

# Pluralism and Islamist Ideas in Contemporary Indonesian Pesantrens

Badrus Sholeh<sup>1</sup>

## Early History of Pesantrens

Pesantren has been a sub-culture of Indonesian Muslims. It means that pesantren has its own tradition and lifestyle. Wahid cited Mahbub Djunaedi's article in *Tempo* that tradition of pesantren is like hippies world.<sup>2</sup> It has life pattern and internal authority different from community surroundings. Hippie's community builds an exceptional subculture. This nature, patterns and lifestyle are also happening in pesantren. Pesantren has grown all over Indonesia since early development of Islam. Pesantren and its leaders (*Kyais*) have varieties of names in ethnic groups of Indonesia. In Aceh, Pesantren is called *Dayah*, but mostly named *Pesantren*, *Pondok Pesantren*, or *Pondok* in other parts of Indonesia. While its leaders have more varieties of names: *Kyai* (East and Central Java), *Bendara* (Madura), *Ajengan* (West Java), *Anregurutta* (Sulawesi), *Tuanguru* (West Nusa Tenggara), *Buya* (West Sumatra) and *Teungku* (Aceh). The diversities of the local names of pesantren and its leader mean that this Islamic institution has successfully been acculturated within its community. They also adopt local tradition in teaching and practicing knowledge. The digestion of Middle Eastern religious culture of Islam and local beliefs form a new breadth and nature of Muslims in Indonesia, and generally in Malay Worlds history as pesantrens also grow in Malaysia, Southern Thailand, Brunei and Southern Philippines.

Jan Schmidt argues that the expansion of Islam in Netherlands Indies in 16 century was "Islamic values assorted with traditional animism beliefs and Hinduism elements", which assembles Islamic principles and culture different from Islam in Middle East.<sup>3</sup> Local animist

---

<sup>1</sup> Lecturer of the State Islamic University of Jakarta and Researcher at the Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies of the LP3ES of Jakarta. Email: [konflik@lp3es.or.id](mailto:konflik@lp3es.or.id).

<sup>2</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pesantren Sebagai Subkultur [Pesantren as a Subculture]", in M. Dawam Rahardjo, *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan [Pesantren and Reform]*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1995, p. 43; Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi, Esai Pesantren [Moving Tradition, An Essai on Pesantren]*, Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1995, p. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> Jan Schmidt, "Pan-Islamisme di Antara Porte, Den Haag dan Buitenzorg [Pan-Islamism Among Porte, Den Haag and Buitenzorg]", in Nico J. G. Kaptein (ed.), *Kekacauan dan Kerusuhan: Tiga Tulisan tentang Pan-*



people appreciated Sunni Hadramaut Muslims, who brought about as traders, bankers and preachers.<sup>4</sup>

In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, although Islam was not commenced to local South Sulawesi (Celebes) communities but the regions had been very well-known economic centers in Eastern Indonesia. In this century, according to Aceh kingdom source that an elite of Muslim from Johor, King Abdul Jalil Putra, son of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Qatar (reigned in 1537-1568) and an Acehnese Muslim, a brother of Sultan Ali Riayat Syah (r. 1568-1575) along with Pidie preacher had voyaged for trading to South Sulawesi. Because of them, a king of Bone converted into Muslim.<sup>5</sup> In the previous centuries, Sultanates of Demak had a strong role in islamization through trading, especially in Java, then a strong bond with South Sulawesi. Muslim preacher's network in South Sulawesi influenced the islamization in the kingdom of Ternate, Tidore and Buton. Pelras states the islamization of South Sulawesi was through the network of Champa-patani-Aceh-Minangkabau-Banjarmasin-Demak-Giri-Ternate.<sup>6</sup>

The colonial rules of Portuguese, Netherlands and Japan were anxious of the Muslims' network forces. To diminish the influence of Islam, Portuguese baptized the elite of South Sulawesi: Suppa', Siang and their society in 1544, and in further year, Father Vicente had a special task from Portuguese government to look after Christians in South Sulawesi and successfully baptized new local leader, Bacukiki'dan Alitta.<sup>7</sup> After the effort of Portuguese, Netherlands continued to support the development of Christianity. Netherlands strengthened the linkages between trading; Christianity and local authority, which in some extents opposed the existence of Muslim traders and Sultanates. This clash pushed the Pan-Islamism movements from Middle East to Southeast Asia in 19 century, which influenced the dynamics of Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia. This encouraged the foundation of Muhammadiyah in 1912, founded by Ahmad Dahlan.

---

*Islamisme di Hindia-Belanda Timur pada Akhir Abad Kesembilan Belas dan Awal Abad Kedua Puluh* [Disorder and Riot: Three Writing on Pan-Islamism in Netherland East Indies at the End of 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centruties], Leiden-Jakarta: INIS, 2003, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi", *Indonesia*, No. 57 (April), Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1994, p. 136-137.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.



In this century, some *Ulama* (Muslim scholars) initiated Pesantrens in Java and other Netherland Indies regions. One of them was Pesantren of Gedang in Jombang founded by *Kyai Usman*, grandfather of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari (b. 14 February 1871). In the third end of 19 century, *Kyai Usman* had thousands of students and Sufi followers. K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari founded Pesantren of Tebuireng in Jombang in 1899 and Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926. Living in Mecca for seven years, influenced by Wahabism movement, Asy'ari opposed Abduh's thought on Muslim traditional scholars and their Qur'anic interpretation. Asy'ari said that it is impossible to comprehend Qur'an and Hadith without consulting to scholars' interpretation written in *Kitab Kuning*. Asy'ari learnt Islamic tradition from Syaikh Nawawi Al-Bantani, Syaikh Mahfuz Tremas and *Kyai Khalil Bangkalan*.<sup>8</sup>

Ahmad Dahlan and Hasyim Asy'ari would be surprised of the growth of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, which have had thousands pesantrens and schools, hundreds of hospitals, orphanages and other social-religious foundations. Both biggest Muslim organizations have had immense role in transforming social and political development in Indonesia since colonial periods. These long bases acquired an enormous challenge post Indonesian independence, particularly after returning of Indonesian Muslim scholars from their studies in Middle East, Pakistan and Afghan. Some of them even earned practices of *Jihad* in their phases of education.

In the 1980s and 1990s there were Middle Eastern-Wahabist university graduates construct new types of *Pesantrens*, which educate Islamist ideas. After the New Order, they mobilized *Jihad* against Christians of Maluku and Poso, Central Sulawesi in 1999. They also promote Islamist ideas against the American and Western ideologies and policies. The divisions of moderate and militant *pesantrens* change the dynamics of Indonesian Muslims in post Indonesian New Order. This paper will analyze the contemporary growth of *Pesantrens* and their ideas of *Jihad*, plurality and globalization. It is based on fieldwork in ten *Pesantrens* in five Indonesian regions: East Java, Central Java, West Java, South Sulawesi and West Nusa Tenggara. It argues that the plurality and Islamist ideas of *Pesantrens* are a response of global change, which in some extents against the pride of Islam.

---

<sup>8</sup> Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*, Leiden-Jakarta: INIS, 2002, p. 45.



## Theoretical Frameworks

This theoretical framework will describe the means of peace culture, non-violence and social transformations, which grow within pesantrens. These phenomenon changes both pluralistic-peaceful and radical-fundamentalist characters of pesantrens and their communities. There are two questions come up: whether pesantrens have roles of peace building initiatives and non-violent movements or pesantrens have also transformed Muslims into radical-fundamentalist?

Appleby argues that the manifestation of religious based violence inspired from discrimination of global politic and economy against minority powers. Critically Appleby states:

It tells of believers inspired by 'sacred rage' against racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination; unjust economic policies; unnecessary shortages of food, clean water, and basic education for the poor; corruption and hypocrisy in government; state or corporate policies that cause environmental pollution and deforestation; and the presence of millions of land mines in the soil of developing nations; and the systematic or collateral violations of human rights, whether by state security forces or by religious or secular combatants.<sup>9</sup>

Peace building and social works among Pesantren community are diverse from pesantren to pesantren. Some pesantren community interprets peace building from direct involvement in interfaith dialogues and communications. They even actively protect minority religious groups from any threats. Among them are pesantren communities of Situbondo, Tasikmalaya and Bagu, Mataram. In different works, some pesantren graduates formed reconciliation among Muslims and Communist people in East Java. Some traditionalist pesantren graduates attempt to reconcile their parents' violent experience against so called communist people.<sup>10</sup> In some conflicting regions, like Maluku and Poso, they also involves in constructing and strengthening traditional mediation and reconciliation institutions. Enceng Shobirin states this group beyond 'liberal Islam'. They construct positive values of liberalism, traditional Islamic norms and local culture.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> R Scott Appleby, 2000. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., p. 6-7

<sup>10</sup> A.S. Burhan, H.A. Taufiqurrahman and S. F. Huda, *Mengubur Dendam Menuai Demokrasi Panduan Resolusi Konflik dan Mediasi* [Buried to Take a Resentment Find Democracy A Guidance for Conflict Resolution and Mediation]. Yogyakarta: Syarikat Indonesia, 2003. Syarikat Indonesian is a Yogyakarta based NGO founded by young scholars of Nahdlatul Ulama, or so-called 'Cultural NU'. They graduated from traditional pesantrens, write a lot of books, advocacy for grassroot. Now they write a methodology book based on oral history of communist (PKI) victims from Banten to Banyuwangi. See: *Konsep Dasar Kerja Syarikat Indonesia Untuk Rehabilitasi dan Rekonsiliasi Korban Kemanusiaan 1965-1966* [Basic Concept of Syarikat Indonesia Works for Rehabilitation and Reconciliation of Humanity Victims 1965-1966], a draft. Yogyakarta: Syarikat Indonesia, 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Enceng Shobirin Naj. , interviews in Jakarta, 21 March 2005.



On the other hand, some other pesantren community makes their own interpretation of peace building. They said that Muslim and Christian relationship could be preserved by keeping peaceful and understanding between them. They should not make a dialogue in theological perspectives, but keep their own community in peaceful and tolerance. Peace Culture means non-violent culture, which conceptually and traditionally owned by Pesantren. What does non violent culture? Simon Fisher describes that violence will get nothing and impact to sufferings. Therefore, it needs non violent culture which will reach consciousness and actively avoid destructive behaviors.<sup>12</sup> In cultural context, Galtung interestingly illustrates:

Why do people kill? Partly because they are brought way---not directly to kill, but to see killing as legitimate under some conditions. That brings us to culture, that great legitimize of violence, but also of peace. Where do we find the key carriers of violence? The easy answer would be 'religion and ideology', since people are known to kill in the name of either.<sup>13</sup>

Galtung made two sides of peace from cultural dimension: Negative and Positive peace. In the negative peace, there are challenges of universalism, violence, war and chosen idea. To overcome it, Galtung looks ideological and religious dialogues turns into negative. On the other hand, there are also positive peace dimension: 'a center everywhere, relaxed time, holistic, global, nature partnership, equality, justice, life enhancement.'<sup>14</sup> Therefore, differences of tradition in pesantrens make fundamentalism of doctrines and will not make inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogues?

Pesantrens look peace culture variedly and have different manifestation. What pesantren does for Malukan Muslim student refugees have two dimensions: peaceful and develop a fundamentalist views and doctrines, which continuously strengthen 'anti-Christian' doctrines in pesantren education. What Ngruki network did for *Jihad* to Afghanistan, Mindanao and Ambon have also double dimension. Based on theoretical framework, this research looks peace culture from theology and teaching in pesantren, and their graduates experiences and networks. To understand such groups, I will utilize Moussalli's term of Islamist group of Muslim Brotherhood that is 'a militant group which believed in the sufficiency and supremacy of Islam and in literal interpretation of the Koran and Its Sunna'.<sup>15</sup> Moussali describes the group [as well] 'Islamic Fundamentalism [which] strives to erect societies

---

<sup>12</sup> Simon Fisher et al. 2000. *Mengelola Konflik Ketrampilan dan Strategi Untuk Bertindak*. Trans. S.N. Karikasari et al. Jakarta: British Council, p. 97.

<sup>13</sup> Johan Galtung. 1996. *Peace by Peaceful Means Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. Oslo dan London: PRIO dan SAGE Publications, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Ahmad S. Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: the Ideological of Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb*, Beirut: American University, 1995, p. 12.



whose basic components are justice, virtues, and equality. It is a movement that aims at making the two fundamentals, the *Qur'an* and the *syari'ah*, the bases of Muslim life and society and of the Islamic state.’<sup>16</sup>

## **Crisis, Conflict and Growth of Militant Organizations in Indonesia:**

### **New Pesantrens' Role**

Clifford Geertz states that *Kyais* (Traditional Islamic Boarding School Leaders) are significant cultural broker in Indonesian rural Muslims. They have transformed modern values into their religious community.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, among Muslims, *Kyais* and their *Pesantrens* are important factor in response of modern ideologies, cultures and politics. The *Pesantrens* have great role in assimilation of European modernity, Middle Eastern Islam and local cultures. It forms peaceful, plural and inclusive Indonesian Muslims for about a half century.

The role of pesantren community transforms periodically. Based on his study in the 1950s, Geertz found the role of *Kyai* and pesantren society in cultural broker. Although Geertz acquired a lot of critique on his interpretation of *Kyai*, *Abangan* and *Santri*, but his cultural interpretation stirred further research on Pesantren.<sup>18</sup> Horikoshi based on his finding in Pesantren of Garut, West Java, in 1970s asserts that *Kyai* and Pesantren community is more than just a broker but an agent of transformation.<sup>19</sup> Horikoshi's insight is enlightening New Order development in association with pesantren. Both Geertz and Horikoshi's argument can not understand how pesantren have changed after the collapse of the New Order. Pesantren community has involved actively in peace building initiatives, and promotes inter-religious reconciliation and harmony. It appears in some communal riots of Situbondo (October 1996), Tasikmalaya (December 1996), Mataram (January 2000), bloody conflicts of Maluku and Poso (1999-2002), and Aceh earth quake and tsunami (26 December 2004). It is similar to

---

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Clifford Geertz, "The Javanese Kijai: The Changing Role of A Cultural Broker", dalam *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2, p. 228-249, Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1960; Lihat juga Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

<sup>18</sup> Two Indonesian scholars Muchtarom and Dhofier criticise the variants of Geertz. Zaini Muchtarom, *Santri dan Abangan di Jawa* [Santri and Abangan in Java]. Jakarta: INIS, 1988. About the inconsistency of the variants, Dhofier describes: 'Lucunya identifikasi tentang Islam kolot ini sama dengan apa yang Geertz simpulkan tentang ciri-ciri abangan yang merupakan campuran dari pada kehidupan keagamaan yang bersifat animistik, Hindu-Budistis dan Islam'. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* [Pesantren Tradition: Study of the Views of Kyai Life], Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> H. Horikoshi, *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial* [Kiai and Social Change], Jakarta: P3M, 1987. About further role of Kyai in political development. See: E. Turmudi, *Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kijai in Jombang, East Java*, PhD thesis. Canberra: ANU, 1996.



Appleby's (2000?) interpretation of Buddhism role of Cambodia liberation against hegemony of Khmer Rouge. On the other hand, some pesantren communities legitimate Jihad against Christians in Maluku and Poso. Among them also committed for suicide bombings in some Indonesian regions. These opposite role of pesantren community clearly seem after the monetary crisis of 1997 and especially the collapse of authoritarian Soeharto's regime. The questions are whether their different part of *Jihad*: peaceful and destructive come from their interpretation of pesantren theology or their external direct experiences of wars (Afghan, Mindanao, Maluku and Poso). Islamism grows significantly after the pressures of the New Order to Islamic activists. Among them are Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar, who flee to Malaysia for *Dakwah* in exile. Ba'asyir and Sungkar mobilized volunteers of *Jihad* to Afghan war against USSR. Indonesian *Mujahidin* came also from Middle Eastern, Pakistan and Malay universities beyond Ba'asyir and Sungkar cliché.

Islamic identity rises in the period of Reformasi. Islamic Syari'ah oriented movements grow. They are divided into two types: peaceful militant and radical militant groups. Among the peaceful militant groups are Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) and Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syari'at Islam (KPPSI). While the radical militant groups are Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Laskar Jihad, Laskar Jundullah, Laskar Mujahidin and local laskars in conflicting regions of Maluku and Poso. These militant groups are organized by some Pesantren graduates, who have ideas transformation and ideological movement experiences of Johor, Malaysia-Afghanistan-Mindanao, Southern Philippines-Maluku-Poso holy wars.

However, most Indonesian Muslims respond negatively to such groups. They argue that the existing Islamic tradition, principles and life under nation-state of Indonesia is suitable to the roads of Prophet Muhammad. In the field work in five provinces on Indonesia, many Muslims have their system against the radical-militant groups' violent orientation. They keep on preserving peaceful, harmony, inclusive and tolerant inter-religious and multicultural Indonesia.

### **Scope of Research and Short Demography of Pesantrens**

This research concentrates on ten pesantrens of five provinces of Indonesia. It covers purposively in ten regencies (*Kabupaten*). Pesantrens and Islam have varieties of phenomenon in some regency. Some main issues are the idea and laws of Islamic syari'ah implementation, social conflict and how the elite of Pesantrens take a role in peace building initiatives, and



cultural-faith dialogues and relationship in and around Pesantrens. I examine the views of pesantrens, interviews the elite of pesantrens and the people around them, and make use of focus group discussion (FGD) with pesantren network, intellectual and CSO activists in the regions.

It will portray the history, course of teaching and social system within and around pesantrens. It will explore how ideas transformation builds up in Pesantren and among pesantren graduates after their study. The history of idea exchanges is a noteworthy to distinguish how movements have their historical background. In general, this part will be separated into three. **Firstly**, demography based on chief pesantrens set up before Indonesian independence in 17 August 1945. These pesantrens have played cultural roles, made communication between Middle Eastern and local traditions and beliefs, and created new mainstream of Islamic Indonesian culture for centuries. Among these pesantrens are (1) Pesantren Darud Dakwah Wal Irsyad (DDI) Mangkoso, Barru, South Sulawesi, (2) Pesantren Salafiah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, Situbondo, East Java, (3) Pesantren Cipasung, Tasikmalaya, West Java. In similar system but founded after 1950s are (4) Pesantren Qomarul Huda Bagu, West Nusa Tenggara, (5) Pesantren Al-Istiqlal Cianjur, Tasikmalaya, West Java and (6) Pesantren Edimancoro Salatiga, Central Java. **Secondly**, Pesantren originated after Indonesian independence. It opposes local tradition and syncretism. It endeavors to purify Islam by adopting Middle Eastern Islamic doctrines. They are inspired by Wahabism in early foundation, and then acquired diversities of doctrines from Hasan Al Banna, Al-Maududi, Abdullah bin Baz, Abdullah Azam and other Islamist founders. Some of such pesantren graduates have assimilated Islamist doctrines and *Jihad* experience in some battlefields of Afghanistan, Mindanao (Southern Philippines), Maluku and Poso (Eastern Indonesia). The Islamist groups are alienated into some factions, which have their own *guru* for their movement spirituality. Two such pesantrens I observed are (7) Pesantren Islam Al-Mukmin Nguki, Solo, Central Java, in which its graduates involved in accused terrorist organization *Jama'ah Islamiyah*, and connected militant cells for bombing foreign embassies and (8) Pesantren Darul Istiqamah (DI) Maros, South Sulawesi, where set up by former minister of education in Kahar Muzakkar DI/ TII governance in the 1950s. **Lastly**, modernist pesantrens regulated from modern Darussalam Gontor-LPIA and Saudi Arabia curricula. They engage simply on educational progress and do not build up radical-fundamentalist agendas like second type of Pesantrens discussed in this paper. They are (9) Pesantren Nurul Hakim Kediri, West Nusa Tenggara and (10) Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran, Lamongan, East Java. However, this paper





will only describe one pesantren for each type: a traditional Pesantren founded during Dutch colonial government, Pesantren Darut Dakwah Wal Irsyad (DDI) Mangkoso, South Sulawesi, a radical-fundamentalist Pesantren Islam Al Mukmin Ngruki, Central Java, and a modern Muhammadiyah affiliation pesantren, Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran, Lamongan, East Java.

### ***(1) Pesantren Darut Dakwah Wal Irsyad (DDI) Mangkoso, South Sulawesi***

Pesantren Darut Dakwah Wal Irsyad (DDI) was founded in 1939 in Mangkoso, centre of Barru kingdom, South Sulawesi in the circumstance support of local governance, religious and middle class communities. The initial foundation of DDI is *Majelis A'la Islami* (MAI) Mangkoso lead by *Anregurutta* (the word *Kyai* in Java) H. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle; the best student of MAI Sengkang chaired by *Anregurutta* Muhammad As'ad, and then named Pesantren As'adiyah after the death of As'ad.<sup>20</sup> In few years, MAI Mangkoso changed into DDI after getting some hundred adherents under assurance of Barru king after the obvious outcome of Ambo Dalle early guidance and teaching to Barru society. In the 1950s *Anregurutta* Ambo Dalle moved to Sulawesi forest being spiritual support of Kahar Muzakkar (DI/ TII leader) in exile.<sup>21</sup> After the death of Kahar Muzakkar, Ambo Dalle returned to his Pesantren and devoted his existence for the advance of Pesantren. DDI Mangkoso has progressed very well under Ambo Dalle leadership for more than 70 years. DDI's teaching is an integration of informal learning of classical Arabic written books [of Arabic grammar, Islamic history, theology, ethics, and Islamic jurisprudence], Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education school curricula systems.<sup>22</sup> Ambo Dalle died in 1996 and

---

<sup>20</sup> Azhar Arsyad *et al.* 2003. *Ke-DDI-an Sejarah dan Pandangan Atas Isu-isu Kontemporer*. Makassar: LKPMP, PB DDI dan Asia Foundation.

<sup>21</sup> *Anregurutta* Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle was not the only Muslim leader supporter of Kahar Muzakkar Revolution. There were some others: KH. Ahmad Marzuki Hasan, then a founder of Pesantren Darul Istiqamah Maccopa and other local leaders, who were mostly graduated from MAI Sengkang (Pesantren As'adiyah Sengkang).

<sup>22</sup> The following books are main references of Pesantren DDI Mangkoso, learnt for students of elementary and high schools, and university. In elementary level (*I'dadiyah*): *Alqur'an*, *Al-Jurumiyah* (Arabic grammar), *Al-Amsilatut Tashrifiyah* (Arabic grammar), *Hidayatul Mustafid* (Qur'anic learning method), Basic Arabic and English. Middle level (*Tsanawiyah*): *Atargibu Wat-Tarhib* (Muhammedan Exegesis), *Minhatul Mugist* (Approach for Mohammedan Exegesis), *Tafsir Al-Jalalain* (Qur'anic interpretation), *Ushul Tafsir*, *Al-Muinul Mubin* (Islamic jurisprudence), *Aqidatul Awwam* (Theology), *Akhlaq Lil Banat* (Ethics for Women), *As-Sulam* (Islamic jurisprudence methodology), dan *Al-Mabadiul Fiqhiyah*. Tingkat Higher level (*Aliyah*): *Alfiyah Ibnu Malik* (Arabic grammar), *Bidayatul Mujtahid* (Islamic jurisprudence), *Al-Bayan* (language), *Tarikh Tasyri'* (the history of Islamic jurisprudence), *Arudhi*, *Mantik* (logics), *tafsir jalain* (Qur'anic interpretation), *Ushul tafsir*, *Bulughul Maram* (Muhammedan exegesis). University level: *Al-fiqh Alal Mazahibil Arba'ah* (Comparative Islamic jurisprudence), *Al-Ahwal Al-Syakhsiyah*, *Ushul Fiqh Abu Zahrah/ Abdul Wahab Khalaf*, *Al-Muwatta*, *Al-Qadha' Fil islam*, *Ilmul Jarh Wat-Ta'dil*, *Subulus Salam*, *Tafsir Al-Maraghi/ Ibnu Katsir*, *Nailul Author*, *Tahafutul Falasifah*, *Al-Itqan Fi Ulumul Qur'an*, *Tarikh Tasyri Islam* Khudary Bek. Read: *Informasi Umum Pondok Pesantren Darud Dakwah Wal-Irsyad Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle (DDI-AD) Mangkoso, Barru, Sulawesi Selatan*. This is a leaflet of Pesantren DDI Mangkoso profile for 2004 students information.



succeeded by K.H. Faried Wajedy, M.A., an Al Azhar University graduate. Now Pesantren DDI has some Pesantren branches, thousand graduates and students from elementary schools to university (*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Ambo Dalle*, STAI-AD, Institute for Islamic Studies of Ambo Dalle). Pesantren DDI and its graduates have played imperative part in developing pluralism within Pesantren and Muslims in South Sulawesi. They have coped with cultural dialogues<sup>23</sup> and multi religious meeting in South Sulawesi. Under Ambo Dalle courage of local culture appreciation, Islam holds in Buginese population custom.

## **(2) Pesantren Islam Al-Mukmin Ngruki, Surakarta, Central Java**

Pesantren Islam Al-Mukmin Ngruki, popularly called Pesantren Ngruki, was founded by some *Ulama* (Muslim scholars) on 10 March 1972. They are *Ustaz* Abdullah Sungkar<sup>24</sup> (then became the first chairman), *Ustaz* Abu Bakar Ba'asyir<sup>25</sup>, *Ustaz* Abdullah Baradja, *Ustaz* Yoyo Rosywadi, *Ustaz* Abdul Qohar Haji Daeng Matase and *Ustaz* Hasan Basri, BA. In the early foundation, Pesantren Ngruki had fourty students. It is under a Yayasan Pendidikan Islam dan Panti Asuhan (YPIA, the Foundation for Islamic Education and Orphanage) in Surakarta.<sup>26</sup> Pesantren Ngruki has a principle of Al-Qur'an and *As Sunnah As Shahihah*, refusal of Pancasila as the sole principle. In the New Order period, Indonesian government pressured their radical-fundamentalist thought after the rejection of Pancasila. Abdullah Sungkar continued to lead Pesantren in exile until his return from Malaysia, and died after the collapse of Soeharto in 1999. Then Abu Bakar Ba'asyir succeeded Sungkar.

After Ba'asyir accused of involving *Jama'ah Islamiyah* and a Bali bombing, 12 October 2002, the leadership in temporary moved to his son. Ngruki is a name of village, where Pesantren

---

<sup>23</sup> Bissu community argue to learn Islam from *Anregurutta* Ambo Dalle. This is a result of Ambo Dalle and DDI community appreciation to Bissu tradition – local minority cultural group, which was forced to bury under Kahar Muzakkar Islamic purification. Halilintar Lathief, *Bissu Pergulatan dan Peranannya di Masyarakat Bugis*, Jakarta: Desantara, 2004. For Muzakkar's thought, see: Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar, *Konsepsi Negara Demokrasi Indonesia Koreksi Pemikiran Politik Pemerintah Soekarno*, Jakarta: Darul Falah, 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Born in Solo in 1937 to a well-known family of batik traders of Yemeni descent. Detained briefly in 1977 for urging abstention in national elections, then arrested with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir in 1978 on subversion charges for alleged involvement in *Komando Jihad/ Darul Islam*. Fled to Malaysia in 1985, founded Pesantren Lukmanul Hakim in Johor, died in Indonesia in November 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Born in Jombang in 1938, studied in Modern Pesantren Darussalam Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java in 1959-1963. After his graduation Ba'asir involved in Islamic Party Masyumi, Al-Irsyad organization, and active in *dakwah* (Islamic missionary) activities in Solo, organise Islamic radical movements – a symbolic resistance to the Soeharto regime. Fled to Malaysia in 1985 with Sungkar, and returned to Indonesia after the collapse of the New Order to teach at Pesantren Ngruki and helped to found *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI) in August 2000. Allegedly inherited leadership of *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) from Sungkar after the latter died in 1999, and under arrest in Jakarta on suspicion of involvement in terrorist activities on mid-October 2002. Obtained Jakarta state court's verdict about two years for a false document from Malaysia to Indonesia. This sentence disappointed some leaders in Europe, US and Australia. Ba'asyir's legal team appealed the case to the Indonesian Supreme Court.

<sup>26</sup> Zuly Qodir, *Ada Apa Dengan Pondok Pesantren Ngruki*, Bantul: Pondok Edukasi, 2003, p. 33.



lives, in the periphery of Solo city. According to the committee board of Pesantren, the vision of Pesantren is *Terbentuknya generasi Muslim yang siap menerima Islam secara kaffah* [the formation of Muslim generation, who accept Islam totally] and the mission of Pesantren is:

Mencetak kader ulama amilin fi sabilillah untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut pesantren menitikberatkan pada penajaman bidang aqidah, syariah, ahlak dan bahasa ...Memadukan semua unsur proses pembelajaran baik formal maupun non formal secara integral dan dalam satu komando pimpinan pesantren [To achieve *Ulama* cadre work in the path of Allah, Pesantren focus on theology, Islamic law, ethic and -foreign- language ... Integrate all elements of formal and informal learning process under a command of Pesantren leader].<sup>27</sup>

Pesantren Ngruki has targeted his students into the following character: (1) *Salimul Aqidah*, purified faith and theology generation; (2) *Shahihu Ibadah*, right prayer adherent of the Prophet Muhammad; (3) *Matinu Khuluq*, morally good and Islamic; (4) *Mutsaqoful Fikri*, having broader knowledge, science and technology; (5) *Qowiyul Jismi*, powerful and health Physic; (6) *Qadiran 'alal kasbi*, independent and autonomic; (7) *Nafian Linnafsi Wa Lighoirih*, beneficial for him/ herself and Muslim community; (8) *Mujahidan lidiniah*, struggle for the interest of Islam.

### **Education Level and Curricula**

To reach Pesantren target for constructing strong and good student, Pesantren Ngruki open the following educational level for young Muslims graduated from elementary schools: (1) Junior High School; (2) *Takhosus*, pre-high school; (3) *Kulliyatul Mu'alimin/ Mu'alimat* [high school for men and women]; (4) Madrasah Aliyah, a high school adopted Pesantren and state curricula (Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Education); (5) *Ma'had Aly* and the Institute for Islamic Studies (education and Islamic syari'ah faculties).

In general, references of Pesantren Ngruki are as follows. Theological (*Aqidah*) books: *Kitabul Iman*, *Fathul Madjid*, *Al-Islam*, and *Jundullah*. Islamic *Syari'ah* books: *Subulus Salam*, *Nailul Authar*, *Kitabus Sholat* (A.Hasan), and *Minhajul Muslimin*. Qur'anic interpretation: *Tafsir Al-Maroghi*. Arabic language books: *Jurumiyah*, *Syarah Ibnu Aqil*, *Amsalatil Arab*, and *An-Nahful Wafi*.<sup>28</sup> Students also obtain standard books of modern English and Arabic based on the curricula off Pesantren Modern Darussalam Gontor. Students study six days in a week from 07.00 a.m. to 5.15 p.m. and a holiday every Friday and Islamic holy days, except for university students, who study from 1.30 to 5.30 p.m. because they have to teach voluntarily their younger fellows in junior and high schools.

<sup>27</sup> Imam Ghozali, a research report for LP3ES and Forum Sebangsa, March 2005. It is based on interviews to Pesantren Ngruki leaders and his experience as a Pesantren Ngruki graduate.

<sup>28</sup> Zuly Qodir, *op.cit.* p. 52-53.



### (3) *Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran, Lamongan, East Java*

Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah is 'an *amal usaha*' of Indonesian religious department, under guidance of provincial board of Muhammadiyah. The origin Pondok (read: Pesantren) is Lembaga Madrasah Islamiah Paciran (Paciran Islamic Education Foundation) founded by K.H. M. Ridlwan Syarqowi in 1946, then the first chairman (died), supported by some *Ulama*., K.H. Tibyani Mujahid (died), K.H. Salamun Ibrahim (now an advisor) and K.H. A. Karim Zein. After the death of Syarqowi, K.H. A. Karim Zein becomes the chairman (*mudir 'am*). Students are varieties of origins: from Papua to Sumatra. This establishment of Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran is to purify the existing Islamic practices in Paciran district, liberated from *takhayul*, *bid'ah* and *khurafat* or in Muhammadiyah anecdote called TBC. In 1957 the foundation altered into Madrasah Muhammadiyah Paciran (Paciran Muhammadiyah School), which set up schools from kindergarten to university levels in further years.<sup>29</sup>

The word 'modern' in this Pesantren is based on some considerations:

1. The foundation of pesantren is a new program within Muhammadiyah, an education with a pesantren base. In Muhammadiyah, this pesantren is one of early strategy.
2. Pesantren applies the most current integrated education system, by assimilating formal and informal, religious and common curricula.
3. Although Kyai is the top figure in Pesantren, but education system is communicative.
4. Learning does not focus on *Kitab Kuning*, classical books (mostly learnt in traditional pesantren), but put more on understanding foreign languages.

Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran has four basic orientations: firstly, Islamic orientation, students have good conduct (*akhlaqul karimah*); apply *al-Ahkam as-Syar'iyah* (Islamic laws) and *aqidah as-Shahihah* (right theology). Secondly, knowledge orientation, that pesantren develop an equal religious and public (read: secular) sciences, based on the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education. *Thirdly*, language orientation that students should have good spoken and written Arabic and English. *Fourthly*, leadership orientation, students learn how to involve in student organizations within school curriculum and pesantren curriculum. Students become a member of martial arts of Tapak Suci, debate club, and Muhammadiyah Youth Foundation (IRM, *Ikatan Remaja Muhammadiyah*).

---

<sup>29</sup> *Profil Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah, Paciran, Lamongan Jawa Timur dan Kaidah Umum dan Tata Tertib Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah, Paciran, Lamongan Jawa Timur.*



Up to now, Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah has about a thousand students, and a half of it stay in Boarding schools of Pondok. Among its graduates have become preachers in all over Indonesia, in cooperation with Dewan Dakwah Islamiah Indonesia (DDII, Indonesian Muslim Preaching League), Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI, Indonesian Muslim Scholars Council) and Lembaga Dakwah Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah Preaching Foundation).

### **Pluralism and Islamist Ideas: Multi-Interpretation in Pesantrens**

The provisions of pluralism and Islamist ideas of pesantrens cover on conflict resolution, inter-religious (cultural) relationship, and gender. These issues are originated within pesantren society through in-depth interviews and observation. Such experience will engender variedly in practical terms, particularly the circumstance of their responses on conflicts, democracy and political participation. In Galtung and Appleby arguments on religious reasons of violence and on the other hand, on peaceful liberty of democracy put pesantrens' position in both harmony and radical violence. Whether such opposite tendencies are derived from their interpretation of pesantren teaching and their community experience in peace building and holy wars?

However, it means that pesantrens of Indonesia have grown into both trends: pluralized and Islamized. Most traditional pesantrens under Nahdlatul Ulama's tradition devote a pluralistic living of pesantren community and its surrounding. The pesantrens organize interfaith dialogues in Pesantrens, and manage its students to save churches during Christmas in some extents. Kyais in these pesantrens refuse the movements of Jihad to conflicting regions of Maluku and Poso against Christians. Rokens-Bull states this trend as *Peaceful Jihad*. That such pesantrens have their own Jihad, which is peaceful and harmonious. On the contrary, some other pesantrens are fundamentalist in their education, networks and movements. They refuse interfaith dialogues in Pesantrens and promote Jihad to conflicting regions of Maluku and Poso. They argue that the Jihad is compulsory for Muslim to support their Muslim fellows against the pressures of Christians. Among them, it is a holy war (*Jihad fi Sabilillah*).

The following are pesantrens' ideas and movement on four basic issues of conflict resolution, inter-religious and inter-cultural relationship, and gender. It is based on study of ten pesantrens, and therefore, it will analyze some ideas and experience among pesantrens on those issues. It argues that traditional pesantrens have higher awareness and participation on



pluralistic agenda, while modern-radical pesantrens have their own interpretation and commitment on such issues based on their books, teachings and regional experiences.

## **Conflict Resolution, Pluralism and Gender Equality:**

### **The Experience of Pesantrens**

Pesantrens and their community have developed ideas and movement of peace building, religious (and cultural) communication and gender equality (in some extents). These pluralities grow significantly within Pesantrens and especially among their graduates, who involve in some civil society organizations.

Pesantrens have different interpretations and action on conflict resolution. It is based on Pesantrens' role and ideas on resolution of five communal conflicts of Situbondo, Tasikmalaya, Mataram, Maluku and Poso. Communal violence got a significant interest from many researcher, especially after the collapse of the New Order, transitional periods, where many people died after conflicts. UNSFIR states that there are 4.771 died in 465 incidents or 76.9 percentage of death. 437 of 465 incidents were after the collapse of the New Order.<sup>30</sup> Previously violence were in the rebellions of DI/ TII of West Java in 1950, DI/ TII of Kahar Muzakkar 1947 – 1954, Permesta, RMS 1950, slaughtering of communist people after the coups of September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1965., Malari incident (15 January 1974), Tanjung Priok tragedy (12 September 1984), and incidents of Aceh, Papua and East Timor.<sup>31</sup>

In contemporary Indonesia, there are a lot of IDPs because of the conflicts. Therefore, it needs conflict healing, which involves religious and traditional institution leaders, and local government. Historically pesantren communities have successfully reduced the impact of violence in each conflict. There are at least three riots in 1996 involving pesantren as reconciliatory and mediator of riot resolution: Sirubondo riots (10 October 1996) and Tasikmalaya (26 December 1996).<sup>32</sup> I agree with Bertrand's arguments that there are at least

---

<sup>30</sup> Mohammad Zufan Tadjoeuddin, *Anatomy of Social Violence in the Context of Transition: The Case of Indonesia 1990-2001*, Working Paper Series No. 02/ 01-E, Jakarta: UNSFIR, 2002, p. 28-29. Tadjoeuddin's research is cooperation between UNSFIR and Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies of the LP3ES, which involve regional researcher. Also Ashutosh Varshney, Rizal Panggabean & Mohammad Zufan Tadjoeuddin, *Pattern of Collective Violence in Indonesia (1990-2003)*, Discussion Paper Series No. 04/03-E, Jakarta: UNSFIR, 2004.

<sup>31</sup> There are varieties of death toll from the conflicts. Communist coups death toll is between 500.000 – 600.000 and Tanjung Priok is 63. Tadjoeuddin, *Op.Cit.*, p. 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> Other communal riots are anti-Chinese riots in Purwakarta, West Java, 1-2 November 1995, riots of Christianization response and anti-Chinese in Rengasdengklok, Karawang, West Java, 30 January 1997, and related-election riots in Pekalongan, Central Java, March 1997, and election related riots in Madura, June 1997.



three reasons of 1996-1997 riots: socio-economic inequalities, provocation and absence of political communication.<sup>33</sup> It opposes the speculation of conflict analysis that the contemporary riots and conflicts in Indonesia are inspired of ethno-religious sentiments. However, such ideological means is effective trigger of riots and violence, which have been preserved by the New Order in the long term.

Some Indonesians see Situbondo riots from varied perspectives: conspiracy and social economy. Youth Movement of Ansor, young group of Nahdatul Ulama, argues that the riots are conspiracies. They said that Situbondo community is *santri*, pious Muslims, and have not serious ethno-religious relationship and communication problems. Gajah Mada University and Research Institute of the Ministry of Religious Affairs refuse Ansor's argument. They argue that the riots are merely socio-economic impacts of Situbondo community, who express of economic justice.<sup>34</sup> This case is originally from Muhammad Soleh verdict, accused of humiliating KH As'ad Syamsul Arifin (d. ). It was stated at court on 10 October 1996. This verdict impacted on hard protests of about four thousand people around the court, who then burnt and destroyed buildings. The people consist of paddies traders, farmers, labors, public transportation drivers and some santri. They were disappointed of court verdict of Sholeh. It was at 8.30 a.m. they burnt cars and motors in front of Public Court of Situbondo attempt to find the judge and the accused person. Only two hundred polices attempt to oppose the protesters. In seven hours, they destroyed buildings in about a hundred kilometer square. Five persons were died and other twenty two churches, some supermarkets, Chinese-owned shops, restaurant, and government buildings were burnt. It came about until afternoon. In a day after, some religious leaders had a meeting to solve the riots. Among them was K.H. Ahmad Fawa'id, the son of K.H.As'ad Syamsul Arifin, who became a host of regular meeting among religious leaders in his pesantren of Salafiah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, Situbondo, East Java.

K.H. Mudzakkir Abdul Fattah, secretary of chairman of Pesantren Salafiah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, Situbondo states:

---

Almost such riots resolution involves *Ulama* and pesantren communities. Imam Tholkhah et.al. (eds.), *Socio-Religious Conflict in Indonesia*, Jakarta: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2002.

<sup>33</sup> Jacques Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 110-112.

<sup>34</sup> M. Zainuddin Daulay, "Konflik Kekerasan di Situbondo, Jawa Timur (Violent Conflict in Situbondo, East Java)", dalam Imam Tholkhah et.al. (eds.), *op. cit.* p. 125-126.



What pesantren (read: K.H. Fawa'id) accomplished after the conflict construct cooperation with other Kyais. It is an endeavor to slow down people fury by making them conscious not to burn church any more ... Kyai Fawa'id facilitates meetings among Muslim-Christian leaders and the riots' victims.<sup>35</sup>

Reconciliation process works profitably. Now inter-faith communities have more harmonious and closer bond in Situbondo regencies. By two months, 26 December 1996, communal riots occurred in Tasikmalaya, West Java. The issue is similar to the riots of Situbondo, Muslim protest to the court verdict. In Tasikmalaya riots, police is the early reason of riots. The damage after the riots is about 82 million rupiahs.<sup>36</sup> It began on Saturday, 19 December 1996, Rizal, a *santri* (student of pesantren) got punishment from the pesantren committee accused on cheating in pesantren Riyadul Ulum Wad-Dakwah Condong, Cibereum, Tasikmalaya, West Java.<sup>37</sup> Rizal is a son of Nursyamsi, a Police officer of Tasikmalaya. Nursyamsi was disappointed of the punishment system of the pesantren to his son, and on 23 December 1996 attempted to penalize some *ustaz* (teacher) of the pesantren. Among the teachers was Mahmud Farid, son of K.H. Makmun - a chairman of pesantren Condong, who was injured because of Nursyamsi and his Police colleagues' sentence. It was on 25 December 1996, when Farid was being hospitalized, issues spread that a pesantren teacher died. A group of young Muslims protested to ask Police responsibility of the teacher's death. On 26 December 1996, thousand protesters, mobilized by university student organizations, had a meeting at central mosque, which is only a hundred meter from Police office. Few hours after, protesters burned and destroyed 89 shops, 114 cars, 12 churches, 21 public offices (including police and other local government buildings), 8 car dealers, 6 banks, 3 hotels and 22 motor cycles. The total damage cost about 85 billion rupees.

Nurzyamsi and other police officers were fired after the riots. In recovery of the riots, some Kyai (religious leaders of pesantrens) actively involved by managing meetings among security forces, local government and religious leaders.

---

<sup>35</sup> "Yang dilakukan oleh pesantren dalam hal ini oleh Kyai Fawa'id setelah konflik tersebut adalah bekerja sama dengan beberapa kyai yang lain berusaha menenangkan masyarakat yang emosinya pada saat itu sedang memuncak dengan menyadarkan mereka untuk tidak melampiaskan emosinya lagi dan tidak membakar gereja lagi...Hal lain yang dilakukan oleh Kyai Fawa'id adalah memfasilitasi pertemuan para tokoh Islam dengan para pemimpin gereja serta menjadi fasilitator adanya bantuan-bantuan kepada gereja-gereja atau korban pembakaran tersebut." K.H. Mudzakkir Abdul Fattah, an interview in Sukorejo, Situbondo, 4 Oktober 2004.

<sup>36</sup> Ibnu Hasan Mughtar, "Kasus Kerusuhan Sosial Bernuansa SARA di Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat [SARA Riots in Tasikmalaya, West Java]", in Imam Tholkah et.al. (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>37</sup> Generally pesantrens have their own system of rule. Abdurrahman Wahid states that Pesantren have similar models with Military Academy in terms of diciplines and integral. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan", dalam Sa'id Aqiel Siradj et.al , *Pesantren Masa Depan: Wacana Pemberdayaan dan Transformasi Pesantren* [Pesantren Future: Empowerment and pesantren transformation], Jakarta: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999, hal. 13.





Another pesantren's role in peace building is in Mataram. It was a year after Maluku conflict, 16 January 2000, *Pengajian Akbar* (great Islamic gathering) was held responding Muslim-Christian conflict in Maluku. A day before the event, TGH Turmudzi Badruddin, a chairman of pesantren Bagu, asked Bagu people not attend the provocative gathering. According to *Tuanguru* (TGH) Badruddin, the gathering is more political and did not contribute to Muslim solidarity. TGH Badruddin stated:

A night before Mataram riots, I went out and informed through mosques that people should not attend gatherings in Mataram. It will not be good especially related to the issue of Ambon conflict. *Alhamdulillah*, some of them did not attend, but some other did. In fact, there were burnings and destroying after the gatherings.<sup>38</sup>

It was on Monday morning, 17 January 2000, Islamic great gathering (*Rapat Akbar*) was held in Mataram city square. The gathering was a response of violence against Muslims in Maluku.<sup>39</sup> After the gathering, people burned churches, government buildings and Christian schools.<sup>40</sup> More than one thousand five hundred Christians and Chinese refuge to Bali and Java.<sup>41</sup>

## **Inter-Religious and Cultural Dialogues:**

### **Challenge of Plurality in Pesantrens**

The term of pluralism in this context is the advocate of inter religious and cultural relationship and dialogues. Both aspects have become main reasons of riots and conflicts. The qualification of pesantren's role in harmony is their contribution in peace building and ethno-religious communication. I argue that wahabis and modernist pesantren have wider misunderstanding of the role of Islam in peaceful co-existence. On the other hand, traditional – Nahdatul Ulama affiliation pesantren have more harmony and tolerant culture of pesantren. Therefore, their graduates contribute to whether harmonious and peaceful community.

Most Pesantrens, however, argue that they have implemented a pluralistic policy and approach in relation among community networks of pesantren, other non-Muslim communities and minority groups. However, the interpretation of Pluralism is deferent

---

<sup>38</sup> "Pada malam sebelum kerusuhan di Mataram, saya keluar dan umumkan melalui masjid (di Bagu) agar mereka tidak ikut-ikutan ke Mataram, karena akan tidak baik, masalahnya ada kaitan dengan kasus Ambon. Dan alhamdulillah, sebagian mereka ada yang tidak jadi berangkat dan tapi ada juga yang berangkat. Dan ternyata benar hasilnya mereka bakar-bakar gereja dan lain-lain." TGH Turmudzi Badruddin, an interview in Bagu, NTB, 3 Oktober 2004.

<sup>39</sup> "Mataram Mencekam Ada Pembicara Gelap Dalam Rapat Akbar", *Kompas*, 19 January 2000.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*



between one and other pesantrens. Marzuki Abdul Fatah (48) states that K.H. Ahmad Fawa'id (50), the chairman of the Pesantren Salafiah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, Situbondo, has introduced pluralism in Pesantren because Fawai'd actively invited Christian priests to have a dialogue in Fawa'id's pesantren. Marzuki is the secretary of Fawai'd and conducts regular inside policies of pesantren.<sup>42</sup> In Marzuki's sense Pluralism is inter-religious dialogues, communications and relationships in order to preserve a life of coexistence peace building. Pluralism in this sense is the commitment of Pesantren community in inter-religious relationship. In similar sense, pluralism means also relationship between Islam and other minority beliefs. It is a practice of K.H. Ambo Dalle (died in 2002), the founder of the Pesantren of Darut Dakwah Wal Irsyad (DDI) Mangkoso, South Sulawesi, who protected the community of *Bissu* in South Sulawesi. *Bissu* community has their own system of prayer, which different from regular Islam. Therefore, some radical and modernist Pesantren opposed these beliefs. In the period of DI/TII of Kahar Muzakkar, *Bissu* community were destroyed and pressured because of their *bid'ah* and *musyrik* practice under Islamic state of Darul Islam in South Sulawesi. In Javanese traditional Pesantrens, local practices or popularly called *Adat* are assimilated in Islamic traditions.<sup>43</sup> They even have their amalgam culture of Javanese Islam. In some local Islamic traditions, such amalgamation becomes new brand of Buginese Muslim, Butonese Muslim and Sasak Muslim.

The views of interfaith and Islam-adat relationships are opposed by radical fundamentalist groups of Pesantrens. These kinds of pesantrens have attached with the spirit of Islamic state of Indonesia (*Negara Islam Indonesia*, NII). Some of them were founded by the defenders of DI/ TII in Java and South Sulawesi. The currently main teachers of such pesantrens are the fourth-fifth generation of DI/ TII, who are more radical than the previous generations, like Abdullah Sungkar, Kahar Muzakkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. These pesantrens supported the vision of PKS politics, but refused to put pesantrens into certain incumbent of political parties. It is a strategy to neutralize and look after pesantrens from varieties of political parties. In some extent, they have strong relationship with some military veterans. For example, in the advisor board of Pesantren Al Mukmin of Ngruki, they set a national armed veteran.

---

<sup>42</sup> Marzuki Abdul Fatah, a seminar, Jakarta, 7-8 February 2005. I invited Marzuki to actively attend a national seminar organized by the LP3ES, which I was the program officer. It is an evaluation and national review after six month field research and writing report. I also invited other elite of pesantrens, where this research took place.

<sup>43</sup> AG Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims*, Jakarta: Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, 2004.



They have also point of views of interfaith dialogues, and Islamic approach to local adat. Wahyudin, the chairman of the pesantren Al Mukmin of Ngruki, where Abu Bakar Ba'asyir used to lead, states that pluralism has been a deep concern in Islam, and its code of conduct is in the Holy Qur'an: *Lakum Dīnukum Waliyadīn* [Your religion is yours and my religion is mine] (Al-Kafirun).<sup>44</sup> In Wahyudin's sense Pluralism is living in harmony without intervention and direct dialogue among each religious authority. Religions should have a transparent distance.

### **Gender Justice**

Women participation within pesantren is almost similar in pesantrens. Women and Men have same chances in getting education, access of books, and other trainings in pesantrens. Juju, a woman teacher of Pesantren Cipasung, Tasikmalaya argues that women students have also same chances to attend discussions, reading books, joined speech training, and sport. Women students even have higher capacity in certain skills and knowledge. However, in *Kitab Kuning* (yellow books – pesantren references) women are interpreted under discrimination terms. For example, in *Uqudul Jain*, one of primary books for Pesantren students, that women (read: wives) have to follow her husband.

Some women graduated from pesantrens have become important positions in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, dean of university, religious preacher, journalist chief, parliament member, becoming a minister, and a chair of pesantren. Mona Abaza interestingly describes how women find respected position in religious organizations of Nahdatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah.<sup>45</sup> Muhammadiyah founded *Aisyiyah*, a women's section, in 22 April 1917, which played important role in women's education. It concentrated its attempt on teaching the Qur'an to women. The Association also set up kindergarten, maternity clinics, and professional schools for women.<sup>46</sup>

Some important profile of women graduated from Pesantren; among them are Tuti Alawiyah, Zakiyah Daradjat, Siti Musdah Mulia, and Yeni Wahid. Tuti Alawiyah is a graduate of IAIN and a head of the Pesantren *As-Syafi'iyah* in East Jakarta. Zakiyah Daradjat was a Dean of

---

<sup>44</sup> Wahyudin, interview, Solo, September 2004, by Imam Ghozali; *Research Report of the Role of Pesantren in Developing Community Network and Peaceful Coexistence in Indonesia*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 2005.

<sup>45</sup> Mona Abaza, *Islamic Education Perceptions and Exchange Indonesian Students in Cairo*, Raspaill: Association Archipel, 1994, p. 152.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p. 160.



Education Faculty of IAIN *Sunan Kalijaga* Yogyakarta. From 1971-1978 Zakiyah was Director of Higher Education in Indonesia, and from 1977-1984 she held chief position in the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Zakiyah originates and learnt at Women Pesantren from Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, and obtained her M.A. and Ph.D in 'Ain Shams University at the Faculty of Psychology. Siti Musdah Mulia is a Professor in Political Islam and expert staff in some varieties of ministries: Ministry of Human Rights, Ministry of Man Power, and Ministry of Religious Affairs. She graduated from women pesantren in South Sulawesi, and continued his master and PhD at the State Islamic University of Jakarta. She is now a leader in some social institutes, and committed for harmony and plurality in Indonesia. She has just leaded a controversial team work for Comparative Legal Drafting of Islamic Law Codes (*Kompilasi Hukum Islam*). One of her best books is *Muslimah Reformis: Perempuan Pembaharu Kemerdekaan* [Reformer Muslim Women: Freedom and Reformer Women], Bandung, Mizan, 2005. All of them have had Pesantren education experience, and gained broader and advanced success after their participation in public space.

### **Jihad and the Accomplishment of Islamic *Syari'ah***

I also search on the issue of Jihad and the implementation of Islamic *syari'ah* in Pesantrens. There are some arguments and experience of these issues. Most NU based pesantrens refuse the term of Jihad like what some Islamic organization urged for Maluku and Poso conflict. They said that Jihad in Indonesian context is developing education and poverty eradication. A Muhammadiyah based pesantren also has similar interpretation, but morally it supported Mujahidin for Maluku and Poso. On the other hand, two pesantrens of Al-Mukmin, Surakarta and Darul Istiqamah, Maros, support directly the compulsory for Jihad to Maluku and Poso against local Christians. Both pesantrens also actively promote the implementation of Islamic *syari'ah* in Indonesia. Islamic *syari'ah* in Makassar tradition has been integrated as part of *pangandereng* [adat].<sup>47</sup> In Sundanese tradition, Islam is also integrated in local martial arts and their refusal to attempts of Islamic fundamentalism groups of Darul Islam (1950) and *Komando Jihad* (1970) and contemporary movements of Islamic *syari'ah* implementation proposal. Kiai Mahalli, a chairman of Pesantren Al Istiqlal Cianjur, West Java argues that such *Jihad* opposes the peaceful meaning of Islamic *Jihad*.<sup>48</sup> Such Islamist movements are also different from the peaceful *Jihad* in Pesantren tradition. Mas'ud cites some works studied intensively in traditional Pesantren or the first type of pesantren in this paper that *al-amr bi-l*

<sup>47</sup> Ahmad Saransi, *Tradisi Masyarakat Islam Sulawesi Selatan*, Makassar: LPPTM, 2003, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Kiai Muhammad Mahalli, an interview, Cianjur, 7 October 2004, by Abdul Mun'im. See: Suryadi, Suhardi & Sholeh, Badrus (eds.). *Research Report of the Role of Pesantren in Developing Community Network and Peaceful Coexistence in Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 2005, p. 27.



*ma'ruf* (enjoining the good) is a *fard kifaya* (collective duty) and remains as important as *Jihad*, to struggle or fight as a religious duty. Mas'ud quotes Sayyid Abu Bakr's interpretation on *Jihad*: '*Al-Jihad hua fardu kifayatun kulla 'am kaqiyamin bihujajin diniyya wa 'ulumi shar'iyya wa daf'I dararin ma'sum wa amri ma'ruf*' [Jihad is collective duty for all kinds like indeed devotion to religion and *Syari'ah* sciences, driving away any harm and enjoining the good].<sup>49</sup>

The regional laws of Islamic *syari'ah* implementation are popular in some Indonesian regions nowadays. Tasikmalaya regent, the centre government in Indonesian local autonomy, publishes the Regional Laws of Tasikmalaya regency number 03, 2001 on Strategic Plans of Tasikmalaya Regency in 2001-2005. It comprises of the implementation of Islamic *syari'ah* in the term of good conduct and clean governance (free from collusion and nepotism). Such laws are not more than doctrines, which government officers fail to implement by themselves. More clearly and transparently, Bulukumba, South Sulawesi regional government produces three laws in regions: The Regional Laws of Bulukumba Regency Number 6, 2003 on 'the obligatory reading skills for students and bridegrooms in the regency of Bulukumba [*Pandai Baca Al-Qur'an Bagi Siswa dan Calon Pengantin Dalam Kabupaten Bulukumba*]', The Regional Laws Number 2, 2003 on 'Regulation of Professional Zakat, Infaq and Shadaqah in the regency of Bulukumba [*Pengelolaan Zakat Profesi, Infaq dan Shadaqah Dalam Kabupaten Bulukumba*]', The Regional Laws Number 5, 2003, on 'The Means of Dressing for Male and Female Women in Bulukumba Regency [*Berpakaian Muslim dan Muslimah di Kabupaten Bulukumba*]'. Bulukumba Regent argues to apply Islamic *syari'ah* principles in the Regency of Bulukumba. For this phenomenon, KPPSI conducts a national congress in Bulukumba at the end of March 2005 supported the strategic plans of Bulukumba regional government in implementing Islamic *Syari'ah*. Pesantren Darul Istiqamah has also carried out *Tabligh Akbar* in Bulukumba shortly before the congress, also in supporting Bulukumba regent in Islamic *syari'ah* accomplishment.<sup>50</sup> The phenomenon in Cianjur, Tasikmalaya, West Java and Bulukumba, South Sulawesi are in line with what Moussalli's term as 'believed in

---

<sup>49</sup> Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *The Religion of Pesantren: Peace or Terror?*, a Paper presented in a National Seminar 'the Role of Pesantren in Developing Community Network and Peaceful Coexistence in Indonesia', Jakarta, February 2005, organised by LP3ES and Forum Sebangsa. About Mas'ud's quotes, read: Sayyid Abu Bakar, *The Sharh l'anat al-Talibin*, IV, Bandung, no date, p. 180-182.

<sup>50</sup> Mudzakkir M. Arief, an informal talk, Jakarta, February 2005. Arief was born in Makassar, 13<sup>th</sup> March 1968. Graduated from his grand father's Pesantren Darul Istiqamah, continued to LIPIA Jakarta, graduated in 1990, and got master degree in Jami'ah Iman, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia in 1997. He has actively involved in International Muslim leadership in Malaysia, Middle East and Europe. "Pimpinan Pesantren Darul Istiqamah", *Suara Istiqamah*, First Edition, Muharram 1425/ February 2004, p.16.



the sufficiency and supremacy of Islam' and in regional advocacy of their laws inspire the protest of Indonesian national laws failure of executing corruption – a mainstream basis for ordinary Indonesians of everlasting crisis since 1998. It is also like what Moussali's account of 'justice, virtues and equality' of Islamist movements' reasons.<sup>51</sup>

## Conclusion

To conclude that pesantrens have contributed to the social and political harmony in Indonesian history by a long brand of moderate Islam compared to Islam in Central Asia and Middle East. It is a result of an assimilation of Middle Eastern Islam and local tradition. In this position, Pesantrens successfully and creatively create a bridge of dialogues and communication between civil and state, and among civil societies. Geertz and Horikoshi name the role of pesantrens in similar spirit of 'broker' and 'agent' of development and social changes. Pesantrens (and their leaders, *Kyai, Tuanguru, Ajengan, Teungku, Bendara, Ustaz*) are also in line with what Appleby's term as 'a peace maker', a close comparison to Cambodian religious leaders in liberation toward a democratic and independent state. In the periods of communal conflicts in Indonesia, Pesantren leaders were main guard of resolution, reconciliation. They also promote plurality values through inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogues and in some extents attempt to give more participation for women (read: gender equality). There are some *Ulama* women in Islamic worlds, and especially in Indonesian pesantren tradition. Some women Muslim scholars graduated from Pesantrens, and devote in varieties of works. In post New Order, pesantren community supported the emergence of civil society and lead local expression of clean governance, democracy and anti-corruption forces. However, there are few pesantrens supported the formalization of Islamic syari'ah implementation and the voices of *Jihad* against infidels. I agree with Moussali's reasons of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism: the proposal of justice, equality and also supremacy of Islam. Some of Indonesian militant Muslims protests to the failure of Indonesian development and the bribery's culture. The new phenomenon of regional laws refer to the critique of Indonesian failure in law supremacy, clean governance and democratic economy. The everlasting crisis will hopefully make Indonesia in the side of stability and harmony. It is a refusal of Galtung claims of radical-terrorist in Pesantrens.

---

<sup>51</sup> Moussali, *op.cit.*, p. 13.



## Bibliography

Abaza, Mona

1994 *Islamic Education Perceptions and Exchange Indonesian Students in Cairo*. Association Archipel, Raspail.

Appleby, R Scott

2000 *The Ambivalence of the Sacred Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham.

Arsyad, Azhar *et al.*

2003 *Ke-DDI-an Sejarah dan Pandangan Atas Isu-isu Kontemporer* ['Ke-DDI-an': History and Views on Contemporary Issues]. LKPMP, PB-DDI and Asia Foundation, Makassar

Bakar, Sayyid Abu

No date. *Sharh I'anat al-Talibin*, IV, Bandung: 180-182.

Bertrand, Jacques

2004 *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Burhan, A.S. , Taufiqurrahman, H.A. and Huda, S. F.

2003 *Mengubur Dendam Menuai Demokrasi Panduan Resolusi Konflik dan Mediasi* [Buried to Take a Resentment Find Democracy A Guidance for Conflict Resolution and Mediation]. Syarikat Indonesia, Yogyakarta.

Daulay, M. Zainuddin

2002 "Konflik Kekerasan di Situbondo, Jawa Timur (Violent Conflict in Situbondo, East Java)", in Imam Tholkhah et.al. (eds.), *Socio-Religious Conflict in Indonesia*. Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta.

Dhofier, Zamakhsyari

1994 *Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* [Pesantren Tradition: Study of the Views of Kyai Life]. LP3ES, Jakarta.

Fisher, Simon et al.

2000 *Mengelola Konflik Ketrampilan dan Strategi Untuk Bertindak* [Managing Conflict Skill and Strategy to Act]. Translated by S.N. Karikasari et al. British Council, Jakarta.

Galtung, Johan

1996 *Peace by Peaceful Means Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. PRIO dan SAGE Publications, Oslo and London.

Geertz, Clifford

1960 *The Religion of Java*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

1971 *Islam Observed*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

"The Javanese Kijai: The Changing Role of A Cultural Broker", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2: 228-249.

Horikoshi, H.

1987 *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial* [Kiai and Social Change]. P3M, Jakarta.



- Informasi Umum Pondok Pesantren Darud Dakwah Wal-Irsyad Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle (DDI-AD) Mangkoso, Barru, Sulawesi Selatan* [General Information of Pesantren DDI-AD Mangkoso, Barru, South Sulawesi]. A leaflet of Pesantren DDI Mangkoso profile for 2004 students information. Barru: DDI Mangkoso, 2004.
- Kaidah Umum dan Tata Tertib Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah, Paciran, Lamongan Jawa Timur*. Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah, Lamongan.
- Konsep Dasar Kerja Syarikat Indonesia Untuk Rehabilitasi dan Rekonsiliasi Korban Kemanusiaan 1965-1966* [Basic Concept of Syarikat Indonesia Works for Rehabilitation and Reconciliation of Humanity Victims 1965-1966] , a draft. Yogyakarta: Syarikat Indonesia, 2005.
- Lathief, Halilintar  
2004 *Bissu Pergulatan dan Peranannya di Masyarakat Bugis* [The Struggle and Role of Bissu in Buginese Society]. Desantara, Jakarta.
- Mas'ud, Abdurrahman  
2005 *The Religion of Pesantren: Peace or Terror?*, a Paper presented in a National Seminar 'the Role of Pesantren in Developing Community Network and Peaceful Coexistence in Indonesia', Jakarta, February 2005. LP3ES and Forum Sebangsa, Jakarta.
- 'Mataram Mencekam Ada Pembicara Gelap Dalam Rapat Akbar [Dibble Mataram A Mysterious Speaker in Religious Great Meeting]', *Kompas*, 19 January 2000.
- Moussalli, Ahmad S.  
1995 *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: the Ideological of Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb*. American University, Beirut.
- Muchtar, Ibnu Hasan  
2002 "Kasus Kerusuhan Sosial Bernuansa SARA di Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat [SARA Riots in Tasikmalaya, West Java]", in Imam Tholkhah et.al. (eds.). *Socio-Religious Conflict in Indonesia*. Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta.
- Muchtarom, Zaini  
1988 *Santri dan Abangan di Jawa* [Santri and Abangan in Java]. INIS, Jakarta.
- Mudzakkar, Abdul Qahhar  
1999 *Konsepsi Negara Demokrasi Indonesia Koreksi Pemikiran Politik Pemerintah Soekarno* [Indonesian Democratic State Concept A Correction of Soekarno's Government Political Thought]. Darul Falah, Jakarta.
- Muhaimin, AG.  
2004 *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims*. Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Mulia, Siti Musdah  
2005 *Muslimah Reformis: Perempuan Pembaharu Kemerdekaan* [Reformer Muslim Women: Freedom and Reformer Women], Mizan, Bandung.
- Pelras, Christian  
1994 "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi", *Indonesia*, No. 57 (April), Cornell Southeast Asia Program.
- "Pimpinan Pesantren Darul Istiqamah [Leaders of Pesantren Darul Istiqamah]", *Suara Istiqamah*, First Edition, Muharram 1425/ February 2004.





- Profil Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah, Paciran, Lamongan Jawa Timur* [Profile of Modern Pesantren Muhammadiyah, Paciran, Lamongan, East Java]. Pondok Modern Muhammadiyah, Lamongan.
- Qodir, Zuly. *Ada Apa Dengan Pesantren Ngruki* [What Happened with Pesantren Ngruki]. Pondok Edukasi, Bantul.
- Saransi, Ahmad  
2003 *Tradisi Masyarakat Islam Sulawesi Selatan* [Muslim Tradition in South Sulawesi]. LPPTM, Makassar.
- Schmidt, Jan  
2003 “Pan-Islamisme di Antara Porte, Den Haag dan Buitenzorg [Pan-Islamism Among Porte, Den Haag and Buitenzorg]”, in Nico J. G. Kaptein (ed.), *Kekacauan dan Kerusuhan: Tiga Tulisan tentang Pan-Islamisme di Hindia-Belanda Timur pada Akhir Abad Kesembilan Belas dan Awal Abad Kedua Puluh* [Disorder and Riot: Three Writing on Pan-Islamism in Netherland East Indies at the End of 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centruties]. INIS, Leiden-Jakarta.
- Suryadi, Suhardi & Sholeh, Badrus (eds.).  
2005 Research Report of the Role of Pesantren in Developing Community Network and Peaceful Coexistance in Indonesia. LP3ES, Jakarta.
- Tadjoeddin, Mohammad Zulfan  
2002 Anatomy of Social Violence in the Context of Transition: The Case of Indonesia 1990-2001, Working Paper Series No. 02/ 01-E. UNSFIR, Jakarta.
- Tholkhah, Imam et.al. (eds.).  
2002 *Socio-Religious Conflict in Indonesia*. Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta.
- Turmudi, E.  
1996 Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kijai in Jombang, East Java. PhD thesis. ANU, Canberra.
- Varshney, Ashutosh, Panggabean, Rizal & Tadjoeddin, Mohammad Zulfan  
2004 *Pattern of Collective Violence in Indonesia (1990-2003)*, Discussion Paper Series No. 04/03-E. UNSFIR, Jakarta.
- Wahid, Abdurrahman  
1995 *Menggerakkan Tradisi, Esai Pesantren* [Moving Tradition, An Essai on Pesantren]. LKIS, Yogyakarta.
- 1995 “Pesantren Sebagai Subkultur [Pesantren as a Subculture]”, in M. DawamRahardo, *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan* [Pesantren and Reform]. LP3ES, Jakarta.
- 1999 “Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan [Future Pesantren]”, in Sa’id Aqiel Siradj et.al , *Pesantren Masa Depan: Wacana Pemberdayaan dan Transformasi Pesantren* [Future Pesantren: Discourse of Pesantren Empowering and Transformation], Pustaka Hidayah, Jakarta.
- Zulkifli  
2002 Sufism in Java The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java. INIS, Leiden-Jakarta.



# Konflik Komunal dan Inisiatif Perdamaian Pesantren

**Badrus Sholeh**

(Dosen UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta)

## 1. Pengantar

Dalam berbagai studi tentang pesantren dinyatakan bahwa pesantren telah memiliki akar budaya yang kuat di Indonesia. Adaptasi, akulturasi dan asimilasi tradisi animis lokal dan tradisi Islam Arab dilakukan dalam pendidikan pesantren yang telah melahirkan pujangga, punggawa dan tokoh-tokoh politik, yang memiliki karya-karya klasik baik berupa tulisan, gerakan maupun kerajaan/ negara.<sup>52</sup> Dalam setiap periode generasi produk pesantren ini berperan kuat dalam menyelesaikan problem-problem sosial baik ditingkat lokal maupun nasional. Dalam kehidupan Indonesia modern, komitmen mereka sebagai rekonsiliator dan mediator secara dinamis bersama dengan basis-basis potensi lokal dan jaringan pemerintah (daerah-pusat) menjadi ujung tombak dalam meredam berbagai konflik. Secara garis besar peran jaringan komunitas pesantren (selanjutnya disebut pesantren) dalam menangani berbagai konflik terbagi menjadi tiga bentuk konflik. *Pertama*, konflik komunal yang melibatkan beragam etnis dan agama. *Kedua*, konflik vertikal, melibatkan masyarakat lokal dan pemerintah (negara). Konflik ini menyangkut urusan properti, industri perkebunan dan sumberdaya alam. *Ketiga*, konflik horizontal antar antar komunitas masyarakat baik berdasarkan profesi, misalnya antar para nelayan dan petani; atau antar organisasi massa, lembaga agama. Ketiga jenis konflik ini secara khusus akan dikaji berdasarkan riset di sepuluh pesantren di lima provinsi di Indonesia dalam kurun waktu decade terakhir Orde Baru dan periode Reformasi.

Dalam periode transisi Indonesia ini terjadi gejala umum antara lain: menguatnya peran masyarakat sipil baik melalui institusi yang telah mapan (misalnya Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Al-Irsyad, Darut Dakwah Wal-Irsyad) maupun institusi baru masyarakat, merebaknya semangat gerakan demokratisasi, dan identitas lokal (otonomi daerah). Berkembangnya konflik di berbagai daerah dipicu oleh salah satu atau ketiga gejala ini. Institusi baru yang menjadi tantangan institusi sosial-keagamaan yang mapan diantaranya:

---

<sup>52</sup> Abdul Mun'im DZ, "Pergumulan Pesantren Dengan Masalah Kebudayaan", *Laporan Penelitian LP3ES*, Juni 2005, hal. 24.



Laskar Jihad, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Laskar Jundullah, Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syari'at Islam (KPPSI) dan Front Pembela Islam (FPI). Institusi baru ini menjadi bagian dari manifestasi sistem kultur pesantren *non-mainstream* yang mengadopsi nilai-nilai Islam Arab dan cenderung menolak akomodasi terhadap tradisi lokal dan identitas nasional. Semangat pan-Islamisme kembali menginspirasi beberapa gerakan radikal yang memiliki mekanisme kekerasan (*violent terrors*). Ini pula yang memunculkan stigma internasional atas lembaga pesantren di Indonesia yang bergeser dari inklusif-akomodatif-moderat menjadi eksklusif-radikal.

Sebelum membahas lebih lanjut tentang dinamika kultur lembaga pesantren dalam dua dekade terakhir, perlu dilihat bagaimana konteks kekerasan yang terjadi di Indonesia dalam dua periode politik: Orde Baru dan Orde Reformasi. Dalam periode ini reduksi atas dampak kerusuhan dan konflik melibatkan peran-peran jaringan komunitas pesantren. Pesantren melakukan mediasi dan rekonsiliasi atas berbagai komunitas dan aktor yang bersengketa, baik atas inisiatif langsung pesantren maupun melalui koordinasi pemerintah.

## 2. Konflik Komunal

Kekerasan komunal yang terjadi di Indonesia mendapat perhatian banyak peneliti, terutama pasca runtuhnya Orde Baru, periode transisi Indonesia yang menimbulkan paling banyak korban meninggal. Kekerasan ini dalam kurun waktu 1990-2001, dalam catatan UNSFIR, meninggalkan korban minimal 4.771 dalam 465 insiden atau 76,9 persen kematian. Dari 465 insiden, 437 diantaranya terjadi pada pasca jatuhnya rejim Soeharto.<sup>53</sup> Dalam periode sebelumnya telah terjadi pula kekerasan yang menimbulkan banyak korban: penghentian gerakan DI/ TII Jawa Barat 1950, gerakan DI/ TII Kahar Muzakar 1947-1954, Permesta, Republik Maluku Selatan 1950, pembantaian PKI 1965-1966 (Pasca Kudeta Komunis 30 September 1965), insiden Malari (15 Januari 1974), tragedi Tanjung Priok (12 September

---

<sup>53</sup> Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeddin, *Anatomy of Social Violence in the Context of Transition: The Case of Indonesia 1990-2001*, Working Paper Series No. 02/ 01-E, Jakarta: UNSFIR, 2002, hal. 28-29. Penelitian Tadjoeddin adalah kerjasama antara UNSFIR dan Divisi Konflik dan Perdamaian LP3ES, yang melibatkan peneliti lokal dari daerah. Riset ini berdasarkan data media massa nasional dan lokal. Tentang jumlah korban, Tadjoeddin perlu *cross-check* ke NGO lokal yang telah memantau insiden dan korbannya secara berkelanjutan. Di Maluku saja, Yayasan Baileo, NGO lokal Maluku yang dikenal kredibilitasnya mencatat per 2002: korban meninggal 8.000, luka-luka 4.000 dan Pengungsi 692.000. Sedangkan laporan Kapolri kepada DPR pada 3 Juni 2002 adalah total korban 1.842, terdiri dari korban masyarakat 1.797, Polisi 32 dan TNI 12. Sri Yanuarti et.al. *Konflik di Maluku Tengah Penyebab, Karakteristik, dan Penyelesaian Jangka Panjang*, Jakarta: LIPI, 2003, hal. 51.



1984), dan berbagai insiden dalam gerakan separatis Aceh, Papua dan Timor-Timur.<sup>54</sup> Gerakan separatis baik yang terjadi sebelum atau sesudah Orde Baru menimbulkan korban dan dampak jangka panjang di wilayah masing-masing. Konflik komunal Maluku misalnya dikembangkan oleh berbagai aktor lokal dengan menyebarkan isu “separatis-RMS”. Bahkan dalam Pemilu 1999, para politisi baik Muslim maupun Kristen mengklaim berkomitmen menjaga keutuhan kesatuan Bangsa dan melawan segala bentuk separatisme.<sup>55</sup>

Dalam Indonesia kontemporer, korban bentuk lain yang sering diabaikan oleh angka statistik adalah korban psikologis jutaan pengungsi (IDPs) dan keluarga yang ditinggal. Dalam hal ini, dibutuhkan *conflict healing* yang melibatkan peran agamawan, lembaga adat dan pemerintah. Sementara itu, komunitas pesantren telah terlibat dalam mereduksi dampak kekerasan dalam setiap konflik. Beberapa konflik tempat pesantren menjadi focus riset ini akan dianalisis, dengan melihat keterkaitan pesantren didalamnya. Tiga konflik komunal yang terjadi: kerusuhan Situbondo 10 Oktober 1996, Tasikmalaya 26 Desember 1996, Solo 14 Mei 1998 dan Mataram 1998.<sup>56</sup> Sedangkan di Sulawesi Selatan, tempat jaringan pesantren DDI dan Darul Istiqamah, tidak terjadi kerusuhan komunal yang sebesar di keempat wilayah di atas. Tetapi berbagai milisi Islam terbentuk di wilayah ini yang juga melibatkan alumni Pesantren.

Riset tentang kerusuhan Situbondo telah dilakukan oleh Gerakan Pemuda Ansor, yang melihat adanya konspirasi dibalik peristiwa ini. Alasan utama adalah kondisi masyarakat Situbondo yang santri, dan selama puluhan tahun tidak terjadi persoalan serius hubungan antar komunitas berbeda agama. Sedangkan Peneliti Universitas Gajah Mada dan Departemen Agama dalam temuannya menolak adanya “teori konspirasi” ini. Mereka lebih melihat

---

<sup>54</sup> Jumlah korban meninggal dalam konflik-konflik ini juga bervariasi. Pembantaian Pasca Kudeta Komunis 30 September 1965 meninggal antara 500.000 – 600.000, korban meninggal Tanjung Priok 63 – menurut investigasi Komnas HAM 24 meninggal dan 55 luka-luka -- Tadjoeuddin, *Op.Cit.*, hal. 29-30.

<sup>55</sup> Badrus Sholeh, *Local Democracy and Peace Building: Elections in Post Conflict Region of Maluku*, paper di presentasikan dalam Seminar Internasional di Salatiga, Juli 2004; Tentang pandangan tokoh Maluku tentang ‘separatis-RMS’, Brigjen Purn. Rustam Kastor, *Selamatkan Maluku dari Ancaman Disintegrasi RMS*, buku tidak diterbitkan, 2003. Pandangan internasional atas RMS, Clive J. Christie, *A Modern History of Southeast Asia Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism*, London, Singapore: I.B. Tauris Publishers dan ISEAS, 2000, hal. 108.

<sup>56</sup> Kerusuhan komunal lain terjadi: kerusuhan dengan isu pelecehan Islam oleh pengusaha Cina [kerusuhan anti-Cina] di Purwakarta, Jawa Barat, 1-2 Nopember 1995; kerusuhan respon atas isu Kristenisasi dan gerakan anti-Cina di Rengasdengklok, Karawang, Jawa Barat 30 Januari 1997; dan kerusuhan yang berkaitan dengan Pemilu 1997 yaitu Kerusuhan menjelang Pemilu di Pekalongan, Jawa Tengah, Maret 1997 dan Kerusuhan sesudah Pemilu Bangkalan, Madura, Juni 1997. Hampir seluruh proses peredaman dan penyelesaian berbagai kerusuhan ini melibatkan tokoh agama dan Ulama. Imam Tholkhah et.al. (eds.), *Konflik Sosial Bernuansa Agama di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 2002.



kondisi sosiologis Masyarakat Situbondo yang memicu terjadinya kerusuhan ini.<sup>57</sup> Kasus ini berawal dari proses peradilan terhadap pemuda bernama Muhammad Sholeh atas tuduhan penghinaan terhadap Islam dan tokoh agama (almarhum KH As'ad Syamsul Arifin) pada hari Kamis, 10 Oktober 1996. Dampak dari keputusan peradilan ini menimbulkan protes keras massa, yang dalam waktu sekitar tujuh jam melakukan pembakaran dan pengrusakan bangunan. Peristiwa mulai jam 8.30 WIB, 4000 massa yang terdiri dari pedagang kecil, buruh, petani, santri dan tukang ojek ikut menyaksikan proses peradilan ini dan tidak puas atas keputusan hakim yang hanya menuntut hukuman lima tahun penjara atas terdakwa. Maka massa mengamuk membakar mobil dan motor di depan Pengadilan Negeri Situbondo, karena tidak berhasil menangkap terdakwa dan hakim yang menjadi sasaran amuk. Anehnya, ribuan massa ini hanya dihadapi oleh sekitar 200 personel keamanan. Dalam waktu tujuh jam, massa melakukan pembakaran dan pengrusakan bangunan dalam radius 100 km. Korban kasus ini adalah lima orang dan kerusakan bangunan diantaranya 22 gereja dan rumah kebaktian, beberapa sekolah, rumah makan, gedung bioskop, klenteng dan mini market. Kerusuhan ini berlangsung hingga sore. Kyai, ustaz, tokoh masyarakat dan pemerintah lokal segera mengadakan peredaman. Diantaranya adalah K.H. Ahmad Fawa'id, putra almarhum K.H. As'ad Syamsul Arifin, dan pengasuh Pesantren Salafiah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, Kab. Situbondo. Fawa'id mengadakan pertemuan antar tokoh berbeda agama di Situbondo. K.H. Mudzakkir Abdul Fattah, sekretaris pengasuh PP. Salafiah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, Situbondo menyatakan:

Yang dilakukan oleh pesantren dalam hal ini oleh Kyai Fawa'id setelah konflik tersebut adalah bekerja sama dengan beberapa kyai yang lain berusaha menenangkan masyarakat yang emosinya pada saat itu sedang memuncak dengan menyadarkan mereka untuk tidak melampiaskan emosinya lagi dan tidak membakar gereja lagi...Hal lain yang dilakukan oleh Kyai Fawa'id adalah memfasilitasi pertemuan para tokoh Islam dengan para pemimpin gereja serta menjadi fasilitator adanya bantuan-bantuan kepada gereja-gereja atau korban pembakaran tersebut.<sup>58</sup>

Proses rekonsiliasi berjalan secara lancar. Dan kini hubungan antar komunitas berbeda agama semakin dekat dan harmonis di Kab. Situbondo. Dalam dua bulan kemudian, 26 Desember 1996, terjadi lagi kerusuhan komunal di Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat. Isunya hampir mirip dengan kerusuhan Situbondo, yaitu protes massa Muslim terhadap ketidakadilan perlakuan atas tokoh agama oleh aparat pemerintah. Kalau pemicu awal di Situbondo adalah keputusan hakim Pengadilan Negeri, tetapi di Tasikmalaya adalah perilaku aparat kepolisian. Kerugian atas kerusuhan Tasikmalaya sekitar delapan puluh lima milyar rupiah, atau tujuh belas kali

---

<sup>57</sup> M. Zainuddin Daulay, "Konflik Kekerasan di Situbondo, Jawa Timur", dalam Imam Tholkhah et.al. (eds.), *op. cit.* hal. 125-126.

<sup>58</sup> Wawancara dengan K.H. Mudzakkir Abdul Fattah di Sukorejo, Situbondo, 4 Oktober 2004.



lebih besar dari kerusuhan Situbondo.<sup>59</sup> Peristiwa ini bermula pada hari Sabtu, 19 Desember 1996, adanya kebijakan kedisiplinan terhadap santri yang melanggar peraturan<sup>60</sup> di Pondok Pesantren Riyadul Ulum Wad-Dakwah Condong Desa Setia Negara, Cibeureum, Tasikmalaya. Kebetulan si-santri (bernama Rizal) adalah putra Kopka Nursyamsi, anggota kepolisian di Polres Tasikmalaya. Nursyamsi membalas sistim hukuman disiplin yang diterapkan kepada Rizal, dengan menghukum beberapa ustaz di Polres Tasikmalaya pada tanggal 23 Desember 1996. Satu diantara ustaz adalah Mahmud Farid, putra pengasuh pesantren Condong- K.H. Makmun, paling parah lukanya akibat pukulan Nursyamsi dan beberapa staf kepolisian. Farid kemudian dilarikan ke rumah sakit pada 24 Desember 1996. Sehari kemudian, 25 Desember 1996, beredar isu bahwa seorang ustaz dan kyai meninggal disiksa di polres Tasikmalaya, dan beredar selebaran atas nama Forum Komunikasi Santri dan Generasi Muda Islam Tasikmalaya menuntut pertanggungjawaban penganiayaan ini. Pada tanggal 26 Desember 1996, ribuan massa dengan membawa selebaran berkumpul di Masjid Jami', yang berjarak 100 meter dari Polres Tasikmalaya, mengadakan do'a bersama. Menurut Acep Zam Zam Noor, yang memobilisasi massa untuk do'a bersama ini adalah mahasiswa PMII dan HMI.<sup>61</sup> Pada saat itu, Mapolres berusaha menangkan massa pada Pk. 11.00. Tetapi akibatnya malah terjadi luapan emosi massa, yang kemudian bergerak berhamburan. Terjadilah kerusuhan yang berakibat meninggalnya 4 orang, kerusakan 89 toko, 114 mobil, 12 gereja, 21 kantor dan pos polisi, 4 pabrik, 8 dealer mobil, 7 rumah, 6 bank, 3 hotel dan 22 motor. Total kerugian sebesar Rp. 84.963.337.975.<sup>62</sup> Kapolda Jawa Barat Mayjen Nana Permana kemudian memecat Kopka Nursyamsi dan beberapa anggota kepolisian lain yang terlibat dalam penyiksaan terhadap para ustaz pesantren Condong. Dalam kesempatan ini, para ulama pesantren kemudian secara aktif berusaha menenangkan massa, baik secara langsung di tengah massa maupun melalui pengajian. Dalam jangka panjang, kyai-kyai pesantren mengadakan berbagai pertemuan dengan masyarakat berbeda agama, aparat keamanan dan pemerintah daerah.

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibnu Hasan Muchtar, "Kasus Kerusuhan Sosial Bernuansa SARA di Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat", dalam Imam Tholkah et.al. (eds.), *op.cit.*, hal. 65.

<sup>60</sup> Umumnya Pesantren memiliki peraturan kedisiplinan. Misalnya, bagi santri yang melakukan pencurian, tidak mengikuti pelajaran atau pelanggaran lain dihukum sesuai peraturan yang telah disepakati dewan santri. Hukuman ini lebih sebagai bagian dari proses belajar seorang santri. Abdurrahman Wahid menyebut model pendidikan pesantren sama dengan sistem pendidikan Akademi Militer. Hukuman kedisiplinan menjadi bagian integral dari pengalaman belajar santri. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan", dalam Sa'id Aqiel Siradj et.al, *Pesantren Masa Depan: Wacana Pemberdayaan dan Transformasi Pesantren*, Jakarta: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999, hal. 13.

<sup>61</sup> Diantara para aktivis ini adalah Khairuman (PMII) dan Agustina (HMI). Agustina dikenal sebagai aktifis mahasiswa dari Garut. Khairuman dipenjara beberapa hari, kemudian dibebaskan. Tetapi Agustina mendapat hukuman penjara beberapa tahun. Agustina didakwa memprovokasi massa. Agustina kemudian dibebaskan ketika periode Presiden B.J. Habibie. Wawancara dengan Acep Zamzam Noor di Tasikmalaya, 6 Oktober 2004.

<sup>62</sup> Ibu Hasa Muchtar, *op.cit.*, hal. 77.



Berbeda dengan kasus Situbondo dan Tasikmalaya, kerusuhan di Solo, 14-15 Mei 1998 dipicu oleh peristiwa nasional yaitu tuntutan mahasiswa atas krisis moneter berkepanjangan dengan jatuhnya nilai rupiah dan tuntutan reformasi Mei 1998. Peristiwa ini menciptakan sejarah baru Indonesia, berakhirnya Orde Baru. Tetapi tidak seperti biasanya ketatnya keamanan pada sepanjang kekuasaan Soeharto, James T. Siegel heran atas begitu terbukanya akses bagi mahasiswa dan publik untuk menciptakan kerusuhan, pembakaran dan penjarahan. Mahasiswa begitu lancar menduduki gedung MPR dan menguasai jalan-jalan di hampir seluruh Jakarta, disusul dengan semangat yang sama di beberapa kota besar di Indonesia.<sup>63</sup> Pertanyaan Siegel mengarah kepada dimana peran TNI dalam mengendalikan keamanan. Adakah pembiaran TNI atas protes mahasiswa yang dijadikan katalisator jatuhnya Soeharto.

Bermula dari tertembaknya empat mahasiswa Trisakti dalam demonstrasi 12 Mei 1998 menuntut reformasi, mundurnya Soeharto dan perbaikan ekonomi. Esoknya, terjadi kerusuhan besar dengan pembakaran pertokoan milik Tionghoa, sebagai ekspresi kemarahan atas krisis. Bentuk kekecewaan ekonomi yang *by design* telah dikondisikan oleh Orba bahwa imej ekonomi dikuasai oleh sekelompok konglomerat Tionghoa. Kerusuhan ini berlangsung hingga 14 Mei dengan menduduki gedung MPR. Di tempat lain kerusuhan dengan ekspresi yang sama juga timbul. Kamis, 14 Mei 1998 pukul 10.00 di Solo mahasiswa Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta demonstrasi menuntut reformasi dipercepat, rentetan dari tertembaknya mahasiswa Trisakti. Polisi menghadang, terjadilah bentrokan. Pelemparan batu tak terelakkan. Mulai pukul 13.00, mulai muncul pembakaran ban mobil di jalan arteri Ahmad Yani. Kemudian terkumpul pelajar, mahasiswa, buruh, karyawan dan masyarakat satu jam berikutnya di jalan Solo-Pabelan. Massa bergerak ke arah jalan Slamet Riyadi dengan melakukan pengrusakan dan pembakaran toko-toko, perkantoran, rumah, bank dan restoran. Diantara sasaran ekspresi kemarahan massa yaitu rumah Harmoko di jalan Solo Baru. Harmoko adalah juru bicara Soeharto selama beberapa periode menjelang jatuhnya. Sehari berikutnya, 15 Mei dini hari Matahari Plaza dan Beteng dibakar dan dijarah massa. Sasaran utama pembakaran adalah show room 'mobil Timor', show room Yamaha 'Cahaya Timur', perbankan dan Matahari Plaza, tempat yang diasosiasikan dekat dengan Orde Baru. Total kerugian material kurang lebih 600 milyar rupiah.<sup>64</sup> Anehnya, baru malam hari dilakukan

---

<sup>63</sup> James T. Siegel, "Early Thoughts on the Violence of May 13 and 14, 1998 in Jakarta", *Indonesia*, 66 (Oktober 1998), hal. 76.

<sup>64</sup> Titik Suwariyati, "Kasus Kerusuhan Sosial di Solo, Jawa Tengah", dalam Imam Tholikhah et.al. *op.cit.*, hal. 100-103.



penangkapan 115 orang yang dianggap provokator oleh Polisi. Tetapi kemudian dilepas sebagian, dan hingga kini tidak ada proses peradilan atas kerusuhan ini. Masyarakat Solo kemudian mengadakan jam malam mulai hari Jum'at, 15 Mei mulai pukul 22.00. Dalam penyelesaian kerusuhan ini, dibentuklah 'Paguyuban Wong Solo', dipimpin Mudrik Sangidu. Peran elit pesantren dalam resolusi kerusuhan ini tidak dijelaskan dalam riset Titik Suwariyati. Ini pula menjadi pertanyaan, apakah pesantren tidak memiliki inisiatif aktif dalam proses rekonsiliasi. Peta sosiologis Solo yang urban-industri-priyayi berbeda dengan Situbondo dan Tasikmalaya yang religius. Karena itu, peran-peran pesantren di tiga wilayah kerusuhan ini berbeda pula. Bagaimana dengan kerusuhan di Nusa Tenggara Barat, dan apa peran pesantren di dalamnya?

Kerusuhan Mataram merupakan dampak dari setahun kerusuhan Maluku yang tidak berhasil diredam oleh pihak keamanan. Hari Minggu malam, 16 Januari 2000, isu akan diadakannya Pengajian Akbar membahas kerusuhan Maluku telah menyebar di kalangan masyarakat NTB. Tokoh-tokoh agama dan masyarakat telah memperingatkan kepada kaum muda untuk tidak mengikuti pertemuan ini. TGH Turmudzi Badruddin, tokoh yang sangat disegani di NTB, misalnya melakukan peredaman dengan mengumumkan secara terbuka lewat pesantren dan masjid di Bagu, bagi masyarakat Muslim untuk tidak pergi mengikuti pengajian 'provokatif' ini. TGH Turmudzi melihat aksi solidaritas Islam melalui Tablig Akbar lebih banyak unsur agenda politiknya dari pada manfaatnya untuk umat Islam. TGH Turmudzi mencoba mengurangi dampak negatif dari Tablig Akbar ini.<sup>65</sup> TGH Turmudzi menyatakan:

Pada malam sebelum kerusuhan di Mataram, saya keluar dan umumkan melalui masjid (di Bagu) agar mereka tidak ikut-ikutan ke Mataram, karena akan tidak baik, masalahnya ada kaitan dengan kasus Ambon. Dan alhamdulillah, sebagian mereka ada yang tidak jadi berangkat dan tapi ada juga yang berangkat. Dan ternyata benar hasilnya mereka bakar-bakar gereja dan lain-lain.<sup>66</sup>

Senin, 17 Januari 2000, pagi dilakukan Rapat Akbar Muslim NTB di lapangan umum. Pengajian publik ini merupakan refleksi atas kekerasan yang terjadi di Indonesia, khususnya di Maluku dalam satu tahun 1999. Di akhir pertemuan terbesar Muslim NTB ini, terdapat seorang pembicara -yang menurut pihak panitia tidak masuk dalam daftar pembicara yang diagendakan- menyinggung pentingnya persatuan umat Islam membalas kekejaman atas Muslim Maluku.<sup>67</sup> Massa yang terbakar emosinya kemudian bubar, dan dalam perjalanan

---

<sup>65</sup> Catatan hasil wawancara dengan TGH. Turmudzi Badruddin, Bagu, NTB, 3 Oktober 2004.

<sup>66</sup> Wawancara dengan TGH Turmudzi Badruddin, Bagu, NTB, 3 Oktober 2004.

<sup>67</sup> Kaharudin, Zainal Asikin dan Sudiarto, panitia Rapat Akbar secara bergantian dimintai keterangan polisi. Menurut Kaharudin dalam rekaman video isi para pembicara tidak menyinggung konflik Maluku, tetapi tanpa terekam video,





melempar batu pada gereja GPIB (Gereja Protestan Indonesia Bagian Barat) Immanuel, yang terletak dibelakang Kantor Walikota Mataram, atau berhadapan dengan kediaman Gubernur NTB, Harun Alrasyid. Massa kemudian bergerak membakar gereja Maria Immaculata, kantor Kodam dan lainnya. Polda NTB mencatat gereja yang dirusak/dibakar adalah Gereja Maria Immaculata Jl Pejanggik, Gereja Betlehem Jl Adi Sucipto, Gereja Pantekosta Jl Panji Tilar Negara (Mataram); Gereja Advent Jl Yos Sudarso, Gereja HKBP Jl Industri, Gereja Pantekosta Jl Arya Banjar Getas (Ampenan) serta Gedung Paroki Jl Energi juga di Ampenan dan kerusakan terhadap SDK Ampenan, SMA Kesuma Cakranegara, dan Restoran Vanini Mataram.<sup>68</sup> Dalam kerusuhan ini 15 orang ditahan. Aksi pembakaran kembali terjadi esoknya, Selasa, 18 Januari 2000, sekitar pk. 12.00 terhadap sejumlah rumah penduduk di Jl. Wisma Seruni, Kodya Mataram. Aksi ini dilakukan oleh sekitar 1000 orang, yang menuntut dikeluarkannya 15 rekan mereka yang ditahan. Akibat aksi ini kegiatan pemerintahan dan perdagangan lumpuh total. Menurut sekretaris Dinas Penerangan Polda NTB, Kaptan (Pol) Agus Sutisna, hingga Selasa terdapat 1300 pengungsi di Markas Polda NTB, dan 124 orang pengungsi di Markas Pangkalan AL Mataram. Mereka bermaksud menuju Bali dan Jawa. Umumnya adalah pedagang Tionghoa dan masyarakat Kristen.<sup>69</sup> Agus Sarjana, salah satu panitia Tabligh Akbar menyatakan: ‘...niat awal kita pada saat itu murni hanya solidaritas untuk ummat Islam di Ambon untuk mengumpulkan sumbangan ... mereka tidak tahu menahu tentang akan berujung konflik’.<sup>70</sup>

Kurang lebih dua tahun kemudian terjadi lagi kekerasan atas nama agama. Kekerasan ini dilakukan massa Muslim terhadap kelompok Muslim minoritas, Jamaah Ahmadiyah di Lombok Timur. Ini bermula dari penerbitan majalah *Sabili*, 3 September 2002, yang menurut Anwar J. Tampubolon, Asisten Sekeretaris PB. Ahmadiyah Indonesia, menerbitkan laporan yang menyatakan bahwa ajaran Ahmadiyah sesat. *Sabili* memuat lengkap hasil Seminar Nasional tentang kesesatan Ahmadiyah dan Bahayanya yang diselenggarakan di Masjid Istiqlal Jakarta, 11 Agustus 2002.<sup>71</sup> Kopi laporan majalah *Sabili* ini beredar di Lombok Timur

---

seorang peserta yang tidak dikenal nama dan wajahnya membakar massa dengan mengobarkan melawan non-Muslim sebagai balasan atas apa yang menimpa Muslim Maluku. ‘Mataram Mencekam Ada Pembicara Gelap Dalam Rapat Akbar’, *Kompas*, 19 Januari 2000. Alasan panitia Tablig Akbar nampak tidak rasional karena menurut wawancara dengan beberapa tokoh agama, isu sebelumnya memang Rapat Akbar untuk mendukung solidaritas Muslim Maluku.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Agus Sarjana, dalam FGD di Mataram, 6 Oktober 2004.

<sup>71</sup> Bashori A. Hakim, “Konflik Sosial Bernuansa Agama: Kasus Konflik Intern Umat Beragama di Lombok Timur Nusa Tenggara Barat”, *Harmoni*, Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius, Vol. II, Nomor 8, Oktober-Desember 2003, hal. 8.



dengan tulisan tambahan menggunakan spidol besar: “Pancor Bersatu”. Pesan yang muncul memancing masyarakat Muslim Pancor dan sekitarnya untuk bersatu melawan Jamaah Ahmadiyah. Kelurahan Pancor, Kecamatan Selong, Kabupaten Lombok Timur, NTB adalah pusat kegiatan Jamaah Ahmadiyah. Kerusakan terjadi pada 10-14 September 2002, yang membuat kerusakan masjid Jamaah Ahmadiyah dan pembakaran rumah-rumah pengikut Ahmadiyah.<sup>72</sup> Menurut Sapi'in, Sekretaris Ahmadiyah Kab. Lombok Timur, bahwa kerusakan ini sangat berdimensi politik Bupati, H. Syahdan, yang berasal dari Muhammadiyah, pasca Pemilu 2004 ingin mendapat dukungan simpati dari masyarakat Nahdatul Waton dengan menciptakan kerusakan ini.<sup>73</sup> Dugaan Sapi'in tentunya tidak mendapat tanggapan serius dari Bupati, apalagi hingga pengusutan tuntas. Tetapi setidaknya masyarakat Muslim yang konon komunitas *santri* ini tidak menunjukkan tingkat toleransi terhadap minoritas aliran dalam Islam sendiri. Sikap ‘tidak toleran’ ini sesungguhnya mengakar dalam ajaran Islam dan kelambagaan Islam di Departemen Agama dan Majelis Ulama Indonesia. Kedua lembaga menjadi ‘polisi’ atas apa dan siapa aliran yang syah dalam Islam.

### 3. Potensi Konflik *vis-à-vis* Perdamaian dari Pesantren?

Kerusuhan-kerusuhan di Situbondo, Tasikmalaya, Solo dan Mataram adalah bagian dari kerusuhan yang nampak, menambah deret hitung kerusuhan lainnya. Tetapi hal yang kurang mendapat perhatian adalah potensi konflik, dan aspek-aspek yang bisa menimbulkan konflik dan kerusuhan. Fenomena yang muncul di Sulawesi Selatan, Yogyakarta, Solo dan Jakarta dengan menjamurnya institusi baru dari pesantren non-mainstream: berdirinya Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syari'at Islam (KPPSI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Laskar Jihad, Laskar Mujahidin, Laskar Jundullah dan Front Pembela Islam (FPI). Institusi dan milisi ini didukung oleh beberapa jebolan pesantren. Diantara mereka berjihad ke wilayah konflik komunal, khususnya Maluku dan Poso. Diantara mereka berasal dari Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki, Solo, Jawa Tengah dan Pesantren Darul Istiqamah Maros, Sulawesi Selatan. Sebagaimana nampak dalam gambaran profil mereka bahwa kedua pesantren ini memiliki doktrin ideologi yang kuat yang mendorong alumni aktif dalam kegiatan ‘Jihad’. Jihad mereka maknai secara specific, membela Islam dengan spiritual dan fisik. Karena itu, dalam

---

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, hal. 158

<sup>73</sup> Bashori A. Hakim tidak sempat cross-check ke Bupati perihal tuduhan ini. Tetapi sebagaimana kerusakan bernuansa agama lain pemicu utama dan pelaku (designer) sangat sulit ditemukan. Pihak keamanan kadang mencari-cari ‘provokator’ dibalik peristiwa. Dan tetap menjadi tanda tanya sejarah. *Ibid.*, hal. 154-155.



milisi yang dibentuk terdapat dua bagian utama: divisi dakwah dan divisi militer. Dalam divisi dakwah, milisi membangun majelis-majelis taklim untuk mengembangkan ajaran Islam. Mereka membangun pemahaman Muslim atas pemikiran dan interpretasi baru tradisi Muslim. Dalam konteks ini, mereka seringkali berbenturan dengan tradisi Islam lama yang telah dikembangkan oleh agamawan Islam sejak awal masuknya Islam di wilayah ini. Misalnya, di Maluku ajaran Salafi Laskar Jihad Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah mendapat penolakan dari masyarakat Muslim sunni yang mempraktikkan tradisi Islam yang berbeda dengan gagasan Salafi. Demikian juga di Poso, da'i yang tergabung dalam gerbong Laskar Jundullah dan Laskar Mujahidin mendapat respon negative ketika mereka mulai mengusik tradisi Maulid Nabi, Barzanji, selamatan (doa) kematian dan tradisi sunni lain yang dikembangkan oleh para alumni Pesantren al-Khairat Sulawesi Tengah. Diluar divisi dakwah, mereka mengembangkan divisi militer. Divisi ini merekrut pemuda Muslim lokal dan melatih mereka dalam ilmu kemiliteran, baik dalam bertahan dan menyerang. Beberapa pemuda Muslim Poso merasa bangga mendapatkan ilmu baru dari *ikhwan* mereka yang berasal dari Jawa dan Sulawesi Selatan yang sangat urgen untuk membela kepentingan Muslim Poso. Mereka dilatih ilmu beladiri dan ketrampilan membawa senjata baik rakitan maupun otomatis (M-16 dan AK). Hasan, pemuda asli Poso, mengaku telah melaksanakan Jihad – setelah dilatih oleh Laskar Jihad dari Jawa - tetapi sekarang menyadari bahwa konflik Poso bukan murni Muslim melawan Kristen, tetapi telah disetting dari luar.<sup>74</sup> Bersama komunitas Pesantren dan beberapa LSM, mereka kini aktif dalam kegiatan *peace building*, suatu produk atas kesadaran baru dari komunitas (*bottom-up*) fenomena penting pasca inisiatif perdamaian yang dimediasi oleh pemerintah (baca: Malino I dan Malino II).

Dalam konteks makro, berdasarkan riset di lima propinsi di Indonesia, menunjukkan keseriusan masyarakat pesantren dalam mendukung perdamaian, resolusi konflik dan penjagaan atas kehidupan pluralitas dalam perbedaan etnis dan agama. K.H. Farid Wajedy, pengasuh pesantren DDI Mangkoso menolak bentuk Jihad yang dilakukan dengan kekerasan. Hal ini juga dikatakan oleh K.H. Fawaid di Situbondo dan K.H. Turmuzi Badaruddin di Bagu, NTB.

---

<sup>74</sup> Hasan, bukan nama sebenarnya, wawancara di Poso, 21 Mei 2005.

