

Perspectives and Movement of Nadlatul Ulama (NU) in Counter-Terrorism

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Abstract--- *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as part of international law subject in the form of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has a commitment to participate in maintaining world peace. The purpose of the NU movement is on the values of Islamic universality (maqasidus sharia). This research used a qualitative method with a post positivism paradigm. The results of this study are NU since its establishment in 1926 until the present era, NU has always been consistently conducting anti-radicalism and counter-terrorism movements both through the study of religious interpretations as a method of thought (manhajul fikr), through education in the style of the salaf pesantren (traditional Islamic boarding school) and the counter-terrorism movement in virtual space (social media). NU has teaching character that is in line with the values of Islamic universality (maqasidus Sharia), those are tawazun (balanced) and tasamuh (tolerant) in the frame of ukhuwah islamiyah (brotherhood of fellow Muslims), ukhuwah wathoniyah (brotherhood of fellow citizens) and ukhuwah insaniyah (brotherhood of fellow human beings) towards peaceful human civilization and Islam which is a blessing for the universe (rahmatan lil alamin).*

Keywords--- *Counter-Terrorism, Islamic Boarding School, Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin, Nahdlatul Ulama.*

I. INTRODUCTION

In March 2019 the world was shocked by acts of terror that occurred in New Zealand. Dozens of people were killed when a man entered two mosques in Christchurch and then fired on people who were going to perform Friday prayer. It was recorded, at least 41 people including children were shot and killed at Al-Noor Mosque and 7 others died at the Linwood Islamic Center. New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Arden said the shooting tragedy was "a dark day for the country", or a dark day for New Zealand. [1]

Acts of terror in the world have risen since the terrorism tragedy that occurred in the United States on September 11, 2001 when United Airlines and American Airlines passenger planes were hijacked and then crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York and the headquarter of the US army at the Pentagon. This tragedy came to be known as the 9/11 tragedy which left 3000 people dead and at least 6000 victims injured. This tragedy was later classified as the largest act of terrorism in the history of human civilization. It was revealed later that 19 militants of the *Al-Qaeda* terrorist group were behind this tragedy. Only by using a cutter and knife, they managed to hijack 4 airplanes and then crashed into the WTC Twin Building. This tragedy then became the beginning of various reactions and various consequences that continue to this present day. The reaction of this tragedy is the occurrence of mass and continuous "war on terror". Another impact is the increasing suspicion of the government and the media in democratic countries, to the emergence of an antagonistic view of Muslims. [2]

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Terror attacks also occur in countries with the majority of Muslim populations, one of which is in Indonesia. A year after the 9/11 tragedy, on October 12, 2002 in the tourist area of Kuta, Bali, three bombs were blown that killed 202 people and injured others. Most of the victims were Australian citizens. [3] Two bomb attacks took place at a nightclub on the Lagian Street, Kuta and another low explosive bomb was exploded in Denpasar, just at the outside the US consulate office in Denpasar. This terror tragedy is well known as the Bali Bombing. A number of parties admitted to be the masterminds of the Bali Bombing tragedy, ranging from *Jemaah Islamiyah* to *Al-Qaeda*. Yusuf Qardhawi said that *Al-Qaeda* was the organization most responsible for the spread of radical Islamic movement and various acts of terror in the world. [4]

Since the Bali Bombing, Indonesia, which is a country with a majority Muslim population, has continued to get bomb terror. On August 5, 2003, the JW Marriot bombing occurred in Mega Kuningan area, South Jakarta. The bomber blew himself up from the car outside the hotel area. This bombing action killed 14 people including the perpetrator. [5] On 9 September 2004, a bombing took place in front of the Australian Embassy building in Jakarta. [6] The modus used is still the same, the perpetrator exploded a bomb from a car. This tragedy killed 9 people and injured more than 180 other people. On October 1, 2005, Bali was again targeted with 3 bomb blasts in two bars and restaurants in Kuta and Jimbaran. [7] This second Bali Bombing killed 20 people including the perpetrators. [8]

After 4 years from that moment, bombing occurred again on July 17, 2009. Two bomb blasts occurred at the JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton Hotels, Jakarta. Both of these explosions resulted in 9 deaths with 53 injuries. A different modus was carried out by terrorists in the Sarinah Bombing, Jakarta on January 14, 2016. As a result of this terrorist act two civilians, five perpetrators were declared dead and several others injured. The last action that occurred in Indonesia was the Surabaya and Sidoarjo bombings on May 13, 2018. Bombs in Surabaya occurred in three churches, and Bombing which took place in Sidoarjo occurred in flats in the Wonocolo area, this action killed 17 people. The modus used by the perpetrators to do the action by inviting his family including his children. [9] In addition to the events in New Zealand in 2019, all of the terrorism incidents described above, the perpetrators were Muslim and stated that the actions taken were for the sake of Islamic teachings and ideology.

Rasha Abdulla in her article entitled *Islam, Jihad, and Terrorism in Post-9/11 Arabic Discussion Board*, revealed the results of an analysis of three Arabic-language online media in the United States. Abdulla said although 9/11 terrorists acted in the name of Islam, netizens who were members of the three forums said the opposite. More than 43 percent of messages in the forum stated that terrorist attacks carried out were contrary to the basic values of Islamic teachings. Netizens observed that the attacks happened more for political reasons than religious issues. [10] Rasha Abdulla also stated that there were growing statements and cornering Muslims among them in CBS News. [11]

Other research conducted by Sikorski et al entitled "Muslims are not Terrorists": Islamic State Coverage, Journalistic Differentiation between Terrorism and Islam, Fear Reactions, and Attitudes toward Muslims". In this research it is stated that the news that explicitly connects Islam with terrorism raises the fear of non-Muslim individuals towards Islam and Muslims. But reporting explicitly that does not connect the two creates different views of Muslims and Islam itself. [12]

Holbrook in his article entitled; "Using the Qur'an to Justify Terrorist Violence: Analyzing Selective Applications of the Qur'an in the English-Language Militant Islamist Discourse" tries to find and analyze documents or statements in Al Quran (the central religious text of Islam, which Muslims believe to be a revelation from God) used by terrorists in legitimizing violence or acts of terror that were done. Holbrook concluded that the application of the teachings written in Al Quran was altered and adapted by Islamic militant groups to suit the battle of their political narratives at the expense of the essential core message of Al Quran itself. [13] Holbrook's research analyzed 30 texts which is used by Islamic militant groups to attract sympathy and win the support of jihadist supporters. This text is also used as a motivator and justification tool for acts of violence and the targets of their attacks.

Woodward et al in his writings "*Muslim Education, Celebrating Islam and Having Fun as Counter-Radicalization Strategies in Indonesia*" said that after the bombings at the Ritz-Carlton and JW Marriot Hotels, there arose suspicion that *pesantren* and schools run by the Muhammadiyah Islamic organization in Indonesia were the embryo for planting radical Islamic ideology values. This was later denied by a spokesman for Muhammadiyah, but the suspicion was still growing against Islam both in Indonesia and in the Western world. In Indonesia there are 17 thousand boarding schools where most of these Islamic boarding schools are affiliated with the largest Muslim organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). NU is considered a Muslim organization with the teachings of the *Islam Nusantara* (Indonesian Islam model) but politically progressive. While Muhammadiyah operates education that is in line with the kindergarten, elementary, junior high school to university systems. [14]

The urgency of this paper confirms that Islam is not a terrorist religion. In the perspective of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Islam is a religion that is *rahmatan lil alamin*, Muslims should be a moderate ummah (*ummatan wasathon*). NU has a different Islamic view than the jihadists who carry out acts of terror in the name of Islam. The international worldview which assumes that Islam is a religion that produces violent texts, the barbarism behind acts of terrorism needs to be countered. [15]

In the study of International Law, NU can be identified with the subject of international law which is categorized in the form of *non-governmental organizations* (NGOs), which is an institution that stands for private or non-government initiation and has a goal of universal values. NU is part of international civil society that can play a role in the area of diplomacy or pressure on parties who are in conflict or who are considered to have violated international law. [16] In the development of contemporary international law, NGOs have a large role in shaping international law, specifically international human rights. The role of NGOs contributes to the development of human rights law as evidenced by an increased role in international, regional and local human rights forums. [17]

Departing from this, the formulation of the problem that will be discussed in this research is how NU interprets the *divine law* of the verses about *jihad* and how the counter-terrorism movement carried out by NU for the contribution of world security and peace. While the research method used is qualitative research using the post positivism paradigm.

The interview process was conducted by researchers with three interviewees who had backgrounds as NU administrators, as well as caregivers and alumni of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), namely; Yusuf Chudlori (Gus Yusuf), a young NU figure who is the Central Java NU Regional Management (PW NU) as well as the

caretaker of Pesantren Asrama Pendidikan Islam (API Islamic Education Boarding School), Tegalrejo, Magelang. The interviewee was Muhammad Hanif (Gus Hanif), the caretaker of the Pesantren Edi Mancoro (Edimancoro Islamic Boarding School), Semarang Regency who served as the Chairman of the Central Java NU Rijalul Ansor Board. The third interviewee was Fahrudin Yusuf, an alumni of Islamic boarding school who had been a *santri* (student who studies at pesantren) in several Islamic boarding schools in East Java, Central Java and Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY), namely Mambaul Hisan Islamic Boarding School Sedayu Gresik East Java, Pesantren Tremas (Tremas Islamic boarding school), Pacitan East Java, Pesantren Al-Munawir (Al-Munawir Islamic boarding house), Krapyak, Yogyakarta, Pesantren Al-Ittihad (Al-Ittihad Islamic boarding school), Poncol Islamic Boarding School, Semarang Regency, Central Java.

II. NAHDLATUL ULAMA (NU) PROFILE

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is the largest Islamic religious organization in Indonesia and even in the world. [18] In terminology, Nahdlatul Ulama means Islamic scholars (ulama) awakening. NU was established on January 31, 1926 in Surabaya with a founder figure named Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947). Hasyim Ash'ari who went by the title *Rois Akbar* (a great leader) and is a figure who is *sholih*, pious and has a breadth of knowledge. Because of the breadth of his knowledge Hasyim Ash'ari is called "*hadratus sheikh*". The term "*hadratus sheikh*" was given to figures with the criteria for memorizing the Qur'an as well as memorizers of *kutubus sittah*, which are the six main books of the hadith that are well known (mu'tabaroh) and are validated by their validity. The six hadith books are *Sahih Bukhori*, *Sahih Muslim*, *Sunan At-Turmudzi*, *Sunan Abu Daud*, *Sunan An-Nasa'i*, *Sunan Ibnu Majah*. Only a few figures in the Islamic world are referred to as *hadratus sheikh*, so Hasyim Asy'ari's knowledge is not only recognized in Indonesia, but is also recognized by Islamic scholars in various parts of the world. [19] James J. Fox (1999), an anthropologist from Australian National University said that Hasyim Asy'ari was a waliyullah who had the breadth of knowledge and was believed by the Javanese people to bring blessings to his students (santri) and his ummah. [20] Hasyim Asy'ari's works include; *Risalah Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*, *Muqaddimah al qanun HAM li jam'iyyati Nahdlatul Ulama*, *Mawaidz*, *adab al ta'lim wal muta'alim*, *Arbaina hadithan tata'allqu bi mabadi 'jam'iyyah nahdlatul ulama*, *tamyiz al-haq min al bathil*. [21]

Gus Yusuf said, NU was born in a momentum of movement and resurrection marked by the birth of mass organizations that were aware of the importance of independence and built a nation state. The main motives for the establishment of NU could simply be classified into two, that are; counteracting religious radicalism (*wahhabism*) and against imperialism of colonialism of other nations (*colonialism*). [22]

First, in the context of anti-wahhabism, Javanese Islamic scholars (red; Indonesia) had concerns about wahhabism movement which was pioneered by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and propagated by the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Indonesian scholars realize that - in accordance with the principles of *fiqhiyyah* - "*Ar ro'yah*" *ala dien ni mulukihi*", the people are very dependent on the religious ideology of their leaders. The leader certainly has an interest to indoctrinate people according to their religious ideology. The restlessness arose among Javanese Islamic scholars. [23] At that time the scholars rejected the plan to evict the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad by the kingdom of Saudi Arabia by sending envoys to negotiate. This envoy was named after the "Hijaz Committee"

consisting of Islamic scholars in Java. In short, the Hijaz Committee successfully negotiated with the government of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and succeeded in maintaining the presence of the Prophet Muhammad's tomb in the Nabawi Mosque complex, Medina. The Hijaz Committee became the forerunner of the establishment of NU. [24]

Secondly, in a country that was in a colonized condition, to foster a spirit of nationalism and anti-imperialism, Hasyim Asy'ari established *pesantren*, Islamic schools as places of religious study as well as centers of anti-colonial struggle. One of those Islamic boarding schools that he founded was the Pesantren Tebu Ireng in Jombang, East Java. Hasyim Asy'ari issued a fatwa "*man tasabbaha biqoumin fahuwa minhu*", whoever imitates people (invaders) then he is part of them (invaders), so at that moment Javanese people were prohibited from eating using spoons or forks because it is similar to the behavior of invaders (western) in order to instill popular nationalism and the spirit of independence.[25] The birth of NU began with the awareness of Islamic boarding schools in various regions (especially Java) to create a "large pesantren" which was "without a fence" in order to accommodate the Islamic Ummah as well as becoming the center of the independence movement. . This "large pesantren" was later called NU and was officially proclaimed on January 31, 1926 in Surabaya. [26]

Towards independence, NU sent Wahid Hasyim (son of Hasyim Asy'ari) to join with other revolutionary figures (Seokarno, Hatta, M.Yamin, Agus Salim, and other figures) who participated in initiating and preparing Indonesia's independence by joining the Investigation and Indonesian Independence Preparatory Efforts (BPUPKI) which later became the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (PPKI). Wahid Hasyim also agreed to eliminate the seven words in the first principle of the Pancasila which reads; "By carrying out Islamic law for its adherents" based on *fiqhiyyah* rules "*dar ul mafasid muqodam ala jalbil masolih*", [27] that avoiding badness (nation separations) over seeking benefit. [28]

After the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, NU along with other elements of the nation participated in taking the fight against the military aggression of the colonialists who tried to enter Indonesia. Known as the fatwa of "*jihad resolution*", Hasyim Asy'ari required all NU members (especially men) to go to war as an effort to fight and expel invaders and maintain the integrity of the Indonesian nation (domestic jurisdiction) [29]. The war to defend the sovereignty of the nation against the military aggression of the invaders took place in Surabaya on November 10, 1945 which later in Indonesia was remembered and celebrated as "National Heroes' Day". [30]

In Islam, NU understands *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* based on the Qur'an, Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah, *Ijma'*, *qiyas* and follows the four imams in the fiqh, namely Imam Shafi'i, Imam Hanafi, Imam Maliki, Imam Hambali. In the field of Sufism, it follows Imam Al-Ghazali and Imam Abu Junaid Al-Baghdadi, and in the field of theology follow the thoughts of Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi and Abu Hasan Asy'ari. In addition, NU has the basic principles of universality of religion in making attitudes consisting of *tawasuth* (moderate), *tawazun* (balance), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *ta'adul* (justice), *hurriyah* (fundamental independence). [31]

The five characteristics of NU's attitude are linear and do not conflict with the international law primat adopted in conventions between countries of the world. This conformity in the international legal literature is known as *municipal law*. This is also consistent with the *general principal of law* in the United Nations Charter which contains about; *equality rights*, *self-determination*, the principle of equal sovereignty and independence of all countries, *non-*

interference (the principle of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries), refrain of the threat and use of force (the principle of prohibition of threatening or using violence), and *respecting for human rights* (the principle of respect for human rights). [32]

Departing from the *manhajul fikr* (method of thinking), NU has passed figures who are moderate, pluralist and tolerant both in the fields of state, academic, cultural and others that have been known nationally and internationally. For example, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) who had served as Chairman of the Big Management (PB NU) and President of the Republic of Indonesia 1999-2001. Abdurrahman was named "Father of Pluralism" by the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in his welcoming address to the death of Abdurrahman. [33] The pluralist and moderate thoughts of Gus Dur, including when he became the 5th president of RI, were manifested in the form of recognition and partiality of the rights of marginalized citizens (*mustadz'afien*). President Abdurrahman's policies at that time often sided with minorities despite inviting controversy, even Abdurrahman initiated bilateral cooperation with Israel which incidentally was considered an "enemy" by Islamic fundamentalists. Abdurrahman was also fearless in condemning acts of violence in the name of religion by *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI), the Islamic Defenders Front, in Indonesia.

Another well-known NU figure is Yahya Staquf. Once a presidential spokesman in the Gus Dur era, Yahya followed Gus Dur's moderate thinking a lot. Currently Yahya serves as *katib am* (advisory secretary) of the PBNU and is the second Indonesian (after Gus Dur) to speak at the *American Jewish Committee (AJC) Global Forum* in Israel in June 2018. [34] Despite Yahya's presence in the forum The controversy arose among Muslims, but in the forum Yahya successfully delivered material about "*rahmah*" (love) to fellow human beings to eliminate the gap and differences between one religious community and other religious communities. Through this "*rahmah*" Yahya called for peace for all people in various parts of the world. [35]

The next NU figure is Quraish Shihab. Through the *magnum opus* of Tafsir Al Misbah, Quraish Shihab provides a new understanding in an effort to revitalize the interpretation of the Qur'an. Al Misbah's interpretation is the work of the Qur'an's interpretation with a humanist approach and presents harmony (balance) of the universality of the Qur'an. Based on interpretations of Al Misbah, NU counters the jihadist doctrine that uses the verses of the Qur'an as the basis of legitimacy for acts of terrorism.

III. INTERPRETATION OF THE VERSES OF JIHAD

The Qur'an and the Hadith in the theory of positivism of international law that John Austin says are called *divine law*. Austin categorizes the law into three parts, namely God's law (divine law), positive law and positive morality. [36] Abdullah Azzam as a role model of a jihadist group as well as a role model ideologist from Osama bin Laden, a 911 terrorist, explained that the foundation of the concept of jihad and the killing of other groups was based on the divine law contained in the Qur'an. [37] The verses of the Qur'an used by Abdullah Azzam include;

Al-Baqarah 2:191:

"And kill them wherever you overtake them and expel them from wherever they have expelled you, and fitnah is worse than killing. And do not fight them at al-Masjid al- Haram until they fight you there. But if they fight you, then

kill them. Such is the recompense of the disbelievers."

At-Tawbah 9:5:

"And when the sacred months have passed, then kill the polytheists wherever you find them and capture them and besiege them and sit in wait for them at every place of ambush. But if they should repent, establish prayer, and give zakah, let them [go] on their way. Indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful."

The two verses above are used as a source of legitimacy (*divine law*) acts of terrorism and murder in the name of jihad. Abdullah Azzam's view is different from the view of Quraish Shihab as an interpreter of NU. According to the Quraysh Shihab, warfare in the Qur'an is more focused on self-defense from enemy aggression and firmness against physical persecution, terror of expulsion from the land of birth, and other forms of cruelty committed by the polytheists to the Muslims at that time. [38] Assertiveness in the Qur'an regarding self-defense, state, property and honor is permitted even if it involves the consequences of killing an opponent. Assertiveness is needed because of the limitations and weaknesses of the Islamic ummah at that time both in terms of quantity and equipment compared to the polytheists. [39]

Indonesian Islamic intellectual leader Azyumardi Azra, stressed that acts of terrorism are contrary to the universal humanitarian ethos in Islam. The struggle in Islam is a struggle to create security, peace, justice and human dignity. The struggle should not be carried out through means of terror or violence. Islam indeed gives legitimacy to the struggle through violence (*qital*) or war (*harb*), with the condition that it first begins with forms of tyranny to the Islamic Ummah and declares hostility to Islam (*kafir harbi*). However, Islam does not allow people who are innocent (*public by innocent*) as the party that must be sacrificed or the cost of the struggle. [40]

The true history of Islam is in its position as *ummatan wasathon* (moderate people) who are loaded with noble values of love and peace of the people as well as a moral equality movement of others by endeavoring to raise the dignity of *mustadz'afien* (marginal society). But these lofty ideals are reduced by "unscrupulous" by monopolizing interpretations of Islamic teachings as justification for anarchist acts and radicalism by destructive-reactionary *claims of truth* doctrine. This ignores the teachings of Islam itself which recognizes the dimensions of difference (*ikhtilaf*). Yusuf Qardawi in his book *as-Sahwah al Islamiyyah Bainal juhud wal tatarruf* said that a significant factor affecting radical attitudes was the weak understanding of the essential and comprehensive teachings of Islam. Radical and terrorist groups understand Islam literally, partially and superficially. [41] Therefore, in interpreting the text of the verse about jihad, NU interpreted by guiding *ulumul qur'an* rules, both in the aspects of *asbabun nuzul*, *qawaid tafsir*, *nasikh-mansukh*, and a hermeneutic analysis of the text of the verse (borrowing the term Gadamer) so that it can be contextualized according to place and time. [42] *Istimbath* (the basis for determining) the law should be carried out in a careful manner, a thorough study and for the improvement of the Ummah (*li maslahatil ummah*), because the legal product is an educational product, an educational product for people according to what Myres S. Mcdouglas said "*to contribute to the training of policy makers for the ever more complete achievement of the democratic values.*" [43]

Acts of terrorism are often labeled in the name of jihad. A word connoted to war and a form of violence in the name of God. The word jihad is often paired with *fi sabilillah* (in the way of Allah) as energy to move the religious

struggle. Literally, in Al Munawir Dictionary, the word "jihad" comes from the root word "*jahada*" means to try earnestly. [44] This word is also found in the Qur'an, including:

Al-'Ankabut 29: 69:

"And those who strive for Us - We will surely guide them to Our ways. And indeed, Allah is with the doers of good."

Al-Baqarah 2: 190:

"Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress. Indeed, Allah does not like transgressors."

Al-Qur'an and hadith actually have purposes of applying the law which is then abstracted by the Islamic scholars in the *maqasidus syariah*. Where *maqasidus syariah* protects the most basic human rights that humans have. In line with *maqasidus syariah*, legal philosopher Rescou Pound classifies things that must be protected in the application of law, namely public interest, individual interest (personal interest), Social interest (public interest). [45]

In giving an interpretation of the jihad verse, NU scholars emphasize more on the historical aspects of the revelation and interpret it in the corridor of the construction of seriousness and good behavior and contributory behavior for the benefit of others. Jihad can also be interpreted with sincerity in the fight against one's own passions so that they are free from the passions of *lawwamah* (destructive passions) including desires to hate and desires that have the heart to kill other humans for the name of Allah. Yet as a Muslim, the most basic thing when trying to do anything is by first reading the phrase "*Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim*" which means "In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful". This confirms that God has the nature of loving towards the universe, as well as humans must also have compassion for others. [46]

So in NU's perspective, the verses of the Qur'an as a divine law used by jihadists have been misinterpreted. NU interprets these verses in a more universal space by resting on *rahman* (compassionate) and *rahim* (merciful) to bring about peace among fellow human beings. This peaceful Islam is spread by NU and its organizational wings to realize international peace.

IV. NU AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a religious and community organization (*jam'iyah diniyah ijtimaiyyah*) is well aware that its ideals are for the sake of the nobility of Islam and Muslims (*izzul Islam wal muslimin*) with implementation being a mercy for the universe (*rahmatan lil alamin*). [47] Today NU has management from the national level to the village level. NU also has a special branch management in foreign countries spread across 5 continents. The overseas branches in each country are named as special branch managers (PCI NU). Among them are New Zealand, Australia, Japan, China, Korea, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, the United States, Canada, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan. [48]

The opening of special branch management in various countries is a form of globalization and the teachings of Islam *rahmatan lil alamin*. Its existence is not only a place for the consolidation of NU people living in these countries, but is also driven by the desire to speak out in NU-style Islam and bridge the knowledge between the

West and Islam. The gap between Islam and the international community (especially western) needs to be liquidated in order to restore the image of Islam due to various acts of terrorism that use Islamic "masks". In the context of relations between human and other human (*hablumminannas*), NU has three *ukhuwah* (brotherhood) concepts which are corridors in relation, namely; *ukhuwah islamiyah* (brotherhood of fellow Muslims), *ukhuwah wathoniyah* (brotherhood of fellow citizens), and *ukhuwah insaniyah* (brotherhood of fellow human beings). [49] On this dimension it is the foundation of NU in interacting with the community both nationally and internationally. *Ukhuwah insaniyah* gives NU orientation to its humanity function as *khalifatullah fil ardl* (God's representative on earth) to play a role and contribute to human life without dividing ethnicity, race, religion and citizenship. [50]

NU's humanity has been practically proven in international life through its actions and diplomacy. In 2004-2006 NU actively organized *interfaith dialogues* as a forum for dialogue between religious communities and optimization of tolerance. NU also formed world Muslim Ulama and Islamic scholar's conference forum, or what is referred to as the *International Conference of Islamic Scholars* (ICIS) with the mission of spreading Islamic reasoning that *rahmatan lil alamin* to the international world. The teachings of *Islam rahmatan lil alamin* through ICIS has been successfully voiced in several countries including America, Germany, Australia, European Union, Vatican, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, Iran, Syria and the United Nations. [51] Through ICIS, NU presents a friendly face of Islam, full of love and far from the typology of religious radicalism.

NU also negotiated diplomacy against countries that experienced prolonged conflict (Israel-Palestine), undertook peace efforts on Shi'a-Sunni conflict in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon on the basis of *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic brotherhood) raising support for the rejection of the United States attack (George W Bush) to Iraq through lobby to Vatican and the European Union, urged the United Nations to mediate between civilizations, visited and empathized with the families of the first Bali Bombing's victims and provided understanding that NU is anti-terrorist. Moreover, NU also contributed to the release of 12 South Korean hostages who were detained by Afghan Taliban militia on August 29, 2007. At the invitation of Thai King Bhumibol Adulyajed through Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawarta from March 2005 to September 2006, NU was asked for input advice and mediation the conflict between the Thai government and Muslim Pattani which occurred in three provinces in Southern Thailand (Narathiwat, Pattani, Yala), which is predominantly Muslim. [52] In the case of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar (nearly 1 million people), NU was not as reactive as other Islamic groups that judge Myanmar's government for violating *jus cogen* international laws in the form of crimes against humanity (genocide). NU expressed deep concern and urged the Indonesian government to take diplomatic efforts to resolve the issue quickly and elegantly. NU also urged that the citizenship rights of its Spiritual community be resolved soon. [53] Citizenship rights are rights that must be granted by the state to its citizens in accordance with Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). NU's progressive actions were able to transform the situation from conflict to reconciliation. The approach taken by religious mass organizations in Indonesia, both NU and Muhammadiyah, has proven to be effective in supporting world peace and an important part of the succession of Indonesian diplomacy at the international level.

At present, NU together with Muhammadiyah is a socio-religious organization included in the Nobel Peace Prize nomination. The socialization of the nomination of NU and Muhammadiyah to win the Nobel Peace Prize was held in Oslo, Norway on June 20, 2019 in an international seminar forum with the theme "*Challenging Islamic*

Extremism in Indonesia". This confirms the work of NU and Muhammadiyah which has a large contribution in world peace efforts. Both of these organizations have consistency in the counter-terrorism movement, [54] thus denying allegations that the two organizations which have a non-formal education base in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) are nests of terrorist.

V. NU PESANTREN (ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL) AND THE COUNTER TERRORISM MOVEMENT

Counter-terrorism movements can be done in various ways. One effective way is through Islamic religious education. *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) is the oldest educational institution in Indonesia [55] and is effective in participating in maintaining world peace. *Pesantren* accusations as terrorist "nests" because by chance Amrozi, Ali Imron, Ali Ghufron (Bali bombers) had attended education in *pesantren* in Lamongan, East Java, Indonesia. It is like an Indonesian proverb that says, "*nila setitik, rusak susu sebelanga*" which means a single drop of poison can contaminate a container of milk. The Bali bombers who happened to be alumni of *pesantren* were then used to justify that all *pesantren* were terrorist dens. [56]

The discourse on the relationship between *pesantren* influenced by terrorism is at least three possibilities; first, *pesantren* presents a pattern of imported education in the style of conflicting countries so that the discourse of the spirit of "war" is transformed into *santri*, second, how to understand textual textualism by denying context so as to make superficial understanding. [57] Thirdly, *pesantren* which do not blend in with the lives of the surrounding community to create the character of intolerance. [58]

In fact there are thousands of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia with various "sects" and schools that characterize their education. *Salaf pesantren* (the term for NU *pesantren*) which constitutes the majority, does not have a curriculum of lessons on acts of radicalism, terrorism let alone how to assemble bombs. *Pesantren* is a traditional educational institution where *santri* (a term for *pesantren* students) are taught a comprehensive understanding of Islam (*kaffah*) and teaches the urgency of *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, *ukhuwah wathoniyah* and *ukhuwah insaniyah*, so that good interconnection between *santri*, *kyai* (main teacher at *pesantren*), *pesantren* and the community are inseparable matters. [59]

The history of *pesantren*, Islamic boarding schools, in Indonesia dates back to the 16th century, which began with the establishment of the Ampel Denta boarding school by Sunan Ampel who was one of Walisongo (well-known preachers of Islam in Indonesia). At that time, *pesantren* became the a place for the students to forge themselves, receive religious education, learn about the philosophy of life, even learn about agricultural technology, animal husbandry, commerce and so forth as capital for life before being deployed in the community. [60]

Clifford Geertz based on the results of his research on traditional boarding schools said that the students occupy a cottage similar to the abbey hostel. They recite and get education from *Kyai* (the main Islamic scholar and teacher who live-in at *pesantren*). To get food and daily needs, students work in the fields or other jobs such as sewing, rolling cigarettes or taking care of livestock belonging to *Kyai* and other Muslim figures who live around the *pesantren*, there are also students who send rice and other necessities. The *Kyai* is not paid, and students also do not pay for their education. All *pesantren* education costs are funded by pious people in the form of alms or *zakah*. [61]

Fahrudin Yusuf explained that the teaching method used in traditional pesantren still uses the classical method based on literature references of classical books (yellow books; *turats*) in Arabic by Islamic scholars from various parts of the world. [62] The richness of the references reviewed in the Salaf pesantren is what gives students the flexibility to understand all debates (*khilafiyah*) with their various arguments. In the field of Al-Qur'an and hadith, students are taught the interpretation of the Qur'an by using "tools" both in a language called *nahwu-shorof* (grammatical), literary style of language that are *balaghah* and *mantiq* (logic of language) and broad interpretation (linguistic hermeneutics). [63] Al-Qur'an is a holy book full of grammatical, literary, logical and hermeneutic which cannot be translated textually-scripturalistically. [64] In addition, students study the science of *asbabun nuzul*, the science that tells about the origin of the verse and *asbabul wurud* hadith in the course of the prophetic history of Muhammad (*sirah Nabawiyah*). Through the knowledge of *asbabun nuzul* and *asbabul wurud* these verses or hadith that come down when war occurred, certainly differ in context if applied in conditions of a peaceful situation. [65]

By the Islamic scholars, students are also taught about Islamic teachings from various schools of religion that are loaded with differences and sometimes even disagreements. In the field of Sufism using the book *Ihya 'Ulumuddin* by Al Ghazali which is *vis a vis* with the book *Bidayatul Mujtahid* by Ibn Rusyd (Averous) which is rationalistic. Scientific debate also took place between al-Ghazali and Ibn Rusyd in the work of *Tahafut al-Falasifah* (Al Ghazali) and *Tahafut at-Tahafut* (Ibnu Rusyd). In *salaf* (traditional) pesantren curriculum there is also *halaqoh bahsul masail*, where students conduct a discussion about an issue or problem found in the community. Issues and problems are discussed together and frequently there is debate between students on the basis of their respective references. The debate in the *bahsul masail* teaches the attitude of understanding the opinions of other students who are also based on good references to the Qur'an, hadith, and *turats*. Scientific dialectics in Islam teaches differences so that students in traditional pesantren can understand the tolerance of the thoughts and behavior of others. [66]

The NU pesantren's knowledge which is tolerant in character, understands the dialectics of Islamic ideology is supported by applicative learning methods through direct interaction and devotion to a society full of diversity which has an impact on the breadth of the students' societies and horizons. Because in fact the role of students after graduating from pesantren is as a *khodimul ummah* (servant of the ummah) regardless of religion, ethnicity, race, citizenship. [67]

VI. COUNTER-TERRORISM IN NU'S VIRTUAL SPACE

In the era of advancement in information communication technology, virtual spaces have become a platform for the dissemination of ideology, issues and messages. One form of virtual media that fills spaces in global society is *new media* such as social media. Social media is even seen as the fifth pillar in the establishment of a democracy. *New Media* is characterized by providing inclusive, egalitarian, fast and inexpensive spaces. Internet-based *New Media* is considered more open than mass media which tends to be limited and exclusive. One of the advantages of social media and internet media is the loss of national borders, especially geographically. *New Media* has a backbone to the internet, with five characteristics. The five characteristics according to Flew are, (1) *Manipulable*, information on new media is digital so that it is easy to be changed and adapted to a variety of purposes, whether for distribution, use and storage; (2) *Networkable*, this characteristic enables messages / information to be disseminated

continuously without end by all *new media* users spread all over the world; (3) *Dense*, this characteristic is that there is no need for large space for information storage, even data or information can be stored on network services; (4) *Compressible*, this characteristic illustrates that digital data that is on the internet network, its size can be adjusted to the needs such as compressed / compressed and returned intact; (5) *Impartial*, these characteristics describe digital information on *new media* that is spread through the internet network in the same form as that uploaded by the owner. [68]

New media according to McQuail has characteristics, including, (1) decentralization, this feature states that anyone can be a communicator or supplier of messages, not just media owners; (2) high capability, the internet with its information system will overcome communication barriers compared to using other transmitters; (3) reciprocal communication, *new media* enables interactive communication between the recipient and sender of the message; (4) flexibility of form, content, and usage. [69]

These characteristics and strengths of the *new media* are used by NU and NU organization's wings in disseminating friendly Islamic ideologies and messages. The platforms used by NU and NU's wings are diverse, ranging from BlogSpot, website, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube to Instagram. From the results of monitoring on social media, NU often broadcasts the teachings of counter-terrorism through its social media. Here are some snippets of Instagram pictures managed by NU and NU's wings.



Figure 1: NU Instagram Accounts and NU Wings

In the two images above are just examples of various messages uploaded by NU on the Instagram platform. Some Instagram accounts affiliated with NU include @majalahsantri, @nuonline_id, @generasi_muda_nu, @nahdlatululama, @GMNUonline, @pbpmii_official accounts and many more. The average followers of NU affiliated accounts number in the thousands to hundreds of thousands of followers who come not only from Indonesia but from all over the world. The format that was adopted was more or less similar, namely presenting Islamic figures from NU or moderate Islam such as Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Quraish Shihab, Said Aqil Siradj, to Yusuf Chudlari. Although the accounts are different, the message delivered is more or less the same that is a message that breathes Islam as a friendly religion and is not close to violence. In Figure 1, @majalahsantri

account uses Gus Dur's figure with Gus Dur's quote about Islam, it says "Agama dilahirkan untuk kedamaian, bukan untuk kekerasan" which means religion was born for peace, not for violence". In the message uploaded to the @majalahsantri account, the photo used was Gus Dur's photo using the NU identity symbol in the top right corner. The color that frames the feed in this account is the green color which is identical to the Islamic NU green color. In the screenshot of a different account, @nuonline_id, uses the same format, which displays moderate Islamic figures, Quraish Shihab. The message quoted from the Quraish Shihab is "Islam agama cinta. Cintailah segala sesuatu, lihatlah sisi positif segala sesuatu dan arungilah kehidupan melalui pintu cinta niscaya anda akan merasa tenang dan bahagia" which means "Islam is a religion of love. Love everything, look at the positive side of everything and navigate life through the door of love, surely you will feel calm and happy ". In the message uploaded to the @nuonline_id account, the photo used was a photo of Quraish Shihab, and liked 6,898. Both accounts carry similar messages about Islam, namely that Islam is a religion that is peaceful, full of love and far from violence. The same message was echoed by accounts affiliated with other NU but with different audiences. Accounts targeting young people include accounts @generasi_muda_nu, @GMNUonline, @pbpmii_official. In these accounts upload more activities and large discourses involving them as young people.



Figure 2: Instagram Accounts

The two accounts above are examples of accounts managed by the younger generation of NU. Both accounts carry the same message of using Islamic teachings which teach Islam that is tolerant and does not use violence. The teachings of this peaceful Islam have also been reported to be alternative perspectives in resolving conflicts in conflict areas such as Afghanistan. The @generasi_muda_nu account often uploads NU activities and movements not only in Indonesia but also in other parts of the world. The above example, @generasi_muda_nu illustrates how NU is trying to spread the teachings of peaceful Islam as a form of efforts to resolve a prolonged conflict in Afghanistan. This account illustrates that NU with the teachings of a peaceful *Islam Nusantara* (Indonesian Islam Model) is expected to be the answer to the conflict there. This account casts NU as an organization with a peaceful

Islamic ideology. An account of an organization with a NU nuance, the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement, @pbpmii_official, often spreads anti-violence Islamic teachings, and teaches peaceful Islam to its followers. As a student-based organization, @pbpmii_official offers students peaceful Islamic teachings to students. @pbpmii_official often uploads activities or invitations against radicalism on campuses. From the explanation above, it is known that NU also tries to socialize the teachings of Islam through renewable media. Another new media used by NU is YouTube. This platform is considered as the best and effective platform to share the values contained by NU because YouTube is the platform most frequently accessed by people in Indonesia. The following is a screenshot of a NU Channel account on YouTube. [70]

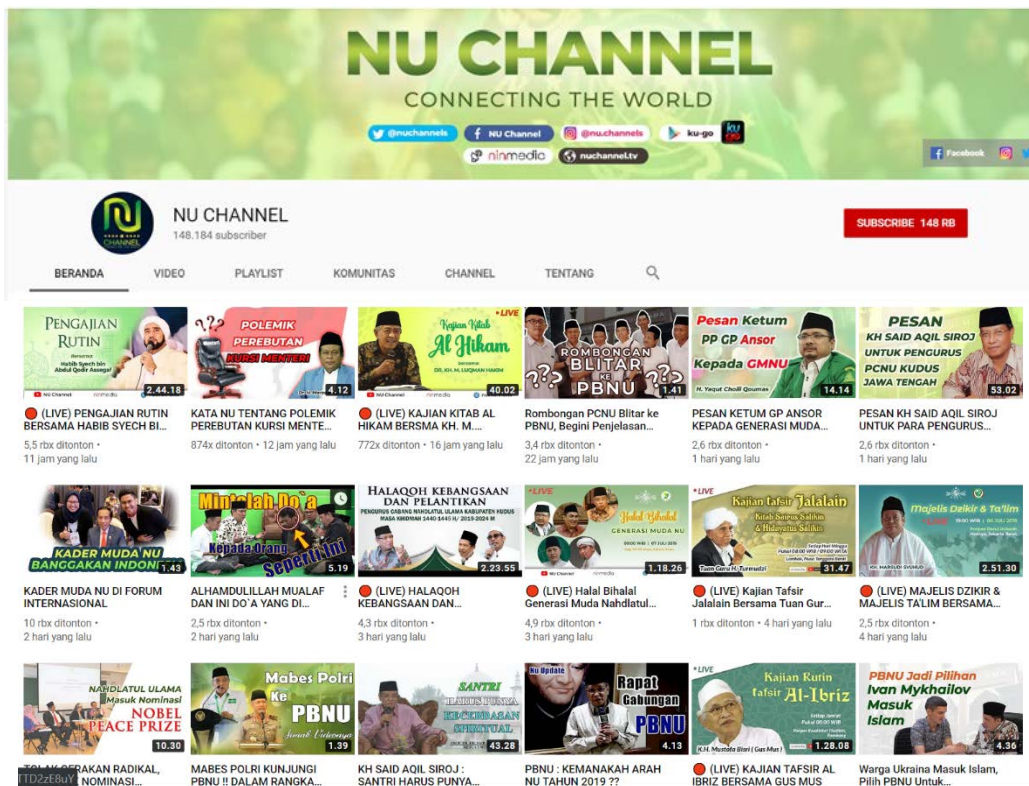


Figure 3: NU Channel YouTube Account

The *NU Channel* account on YouTube also broadcasts peaceful Islamic values, far from violence. This account also aims to connect NU and the global world. This is reflected in the NU Channel tagline, namely *connecting the world*. In its identity, it was stated that NU Channel was present for *NU's Digital Sovereignty and the Unity of the Republic of Indonesia* (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia). This confirms NU as an Islamic organization that has noble values aimed at the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and condemns intolerance echoed by radical parties and terrorism. The themes raised on the NU Channel on YouTube are diverse, ranging from NU activities, preaching that is broadcast live, moral messages conveyed by NU figures, to NU movements or activities not only in Indonesia, but also in the global arena. In addition to the *NU Channel* account on YouTube, there are also other accounts that also broadcast teachings of the Islamic religion that has NU nuance like *NULovers*, and *Santri Nusantara*.

VII. CONCLUSION

Since pre-independence Indonesia, after independence until the current era, NU has had consistency in the counter-radicalism and terrorism movements. Its intelligent, straightforward and contextual public and national vision has made NU a progressive character in fighting for the rights of the interests of the *mustadzafien* and minorities as well as efforts to safeguard world peace and human rights. Respect for the rights of minorities has actually been a concern since *Liga Bangsa Bangsa* (League of Nations) through the issue of *self-determination* or more complete with the term "*the right of self-determination*". This is also a concern for NU according to the western proverb "*think globally act locally*".

Pesantren which became the forerunner to the establishment of NU, today becomes *Candradimuka crater* (dojo) of Islamic teachings as well as the center of the anti-radicalism and terrorism movement. The scientific insights and applicative learning developed in the traditional NU *pesantren* are comprehensive scientific insights, so that scientific horizons and inclusive tolerant behavior have been obtained by students and NU cadres in the process of the de-radicalization movement and effective counter-terrorism based on NU *pesantren* education.

NU is a large *pesantren* "without a fence" that has taken part in peace and is recognized in Indonesia and internationally. The establishment of PCI NU in various countries on five continents makes NU an international *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) and continues to grow. The next generation of Muslims must be educated in the concept of *pesantren* education which teaches the face of Islamic universality. In addition, NU also considers it important to preach Islam *rahmatan lil alamin* through virtual space without fake and hoaxes in an effort to protect *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, *ukhuwah wathoniyah* and *ukhuwah insaniyah* amid globalization, the swift flow of information, the threat of radicalism and terrorism which are crimes for all humanity (*hostis humanist generist*).

The recommendation of this research is that NU in conducting counter terrorism movements through virtual space uses content and narration in English, so that it can be followed by international community and not only consumed by people in Indonesia.

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