THE ROLE OF ULAMA IN SUPPORTING ANINDONESIAN MINORITY GROUP: 
THE CASE OF ABDURRAHAMAN WAHID TO KONGHUCU RELIGION IN 1998 – 2001

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

Submitted to Satisfy the Requirement of Attaining the Degree in Political Science of International Program of Government Affairs and Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Written by:

Nuri Triwiyono

20140520196

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS AND ADMINISTRATION FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA 2018
DECLARATION PAGE

Here with I am

Name : Nuri Triwiyono
Student Identification Number : 20140520196
Departement : International Program of Government Affairs and Administration
Faculty : Social and Political Sciences
Research Title : The Role of Ulama in Supporting an Indonesian Minority Group : The Case of Abdurrahman Wahid to Konghucu Religion in 1998-2001

Declaring that this undergraduate thesis is my original work. I never submit this thesis to gain Bachelor Degree in any universities and any publications. I had followed the scientific rules and cited all sources in this thesis. Therefore, this thesis is free from plagiarism. If someday there are certain parties complain and protest to this thesis. I will be responsible and overtime all consequences.

Bantul, March 23rd, 2019

Nuri Triwiyono
MOTTO

“you never fail until you stop trying”

(Albert Einstein)
DEDICATION PAGES

1. To my beloved parents Bapak Yatno & Ibu Erni Setiawati, the reason of what I become today. Thanks for countless love, never ending support, continuous care, and prays.

2. To my young brother Slamet Suyatmiko and young sister Lilis Amyuwati, You have been my inspiration, Thanks for support, help, and pray.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thank you is long overdue. There are so many things I want to thank you for, here is a small token of gratitude for just being by my side in this life and making it worthwhile. My journey would not have been possible without countless blessings and the never-endings support from my family and friends. First of all I want to thank to Allah SWT for giving me this beautiful life, this experience of joy, pain, and sadness. There is nothing I could ask for more.

I deeply thank my family especially my parents, my father Bapak Yatno and my mother Ibu Erni Setiawati for the unconditional trust, timely encouragement and the endless patience. I also don't forget to thank my brother and sister for always loving me, respecting me as your oldest brother, although maybe I make you more disappointed or cry because of my mischief. thank you very much.

My dearest new family Mama Hadritah Adhan dan Bapak Suratno, thank you for being you. You are incredible second parent in my life-time, you are kind inside and out. I thought I just met you yesterday, but I feel like I have known you for a long time, you love me like your biological son, always give support, and trust. It’s more than amazing to meet you, and I’m so grateful for that.

Hutami Puspito Hemas, I really want to write down a long description about you. But I will just keep it in my memories. You have the purest heart that everyone knows about it. Thank you so much for caring about me when no one else does. You are person that I can share my secrets to. I don’t know what my life would be without you in it.

Thank you to my best friends Zavied and Wawan I can’t even remember how we can be best friend but one thing that you guys should have known is I’m so glad when destiny brought us together. We have been through so many dramas for the past 4th year during our college life, but no matter what happen to us, we find our way back to each other. I hope our friendship can last forever.
Thank you to IGOV 2014, Dyah Egha, Wildhan, Tiwi, Meylidia, Eva, Dian, Diaz, Anggit, Arum, Helmi, Bayu, Bagus, Hanan, Amien, Wawan, Taro, Chibe, Ucup, Wida, Satrio, Hazim, Nono, Elfira, Zavied, Jaya, Akbar, Indra, Aldi. My life is so blessed with some of the most amazing people. Thank you for being part of my journey. And also dear KKN 270 UMY, Hutami, Ranita, Desi, Ani, Vicki, Tia, Aldy, Taufiq, and Wawan. Thank you for being such a nice friend for me.
Assalamualaikum Wr. Wb.

All the praise belongs to Allah SWT for all his guidance and mercy which always listen to all of my urge and grievance. Shalawat and greetings remain poured to the Prophet Muhammad SAW who has been guiding us on the path of Allah Almighty. Alhamdulillah, with the guidance from Allah SWT the author has finally able to finish this Undergraduate Thesis entitled “The role of ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group : The case of Abdurrahman Wahid to Konghuchu religion in 1998 - 2001”. This Undergraduate Thesis will not be able to finish without the hand of those people that keep encourage the author in making this Undergraduate Thesis. This Undergraduate Thesis would not be able to be done without the support and the help from all of the lectures and the staff in Faculty of Social and Political Sciences. the writer would like to thank to my supervisor Mr. Dr. phil. Ridho Al-Hamdi, MA. which gave the best treats as the guiding supervisor, valuable input and support throughout the entire period. Finally, I would thank my family and friends for being helpful and best spirit during my time studying at International Program of Government Affairs and Administration, UMY. Furthermore, the author would like to give big appreciation to:

1. Dr. Ir. Gunawan Budiyanto, M.P. as the head of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

2. Dr. Titin Purwaningsih, S.IP., M.Si. as the head of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

3. Dr. Zaenuri, M.Si, as the head of head of Department of Governmental Sciences of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

4. Muhammad Eko Atmojo, S.IP., M.IP. as the secretary of the study program of Governmental Sciences Department, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.
5. Dr. Phil. Ridho Al-Hamdi, MA. as the secretary of International Program for Government Affairs and Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

6. Sakir, S.IP., M.IP. as the Department of Governmental Studies Laboratory Coordinators.

Wassalamualaikum Wr. Wb

Bantul, March 23rd 2019

Nuri Triwiyono
# TABLE OF CONTENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF PAGE</th>
<th>VALIDATION PAGE</th>
<th>DECLARATION PAGE</th>
<th>MOTTO</th>
<th>DEDICATION PAGE</th>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</th>
<th>PREFACE</th>
<th>LIST OF TABLE</th>
<th>ABSTRACT</th>
<th>CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I. Background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Research Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Research Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D. Research Benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Theoretical Benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Practical Benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E. Literature Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F. Theoretical Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Ulama Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Definition of Ulama Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16. Indicator of Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21. The Purpose of Ulama Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22. Ulama-Dialectic and Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22. The Typology of Ulama Thought on Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Political Thoughts in Islamic Elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a. Social Background Factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Organizational Factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Minority Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a. Definition of Minority Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Concept of the division of Minority Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Minority Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G. Conceptual Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Role of Ulama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Minority Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H. Operational Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Role as Ulama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Role as Politician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. The Driving Factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I. Research Methodology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Research Type ...........................................................................................................36
2. Research Object .......................................................................................................38
3. Research Resources ..................................................................................................38
   a. Primary Data ...........................................................................................................38
   b. Secondary Data .....................................................................................................39
4. Data Gathering ..........................................................................................................39
5. Analysis and Data Interpretation ...............................................................................39
   a. Data collection .........................................................................................................40
   b. Data Reduction .......................................................................................................40
   c. Data Presentation ....................................................................................................40
   d. Conclusion and Data Verification ..........................................................................41
6. Thesis Structure ........................................................................................................42

CHAPTER II DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH OBJECT ..................43

A. Profile of Abdurrahman Wahid .................................................................................43
   1. Education and Early Career of Abdurrahman Wahid .............................................44
   2. Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama .............................................................................46
   3. Abdurrahman Wahid as President in 1999 – 2001 ...............................................48
      a. Abdurrahman Wahid Type of Leadership .........................................................48
      b. Controversial events during Abdurrahman Wahid Leadership as
         President of the Republic Indonesia .................................................................49
      c. History of Abdurrahman Wahid thoughts .......................................................52
   4. Pluralism according Abdurrahman Wahid .............................................................53
   5. Masterpieces of Abdurrahman Wahid .................................................................54
      a. Political ...............................................................................................................54
      b. Religion .............................................................................................................55
      c. Pluralism ...........................................................................................................57
      d. State and religion ..............................................................................................58
B. Konghucu in Indonesia .............................................................................................61
   1. Konghucu in Hindia-Belanda era .........................................................................61
   2. Konghucu in independen era ................................................................................65
      a. Old order period ..................................................................................................65
      b. New order period .............................................................................................66
      c. Reformation period .........................................................................................66
   3. Pros and Cons of Konghucu Religion in Indonesia ...............................................69
   4. Data members of Konghucu Religion in Indonesia ...............................................70
   5. The general description about relationship between Abdurrahman
      Wahid and Konghucu Religion .............................................................................71

CHAPTER III DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS RESULTS ......................72

A. The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in supporting Indonesia’s
   Konghucu ....................................................................................................................73
   1. Political Hegemony Discrimination to Konghucu Citizens ..................................73
   2. The steps of Abdurrahman Wahid as Ulama and Politician in
      supporting the existence of Konghucu in Indonesia ...........................................77
      a. As Ulama ...........................................................................................................77
b. As a Politician.................................................................82

B. Affecting Factors Abdurrahman Wahid as a Leader in Fighting for
Konghucu Right .........................................................................97
  1. Sosilogical Background Factors..............................................97
     a. Educational Factors.........................................................97
     b. Working Factors............................................................99
     c. Relationship Factors........................................................101
     d. Individual Political Orientation Factor..............................103
  2. Organizational Factor ..........................................................108
     a. Factor Of Organizational Political Culture............................108
     b. Factors in the Organization’s Political Interest.....................110
     c. Factors of Characterisitic and Directoin PKB Political
        Struggle........................................................................113

CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION .......................................................120

  A. Summary.............................................................................120
  B. Suggestion.........................................................................123

REFERENCES ..........................................................................130
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Summary of the results of previous studies .............................12
Table 1.2 Categorization of Islamic Elite Political Thought.......................24
Table 1.3 Type of Minority Rights ..........................................................31
Table 2.1 of the number of religious members in Indonesia .....................69