the rupiah because of the monetary crisis plus the Australian intervention to Indonesia urged that Jakarta give a referendum to East Timor.

Since PKB was founded in July 1998, many party members are hoping that Gus Dur will become president. Matori Abdul Jalil as chairman of PKB announced that PKB would collect 30 percent of the vote. Gus Dur campaigned with high spirits throughout Indonesia despite poor health. He told reporters that PKB would get 30 percent national or even 40 percent. This is just to encourage morale. Because realistically, PKB will get 16-18 percent of the vote only. If the entire NU members choose PKB. But this possibility will not happen because many NU members will still vote for PPP. On June 7 Gus Dur gave his voice in Ciganjur for PKB. Gus Dur felt optimistic about the PKB and the election as a whole. But his optimism is still mixed with worry about the success of defeating Golkar.

At the end of vote counting, PKB earned 12.4 percent of the vote. A disappointing result. And more disappointing again is the PAN who only managed to collect 7 percent. Golkar is still able to take 22 percent of the vote, and PPP 10 percent voiced. While the PDIP surprisingly earn 34 percent of the vote. After knowing the results of the general election, Gus Dur held a trip abroad with the main goal being Salt LakeCity, Utah. Gus Dur has made an appointment with Mormon General Hospital. He hopes the doctors there can restore his eyesight. Hopefully, he

will need one operation only to make his eyesight better. The doctors corrected little of his eyelids, trying to get a little to see, but his insights remained irreparable. Too many important small blood vessels and nerve connections have been lost.

After he returned home, Gus Dur looked moody and sad after the failure of the doctors this time. Gus Dur seems depressed bigger than in previous years. Perhaps this morose soul was the result of his physical exhaustion during the campaign. His relationship with the sprawling Megawati had troubled her days. A referendum in East-Timor is also getting closer has made his heart restless. He worried that a referendum in late August 1999 would lead to a malicious reaction from some Indonesian militants. He believes it will be safer and fairer if the referendum is held in a few years after a democratic and stable government stands in Jakarta.

But a few days later Gus Dur was determined to advance in the race to win the presidency against Megawati and Habibie. On 7 October, a reform faction composed of elements of the Central Axis constituting an alliance between the National Awakening Party (PKB), the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Justice Party (PK)) named Gus Dur as their presidential candidate. The joining of PKB with the Reform faction shows that Gus Dur's candidacy as president shows its seriousness. Plus the blessings of senior *Kiai* considered wise and holy men.

That night, Tuesday 19 October held a vote on whether or not Habibie's acceptance speech. In this speech will determine the outcome whether Habibie will be supported or rejected. If Habibie fails to win majority support, he will most likely

resign as a Golkar presidential candidate. The final result shows that Habibie has lost because there is a "White Golkar" faction led by Akbar Tandjung deciding to block Habibie's intention to nominate the president. Therefore, what remains are Gus Dur and Megawati. On the morning of October 20, Habibie resigned from the presidency. It is explained that he has no support, including from his party. In the end, the "White Golkar" faction led by Akbar Tanjung supported Gus Dur.

On 20 October 1999, the MPR General Assembly began to elect a new president. On the outcome of the MPR General Assembly for the election of the presidential candidate, Gus Dur was elected the fourth president of Indonesia. Megawati supporters cannot believe this incident. Because Megawati failed to win, many of her supporters went berserk. In the end, Gus Dur gave his policy and support by believing that he would participate in the vice presidential election as PKB would support him. In the end, Megawati won the vice president by defeating Hamzah Haz from PPP. (Hamid, 2014: 52).

2.3 Became President Era

After the fall of the New Order regime in 1998, Indonesia experienced the threat of disintegration of state sovereignty and security. Conflicts occur in some parts of Indonesia and separatist threats. Facing this, Gus Dur made a smooth political approach to conflict areas. Such as solving the Aceh conflict peacefully and neutralizing the conflict by supporting the use of the name of Papua by substituting the name of Irian Jaya. Gus Dur was the leader who laid the foundation for Aceh's

peace. During Gus Dur's reign, peaceful dialogue between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and Indonesia was very close and open. Gus Dur sympathetically chose the way by inviting GAM leaders to sit at a table to discuss the conflict in Aceh peacefully.

In the area of Pluralism, Gus Dur became the "father of Chinese" Indonesia because Gus Dur dared to defend the Chinese to get the same rights as Indonesian citizens. On March 10, 2004, some Semarang Chinese figures presented Gus Dur with honour as "Father of China". This was the result of Gus Dur's appreciation for Gus Dur's struggle and service by announcing that the Chinese New Year (Imlek) was an optional holiday and then a national holiday. And followed by the lifting of a ban on Chinese use of letters. On the merits of Gus Dur also Confucianism is recognized by the government as the official religion as a flow of trust in Indonesia.

In addition to daring to defend the rights of ethnic Chinese minorities, Gus Dur also dared to remove the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) stamp on the Identity Card (KTP) by apologizing to the PKI families who died and tortured as many as 500,000 to 800,000 inhabitants. In this case, Gus Dur is a national hero of anti-discrimination and a nation's teacher who sees the plurality of ethnic, religious and racial groups in Indonesia, part of the wealth that must be nurtured and united as the powers of great nation-building. On 30 December 1999, Gus Dur visited Jayapura in Irian Jaya Province. During his visit, Gus Dur assured the Papuan leader that Gus Dur encouraged the use of Papua. Not only in Papua, in Aceh Gus Dur gave the referendum option to Aceh. This referendum determines autonomy rather than a

referendum on independence. Gus Dur was also politicized with a more subtle political approach to reducing the military in Aceh.

Gus Dur's first cabinet was the National Unity Cabinet. The National Unity Cabinet is a coalition cabinet that includes members from various political parties: PDI-P, PKB, Golkar, PPP, PAN and Justice Party (PK). Nonpartisan and TNI are also present in their cabinet. During his presidency, Gus Dur often made controversial opinions. Gus Dur was not afraid to reveal something that was believed to be true even though many people were difficult to digest the direction of Wahid's thoughts and decisions. However, due to Gus Dur's controversy, his voice often becomes the rudder of social, political and cultural flows to the fore. If in the examined, the truth did appear radical and controversy. That's not all in Gus Dur's view is true on the other side. For some, Gus Dur's thinking was too far ahead of time. When we look at his thoughts, then we will find that much of his opinion is far from his personal or group political interests. His opinion is often opposed to his group and is his position as president to declare the truth. (Hamid, 2014: 54).

When Gus Dur was still serving the president, he began to ask General Wiranto to resign from the post of Minister for Politics and Security. Gus Dur saw Wiranto as an impediment to the military reform plan and allegations of human rights abuses. Gus Dur's relationship with the TNI worsened when Gus Dur reformed the military. Not only that in 2000 appeared two scandals of Gus Dur namely Buloggate and Bruneigate scandals. The 2000 General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) was almost over, Gus Dur's popularity was still high. Gus Dur's allies such as Megawati, Akbar Tanjung, and Amien Rais are still loyal to

him despite scandals and ministerial dismissals. In the general assembly of the MPR, Gus Dur's speech was accepted by the majority of the MPR. In September, Gus Dur declared martial law in Maluku. Many *Laskar Jihad* is armed by the TNI. In West Papua Gus Dur allowed the Morning Star flag to fly as long as its position was under the banner of Indonesia. On 24 December there was a bomb attack on churches in Jakarta and eight cities in Indonesia. At the end of 2000, many political elites were disillusioned with Gus Dur including Amien Rais as chairman of the MPR disappointed to have supported the president last year. At the end of November, 151 members of the House of Representatives came to the petition demanding Gus Dur's resignation.

In January 2001, Gus Dur inaugurated the Chinese New Year (Imlek) into an optional holiday and lifted the ban on the use of Chinese characters. At a meeting with the rectors, Gus Dur gave a speech and stated that Indonesia would have anarchism. Gus Dur proposed the dissolution of the House of Representatives if that happened. From the meeting with the rectors throughout Indonesia resulted in the addition of Anti-Gus Dur movement. On 1 February the House of Representatives issued a memorandum containing the holding of the Special Session of the People's Consultative Assembly for the impeachment of the president. The memorandum caused a protest between NU and the protests of NU members in the East Java Golkar office. In March Gus Dur retaliated against the opposition in his cabinet. Yusril Ihza Mahendra as Minister of Justice and Human Rights was removed for requesting Gus Dur to resign. Then also Nur Mahmudi Ismail as Minister of Forestry was removed for different reasons visions, contrary to Gus Dur. Susilo Bambang

Yudhoyono, who at that time served as Coordinating Minister for Political, Social and Security Affairs (Menkopolhukam) was dismissed for refusing Gus Dur's order to declare a state of emergency with his four ministers reshuffle. Finally, Amien Rais as the MPR declared that the Special Session of the People's Consultative Assembly would be held on July 23. Hearing about the plan of the MPR Special Session on the President's impeachment. Gus Dur finally issued a Presidential Decree containing (1) Dissolution of MPR / DPR, (2) Restoring sovereignty in hand the people by speeding up elections within a year and (3) freezing the Golkar party as a form of resistance against the Special Session of the MPR. But the decree was not supported and finally on July 23, the MPR officially deposed Gus Dur as President and replaced it with Megawati Soekarno Putri. (Hamid, 2014: 66).

B. The root of Political Thought Mahatma Gandhi's Political Thought On Pluralism

1. The Roots of Political Thought Mahatma Gandhi On Pluralism

1.1 Nonviolence and Satyagraha

Nonviolence can be called *Ahimsa*, but that means not just that. *Ahimsa* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *han*, which means "to kill". His means "desire to kill". Prefix a- is a form of negation. So *Ahimsa* means "not having enough desire to kill", but there are many meanings contained in it. When Nonviolence is only defined as being "not doing anything" then its meaning will be lost. Nonviolence is the noblest expression of truth from Gandhi for the path to truth. *Ahimsa* and truth are like two

sides of a coin. If we look at the wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi, then the movement he does about Nonviolence is to have no meaning to attack others, especially for weak reasons. It should not harbor evil thoughts against others and should not be unlawful to the enemy. Simply put into practice in everyday life, Nonviolence is an act that comes from the idea that humans can solve a nonviolent problem as a better way than through violence. This is as we often see with the deliberation, diplomacy, discussion to get the so-called intersection with the hope of not harming and not oppressing each other. (Easwaran, 2014: 77).

Nonviolence to apply it needs a name of sacrifice because nonviolence is not easy to do because it is influenced by various factors such as emotional man, a clash of interests, principles, and ideology. Nonviolence grew out of Gandhi's life experience that Nonviolence was the only way to resolve the conflict problem permanently. Gandhi felt that violence was not a solution but a deceptive solution and instilled a bitter and hostile seed that would ultimately only disrupt the situation. Nonviolence like a charity must start from self. The practice of nonviolence is not a simple thing, and Gandhi never said it was simply because nonviolence included words, thoughts, and actions. Nonviolence is not weak. Nonviolence is a resistance by using kindness and sympathy, but by the determination that whatever opponents of nonviolence defend the principle.

The true attitude of abstinence is if we love those who hate us. It is difficult to apply in such a way the law of noble love. But the blessing of God, the most difficult thing will be easy to do as long as we try. Every prophet and avatar once taught *Ahimsa*, and none of them taught *himsa*. Humans as a kind of animals already had

himsa, but in the soul, there is still *ahimsa*. At the time of his awareness, in the soul and body of the man, it is impossible to continue to be violent. He can only choose *ahimsa* or pursue extermination. That is why prophets and avatars carry the doctrine of truth, harmony, brotherhood, justice and so on. And each is the properties of *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa* or nonviolent understanding is a force that can be used by everyone if they put faith in a loving God and love all humankind. If abstinence is accepted as the law of life, it will penetrate the whole body of the soul. (Gandhi, 2016: 105).

While *Satyagraha* means that *Satya* is interpreted as "Which Is" while *Agraha* is defined as "impose" tend to be stubborn. *Satyagraha* is a stubborn determination by holding fast to the truth. *Satyagraha* has a meaning that many people use the term globally. *Satyagraha* is a way to resolve conflicts without involving violence at all levels. Usage starts with the self, the family environment itself and progresses to the community, institution, the country. Wherever the conflict occurs without violence, *Satyagraha* has significance. *Satyagraha* is energy that can be used by individuals as well as community-communities. *Satyagraha* can be used in politics as well as in domestic affairs. Its universal application shows that *Satyagraha* is durable and invincible. (Easwaran, 2014: 70).

Gandhi has been testing *Satyagraha* in South Africa for seven years and shows that it works in a foreign country against a strong and hostile government. Gandhi returns to India as a retired man with experience in nonviolent resistance. Gandhi was so confident he could liberate India politically and power from British colonialism without war and violence. *Satyagraha* is a spiritual power, a potential, a source of worthy power and belongs to all individual even though a few are

conscious. When Gandhi was in South Africa, *Satyagraha* implied "truth (*Satya*) implies love and firmness (*agraha*) makes existence. It, therefore, acts as an energy that comes from truth and love.

Satyagraha has existed since ancient times. But Gandhi was the first to define his principles and apply on a larger scale by demonstrating the ability of the Satyagraha. Gandhi develops Satyagraha in a simple way that can be understood by ordinary people. Satyagraha does not require high education or special training because Satyagraha is founded on the natural law of man. We all have the capacity of Satyagraha in us. Satyagraha is a pure and simple soul power. In 1908 in South Africa, Gandhi popularized the term Satyagraha. He popularized the Satyagraha movement, and in his struggle, Gandhi defines Satyagraha as an energy arising from truth, love, and nonviolence. Satyagraha produced several movements such as parades, strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience. That for Gandhi Satyagraha is a form of energy arising from the search for truth and steadfast obedience to nonviolence. (Eswaran, 2014: 226).

When establishing Sabarmati Ashram (Community) to teach Satyagraha, Gandhi asked *Satyagrahis* to follow and obey the principles of Satyagraha are nonviolence, truth (honesty, full life or accordingly, and serve the right), not stealing, (*Brahmacharya*), possessing not the wishes of worldly possessions (self-ownership), working out of one's own power and body, controlling desires, equal respect for all religions, loving domestic products (*swadeshi*) and free from caste.

1.2 Democracy and the People

Mahatma Gandhi's idea of democracy is that under the democratic system, the weak should have equal positions and opportunities with strong people. This democracy is unlikely to happen if the idea of abstinence can be done. Because genuine democracy for the benefit of society many can never be achieved if it is done by a false effort by attempting violence. Thus it will not be possible to create individual freedom, for the freedom of a person will only be able to apply freely to a government based on ahimsa or nonviolence. Democracy merely arises in our shared inner strength and is determined by our ability to resist great powers. We need not pursue rights because the trust rights are sourced from obligations. If we all carry out our obligations, it will be easy for us to pursue rights. (Gandhi, 2016: 170).

Political power is not an end goal, but a means to improve the fate of society in various issues of life. Political power means the ability to organize social life and statehood through representatives of the people. If social life is as perfect as regulating ourselves, then we no longer need the people's representatives. True democracy is the result of the notion of violence. The structure of the Federation of the world will only be built on the ground of nonviolence. In all the world's affairs, the supposedly violent method must be completely removed from the world. Gandhi hopes to succeed in proving that democracy will be achieved not by the power achieved by a small number of inhabitants but by the ability of all the people to oppose the abused power. Democracy will be achieved by educating the masses so that the people will be aware of their ability to control and control their power. We are accustomed to assuming that power comes only from the people's legislature. Gandhi saw this as a big mistake causing obstacles and hypnotism. Whereas the fact

that power lies in the hands of the people and then delegated to the elected representatives of the people. Parties have no power except the will of the people. Gandhi, therefore, says that Gandhi does not want India to be free from British oppression, but also free from any party, including the Indian government.

A true democrat is destined to be a superior disciplinarian because the democratic attitude comes naturally to a person who has sincerely obeyed every earthly law and the law of God. Gandhi asserted that he became a democrat based on instinct and education. Let those who desire to worship democracy prove their sincerity. Because a true democrat cannot be selfish or his party. It is merely the interests of democracy and the masses. Gandhi respects freedom, but with freedom do not forget that man is a social being. Man achieves his dignity now because he succeeds in adjusting his individualist nature to the journey of social progress. Individuals without control as well as the law of the jungle. We have found a middle ground between individual freedom and social constraints. The willingness to submit to social obstacles in the interest of the whole society will be advantageous to the person concerned and to the community to which he belongs. (Gandhi, 2016: 175).

A leader of the people must be firm also not to be carried away by the flow of people if the leader is seriously avoiding the influence of the people for the progress of an orderly state. A leader sometimes has to be opposed to the will of many peoples, if the will of society is contrary to reason. While a useless person is a leader, who is opposed to the will of his instincts because people who diverse views surround him. So a leader will be floating as a ship is not anchored if he does not follow his instinctive voice. Democracy is an effort that is in line with the goal of

freeing itself from the control of the nation's government and foreign nation intervention. A democratic government will be disappointing if its people expect that the government will regulate the whole life of its people. The democratic system does not mean a state by which the population prospered like sheep.

The existing freedom that we can achieve will only be comparable with the inner freedom that we have succeeded in building at a time. This is the right view of freedom or independence. Our primary energy must be shown to create inner renewal. A true democrat is he who defends his freedom by applying the notion of violence while maintaining the independence of his nation and all humankind. Because democracy cannot go hand in hand with violence. Different countries that call their democratic country openly totalitarian. If it is truly democratic, it must be strong to support abstinence. In Gandhi's view, the only way we need to achieve democracy is the ability to defend ourselves against the whole world and to live a life of perfect freedom despite its many flaws. (Gandhi, 2016: 178).

1.3 World Peace

There will be no one who can achieve inner progress while the people around him suffer. Gandhi is therefore convinced that if one experiences an inward progression, then the whole world enjoys it and if one gets mired, then the whole world also plummets too. Nature can be sustainable thanks to the mutual affection from man to nature and nature to man. What humans live on this earth is not life because of destruction. Likewise, with the life of the nation, the nation will live in

harmony because there are a sense of mutual love and care in the community. Every human being is equal in the sight of God. Although there are differences in tribes and nations as well as differences in degrees and dignity. But the higher the dignity of a person, the higher the responsibility. The mission of a Gandhi is not limited only to the harmony of the fraternity of the Indian Nation or not just limited to achieving the independence of India despite all its lifespan for India. But with Indian independence Gandhi hopes to be able to continue the mission for the fraternal harmony of all mankind on this earth. (Gandhi, 2016: 145).

The patriotic sense of a Gandhi is not isolated but very wide in scope, and Gandhi strongly rejects patriotism that achieves triumph over misery and oppression above other nations. In the eyes of Gandhi patriotism is very meaningless if it does not create prosperity for all humanity. Patriotism must be sourced from a religion that includes all living things including living creatures such as caterpillars and worms that crawl. It is impossible for a person to adhere to internationalism if without a nationalism. Internationalism will be done if nationalism has become real. If all nations in different countries have refrained themselves so that they can act as the unity. The sense of nationalism is not an attitude of evil but a crime of pettiness, egoism and an attitude of exclusivism that is a negative attitude of every nation. Today's nations each want to be a glorious, advanced and great nation by seeking profit by harming other nations. The pursuit of glory by tearing down other nations.

Reciprocal linkages and dependencies should be the ideals of mankind apart from the desire for self-sufficiency. Man is a social being. Without association with society, it is impossible to realize unity with the entire universe, and it is unlikely that

there is any sense of self-interest. One cannot achieve absolute self-sufficiency because one day it will require the help of a member of his family or his neighbor. Otherwise, it means a saying that the whole world is my relative. One's obligations to his obligations, to his family, to his nation and the whole world, are related. It is impossible for a person to contribute to his homeland by harming himself or his family. Likewise, it is impossible for the people to be meritorious to their homeland by harming the outside world. We must die to ensure the survival of the family, while a family must die for the survival of the nation and a nation must die for the survival of the whole world. But the first step is to purify yourself. When our hearts are pure, we immediately realize what our obligations are at all times. The way it starts is an attitude of caring for the whole world and looking at all humanity as a brother. (Gandhi, 2016: 147).

Gandhi lives for the sake of Indian independence, and Gandhi is willing to die to achieve this ideal because it is an element of truth. Gandhi tried to liberate the Indian nation because the *Swadeshi* beliefs taught him that Gandhi was born in India and inherited Indian culture. But Gandhi's patriotism is not narrow-minded. Gandhi's patriotism does not want to harm other nations but aims to benefit every nation because it is impossible that India's independence is a threat to all nations of the world. Sacrificing the homeland does not mean at the expense or take away the wealth of other countries and not to degrade the dignity of other nations. Gandhi did not want Indian independence to destroy the English country or kill all the English. He longed for Indian independence for other countries to draw lessons from an

independent Indian nation. So that all resources of the homeland can be used for the benefit of all people.

There is no obstacle for Gandhi to extend his devotion to all nations by crossing the borders of every country. Because in essence God never created the borders of every country. Gandhi's goal is to forge the friendship of all people in the world by combining love by resisting evil. For Gandhi patriotism as well as a love for mankind because Gandhi himself is human. In his insight, there is no place for imperialism. This attitude is shown to oppose the system that was built by the British because of the nature of greed and oppression to the weak. Gandhi appealed to them to cooperate with India on the basis and conditions set by India. Then it will be all right for India, Britain, Europe and all the world at large. Therefore, to help other nations first rescue their nation. Indian nationalism is neither exclusive nor aggressive nor decisive. Indian nationalism is healthy, religious and humane.

We are equally human beings, Gandhi does not want any difference. We have the same virtues and the same falsehood. Perhaps humans are divided among thousands of spaces, but each must have a relationship with each other. Gandhi would not be able to say that India is everything and let all the other nations of the world perish. But Gandhi would say India is everything if it is in keeping with the welfare of all the nations of the world. Gandhi would only be able to preserve the unity of India as well as the integrity of Indian independence if Gandhi intended well to the whole human family. Gandhi asserted that the teaching of abstinence prevails between the state and the state. Gandhi realized that he had alluded to the very delicate issue of World War II. But Gandhi felt the need to do so to confirm his

position. Because according to Gandhi for each side of the war aims to pursue greatness by distributing the loot taken from the weak nations. (Gandhi, 2016: 148).

2. The Root of Abdurrahman Wahid's Political Thought On Pluralism

2.1 Islamic Humanism

Gus Dur's thinking that we know is always controversial and difficult to understand. Gus Dur's thoughts often crashed into the understanding of Indonesian society, especially the Muslim community. Gus Dur's controversy was not only present since he became President, but also from his youth. Gus Dur's various explosions are controversial since in his right. They have broken the lines of common understanding among Muslim communities and Indonesians. But this illustrates the cloudy lines of understanding of the cloud society that need to be banged. The pounding of thought that Gus Dur had done for the sake of a deeper understanding of the problems previously thought to be mediocre society. Substantively, however, the controversy over Gus Dur's thoughts was due in part to his lack of understanding. That is, the people do not understand the basis of the mindset and normative goals of Gus Dur's thinking. If that can be understood, the

controversy can be alleviated. Gus Dur's thinking is different from the understanding of ordinary people. The reason is that Gus Dur thinks through reflection from rich literature of thought.

Gus Dur's political thought was based on a commitment to humanity and Islam. If in the formulation of the root of Gus Dur's thought is a meeting of mindset between Islam and humanity. Because the principle and purpose of Gus Dur's thinking refer to the defence of high humanity and is based on Islamic tradition. The meeting between Islam and humanity of Gus Dur can be read from the verses of Al-Quran (Al-Maidah [5]: 32), *waman ahyaha fakaannamaahya al-naasa jami'a*. Whoever helps one's life is as if he has helped all humankind. The meeting was also implied in Gus Dur's explanation that religion and humanity should be united. As he said that religion without humanity would bear fundamentalism. From these two phrases, it can be understood that Gus Dur based the principle of humanity in the Islamic tradition and presented the humanitarian principle into the principle of Islam.

In this respect, Gus Dur's humanitarian principles are in harmony with modern humanism. Gus Dur's encounter with humanism can be seen from Gus Dur's interest in European culture and civilization, especially in humanism, rationalism, and democracy. On humanism, Gus Dur was interested and agreed with the struggle for the elevation of human dignity above any institution. On rationalism, Gus Dur was interested in the use of reason for the perfection of human civilisation. While democracy is an ideal political system that can guarantee the fulfilment of basic human rights. Regarding Gus Dur's interest in the traditions of humanism in Europe, Gus Dur as a Muslim based his humanity in the Islamic tradition. For example, the

main purpose of the benefit (*al-mashlahat*) provided by the main purpose of the Shari'a (*maqashid al-syari'ah*), in the form of protection of the right to life (*hifdz al-nafs*), religious rights (*hifdz al-din*), right of think (*hifzd al-'aql*), property rights (*hifdz al-maal*) and the right to sanctity of the family (*hifdz al-nasl*). (Arif, 2013: 65).

Of all the rights, Gus Dur placed the right to life in the first place because the right to life is the most basic right of human life. This is where Gus Dur places democracy as a system that must be fought for because there is a guarantee of two things. First, the freedom of every citizen. Second, the equality of every human being. With the guarantee of liberation, every citizen can determine himself according to the view of life he believes. In this freedom also Gus Dur fought for religious freedom (*hifdz al-din*) and freedom of thought (*hifdz al'aql*). These two kinds of freedom are fundamental in a democratic society because they represent the fulfilment of the most basic rights. Therefore Gus Dur's humanitarian principle then gave birth to the defence of freedom of religion and freedom of thought. From this, we know one side of Gus Dur's struggle as a liberal and pluralist Muslim. Liberal because he puts freedom of thought within the framework of Islamic thought. Pluralist regarding respect for the inter-faith work that governs Gus Dur as "the father of pluralism".

In Gus Dur's view, humanitarian commitment can be used as a basis to solve the main problem of Islamic political action in modern and plural society. The humanitarian commitment is essential to appreciate the attitude of tolerance and have a strong concern for a harmonious social life. So these two basic elements can be the

ideal basis for the mode of political existence of the Islamic community in Indonesia. (Musa, 2010: 87).

2.2 Nationality Plurality

Plurality is the reality of the Indonesian people inherent in the existence of people and society. To pay attention to the plurality of the nation of Indonesia, it is necessary to improve the quality of national insight should get attention. Discourse and political behaviour in a country must be a field to absorb the political heterogeneity of the people. Therefore sectarianism and political insulation in the name of religion and ethnicity must be rejected. In recent times this decline in the spirit of nationalism and prioritizing the spirit of religion, ethnicity, and region has generated narrow solidarity. If the early years of Indonesian independence all citizens dissolve in the awareness of a high nation. But now religious awareness takes precisely the form of sectarian. So that will arise every adherent is only bound by the progress of their respective religions and will generate mutual suspicion among followers of religion. (Musa, 2010: 107).

Therefore there should be value developed in Indonesia as it should be developed the spirit to not only respect others, but also to understand the difficulties it faces. Besides, must be awakened a sense of awareness to emphasize the nation above the group itself. The development is very important to bear the sincere solidarity of various ethnic, religious, cultural and so on as the basis of the formation of the Indonesian nation. The implication of this value is the need to change the

technical viewpoint of statehood, towards a reflective perspective on fundamental issues.

Factually the face of Islam concerning the state is dominated by two major groups namely the inclusive and exclusive groups. The first group argues that Islam should not present itself in its exclusive and symbolic form. Islam must integrate its activities in the nation's activities as a whole. In this group, his movement is an obvious target of caring for the nation with religion While the second group views and allows Islamic teachings embodied in the life of nation and state. Religion is expected to be a problem solver so that the paradigm is to rule the country with religion. Of the two tendencies of the Islamic movement, Gus Dur is the figure who pioneered the first group. This can be seen from the views and thoughts of its cosmopolitan, liberal and non-symbolic sectarian religion. The issue of democratization that Gus Dur fought for all this time is a testament to the uneasiness of seeing the still strong sectarian behaviour in the Islamic movement. The implications of the different paradigms between the two groups gave birth to different political orientations. Gus Dur grouped the two between those who had to enter power and those who did not have to rule. (Musa, 2010: 110).

Due to the paradigm and political orientation of the two are different. It gives rise to different approaches. According to Gus Dur, there are three strikes among Islamic movements in Indonesia. *First*, the socio-political approach that emphasizes the need for participation in the existing system of power. *Second*, the cultural approach of the tendency to display the figure of Islam in everyday life without being too attached to any institution. *Third*, social-cultural approach prioritizes the attitude

of developing views in cultural devices with complemented by efforts to build community institutional system by cultural insights. Among the three approaches, Gus Dur and *Nahdlatul Ulama* prefer the third approach while maintaining the importance of cultural gait in the context of developing institutions that can change the structure of society in the long term. Therefore he does not attach importance to or not in the power system. The most important thing is how Gus Dur and *Nahdlatul Ulama* can incorporate the Islamic agenda into the national agenda because between them cannot be separated. In this case, Gus Dur mentions there are various groups, orientations and political approaches among Muslims who need time to understand and understand each other.

2.3 Implementation of The Democratic Country

The principle of humanity which contains the principles of the right to life, the right to religion, and the right to think it later requires a supportive system of the political system. Of course, the very system that supports and harmonizes with this is the democratic system. At this point shift from Gus Dur's thinking about the man to Gus Dur's political thinking. Because his political thinking that refers to the consent of democracy is a continuation of his thinking on humans. (Arif, 2013: 67).

In Gus Dur's view, democracy is not only a system capable of securing advocacy but having an ethical nuance capable of preserving nonviolent justice. This is because democracy opens the dialogue space in a balanced and parallel to all parties. The decision of democracy does not always go to agreement or consensus,

but higher is the emergence of understanding and appreciation of universal human values. Gus Dur believes that democracy will still be manifested if it places human beings as free and sovereign creatures. (Ahmad, 2000: 315).

The plurality of the Indonesian nation must go hand in hand with the democracy in which there are values of equality and freedom. With democracy, each community can develop creativity and learn to equate views and adulthood in different opinions. Therefore, in the view of Gus Dur, it is necessary to make mutual understanding in the context of democratic maturity rather than the attitude of equal or uniform. For Islam, the big agenda to be developed is democratization. Democracy demands freedom from the plurality, including religion. However, religion is not allowed to display an exclusive and frightening figure. The issue of democratization of Islam is something that is strategic and fundamental to answer the nation's problems. Especially since democracy can unite the forces of the nation. Democratization can change the splendour of the direction each group becomes spinning together toward the maturity, progress, and integrity of the nation. If Islam can fight for democracy, it will be able to contribute something of great value to the nation's future. (Musa, 2010: 112).

Democratization is the foundation of hope for those who reject the use of the state for the benefit of religion and provide a place for religion. If society lives in a democratic climate, religion will be assured. This is an appeal to people who are fanatical about religious symbols. Democratization will instead show the face of a peaceful religion without suspicion and anger. The democratization of Islam requires that Muslims themselves be ready to welcome it. Because the main weakness of the

majority of Muslims is more to think for himself. In this context, Gus Dur said that democratization should take and give. No one can force others to abandon their religious beliefs. Pluralism will be preserved if there is a democracy and the Indonesian nation will be rich and strong if it is to maintain a pluralistic soul.

Gus Dur's consistency to develop democracy and tolerance within the Pancasila state can be seen in the formation of the Democracy Forum where he is the Chair of the Working Group (Pokja) with Romo Mangun Wijaya, Frans Magnis Suseno, Harry Tjan Silalahi, Marsilam Simanjuntak, Todung Mulya Lubis and so on. Democracy Forum concludes that the maturation process of the nation is nothing but through the community's intelligence. Democracy, as well as the state, is never perfect and satisfying. The willingness to accept this fact provokes the determination always to seek continuous improvement to approach perfection and to prevent the deterioration, congestion, deviation, and imbalance. Limiting the notion of democracy merely to the existence of institutions only and allowing the distribution of all aspirations only through the institution that was inaugurated will be felt sufficient given the level of pluralist society. The democracy that Gus Dur desired, as written by Zainal Arifin Thoha is a democracy that operates in the reality of plural society. That is the existence of various groups and groups that are different even contradictory. Including those based on religion, ethnicity, beliefs and interests as well as other basic groupings that are equally entitled to be considered for their aspirations in political decisions.

Gus Dur consistently developed democracy and pluralism not only in the external life of nationality but also in the internal environment of Nahdlatul Ulama.

Internally he was directly involved in the policy-making process "back to NU declaration 1926". With that policy, NU people can maximise their human resources to focus more on religious and social activities. Externally through the Gus Dur Democracy Forum was able to take from the centre of power to control the government's development measures critically. His wide association with heterogeneous minority groups makes him a shield that protects minorities. For example adherents of a non-Islamic religion and also non-indigenous people. Abdurrahman's figure is no longer considered as belonging to NU and Islam alone, but also has become a symbol and belonged to the nation. This judgment proved to be true at the time Abdurrahman died. Millions of people from various groups, tribes, religions, origins, and social background came to pilgrimage to his grave and bowed to the departure of the nation's teacher, the father of plurality and the democracy fighter. (Musa, 2010).

In Gus Dur's view democracy is a process because democracy cannot be viewed as a complete and perfect system. Democracy contains a process that implies that the concrete level of implementation of democratic principles is paramount. The state and conditions of democracy may vary, grow or degenerate depending on the balance of forces prevailing. For Gus Dur the foundation of democracy is justice in the sense of open opportunity to all people and also the independence to organize life according to its purpose. Democracy demands justice that requires the autonomy of every individual. But democracy does not recognise absoluteness because democracy is fundamentally a process of continuous bargaining and negotiation. Thus democracy always leaves things that are still negotiable. In this context, Gus Dur

argued that the struggle to uphold democracy cannot be done with a single one. But it takes a long time, seriousness and patience are high.

The issue of democratization is something that is strategic and functional to answer the nation's problems because democracy can unite the power of the nation. Democracy is a cornerstone of hope for those who reject the use of the state for the benefit of religion and provide a place for religion. For Gus Dur, the symbolically-formal Islamic movement is not strategic for the plural nation's condition with the potential for conflict. Formal-symbolic movement model will lead to the self-defensive system (self-endurance). As a result, will cause tension between groups and will provoke the birth of new problems in the process of nation-building. (Ghofur, 2002: 06)

In realizing the idea of democracy, Gus Dur was more likely to place the struggle only as part of the struggle to create a more democratic life in this country. Therefore, according to him, the most important thing now is how to strengthen the democratic political mechanism. Democratic political mechanisms by itself will benefit the majority Muslims. Which position will be more decisive in giving direction to the struggle of this nation. According to Gus Dur, a democratic political mechanism would put each political group proportionally by itself. And most importantly in a rational and healthy mechanism, it will certainly be more legitimate than its position obtained through formal power lines. The only way is to strengthen the community's credibility.

Gus Dur commits to socialize and apply the teachings of Islam in the context of Indonesia. However, in his view, Islam and its teachings are not easy to direct in Indonesia in which there is a plural society. According to him, Islamic teachings must adapt to the socio-cultural of the local community. Therefore the teaching should be positioned as a compliment and not a supplement to be translated and dialogued by considering local customs. In the view of Gus Dur, Islamic law does not need to be formally enacted in national legislation. But how can Islamic law be created to be a source of inspiration of national law, so that it will be able to play a double role in the life of the state and society by becoming a private law and as an inspiration to national law. With this event, the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah values can be implemented.

The way of politics that Gus Dur championed consistently was a commitment to a national political order produced by the proclamation of independence, containing all citizens having the same degree regardless of the origin, religion, race, and ethnicity of the language. Thus, the politics of Indonesian Muslims must be bound by that commitment. The implication of this commitment to equality is Gus Dur's rejection of the idea of establishing Islamic society and state as the political objective of Muslims in Indonesia. Therefore Gus Dur is not convinced that in Islam there is a definitive concept of state, so the imposition of the application of Islamic Law as a single order of state administration is unfounded. In upholding the country, the most important is to absorb the aspirations of the diversity of society. In the context of nationality, this problem is also understood as an attempt to perform a more certain form of the state but gives an opportunity to religion by not

democratizing other religions. This problem according to Gus Dur can be answered with the democratization process. (Ghofur, 2002: 09)

Democracy becomes a must that must be fulfilled because democracy strongly supports the upholding of national pluralism. In the modern world, democracy can unify the diverse directions of national tendencies. Democracy can change the divisions of each group toward the maturity, progress, and integrity of the nation. Democracy becomes so important in a pluralistic country because a whole national life can only be achieved and grow in a democratic environment. For Gus Dur the upholding of community pluralism is not merely a peaceful pattern of coexistence, as it is still very vulnerable to the emergence of misunderstandings between groups of people which at times may cause disintegration. Moreover, should pluralism create an awareness to get to know each other and dialogue sincerely so that one group with each other give each other and receive. Because one of the substances of democracy is freedom to give and receive. (Masdar, 1999: 144).

2. Comparison of Political Thoughts Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman

Wahid On Pluralism

3.1 The Equations of Political Thought Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman

Wahid On Pluralism

Gandhi is the Father as well as the Master of Nations for India. The great figure who was born in Porbandar on October 2, 1869, was initially very intent to be able to unite Hindu-Islam in the format of one Indian state after previously managed

to free him from British colonialism. But his hopes were running aground. The "Great Soul" (Mahatma) died before his wish came true. Nevertheless, Gandhi with his strong intentions and sincerity has become a role model of courage and integrity for the people of India in their political struggle through nonviolent means. More than half a century after his death, Gandhi is still an inspiration to millions of people around the world (Kencana: 2001).

Gandhi is indeed a great character. Gandhi's path was born out of his vast sense of awareness of suffering as a means of attaining divine truth. An "ism" which came to be known as Gandhi's teaching; "Satyagraha" (power of truth), "ahimsa" (nonviolence) and "passion" (suffering from an injury). His efforts to end discrimination in South Africa in 1893, his leadership in the popular revolution from 1914 to the end of British domination in India in August 1947. Gandhi emerged as a man with inner conflict as well as having a great political genius and a powerful force for change. Since the age of 24, Gandhi is a symbol of civil-society fighters who are very concerned with civil rights of citizens and protectors of minorities. Thanks to his integrity and his defence of the enormous people, the people felt that he belonged to Gandhi. Indian people as if no matter even though her idol figure was gone. "*Mahatma Gandhi Amar Rahe!*" Mahatma Gandhi never died, so the assumption was in their minds; a form of extraordinary love.

There are similarities in Gandhi and Gus Dur's political thinking about pluralism we can see when Gus Dur was in Cairo getting a permanent job at the Indonesian embassy. Towards the end of 1965, the work at the embassy gave him a new challenge that was never expected so that Gus Dur experienced a traumatic

political situation that gave rise to Gus Dur's emotional side. Besides trauma as I feared the tension between the left and the right in Indonesia would result in a massive confrontation and bloodbath. Gus Dur also felt the dilemma because NU was involved in the nation's problems. The event became a political event that helped shape Gus Dur's political perceptions to resist and resist violence, thus forming the basis for political values. After deepening Gandhi's history in India in conducting an anti-violent political movement against the regime, Gus Dur's political values then encouraged the spirit of Gandhi's nonviolence political movement, which Gus Dur called cultural resistance. This movement was ultimately the ideology of the movement against potentially violent tyranny, both derived from power structures as well as from Islam's political cases, including the military. (Ahmad, 201: 338).

There are several records to prove the extent to which Gus Dur is close to Gandhi's value, history and moral struggle, which I define concerning the similarities between them. The equation of both;

First, Gandhi and Gus Dur are humanitarian fighters, civil rights of citizens, religious leaders, patrons and protector of minorities. The killing of Gandhi by Nathuram Godse, a follower of radical Hinduism on January 30, 1948, is based on his suspicions and hatred because Gandhi is considered more concerned with Muslims than his Hindu people. Gandhi was even accused of being a "prophet" of a Muslim. What Gandhi did was to carry out a humanitarian mission to create peace in the Indian conflict regardless of religion. The same thing happened to Gus Dur. By the fundamentalist Islamist group that is heavily incorporated in the parties that exist in the Central Axis, he is accused of being closer to non-Muslims when compared to

the Muslims themselves. Gus Dur was once accused of being an Israeli, anti-Islamic, henchman, communist- Kyai and so on. Though the allegations are a slander committed by the government of the new order because of Gus Dur always contrary to the government. At that time Gus Dur was slandered by the New Order government by pitting Moslems against other religions.

Gandhi and Gus Dur the two figures are fighting for humanism. Because humanism is a notion that puts humanity at the centre of reality. Man is so exalted because he is indeed the noblest creature who has the ability, not only technical but also normative. Humanism and Religion cannot be separated because religion without humanity will cause an imbalance in religious life and state. To fight for humanism, both figures are equally involved in politics by practising pluralism politics with the sacrifice of thought and struggle.

Second, Mahatma Gandhi and Gus Dur are both fighting for democracy during their lifetime. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of democracy is that under the democratic system, the weak should have equal positions and opportunities with strong people. Minorities get equal justice with the majority. Democracy according to Gandhi is a thing that can not be separated from the nonviolent teaching. Because this democracy is not possible if the idea of abstinence violence can be done. True democracy for the benefit of society can never be achieved if it is done by a false effort by attempting violence. Thus it would not be possible to create individual freedom because the freedom of a person would only be applicable freely under a government based on ahimsa or nonviolent violence. Democracy merely arises in our shared inner strength and is determined by our ability to resist great powers. True

democracy is the result of the notion of violence. Gandhi hopes to succeed in proving that democracy will be achieved not by the power achieved by a small number of inhabitants but by the ability of all the people to oppose the abused power.

While the nature of Gus Dur's view, democracy is not only a system capable of guaranteeing advocacy alone but has an ethical nuance capable of maintaining the birth of nonviolent justice. This is because democracy opens the dialogue space in a balanced and parallel to all parties. The decision of democracy does not always lead to agreement or consensus, but higher is the emergence of understanding and appreciation of universal human values. Gus Dur believes that democracy will still be manifested if it places human beings as free and sovereign creatures. The democratic system is a very supportive and harmonious system for supporting humanitarian principles that contain the principles of the right to life, the right to religion, and the right to think. With democracy, the plurality of the Indonesian nation will be protected.

Third, neither Gandhi nor Gus Dur has integrity, a high commitment to nationality issues. Gandhi can be close to anyone, both to Nehru and Patel (India) or to Ali Jinnah (Pakistan), the two warring factions. Gandhi could position himself as a mediator of conflict by his title as "Master of the Nation" for wanting no division in India. Gandhi lives for the sake of Indian independence, and Gandhi is willing to die to achieve the ideals of India because this is an element of true truth. Gandhi tried to liberate the Indian nation because the swadeshi beliefs taught him that Gandhi was born in India and inherited Indian culture. But Gandhi's patriotism is not narrow-minded. Likewise with Gus Dur. During the reform period, he maintained good

relations with Soeharto, Habibie, and other former New Order political elites. On another occasion, Gus Dur also kept Indonesia from the threat of disintegration of state sovereignty and security. Such as resolving conflicts occurred in some areas in Indonesia and separatist threats. Among them is a smooth political approach to conflict areas. Like peacefully settling the Aceh conflict, neutralizing it by supporting the use of the name of Papua by substituting the name of Irian Jaya and defending the Chinese to gain equal rights as Indonesian Citizens. (Salim, 1999: 78).

Fourth, either Gandhi or Gus Dur had experienced a failure of power orientation for the interests of the people they expected. Gandhi failed to achieve the power that was intended to unite India from division until the end of his life. While Gus Dur, failing to defend the regime he had achieved, was ineffective. Their political fate ends tragically. Gandhi was killed, Gus Dur rolled over.

Table 1.1 :

The Equations Gandhi and Gus Dur's Political Thought of Pluralism

No	Equation of Thought	Information
1.	Humanism	Gandhi and Gus Dur rejected violence against humans.
2.	Democracy	According to Gandhi democracy can not be separated by the teachings of non-violence while according to Gus Dur, democracy can maintain justice without violence.
3.	Religious	Gandhi and Gus Dur are two very religious figures putting forward and using the teachings of religion in every struggle of their life.
4.	Nationalism	Gandhi fought for the independence of the State of India from colonialism and Gus Dur against the dictatorial rule and the threat of national disintegration.
5.	Pluralism	Gandhi protected all religions in one shelter of the Indian state and Gus Dur protected religion, tribes and races from various

		threats.
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Source: Research Results Writer

3.2 The Differences of Political Thought Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman Wahid About Pluralism

After the authors discussed the similarities of Gandhi and Gus Dur's political thought above, automatic differences in the political thought of Gandhi and Gus Dur should also be discussed. Because of differences in background, time and place between the two figures are very different and can affect how the pattern of thinking both figures. Therefore, the authors conclude the differences of the political thought of Gandhi and Gus Dur associated with events at that time.

First, Gandhi is a Hindu religionist. He was born from a family of board officials who are very simple, disciplined and obedient in carrying out his religious teachings. His mother Gandhi always reminds Gandhi to always obey the teachings of Hindus and do not violate the ban. During his lifetime, Gandhi was very obedient to his religious teachings. Whatever He does, He always reflects on his teachings. Hinduism has united in him. So the struggle that Gandhi has done like Nonviolence, Ahimsha and Swadeshi are all Hindu religious teachings inspired by the Bhagavad Gita. Gus Dur is an adherent of Islam. Gus Dur was born to a very respected family in the Muslim community in East Java. Gus Dur was born to be the grandson of his grandfather from his very famous father, KH. Hasyim Asyari, founder of the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Islamic organization in the world.

Second, the period between Gandhi and Gus Dur's struggle was very different. Gandhi's struggle to end discrimination in South Africa (1893), his leadership in the revolution of the Indian people (since 1914) until the end of British domination in India (August 1947). In that period, Gandhi fought during World War One and Two. So in his mind, he strongly rejected the oppression and violence perpetrated by the colony of Great Britain so that the reaction rejected colonialism. Under the circumstances in Gandhi, there was a sense of socialism and nationalism by helping those who were oppressed and engaged in the struggle of the Indian Independence Movement.

While the struggle of Gus Dur is not the time of colonialism, but the time of independence of Indonesia when the new order and reform era. In the New Order era, Gus Dur was very persistent against the government through journalism when he worked in LP3S and through organisations when he became chairman of NU. In the period before and after reform Gus Dur always struggled to fight to resolve the conflicts of the nation's problems such as religious, ethnic and racial conflicts. With political thought putting forward multiculturalism, Gus Dur could solve it.

Third, Gandhi is the "Master of the Nation" as well as the Father of the Nation-for the Indians, even possible for the world. While Gus Dur, among the people of Indonesia many who recognise as Teachers of the Nation there is also not. Who does not recognise Gus Dur as Teacher of Nation because Gus Dur is more interested in dropping his choice as president of Indonesia. The title of "Nation Teacher" was guaranteed to be carried Gus Dur, if only Gus Dur did not run for president. It would be better for Gus Dur to be a mediator and to be a reference for

every one of the problems facing this nation. Gus Dur's central role and position after the fall of Soeharto (1998) can serve as evidence. Not only political friends, opponents came to visit him. In fact, the position as a person who became a central national figure was done by his grandfather, Hadhratussyaikh KH Hasyim Asy'ari in the era of Indonesia's independence turbulence. Almost all of the leading figures, political elites and clerics of that era had close ties to Kiai Hasyim, such as Great Commander General Sudirman, Bung Tomo, and other scholars. The difference, Kiai Hasyim did not want to get too involved with the power and position like Gus Dur.

Fourth, difference Gandhi's desire to sit in the chair of power in the Indian government, was not accomplished, as Nehru and Patel, backed by the British colonials, did not give it to him. On the contrary, Gus Dur was elected as the 5th President of Indonesia (August 1999-July 2001), although his party's achievement (PKB) in the 1999 General Election was not a majority (only 13%).

Table 1.2:

The Differences of Political Thought Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman Wahid About Pluralism

NO	Difference	Gandhi	Gus Dur	Information
1	Religion	Hindu	Islam	Gandhi is a Hindu. He was born from a family

2	The Ideology of Struggle	Anti Colonialism	Multiculturalism	<p>of board officials who are very simple, disciplined and obedient in carrying out his religious teachings. Gus Dur is an adherent of Islam. Gus Dur was born to a very respected family in the Muslim community in East Java.</p> <p>Gandhi was very persistent against British colonial oppression with the Nonviolence movement and led the Indian independence movement. While Gus Dur always struggled to fight to resolve the</p>
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3.	Practical Politics	Do not have a political party	Established National Awakening Party (PKB)	<p>conflicts of the nation's problems such as religious, ethnic and racial conflicts. With political thinking that puts forward multiculturalism.</p> <p>Gandhi's desire to sit in the chair of power in the Indian government did not come true, because Nehru and Patel, backed by British colonials, did not give him that opportunity. Gus Dur was elected as the 5th president of Indonesia (August 1999-July 2001), although his party's achievement (PKB) in the 1999 election was</p>
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4.	Source of Inspiration	Bhagavad Gita	Al-Qu'ran	<p>not a majority (only 13%).</p> <p>The teachings of nonviolence and Ahimsa were infiltrated from the book of Bhagavad and The doctrine of pluralism and humanity of Gus Dur studied in the Qur'an</p>
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Source: Research Results Writer

3. Finding and Results of Political Thought Mahatma Gandhi and Abdurrahman Wahid About Pluralism

4.1 Position and Construction of Political Thought Mahatma Gandhi About Pluralism

Gandhi was a nationalist and humanist. Humanist nationalism is a system of thought that upholds Indian independence as well as bringing fraternal mission and advancing world civilisation. There are at least two things to display from Gandhi's humanist nationalism, firstly, regarding the principle of nonviolence. This principle

places humanity as the goal and not the means of the process of the nation's independence movement and secondly, concerning the humanitarian struggle to appoint the Harijans or those "the marginalized".

With the principle of non-violence, the struggle for independence under Gandhi's control is a struggle with spiritual power in the form of the satyagraha movement. The principle of nonviolence underlies the formation of a non-attacking, difficult, or even oppressive oppositionist model so that the opposition movement voiced by Gandhi is far from the frenetic revolutionary movement. Thus it can be said that the satyagraha movement is difficult to fall into the physical conflicts that can cause casualties. The power of Satyagraha movement lies in the appreciation of the people towards Ahimsa, and this is certainly difficult because the nature of resistance is to defeat the opponent with suffering, therefore it is not surprising that in the article we see that the Satyagraha movement is not always successful. But this fact itself did not dampen Gandhi's move to keep voicing a nonviolent struggle.

From Gandhi's thoughts and struggles, we can also see that the principle of nonviolence is the moral value underlying his political action. If we examine further, the principle of nonviolence comes from the teachings of Ahimsa, a moral value that has roots in the religious teachings believed to be Gandhi. Although Gandhi adopted religious values as the basis of political action, he was careful not to place them as the basis of national unity. Here it shows that he is a secular figure. On the one hand, God or Truth is recognized as the only justification of human existence. Man personally relates to the Truth through svadharma and dare to account for his behaviour. On the other hand, at the level of national and state life, Gandhi does not

place his religious teachings as the source of the rule of nationhood and state because according to Gandhi, the Indian nation is united by the same culture and not based on a particular religion. The humanist aspect of Gandhi's nationalism is not only prominent in the principle of nonviolence, but also in the ideas of equality and social justice embodied in *Sarvodaya*. *Sarvodaya* is an ideal social order in which humanitarian values are championed to achieve socio-political freedom for millions of poor and marginalised. Along with *Sarvodaya* was born the idea of *Swaraj*, khadi economy, and *panchayat raj*. In general, the idea was born to elevate the Indian nation from the domination of the British people and specifically to liberate the people from oppression in the caste system and the exploitation of the mechanized economic system. This is true *swaraj* or freedom for the Indian nation.

After reading Gandhi's comprehensive idea, we see that Gandhi's personality was born from the circumstances surrounding it. He experiences life as a member of a colonized nation as well as a member of a society living in a sea of poverty. Both situations have not disappeared in the 21st century. We are still witnessing developing countries struggling to be free from the pressure of developed countries, in addition to fighting for poverty in the country. This situation is certainly conducive to international and national conflicts.

To resolve the conflict, Gandhi's teachings on nonviolent principles are relevant enough to be applied, given that political actors often adopt violent acts as a mode of conflict resolution. Another thing that can be emulated is the idea of forming the ideal social order (*Sarvodaya*). Where in that order, values are upheld and embodied in both economic and political institutions. Here Gandhi has realised

that injustice is one of the causes of violence, something he rejects. By realizing these values in economic and political institutions, it is expected that each person can enjoy welfare, equality, and justice and live, so that is imbued with spiritual values such as non-violent principles.

Furthermore, there is one more thing that can be drawn from Gandhi's life and can be referred to in his present life of moral integrity and his attitude as a nationalist. He experiences religious values without being trapped in religious exclusivism. Even those values are developed for the love of humanity so that in Gandhi's minds there is no room for discrimination, on the contrary, the values of equality and respect for human dignity are upheld. Thus, it can be argued that through the principle of nonviolence, anti-discrimination and solidarity with the days or marginalized, Gandhi has contributed significantly to the Indian struggle movement as well as the general humanitarian struggle. (Purbasari, 2007).

4.2 Position and Construction of Abdurrahman Wahid's Political Thought About Pluralism

Construction of Gus Dur's thoughts was first formed from his family. Gus Dur was the first child of Wahid Hasyim. Ever since he was a child, Gus Dur was educated by his father in a cosmopolitan way. For many years living with his father, Gus Dur often accompanied his father to meetings with important figures. Thus, he can witness his father's world filled with various people and events. He can also see how his father lives in his world in a simple way. Wahid Hasyim always try to be

able to invite his son, this is all because it is considered an important part of his education. The figure of a father is very influential in Gus Dur. (Barton, 2003: 44)

Gus Dur's form of thought and the development of his ideas are manifestations of Islamic political thought of neo-modernism in Indonesia. Gus Dur was a serious figure to propose his thoughts to the people to find the ideal formulas to address the political struggle of Indonesian society from 1970 to present. Through a discourse that crossed the mainstream ideas, Gus Dur was able to position himself as an independent thinker, although his anthropological, socio-cultural background strongly shaped his mainstream.

Gus Dur's anthropological constructions position him as part of a group of santri noble who have certain political privileges within the structure of society in Indonesia. So that strategic position has shaped his personality into a dominant and aggressive figure expressing his thoughts and desires. Another cultural factor that helped shape Gus Dur's personality was the influence of his parents' parenting pattern that shaped the political personality of his father. Gus Dur's intellectual qualities also contributed to Gus Dur's positioning in the Indonesian intellectual community. His intellectual journey can be demonstrated by the evidence of approximately 500 essays and articles he produced since 1970. The experimentation of Gus Dur's political ideas which began with the icon of pesantren succeeded in raising his name to the stage of Indonesian intellectualism. (Ahmad, 2010: 373).

The critical construction of the Marxian model became the cause of Gus Dur's foresight in analyzing the Indonesian political field after 1965. Not only that,

Gus Dur undertook serious studies on Western history books and Classical Islam. Through Islamic history, Gus Dur discovered a form of strong resistance and self-inspired militant, the Sufi cultural resistance in the face of *Abassiya's* authoritarian and militaristic rule. While Gus Dur's attempts at discourse resistance in the world of western intellectualism were at the core of the critical resistance of the Frankfurt School in the early 1923s. The Frankfurt school is heavily influenced by the views of Hegel, Marx, and Freud. The three thinkers introduced a scientific and critical approach to the socio-political situation. Other evidence can also be found from the books that Gus Dur read as a child, such as *Das Capital*, *What is to Be Done*, or *Infantile Communism*. So it is not surprising that Gus Dur is very close to the Marxian mindset, even though Gus Dur rejects some of the fundamental principles of Marxism. The rejection is an indication that Gus Dur did not embrace the Indology of Marxism, but accepted the Karl Marx model of materialistic dialectics.

Regarding Gus Dur's interest in European thought, Gus Dur was a Muslim, based on political thought within the Islamic tradition. For example, the main purpose of the benefit (*al-mashlahat*) provided by the main purpose of the Shari'a (*maqashid al-syari'ah*), in the form of protection of the right to life (*hifdz al-nafs*), religious rights (*hifdz al-din*), right of think (*hifzd al-'aql*), property rights (*hifdz al-maal*) and the right to sanctity of the family (*hifdz al-nasl*).

