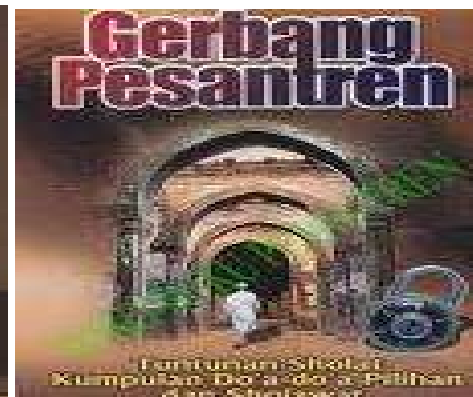
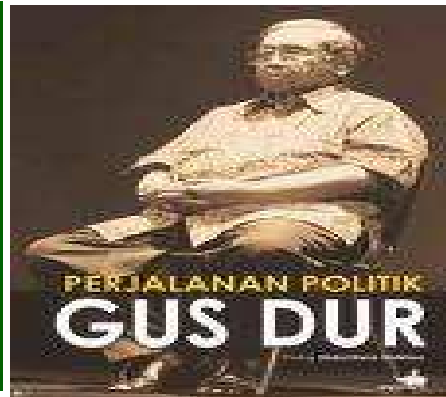


Presentation on:



NAHDLATUL ULAMA (NU):

Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam in the Post-Suharto Indonesia

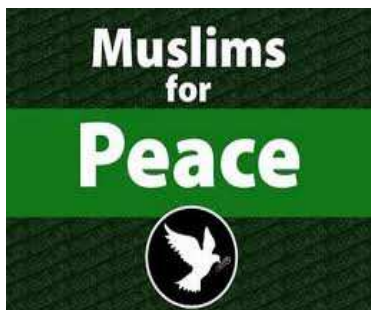
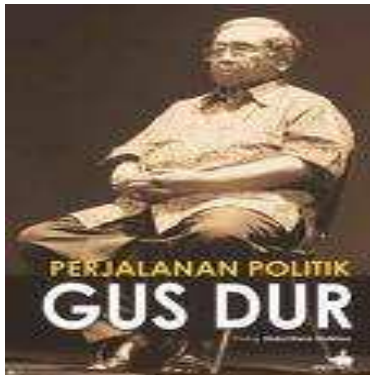
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By: Suratno



STRUCTURE OF PRESENTATION

- **Post-Suharto Indonesia: Threats from Radical Muslims & Political Islam.**
- **NU: History, Doctrines and Organizational Structure**
- **The Legacies of Gus Dur**
- **Strengthening moderate & Peaceful Islam**
 - **A. NU Structural**
 - **B. NU Cultural**
- **Closing Remarks**



Post-Suharto Indonesia: Threats from Radical Muslims & Political Islam.

The fall of Suharto authoritarian regime in May 1998, after more than three decades in power, was followed by unprecedented political freedom, especially for radical Muslim and political Islam groups that in the past had been severely restricted in the public sphere. As a result, radical Muslims and political Islam groups flourished in as they are now able to freely express and articulate their ideas in the public domain without fear of reprisals.

They are trying to penetrate what so called Islamization-from-below and from-above





Post-Suharto Indonesia: Threats from Radical Muslims & Political Islam.

ICG reported that since 1998, 3 forms of religious violence have been mushrooming:

- **BOMBINGS** (mostly by JI/Jama'ah Islamiyah, branch of al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia): Philippines Ambassador & Churches (2000), Bali 1 (2002), Marriot Hotel (2003), Australian Embassy (2004), Bali 2 (2005), Marriot & Ritz-Carlton (2009), etc.
- **LOCAL-VIOLENCE** (mostly by FPI, MMI, etc, local-roups); in many forms; attacks on church, attack on minority groups such as Ahmadiyah, Salamullah, Shiite, local-religions ets, political action regarding communism
- **COMMUNAL-CONFLICT** (mostly by Laskar Jihad, Kompak, etc, local-groups, currently disbanded); between Muslims and Christians in Ambon & Poso, 1999-2000.





Post-Suharto Indonesia: Threats from Radical-Conservative Muslims & Political Islam.

- In the post-Suharto era, there have been emergence of religious bylaws (Perda Syariah) in no fewer than 35 districts. It is a response to the regional autonomy law that was enacted in 1999.
- Most bylaws distinctly bear an ideological agenda to implement Shariah in the regional level.
- Each district implementing the religious bylaws have different concerns, but generally they address seven issues; (i) the obligation to implement the shariah; (ii) decency in dressing and moral conduct; (iii) the obligation to read the Qur'an; (iv) male and female interaction; (v) gambling; (vi) the drinking of liquor; and (vii) alms giving.
- The trend towards shari'ah implementation in some regions is not always driven by pure ideological impetus. Some politicians see shariah as beneficial for their own political standing. Thus, support for the shariah bylaw comes not only from the Islamic political parties but also from secular ones.





Amidst the rise of radical Muslims and political Islam, NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) as the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia plays a leading role in the fight against radicalism and politization of Islam as well as strengthen moderates and peaceful Islam.

NU: History, Doctrines & Organizational Structure

○ HISTORY

- NU is the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, and possibly in the world. NU followers are predicted to reach more than 60 million people, with various professional background, mostly are villagers & commonly owning strong emotional tie with pesantren (Islamic Boarding Schools) as the center of NU's cultural preservation. The current chairmen (2010-2015) resulted from the last NU national congress in Makassar were KH Said Agil Siraj (tanfidz) and KH Sahal Mahfudz (syuriah)

NU (Nahdlatul Ulama, the awakening of Islamic Scholars) was established on 31 January 1926 in Surabaya East Java by Hasyim Asy'ari, Wahab Chasbullah etc .The born of NU were derived mainly from a long struggle of a number of ulama who run pesantren. They organized a concerted effort and endeavored to conserve and preserve Islamic religious culture in addition to maintain and promote the spirit of nationalism in response to the excessive pressure of the prevailing colonial power.





NU: History, Doctrines & Organizational Structure

- Mobilizing physical resistance against imperialist force through Jihad (holy war) Resolution issued on **October 22, 1945**.
- Changing into political party, which in general election **1955** took the third in national vote gathering.
- Acquiring, at least, 32 ministerial offices during Republic government **1945-1965**.
- Taking initiative in Islamic Conference for Asia-Africa, joined by representatives of **37 countries in 1965**.
- Coming back to *Khittah* (earliest orientation) in **1984**, which affirmed NU's identity as socio-religious organization.
- Originating cultural Islam movement and civil society empowerment during **1990s** decade.



NU: History, Doctrines & Organizational Structure

○ DOCTRINES

- NU adopts Ahlussunnah waljama'ah "**Aswaja**" school which refers to the holy Koran, the tradition of Prophet Muhammad , and that of his rightly-guided Successors (four Muslim caliphs as well as his friends), and is theoretically and factually oft-linked to the theological concepts of Abu Hasan al-Asy'ari and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, four schools in fikih (Islamic jurisprudence), namely Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i, and Hanbali, as well as sufism traditions of Al-Ghazali and Junaid Al-Baghdadi.
- **The Attitude of Society** must follow 3 principles: (a) **Tawasuth wa l'tidal**, moderate attitude, which is based on principles of justice and endeavors to avoid any kind of approach, which is extreme in nature. (b) **Tasamuh**, tolerant attitude, which contains appreciation to views difference and plurality of people's socio-cultural background. (c) **Tawazun**, that is balancing attitude in serving for harmonious relationship among fellow human beings and between human and God Almighty.

○

NU: History, Doctrines & Organizational Structure



- ASWAJA principles
- **The attitude toward tradition and modernity:** Al-Muhafadzotu 'ala al-qadim al'sholih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadidi al-ashlah (Preserving the good aspects of the past and taking the new ones (from contemporary era) which are better)
- **The Attitude of Society** must follow 3 principles: (a) **Tawasuth wa l'tidal**, moderate attitude, which is based on principles of justice and endeavors to avoid any kind of approach, which is extreme in nature. (b) **Tasamuh**, tolerant attitude, which contains appreciation to views difference and plurality of people's socio-cultural background. (c) **Tawazun**, that is balancing attitude in serving for harmonious relationship among fellow human beings and between human and God Almighty

NU: History, Doctrines & Organizational Structure



- **ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES**

- **Aims:** To promulgate Islamic teachings according to the ASWAJA doctrines in people's life, within the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).



- **Services** (a) In religious field, preaching Islam & increasing brotherhood feeling underpinned by the spirit of unity in diversity.

- (b) In educational field, conducting education which fits with Islamic values for the sake of forming Muslim men/women who are of piety, good-conduct, broader knowledge & of use for religion, nation & state.

- (c) In socio-cultural field, attempting to increase people's prosperity and cultivating culture, which is not against Islamic teachings.

- (d) In economic field, attempting to distribute opportunities in enjoying development results, by focusing more on the growth of people's economy.

- (e) Developing other services useful for broader society.





NU: History, Doctrines & Organizational Structure

○ ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

○ NU Structure of Organization

- 1. Central Board (national level)
- 2. Regional Board (provincial level)
- 3. Branch Board (district/municipality level) & Special Branch Board (abroad)
- 4. Branch Representative Council Board (subdistrict level)
- 5. Sub Branch Representative Council Board (village level)



For National, Provincial, District/Municipal/ abroad, and sub-district levels, each board within NU's organization structure consists of:

- 1. Mustasyar (Advisory Council)
- 2. Syuriah (Supreme Council)
- 3. Tanfidziah (Executive Council)



Meanwhile, for village level, each board in NU's organization structure consists of:

- 1. Syuriah (Supreme Council)
- 2. Tanfidziah (Executive Council)



NU: History, Doctrines & Organizational Structure



- **ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**
- **Networks**, until the end of 2004, NU networks include 30 Regions, 339 Branches, 2 Special Branches (Abroad), 2.630 Branch Representative Councils, 37.125 Sub Branch Representative Councils
- **Institutions** are the executor of NU's policies related to particular field. They are LDNU (Preaching), Ma'arif (Education), Mabarot (Social-Economy), LPKNU (Agriculture), LP2NU (Health), RMI (Pesantren), LKGNU (Welfare Family), LTMI (Mosques), Lakpesdam NU (Human Resources), Sarbumusi (Labor), LPBH-NU (Legal Aid), Pagar Nusa (Martial Art), LTQNU (Qur'an reader & reciter), Lesbumi NU (Art & culture).
- **Lajnah** (committee): Falaqiyah (Astrology), Ta'lif waNasr (Authprship & Publication), Auqaf (Wakaf), Lazis NU (Infaq & Shadaqah), Bahtsul Masa'il (Islamic problem solving).
- **Autonomous Bodies**: Thaqriah al-Nahdiyah al-Mu'tabarah (Sufi Practitioner), Muslimat (Woman), Fatayat (Young Woman), Anshor (Man), IPNU & IPPNU (Student).



Legacies of Gus Dur, NU Reformer

- **Gus Dur** (Abdurrahman Wahid, 1940-2009), the grandson of the NU founder Hasyim Asy'ari, was former chairman of NU (1984-1999), former Indonesian president (1999-2001).
- **Legacies of Gus Dur:**
 1. Modernizing Pesantren/Madrasah & Empowering NU people
 2. Constant defender of Pancasila and NKRI
 3. Idea of Pribumization/Localization of Islam
 4. Progressive thinker & advocator of democracy, religious tolerance, minority rights and human rights





Legacies of Gus Dur, NU Reformer

- In 1984 NU National Congress, Gus Dur was elected as the chairman. During his first term, he focused on reform of the *pesantren* education system and was successful in increasing the quality of *pesantren* so that it can match up with secular schools. Gus Dur also focused on empowering NU people who mostly live in villages to gradually overcome their problems of poverty and backwardness.
- Gus Dur was re-elected to a second term as Chairman of NU at the 1989 NU National Congress. In 1991, Gus Dur formed the Democracy Forum, an organization which contained of 45 intellectuals from various religious and social communities. The organization was seen as a threat by the Government which moved to break up meetings held by the Democracy Forum during the run-up to the 1992 Legislative Elections approached.
- In March 1992, Gus Dur planned to have a Great Assembly to celebrate the 66th anniversary of the founding of NU and to reiterate the organization's support for Pancasila

Legacies of Gus Dur, NU Reformer



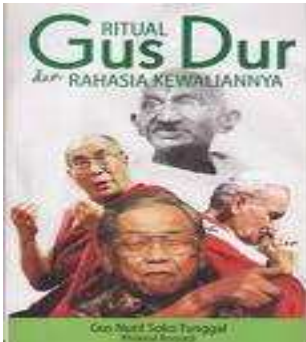
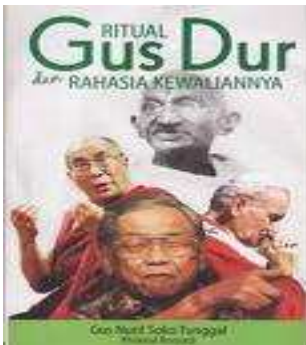
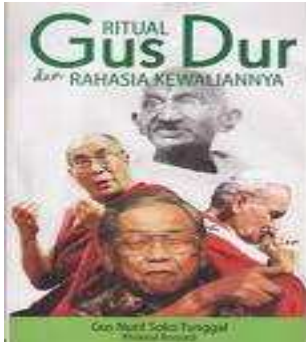
- Beside reiterating NU support of Pancasila, during his second term as Chairman of NU, Gus Dur's liberal ideas had begun to turn many supporters sour. As Chairman, Wahid continued to push for interfaith dialogue as well as activities and even accepted an invitation to visit Israel in October 1994 .
- In 1994, although Suharto tried to make sure that Gus Dur was not elected, Gus Dur was elected for his third term of chairing NU. In his third term, Gus Dur was concerned with the continuation of spreading liberal ideas.

Legacies of Gus Dur, NU Reformer



- In October 1999 Gus Dur was elected as the Indonesian President.
- During his term, President Gus Dur worked tirelessly to undo many of the untouchable issues that undermined Indonesia society under Soeharto including **initiating peace talks with rebel forces in Aceh, undoing prohibitions against Chinese language, script and culture, and seeking, unsuccessfully, to open ties with Israel.**
- However, Gus Dur's term was not distinguished by decisiveness or consistency of policies. He will be seen in history as a transition figure in Indonesia's path to democracy. His term ended with his eventual impeachment by the upper house of Indonesia's legislature the MPR. In July 2001 he was replaced by President Megawati in July 2001

Legacies of Gus Dur, NU Reformer



- The Chinese ethnic community in Indonesia, for example, will always give honor to Gus Dur, remembering how as Indonesia's first democratically elected president he had stood up for their rights, as indeed he had done throughout his career as a public intellectual. In February 2000, he had joined with them in the first public celebrations of Chinese New Year in more than three decades, opening a door for Chinese culture to be practiced openly once more in Indonesia.
- Gus Dur was able to resolve the political disagreements between Papuans in 2000 by helping promote a dignified resolution, bringing to an end the anarchy in the relationship between the people and the security forces.

Legacies of Gus Dur, NU Reformer



- After his impeachment, Gus Dur remained active in advocating democracy, religious freedom, religious pluralism, etc.
- In the beginning of 2006, a controversial act was being introduced in the nation's parliament, called the Anti-Pornography Bill which would have made aspects of the Islamist bylaws become standardized throughout the nation. This proposed law was opposed by former president Gus Dur. As a result, on May 23, 2006, FPI members forced him off a stage at a rally in Purwakarta, West Java. After that, Gus Dur and leader of FPI have been in tension.
- The bill would have outlawed kissing in public — resulting in a five year jail sentence for those found guilty. Exposing certain areas of the body, such the stomach, thigh or hip, could have invoked a 10 year jail sentence and \$50,000 fine. In many areas, Muslim women progressive groups protested against the bill. Gus Dur said of the bill: **“This is an attempt by some people to import Arab culture to Indonesia.”**



Legacies of Gus Dur, NU Reformer



- **Gus Dur** also promoted the **idea** of localization/indigenouzation (**pribumisasi**) of **Islam**, rather than "Arabization", although he was well versed in Arabic. By the Indonesianization of **Islam** he meant the blending of Islamic beliefs and values with local culture. "The source of **Islam** is revelation, which bears its own norms. Due to its normative character, it tends to be permanent. Culture, on the other hand, is a creation of human beings and therefore develops in accordance with social changes.
- This, however, does not prevent the manifestation of religious life in the form of culture," he said.

Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU Structural

In 2011 PBNU is running counter-radicalism program (called Densus 26). 26 refers to the year of NU's establishment It includes 4 basic components:

- **Active cooperation with security forces** in efforts to apprehend suspected terrorists.
- **Refutation of extremist ideologies**, especially those concerning jihad. This is a common theme in Friday sermons, religious talks (*pengajian*) & in many *pesantren* affiliated with NU. NU's position is that radicals have fundamentally misunderstood the concept of jihad, that suicide bombings are not jihad and that those who carry them out are not martyrs. It also repudiates the anti-Semitic views held by many Islamist organizations.
- **Outreach programs for young people** in print, online & at Indonesia's government sponsored Islamic colleges and universities. They have recently published a book *Peaceful Jihad for Teens* (only the title is in English), available at bookstores through out the country.
- **Assisting victims of terrorist attacks**. The NU youth organization Ansor & the paramilitary security force Banser NU routinely assist with the repair and renovation of **churches** damaged by bombings.





Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU Structural

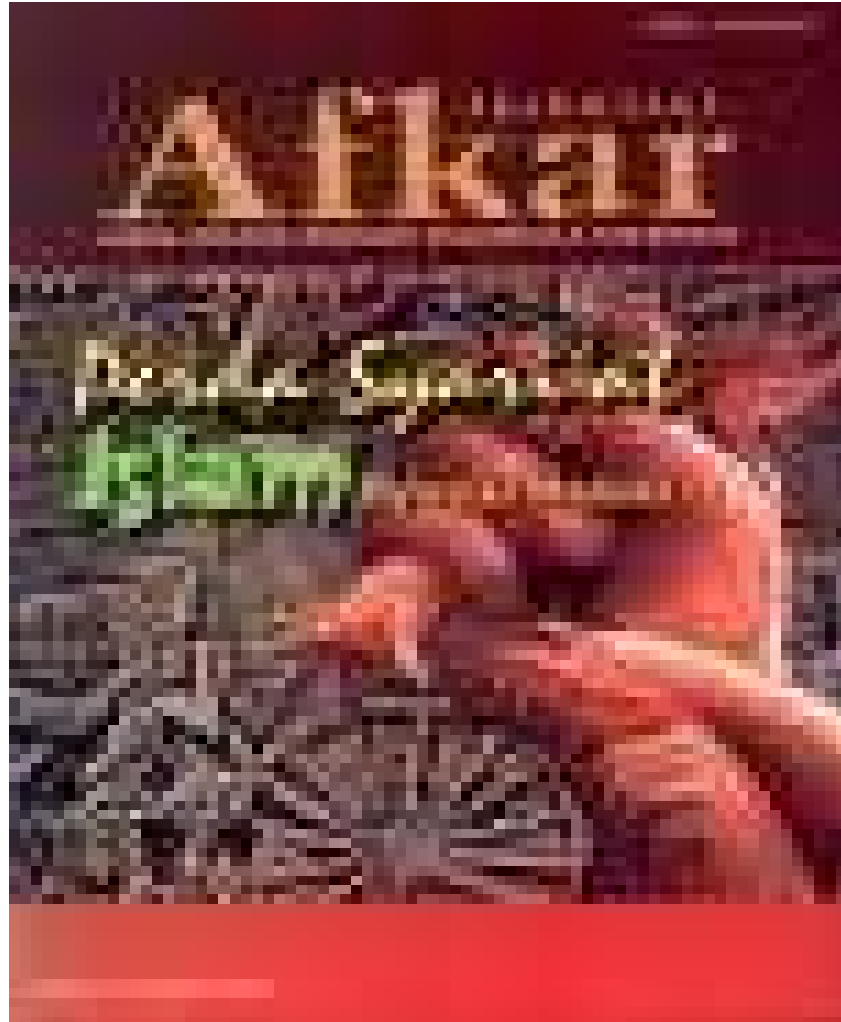
- In 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, PBNU held International Conference of Islamic Scholars (**ICIS**) in which NU by inviting many Ulama & religious leaders from around the world. The resume of the conference was to mediating the conflict between Islam and the West, reducing religious radicalism and establishing global peace and civilization based on **moderate and peaceful** Islam.
- To counter the aspiration of Islamic bylaws, in the Ulama Conference on 28-30 August 2006, PBNU restated and made consensus that Pancasila is the final choice of national ideology. In this juncture, the aspiration of Islamic bylaws cannot be allowed to live in a Pancasila-based-state. NU will always appreciate local culture and universal values.
- **ANSOR NU**, through its Banser paramilitary group, always help minority groups such as Ahmadiyah, Shi'ite etc and non-Muslim in securing their place and activities from the threat of radical Muslim groups.
-

Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU Structural



- **LAKPESDAM -NU** holds monthly inter-religious discussion groups within its office, facilitates interfaith dialogue with representatives from religious based NGO's and other civil society groups in order to identify mechanisms and models for strengthening civil society, and it encourages a moderate interpretation of Islam by promoting the critical analysis of religious texts in light of the cultural context in which they were written.
- **FATAYAT-NU** is running many programs mainly to promote women basic rights especially at grassroots level. It include protests against the implementation of Shariah bylaws that discriminate women as well as advocate women's victim.
-

Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU Structural



Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU CULTURAL



- **WAHID INSTITUTE** (WI) was established in 2004 and lead by Gus Dur's daughter, Yenny Wahid, and former Lakpesdam's activist Ahmad Suaedy. It aims at spreading the spirit and idea of Gus Dur.
- Since 2005 WI has also produced annual report on religious pluralism, documenting various issues and incident concerning religious tolerance in Indonesia. WI also joined AKBB (the national alliance for freedom of religion and belief). In June 2008, AKBB experienced 'the Monas Tragedy' when its activists were attacked by members of FPI.

Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU CULTURAL



- **ICIP** established in 2003 and led by NU young activist Syafiq Hasyim is concerned with the issue of religious pluralism.



- **P3M** led by NU ulama Kyai Masdar Farid Mas'udi is always concerned to the empowerment of Pesantren community.
-

Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU Cultural



JIL was established in 2001 in Jakarta by young NU activists such as Ulil Abshar Abdalla, Moqsith Ghazali etc. It aims at spreading liberal Islam idea. JIL has talk-show radio program, book publications, syndication of liberal Muslim writers, seminar, discussion etc.



Syarikat was established in 2000 in Yogyakarta by Imam Aziz etc. They are concerned with the issue of human rights especially the reconciliation between NU and the victims of G30/S

Strengthening Moderate & Peaceful Islam: NU Cultural



LKiS established in Jogjakarta by NU young activists such as Jadul Maula, M. Fikri etc has produced many books that spread progressive and liberal Islam ideas.



FAHMINA established in 2000 in Cirebon and led by NU progressive ulama, Kyai Hussein Muhammad has been running since 2001 Mawar Balqis women crisis center. It aims at supporting and advocating women who experience sexual abuse and violation as well as discrimination.



CLOSING REMARKS

- Based on above explanation it is clear that NU is strongly committed to Pancasila and NKRI and to fights against Islamic radicalism. Therefore, together with another organization Muhammadiyah, they both remains two-pillars of moderate and peaceful Islam in Indonesia.



**ISLAM RAHMATAN LIL ALAMIN
(ISLAM AS A MERCY TO MANKIND)**



We have not sent you forth but as a mercy to mankind

(al-Qur'an, Surat Al-Anbiya: 107)

THANK YOU