

ACTUALIZATION OF KH. ABDURRAHMAN WAHID'S (GUS DUR) THOUGHT: SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC EDUCATION PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Character and economic crises are felt in almost every country. Learn from KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, a religious leader (ulama') and state leader (umara'), is able to provide an example in caring for unity and integrity through the social, religious and economic fields. Gus Dur's thoughts were born from a boarding school that was able to join Western and Middle Eastern thought through the education he had received. Returning to Indonesia to become a Muslim intellectual, cultural observer, and politician who ordered him to become the fourth president of the Republic of Indonesia. This research method uses descriptive qualitative with the type of character study or literature review with Gus Dur's thoughts in the social, religious and economic fields as the object of his research. Gus Dur's idea in the social and religious aspects is pluralism in uniting the nation. Meanwhile, in the economic aspect, the increase in the country's economic growth starts at -3% to grow by 4.9%. In addition, Gus Dur was very persistent in eradicating corruption by ordering the TGPTPK team even though he was disbanded due to threats. And regarding the prevention of collusion and nepotism, Gus Dur is willing to lose his position rather than violating the constitution.

Keywords: *Actualization; Gus Dur; Socio-Religion and Economy.*

Abstrak

Krisis karakter dan ekonomi hampir dirasakan setiap negara. Belajar dari KH. Abdurrahman Wahid seorang pemuka agama (ulama') dan pemimpin negara (umara') mampu memberikan contoh dalam merawat persatuan dan kesatuan melalui bidang sosial, agama, dan ekonomi. Pemikiran Gus Dur lahir dari pondok pesantren yang mampu dikombinasikan dengan pemikiran Barat maupun Timur Tengah melalui Pendidikan yang telah dikenalnya. Kembali ke Indonesia menjadi seorang intelektual muslim, budayawan, dan politisi yang mengatarkannya menjadi presiden keempat Republik Indonesia. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan kualitatif deskriptif dengan jenis penelitian studi tokoh atau kajian literatur dengan menjadikan pemikiran Gus Dur bidang sosial, agama, dan ekonomi sebagai objek penelitiannya. Gagasan Gus Dur dalam aspek sosial dan agama adalah pluralism dalam mempersatukan bangsa. Sementara dalam aspek ekonomi peningkatan pertumbuhan ekonomi negara diawali -3% sampai tumbuh 4,9%. Selain itu, Gus Dur sangat gigih dalam melakukan pemberantasan korupsi melalui pembentukan tim TGPTPK walaupun dibubarkan karena dianggap sebagai ancaman. Dan perihal pencegahan kolusi dan nepotisme, Gus Dur merelakan kehilangan jabatannya dibandingkan melanggar konstitusi.

Kata Kunci: *Aktualisasi; Gus Dur; Sosio-Religi dan Ekonomi.*

INTRODUCTION

One of the most controversial figures with a million ideas and Muslim intellectuals who are highly respected (Athoillah, 2015: 3) and earned the nickname the father of Indonesian pluralism is KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, who is familiar with the nickname Gus Dur. Actually his full name is Abdurrahman ad-Dakhil which means *the conqueror*, where his father KH. A. Wahid Hasyim on the grounds of high optimism over the birth of his first son (Mufidah, 2015: 95) (Barton, 2008: 35). The name was taken from the caravan pioneers who had raised the flag of Islamic glory in Spain, namely the Umayyads. Meanwhile, the word *Addakhil* recently was not enough, so in the end it was replaced by the name *Wakhid* which later changed to Abdurrahman Wahid and better known as Gus Dur (Hamid, 2014: 14).

The meaning of the name Gus Dur (the conqueror) is in line with the *khittah an nahdliyah ablussunah wal jama'ah*. It is only natural that the spirit of struggle is full of social dynamics. A figure who has a strong principle of upholding Human Rights (HAM), especially minorities and is highly dedicated to all human beings (Lestari, 2020: 61), is controlled by *Cak* Nur's opinion that since he was young Gus Dur was a reckless figure, often leaving from a comfort zone and never satisfied in promoting pluralism and tolerance, lovers of the Republic of Indonesia, and defenders of oppressed minorities (Mufidah, 2015: 96). But what is no less interesting than the grandson of the founder of *Nabdlatul Ulama'* for us is a situation that is able to package every humanist and tolerant inner thought and idea (Mufidah, 2015: 95), with a humorous, relaxed, quirky (strange) personality, controversial. and many people are intrigued, a characteristic that describes the simplicity of the lifestyle of

the lower class and the margins. However, his attitude and personality are so unpredictable that he represents an intellectual, who can become a cleric, and can also become a politician (Wahid, 2005: xv).

Born on August 4, 1940, Gus Dur's life journey was very dynamic (Harahap et al., 2020: 27). The fact is that Gus Dur never went up and moved frequently, even though he had received a scholarship (*tribunnews.com*, 2018: 2). Failure and incomplete study completion based on the principle of upholding idealism and the spirit of learning new things continuously. Several countries as places of study are Egypt and Iraq where he studied while contributing to maintaining the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia and obtained an Lc degree at the University of Baghdad (Rosidi, 2016: 448). One of his contributions was the writing of a report on the results of the investigation of the embassy in Egypt in the G30 September 1965 incident (Musa, 2010: 7).

Gus Dur's education did not stop at college. A more steep life journey began when Gus Dur returned to Indonesia in 1971. Starting his career in the world of journalism through an organization that houses progressive Muslim intellectuals and social democrats. The organization is a research, education, and economic and social information institute (LP3ES) with a concentration in the study of the world of pesantren through guidance and empowerment of modern economies in Islamic boarding schools (Musa, 2010: 7) (Athoillah, 2015: 4). Gus Dur was involved in the world of journalism as progressive Muslim intellectuals with a social democrat spirit. Slowly, Gus Dur's career crept until he eventually became a researcher for *Tempo* magazine and *Kompas* newspaper. Every time he submits an article, he is almost always accepted until he develops his personality

as a social-political observer (Hamid, 2014: 41-42).

Gus Dur's popularity and reputation as an observer resulted in him being invited to attend seminars, lectures and discussions on a large scale. So that makes him have to commute between Jakarta and Jombang as a place to live with Dur's family (Hamid, 2014: 41-42). Apart from the above activities, Gus Dur was also busy with teaching activities as a lecturer at the Ushuluddin Faculty of Hasyim Asy'ari University.

Apart from his dedication to the field of education, Gus Dur's popularity has increased since he served him through community social organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama '. Gus Dur was elected chairman of the PBNU at the Situbondo congress in 1984 (Hamid, 2014: 46) at a relatively young age (44 years) through the idea of *returning to the 1926 khittah* which means that NU must restore its identity as a religious community organization and leave as practical politics (Ridwan, 2010: 336).

Gus Dur's contribution to the Indonesian nation was not only in the fields of education and socio-religion, but also Gus Dur's contribution to national politics. In fact, when Indonesia's condition was in crisis, Gus Dur founded a political party called PKB (National Awakening Party) which was the embryo of the Nahdlatul Ulama '(NU) organization on July 23, 1998 (Rahman, 1999: 29). The goal was that the people following NU could contribute as participants and voters in the 1999 legislative elections. The results were satisfactory, although they did not become the winning party with 12% of the votes (Ekawati, 2015: 22), NU succeeded in bringing in the first president from among the students, namely Gus Dur. This success made Gus Dur a figure of all figures in various aspects of the scientific field.

When looking at Gus Dur's life which is full of dynamics, challenges, and big ideas, Gus Dur can be called an intellectual from the santri, an intellectual, cultural observer, movement figure, and able to become a politician to the highest position, namely the president of the Republic of Indonesia (Mufidah, 2015: 96). His expertise in various fields cannot be separated from Gus Dur's place of study. Jombang was the first place to gain knowledge which made Gus Dur a religious person and Jogja made him an intellectual and cultural observer. Starting his education at the age of 15 at SMEP (Secondary School of Economics) Yogyakarta and deepening his religious knowledge at *Krapyak* Islamic boarding school made him master Western philosophy or reading books on Western thought while at SMEP (Rosidi, 2016: 447). Meanwhile, *Tegalrejo Magelang* 2 years later made him a driving figure. In addition, Jakarta has become a place for him to become a productive researcher. In addition, Egypt and Baghdad became sources of civilization, intellectuality, and inspiration for Gus Dur's ideas and movements (Miftahuddin, 2015: 66-67).

Gus Dur was able to study across disciplines of science, including his place of study not only domestically, but abroad as a field to gain knowledge. His broad knowledge of knowledge made Gus Dur a controversial figure for someone whose scientific understanding was not yet equal, including his educational process, which was not as dynamic as it was during Gus Dur's education. After Gus Dur wandered to gain knowledge and return to his homeland, Gus Dur was able to build a civilization of a *pesantren* with a modern management system, especially in economic empowerment according to the times (Rifai, 2010: 42-43), until he served as chairman of the PBNU for three periods. with sharp criticism of the New Order government until finally he declared PKB as a political party which led him to

become the fourth president of the Republic of Indonesia (Athoillah, 2015: 6).

In essence, there are two things that influence Gus Dur's life, namely Islamic boarding schools and *Nabdlatul Ulama* '(NU) (Mufidah, 2015: 95-96). Basically, he was born and raised in the Islamic boarding school environment and the grandson of the founder of the *Tebuireng Jombang* Islamic boarding school and the largest community organization *Nabdlatul Ulama* '(NU). Automatically, Gus Dur's character is attached to the identity of the *santri* with the science, tradition and practice of the boarding school which has led him to become a national figure in the country of Indonesia by persistently promoting *pesantren* to the outside world (Syarkun, 2013: 181). Islamic boarding schools have a major contribution to independence and the formation of national character in the form of ethical, simple, formal, and structural characters, even though Gus Dur has been brought together with religious thinking patterns in the Middle East, he still has a strong foundation in his religious thinking through Islamic boarding school education (Mufidah, 2015: 104).

RESEARCH METHOD

The paradigm used in this scientific article is postpositivism philosophy, as Sugiono's opinion attempts to view social reality as something holistic / whole, dynamic, complex, full of meaning and symptomatic relationships are interactive (Sugiono, 2016: 14-15).

While the approach used is qualitative-descriptive. Which is directed at the setting and the individual holistically (intact). So, in this case it is not permissible to isolate an individual or organization into a variable or hypothetical, but it is necessary to view it as part of a whole (Moleong, 2000: 4).

While the type of research is literature study (library research) by analyzing books or texts which are used as the main object of research (Mantra, 2008: 3). The research focuses on the study of historical documentation, thoughts, ideas of figures that can be decomposed into scientific writing.

Data collection techniques are carried out by in-depth interviews, participatory observation, written documentation accompanied by internal criticism and external criticism and focus group discussions (Bakri, 2013: 127-135). Interviews were not conducted by researchers considering that the character concerned had died, so in-depth observations were made through existing documentation, both books, print and online media, and works written by Bilau himself.

While qualitative data analysis techniques use interactive data analysis consisting of three components including: data reduction, data display, and finally conclusions, withdrawals, or verification (Conclusion Drawing/ Verification) (Miles, M.B, Huberman, A.M, dan Saldana, 2014: 14).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Founding Father Pluralism in Indonesia

Gus Dur is a Muslim intellectual figure, cultural observer, leader, and Ulama' who is unique and controversial in both his attitudes, actions and arguments (Nata, 2005 345). This uniqueness is inseparable from the Ulama's fatwa 'or matters beyond human reasoning regarding the breadth of knowledge he has. Gus Dur was keen to defend minorities and social inequalities that hit the country (Sahfutra, 2014: 95), as did Gus Dur's defense of ethnic Chinese by legalizing *Konghuchu* as a religion, including

providing opportunities for minorities to occupy strategic positions.

Gus Dur's attitude as above is inseparable from the figure of a statesman who inspires and aspires and dreams in building and maintaining the Republic of Indonesia as a country with a pluralistic nation (Hamid, 2014: 55). It is normal for humans to take action without clarity on the goals and ideals of life. This clarity of purpose can pump up human enthusiasm in formulating concrete steps to achieve their dreams and aspirations.

Gus Dur has ideals of religion in a peaceful and friendly manner (Rosidi, 2016: 445). Peace is manifested in a calm atmosphere in the frame of unity and oneness, while friendly is manifested in conditions of respecting differences, respecting without hating, and being polite in speaking and acting. As Djohan Effendi's opinion, Gus Dur always yearned for national harmony in religious life even though there were differences in beliefs about the truth of his religion. However, for those who believe sincerely and understand the essential meaning of religion, awareness of diversity can be found. So that every religious community has an obligation to respect the freedom to believe in and carry out worship according to their religion (Effendi, 1999: 13) (Suhanda, 2010: 129).

The freedom to embrace religion in Indonesia is a gift that is shared by the entire nation. Indonesia as a religious country as contained in the first precept, namely the One Godhead. This means that every citizen is required to embrace a religion according to their respective beliefs in line with the state ideology Pancasila. The freedom to embrace a religion is in line with the concept of religious pluralism which guarantees the right to freedom of religion in Indonesia (Sahfutra, 2014: 94). The discourse of religious pluralism has a significant appeal, especially at the beginning of the reform era where leadership transformation was

held by traditional Ulama' figures with modern thought ideas (Ama & Wulandari, 2020: 266).

Religious pluralism is actually an issue that arises from the discussion of Western scientists in conducting studies of religious studies using comparative religion (Sahfutra, 2014: 94). Plural means plural or many which come from English. If linked in the context of society, plural represents the diversity or plurality of society. Indonesia as a country is rich in culture, ethnicity, language and religion. This wealth arose naturally not planned to be formed, but had formed itself since Indonesia before independence (Ma'arif, 2008: 80).

Diversity is always juxtaposed with pluralism, as is the view of Muslim scholars from Sudan who resided in the United States Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im (Miftahuddin, 2015: 65), that diversity is a difference in terms of ethnicity, religion, including other demographic data. Meanwhile, pluralism (pluralism) as intuition, attitudes, values, and the process of translating the reality of diversity into sustainable social cohesion, economic development and political stability (An Na'im, 2007: 391-392). This means that diversity is a fact, while pluralism is wealth or positive values that can be obtained without using intellectuality and rational reasoning.

In global conditions, pluralism has become a necessity along with transcultural and transnational issues that often affect many people, making it not only studied by religious circles, but cultural and intellectual also participate in studying the discourse. This is due to the complexity of the problem, especially the issue of the clash of beliefs held by the community which appears suddenly and cannot be resolved by followers of certain religions, but the involvement of each religion to sit together (Sahfutra, 2014: 95). So that pluralism becomes contributive

for all elements to unite and accept each other's differences.

Gus Dur made pluralism a necessity of life as a nation and state which has relevance to the Pancasila ideology. Pluralism as a big idea is always socialized in the discourses, attitudes, and policies that were issued when he became president even though he invited strong protests. His interest is none other than fighting for minority rights and protecting the incidents of social inequality that hit the country (Barton, 2008: 243-244). It is no wonder when the appreciation is given to Gus Dur as the Father of Indonesian Pluralism. This was admitted by the 6th president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono through a speech delivered at the funeral of the late Gus Dur.

The actualization of Indonesian pluralism in Gus Dur's thought does not actually apply to the concept of tolerance within the framework of the nation's ethnic and culture, but also to religion in Indonesia, although it is not explicitly stated in the term religious pluralism. However, Gus Dur's work with the idea of pluralism has embodied religious pluralism through an open attitude in accepting the views of interfaith figures (Sahfutra, 2014: 95). In addition, it also builds a climate of harmony and mutual respect for followers of different religions without obstructing or criticizing the religion they adhere to. The actualization of pluralism taught by Gus Dur is not only in thinking, but action is necessary if you want to give birth to the concept of tolerance (Wahid, 1981: 3).

Tolerance is easy to say with and difficult to apply with actions. Gus Dur was proven to teach tolerance through various policies while leading the country. It seems that Gus Dur makes an analogy of the life of the nation and the state as a garden, let's call it an Indonesian garden, which consists of various flowers, thrives in accordance with his nature and identity

without the interference of other flowers that grow around him (Rosidi, 2016: 457).

In essence, life provides space for free movement and development without getting obstacles from its competitors who justify any means, as the Machiavelli's philosophy of government views. If this happens in religious life, it will be very concerning because it results in the status quo in a country, and Gus Dur does not want it. Religion is no longer a conditioning, a pacifier, including a regulator of human life to be in the path of goodness. Religion becomes a way that leads people to a miserable path when religious freedom just disappears.

So it is not surprising that the Ministry of Religion or the Ministry of Religion in the Gus Dur era was given a guideline on the work ethic of the Ministry of Religion through their thinking, namely, the state apparatus belongs to everyone and has the obligation to serve them fairly, wisely, without choosing the religion they adhere to (Effendi, 1999)(Suhanda, 2010: 128). Gus Dur views that all religious people have freedom of expression and increase their existence with the potential credibility they have according to their beliefs.

Gus Dur's thought about pluralism that results in tolerance cannot be separated from the basis of Allah's revelation as in general Ulama 'and Muslim intellectuals in thinking based on the first source of Islamic law, namely the al-Qur'an. As Allah says in the Qur'an, Sura Yunus verse 99, the meaning is as follows:

And, if your Lord wills, surely all the people on earth will have faith. So, do you (want) to force people to believe everything? (Surah Yunus (10): 99)

The verse above teaches the importance of respecting the differences in beliefs held by humans. However, in fact, the current condition is often demonstrated by forcing others to participate in their beliefs through various means, for example, hate speech, using

religion to fight against the legal government, oppressing minorities, dividing the nation, and so forth. As the essence of life shows that the diversity of colors and differences must exist, because that is the instinct of life as humans are created without multiple forms.

Diversity is a blessing, as in the letter al Ma'idah verse 48 which means as follows:

If God wants you, then he will make you one people (only), but God wants to test you against the gifts he has given you, so be competent to do good.

And al Anbiya '107 as follows:

And We do not send you, but to (be) a mercy for the universe.

The two verses above show that the religious pluralism of Gus Dur's ideas is based on Islam that Islam taught by the Prophet is a mercy (compassion) for all mankind created by Allah. And God created humans with diverse creations, not just one people, so that humans compete to do good to others. In addition, Gus Dur's pluralism concept is based on the concept of *hubbul wathon minal faith*. There is a sense of love that is taught to the nation and state. The aspects of *hubb* (love) and *grace* (compassion) become the strengths of each other in order to avoid hatred, jealousy, and other ugly traits that cause conflict.

The two elements of *hubb* (love) and *grace* (compassion) in Gus Dur's ideas of pluralism also contain educational elements, namely multicultural education. This can be proven through the activity of *slametan one year* (annual), which is an annual religious ritual that commemorates a person's death. The terms *slametan one year* (annual), second and so on are a combination (syncretic) of Hindu-Javanese and Islam since the 15th century with animist traditions (Geertz, 1989: 6) which is later termed *Haul*. The origin of the word *haul* comes from Arabic which means year (Hanif, 2015: 53). Meanwhile, the haul celebration as practiced by

Indonesian Muslims is a commemoration of the anniversary of death by serving dishes to the people who attend with the intention of salvation or *alms* from the dead (Imron AM, 2005: 13-14).

The above shows that there is an element of education in spreading the notion of pluralism. This education is through multicultural education which, in Gus Dur's view, is education that teaches humanity, love among others, brotherhood, help to help and so on. There is no single religion that teaches to destroy nature, destroy brotherhood, develop social conflicts and so on (Syam, 2019: 1).

The commander of Economic and No-Corruption

Corruption has always been a parasite for the progress of the country, especially Indonesia. To this day, Indonesia is still haunted by these parasites. Even though we are stepping into a golden age that will benefit from the rich potential of the millennial generation. In fact, the last number of corruption cases in June 2017 reached 226 corruption cases handled by the prosecutor's office, police and KPK (Hariyanto, 2017). This figure increases every year according to the Ministry of Home Affairs. As data from liputan6.com, the mode that is often used is bribery. The numbers of bribery are as follows: 2014 (20 cases), 2015 (38 cases), 2016 (79 cases) and on 30 September 2017 reached 55 cases of bribery (Larasati, 2017).

This fact is what makes the nation's generation need to practice muhasabah as a sense of belonging to Indonesia in order to prevent corruption practices committed by high-ranking officials. Muhasabah which is carried out by emulating Gus Dur as an *umara* '(leader of the state) with a myriad of achievements, especially his toughness against the perpetrators of corruption, even though he only led in 21 months (Hidayatullah, 2018: 1).

There are other things that are interesting to observe together regarding Gus Dur's contribution to the nation and the state, namely the savior of the country's economy. As stated by Rizal Ramli, the Coordinating Minister for Economy and Finance at the time of Gus Dur said that, at the beginning of his leadership, Gus Dur was faced with the anxiety of the country's economy which was at -3% (minus 3 percent) (Puspita, 2019: 1). And Gus Dur can prove his leadership with the growth of the country's economy at 4.9 percent in a period of one year (Hakim, Abdul; Giovani, 2012: 169), even though his termination was due to Gus Dur being impeached that the country's economy was at the level of 3.6 percent (Sasongko, 2017).

In addition, Gus Dur's leadership was able to strengthen the value of the rupiah, which previously experienced a crisis at the end of the 1998 Soeharto government, where the rupiah was estimated at Rp. 17,000 / US dollar. Meanwhile, at the end of Habibie's reign, the rupiah strengthened to Rp. 8,000 / US dollar. While Gus Dur initially appeared as a candidate for state leader paired with Megawati Soekarno Putri, the rupiah strengthened to the figure of Rp. 6,900 / US dollar (Juwono, 2001: 9), and when Gus Dur was elected the composite stock price index surpassed 616 and the rupiah strengthened to 400 points. Meanwhile, Gus Dur inherited the country's economy at the end of his reign with a stronger rupiah exchange rate of Rp. 6,700 / US dollar accompanied by an increase in the Composite Stock Price Index (IHSG) to the level of 700 (Aprianto, 2016: 137).

Gus Dur is a leader who does not depend on other countries in advancing his country, especially the economic aspects. This can be proven by Gus Dur's reliance on international organizations that provide financial loans to countries in need. This organization is located in the

United States under the name IMF. The beginning of Gus Dur's administration, Stanley Fischer from the IMF was willing to disburse state loans in November 1999 (Tempo, 1999). However, Gus Dur never disbursed it because he had the principle of managing Indonesia without IMF assistance. In addition, Gus Dur has a security asset program (asset security) for all assets owned by the state such as mines where government shares can be traded on the capital market in order to finance state development (Aprianto, 2016: 138).

Various congressional steps taken by Gus Dur in increasing the country's economic growth, including: banking restructuring, through problem solving with the Bank Indonesia Liquidity Bank (BLBI), Bulog's ban on imports of rice except for private sector and given a small tariff (without quotas), non-oil and gas exports and increasing investment (Hakim, Abdul; Giovani, 2012: 169). Apart from the above factors, the competitive rupiah exchange rate supports the country's economic growth.

Increasing economic growth has an effect on increasing the amount of consumption expenditure. The contribution of exports, investment and consumption to GDP growth in 2000 reached 3.9%, 3.6% and 3.1%. Meanwhile, on the supply side, such as the manufacturing, trade and transportation sectors, contributed 1.6%, 0.9% and 0.7% to the GDP growth. In 2000, the manufacturing sector recorded a growth of 6.2%, while the trade sector grew by 5.7%, and the transportation sector grew by 9.4% (Bank Indonesia, 2000). This is the big contribution of Gus Dur's leadership in increasing the country's economic growth.

This effort is certainly not enough if it is not balanced with checks and balances, which are controls carried out in order to maintain the balance of the program being run. Gus Dur's efforts in exercising control over his program were

to prevent practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism. In preventing corruption, Gus Dur formed the Joint Team for the Eradication of Corruption Crime (TGPTPK) which was led by Supreme Court Justice Adi Andojo, and unfortunately the team was disbanded by the Supreme Court because it was deemed that the establishment of this institution was not in accordance with the applicable rules in Law Number 31 of 1999 (Suwitri, 2007: 36).

However, efforts to fight for institutions to eradicate corruption continue to be made by Krissanto, the new leader of TGPTPK, replacing Adi Andojo. He emphasized the cancellation of PP No. 19 of 2000 concerning the Joint Team for the Eradication of Corruption Crimes does not mean that the organization is dissolved (tri, 2001: 1). It is possible for the Supreme Court to cancel the PP, but the team works based on the Corruption Law as in Article 27 of Law Number 31 Year 1999 which positions it as an embryo formed according to Article 43 in Law 31 of 1999, so that the Supreme Court cannot hinder the team's work (tri, 2001: 2). TGPTPK has a strong ambition in eradicating corruption in the era of Gus Dur which made the people of court in Indonesia furious and can be called fear.

The formation of the team was inseparable from the collusion incidents that occurred in many court institutions in Indonesia, especially the high courts. This was evidenced by the dismissal of Adi Andojo who was appointed by Gus Dur as the head of the TGPTPK team engaged in the eradication of corruption, collusion and nepotism. The incident of Adi's dismissal as Deputy Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (MA) began with the dismantling of the Gandhi Memorial School accidental collusion case in the high court between the Supreme Court judge, lawyer and defendant which resulted in the decision to release the

defendant in a very fast period of 132 days (Saputra, 2017).

After that, Adi Andojo did not remain silent, he asked the Central Jakarta District Prosecutor's Office to carry out a review (PK) of the decision of the Supreme Court judge who was considered to have committed collusion through a letter he sent. Unfortunately, the letter was leaked to the public which created tension in the Indonesian legal world. Adi was urged by the community to completely dismantle the case, but Adi did not speak to explain or clarify because he received death threats (Saputra, 2017). This is proof of Gus Dur's persistence in eradicating corruption through the appointment of a figure who pioneered the TGPTPK institution even though he faced many obstacles so that the institution he founded failed to operate.

Apart from eradicating corruption, preventing collusion and nepotism when Gus Dur was in charge was actually being carried out. As Mahfud MD said on the 8th anniversary of Gus Dur's death at the *Tebuireng* Islamic boarding school in *Jombang*, he told that Gus Dur hit the table during the negotiations between Mahfud MD, Khofifah, and Alwi Shihab with MPR leaders and political party leaders, namely: Hamzah Haz, Taufik Kiemas, and Akbar Tanjung who suspected that Gus Dur had violated the State Policy (Mahfud MD, 2018).

The result of the negotiations was that Gus Dur remained president on the condition that his cabinet be changed. Meanwhile, the Minister to be appointed by Gus Dur must go through the approval of the political party leadership. This was conveyed to Gus Dur and immediately Gus Dur immediately hit the table while saying "No, democracy is not a market, I better stop being president than I am being dictated by parties by violating the constitution", Gus Dur said as told by the Coordinating Minister law and human

rights politics in the Jokowi era (Mahfud MD, 2018).

The whole lesson above shows that Gus Dur applies grace and hub in safeguarding the country's constitution. The affection and love that are grown cannot be exchanged for materials or services. Leadership practices like this are the needs of current and future leaders. Prioritizing the eradication of corruption, preventing collusion and nepotism with the principle of social justice as the fourth precept that every nation has the same opportunity. This opportunity must be utilized properly with the principle of justice without harming other nations. The goal is none other than maintaining the spirit of the state and *ukhawah basyariyah* (human relationship) in order to avoid conflicts between fellow nations.

CONCLUSION

Gus Dur was one of the young national heroes of his era. Various contributions have been made in various aspects including: education, social, religious, political and economic. Meanwhile, Gus Dur's figures are students, kyai, politicians and cultural observers. Two big agendas that had been carried out by Gus Dur during his lifetime, especially at a young age, were the founding father of Indonesian pluralism and a pioneer of anti-corruption, collusion and nepotism. The thought of pluralism was built since in school through various kinds of reading books which were strengthened through the results of knowledge from studies abroad. Gus Dur's scholarship was able to integrate three disciplines, namely Indonesia, the West and the Middle East through his learning experiences. Meanwhile, in the economic aspect, Gus Dur learned from the previous administration that the economy could not grow higher if imports were not restricted, IMF debt was

accepted, and practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism were allowed. So that Gus Dur's program in increasing the country's economic growth consists of: increasing exports, investment and public consumption. Apart from that, it will boost the performance of the processing, trading and transportation industries. Corruption prevention program through the formation of the Joint Team for the Eradication of Corruption Crime (TGPTPK). Meanwhile the prevention of collusion and nepotism closes negotiations that violate the constitution.

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