PESANTREN AS THE SOURCE OF PEACE EDUCATION

JEANNE FRANCOISE
Indonesia Defense University

Abstract

This paper gives a new perspective about pesantren (Islamic boarding school) as the source of peace education in Indonesia using three concepts; First is a collective opinion that reflected in the UN Declaration of Culture of Peace, second is the definition of peace education based on peace and conflict resolution studies, and third is the historical side of Islam in Indonesia. To explain the main idea about pesantren as the source of peace education, this paper uses the qualitative method in analyzing the data from interviews in some pesantren in Madura Island in 2014. This paper constructs a hypothesis that pesantren is the unique source and very potential for creating Indonesian peace leaders in the future. This idea is simply coming from common sense that Muslims majority in Indonesia send their children to the pesantren to have a good education and good manner as well. But on the other side, some pesantren precisely create some radicals, so I would like to uphold this issue by telling the Union European historical experience to handle radicalises through peace education by harmonising state-religion relationship.

Makalah ini memberikan perspektif baru tentang pesantren sebagai sumber pendidikan perdamaian di Indonesia dengan menggunakan tiga konsep; Pertama adalah pendapat kolektif yang tercermin dalam Deklarasi Budaya Damai PBB, kedua adalah definisi pendidikan perdamaian berdasarkan studi resolusi perdamaian
Introduction

Historical record told that *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia) is an educational institution that existed long before the formation of the Republic of Indonesia. *Pesantren* is often used as a center or base camp to struggle against the colonial at the time. *Nahdatul Ulama* once wrote that the students then formed a line of *Hizbullah*, which later became one of the seeds of the military establishment (Nafi 2015).

If in the era of colonialism, *pesantren* has a role as a stronghold of the people against the invaders, then in relation to the democratic Indonesia, *pesantren* have a role as one supporting component of the defense system within the country’s defense system. Terrorism as one threat to democratic countries must be rejected and fought by all people in *pesantren* (Dephan RI 2008).

In the view of the democratic Indonesia, *pesantren* is not the only function as a legal entity in the field of Islamic educa-
tion, but also as a community of students to gather and could even have contributed in various fields. Therefore, pesantren has great potential in maintaining the integrity and sovereignty of the country.

Based on 2000s data, Indonesia has 8,000 pesantren, 10,000 kyai\(^2\) (Rahemtulla 2007, 27), and 3 million santri (Candland 2001, 360), so it assumes that now in 2016, Indonesia has more pesantrens, kyais, and santris. Indonesia actually has had Gontor Modern Pesantren in Ponorogo, East Java. However, modernization is actually not only the visible eye (tangibles), but also things that are not visible to the eye (intangibles). The point is that a modern pesantren does not mean the magnificent house, but pesantren who have thoughts of modernism. Gontor itself has faced modernism in the time of three brothers; Imam Zarkasji, Ahmad Sahal, and Zainuddin Fanani (Laffan 2004, 14).

Based on my preliminary analysis, the efforts to optimize the Indonesian pesantren in the sense of an independent and democratic, simply and solely an attempt to create a pesantren society Indonesia to be more harmonious and peaceful. Pesantren is not a source of terrorism, but it is a source of peace education.

Yet this goal needs some time, not directly happens after Indonesia’s independence, especially in the period of Soeharto. For many years, authoritarian Suharto regime\(^3\) (in power from 1966-1998) restricted political activities in the name of Islam but at the same time supported cultural expressions of religion and individual practices (Kull 2009, 27).

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\(^2\) The lack of ulama is not just a reality within pre-modern Islamic world, but also happened in 1800s and 1900s. Ulama is just a little fragment from the population in the middle of 1900s. For example in Marocco, a country that in 1931 had people under 6 million, there was only 1,200 students in big pesantren/madrasah, or about 1/5 of the total population.

\(^3\) They publicly demonstrated loyalty to both Suharto and the military, opposing initiatives that were likely to lead NU on the path of opposition to the new order (Mietzner 2009, 154).
Higher Islamic education in Indonesia has, since the early 1970s, been continuously reformed, especially regarding curriculum and approach to the study of Islam (Kull 2009, 25). Debate originated in the pesantren spread to the entire NU and especially its female branches, favoring a critical gender perspective in pesantren teaching and presenting new understandings of old texts. In addition, they raise issues of importance for promoting women’s rights in Islam, including women’s reproductive rights, marriage, polygamy, and patriarchal structures in pesantren (Kull 2009, 33).

Islamic universities in Indonesia, IAIN/UINs, are far ahead and the students educated there, where approximately 50% are women, will become the future teachers in higher Islamic education, pesantrens, and madrasahs. These new cadres of teachers will not only provide a growing number of female teachers and role models, but also a reasonably well prepared to facilitate a further diffusion of a gender perspective and a woman-friendly interpretation of Islam, leading the way towards a post-patriarchal Islamic education (Kull 2009, 37). Another perspective of pesantren is reflected on a novel “Geni Jora”, written by Abidah El Khalieqy (Hellwig 2011, 24–27). On that novel, Abidah tells the story of lesbians santri.

Based on this historical background, it is true that pesantren itself face their own structural problems, so that pesantren must solve their problem in the same time by doing the real peace education because peace education has some moral impacts to the Islamic world, as well as Indonesian society.

Qualitative Analysis Method

Definition of Peace Education

Based on peace and conflict resolution studies, the definition of peace education is “teaching the information, attitudes, values, and behavioral competencies needed to resolve conflicts
without violence and to build and maintain mutually beneficial, harmonious relationships” (Johnson and Johnson 2010). It is also noted on Hague Appeal for Peace Global Campaign for Peace Education (1999):

“When a citizen of the world understand the problems, have the skills to resolve conflict and struggle for justice non-violently, live by the international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved with systematic education for peace”.

Based on UN Declaration No 53/243 noted a purpose of declaration and program action on a culture of peace: “Children, from an early age should benefit from education about values (value system), attitudes, modes of behavior, and a way of life that allows them to resolve the problem peacefully”.

Here (peace) education is also a socialization. More narrowly, in terms of education and the school setting, schools act as a particular socialization context or force for individuals. Interpersonal relationships and social interactions are embedded in the daily routines and processes of schools. Schools thus act as sites where children learn to engage in prosocial interactions, regulate behavior to complement that of others, and delay personal gratification, and where they learn the values of being socially responsible and responsive to group goals, and of behaving in a cooperative way with peers. (Dupuy 2009, 44).

The use of nonviolent methods of discipline within schools provides children with a vital lesson in how to pursue and achieve goals without using violence, a lesson of critical importance in the context of an armed conflict. An employee in the Liberian Ministry of Education felt that one of the most important things that children should learn in schools was to use “nonviolent change for the things they don’t like”. The use of physical
violence at schools in Guatemala does nothing to challenge or change the larger patterns of social violence that have risen since the end of the civil war, nor does it support the fragile peace that now exists in Nepal and Liberia. But, even if nonviolence is emphasized in school, it may be difficult to change children’s attitudes and behaviors towards the use of violence when what is happening in the world outside the school fails to reflect what is happening inside it. A situation of armed conflict, where levels of violence may be very high, is a strong socializing force regarding the acceptability of violence. In such cases, it becomes even more important to continually reinforce and promote the use of nonviolence at school and to empower individuals to protect their human rights (Dupuy 2009, 48).

**Islam in Indonesia**

Islam in Indonesia—as in many other parts of the world—is not just a matter of personal belief and prayer, it constitutes a public sphere that includes the nation itself (Boellstorff 2005, 575). Indonesia, the fourth most populous nation on earth, is home to more Muslims than any other country (Boellstorff 2005, 576). Muslims in Indonesia has two ways of believing; Islam *santri* and Islam *abangan*. Islam *abangan* means practicing Islam by mixing it with traditional culture, mostly Javanese’s.

This concept is really important to analyze this paper because in *pesantren*, some *kyai* and *santri* not just practising Islam *santri* by reading *kitab kuning* (the yellow Islamic books) in *pesantren*, but also at the same time, practising actions similar to the Islam *abangan*, for example washing *keris* every *surro* night (1 Muharram of Islamic new year). By knowing deeply what is inside the *pesantren*, it is easier to form what kind of peace education that is proper to each *pesantren* because each *pesantren* has their own tradition of peace culture, but as *kyai* Nurcholis
Madjid ever said, Islamic boarding school needs some "pénétration pacifique" (Kersten 2009, 96).

Analysis

European Experience: Modernizing Education by Facing the Corrupt Catholic Church

It is said that secular democracy and Islam are widely believed to be antithetical (Barton 2010, 472). This quotation is not 100% true because based on secular democracy in France’s history, they face many problems with the corrupt Catholic Church at that time.

The secularization of education in France, a circular of the year VIII ordered teachers in the central schools to avoid ‘everything that pertained to the doctrines and rites of all religions and sects whatever they may be’, may be regarded as initiating a struggle that was to continue to the present day (Cobban 1970, 29).

Fierce disputes occurred over the links between Church and state, the use, and ownership of Church lands and control of the education system (Keating 1993, 32). Under the Third Republic from the 1870s, cultural uniformity was promoted through the extension of a centrally controlled education system and compulsory military service in which conscripts were deliberately stationed away from their home regions (Keating 1993, 177).

While Napoleon restored official recognition to the Roman Catholic church, he had no intention of returning the control of education they had possessed under the ancien regime to the ecclesiastical authorities. But he needed a system of education to provide administrators and technical experts for the service of the State. The revolution had destroyed the old system of education but created nothing to put in its place apart from a limited number of central schools, which were neither sufficiently traditional in their curriculum, nor sufficiently authoritarian in
their discipline, for Bonaparte’s taste. They would produce, he thought, liberals and ideologists, for neither of which was there room in the Napoleonic state. Bonaparte himself expounded the basic principles of his theory of education:

‘So long as children are not taught that they must be republican or monarchist, Catholic, or irreligious, etc, the State will not be a nation, it will rest on insecure or vague foundations. In a properly organized state, there is always a body destined to regulate the principles of morality and politics” (Cobban 1970, 33).

The government of France offered a new law on education in 1844, making various concessions. Quinet’s lectures were suppressed. Guizot brought himself to declare in 1846, that children belonged to the family before the State and that the State did not claim the exclusive right of education: religion also had its rights. Religion opinion was in no state of mind to support the regime in an emergency, if one occurred (Cobban 1970, 126).

Victor Duruy (who had been appointed) as Minister of Education to defend the interests of the lay University against the clericals and struggle for the emancipation of education from religion. Duruy cautiously modified the educational system, increasing the number of State schools and reducing the fees, as first steps towards free and compulsory education. He also introduced changes into the traditional syllabus, including a more secular education for girls (Cobban 1970, 190).

In November 1969, the French Minister of National Education, Monsieur Olivier Guichard, taking up an idea originally put forward by President Edgar Faure, proposed in the The Hague the establishment of a European center for the development of education, to which he assigned the following tasks:

1. To harmonize information concerning the economics of education and the structure and working of the educational system, research, and educational innovation
b. To develop exchanges and the mobility of teachers and students. (Mayne 1972, 206–7)

Shortly afterward, at the meeting of the heads of state of the six common market countries in The Hague in December 1969, the President of the French Republic showed his desire to relaunch European cooperation, in particular in the educational field. Again, at the end of 1970, a colloquium was held at Grenoble attended by more than a hundred university teachers, on the theme of cooperation between European universities. Nevertheless, the various educational systems in Europe have all undergone, *mutatis mutandis*, certain pressures associated with two types of demand. First, there is an increased demand for graduates; the economic and social systems have a growing need for qualified personnel. Secondly, there has been a growing demand for access to higher education. Although inchoate, this demand is less concerned with vocational training than with general further education adapted to the needs of our time (Mayne 1972, 207).

Education and social security, the provision of a health service remain a national, not a Union responsibility (Thody 1997, 55). Educational theorists of the 19th century found themselves, in seeking to maintain the regular functioning of the societies in which they were operating, confronted by a paradox (Sakwa and Stevens 2000, 234). Since the liberation, France has continued to develop, in common with much of Western Europe, an increasingly egalitarian education system. As we have noted, the independent Church sector has continued to flourish, though given its basis in belief rather than in class and money, it has very little of the aura of snobbery and privilege which still surrounds its counterpart in Britain (Sakwa and Stevens 2000, 235).
In East Germany, the revival of the educational practices of Weimar was of course combined with political and cultural affinities with the USSR. The virtual absence of a Soviet-style Nomenklatura, however, had the result that universal (and centrally determined) comprehensive secondary education did not tail off at higher education level into a ‘partially exclusive’ private domain for those with influence, as in the Soviet Union. The social constitution of the universities in the GDR was more socially comprehensive, certainly than that of their West German counterparts, but also than for instance, those in Poland where (even under the People’s Republic) they remained largely colonized by nostalgics for the pre-war regime. In short, the norms of education in the GDR would seem closer to those of France than to those of other comparable countries (Sakwa and Stevens 2000, 237).

For all the tendencies manifested, essentially in its later years, towards appropriation by corrupt officials of educational and cultural (as well as other) power, the educational achievements of the USSR cannot but appear impressive (Sakwa and Stevens 2000, 237).

The recent history of Europe’s educational system merely makes it legitimate to doubt whether teaching and education can really be radically improved without corresponding changes in the social and political system (Mayne 1972, 216).

**Indonesia Experience: What Pesantren Could Give?**

Based on the historical data of European education on the previous paragraphs, education in Europe will also be the most effective means of achieving a less unequal distribution of income (Mayne 1972, 82). In the meanwhile, the encouragement of cross-border, multilingual studies and research by students, teachers and scientists (Erasmus and Comet programmes) con-
tribute to breaking the barriers between the national education system by requiring graduate students and researchers to expose themselves to at least one other European higher education system (Bressand 1993, 319).

The desire for less inequality in incomes within Europe may be fulfilled, at least in part, by making available greater educational opportunities, to meet the requirements of future production processes better than at present (Mayne 1972, 83). In the field of the comparability of diplomas, long and complex efforts have been undertaken, in particular by the Council of Europe (for education) (Mayne 1972, 205).

Indonesia, as an Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member, does not have the education system similar to the Council of Europe for education, but talking about pesantren, Indonesia has BKSPPI (Badan Kerja Sama Pondok Pesantren Indonesia/Cooperation Body of Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools). To make a national peace education framework for pesantren, first step to create a blueprint of peace education is pesantren is by optimizing the BKSPPI, then all the prolific pesantren leaders and BKSPPI leaders should conduct a meeting as the real action to discuss global challenges, especially to reduce terrorists or radical ideology inside the pesantren⁴.

⁴ Neo-Salafiyyah pesantren, while by no means dominat amongst Indonesia’s religious schools, have nevertheless, according to former Indonesian foreign minister Alwi Shihab, permitted “stricter interpretations of Islam to gain favour”. Shihab adds that the rise of such a “rigid interpretation” of the Islamic faith has had “consequences” (Ramakrishna 2005, 357–58). The small number of so-called Ivy League radical pesantren “that constitute the JI’s educational circle” in Indonesia, which the International Crisis Group argues are incubating a new breed of “salafi jihadists”, is not the only challenge. The circulation of neo-Salafiyyah ideology in some Southeast Asian Moslem quarters, propagated especially a visceral openness to JI’s pan-Southeast Asia Islamic agenda, and by implication, political space, within which global jihadi elements can sustain themselves (Ramakrishna 2005, 358).
The main requirement rather than modernism itself within the pesantren, is willing to change, so the modern pesantren must be willing to change for the better, which supports the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic Indonesia. Therefore, pesantren needs to submit financial reports to the state, so that the state can find a list of the flow of funds into a pesantren. If the state found some indications whether a pesantren is incompatible with the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia, then the boarding school must be willing to be changed as a whole and must be willing to return to the motherland. Pesantren must be a ‘taqwiyyat al-muslimin’ (strengthening Muslim values).

Those goals only can be reached by the political will of the government, in this context, is Ministry of Education to give more state budget on peace education through pesantren, as many foreign donors come through NGOs programs, it is better than peace education controlled by the state to rule out foreign politic or foreign interest.

Recommendations in this paper may be being pursued by the support from other Islamic organization such as Majelis Ulama Indonesia and the author believes that MUI own thoughts much better, for example, one day MUI can participate in the development ekopesantren or other programs from the results derived from the values of Islam Nusantara to create Peace Education through pesantren.

During work-study research of Peace and Conflict Resolution Cohort II of Indonesia Defense University in Madura Island, the author was interviewing pesantren kyais and santris and most of them are telling about peace education system within pesantren. It is true that pesantren has 3 (three) models, pesantren kyais and santris more likely to be funded by radical outsiders (Singer 2006, 421).
santren salafi, pesantren khalafi, pesantren modern, and pesantren conventional, but this paper does not aim to differ which pesantren is more closed to the Peace Education itself. Based on interviews in Madura in April 2014, the author noticed that pesantren itself is already a peace education because of three reasons. The first reason is about Islamic religion within pesantren. Based on history, the coming of Islamic process in Indonesia is in peace way, not in “blood way” so that kyai in pesantren has the tradition to teach peace things to theirs santris.

Second is the output of human resources from pesantren. Thus, any pesantren professional researchers could not close eye about the terrorism within pesantren Ngruki in Solo, but we have to discuss it in a professional way, for example in some academic conferences, because the existence of terrorism within pesantren is not a coincidence with a one-single factor, but it was existed by a more broader design. During author’s research trip in pesantrens in Madura Island, author notice that human resources that having education in pesantren, are more having a moderate way of thinking and more-tolerate with other persons with a different belief. In the line of the objectives of UN Peace Education, at this point, pesantren in Indonesia still has a significant role to be one of peace education systems, that is more familiar, more adaptive, and more accepted within Indonesian civil society.

Third is pesantren still has a minimum capacity as a well-known civil society to be heard by the majority of Indonesian Muslims. In the 21st century, the international security system architecture is already changed, as well as global institutions. This led to the growing threats to the integrity and sovereignty of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia/NKRI). One threat popular to Indonesia nowadays is not of strategic global scope, but on the national level,
namely terrorism\textsuperscript{6}.

Research on terrorism itself has a lot to do. If pesantren is not being trained as the source of education by the Indonesian government, pesantren could be a source of radicalism. In the examination of the suspected terrorists is often called the existence of Pondok Pesantren Al Mukmin in Nguruki Solo, Surakarta, Central Java. This Boarding School was founded by Abubakar Ba’asyir along with Abdullah Sungkar in 1972. At the next set up a boarding school, Abubakar Ba’asyir and Abdullah Sungkar also vigorously preach (Manullang 2002, 79).

The role and influence of the clerics very big very visible in the culture of rural communities where adherence/compliance to kyais far beyond obedience to government institutions. A very close relationship between the clerics and religious scholars made public as a place to complain a variety of life issues they face, either about work, education, marriages, illnesses, and so on. In the narrower spectrum, as well as in schools, the authority of clerics greatly to his students because cleric regarded as a teacher, leader, and sole ruler. Thus, in the public schools, religious scholars have the power to mobilize the masses (Unhan 2014).

School, in addition to functioning as a place of education of the people. However, pesantren not only education to master the tools required to worship God, but also has a wider social function. Pesantren is also a cultural transformation in the

\textsuperscript{6} Nano (2014, 175) said that the threat of terrorism and other security threats in the country, should be faced with making the concept of an adequate strategy. The strategy should be an integral part of at least four (4) elements, which attempts to capture and destroy terrorists and their networks (offense), efforts to protect the country and its people from terrorist attacks (defense), attempts to explain or convey the roots problems or the root cause of terrorism and reducing the number of personnel who want to attack the country, and the response and recovery capacity to cope problems relating to the incident facing the country.
total container. The story of the scholars who “tripe” establish schools deliberately in areas of “black” in remote areas are clear evidence of a tendency to use education in schools as a means of cultural transformation doing it slowly but thoroughly (Unhan 2014).

Based on the analysis above, the optimization effort in terms of efforts to realize a harmonious and peaceful society can be done in several ways. First, through the role of the kyai, through lectures and planting of Islamic values which promote Islam as rahmatan lil ‘ālamīn (blessings for the whole universe), as communicated by the Chairman of the MUI Sampang and Chairman FKUB Sampang (Unhan 2014).

Kyai role in resolving the conflict is not confined to carok and conflicts that smelled religion alone. According to Pesantren Bustanul Huffadz, Kyai Ainur Rofiq Mansur, during a theft of cattle and other cases also ordinary citizens complained to kyai. In the case of theft of cattle, the family will usually determine the identity of the thief was to be students. Later kyai will ask the students to approach the thief (Unhan 2014).

“Establishing a hermitage or a boarding school is aiming to build brotherhood, unity, independence, and noble character. With that, we will share their knowledge without having exaggerated to find the name and eager to quickly become large. Sincere intention and clarity of purpose and our purpose merely because of God” said KH. Wahid Hasyim.

Pesantren is also widely credited for the country, especially in maintaining the integrity of the Republic. Since the beginning of this country was born, leaders pesantren involved in the fight for independence and formulate the ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, as well as maintaining a commitment to the Homeland to date. Many of them were crowned as national
heroes, such as *Hazrat Sheikh* K.H. Hasyim Asy‘ari and K.H. Wahid Hasyim of Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang. The *kyai* believes that the homeland with the ideology of Pancasila is final. National commitment and their love of Indonesia reinforced by religious doctrine that requires them to love the homeland. A religious quote says that “love of the homeland is part of faith, *hubb al-wathan min al-Iman*”.

Islam in the archipelago *nusantara* disseminated through the educational institutions called Zawiyah schools. Indonesia may not like this if there was no basis of “being-Islamic” propagated by teachers institute. If there are no schools, of course, there will not be a peaceful Muslim, and perhaps not even this archipelago country was born. So when independence was achieved, a pioneer in the basic level is the *kyai*. Indeed, there are a number of intellectuals who lived in Jakarta as Bung Karno and Bung Hatta, but without support at the grassroots level, spearheaded by the *kyai*, freedom can never be taken.

After independence, there was a group of people who want that seven words of the Jakarta Charter is a 1945 opening, is removed. The phrase “the obligation to execute the sharia for adherents” was changed to “Almighty God”. This is the continuously become a point of conflict. Who gave the ‘final word’ that seven said it removed? According to research by historians to date, he is K.H. Hasyim Asy‘ari.

Muslims, particularly boarding schools had to be called upon not only to secure the Homeland from the invasion and outside interference but also moving it forward. *Pesantren* leaders realize that in the Quran, the term Islamic state that does not exist, there is only “*dār al-salām*” which is a country that is peaceful.

The most prominent hallmark that distinguishes boarding school with other educational institutions are educational sys-
tem twenty-four hours, with the condition of the students in one location of the hostel is divided into cubicles or rooms, making it easier to apply the total education system. Pesantren learning method that best supports the formation of character education of the students is integral to the learning process through teaching and learning methods (or study groups), habituation behaves sublime (ta’đib), spiritual activity (riyādhah), as well as set a good example (uswah hasanah) practiced or directly exemplified by kyai/housekeeper and the preachers.

Indirectly, schools also teach the students to respect differences in ethnicity, race, language, and creating relationships is termed by Gus Dur as “cosmopolitanism boarding”. The students who studied at the school come from various parts of the country with ethnic backgrounds and different languages. Inter-course cross-ethnic, language, and region to make the students aware of the diversity that must be respected and to live out our nation’s motto, “unity in diversity”.

Each school’s basically autonomy in the education system, it is less likely to generalize patterns pesantren in Indonesia. Pesantren and people in it have values that are maintained and can not be separated from the subject of reproductive cadres educated nations that have contributed to the religion, state, and nation.

K. H. Wahid Hasyim once said construction of the center is an ideal educational boarding school that can lay the foundation to build ethics for all students, so that the knowledge gained in the schools will be used as a preparation towards a better life. Any students who will be plunged into the community should be teachers who lead. Before becoming a teacher, students must have a strong foundation in ethical conduct and that would become an example and role model.
Kyais follow the way of propaganda Wali Sanga with the model and set good examples or uswah hasanah. So, uswah hasanah was not only present in the Prophet, but also on themselves as scholars and clerics who are heirs of the prophets and agents of al-akhlaq al-karīmah. Feature Prophet educational success is that he never told anyone else to do good, before he did and give an example first. Educational success boarding scholars in ancient times also because they provide exemplary, and never said anything that was not of their doing. Exemplary character education without going begs the question, “How are bent rod can cast a shadow that straight?”

Conclusion

In fact, a massive increase of (peace) education at all levels has brought to the forefront the question of the objectives and the orientation of this mass education. This problem, far from being abstract or technical, is clearly political. It demands that the needs and the aspirations of the different social classes represented in the teaching system be taken into account. It challenges different models of society. Above all, it presupposes a confrontation, if not conflict, between the principal actors concerned, the State, the teachers, the students, the parents, the employers. In other words, the problem remains unsolved, and it is urgently necessary to seek solutions together (Mayne 1972, 211).

Nothing would be more dangerous than research controlled directly by governments and used to justify the political decision taken by those in power. The threat is real. Various European technocracies claim to know what technical solutions are needed in the field of education. In all countries, they are seeking to adapt educational system to the needs of the economy, and to train social elites whose task it will be to take over from the ruling classes at present in power. Just as there is a pedagogic il-
lusion, so there is a technocratic illusion, which would shelve the political aspects of the educational problem in order to concentrate on objective or scientific facts. Educational research needs to be increased, but if it is to escape from technocratic control, it must be organized within the framework of higher education. Within the universities, it would moreover help to give meaning to international cooperation in education, which at present is neglected, although much debated. Should educational cooperation lead to the unification of existing systems, or to the acceptance and deepening of their diversity?

Quite apart from the various meanings given to the concept and the various ideologies underlying them (sometimes, for example, it is seen as a way of ending class conflict), it is clear that establishing permanent education presupposes radical changes in the existing educational system.

The author agrees with Mayne (1972, 216–17) that there is every reason to think that the fundamental crisis in all educational system will last for many years to come, thereby increasing the general uncertainty and disquiet. What should be the basic objectives of education in an advanced industrial society? The answer to this fundamental question can only be political, for in the last analysis to transform the educational system is to seek to transform society. Conservatives in all parties are under no illusion about this and if so far their efforts to slow down or to prevent the necessary changes have proved effective, there is no indication that in the future the balance of political power will be on their side. At all events, it must be hoped that the political issues involved in education will lead to still deeper debates among all concerned. In the age of ‘experts and specialists’, the way out of crisis can only be found through action and intervention by us all.
In conclusion, to judge a *pesantren* as the source of peace education can be viewed by the number of its *kyais* and *santris* who are active in peace activities, for example in Gontor Modern Pesantren and most of *pesantrens* in Madura island, they are always contributing and participating in peace activities, they are active in national ceremonies, workshops on peace education, meeting about Pancasila as one of school’s subject, and learning exchange with other schools. The alumni of *pesantren* also use social media on the Internet to spread *peace da’wah*. This is a small step, but sure.

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