

# Annual Report 2013

*The* WAHID Institute

Seeding Plural and Peaceful Islam





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### **MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE**

Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.  
May peace be upon us.

**T**he year 2013 has been a challenging year for us at The WAHID Institute. We have seen that the path we have chosen to fight for has been increasingly challenging due to the situation that has occurred within 2013. Our annual report on Freedom of Religious and Belief has shown that despite the decreasing number of incidents based on religious and belief issues, we have seen increasing number of hatred speech spread throughout our society. Some were openly spoken in the political arena, especially around regional or local election, where hatred speeches were used against minority candidates, some were about the houses of worships that were considered “troubled”, and some were simply against different religions or sects within certain religion, such as towards Ahmadiyya and Syia.

Furthermore, some houses of worships that have been unconstitutionally closed down several years ago because of pressure from several fundamentalist groups have not reached a solution. The congregations of GKI Taman Yasmin Church of Bogor and of HKBP Filadelfia Church of Bekasi still hold their weekly masses in front of the Presidential Palace, including their Christmas mass. We are continuing the works of

advocating these cases to help them receive the fairness and justice that they rightfully need, and to build counter to hatred speech through our bulletins, writings, and speeches on various occasions.

Entering the 10<sup>th</sup> year of our existence, we are consistent in our work to fight for tolerance, pluralism, and peace in Indonesia and the world. We continue to produce various ideas and publish numerous writings.

We also strive to enhance capacity building amongst religious leaders at grassroots level, especially within Islamic circles. Furthermore, we encourage pesantrens to develop a curriculum that is based on values of peace, tolerance, understanding, and diversity.

Through our extensive research and various evaluations on our programs have led us to develop ideas and projects that we believe will have immediate impact on our target groups. We have found that two of the keys to strengthen the tolerance and peace are women and youth. Therefore, we are developing programs that targeted these two members of community.

The women empowerment program for members of majlis ta'lim has been successfully conducted, as well as the microfinance program to build religious and ethnic harmony. The youth programs are now developing, and ready to be implemented in the year 2014.

We also believe that in order to maintain our fight against intolerance, we have to prepare and build our organization stronger. For this purpose, starting last quarter of the year, with the help of various consultants, we have developed new Standard Operational Procedures and organizational as well as management assessments to enable us to create even more impactful programs and to move closer to our vision.

We would like to convey our sincerest gratitude to our program partners as well as many parties that have positively collaborated with us. We hope that the positive synergy will continue well into the future for the immediate fulfillment of our objective, to create a better world.

Wassalamu'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh.  
With peace in mind.

**Anita Wahid**  
Executive Director





Former president Abdurrahman Wahid, founder of The Wahid Institute along with a number of clerics representing different religions, punches a bell on September 7, 2004 - in an opening ceremony of the institute - as a sign of declaration of religious unity in Indonesia



PELUNCURAN DAN SEMINAR  
LAPORAN TAHUNAN

# Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan 2013

Jakarta, Januari 2014



WAHID Institute  
Building Plural and Peaceful Islam





**T**he WAHID Institute is a non-government organization that emerged with the dedication to realize the intellectual commitment of KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) in advancing the development of Indonesian as well as multicultural society, improving the welfare of lower class of the society, building democracy and fundamental justice, and expanding peace and non-violence throughout the world. The WAHID Institute which was established on September, 7, 2004, facilitates dialogues and understanding between religions and cultures, including between the Islamic world and the West.

## Our Vision

**T**he WAHID Institute seeks to achieve the intellectual vision of H.E. Abdurrahman Wahid for the development of Indonesia, the welfare of the nation, and the social justice of humankind based on Islamic values that uphold pluralism, multiculturalism, democracy, and human rights. The WAHID Institute strives for a just and peaceful world by espousing a moderate and tolerant view of Islam and working towards welfare for all.

## Our Mission

- ✿ Cultivating, maintaining and spreading the Islamic values of peace and tolerance.
- ✿ Cultivating dialogues among local and international cultures to expand harmony between Islam and various cultures and religions of the world.
- ✿ Fostering initiatives to strengthen civil and society and good governance in Indonesia in expanding democracy.
- ✿ Promoting active participations of various religious groups in cultural dialogues and dialogues for peace.
- ✿ Developing initiatives to improve welfare and social justice.

# Our Program

Advocacy for Justice	Education, Research and Campaign on Islam, Democracy and Pluralism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✱ Advocating regulations on religious pluralism and democracy issues</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✱ Discussion forum, seminars &amp; dialogues</li> <li>✱ Capacity building for progressive muslim movement</li> <li>✱ Center for Islam and Southeast Asian Studies (Ciseas)</li> <li>✱ Online publications through website Gusdur.net and Wahidinstitute.org Offline media publication: documentary films, books, magazines and newspaper insert</li> <li>✱ Religious issues report: The Nawala Bulletin, MRoRi (monthly report on religious issues) and Annual Report on religious life in Indonesia</li> </ul>
Community Empowerment for Peace and Tolerance	Gusdur Aid for Humanity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✱ Economic Empowerment of Women's Majlis Taklim</li> <li>✱ Microfinance For Ethnic And Religious Harmony</li> <li>✱ The WAHID Institute's Cooperative</li> <li>✱ The WAHID Institute's Book Store</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✱ Dompot Gus Dur</li> <li>✱ Riyanto Scholarship</li> </ul>



# Future Program

- ✿ Islam, Integrity, and Corruption Eradication
- ✿ Radicalization Containment
- ✿ Abdurrahman Wahid University
- ✿ University Scholarships
- ✿ Youth Initiative for Peace











9th Anniversary of The Wahid Institute



# What We Do

The WAHID Institute maintains four main programs to encourage democracy, pluralism, and multiculturalism in Indonesia. The first program is Advocacy for Justice. This program is created as a consent form of The WAHID Institute to foster the enforcement of regulations and actual case management with regard to civil liberties and religious freedom. The second program is Education, Research, and Campaign on Islam, Democracy, and Pluralism. The purpose of this program is to disseminate the ideas of democracy and tolerance in the social life of communities. Therefore, The WAHID Institute conducts a series of discussions, seminars, capacity building as well as research to build understanding and to promote Islam as a carrier of universal grace and peace. To raise public awareness and support related to tolerance and democracy in Indonesia, The WAHID Institute also organizes a series of campaigns via offline and online media. The third is Community Empowerment. Through this program, The WAHID Institute seeks to ground the vision of Islam as a blessing for the universe and life. In this program The WAHID Institute does not only strengthen in the field of knowledge and scholarship but also performs community-based economic empowerment to encourage peace establishment at grassroots level. The final program is Gus Dur for Aid and Humanity. This program is part of the manifestation of benevolent and philanthropic action toward disadvantaged people, particularly those who are victims of natural and social disasters.



# Advocacy For Justice

Not much different from the previous years, during 2013 places of worship has been a major issue in the realization of religious rights and freedom in Indonesia. Religious minorities are still having trouble obtaining permission to establish places of worship. With the foundation of the Joint Ministerial Decree (Peraturan Bersama Menteri) No. 9 and 8 in 2006, intolerant groups did not hesitate to commit forced closure of places of worship or damage the places that belong to minorities such as the Ahmadis and Christians. Batak Christian Protestant Church (HKBP) demolition action in Setu, Bekasi (07/03/2013) and the sealing of Ahmadiyya mosque Al Misbah in Jatibening, Bekasi (04.04.2013) are two examples.

With the institution's mission to strengthen Islamic values of peace and tolerance in the context of social justice, The WAHID Institute is fully engaged in advocacy for the rights and religious freedom of discriminated minorities. The role of The WAHID Institute here is not only as a connector of a number of Civil Society Organizations (CSO) to formulate a joint advocacy actions related to religious freedom issues, but also as a facilitator for Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and the Ahmadiyya, Christian religious institutions such as the Bishops Committee (Komite Wali Gereja) and Church Council in Indonesia (PGI) to discuss and work together to stop religious violence against minorities in Indonesia. In the case of the sealing of Indonesian Christian Church (GKI) Yasmin in Bogor and HKBP Filadelfia that have been experiencing legal uncertainty over the years, The WAHID Institute together with other CSOs has been involved in both non-litigation advocacy such as parliamentary and political hearings



and litigation advocacy such as judicial review.

The WAHID Institute believes that discrimination against minority groups cannot be separated from the existence of a number of discriminative laws and local regulations. With the rationale of religiosity and morality of its citizens, since the stipulation of Local Government Autonomy Laws of 2004, a number of areas are diligent to issue regulations that tend to harm minorities and women. By the end of the year 2013, there are at least 342 discriminatory policies have been constituted. The number of discriminatory policies has been increasing and there is no firm and significant steps of the state to prevent and eliminate such policies. Along with other CSO networks, The WAHID Institute involved in the judicial review to the Supreme Court over two discriminative regulations, namely Tangerang City Bylaw No. 8E of 2005 and Bantul District Bylaw No. 27 of 2005. Both are related to the prohibition of prostitution. But unfortunately the Supreme Court rejected to investigate further due to procedural consideration. Therefore, from July to November, The WAHID Institute with the National Commission of Women re-examined the judicial review to the Supreme Court. This advocacy has generated at least public examination formulation and has exposed various problems in the Supreme Court decision related to discriminatory regulations. This examination is expected to be disseminated and replicated to the other existing discriminatory local regulations.

Besides doing litigation advocacy, The WAHID Institute is fully aware that non-litigation advocacy is also important. The embodiment of tolerance and protection of minorities cannot be

based only on legal aspects and legal advocacy. Factors of willingness and support of the government as well as politicians are also needed to realize the freedom of religion and belief. Thus, before the 2014 legislative election, since December 2013 together with Diveristy Alliance (Aliansi Kebhinekaan) The WAHID Institute strives to realize the election without any discrimination against ethnicity, religion and group. Advocacy is done in addition to realizing the climate of tolerance in the election and to be an agenda to recruit qualified and tolerance supporting legislative candidates. This attempt also has gained full support from the Election Supervisory Body and the General Election Commission.

In the context of freedom of expression and association in general, at least from January-to June, 2013, with a number of CSOs and religious organizations that are members of the Coalition on Freedom of Association (Koalisi Kebebasan Berserikat), The WAHID Institute advocating the rejection of Society Organizations Bill (RUU Organisasi Masyarakat). This law is considered very contradictory to the spirit of reform and to give an opportunity of the return of the authoritarian New Order regime in which state has a massive power to control its citizens. After the passage of Society Organizations Act in June, the Coalition on Freedom of Association has been conducting studies and plans to carry out a judicial review of the Act.



# Networks

1. Banda Aceh
2. Medan
3. Padang
4. Riau
5. Natuna
6. Jambi
7. Bengkulu
8. Palembang
9. Bangka
10. Bandar Lampung
11. Pandegelang
12. Jakarta
13. Bandung
14. Semarang
15. Yogyakarta
16. Surabaya
17. Denpasar
18. Mataram
19. Kupang
20. Pontianak
21. Palangkaraya
22. Samarinda
23. Banjarmasin
24. Manado
25. Gorontalo
26. Kendari
27. Palu
28. Mamuju
28. Makassar
29. Ambon
30. Ternate
31. Sorong
32. Jayapura





# Advocacy





# Education, Research and Campaign on Islam, Democracy and Pluralism

To amplify and propagate an understanding of the value of peace and tolerance in Islam, education, discussions, research and publications of media campaigns are needed. The WAHID Institute utilizes two media campaigns at once: online and offline. Besides relying on the mass media publication in fostering the issues of tolerance and peace, The WAHID Institute also manages two websites [www.wahidinstitute.org](http://www.wahidinstitute.org) and [www.gusdur.net](http://www.gusdur.net). As for offline campaign, The WAHID Institute uses media bulletins, books, and periodical reports of religious situations in Indonesia.

Since 2008 The WAHID Institute has published reports on religious freedom situation in Indonesia. The year 2013 which is the sixth year of The WAHID Institute reporting conditions of religious freedom in Indonesia, was the starting period for The WAHID Institute to present the current state of religious freedom online that can be accessed at anytime at [www.report.wahidinstitute.org](http://www.report.wahidinstitute.org). The survey report is expected to be guidance or recommendations to the government, parliament and relevant government agencies at the central and regional levels in strengthening their commitment to the advancement of religious freedom particularly in reconstitute of the embodiment of rights and religious freedom in Indonesia.

In addition to providing periodic reports on religious situations, The WAHID Institute also conducts research. This research is intended to deepen understanding and provide a better analysis of conditions of religious freedom, peace and tolerance in Indonesia. So far, the results of the research implemented by The

WAHID Institute have been published in 14 books, both in English and Bahasa.

Dissemination of intellectual commitment of Gus Dur on values of peace and tolerance is not only performed through media and research, but also through discussions. In order to target the youth, The WAHID Institute also organizes a Gus Dur Philosophy Class once a week. The program basically introduces the figure and thoughts of Gus Dur on Peace, Tolerance, and Democracy to young generation. Among the general public, a discussion forum is also performed monthly in the 4th week. The Gusdurian discussion forum is not reserved only for the Muslims but also other religious groups. It has become a sort of public space for everyone to participate and discuss various issues in the perspective of peace and tolerance.

Apart from that, the participation and involvement of the Islamic community in the peace campaign cannot be ignored, particularly boarding schools (Pesantren). It should be recognized that boarding schools have been a spearhead of the movement at the grassroots level to spread tolerance and peaceful Islam. Therefore, the roles of students need to have intense attention. Without them, the movement-based tolerance in Indonesian Pesantren would be blunt. In this regard, from January to September 2013, The WAHID Institute, Search for Common Ground (SFCG) and the Association of Pesantren and Community Development (Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat (P3M)) organized a series of radio and video training for students in some boarding schools in Indonesia. With the training via Radio and Videos, the students were expected to have sufficient knowledge and skills about community radio and video to be used for the purposes of disseminating pluralism, diversity, nationalism, nonviolence, nonviolence in the name of religion, local knowledge, religious practice tolerance, and a powerful step to build peace. The WAHID Institute also organized a competition named Festival Film Santri (FFS) in Jakarta, June 12, 2013 as a token of appreciation for documentary films made by



students from 10 boarding schools whose had joined the training. Furthermore, the role of students in the peace campaign should give impact to other communities, at least can be an inspiration and encouragement to other students to create and promote peace through documentary videos. Therefore, documentary videos showed at 2013 FFS will be discussed in 10 boarding schools respectively.

To make the students and boarding schools as the spearhead of tolerance and peaceful Islam at grassroots level, capacity buildings for internal strengthening through the curriculum and teaching methods are other issues that need attention. Lately traditions and value systems of tolerance taught in boarding schools faced with new challenges namely the spread of the ideology of radical Islam. To strengthen and reaffirm the principles of Aswaja (Tasamuh, Tawasuth, Tawazun, Ta'addud, and Ta'adul), on December 12-15, 2013, The WAHID Institute with Search for Common Ground (SFCG) held a "National Halaqah Kyai and young People at the boarding schools" event, which was attended by 62 Kyai and young leaders from boarding schools and religious organizations throughout Indonesia. The event was basically aimed to discuss the experiences of boarding school education on tolerance and peace, as well as how to formulate in curriculum design and teaching tools and methods. As a follow-up of this event, they agreed to manufacture Series of "Light Handbook of Peaceful Islam". The Pocket Book of Peaceful Islam will be adjusted to the current levels of education in madrasas: grade 1-6 Elementary School / Madrasa Ibtidaiyah; 1-3 Junior High School / Madarasa Tsanawiyah; 1-3 Senior High School / Vocational High School / Madrasa Aliyah.

The development of tolerance and peace cannot only be implemented at cultural level, but also have to target the structural level. This structural change should be targeted at both policy and actors. Related to this, many people deplore the issuance of Joint

Regulations of the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Home Affairs No. 8 and 9 of 2006 because they are often utilized as justification of sealing and demolition of places of worship of religious minorities. However, until now there has been no attempt to change the regulations. Seeing this impasse, The WAHID Institute tried to view it from different angle. Actually in the Minister Joint Regulations which govern the Guidelines of Regional Head Task Implementation / Deputy Head of the Maintenance of Religious Harmony, Empowerment Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB), and the Construction of Houses of Worship there is a gap to sow peace and harmony. Precisely, the role FKUB can be a medium to develop tolerance and peace in society, because they have a strategic role in the community to create harmony. In this context, The WAHID Institute assessed the necessary measures to strengthen the management capacity of FKUB officials specifically related to constitutions, human rights, media and conflicts. By cooperating with the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the WAHID Institute formulated modules and organized a capacity building program for FKUB officials from October 3 to 9, 2013. A total of 30 FKUB members who were present and received modules were expected to be guides to religious harmony in their respective areas. For the first phase, the module is planned to be tested in three locations Bogor, Jambi, and Yogyakarta.





Library



Bookstore







# Youth Engagement



*Video Conference Solo with Peacetech Filipina*





# Community Empowerment

The embodiment of tolerance and peace requires the involvement of all parties not only traditional leaders and religious groups, but also common people. They are the ones who experience directly when religious conflict and violence occurs. On one hand they can be victims of violent provocation and on the other hand they can also be the main motor of peace.

Lower class society can be a provocation target and conflict actors, when inequality and poverty that they experience are wrapped religious hostility motivation. Thus, analysis of religious conflicts often concludes that religious conflicts and violence are not actually initiated by religious factors, but economic and social problems. However, the perpetrators involve religion to get emotional support from religious groups. In this regard, in order to make the general public as peace provocateurs, their basic issues related to economic and social need should be overcome, before talking about peace and tolerance.

Based on the reflection, in 2013 The WAHID Institute ran a community empowerment program through economic empowerment strategy. The program is expected to be the medium of social cohesion. Through this program, communities can satisfy their basic needs and women joining group savings can be the agents of social change and peace. The WAHID Institute' microfinance program aimed at women's groups has been implemented in several areas in Depok and West Java.

In the regions of Sukabumi, Garut, Bandung and Tasikmalaya, The WAHID Institute appoints several Majlis Taklims, women's religious organizations affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama, as the focal point of the movement. Currently, eight Majlis Taklims targeted by The WAHID Institute have been able to form joint ventures and be economically independent. They are also being able to develop

communal economy. The key figures in their Majlis Taklims are supported by local government to be involved in Rural Development Planning Forum (Musrenbangdes). Some micro-economic development proposals are also included in the rural development budget where the communities are located. They realized that they actually have capability to make changes.

Unlike in other regions, microfinance program in Depok and Bogor are directed to groups of poor women who have income less than 1\$ a day. These groups are formed with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Currently, the outcomes are our members could escape from moneylenders, 95% of the members have savings, and their income increases by 20% so they can contribute to satisfy their family's basic needs and the impact of the increase has made 27 children in their community can continue their formal education.

Related to the effort of involving women as agents of peace, affirmative action is also implemented to eliminate discrimination and violence against women so that they can participate in decision-making. With the intention to encourage the participation of women and to accomplish equitable wellbeing, in 2013 The WAHID Institute with Legal Aid Agency APIK initiated a program named Fair and Equitable Indonesian Community (Komunitas Indonesia Adil dan Setara (KIAS)). One of the programs at the level of the community is the realization of Equitable Village (Kampung Setara). In Equitable Village, residents are expected to uphold and respect women's rights. Cases of violence against women and girls reduce and women become the agents of peace. In Greater Jakarta, such village has been formed in two places: Pondok Bambu, East Jakarta and Panggulan, Depok.







## Community Empowerment





## Gus Dur for Aid and Humanity

**T**his program aims to manifest Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts and action, particularly in encouraging philanthropic activities and disaster responses throughout Indonesia. Since 2004, The WAHID Institute distributed and provided humanitarian aids and social services such as, humanitarian aids for tsunami victims in Aceh by (2004); established learning centres for Acehnese Youth in Banda Aceh. In cooperation with the Build Aceh Forum (Forum Bangun Aceh (2006); built 270 temporary shelters, through humanitarian post, for earthquake victims in Yogyakarta and Central Java (2005); Created emergency schools for children of the earthquake victims in Yogyakarta (2006); Provided donations to flood survivors in Hurip Jaya Village, Babelan (Bekasi) (2007); and assistance for Merapi eruption and Mentawai tsunami reliefs (2010).

Another activity is Riyanto Scholarship offering to junior and senior high school students. The Wahid Institute offer scholarships to 300 junior high school students and 200 senior high school students for 3 years. Riyanto Scholarship its self is taken to respect Riyanto: a late NU Banser (Barisan Anshor Serbaguna) member who was killed during his heroic act of removing a bomb on Christmas Eve of 2000 in a church in Mojokerto. This program is aimed to create educated, peace-minded and tolerant children.



# BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES

Obstacles and challenges are inevitable for The WAHID Institute as a focal institution that disseminates values of tolerance and peace in Islam:

## Internal Barriers

Over the past two years, The WAHID Institute has tried to reform internally to become a more professional organization. However, it is not an easy process. Obstacles are not only related to how to establish better institutional governance and system but also factor in the resources between The WAHID Institutes's own staff. In this context, the main obstacle is the synergy between institutional and governance systems that apply the principles of good governance with a willingness to change within his staff.

## Eksternal Barriers

As an organization that specifically works on sensitive issues and attempts to realize religious freedom and protection of minorities, a major hurdle in our work does not only come from the intolerant Islamic groups that are clearly at odds. More severe obstacles are actually coming from the Muslim community itself. It is frequent that our effort in realizing *rahmatan lil Alamin* Islam was strongly opposed by a number of religious leaders for political reasons. In fact, these efforts came from the founding organization of The WAHID Institute, NU which claims self-deploy tolerant vision of Islam based on the principle of Aswaja. Rejections occur when we try to defend Islamic minorities in the Shias and the Ahmadis.

## Challenge

At the age of ten years, the biggest internal challenge of The WAHID Institute is how to establish an independent institution with social entrepreneurship principles. The existence of cooperative and bookstore managed by The WAHID Institute is expected to be the initial capital to reach greater purpose.

While at the community level, the challenge is how to invent a program that leads to self-reliance. With a breakthrough of economic empowerment program at grassroots level that has started for the past two years, it is expected to create communities' self-reliance at economic and socio-political levels.

Beyond that, our economic empowerment related programs are forms of embodiment of the intellectual mission of the late founder of The WAHID Institute, KH Abdurrahman Wahid as he said "Peace cannot be built without justice". We believe that peaceful and tolerant Islam would be difficult to be achieved without struggle for justice and diminution of inequalities in society.

## Financial Situation

During the year 2013, The WAHID Institute has collaborated with a number of donors both as implementing agency and partner, including the Search for Common Ground Indonesia (2011-2013), Ministry of Religious Affairs (October-December 2013), Legal Aid Agency APIK-CORDAIDs (2012-2013), The Ford Foundation (2012-2013) and a number of donations from individuals and communities.





## Concluding Remark

As an institution concentrating on peace-building and religious tolerance issues, The WAHID Institute adheres to the principle of "Do What We Can Do" to create peace no matter how small it is. In the context of peace-building, everything becomes important. No single work is more important than others. Peace cannot be built by only one person or one agency. A key issue that must be done in peace-building is the extent to which we are able to create more connectors and to minimize dividers in society. Peace-building is a complex issue that requires a lot of supporters to move along. Therefore, at this ten years of age, The WAHID Institute would like to extend gratitude for those who continue providing support and funding this institution and becoming connectors in building peace and tolerance in this world.



# Staff of The WAHID Institute



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1. Yenny Zannuba Wahid (Director)
2. Anita Wahid (Executive Director)
3. M. Subhi Azhari (PO Monitoring and Advocacy)
4. Alamsyah M. Dja'far (PO Media)
5. Badrus Samsul Fatta (PO Capacity Building)
6. Gamal Ferdy (PO Women Empowerment)
7. Visna Vulovik (PO Microfinance and Ethnic Harmony)
8. Agustina (PO Youth)



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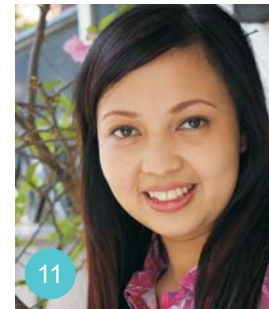
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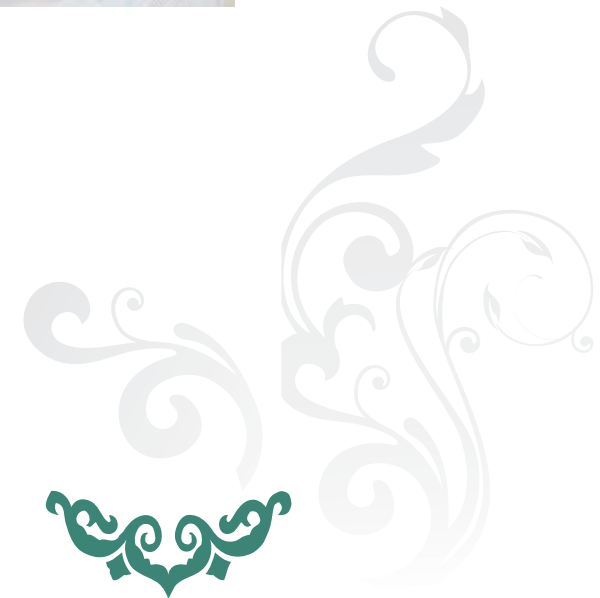


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13

9. Siti Choliso (Secretary)
10. Sri Handayani (Finance)
11. Risma (Bookstore)
12. Imron Rosadi (Library)
13. Sutrisno (Office Boy)
14. Bang Yus (Office Boy)





# The WAHID Institute

Jl. Taman Amir Hamzah No. 8 Jakarta 10320 - Indonesia

Phone: +62 21 392 8233 - 314 5671 Fax: +62 21 392 8250

Email: [info@wahidinstitute.org](mailto:info@wahidinstitute.org) Website: [www.wahidinstitute.org](http://www.wahidinstitute.org)



Warga Panggular  
arak maju ke arah  
k secara bersama-  
pendidikan, kepeda-  
sebagai generasi pe

Tabloid  
**KABAR Kampoeng**  
KESETARUAN | KENDILIAN

**BERANGKAT  
PESANTREN**

24°C-31°C

23°C-32°C

24°C-32°C

24°C-32°C

**Unni-Syiah Sampang Siap Berd...**  
Pengungsi diupayakan  
segera dipulangkan.  
Wilayah NU Jawa Timur, tokoh-tokoh...  
KORAN TEMPO  
SENIN, 22 JULI 20...