

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a Non-State Actor Mediator: A New Approach to Israeli-Palestinian Peace

Eneng Ervi Siti Zahroh Zidni¹, Muhammad Luthfi Zuhdi², Yon Machmudi³,
Muhammad Syaouqillah⁴

Abstract

The involvement of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a non-state actor in seeking peace between Israel and Palestine represents a significant contribution to multi-track diplomacy. As a religious-based organization, NU offers a distinctive approach compared to traditional state actors in the conflict. Although tensions remain high between Israel and Palestine, NU's consistent engagement in peace efforts highlights the potential for religious methodologies to provide innovative strategies for conflict mediation. This paper explores the extent of NU's role as one of Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations mediating the Israel-Palestine peace process. It examines how NU leverages its moderate religious traditions, principles, interfaith dialogue experience, and international network to offer a novel, inclusive solution to the ongoing conflict. Utilizing a qualitative approach with a literature review method, this study investigates NU's contribution as a non-state actor, drawing from document analyses, expert opinions, and limited direct reviews of NU's activities. The findings suggest that the involvement of non-state actors like NU can implement a new, practical approach to the peace efforts between Israel and Palestine, potentially facilitating a more inclusive and comprehensive resolution.

Keywords: Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Israel-Palestine, Religious Approach, Peace Efforts, Non-State Actors

INTRODUCTION

Peace in the Middle East region, especially in the Israel-Palestinian conflict, has been sought through various patterns and methods of formal state diplomacy to intervention by international organizations. The protracted conflict between Israel and Palestine is so complex with a religious, historical, and territorial background (Sirayon, 2024), territorial disputes, and Human Rights (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2007) annexation that continues to occur, even though it is a violation of international law (Dajani, 2017; Rüdiger Wolfrum, 2013; Saputra, 2024). Even though various peace efforts have been made, including through international mediation and peace negotiations (Arnault, 1996), it has not yet given birth to a solution that has been achieved and cannot be achieved only through traditional diplomacy. So, various questions arise: Who can mediate between Israel and Palestine? Mediation efforts by countries and international organizations have often failed to achieve lasting peace, mainly due to complex political interests and the use of vetoes by significant powers in the United Nations.

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) often issues resolutions to stop conflicts. The peace agreement still needs to be able to stop the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Israel frequently violates UNSC resolutions and fails because veto countries often use their veto as a form of support for Israel. Recently, Palestinian membership was thwarted due to a veto by (Security Council, 2024). Amid the impasse in facing the Israel-Palestine conflict, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is increasingly becoming a concern. NU, one of the world's largest Islamic organizations, has the unique potential to seek peace through an interfaith dialogue approach and moderate religious values. NU has a track record in facilitating dialogue, and its extensive international network makes it a potential candidate to play a mediation role. A spiritual approach such as the one undertaken by NU can offer a new perspective that enriches conventional diplomacy. With a focus on humanitarian values and peace, this approach can potentially create an alternative path toward a more inclusive and sustainable peaceful solution to this protracted conflict.

Specifically, NU conducts *Second Track Diplomacy* (Arsyad, 2023; Pratama & Ferdiyan, 2021) in playing its role as a non-state actor in carrying out Israel-Palestinian peace efforts (Zidni, 2023). To find new solutions to this conflict, the role of non-state actors, such as religious organizations, can be a new alternative. This illustrates that NU is very adaptive to political developments (Robi Ulzikri et al., 2021). So, it is exciting to examine the extent to which NU as a community organization can play a role as a non-state actor in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Moreover, discusses the type of approach used by NU in seeking Israel-Palestine peace.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method used is qualitative, which is conducting data analysis on the data that has been successfully collected. The data collected are documents in the form of books and news articles, both print and online. So, in this study, a

literature review is used to understand the role of NU by using the mediation of non-state actors related to the Israel-Palestine conflict. This literature review explores historical examples, recent literature studies, and emerging trends in resolving the Israel-Palestine conflict by analyzing the role of non-state actors in resolving the Israel-Palestine conflict. So, this research will use an approach in conflict resolution, Middle Eastern studies, and interfaith diplomacy. Then, the analysis results are interpreted to answer the questions and achieve the research objectives.

RESULTS

NU has a good reputation for promoting moderate and tolerant Islam. So that the reputation, influence, and credibility of NU can facilitate interreligious dialogue, which is crucial in the Israel-Palestine context, where religion plays a vital role in socio-political identity and mediates peace. The role of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in peace mediation is evidenced by the existence of NU often being an extension of the government in realizing peace, one of which is through diplomacy (Mapendere, 2001); NU plays the role of mediator and acts as a non-state actor in *second track diplomacy*. R20 and R20 ISORA are two of NU's roles as non-state actors in Second Track Diplomacy. The two summits focused on NU's initiative to foster peace that utilizes religious values. However, it is also often found that the diplomacy carried out by NU is purely because of the humanitarian agenda and the interests of humanity and not in the agenda of carrying out government duties, as the purpose of the establishment of NU is to realize a just, prosperous and beneficial social order to create affection for the entire universe. So, moderate and inclusive labeling of religion is attached to this organization. NU tries to bridge differences and put forward a view of respect for diversity. This approach is crucial in mediating religious or ethnoreligious conflicts, such as the case of Israeli-Palestine. The moderate attitude possessed by NU has a foundation and is also the primary source.

The primary basis of NU's doctrine itself comes from *the Qur'an, Hadith, Ijma'* and *Qiyas*. NU has the principles of life, politics, and society. One of those principles is equality between human beings. This principle, in NU's view, is built on an *I'tiqad* or the belief that all human beings (regardless of gender) are descendants of Adam; this is by the doctrine of the Qur'an (Q.S: Al-Nisa: 1) and the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad "*Man is the descendant of Adam (as), and Allah swt created Adam from the ground*" (HR. Muslim).

The two doctrines above affirm that all human beings have the same rights, obligations, and degrees. So, differences in race, language, skin color, religion, language, and culture are not the basis for differences because all human beings are descended from Adam (as) (Hakim, 2020). NU, as the most prominent Islamic organization in Indonesia, is also actively involved in interfaith dialogue and collaboration both on a national and international scale, such as R20. This effort is a form of religious solidarity carried out by NU in efforts for peace and reducing secretarial conflicts, tolerance, and respect for religion, which NU believes as religious doctrines and commandments. Thus, this is the foundation of NU to fight for Palestinian peace and stop the genocide that occurred there.

DISCUSSION

The above analysis proves that NU's consistency in seeking peace comes from principles based on religious doctrine. NU has principles in carrying out life, including *tawasuth, tasamuh, tawazun, and i'tidal* (Mujahid, 2023). Then, these principles are known as NU's public attitude. *Tawasut* and *i'tidal* is a moderate attitude in the middle position (mild). Be fair and upright in getting along in the midst of society, Bidang (Albani, 2021) (both national and international), and avoid extreme attitudes that highlight the egocentricity of a group and the attitude of wanting to win on their own. *Tawasut* or moderate is a religious attitude not trapped in extremist activities. This attitude is neither extreme left nor right (Mujahid, 2023; Syauqi, 2020). This attitude is based on the doctrine of the Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah verse 143, where this verse explains about a moderate attitude. *Tawasuth* is NU's ability to find substantial values from Islam by practicing Islamic teachings that are contextual to the needs of society by changes and developments of the times. *Tawasuth* This is implemented by taking the middle way in religion, not exaggerating or reducing in accordance with the teachings of the holy book (Bahruddin, 2017; Mujahid, 2023).

The second is the attitude *al- Tawazun* or balanced in all respects, including in the use of postulates *'Aqli* (which is rational) and the postulate *Naqli* (sourced from religious texts) (Abdusshomad, 2009; A. Khoirul Anam, 2009). *Tawazun* itself is a balanced view that does not cross certain limits. *Tawazun* is justice that is applied to all aspects of life. Islam is a balanced religion, so it positions revelation and rational reason in the same position. Islam teaches a balance between the soul, mind, conscience, and lust (Yuniar, Imron Hamdani, Kasinyo Harto, 2023). *Tawazun* It is a balanced and proportionate attitude that is proportional-normative in responding to culture with the size and values of laws and religious teachings, as well as not a priori attitude towards culture. *Tawazun* itself is a principle

that guides individuals to be in harmony and obey God as well as to fellow humans and the environment so that their attitudes and actions are balanced (Mujahid, 2023). This attitude is in accordance with the guidance of the word of Allah contained in Surah Al-Hadid verse 25 which emphasizes the concept of balance and justice.

The third attitude is *tasammuh* or tolerance, tolerance, toleration, tolerating, tolerating the opinions, views, customs, beliefs and customs of others or groups that are contrary to or different from oneself (Nafis, 2015). *Tasammuh* is one of the solutions as a concept that can reduce turmoil or clashes that may occur between many tribes, between and between religious believers, and between and within political actors (Rasyid, 2019). *Tasammuh* or tolerance is essentially a religious attitude in a society that accepts life as something diverse. This is called respecting differences and also respecting people who have different life principles (Mujahid, 2023). Tolerance is not just about acknowledging beliefs that are different from what we believe to be true; it means that we must be able to coexist even with people of different faiths, races, cultures, and even any different nations (Akhmadi, 2019).

The fourth is *i'tidal* or perpendicular (A. Khoirul Anam, 2009). In the Qur'an, Surah Al-Maidah verse 8, Allah commands upright in defending the truth. The essence of attitude *i'tidal* itself is upholding the value of justice, staying upright in the truth and not being biased (Mujahid, 2023). *I'tidal* It is an attitude, understanding and behavior that reflects facts and principles that are straight and firm in facing various problems in daily life (Asrori, 2022).

From these four principles, NU will automatically have an elastic and flexible character, attitude, and behavior. The above principles are sourced from religious doctrines in the Qur'an, Hadith and the decrees of scholars. The ulema decree is in the form of *ijma'* and *Qiyas*. Both come from the deepening of religious texts, which then gave birth to various disciplines, one of which is fiqh and ushul fiqh, which are the basis for the actions of NU people, and mantiq, which is a tool of NU's thinking. So broadly speaking, the above principles are NU's social doctrine, both in society and interacting with the surrounding community and globally, so that NU can use the four principles in getting along in the international world. The four principles above can be used as a guide in realizing world peace, this is because these four principles are NU's social attitude that is in line with humanitarian principles (Mujahid, 2023). Hasyim Muzadi, one of the General Chairmen of PBNU (2000-2010), emphasized that the four principles above are very distinctive social characteristics of NU as well as the capital that NU has in getting along with the international community (Muzadi, 2006).

The four principles above play a vital role in building *Ukhuwwah Islamiyah* (brotherhood of fellow Muslims) *Ukhuwwah Watthoniyah* (brotherhood among the nation's children), and *Ukhuwwah Insaniyah/ Basyariah* (brotherhood among fellow humans), so that it can maintain harmony between religious people. So, human values occupy such a central position as an inseparable part of the spiritual attitude of a Muslim at the global level. In addition, this modality also makes NU the nation's ambassador in introducing peaceful Islam to all corners of the world (Purwono, 2013).

The humanitarian principle of NU is derived from the concept of *maqasid al-shari'ah*, which holds significant importance in the study of Islamic law. The essence of *maqasid al-shari'ah* embodies goodness and strives to prevent all forms of evil, promote benefits, and mitigate potential harms, often referred to as "averting dangers." (Shidiq, 1970). Elements contained in *maqashidu al-shari'ah* Among them are:

- *Hifdzu al-Nafs* (guarding the soul)
- *Hifdzu al-Din* (guarding religion)
- *Hifdzu al-Aql* (guarding the intellect)
- *Hifdzu al-Nasl* (guarding the offspring)
- *Hifdzu al-Maal* (guarding property)

The five elements of *maqashidu al-shari'ah* pertain to the essential aspects of human life. By upholding these elements, we can work towards achieving global peace. Upholding these elements is crucial as it fosters Islam *rahmatan lil'alam* and serves to prevent potential future challenges. (Munir, 2021).

The concept of *maqashid al-shari'ah* is closely related to human rights as it aims to safeguard fundamental human rights. The five elements of *maqashid al-shari'ah*, often referred to as *kulliyatul khomsah*, have a strong connection to Human Rights. *Maqashid al-shari'ah* is comprehensive in addressing benefits, encompassing personal, worldly, social, and spiritual aspects. In cases where individual interests conflict with religious, rational, familial, or property interests, *maqashid al-shari'ah* prioritizes the most urgent and significant benefit (Kasdi, 2014).

The concept of *Kulliyah al-Khamsah*, encompassing international relations and promoting global peace in accordance with humanitarian principles, holds significant implications for fostering social sensitivity and upholding the principle of impartiality. In Islamic theology, this idea is rooted in the teachings of the Prophet and the Quranic verse in Surah Al-Hujurat. Moreover, both classical and contemporary Islamic scholars emphasize that Islam inspires humanitarian actions, emphasizing its relevance to the principles of humanity within the NU tradition (Mujahid, 2023).

The above description emphasizes that all actions undertaken by NU are firmly rooted in fiqh and ushul fiqh. These activities encompass a wide range of areas including politics, economics, education, health, society, and culture. NU's initiatives, such as interfaith dialogues, showcase an ability to acknowledge religious differences without allowing them to create divisions. This approach aligns with the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith. NU notably played a pivotal role in promoting peace in Afghanistan through non-state, multi-track diplomacy, leveraging its religious principles to garner support from various parties. By using religion as a tool for peace and basing its peacebuilding strategy on religious doctrine, NU has embraced an innovative approach to diplomacy (Mahfudin & Sundrijo, 2021).

Abdurrahman Wahid's Diplomacy

Zaki Mubarak notes that Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) greatly benefited from the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), who chaired the Executive Board from 1984 to 1999. During Gus Dur's tenure, Indonesia actively engaged in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Gus Dur was acknowledged in Israel for promoting interfaith harmony between Islam and Judaism. He believed that NU could play a crucial role in global politics in addressing religious conflicts, including the Israel-Palestine issue. His efforts established NU's extensive history of facilitating interreligious dialogue at national and international levels, providing the organization with valuable practical and theoretical expertise in mediating conflicts influenced by religion. As a result, NU's approach to religious diplomacy offers promising opportunities for addressing international disputes by integrating religious dialogue into political discussions, with a focus on *maqashid al-shari'ah*, which emphasizes justice and welfare to achieve peace (Mahmud et al., 2021).

The interpretation of humanity often involves resolving conflicts through political and military means. However, Gus Dur takes a different approach by interpreting religions, specifically Islam and Judaism, to address humanitarian issues. Interestingly, Jews acknowledge that compassion for fellow human beings, known as *Rahmah*, is a concept shared with Islam. This mutual understanding of *Rahmah* underscores the commonalities in interpretation and meaning. In Judaism, there is a belief that reconstructing verses will lead to a shared understanding of faith (Mahmud et al., 2021).

NU embraces other religions and ideologies as allies, embodying its inclusive nature. Under Gus Dur's guidance, Islam is portrayed as a harmonious presence on the global stage, particularly resonating with the Western world amidst the Arab context. The West perceives NU as a mediator in various religious conflicts related to Islam, including the Jewish-Islamic tensions, distinct from the Israel-Palestine conflict. Gus Dur reframes the Israel-Palestine conflict as an Islamic-Jewish issue that can be addressed through a humanitarian interpretation rooted in both Islamic and Jewish teachings. In contrast to traditional conflict resolution methods relying on political and military strategies, Gus Dur advocates for a religiously informed approach centered on shared humanitarian values. He emphasizes the concept of *Rahmah*, described in Judaism as compassion for humanity and resonates with Islamic teachings, suggesting that interpreting shared values can promote mutual understanding among faiths (Mahmud et al., 2021).

Gus Dur was a pioneer in employing formal diplomacy with a religious foundation. In addition to formal diplomacy, NU also embraced people's diplomacy, involving communities and individuals in the peace process and cultural diplomacy. In 1982, Gus Dur spearheaded international peace initiatives by organizing a Peace Night for Palestine, featuring participation from several artists. The event united various writers and artists in solidarity with Palestine, including NU writer Mustofa Bisri, also known as Gus Mus, who presented poems by Palestinian writer (F. Ahmad, 2023; Effendi, 2010).

The practice of people's diplomacy, implemented through a bottom-up approach, has proven to be highly effective in fostering sustainable peace, alleviating tensions, and enhancing community relations at the grassroots level. This

approach, championed by Gus Dur, engages both grassroots and elite members of society. During his visit to Israel in 1994, Gus Dur connected with individuals from diverse backgrounds, including Jewish, Arab, Muslim, and Christian communities. Their profound longing for peace resonated deeply with Gus Dur, with some expressing that only those experiencing the turmoil of war genuinely understand the significance of peace (F. Ahmad, 2023). The Israeli people's aspirations deeply moved Gus Dur for peace, and he sought to achieve peace between Israel and Palestine through a win-win solution and honesty (M. Ibrahim Hamdani, 2013a). He had friendly relations with Israeli leader Yitzhak Rabin (Aziz, 2019) and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat (Aziz, 2020). Rabin had visited Jakarta to ask for Indonesia's involvement in the Israel-Palestine peace process, recognizing Indonesia as the world's largest Muslim-majority country, (F. Ahmad, 2023; Effendi, 2010). Gus Dur's informal meeting with Rabin in October 1992 aimed to utilize Indonesia's leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement to mediate the conflict between Israel and Palestine (M. Ibrahim Hamdani, 2013a).

During that time, Indonesia did not maintain diplomatic relations with Israel and did not acknowledge the country's existence. Consequently, a meeting between the leaders of Indonesia and Israel was considered unfeasible due to the absence of official diplomatic ties. Given the matter's sensitivity, such a meeting would have sparked widespread debate and controversy in Indonesia. Nonetheless, Gus Dur cautiously recognized the potential for a cooperative relationship between Indonesia and Israel, encompassing various aspects such as trade, military cooperation, and diplomatic engagement, with the ultimate aim of contributing to peace in the Israel-Palestine region (M. Ibrahim Hamdani, 2013b). The role of Indonesia in the Israel-Palestine conflict is increasingly being recognized, with NU emerging as a potential mediator. Indonesia's participation in forums such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the United Nations provides a platform for NU to play a significant role in mediation efforts. Gus Dur, chairman of the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU), has been identified as a key mediator in the Israel-Palestinian conflict (Amin, 2009). NU's diplomatic initiatives demonstrate its ability to serve as a mediator. Gus Dur has been a strong advocate for Indonesia to play a mediating role in facilitating peace between Israel and Palestine. He emphasizes the urgency of resolving the conflict, as its continuation only worsens the already difficult situation for both parties. According to Gus Dur, the Israel-Palestine conflict has significant implications, especially for neighboring countries like Egypt. Egypt is in a challenging position, as it is committed to a peace treaty with Israel while also unable to fully support Palestine. Gus Dur's insights provide a deeper understanding of the conflict's broader impact on the regional dynamics (Amin, 2009).

According to Gus Dur, the conflict could have an internal impact on the Israeli government, potentially leading to resentment from the Israeli people towards their own government (Amin, 2009). From Gus Dur's perspective, Israel is not inherently at fault for establishing a country. However, the issue lies in Israel's actions, particularly in seizing Palestinian land. Gus Dur believes that Israel has not been fair to Palestine, and if it were, the conflict could be minimized. He also proposed a solution to President Yasser Arafat and Israel, which was initially agreed upon by both parties—the proposal aimed at granting Palestine its territory following the Arab-Israeli War in 1967. Unfortunately, the agreement was rejected when the Hamas group unilaterally attacked Israel, leading to the collapse of the peace agreement. To foster trust between the Israeli and Palestinian parties, Gus Dur's party fully supports Palestinian independence and is willing to establish diplomatic and trade relations with Israel (Khazanah & Ruhama, 2021). During his presidency in 1999, Gus Dur aimed to develop trade relations with Israel, driven by his belief in the substantial impact this step would have on Indonesia's global political diplomacy (Aziz, 2018). This is the reason why Gus Dur wants to open official relations with Israel—none other than to realize the independence of Palestine and the existence of NU and Indonesia increasingly worldwide.

From Gus Dur's perspective, Israel is not inherently at fault for establishing a country. However, the issue lies in Israel's actions, particularly in seizing Palestinian land. Gus Dur believes that Israel has not been fair to Palestine, and if it were, the conflict could be minimized. He also proposed a solution to President Yasser Arafat and Israel, which was initially agreed upon by both parties—the proposal aimed at granting Palestine its territory following the Arab-Israeli War in 1967. Unfortunately, the agreement was rejected when the Hamas group unilaterally attacked Israel, leading to the collapse of the peace agreement. To foster trust between the Israeli and Palestinian parties, Gus Dur's party fully supports Palestinian independence and is willing to establish diplomatic and trade relations with Israel (Aziz, 2017).

Gus Dur was mindful of his limitations and explicitly stated that he would only pursue diplomatic relations with Israel in the political and state arenas once Palestine achieved independence and Israel agreed to withdraw from the Golan Heights and South Lebanon. During Gus Dur's presidency, Alwi Shihab was the Indonesian Minister of

Foreign Affairs. Alwi was widely respected for his extensive network and expertise in Middle Eastern affairs. He stressed that Gus Dur's decision was carefully considered; establishing Indonesia-Israel relations would have consequences and demand Indonesia's full engagement in the Middle East peace process. As the largest Muslim country globally, Indonesia was expected to significantly influence the Middle East region (Aziz, 2017).

NU's actions aimed to position itself as a non-state actor, with Indonesia serving as a state actor mediating Israeli-Palestinian peace. Gus Dur's actions were also influenced by the rational choice theory explained by James S. Coleman. According to Coleman, individual actions are driven by goals determined by underlying values and choices. This theory focuses on human actors with goals, intentions, preferences, values, and interests. It emphasizes that actors take action to achieve their goals, regardless of the nature or source of their choices (Coleman et al., 1993).

The relevance of Gus Dur's proposal to establish an Indonesian Embassy in Israel remains significant. Despite facing strong opposition and personal attacks, Gus Dur recognized the need for Indonesia to have direct diplomatic ties with Israel to support the Palestinian cause effectively. At present, Indonesia's support for Palestine is channeled through the United States, a key ally of Israel, making it difficult for Indonesia's stance to reach Israel. To truly advocate for Palestine, Indonesia must engage in direct dialogue with Israel by establishing diplomatic relations. Gus Dur also acknowledged the existence of unauthorized trade between Indonesian and Israeli businesses. Formalizing this trade would allow Indonesia to benefit economically through taxation and strengthen the country's foreign exchange reserves (Khazanah & Ruhama, 2021).

Trade relations between Indonesia and Israel have been a significant goal initiated by Gus Dur to enhance Indonesia's prosperity and welfare. The Indonesian media must be actively and fully involved in the efforts to achieve peace between Israel and Palestine (M. Ibrahim Hamdani, 2013a). Gus Dur had ambitious aspirations for Indonesia's global standing and progress.

During an interview with a senior official from the United States Department of State on anti-Semitism advocacy in the Middle East, Gus Dur posed a question at the PBNU office: "What must be done to achieve the current Israel-Palestinian reconciliation?" To this question, Gus Dur firmly answered directly to the subject of the problem by saying, "*Uphold justice and give them Palestinian rights, then talk about peace!*" (M. Ibrahim Hamdani, 2013).

Gus Dur also pursued a religious approach by spearheading the establishment of a trilateral commission comprising representatives from Islam, Judaism, and Christianity to expedite peace between Israel and Palestine. The consensus among these three religious groups was reached in Bordeaux, Paris, marking a pivotal moment in resolving the Israel-Palestinian conflict. The primary mandate of the Three Religious Commissions is to offer insights to advance peace efforts. Additionally, the commission is responsible for crafting the agenda for discussions among the three religions, including strategies for engaging with Hamas, which remains at odds with the Israeli military (Madji, 2012). Gus Dur believes that Israel's conservatives contribute to the violence in the Israel-Palestinian conflict (Madji, 2012). The Palestinian people, who are victims of violence, are facing unjust actions, and Israel's actions do not reflect a commitment to peace or justice (Madji, 2012; Suhartiningtyas, 2014).

Before Gus Dur had the idea of Indonesia-Israel trade relations, Gus Dur first had good relations with Israel. Personally, Gus Dur, in front of Israel, has a good impression. This can be proven by the name Gus Dur or Abdurrahman Wahid, which is often mentioned by Jewish rabbis in Israel, as well as by Christian figures, interfaith Israel activists, and journalists, especially among Muslim Communities in Israel and Palestine. The name Gus Dur is so familiar and loved by various circles and communities from Muslims and Jews as well as the two countries (Israel and Palestine). Gus Dur is listed as the founder of *The Peres Center of Peace*, which Simon Peres, the former President of Israel, leads. In addition to the founder, Gus Dur is listed as a member of *the Board of The Elijah Interfaith Institute Sharing Wisdom, Fostering Peace* (Jannah, 2015). Gus Dur, a founding member of the World Religious Leadership Council, played a significant role in establishing the organization. As a member of the founding presidium, Elijah, a Muslim leader, also contributed to its formation. Gus Dur actively encouraged other Muslim leaders to join the vision of the Elijah Academy and the World Religious Leaders Council (The Elijah Interfaith Institute, 2009).

From here it can be understood that Gus Dur has a concentration on world peace through religious approaches. Gus Dur's existence is significant for religious people, especially in the conflicting Israel-Palestine region, these two

regions cannot be separated from the different religious influences there (Jannah, 2015). The religious dimension is a significant factor in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Various beliefs exist among the people in both Israel and Palestine, leading to suspicion and distrust among community members. Gus Dur played a crucial role in promoting understanding and hope for peace and enlightenment in the region. Peta Jones Pellach, a female activist promoting religious harmony in Israel through the Elijah Institute, testified to Gus Dur's efforts in advancing religious harmony and world peace. Pellach believes that Gus Dur embodied the honest Islam through his actions, thoughts, and words (The Elijah Interfaith Institute, 2017). Islam, as exemplified by Gus Dur, embodies the concept of *Islam Rahmatan lil 'alamin*, spreading indiscriminate affection and protecting all people in the world. Gus Dur once directly conveyed to Pellach, "Do the good that you have done so far, then you will have peace on the land purified by these three religions." As a result of Gus Dur's work, there was great hope from Jews and Christians in Israel that moderate Islam would continue to develop like Islam in Indonesia, as described by Gus Dur. According to Pellach, Indonesia, with the largest Muslim population in the world, is hoped to play a role in helping the Israel-Palestine peace process and the broader Middle East region (Jannah, 2015).

The moderate interpretation of Islam embodied by Gus Dur has significantly influenced perceptions of the faith. There is a hopeful belief that Gus Dur's progressive approach to Islam will continue to promote global peace. Mr. Chaiman, the Head of The Asia and Pacific Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel, expressed great satisfaction at the chance to meet Gus Dur. In Mr. Chaiman's view, the meetings with Gus Dur were exceptional and momentous occasions. Mr. Chaiman had the privilege of meeting Gus Dur twice, first at the Hebrew University of Israel and later during the Israel-Jordan peace agreement. He believes that establishing formal relations with Gus Dur is crucial, despite Indonesia not having official diplomatic ties with Israel. This is particularly significant as Indonesia is a moderate Muslim country, and there are no conflicting interests between Indonesia and Israel. Mr. Chaiman regards Gus Dur as an independent and capable figure who advocates for peace. Despite the accusations against Israel during the war, Gus Dur visited Israel to promote peace rather than war. As an influential figure, Gus Dur served on the board of the Peres Peace Center. Following Gus Dur's passing, Peres expressed a deep sense of loss for the extraordinary figure he greatly admired. As the leader of millions of Muslims in Indonesia, Gus Dur offered hope for world peace through Islam. Peres even requested that a statue of Gus Dur be placed alongside other notable world figures, such as the Dalai Lama and Mahatma Gandhi, at The Peres Center for Peace (Jannah, 2015). Based on the description above, it is clear that Gus Dur, as a prominent figure in NU, promoted peace and diplomacy by engaging with the people of Indonesia and the world and demonstrating a deep understanding of his actions. Gus Dur positioned himself as an NU figure who believed that NU could serve as a mediator in the Israel-Palestine conflict using a social, cultural, and religious approach.

Diplomacy of Yahya Cholil Staquf

After Gus Dur's passing, the next generation, particularly Yahya Cholil Staquf (Gus Yahya), continued Gus Dur's legacy of promoting interfaith dialogue. During a visit to Israel in June 2018, while serving as Katib Aam PBNU, Gus Yahya engaged in a dialogue with Rabbi David Rosen at the Global Forum of American Jews. He emphasized that his visit to Israel aimed to carry forward Gus Dur's vision, emphasizing that such ideals and vision cannot be achieved instantly but require sustained effort over time. Gus Dur had cultivated a strong relationship with the Global Forum of American Jews for over two decades (Pratiwi, 2018).

At the Global Forum of American Jews, Gus Yahya delved into the intricate relationship between Islam and Judaism. He highlighted the historical connection between the two religions, as elucidated by Gus Dur, but also pointed out the current challenges in their relationship stemming from their respective religious traditions. Yahya emphasized the need for Muslims and Jews to find new approaches to infuse their religious practices into daily life and foster harmonious relations with other faiths. One proposed approach is to reexamine religious texts such as the Qur'an and Hadith, understanding that their moral interpretations should evolve with changing realities. Yahya supported this idea with the teachings of Prophet Muhammad, who emphasized the need for adjustments to align with the prevailing circumstances, thus transforming the Qur'an and Hadith into historical documents offering moral guidance tailored to specific conditions (Pratiwi, 2018).

In this perspective, Gus Yahya advocates for the use of religion as a tool for promoting peace and aims to dispel the misconception that religion is the root cause of conflicts. Similar to Gus Dur, Gus Yahya has also undertaken initiatives; however, the distinction lies in Gus Yahya's invitation to the global alliance, a member of Religion 20 (R20), to reframe the interpretation of religious scriptures. This effort is aimed at adapting the interpretation of religious texts to align with the evolving societal context, emphasizing a non-literal understanding. The objective is

to prevent tension among religious communities, particularly minority groups within the Muslim community. Subsequently, the R20 organized the International Summit of Religious Authorities (ISORA), focusing specifically on the issue of Palestinian independence as a follow-up action (Sulistyo & Basyari, 2022; Triono & Indiraphasa, 2023). Gus Dur holds the belief that different religions can coexist in peace and that followers of all religions are equal to other humans in terms of their rights, responsibilities, and liberties.

The initiatives implemented by NU under the leadership of Gus Yahya aimed at positioning religion as a problem-solving tool. This approach contrasts with the perspective put forward by Jonathan Fox (2006) In "The Multiple Impacts of Religion on International Relations: Perceptions and Reality," it is noted that throughout the 20th century, many Western social scientists predicted that religion would become less relevant in society and politics. However, this prediction is challenged by the existence of NU, a religious-based community organization that engaged in diplomacy with the first King of Saudi Arabia through the NU Hijaz Committee in 1926 (F. Ahmad, 2019; A. Khoiril Anam, 2012; Gunawan, 2017). In 2001, there was a prevailing belief that the role of religion in the field of international relations remained unchanged. The growing impact of religion on the global stage was attributed, at least in part, to a change in Western perspectives rather than an actual shift in reality (Fox, 2006).

Gus Yahya held the International Congress of Fiqh of Civilization and R20 Isora. The First International Congress of Fiqh of Civilization discussed the position of the Peace Charter in the United Nations from the perspective of Islamic law (Triono, 2023). The United Nations is dedicated to upholding international peace and security, as well as promoting and protecting human rights while fostering international cooperation across various domains. The Israel-Palestine conflict represents a territorial dispute, leading to international conflicts and regional insecurity. Consequently, the United Nations has formulated several resolutions at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to address this issue. The correlation between the Israel-Palestine conflict and the International Congress of Fiqh of Civilization lies in the endeavor to comprehend and address the conflict from the standpoint of values, ethics, and laws related to fiqh. As a result, the United Nations has invited religious leaders from diverse nations to discuss the position of the United Nations in Islamic law.

NU recently organized the Halaqah Fiqh Peradaban Volume II at the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukerejo Islamic Boarding School in Situbondo to explore the role of Islam in promoting global peace. Ulil Abshar Abdalla emphasized the significance of NU scholars addressing territorial disputes between countries, which often lead to conflicts and foster identity-based animosity spread through social media (Mudzakir, 2023).

In addition, NU hosted the R20 International Summit of Religious Authorities (R20 ISORA), which focused on addressing the escalation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Gus Yahya, as the General Chairperson of PBNU, is deeply engaged in understanding the dynamics of the struggle between the parties involved in the conflict. According to Gus Yahya, this conflict encompasses multiple stakeholders, including the Israeli government, Palestinian freedom fighters, and external groups. Therefore, in dealing with this complex situation, PBNU aims to develop a strategy that involves strong coalition-building. PBNU is deliberate and cautious, and it is not rushing to take unilateral action. R20 ISORA represents one of PBNU's tangible efforts to mobilize the influence of religions worldwide, aiming to garner broader support and intervention. PBNU actively engages with all religious groups. In addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, NU places emphasis on universal principles of morality and ethics. NU believes that global society should view world religions through the lens of humanity, divinity, universal morality, and ethics. NU calls upon world religions to collaborate in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Indiraphasa, 2023a, 2023b).

Following the R20 summit, the Interfaith Statement on Overcoming Religious Extremism (ISORA) was established, outlining an agreement to create a delegation comprising religious leaders present at the summit. The delegation's purpose is to participate in discussions and negotiations with the multiple stakeholders involved in the Israel-Palestine conflict (Indiraphasa, 2023b). This forum presents the R20 ISORA Call to Action, which underscores the importance of religion as a tool for reconciliation. It highlights the role of the United Nations (UN) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as crucial references for resolving identity conflicts and religious disputes. The call emphasizes the necessity for interfaith cooperation to bolster international consensus and urges religious authorities, faith communities, and states to collaborate in peacefully resolving conflicts in various regions of the world (Indiraphasa, 2023d).

The text below is a reminder of the significant parties involved in the Israel-Palestine conflict and the call for a common framework endorsed by the global community to resolve the issue. During the forum, Gus Yahya urged religious leaders to rally their followers in support of implementing the international consensus as a solution. The aim is to establish a global order that adheres to established rules, mitigates intense competition, and prevents the re-emergence of past conflicts (Indiraphasa, 2023c).

NU uses the religious framework as a diplomatic tool, integrating classical Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) into contemporary diplomacy to pursue peace. Despite being a traditional Islamic organization, NU employs modern diplomacy methods, prioritizing morals and ethics. This approach involves extensive negotiations and incorporates various marginalized aspirations into political dialogue.

Based on this description, NU has the potential to mediate in the Israel-Palestine conflict by adopting a religious approach. Unlike the predominant political and military approaches to the conflict, NU is rooted in moderate and inclusive Islamic values, advocating peace and tolerance. This could establish a solid moral foundation for peace efforts and counter-radicalism. Moreover, NU can collaborate with other Muslim countries to develop a cohesive regional approach to conflict resolution. NU's distinctive moderate Islamic identity and the teachings of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (compassion) set it apart, offering an alternative to the extremism often associated with the conflict. Additionally, NU's engagement in interfaith dialogue and peace education domestically and internationally provides a model that can be adapted for mediating in Israel-Palestine. Furthermore, NU's independence from formal political structures strengthens its position as an impartial mediator capable of understanding and respecting the aspirations of both Israel and Palestinians in the conflict.

CONCLUSION

NU, as an organization, has not officially involved itself as a direct mediator of the Israel-Palestine conflict. However, NU has functioned as a non-state actor by engaging in second-track diplomacy activities related to the Israel-Palestine case. NU has demonstrated this through initiatives such as R20, Muktamar International Fiqh Peradaban, and R20 ISORA. These activities represent NU's soft power diplomacy, utilizing religious instruments as a model approach, and play an essential role in promoting interreligious dialogue and intercultural meetings that have influenced the understanding and handling of global conflicts, particularly the Israel-Palestine issue.

The R20 ISORA initiative represents the advancement of religious and cultural diplomacy through interfaith dialogue involving leaders from various religions worldwide. While not directly addressing the Israel-Palestine conflict, the initiative aims to explore the underlying causes of global conflicts, including the role of religion, territorial disputes, and adherence to the UN Peace Charter. Within this context, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) has engaged in discussions related to the Israel-Palestine conflict and, through R20 ISORA, seeks to act as a mediator or facilitator of dialogue, promoting comprehensive and fair solutions based on principles of justice, humanity, and international peace. Leveraging its history of fostering interfaith dialogue, NU's approach is aimed at addressing the religious and emotional complexities that intersect with political diplomacy in this conflict.

REFERENCES

- Abdusshomad, M. (2009). *Karakter Tawassuth, Tawazun, I'tidal, dan Tasamuh dalam Aswaja*. NU Online. <https://www.nu.or.id/syariah/karakter-tawassuth-tawazun-i039tidal-dan-tasamuh-dalam-aswaja-nApNg>
- Ahmad, F. (2019). *Risalah Komite Hijaz kepada Raja Sa'ud*. NU Online. <https://www.nu.or.id/fragmen/risalah-komite-hijaz-kepada-raja-sa-ud-iC2AN>
- Ahmad, F. (2023). *Mengapa Gus Dur Dulu Ingin Membangun Diplomasi Dengan Israel*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/fragmen/mengapa-gus-dur-dulu-ingin-membangun-diplomasi-dengan-israel-YbktS>
- Akhmadi, A. (2019). Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia Religious Moderation in Indonesia ' S Diversity. *Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan*, 13(2), 45–55.
- Amin, S. (2009). *Gus Dur: Palestina-Israel Sebaiknya Berdamai*. Nu.or.Id. <https://nu.or.id/warta/gus-dur-palestina-israel-sebaiknya-berdamai-xg62v>
- Anam, A. Khoiril. (2012). *Komite Hijaz*. NU Online. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/komite-hijaz-bqouE>
- Anam, A. Khoiril. (2009). *Karakter Tawassuth, Tawazun, I'tidal, dan Tasamuh dalam Aswaja*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/syariah/karakter-tawassuth-tawazun-i039tidal-dan-tasamuh-dalam-aswaja-nApNg>
- Arnault, J. (1996). *Good agreement? bad agreement? an implementation perspective*. United Nation Peacemaker. [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Good AgreementBad Agreement_Arnault.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Good%20AgreementBad%20Agreement_Arnault.pdf)

- Arsyad, I. (2023). *Diplomasi NU untuk Perdamaian Dunia*. Detiknews. <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-6545482/diplomasi-nu-untuk-perdamaian-dunia>
- Asrori, A. M. (2022). *6 Prinsip Utama Moderasi Beragama menurut Rektor UIN Lampung*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/6-prinsip-utama-moderasi-beragama-menurut-rektor-uin-lampung-DCPI8>
- Aziz, M. (2017). *Israel, Yerusalem, dan Diplomasi Gus Dur*. Syiar Nusantara. syiarnusantara.id/2017/12/12/israel-yerusalem-dan-diplomasi-gus-dur/
- Aziz, M. (2018). *Gus Dur, Gus Mus, dan Jalan Cinta untuk Diplomasi Israel-Palestina*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/02/06/13315291/gus-dur-gus-mus-dan-jalan-cinta-untuk-diplomasi-israel-palestina?page=all>
- Aziz, M. (2019). *Politik Gus Dur, Yitzhak Rabin, dan Lobi Yahudi*. Alif.Id. <https://alif.id/read/munawir-aziz/yitzhak-rabin-yahudi-dan-politik-gus-dur-b217830p/>
- Aziz, M. (2020). *Gus Dur dan Yasser Arafat: Manuver Diplomati Membela Palestina*. Alif.Id. <https://alif.id/read/munawir-aziz/gus-dur-dan-yasser-arafat-manuver-diplomatik-membela-palestina-b230985p/>
- Bahrudin, M. (2017). Peran Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama Dalam Menyiarkan Paham Keagamaan Moderat Di Provinsi Lampung. *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 17(1), 43. <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v17i1.1770>
- Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. (2007). *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict From Conflict Resolution to Conflict Management* (Y. B.- Siman-Tov (ed.); First). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Coleman, J. S., Abell, P., Bohman, J., Fararo, T. J., Friedman, D., Hannan, M. T., Hechter, M., Kanazawa, S., Lindenberg, S., Marini, M. M., Munch, R., Scheff, T. J., Sciulli, D., & Willer, D. (1993). Rational Choice Theory: Advocacy and Critique. In J. S. Coleman & T. J. Fararo (Eds.), *Sage Publications International Educational and Professional Publisher* (Vol. 72, Issue 1). Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2580174>
- Dajani, O. M. (2017). Israel's Creeping Annexation. *AJIL Unbound*, 111, 51–56. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/aju.2017.21>
- Effendi, D. (2010). *Damai bersama Gus Dur*. Kompas. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=vHjUNpDTw78C>
- Fox, J. (2006). The Multiple Impacts of Religion on International Relations: Perceptions and Reality. In *Politique Étrangère Issue*, 4, 1059–1071. <https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-politique-etrangere-2006-4-page-1059.htm?contenu=article>
- Gunawan, G. G. (2017). *Komite Hijaz 1926: upaya ulama tradisional indonesia dalam menegakkan kebebasan bermazhab di Mekkah dan Madinah*. digilib.uns.ac.id. <https://digilib.uns.ac.id/dokumen/detail/71365/>
- Hakim, L. (2020). *Pengantar Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah untuk Pemula* (B. Ahmad (ed.); Pertama). Zahir Publishing. <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=c5jCEAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PR1&hl=id>
- Hamdani, M. Ibrahim. (2013a). *Peran Gus Dur dalam Misi Perdamaian Israel-Palestina*. NU Online. <https://www.nu.or.id/opini/peran-gus-dur-dalam-misi-perdamaian-israel-palestina-qU7Iq>
- Hamdani, M. Ibrahim. (2013b). *Peran Gus Dur dalam Misi Perdamaian Israel-Palestina*. NU Online. <https://www.nu.or.id/opini/peran-gus-dur-dalam-misi-perdamaian-israel-palestina-qU7Iq>
- Hamdani, Muhammad Ibrahim. (2015). *Peran KH Abdurrahman Wahid dalam Misi Perdamaian Israel – Palestina (Bagian I)*. Kompasiana Beyond Bloging. <https://www.kompasiana.com/muhammadibrahimhamdani/551b2d34a333114721b65d57/peran-kh-abdurrahman-wahid-dalam-misi-perdamaian-israel-palestina-bagian-i>
- Indiraphasa, N. S. (2023a). *Gus Yahya Sebut R20 ISORA Bakal Hasilkan Langkah Konkret Penyelesaian Masalah Palestina*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/gus-yahya-sebut-r20-isora-bakal-hasilkan-langkah-konkret-penyelesaian-masalah-palestina-sNiPI>
- Indiraphasa, N. S. (2023b). *Gus Yahya Ungkap Alasan PBNU Bakal Bahas Konflik Israel-Palestina di R20 ISORA*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/gus-yahya-ungkap-alasan-pbnu-bakal-bahas-konflik-israel-palestina-di-r20-isora-lAfE3>
- Indiraphasa, N. S. (2023c). *Kaleidoskop 2023: R20 ISORA, Upaya PBNU Selesaikan Krisis Kemanusiaan di Palestina*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/kaleidoskop-2023-r20-isora-upaya-pbnu-selesaikan-krisis-kemanusiaan-di-palestina-wEFxC>
- Indiraphasa, N. S. (2023d). *Tutup Forum R20 ISORA, Gus Yahya Bacakan Seruan Aksi Bersama Tokoh Agama Dunia*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/tutup-forum-r20-isora-gus-yahya-bacakan-seruan-aksi-bersama-tokoh-agama-dunia-rEEWH>
- Jannah, M. (2015). *Jika Kau Sebut Gus Dur, Mereka Menyahabatimu*. Nu.or.Id. <https://nu.or.id/internasional/jika-kau-sebut-gus-dur-mereka-menyahabatimu-v0qgx>
- Kasdi, A. (2014). Maqashid Syari'ah dan Hak Asasi Manusia (Implementasi HAM dalam Pemikiran Islam). *Jurnal Penelitian*, 8(2), 247–268. <https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/jurnalPenelitian/article/view/836>

- Khazanah, & Ruhama, S. (2021). *Dua Hal Pesan Gus Dur soal Konflik Palestina - Israel*. Ngopibareng.Id. <https://www.ngopibareng.id/read/dua-hal-pesan-gus-dur-soal-konflik-palestina-israel>
- Madji, M. R. (2012). *Jurus dewa mabuk ala Gus Dur: kumpulan rekam jejak K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid di media massa*. Pustaka Tebuireng. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=m12NMQEACAAJ>
- Mahfudin, I. A., & Sundrijo, D. A. (2021). Faith-Based Transnational Actors and Peacebuilding: An Analysis of the Role Of Nahdlatul Ulama in Afghanistan's Peace Process. *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional*, 23(1), 26. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v23i1.582>
- Mahmud, H., Sholihah, H. H., Muslih, Y. N., Halimah, A. H., Baehaqi, E. S., Komalasari, I., Nashori, A., & Mubarak, Z. (2021). *Kontekstualisasi Nilai-nilai Aswaja dalam Berbagai Sendi Kehidupan* (Z. Mubarak (ed.); Cetakan I). CV. Pustaka Turats Press. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=cPdKEAAAQBAJ>
- Mapendere, J. (2001). *Defining Track One and a Half Diplomacy: Its complementarity and the analysis of factors that facilitate its success* [ProQuest Dissertations Publishing]. https://uindonesia.summon.serialssolutions.com/2.0.0/link/0/eLvHCXMwjV3fS8MwEA46X4YPzl-oU8k_UG2bLE18dY7pg8IYgk8jSRMoznas3YP_vZc006kgOktJ28D1mtxd2u--Q4ikV3H0wyYQwRXLU0ETK2wMPjJhSg2UpDrLlfVkJ_ZNH8fKcTcb8leSuu9SY8LrXVtKb7rzS7qv5NfHs6Anj22gncZwvLtV3M_j5WquDG2c
- Mudzakir, A. (2023). *Fikih Peradaban; Mau Apa dan Kemana?* Nu.or.Id. <https://jabar.nu.or.id/opini/fikih-peradaban-mau-apa-dan-kemana-I8JIQ>
- Mujahid, N. S. (2023). Prinsip-Prinsip Nahdlatul Ulama dan Urgensinya dalam Tantangan Internasional. *AL-FIQH: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 1(1), 20–27.
- Munir, D. A. (2021). *Hifdzun Nafs, Menjaga Jiwa Menuju Ketakwaan*. Jabar.Nu.or.Id. <https://jabar.nu.or.id/opini/hifdzun-nafs-menjaga-jiwa-menuju-ketakwaan-YsuWp>
- Muzadi, H. (2006). *Islam Rahmatan Lil'alamin Menuju Keadilan dan Perdamaian Dunia (Perspektif Nahdlatul Ulama) dalam pidato ilmiah penerimaan gelar Doktor Honoris Causa dalam Peradaban Islam dari IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya 2 Desember 2006*. IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya.
- Nafis, M. C. (2015). *Fikih Kebangsaan Studi Historis dan Konseptual Perlindungan Kehidupan Beragama dalam Negara Bangsa* (Cetakan 1). Mitra Abadi Pers.
- Pratama, E. G., & Ferdiyan. (2021). Diplomasi Agama dan Publik: Peran Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dalam Agenda Perdamaian Indonesia-Afganistan. *Jurnal Penelitian*, 18(15), 32–39. <http://e-journal.iainpekalongan.ac.id/index.php/jhi/article/download/2658/1724>
- Pratiwi, P. S. (2018). *Dialog di Israel, Yahya Klaim Lanjutkan Visi Gus Dur*. CNN Indonesia. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180612185932-20-305681/dialog-di-israel-yahya-klaim-lanjutkan-visi-gus-dur>
- Purwono, A. (2013). ORGANISASI KEAGAMAAN DAN KEAMANAN INTERNASIONAL: Beberapa Prinsip dan Praktik Diplomasi Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Indonesia. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 2(2), 01–23. <http://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/jpp/article/view/951>
- Rasyid, M. H. (2019). Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Tasamuh Dalam Kehidupan Politik Di Indonesia. *Ash-Shahabah: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Studi Islam*, 5(2), 171–180.
- Robi Ulzikri, A., Cahyadi Kurniawan, R., & Indrajat, H. (2021). Budaya Politik Warga Nahdlatul Ulama Kota Bandar Lampung. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 20(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i1.108>
- Rüdiger Wolfrum. (2013). *The Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law: Index and Tables* (F. Lachenman (ed.); First Publ, Issue v. 11). OUP Oxford.
- Saputra, W. T. (2024). Brigade Hassan Bin Tsabit: Netizen Indonesia dalam Perang Media Sosial untuk Dukung Palestina. *Journal on Education*, 06(02), 13172–13184. <https://jonedu.org/index.php/joe/article/view/5174>
- Security Council. (2024). *Security Council Fails to Recommend Full United Nations Membership for State of Palestine, Owing to Veto Cast by United States*. Press-Un-Org. <https://press.un.org/en/2024/sc15670.doc.htm>
- Shidiq, G. (1970). Teori Maqashid Al-Syari'Ah Dalam Hukum Islam. *Sultan Agung*, 44(118), 117–130.
- Sirayon, H. (2024). Critical Analysis of the Dynamics of Israel-Palestinian Conflict Based on Theories of International Security. *Journal of Diplomacy, Peace and Conflict Studies*, 1(1), 5–9. <https://quantresearchpublishing.com/index.php/jdpcs/index>
- Suhartiningtyas. (2014). Analisa Kebijakan Presiden Abdurrahman Wahid Untuk Membuka Hubungan Diplomatik Dengan Israel Dalam Upaya Peduli Perdamaian Palestina-Israel. *Jurnal Analisis HI*, 3(2), 841–856. <http://repository.unhas.ac.id/handle/123456789/1401>
- Sulistyo, P. D., & Basyari, I. (2022). *NU, R20 dan Ikhtiar Mengatasi Problem Kehidupan Beragama*. Kompas.Id. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2022/11/03/nu-r20-dan-ikhtiar-mengatasi-problem-kehidupan-beragama>

- Syauqi, M. R. (2020). *Moderatisme dan Ekstremisme dalam Agama*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/opini/moderatisme-dan-ekstremisme-dalam-agama-IvozI>
- The Elijah Interfaith Institute. (2009). *Elijah Mourns the Death of President Abdurrahman Wahid*. <https://Elijah-Interfaith.Org>. <https://elijah-interfaith.org/addressing-the-world/newsletter-archive/january-special-issue>
- The Elijah Interfaith Institute. (2017). *Visit of 2nd Indonesian Delegation*. The Elijah Interfaith Institute. <https://elijah-interfaith.org/visit-of-2nd-indonesian-delegation>
- Triono, A. L. (2023). *Ini Alasan Muktamar Internasional Fiqih Peradaban Bahas Piagam PBB*. NU Online. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/ini-alasan-muktamar-internasional-fiqih-peradaban-bahas-piagam-pbb-twUgF>
- Triono, A. L., & Indiraphasa, N. S. (2023). *R20 ISORA Suarakan Perdamaian dan Koeksistensi Melalui Inisiatif Berkelanjutan*. Nu.or.Id. <https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/r20-isora-suarakan-perdamaian-dan-koeksistensi-melalui-inisiatif-berkelanjutan-m2F96>
- Yuniar, Imron Hamdani, Kasinyo Harto, D. I. (2023). Penguatan Nilai Tawazun Dalam Konsep Moderasi Beragama Perspektif Nasarudin Umar. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional 2023: Vol. 1 No. 1 (2021): International Education Conference (IEC) 2021*, 1–23.
- Zidni, E. E. S. Z. (2023). Analisis Konsistensi Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Mendorong Kemerdekaan Palestina. *ISLAM NUSANTARA: Journal for the Study of Islamic History and Culture*, 4(1), 55–81. <https://doi.org/10.47776/islamnusantara.v4i1.681>