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Muhammad Syahrani

Al-Islām min Al-Ta'ālīm Ilā Al-Taṭbīqāt, Musykilat Al-Jisr Al-Maqtu'

Abbas

Salafī and Social Religion Dynamics In Kendari

Muhammad Tahir Alibe, Abdul Muiz Amir

The Infallibility of The Prophet Muhammad Pbuh. As A Human Being (A Study Of His Ijtihad)

Muhammad Saleh Tajuddin

The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Creating Islamic Post-Traditionalist Paradigm in Indonesia

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Islam and Agrarian: Study of Nahdhatul Ulama's Religious Social Thought

Tasmin Tangngareng, Hasbullah

A Prophetic Study On Earthquake

Usman Jafar

Muslims' Thoughts of Non-Muslims' Political Rights in Majority Muslim Areas in Makassar



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THE ROLE OF ABDURRAHMAN WAHID IN CREATING ISLAMIC POST-TRADITIONALIST PARADIGM IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This writing describes Abdurrahman Wahid's thought and his influence in creating a new paradigm of thought among the new generation of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) organization in Indonesia. This writing applies qualitative techniques through library and field research. Primary data are collected through observation, interviews, and documentation, while secondary data are collected through textbooks, journals, and the internet. The data are analyzed by descriptive analysis. NU organization is known as a traditionalist Islamic organization vis a vis an Islamic modernist organization Muhammadiyah. Wahid wants Muslim integrity to become a good community, such as tolerate and respect other people. Every Muslim has to respect other people and struggle for justice, egalitarianism and protect weak people. The methodology of this writing is qualitative research. In fact, Wahid's thought of egalitarianism, tolerance, and liberalism influences the young generation of NU organization that creates a thought of school, namely post-radisionalist (Postra). Postra is a kind of leap thought among NU generation that carries out themes, such as, egalitarianism, tolerance, liberalism, civil society, and democracy. In South Sulawesi, the NU young generation establishes a non-government organization (NGO), which is called *Lembaga Advokasi Pendidikan Anak Rakyat* that carries out the same theme that of Wahid's.

Keywords: Abdurahman Wahid; Nahdlatul Ulama; Islamic Post-Traditionalist: LAPAR organization:

المخلص

توضح هذه المقالة أفكار عبد الرحمن وحيد وتأثيرها في خلق وجهة النظر الجديد للتفكير جيل الشباب في النهضة العلماء (NU) بإندونيسيا. تطبق هذه المقالة تقنيات نوعية من خلال الدراسة المكتبية والمجال البحثي النوعي والمصادر الرئيسية لها عبارة عن مجموعة من طرق إجراء الاستطلاعات بحيث تم العثور على بياناتها الأساسية من خلال المراقبة والمقابلات والتوثيق ، وأما مصادرها أو مراجعها الثانوية فهي تستمد من الكتب المدرسية والمجلات العلمية والإنترنت، فقد تم تحليل البيانات المذكورة باستخدام المنهج التحليلي. ومن العروف أن "NU" إسلامية تقليدية، وبينما يعرف أن

المحمدية هي إسلامية حديثة. ويريد عبد الرحمن وحيد أن يكون المجتمع المسلم مجتمعاً صالحاً يتحلى بكل من صفات الخير كالتسامح والاحترام للآخرين. وينبغي لكل مسلم أن يحترم الآخرين وأن يسعى إلى إقامة العدالة والمساواة وحماية المواطنين الضعفاء. وفي الواقع، أن أفكار وحيد المائلة إلى التساوى التسامح والليبرالية والتي تؤثر على الجيل الناشئ من NU تمثل خطوات فكرية لدى هذا الجيل الذي يحمل مواضيع مختلفة كالمساواة والتسامح، والحرية، والديمقراطية. وفي سولاويسي الجنوبية، أنشأ هذا الجيل غير حكومية أطلقت عليها اسم المؤسسة الخيرية ويقال لها مؤسسة المحاماة لدعم تعليم أبناء الشعب (LAPAR) وهي المؤسسة التي تحمل نفس الموضوع مثل ما دعى به وحيد)

الكلمة الرئيسية: عبد الرحمن وحيد؛ نهضة العلماء؛ آخر- التقليديّة؛
LAPAR؛

Abstrak

Tulisan ini menggambarkan pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid dan pengaruhnya dalam menciptakan paradigma baru pemikiran generasi muda organisasi Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) di Indonesia. Tulisan ini mengaplikasikan teknik kualitatif melalui penelitian pustaka dan lapangan. Data primer diperoleh melalui observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi, sementara sumber sekunder diperoleh melalui buku teks, jurnal ilmiah dan internet. Data-data tersebut dianalisis melalui analisis deskriptif. Organisasi NU adalah diketahui sebagai organisasi Islam tradisional sementara organisasi Muhammadiyah dikenal sebagai organisasi Islam modernis. Wahid ingin integritas Muslim menjadi masyarakat yang baik, seperti toleran dan hormat kepada orang lain. Setiap Muslim harus menghargai orang lain dan berjuang untuk menegakkan keadilan, egalitarian, dan melindungi penduduk yang lemah. Dalam kenyataannya, Pemikiran Wahid yang berkarakteristik egaliter, tolerans, dan cenderung liberal memengaruhi generasi muda NU adalah sebuah loncatan berpikir sepanjang generasi muda NU yang mengusung tema seperti egaliterian, toleran, liberal, civil society, dan demokrasi. Di Sulawesi Selatan, generasi muda NU mendirikan sebuah Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) yang disebut dengan nama Lembaga Advokasi Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR) yang mengusung tema yang sama dengan Wahid.

Kata Kunci: Abdurrahman Wahid; Nahdlatul Ulama; Islam Post-Traditionalis; organisasi LAPAR:

A. Introduction

The movement of Islamic post-traditionalist in Indonesia can be said as a new thought movement that is conducted by the young generation of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) organization. NU is a representative of the Islamic moderate and traditionalist organization since it was an earlier time to its development at New Order Era. Abdurrahman Wahid as a central figure in NU is a key figure in conducting modernization of religious thought and has a big impact on an NU young generation in responding to contemporary religious issues.

Wahid is the leader of NU, the largest non-governmental Islamic organization in the world, and an outspoken religious and political thinker as well as a proponent of secular democracy in Indonesia. He rejects Arabization, because for the reason that the term good morning should not be converted to become 'Assalamualaikum', or the word brother to substitute the Arabic term Ikhwan. Obeying and following Islam is not parallel with Arabian symbols, so Wahid is like to promote Islam from the Indonesian perspective, not Indonesia from the Islamic perspective. Wahid's thought gives more emphasizes on egalitarianism, tolerance, and liberalism, and brings about the significant influence of a young generation of NU organization that creates a school thought, which is called Islamic post-traditionalism (Postra). Postra is spread not only in Jakarta but also in other areas in Indonesia, such as South Sulawesi.

In South Sulawesi, the NU young generation establishes a non-Government Organization (NGO), which is called *Lembaga Advocacy Pendidikan Anak Rakyat* (LAPAR). LAPAR organization concentrates on pluralism, enhancing civil society, democracy, and human rights, and advocate local community rights.

This writing will discuss Abdurrahman Wahid's life, Wahid's thought of egalitarian, tolerance, and liberty, framers of Islamic post-traditionalist thought, and Islamic post-traditionalist in South Sulawesi.

B. Literature Review

Syafi'i Anwar's writing *The Clash of Religio-Political Thought: The Contest between Radical-Conservative Islam and Progressive-Liberal Islam in Post-Soeharto Indonesia* explains the historical and the political emergence of radical conservative Islam (RCI) and progressive liberal Islam in Reformation Era. The main issue of the political agenda of RCI is the implementation and the spread of Islamic law (*syariah*) in the post-Suharto. RCI defines *syariah* based on literal, strict, and exclusive interpretations which tend to develop anti-pluralism and anti-democratic spirits.¹

¹M. Syafi'i Anwar. *The Clash of Religio-Political Thought: The Contest between Radical-Conservative Islam and Progressive-Liberal Islam in Post-Soeharto Indonesia* Anwar (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 186-256.

Gustiana Isya Marjani in his dissertation *The Concept of Religious Tolerance in Nahdhatul Ulama (NU): Study on the Responses of NU to the Government's Policies on Islamic Affairs in Indonesia on the Perspective of Tolerance (1984-1999)* explains the NU organization's contribution in creating harmonious life in Indonesia in relation to the government program, namely "Trilogy of Tolerance". This dissertation focuses on the role of NU organization's tolerance to the government's policies on Islamic affairs during Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership. In fact, NU as a religious and social organization is able to adapt itself to diverse social and political order.² This writing will support my argument to explain the role of NU organization and its leader, Abdurrahman Wahid in creating tolerance in the political and social community as well as its role to create the young generation of NU, such as LAPAR organization in South Sulawesi.

Robert W. Hefner in his writing *Globalization, Governance, and the Crisis of Indonesian Islam* discuss the advantage of established networking of pilgrimage and education to cultivate alternative ideals of Islam. Nowadays, many have infrastructures of global communications, including the internet and global finance. In Indonesia, the important variable in determining the political impact proves the relationship between the state and civil society.³ This article discusses too many themes, such as globalization, the crisis in Indonesia, global finance, global communication, Islam, governance, and state and civil society relation. However, the article is good to analyze the political problems in Indonesia, particularly Islamic post-traditionalism.

C. Abdurrahman Wahid's Life

Abdurrahman Wahid is the charismatic chairman of Indonesia's largest Islamic social organization the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU). NU is known as a 'traditionalist' Islamic organization that has its base in Central and East Java's densely populated rural regions.⁴ He has returned to that role after his tumultuous term as president of Indonesia (1999-2001). However, he has also been described as the leader of the modern and liberal-oriented democratization

²Gustiana Isya Marjani. *The Concept of Religious Tolerance in Nahdhatul Ulama (NU): Study on the Responses of NU to the Government's Policies on Islamic Affairs in Indonesia on the Perspective of Tolerance (1984-1999)*. A Dissertation Submitted in the Department of Middle East History and Culture, Universität Hamburg, 17 October, 2005.

³Robert Hafner. *Globalization, Governance, and the Crisis of Indonesian Islam*, *Conference on Globalization, State Capacity, and Muslim Self Determination*, Center for Global, International, and Regional Studies, University of California-Santa Cruz March 7-9, 2002.

⁴Faisal Ismail, *The Nahdlatul Ulama Its Early History and Contribution to the Establishment of Indonesian State*, *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 5(2), 2011, p. 248.

movement in Indonesia.⁵ Wahid's thought has also been located in the neo-modernist school of Islam.⁶

Wahid is not only the leader of NU (the largest non-governmental Islamic organization in the world with a membership of 20-30 million), but he is also an outspoken religious and political thinker and a proponent of secular democracy in Indonesia. Moreover, Wahid even before becoming president, was a figure of considerable international stature, having been honored with a Ramon Magsaysay Award in 1993 (Asia's equivalent of a Nobel Prize). In late 1994, he had served as a member of the Presidential Board of the prestigious World Council on Religion and Peace.⁷

Abdurrahman Wahid was born in 1940 into a *Nahdlatul Ulama* family. Wahid is a grandson of the founders of NU, Kiai Hasjim Asy'ari and Kiai Basri Syamsuri. His father, Kiai Wahid Hasjim, was a nationalist figure and Minister of Religious Affairs under Sukarno.⁸

Between 1953 and 1957, Wahid stayed with Kiai Haji Junaid, a modernist Muhammadiyah *Ulama* (Islamic leader, scholar, and guide), when he studied at Junior High School (SMEP). He then studied at Pesantren Tagalrejo, Magelang from 1957 to 1959. Between 1959 and 1963, he taught at Mu'allimat, a Muhammadiyah Islamic High School for women, Bahrul Madrasah at Pesantren Tambak Beras Jombang, and he also studied at Pesantren Krapyak during a period in Yogyakarta.⁹

From 1964 to 1971, Wahid went to Cairo, Bagdad, and Europe to continue his studies.¹⁰ In 1964, Wahid studied at Ma'had 'Ali Dimsat al-Islamiyah (Al-Azhar) in Egypt. However, he was unsatisfied with the didactic technique of memorization in the university. Hence, Wahid spent his time reading in modern libraries, such as the American University library in the city. Moreover, he was involved in a discussion with a group with young Egyptian intellectuals, and some non-Egyptian intellectuals who had come to study in

⁵Douglas E. Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam, and the Ideology of Tolerance* (London and New York: Routledge), 1995, p. 49.

⁶Fachry Ali and Bachtiar Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru* (Bandung: Mizan, 1990), p. 185.

⁷Fachry Ali and Bachtiar Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru*, p. 45.

⁸Douglas E Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance*, p. 51.

⁹Greg Barton, "The Liberal, Progressive Roots of Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought" in *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia: A Textual Study examining the Writing of Nurcholis Madjid, Djohan Effendy, Ahmad Wahib and Abdurrahman Wahid 1968-1990*. (Ph.D Dissertation, Department of Asian Languages and Studies, Monash University, 1995).

¹⁰Yessyca, Yunitasari, Sugianto and Kayan Swastika, Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought about Democracy in 1974-2001, *Jurnal Historica*, 1 (1), 2017, p. 80.

Cairo. Wahid then moved to Baghdad where he spent four years studying Arabic literature and culture, and European social theory. In Baghdad, Wahid was much happier, because the education system in the university was closer to the European system than at the University of Al-Azhar. In 1971 Wahid went to Europe to continue his study, but his studies in Cairo and Baghdad were not recognized in Europe. He also had plans to go to study at the McGill University of Canada in its Islamic studies program, but he decided to return to Indonesia to be involved in the *pesantren*.¹¹

In the mid-70s, he joined with some Islamic intellectuals, such as Nurcholis Madjid, Johan Effendi, and Dawam Raharjo, in a series of academic forums. Wahid had easily adjusted to the discourse of western thought, Islamic teaching, and Muslim society. During this period, he also was busy with Islamic study groups and involved in the broader intellectual life in Jakarta.¹²

Wahid's thought as a chairman of NU is not only in contradiction with intellectuals from parts of NU, but also with several NU leaders among the *ulama* (Islamic scholars), who openly oppose many of Wahid's opinions. For example, Wahid's uncle, Yusuf Hasjim disagrees with several of Wahid's initiatives and statements. However, Wahid has been selected three times to lead the NU organization despite New Order attempts to rig the voting and remove him.¹³ He has more support than any other figure as the organization's leader and spokesman.

NU had directly contested for state power as a political party under Sukarno. It was merged into the official Islamic opposition (PPP) in 1973 as discussed earlier. But in 1983 Wahid led the NU out of the formal political sphere in a move referred to as the return to NU's *khittah*, or original socially orientated principles. Wahid states, "NU saw that continued participation in the New Order political structure would eventually render the organization politically impotent."¹⁴ In Wahid's opinion, NU's freedom of political movement had been heightened outside the formal structure of New Order politics. However, in the Reformation Era, Wahid established a political party which is called *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB).

D. Wahid's Thought of Egalitarian, Tolerance, and Liberty

There is a different way of thought between Nurcholis Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid concerning the concept of civil society. Madjid wants to make Muslims become a government, while Wahid wants Muslim integrity to

¹¹Greg Barton, "The Liberal, Progressive Roots of Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought", p. 193.

¹²Greg Barton, "The Liberal, Progressive Roots of Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought", p. 194.

¹³Greg Barton, "The Liberal, Progressive Roots of Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought", p. 46.

¹⁴Douglas E. Ramage, Pancasila Discourse in Suharto Late New Order." In *Democracy in Indonesia 1950s and 1990s*, ed. David Bourchier and Legge, Clayton: Monash University Centre of Southeast Asia, No. 31, 1994, p. 158.

become a good community, such as tolerate and respect other people. Every Muslim has to respect other people and struggle for justice, egalitarian and protect weak people. According to Wahid, Islam as religious emancipation has to anticipate its community without looking at their different social statuses. Wahid's spirit in promoting Islam disagrees with Islamization. In his writings, Wahid tends to promote and protect local religions.¹⁵ In other words, Islam has to return to the word, not the Islamic symbol, but how local tradition is acknowledged as one of the cultural riches in Islam.¹⁶

As a figure among pesantren, Wahid was demanded to be wise in handling many religious problems in the internal organization of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU). As an Islamic intellectual, Wahid was ever touched by any kind of Islamic modernism from fundamentalist Hassan al-Banna to liberalist Arkoun, and until the end of his life, he tended to Islamic liberalism.¹⁷

Unfortunately, Wahid's way of thinking was always jumping, so his followers were finding it difficult to follow his thought. However, his followers then emerged with different from his Wahid, and sometimes they criticize their teacher, such as Masdar. F. Mas'udi with the religious justice concept, Said Aqil Siraj who legalizes Mut'ah concept, while Wahid was tending to disagree with the polygamy concept of gender equality. In the political aspect, Wahid was always got critics from his students, such as Alwi Sihab, Chairul Anam and Hasyim Muzadi. Wahid was also sometimes trapped in euphoria discourse when he was a president, Wahid then enjoys as a politician even though his role as an intellectual was not disappeared. Wahid has successfully to educate his cadres, so many appear young NU thinkers.

In the context of religious pluralism, we sometimes find religious pluralism among Indonesian Muslims intellectuals. Pluralism as conceptual is always divided into three parts. *Firstly*, actual plurality means a belief that diversity cannot be denied its existence. *Secondly*, pluralism is connected with politics, so its meaning is so times confused by the meaning of secularism. *Thirdly*, pluralism shows one meaning in religious theory that religion is basically one direction¹⁸

How does the Qur'an show about religious pluralism? Explicitly, the Qur'an emphasizes that Islam is the continuing of religion (*millah*) Ibrahim (Q.S. 6:161). Consequently, Islam is not only has a historical connection, but also a common flat form with Judaism and Christianity from the same ancestor, namely *millah* Ibrahim. However, Islam gives a basic theology for its followers

¹⁵Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in 1990s*, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1994, p. 185

¹⁶Meretas Tradisi Kritis: Gusdur dan Pencarian Kekuasaan, <http://mediaindonesia.com/>, 12 Desember 2006), p. 5.

¹⁷Greg Barton, "The Liberal, Progressive Roots of Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought", p. 6.

¹⁸Suly Qadir, *Syariah Demokratik* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004)., p. 163.

to receive pluralism concerning the existence of other religions, and the necessity to make a good relationship with their followers.¹⁹

According to Budi Munawar Rachman, pluralism thought in Islam can be explained that pluralism is the law of God (*sunnatullah*) which cannot be changed, so it cannot be fought or denied. Islam is a religion that its Holy book admires other religion's rights. The admire to other religious rights is a basic understanding of social culture and religion as the law of God that cannot be changed (Q.S. 5:44-50). The awareness of the religious community which is emphasized in the Qur'an as a rule for the community who have the same level, believe in the prophets, and faith and obey God (Q.S. 2:136, 4:163-165, and 45:16-17). There is no force in religion (Q.S. 2:256 and Q.S. 10: 99). The Qur'an also indicates that the religious followers who believe in God will be saved in the day after (Q.S. 2: 62, Dan 5:16).²⁰

Islamic society in Islam Indonesia faces a religious plurality phenomenon. God creates a diversity of socio-religious in religious concepts and practices. Plurality is *condition sine qua non* in creating creatures. The aim of plurality is to support good competition, to create prestigious, and to motivate society to get prosperity. Pluralism can be spread not only tolerance for existence and diversity, but also to all human beings and to other religious followers.²¹ Pluralism is not only related to the diversity of religions, but also with internal religion itself.

According to Wahid, Islamism, and Indonesians, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) and Islamic fundamentalist thinkers are using deviate terms to other groups of Islam are breaking the basic constitution of Indonesia Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 (UUD 45) that guarantee the independence of thoughts and giving opinions. Wahid also regrets to Indonesian leaders who accept MUI decision. For instance, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono should have to maintain the constitution, but he does not have enough courage to maintain from MUI and other Islamic organizations. Therefore, a fundamental principle, such as freedom of thought and independence of speech will be a victim of the state. The attitude shows the violence of a rule of UUD. Wahid emphasizes that this situation is similar to New Order Era government, while we have to try to overcome the negative impact of the attitudes. Therefore, only a few people are probably disagreeing with the violation of Undang-Undang Dasar.²² Another

¹⁹Mun'im A. Sirri, *Fikh Lintas Agama: Membangun Masyarakat Inklusif-Pluralis* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2003), p. 17.

²⁰Budi Munawar Rachman, *Argumen Islam Untuk Civic Values* (Paper Presented on TOT Pemberdayaan Pesantren dan Majelis Taklim, Hotel Delta Makassar 30 Nopember – 03 December 2007), p. 14.

²¹Muhammad Chirzin, "Jihad fi Sabilillah dalam Konteks Kekinian," in *Islam dan Realitas Sosial di Mata Intelektual Muslim Indonesia* (Jakarta: Edu Indonesia Sinergi, 2005), p. 146.

²²Abdurrahman Wahid, <http://www.gusdur.net/indonesia/index.php?> Jakarta, 26 November, 2007.

example is the decision of MUI concerning the case of Adjinomoto that contains lard (fork oil). However, Wahid disagrees with the decision and he states that Adjinomoto does not contain lard.²³

Wahid states that based on Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's *falsa*, many people are breaking the Undang-Undang Dasar. They are breaking the law on behalf of the constitution and sacrifice it on behalf of the constitution itself. If that situation is left alone without criticism, the situation is very dangerous for the principles of democracy that are currently for independence and freedom of speech. This depiction reflects another compatible in the political aspects of Indonesia. Wahid states that we are not a nation that could keep the independence of thought and freedom of talk, so we have to brave and fight that people who want to destroy our heritage in this country.²⁴

As mentioned above, Wahid's thought of egalitarian, tolerance, and liberalism influences of young intellectuals of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU)²⁵ that creates a thought of the school, namely postradisionalist (Postra). Postra is a kind of leap thought among UN generation that is carried out themes, such as, egalitarian, tolerant, liberal, civil society, and democracy. In South Sulawesi, the NU young generation establishes a non-Government Organization (NGO), which is called Lembaga Advocacy Pendidikan Anak Rakyat that is carried out the same themes of Wahid. LAPAR organization has good cooperation with Wahid's Institute in Jakarta.

E. Framers of Post-Traditionalist Thought

The movement of Islamic post-traditionalist in Indonesia can be said as a new thought movement that conducted by a younger generation of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU). According to Saiful Mujani, the role of Wahid as a part of subs cultural NU and as an elite NU member is very big. As the grandson of NU founder and son of NU leader who led NU for a long time, viz. Wahid Hasyim and Wahid himself was chosen as executive chairman of the NU during three periods. For many years, Wahid wrote extensively about Islam and modern political thought. His ideas were supported by elite senior NU, such as Kiai Ahmad Siddiq and Kiai Sahal Mahfudz.²⁶ As a result, NU young generation has

²³Sarma Panggabean, Implementasi Apraisal Dalam Evaluasi Bahasa: Sebuah Ancangan Wacana Forensik: Studi Kasus Pada Artikel Mahasiswa Program Studi Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia FKIP Universitas HKBP Nommensen, Melanesia: *Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Bahasa dan Sastra*, 1(2), Februari 2017, p. 85

²⁴Abdurrahman Wahid, <http://www.gusdur.net/indonesia/index.php?>

²⁵*Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) is an Islamic organization that is characterized as Islamic traditionalist organization and always contradicts with Muhammadiyah Organization that is always characterized as Islamic modernist organization.

²⁶Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007), p. 65.

leap thought that results in a new characteristic of Islamic thought which is called *Postr* or *Postraditional* Islam (Islamic Post-Traditionalism). For Islamic intellectuals, they are always identified as the new era of young NU intellectuals.

Generally, the young NU movements have characteristics, such as plural, accommodating, aspiration to new information, and sociable. The general themes of their thoughts are related to religious problems in society, such as *fiche*, religious link, state, and civil society. This is possible because the traditional study covers all social aspects. One of their struggles is egalitarianism among society, so they recommend to erase TAP MPRS No. XXV/MPRS/1996, because they think that the regulation castrate peoples' rights²⁷

On Maret 2000, Institute for Social Institutions Studies (ISIS) Jakarta, one of the agencies of young Islamic traditionalist has implemented discussion which was entitled "Kecenderungan Liberal di NU". They mostly have roots from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) culture. The discussion has resulted in a terminology Pos-Tradisionalisme (*Postr*, Post-Traditionalism) Islam, as a movement Lebel. M.M. Billah, present at the discussion disagrees with the terminology of *Postr*, because there is no in the dictionary. However, this terminology is still kept on, although it is still debated.²⁸

In July 2001, *Lembaga Kajian Dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia* (Lakpesdam) NU responds the basic methodology of *Postr*, as a school of thought. Lakpesdam journal, *Tashwirul Afkar*, discusses the main theme, "Post Traditionally Islam: Ideologi dan Metodologi" (Islamic Post-Traditionalism: Ideology and Methodology). Marzuki Wahid, the redactor of *Afkar*, states that the terminology of *Postr*. The existence of posture has characteristics of thought and movement that cannot be identified by categorization, such as traditionalist, neo-traditionalist, modernist, and neo-modernist organization. "Post-traditionalism is understood as a traditionalist leap movement into a new tradition. This is a kind of liberalization at NU organization. For example, Masdar Farid Mas'udi, Vice Katib Syuriah PBNU, has an idea concerning the implementation of hajj once a year to avoid very crowded of hajj community. Masdar else has a different opinion about soaked through his book which is entitled *Agama Keadilan* (Religious Justice). According to Marzuki, the result of Masdar's *ijtihad* has not a traditional root, but its process uses traditional classic, namely *ushul al-fiqh*. *Postr* then crystallized slowly as liberals thought of NU young generation

²⁷Akmal Abdullah, *Pembaharuan Keislaman dalam Perspektif Neo Modernis Islam dan Pos-Tradisionalisme Islam di Indonesia: Sebuah Telaah Perbandingan Pemikiran* (Makassar: Degree Faculty of Ushuluddin and Philosophy, 2004), p. 43.

²⁸Muhammad Hanif Dhakiri dan Zaini Rachman *Post Tradisionalisme Islam Menyingkap Corak Pemikiran dan Gerakan PMII*, (Jakarta: LkiS, 2011), p. 3.

It is clear that the existence of Islamic Post-Traditional thought in the contemporary era is a consequence of a long history of the development of religious thought in Indonesia, particularly the struggle of traditionalist, modernist, and neo-modernist. Post-traditionalist have tried to look prosperous than try to interpret religious texts that suitable with religious contemporary issues, such as civil society, democracy, egalitarian, liberalism, tolerance, and multiculturalism. The existence of the LAPAR Organization that pioneered by NU young generation in South Sulawesi as a part of the post - traditionalist and as a consequent of Wahid's thought.

F. Post-Traditionalist In South Sulawesi

Lembaga Advokasi Dan Pendidikan Anak Rakyat which is abbreviated with LAPAR is a non-governmental organization (NGO) in Makassar, South Sulawesi that is established on 17 April 1999. The main purpose of the LAPAR organization is to develop and to increase civil society through study, dialog, educate people, organization, and publication. Those activities are critical reflections of social situations and development that avoid the existence of non-have society. LAPAR organization is appeared to anticipate marginalized society, oppression, evacuate, and robbery of social, economic, cultural, and political rights of weak community groups.²⁹

In detailed, the purposes LAPAR organization established are 1) To help the existence of justice, democratic, free, and egalitarian society. 2) To conduct the process of social transformation to get social justice. Conducting a social transformation process to get a social order that justice through organizing civil society. 3). To maintain human rights and sovereignty people through advocacy and critics education. 4) To stop every kind of discrimination who struck down of marginal people. 5) To develop human resource development that is smart and prosperity, as well as to increase people's values and status. 6) To develop civil society and have begun in the state. 7) To help to create infrastructure and social, economic, and cultural environments that are more qualitative and humanity.³⁰

In implementing its programs, LAPAR is supported by 14 members that are cooperating with many foundations, such as *Lembaga Kajian Islam Dan Sosial* (LKIS) Yogyakarta, Desantara Jakarta, *Harian Pedoman Rakyat* (PERS), KIKIS Jakarta, WALHI, JARI Jakarta, Radio Gamasi Makassar, Radio As'Adiyah Sengkang Regency, Radio Suara Sawerigading Polman Regency, Radio Bambapuang Sidrap Regency, SAWIT Watch Bogor, and *Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria* (KPA). Besides that, LAPAR has several funding agency partners, viz., Yayasan Pemulihan Keberdayaan Masyarakat (PKM) Jakarta,

²⁹Profil Lembaga Advokasi Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR) Sulawesi Selatan, p. 1.

³⁰Profil Lembaga Advokasi Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR) Sulawesi Selatan, p. 1.

2000-2002, The Asia Foundation (TAF) Jakarta, 2000-2003, IUCN Belanda-Sawit Watch, 2002, Grass Root Foundation, Germany, 2002.³¹

In fact, LAPAR organization has successfully developed networks with several institutions, such as student forums, farmer group organizations, Himpunan Pedagang Kaki Lima (HPKL) Daya Makassar, GeRaK (Gerakan Rakyat Karuwisi) Makassar, communities Masyarakat Adat, Komunitas Adat Kajang Kab. Bulukumba, Komunitas To Lotang Sidrap Regency, Komunitas Bissu Pangkep regency, Komunitas Haji Bawakaraeng Pangkep Regency, Komunitas Cerekang Palopo, Komunitas Cikoang Takalar, Komunitas Karampuang Sinjai.³²

In the earlier time, LAPAR Organization was only focused on the educational aspect, but after established, LAPAR is concerned with many aspects, namely: 1) involving the development of pluralistic discourse in the community. 2) Enhancing and empowering of civil society. 3) Supporting the establishment of democracy and human rights. 4) Developing local culture.³³ Therefore, the main issues that LAPAR organization concentrated is pluralism, enhancing civil society, democracy and human rights, and advocate local community rights.

LAPAR Organization ideas are implemented into several format activities: Firstly, socialization of pluralism ideas through Jum'at bulletin. Secondly, research and mapping of local culture. Thirdly, the campaign and socialization of local culture through radio and newspaper. Fourthly, assisting with the Marginal community in the cities and villages: firstly, firstly, study together about analytical discourse, a critic of religion, and gender. Secondly, study together about epistemology, organized people, investigation, mapping, and policy analyses.³⁴

In relation to the improvement of civil society in Makassar, Abdul Karim, the Executive Chairman of LAPAR organization, states that at least there are three aspects that are LAPAR Organization concerns: Firstly, implementing educational democracy, conducting critic education for community groups, and campaign, socialization, and disseminating ideas to the

³¹The Wahid Institute, "Jaringan Lembaga Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR)", Friday 3 December, 2004.
[http://www.wahidinstitute.org/v1/Networks/Detail/?id=42/hl=id/Lembaga Advokasi Dan Pendidikan Anak Rakyat LAPAR](http://www.wahidinstitute.org/v1/Networks/Detail/?id=42/hl=id/Lembaga_Advokasi_Dan_Pendidikan_Anak_Rakyat_LAPAR)

³²The Wahid Institute, "Jaringan Lembaga Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR)", Friday 3 December, 2004.

³³The Wahid Institute, "Jaringan Lembaga Pendidikan Anak Rakyat (LAPAR)", Friday 3 December, 2004.

³⁴Interview with Muhaemin Latif, a Member of LAPAR Organization, on 10 September 2015

community about Islam, pluralism, and multiculturalism.³⁵ All LAPAR Organization activities are relevant to Wahid's idea of the civil society aspect.

G. Conclusion

Abdurrahman Wahid is known as Muslim intellectual and the former chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) moderate organization. His thought is always contradicted with other Muslim intellectuals in Indonesia because they tend to liberalist. Wahid wants Muslim integrity to become a good community, such as tolerance and respect other people. Every Muslim has to respect other people and struggle for justice, egalitarianism and protect weak people. According to Wahid, Islam as religious emancipation has to anticipate its community without looking at their different social statuses.

The existence of Islamic Post-Traditional thought in the contemporary era is a consequence of a long history of the development of religious thought in Indonesia, particularly the struggle of traditionalist, modernist, and neo-modernist.³⁶ Post-traditionalist have tried to look prosperous than try to interpret religious texts that suitable with religious contemporary issues, such as civil society, democracy, egalitarianism, liberalism, tolerance and multiculturalism. The existence of LAPAR organization that pioneered by NU young generation in South Sulawesi as a part of the post - traditionalist and as a consequent of Wahid's thought.

LAPAR organization has a link with Wahid's thought and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) organization. Wahid Wahid's thought of egalitarianism, tolerance, and liberalism influences of a young generation of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) that creates a thought of the school, namely postradisional (Postra). Postra is a kind of leap thought among NU generation that is carried out themes, such as, egalitarianism, tolerance, liberalism, civil society, and democracy. In South Sulawesi, the NU young generation establishes non-Government Organization (NGO), which is called *Lembaga Advokasi Pendidikan Anak Rakyat* (KPPSI) that carries out the same theme as proposed by Wahid

³⁵Interview with Abd. Karim, Head of LAPAR Organization, on 12 September 2015

³⁶Martin Van Bruinessen, "What Happening to the Smiling Face of Indonesian Islam? Muslim Intellectualism and Conservative Turn in Post Suharto Indonesia", *RSIS Working Paper*, No. 222, 6 January 2011, p. 7.

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²Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: One World Publications, 1991), h. 190.

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