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Gone but Not Forgotten: The Transformation of the Idea of Islamic State through Traditional Religious Authorities

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Abstrak

Selama ini sebagian besar peneliti mengatakan bahwa sejumlah otoritas keagamaan baru mendukung konservatisme keagamaan. Tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa otoritas keagamaan lama juga menjadi kekuatan pendorong konservatisme Islam dan politik identitas di Priangan Timur Jawa Barat, terutama gerakan Darul Islam. Penulisan artikel ini bertujuan untuk menarasikan transformasi gagasan Negara Islam (Darul Islam) menjadi Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI) bersyariah, yang sedang berlangsung di daerah Priangan Timur. Pada tahun 2016, pendukung gagasan ini merupakan kelompok yang paling bersemangat dalam aksi 212 di Jakarta. Artikel ini ditulis berdasarkan penelitian kualitatif penulis dengan menggunakan metode pengumpulan data, yaitu studi pustaka, observasi, dan wawancara terhadap pimpinan pesantren di Tasikmalaya dan Ciamis. Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa gerakan keagamaan di Priangan Timur berperan signifikan dalam mendukung populisme Islam pada tingkat nasional. Argumentasi yang dibangun adalah bahwa beberapa pesantren atau organisasi keagamaan tradisional mendukung konservatisme keagamaan yang berlanjut di era politik identitas.

Abstract

Much of scholars state that a number of new religious authorities support religious conservatism. This article shows that the old religious authorities also became the driving force of Islamic conservatism and identity politics in East Priangan, West Java, especially those historically tied to the Darul Islam movement. This article aims to narrate the transformation of the idea of Islamic State (Darul Islam) into the Sharia-compliant Republic of Indonesia, which is taking place in the East Priangan region. In 2016, supporters of this idea were among the most enthusiastic participants of the 212 rallies in Jakarta. This article uses qualitative research by using the data collection methods of literature study, observation, and interviews with heads of *pesantren* in Tasikmalaya and Ciamis. It shows that religious movements in East Priangan play a significant role in supporting Islamic populism at the national level. The argument is that some traditional pesantren or religious organizations support religious conservatism that continues in the era of identity politics.

Keywords: Dahrul Islam; idea transformation; religious authority; East Priangan

INTRODUCTION

This article has its genesis in the discourse on the relations between religion and the state as being constructed by the muslim elites of Indonesia. The Chairman of the Indonesian Ulemas Council (MUI), K.H. Cholil Ridwan, in his speech in front of the Indonesian Islamic Dawah Council (DDII) on June 6, 2011 said that muslims could take advantage of democracy and Pancasila for the time being, as vehicles to reach a Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) imposing Islamic Sharia. According to him, muslims need to embrace Pancasila and democracy in the current conditions. This is analogous as when a person is trying to swim across a river with swift currents, with many crocodiles—there is a high likelihood of sinking before reaching the other side. Thus, in order that the muslims survive and reach the intended goal, they should use the existing ‘boats’ Cholil Ridwan also stressed that the label of an Islamic state cannot be imposed for Indonesia. According to him, whatever form of the state does not matter, as long as Islamic Sharia is applied in the state; thus the appropriate concept for Indonesia is a Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which imposes Islamic Sharia (*VOA-islam.com* 2011).

The speech indicated two fundamental issues that are being focused by this article. First, there is still a dream among muslims to establish an Islamic state with a different strategy, by utilizing the mechanisms of democracy and Pancasila. Second, the reference to the Islamic state refers to Kartosuwiryo’s establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) in 1949. Therefore, the question to be answered by this article is how the idea of an Islamic state transforms into ‘Indonesia with Sharia’ among the muslim community, especially in the East Priangan area that was once the basis of Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII).

The shift in the religious orientation among muslims towards conservatism in Indonesia has been widely studied. An example is Bruinessen (2013), who called it a conservative turn, referring to the change in the way people embrace religion, from secular to becoming more religious. Another study was conducted by Vedi Hadiz (2011), by conducting field research in Solo, attempting to explain the Islamic political revival seen as the antithesis of the development of capitalism and the marginalization of muslims in the society. In addition, various reports from non-government organizations such as Setara Institute (2016), Wahid Institute (2015), and CRCS-UGM (2015) show that

there are still acts of intolerance towards minority groups by a number of conservative Islamic groups in Indonesia.

Studies of the history of the Darul Islam movement and the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) in West Java have also been carried out, such as by Horikoshi (1975), Dengel (1995), Boland (1995), and Alamsyah and Hadiz (2017). They describe the chronology of this movement centered on Kartosuwirjo in the context of the Indonesian independence revolution of 1945-1949, during the New Order era, DI had already experienced a resurgence. Jones (2010) stated that the Special Operations exhorted former DI operatives to consolidate and reorganize the NII as early as 1971, intended to face the threat of communism and co-opting them into an asset of Golkar. The result was the establishment of neo-NII in 1976, the actions of the Jihad Commando in 1977-1978, Imran's terrorism in 1980, and the Usrah Movement in the late 1970s (*Eramuslim.com* 2015). The movement was able to emerge as a result of cooperation between the Indonesian government intelligence and security forces with DI alumni who became the field operators (Mashadi 2015). After the failure of this movement, the DI alumni then adopted the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement, known as the usroh or tarbiyah movement, and able to grow rapidly among school and university students (Al Chaidar 2008).

Studies of post-DI Islamic movement have been carried out by Jones (2005), Temby (2010), Formichi (2012), and Solahuddin (2013). These studies show that even though the DI had ceased to exist in 1962, the remnants of this movement metamorphosed into small and unconnected underground movements. They still maintain the same illusion, namely the imagination of an Islamic state or the political revival of Islam, even though at different levels and understandings. Temby (2010) highlighted the suicide bomber in Bali in 2002, who invited young people in his area to sacrifice and fight for the resurrection of the NII. Jones (2005) stated that jihad acts in Indonesia cannot be separated from the understanding of Darul Islam and the efforts to establish the Islamic State of Indonesia. Indeed, DI cells eventually succeeded in forming the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) organization. Solahudin (2013:3) stated that Kartosuwirjo did formulate a doctrine of jihad resembling the ideology of Salafi jihadism, even though Salafi ideology only entered Indonesia several years later. Crouch (2013) wrote about the movement of the proponents of DI ideas in West Java, especially the Al-Zaytun Pesantren.

In contrast to previous studies that focused on DI history as well as the work of NII alumni and activists after DI, this article is intended to observe the development of Islamic political orientation in East Priangan, especially Tasikmalaya and its surroundings. This area, in 1945-1949, was the basis of Hezbollah and Sabilillah, which became the backbone of DI/TII's military strength in West Java (Temby 2010). The argument built by this article, based on previous studies and the empirical conditions of the conservative turn, is that there has been a shift in the orientation of political Islam from the imagination of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) into a Sharia-based Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article is based on the results of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) research on “multiculturalism and nationalism to build the nation” using a qualitative approach. This approach was chosen in view of the emphasis of research on the depth of information on the transformation of the idea of Islamic state in some muslim communities in East Priangan. The research was conducted in Tasikmalaya Regency, Tasikmalaya City, and Ciamis Regency as the pesantren in these three regions are related to each other. These three regions become intertwined in mobility of ideology and of santris, connected by past history and current political situation, in addition to being the center of the Islamic movement in East Priangan. Tasikmalaya regency is often regarded as the center of Islamic movement in East Priangan. Both the city and regency of Tasikmalaya are known as ‘santri towns’. In 2014 there were 91 pesantrens in Tasikmalaya City (*info-kotakita.blogspot.co.id* 2014) and 600 pesantrens in Tasikmalaya Regency. Among these pesantrens, there is a fairly strong relationship because the founders often came from the same big pesantrens. The largest pesantren is Miftahul Huda pesantren in Manonjaya, Tasikmalaya Regency, founded by K.H. Choer Affandi. In addition, there are several other large pesantrens that have long been established such as Cipasung Pesantren (the family of KH Ruhiat), Sukamanah Pesantren (the family of KH Zaenal Mustafa), Suryalaya Pesantren (the family of Abah Anom), and Cintawana Pesantren (Lubis 2011). The dynamics of political Islam in Tasikmalaya are also very interesting to observe because in the past this area was the center of the DI/TII movement in West Java.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE AND THE EROSION OF NATIONALISM

The fundamental issue discussed in this article is the shift or transformation of ideas about an Islamic state into a Sharia-based Indonesia. This phenomenon will be observed using several relevant concepts, especially with regard to the relationship between religion and the state. One concept used to take a look at this issue is religious radicalism. This concept has a close relation to conservatism and intolerance based on religious identity. In this article, religious radicalism is interpreted as various forms of interpretation of religious scriptures that directly or indirectly encourage its adherents to change the prevailing political system in a particular country (Nadzir et al., 2017). This encouragement can be either active or passive, active meaning that the person concerned is actively involved in efforts to change the fundamentals of the state with a religious basis through support or participation in political organizations such as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Passive means that the adherents participate in organizations that aim to change the basis of the state using non-violent means. In this case, radicalism lies on a spectrum from support to violence to non-violence.

Religious radicalism is one of the implications of religious conservatism, defined as a number of movements that reject modernist, liberal or progressive interpretations of Islamic teaching and believing in the importance of established doctrines and social rules (Bruinessen 2013, cf. Nadzir 2017). Religious conservatism can be distinguished from religious fundamentalism. While conservatism emphasizes the rejection of progressive religious interpretations, fundamentalism emphasizes textual religious interpretations. Both groups do not recognize religious practices outside of those described in the scriptures. According to Dunn and Sing (2013, cf. Sumaktoyo 2013), intolerance refers to “the negative orientation of a person’s rejection of the political and social rights of a group he disagrees with.” Such a trait can be found in radicalism, but the main emphasis of religious radicalism is on the effort of replacing the foundations of the state. Intolerance, as well as radicalism, has a broad spectrum, which can manifest in the form of violence and non-violence. Violent intolerance can be seen from “the use of violence by an individual or a group in the form of words as well as physical acts against a group that he/they disapprove(s).” While

non-violent intolerance can be found in hate speech both in the real world and cyberspace that can foster discrimination against groups he disagrees with.

The phenomenon of radicalism and intolerance that grows and develops in the real world is one indication of the low national awareness and the low attitude to tolerate differences. In this context, the phenomenon of the Islamic turn is a starting point for a shift in observing at the concept of Indonesia, from a secular Indonesia to a sharia-based Indonesia. Thus, our Indonesianness is experiencing a shift in meaning and is contested with increasingly conservative religious views. Starting from this problem, another concept used in this paper is nationalism. The concept of nationalism is a discourse that has been widely studied by Western scientists both by referring to the situation of the peoples of Europe and Southeast Asia. The many studies of nationalism can be classified into two main streams as follows: first, nationalism as a phenomenon of modernism and political construction, as stated by Ernest Gellner (1983) and developed by Anderson (1996) and second, nationalism as a post-modern phenomenon, that is, as a stage of development of the majority ethnic, as stated by Walker Connor (1984) and developed by Anthony Smith (1986). Both views have differences in paradigm in looking at the state, but will be used complementarily in this study.

This study refers to Anderson (1996), using the Indonesian context to define the concept of the nation, as an imagined political community. Smith is not used as a reference due to the weakness of his view that a nation needs a dominant ethnicity. In the context of Indonesia, such a dominant ethnic group is Javanese, yet it is not the language of the biggest ethnic group that is used as the national language. The different ethnic groups in Indonesia prefer to use the Malay language, which is rooted from a minority group, as the national language, as it had become the language of communication among different ethnic groups in commerce and culture, a lingua franca. This study also refers to Anderson (1999), observing that nationalism is a continuous political project to facilitate citizens in the process of understanding, becoming aware and molding themselves as the citizens of the nation.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF EAST PRIANGAN REGION

Before explaining the map of the Islamic movement in East Priangan, namely in Tasikmalaya and its surrounding areas, I will first describe Priangan region as the social context of the development of political Islam. As a geographical area, Priangan can be seen as a unity of administrative regions in the form of a residency.¹ The Priangan residency at the beginning of the 19th century included what are now Cianjur, Bandung, Sumedang, Limbangan (Garut) and Sukapura (Tasikmalaya) Regencies. The Capital of Priangan Residency was originally Cianjur, but was moved to Bandung in 1864. In 1926 Priangan was divided into three regions: West Priangan (Cianjur and Sukabumi), Central Priangan (Bandung and Sumedang) and East Priangan (Limbangan and Garut). Then, towards the beginning of the 20th century, the Galuh area (Ciamis), which previously part of Banyumas residency, was annexed to East Priangan Residency. East Priangan thus includes areas that are now named Garut, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, Pangandaran, Tasikmalaya City, and Banjar City. The term Priangan also contains a cultural dimension because this geographical unity coincides with the identity of the Sundanese culture. In its development, the five regencies of Tanah Priangan are often associated with Pasundan, i.e. the place where most of the Sundanese live.

In the context of the development of political Islam, according to Mudzakkir (2008) the traditionally muslim society of Priangan are affiliated with different organizations from the majority of the muslim communities in the island of Java, many of which are affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama. Muslims in Priangan are diversely affiliated with different Islamic organizations, such as the Islamic Union (PUI) and Partai Sarikat Islam Indonesia (PSII). The radical Islamic movement was expressed in DI/TII during the independence revolution period until 1962. During the New Order period, the movement of what remained of the DI/TII was restricted and controlled by the Government through intelligence operations from 1967 to the 1980s. According to Amin (2008), in the post-New Order era, Priangan experienced a resurgence as the base of Islamic movements, marked by expressions of political Islam in Cianjur and Tasikmalaya. In the case of Tasikmalaya (both

¹The administrative level of residency, as an aggregation of regencies, was first introduced by the British governor general Thomas Stamford Raffles, who governed between 1811-1816. The term residency is the translation of the Dutch *residentie*, while regency was originally *regentschap*.

regency and city), muslim elites utilized the United Development Party (PPP) to win legislative elections, as well as the election of the regent and mayor. Regents of Tasikmalaya always come from PPP, for example Tatang Farhanul Hakim (2001-2006, 2006-2011), who was also chairman of PPP in Tasikmalaya Regency, and Uu Ruzhanul Ulum (2011-2016, 2016-2018). In 2018 Uu was elected as deputy governor of West Java, paired with Ridwan Kamil. Similarly the present mayor of Tasikmalaya City also comes from the PPP, namely Budi Budiman (2012-2017; 2017-2023), who is also chairman of PPP in Tasikmalaya City.

Efforts to implement Sharia are carried out through the Tasikmalaya Regency Strategic Plan (Renstra), which was passed through Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 13 of 2001. The regulation states “the religious/ Islamic vision of Tasikmalaya Regency as the center of growth in East Priangan and able to elevate itself into a developed regency in West Java by 2010.” The regent at that time issued Circular No. 451/SE/Sos/2001 on efforts to improve the quality of faith and piety, and Decree no. 13/2003 451/SE/04/Sos/2001 on the requirements for enrolling in the primary, junior high and senior high schools, and MTs. The regulations are known in Tasikmalaya Regency as Perda Syariat Islam (sharia bylaws) because of Tasikmalaya’s vision as a religious/Islamic regency. Meanwhile, the Government of Tasikmalaya City has Perda no. 12 of 2009 on the Islamic Societal Values. Although it has been jointly agreed between the Mayor and the Parliament of Tasikmalaya City in 2009, this regulation has not been fully implemented. In 2015, the DPRD renewed the regulation into Perda No. 7 of 2014 on the Religious Societal Values. The regional regulation essentially regulates the way people, especially women, dress in conformance to religious rules, i.e. wearing the hijab. However, most people of Tasikmalaya remain confused by the regulation due to the possibility of multiple interpretations in many articles, and hence it is not fully implemented.

Efforts to enforce Islamic law in various areas of Indonesia other than Priangan (Cianjur and Tasikmalaya), also occurred in South Sulawesi Province. Wahid (2009:128), said that sharia bylaws have sparked speculation about the idea of establishing an Islamic state. According to him, the Islamic law enforcement movement in these places have linked themselves to the DI/NII. In Cianjur, for example, the movement is allegedly carried out by the NII KW9 network, while in South Sulawesi Province it is done by KPPSI (“Islamic Law Enforcement Preparation Committee”) related to the South Sulawesi Darul Islam of Kahar

Muzakkar. In this context, the idea of sharia in Tasikmalaya certainly be linked directly with NII alumni and sympathizers, however, some of the initiators may share the same ideas as DI's past ideals.

The existence of conservative groups and the idea of establishing an Islamic state in East Priangan have been rooted historically since the formation of Hizbullah and Fi-Sabilillah during the Japanese occupation period. In addition to forming the Defenders of the Homeland (PETA), Japan allowed Islamic organizations to form volunteer militias for muslim youth who could not join PETA (*Jejak Islam* 2016). Hizbullah, whose name meant 'the Party of God', was proposed on 10 September 1943 by a number of Islamic scholars to the Japanese military government, as a muslim volunteer corps. The idea was fulfilled by Japan in December 1944 (Ekadjati 2006:113, Benda 1958). Its military exercises were conducted in Cibarusa, Bogor for 3 months from 28 February to 20 May 1945, with 500 members from 25 residencies in Java and Madura (*Jejak Islam* 2016). Boland (1995:12-15) states that the Japanese occupation era brought three major developments to Islam in Indonesia: the opening of Offices of Religious Affairs (KUA), the formation of the Masjumi, and the formation of Hizbullah. Both PETA and Hizbullah, regardless of their original purposes, were used by the Japanese intelligence to instill the ideology of fascism (Interview with Sowarsono, LIPI History Researcher, Jakarta, 5 August 2017). Jenkins (2009:29) shares the same opinion, writing that the Japanese Army Intelligence Agency, Beppan, had recruited 37,500 Indonesians to volunteer in a militia called *Yugekitai* (special guerrilla army), which became the embryo of Army intelligence. Beppan also recruited and trained 500 young Indonesian muslim leaders to become Hizbullah officers, who would later play a central role in shaping the Islamic State of Indonesia.

MAPPING CONSERVATIVE GROUPS IN TASIKMALAYA-CIAMIS

A journalist from Kabar Priangan, who is also an activist of the Nahdlatul Ulama Institute for Human Resources Research and Development (Lakpesdam NU) in Tasikmalaya, said that alumni and network of Darul Islam (DI) in Tasikmalaya are still active, both in their ideas and as a passive movement. Although formally the Darul Islam movement has ended since the capture and execution of Imam Kartosoewirjo, the idea of the Islamic state transformed into other forms.

In addition, a number of NII network cells continue to grow and develop into religious institutions and groups, while not resorting to violence, as I identified.

Miftahul Huda Pesantren, Manonjaya

One of the alumni of the DI movement, K. H. Choer Affandi, former Regent of Tasikmalaya, founded Miftahul Huda Pesantren in Manonjaya District, Tasikmalaya Regency. It is the largest salaf pesantren in East Priangan, occupying an area of about 8,5 Ha, with a total number of approximately 3000 students, with 1000 branches throughout Indonesia (Brata 2013; Saepuloh 2017). The number of students and branches of this pesantren are supported by the number of alumni who are incorporated in the Miftahul Huda Alumnae Association (Hamida) and the Miftahul Huda Alumnae Association (Hawamida). Loyalty to Miftahul Huda is indicated by attendance during religious events. The forerunner of this pesantren is Wanasuka Pesantren in Cigugur Village, Ciamis, established in 1942. This pesantren had 400 santri, but was closed in 1947 because of the Dutch First Military Aggression in Ciamis. After K. H. Choer Affandi surrendered in 1962, he built the Gombongsari Pesantren in Cisitukaler Hamlet, Pasirpanjang Village. In 1967, he moved his pesantren to Manonjaya Village after obtaining a waqf of land measuring 8 Ha from R. Haji Mardiyah. The pesantren was then renamed Miftahul Huda.

Historically, K. H. Choer Affandy became involved with politics while studying in a pesantren in Sukamanah, Singaparna, with K. H. Zaenal Mustofa and in Gunung Puyuh pesantren in Sukabumi with K. H. Ahmad Sanusi. Although not involved in K. H. Zaenal Mustofa's resistance against the Japanese, he learned a lot from his strong character in opposing injustices (Saepuloh 2017). When the Japanese trained muslim youths and formed Hizbullah, Choer Affandi participated in the training and became one of Hezbollah's leaders in West Java (Saepuloh 2017).

After the death of K. H. Choer Affandi in 1994, Miftahul Huda pesantren was led by K. H. Asep A. Maoshul, who was also a member of the House of Representatives from the PPP Faction in 2014-2019. The deputy was K. H. Abdul Azis Affandy, who was also a former member of the Syuro Council of PKB of West Java Province. One of K. H. Choer's grandsons, from the eldest daughter, Uu Ruzhanul Ulum, was elected Tasikmalaya Regent for the periods of 2011-2015 and 2016-2020. K.

H. Asep Maoshul and K. H. Azis Affandi were famous for being *kiais* or *ajengans* who often wore *bendos* (head cloth), and thus known as members of the nine *bendo*-wearing *ajengans*. According to him, the group was formed after the Tasikmalaya riot in 1996. This group received public sympathy after playing its role as a critic of the New Order after the riots. Following the 1998 political reforms, the group gained a strategic place in the religious and political public spheres in Tasikmalaya. Some members of this group were actively involved in Islamic political parties and radical Islamic organizations and formed tactical forums such as GAM (Anti-Vice Movement), TSM (Tasikmalaya Solidarity of Muslims), FSPP (Pesantren Friendship Forum), etc. Although the *kiai* forum is informal, the members are Manonjaya alumni, and the formation of the group was aimed at coordinating the efforts of *dawah* to influence the religious and political public spaces in Tasikmalaya. One result is the realization of the Regional Regulation on Islamic Societal Values in Tasikmalaya City, whose contents recommend certain ethics in behavior and religion in Tasikmalaya. The idea of Tasikmalaya as a religious *santri* city is often used by communities affiliated with this group to legitimize acts of violence. Another informer mentioned that the formation of this group was supported by the Regent of Tasikmalaya at that time, Tatang Farhanul Hakim, who was also Chairman of PPP of Tasikmalaya Regency (Mudzakir 2008:19).

One of K. H. Choer Affandi's grandsons, *Kiai Dodo Ali Murtafdo*, son of K. H. Abdul Azis Affandi, in an interview admitted that *Mifatahul Huda pesantren* in Manonjaya is often linked by the community as having been involved with DI/TII (interview on 15 August 2017). According to him, in the past there was indeed a relationship as K. H. Choer Affandi became one of the leaders of DI/TII, as the DI Regent of Ciamis, and had a close relationship with Imam Kartosoewirjo (Saepuloh 2017). He only surrendered in 1962 after Imam Kartosoewirjo was captured by TNI through the Pagar Betis Operation. According to the story of K. H. Choer Affandi told to K. H. Dodo, DI was the result of *ijtihad* because in 1949 West Java was not included in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, but included in the Dutch territory. Therefore, DI was founded not to rebel against the Republic of Indonesia but to resist Dutch colonialization, after TNI left West Java in the long march to Central Java and Yogyakarta. According to him, DI/TII was an effort to defend NKRI, which at that time was not present in West Java. If DI's first mission was anti-colonialism, the second was anti-communism. The East Priangan area,

especially in areas bordering the Bandung-Yogyakarta railway line, was a poor and marginalized area, so that many people sympathized with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). One of DI's missions at that time was to block the communist teachings and movement in East Priangan, which were endangering the pesantrens in this area.

During the New Order, all alumni and leaders of Miftahul Huda pesantren followed Kiai Choer Affandi's mandate to not engage in politics, and only studied religion in his pesantren. The mandate was intended to protect the kiai and their families and the santri. In the 1970s, when a kiai walked through the town square to go to the market, when there was a rally of the United Development Party (PPP), the kiai would be summoned to the local military office (Koramil). According to Saepuloh (2012), after his surrender, K. H. Choer Affandi refused to join the remnants of the DI/TII movement. Several times Danu Muhammad Hasan, one of the DI elites, tried to contact him to discuss DI development, but Choer Affandi did not respond. He then transformed his movement from physical struggle into a struggle in education, dawah, and sociocultural issues.

Following the 1998 political reform, some alumni and leaders of Manonjaya pesantren were involved in politics at the regency, provincial or national levels. The different situation in 1998, after the political reform, allowed students and alumni of Miftahul Huda to engage in politics. The ulema cannot be separated from politics, because there are four functions of ulema i.e. as *mualim* (religious scholar), maintaining religious practices; as *mudzib* (carrier), training santri to practice Islamic teachings; *murobi* (teacher), taking care of muslims, and *mujahid* (fighter), fighting for religion. He concluded that the more Islamic one is, the more a person would love Indonesia as a nation state.

In 1999, Kiai Asep Maoushul, Chairman of Miftahul Huda pesantren, along with his friends, such as Ajengan Zenzen from Al-Irsyadiyah, and Ajengan Mubin Manonjaya, established santri paramilitary group, with the name of Tholiban Brigade, to fight against immorality in Tasikmalaya (Aripudin 2013). This group was involved in attacks against a number of places known to be engaged in prostitution, gambling and sale of alcoholic drinks. This resulted in Miftahul Huda pesantren being categorized as a conservative Islamic group.

Regarding the relationship between Islam and Pancasila, Kiai Dodo argues that Islam is somehow analogous to "raw foodstuffs" and not a "cooked meal". As Islam has a nature of being a universal grace (*rahmatan*

lil alamin), it can be perceived by diverse groups of humanity. The religion of Islam, born in Arab, is not a patented menu that applies only to Arabs. Therefore, it must be adapted to the Indonesian people in the form of Pancasila. Thus, Pancasila is the “cooked meal” version of Islam for Indonesians. The most fundamental thing of Islam is not its identity and its symbols but the unity of God, and tasawwuf. Those wearing Arabic Islamic symbols such as robes and turbans, are wearing Islamic culture. Those who do not prefer to wear them, and choose to wear caps and sarongs, are still called muslims. Therefore, Islamic cultures may be different, but the Islamic identity must be the same, i.e. recognizing unity of God, and tasawwuf. According to him, Pancasila, is a “dish” blended with Islamic “spices” to match the cultural conditions of the Indonesian society. While the seven words in the first precept, “The obligation to practice Islam for its followers,” had been removed from the Jakarta Charter, it does not diminish the value of Pancasila as essentially Islamic. In other words, even though the wording is removed, the substance remains to be executed, namely implementing Islamic law according to the cultural conditions of the Indonesian society within the framework of Pancasila.

Islam and Pancasila should not be contrasted, as well as Islam and nationalists, because they are like different fingers in the same hand called Pancasila. Kiai Dodo mentions that the muslims who participated in the “212” rallies should not all be regarded as not nationalist. To judge a person in the movement, whether they are nationalist or not, depends on their political intentions. When they go to the rally with the good intentions as an ideological movement, to pray for the good of the country, then they are called nationalist. Whereas if they join the movement based on mere political intents, they might not be nationalist. According to Kiai Dodo, the spirit of 212 is a love of NKRI and should not be accused as being anti-diversity and anti-Pancasila. Indonesia today is an ideological battleground. It is like an empty glass, into which certain groups intend to pour their respective ideologies. Whoever controls finances or capital will succeed in imposing their group’s ideology. This is what muslims are fighting against, because they have contributed to the establishment of the Indonesian state.

Kiai Azis Affandi, telling the history of Miftahul Huda pesantren, expressed his attitude regarding Darul Islam as follows (interview with K. H. Azis Affandi, Deputy Head of Miftahul Huda Pesantren, Manonjaya, 15 August 2017):

“I am proud to be a son of DI. I am a son of DI, but I am a nationalist. According to my Father, K. H. Choer Affandi, DI arose due to Kartosoewirjo’s dissatisfaction with the Renville agreement. At that time, there was the second Dutch military aggression, Siliwangi troops marched off to Yogya; the people became the guardian of NKRI. Then came the new issue of PKI, they were against Pancasila because they did not believe in God. At that time Bung Karno spoke, rather than dissolving PKI, I would have chased the brothers who joined DI/TII. So I am a true supporter of NKRI, I believe in diversity and I am a Pancasila supporter. My father was not someone who unknowingly joined DI/TII but a thinking person, at that time many kiais were targeted by the PKI.”

“People who advocate sharia are supporters of Pancasila because sharia is part of Pancasila. In Pancasila it is called Belief in the One Supreme God. “

One of the *ajengan bendo* that can be interviewed in this research is K. H. Asep Ahmad Maoshul, head of Miftahul Huda pesantren, Manonjaya. He is the third child of K.H. Choer Affandi (*uwa ajengan*) and Oyot Sofiah (*uwa istri*), born on 14 February 1959 in Tasikmalaya. He studied at Karangnunggal Pesantren in Tasikmalaya, then moved to Bantargebang in Ciamis and then Somalangu in Kebumen, the place of Kiai Abdulrachman, who had been involved in the Islamic Army (AOI). He claimed that the *ajengan bendo* is a forum of friendship formed after the Tasikmalaya riots in 1996. The first mission of the kiai bendo was to restore the situation in Tasikmalaya after the inter-ethnic riots of 1996. In addition, to enforce Islamic law through (i) advocating high school students in Tasikmalaya regency to wearing the *hijab* compulsorily, (ii) requiring that in high school admission, a junior high school graduate student must have a *madrasah diniyah* (elementary islamic school) education as well. In addition, activities were held on Saturdays, attended by kiais, businessmen, government officials, TNI/Polri, and community members (interview with K. H. Asep Maoshul, member of United Development Party faction of DPR RI and head of Miftahul Huda pesantren, Manonjaya, 18 August 2017). One of the students at Manonjaya suggested that K. H. Asep Maoshul is known as the leading muslim of East Priangan because he is able to determine the situation in Tasikmalaya, whether it is peaceful or not. As a proof, civilian and

military figures from Jakarta, including President Jokowi, have visited this Pesantren for political support.

Regarding the relationship between Islam and Pancasila, Kiai Asep said that Pancasila is the product of the thinking of kiais. Only atheists and communists want to separate Islam from Pancasila because Muslims are the most prepared to exercise the values contained in Pancasila. According to Kiai Asep, Pancasila is globally a form of sharia itself. The relationship between Islam and Pancasila cannot be hierarchical, because there is no above and below between them. Both are merged in each other, Pancasila merged in Islam and Islam merged in Pancasila. In other words, Kiai suggests that we should not place them in a confrontational position. If the Koran contains *dalil naqli* (textual verses), then Pancasila can be regarded as *dalil aqli* (hermeneutic verses) that is in accordance with the Koran.

As for DI/TII, K. H. Asep said as follows, “Based on the Renville Agreement, West Java was surrendered by Indonesia to the Dutch. The NII in West Java was intended to expel the Dutch. The proclamation of DI/TII was not in Indonesia because West Java at that time was in a vacuum of power, and outside Indonesia. Groups acting on behalf of DI/TII now in West Java such as the NII group under Panji Gumilang have no relation with the past. The group that inherits the spirit of DI/TII is his family, but they no longer intend to establish an Islamic state and have no relationship with groups that claim to be the NII nowadays.

As mentioned earlier, with the election of one of K. H. Choer Effendi’s grandchildren as the deputy governor of West Java in the 2018 elections, it shows that the boundaries between Islamism and pragmatism are not very clear. On the ideological side, the religious orientation of its supporters, the network of Miftahul Huda Pesantren, the imagination of an Islamic state is still extant. However, their choice of political orientation is more pragmatic, able to cooperate with anyone despite different ideologies and political orientations.

Miftahul Huda Usmaniyah Pesantren (PMHU)

The DI alumni network in Ciamis is located in Miftahul Huda Usmaniyah pesantren (PMHU), in Cikole Village, Ciaurbeuti District, Ciamis Regency. This pesantren was founded by K. H. Abdurrachman Sadzili in the late 1970s and is now continued by one of the sons, K. H. Jalaluddin Rachman. One of K. H. Abdurrachman Sadzili’s sons in law,

K. H. Ma'sum Hasan, is a leader of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) of West Java and an elder of PHMU. The PHMU has no connection and direct relationship with Miftahul Huda pesantren in Manonjaya. They have different political strategies. The *Kabar Priangan* newspaper (2017) wrote that during the New Order era, this pesantren had close relations with the United Development Party (PPP) in Ciamis and was critical of the repressive New Order government policies. At that time, the alumni and leadership of Miftahul Huda Pesantren in Manonjaya tended not to engage in politics, while the PHMU was openly protesting the policy of the New Order government, and thus it was monitored by the government at that time. Dadang Rasyid, in a social media page, wrote as follows:

“Actually the *istiqomah* of K. H. Ma'sum Hasan is inherited from the late K. H. Abdurrahman Syadzili, the founder of Ponpes Miftahul Huda Usmaniyah. During his lifetime, *ajengan* Oman, as he was known, dared to oppose the New Order government. Under the New Order regime, K. H. Oman had a different political perspective, while most of the *ajengan* in Ciamis were affiliated with Golkar, K. H. Oman went to PPP. At that time, an *ajengan* who did not support Golkar would be highlighted. He would always be under supervision ... After the death of *ajengan* Oman, Miftahul Huda Usmaniyah remained unchanged, firmly upholding *amar maruf nahi munkar* and did not want to compromise with the government, if the government rules are considered to violate sharia. This pesantren also does not receive assistance from the regional budgets.” (*Jurnalpriangan.com* 11 January 2017)

After the 1998 reforms, some of its alumni supported the establishment of FPI in West Java, especially in Ciamis and Tasikmalaya. Even the headquarters of FPI in Ciamis is located inside the Miftahul Huda Usmaniyah girls' pesantren complex. Similarly, the heads of FPI in Ciamis Regency and in Tasikmalaya City are alumni of this pesantren. The alumni network of this pesantren, though not all of them, takes the path of upholding dawah through FPI. One popular political movement was when some of the students of PHMU went on a march to Jakarta Together with K. H. Nonop Hanapi, Head of Miftahul Huda II Pesantren of Bayasari, Jatinegara District, Ciamis, K. H. Ma'sum was the initiator of the march to Jakarta to participate in the 212 rally, demanding the court to take action against Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, Ahok,

in case of defamation of Al-Maidah verse 51. K. H. Ma'sum also led the FPI in cooperation with the police in Ciamis to raid alcohol sellers and called on Ciamis muslims to take to the streets to protest the behavior of Regent Engkon Koswara who went to karaoke with three students of Galuh University (Rosyidi 2017).

When asked about the relationship between Islam and Pancasila, K. H. Ma'sum Hasan, the caretaker of Miftahul Huda Usmaniyah Pesantren (PMHU) mentioned that the first principle of Pancasila, namely Belief in the Almighty God, refers to Allah SWT, therefore sharia is allowed and will not destroy the spirit of nationalism (interview with K. H. Ma'sum Hasan, West Java FPI leader, Ciamis, 15 August 2017). In such a system, minority religious groups will be protected by the state. Sharia, according to him, is part of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In addition, K. H. Ma'sum said that enforcing Islamic law does not mean forcing people of other religions to follow Sharia. In this case, FPI's views are supported by most santris, because FPI West Java is identical with kiais and santris. The government must translate Pancasila correctly, for example corruption and economic injustice must be prevented and overcome, because they are not in accordance with the values of Pancasila. The appropriate diversity according to him is a diversity that protects people to implement their religious laws without disturbing people of other religions. K. H. Ma'sum explains further as follows:

“Thus, enforcing Islamic law does not mean we want to establish an Islamic state. Already 75% of Sharia has been implemented by the Government in the field of worship, marriage and trade. Only 25% remains, namely stoning of adulterers, cutting off the hands of thieves and whipping of alcoholics.”

One of the santris of Kiai Ma'sum Hasan from PMHU Cikole Ciamis from 1999-2003, K. H. Ade Muhammad Yanyan, is the head of FPI in Tasikmalaya City. In addition, he has also studied in Miftahul Huda III Pesantren in Cibeureum, Tasikmalaya, which is affiliated to Miftahul Huda Pesantren in Manonjaya. Currently, he leads Miftahul Huda Pesantrenin Babakan Sampe, Mangkubumi District, Tasikmalaya City, with a total number of 50 students. Kiai Ade as well as Kiai Ma'sum Hasan have similar character as Habib Riziek Shihab, the FPI leader, with strong opinions and seeking to convince their audiences with critical views. In addition, Kiai Ade is known to have a fairly close relationship

with the Office of National Unity and Political Affairs of Tasikmalaya City, even some people say that he works for the intelligence officers in Tasikmalaya City.

As with the other conservative kiais in the East Priangan area, Kiai Ade has a view of the DI that is similar to that of the kyais in Manonjaya (interview with Kiai Ade M. Yanyan, FPI Tasikmalaya City, Tasikmalaya, 16 August 2017). According to him, the Islamic scholars who were active in DI argued that DI was the guardian of the existence of NKRI in West Java, which had been abandoned by Siliwangi Division. Indonesia had declared its independence, but at the time of the second Dutch military aggression in 1948, the Siliwangi Division was moved to Central Java. Therefore, the troops of Hizbullah and Sabilillah were the only pro-Indonesian forces that existed and fought against the Dutch. The DI proclamation was declared by Imam Kartosoewirjo on 7 August 1949, when there was a vacuum of power in West Java. According to him, DI/TII was formed in Dutch territory rather than in NKRI territory in 1949. After Imam Kartosowirjo was captured in 1961, DI activists were like chicks losing their mother hen, and formed small, non-related groups in the form of regional commands. One example is the Regional Command IX, which now becomes the Al-Zaitun Pesantren.

Kiai Ade M. Yanyan participated in a series of FPI demonstrations in Jakarta from 4 November 2016 to trial of Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in 2017. As an alumnus of the 212 rallies, he argued that the target of the rally in defense of Islam was law enforcement, and that there was no political element. According to him, defending Islam is not an act of treachery and in opposition of diversity, in the sense that it was not intended to weaken the position of a particular religious or ethnic minority. The aim of the action was to uphold the law so that all people have the same position before the law. After Governor Basuki was sentenced, Habib Riziek ordered the GNPf to reconcile with the government, so some of its leaders, including K. H. Makruf Amin and Bachtiar Nasir met with President Jokowi. The FPI and muslims did not have an agenda of rebellion, however, the phenomenon that occurs today, according to Kiai Ade, is criminalization of clerics by elements of the police.

While responding to the view of Habib Riziek Shihab that the holy verses are positioned above constitutional verses in the 212 rally in Monas, he believes that the value of Belief in God Almighty should be placed in the highest position. Thus, the practices of life of state and society in

Indonesia should not run counter to the values of Belief in God Almighty. Ade Yanyan exemplifies the rules concerning sale of alcohol, Presidential Decree No. 3 of 1997. The decree is in opposition to the rules of Islam that prohibits consumption of alcohol by Muslims. During the administration of SBY, the decree was revoked by the Minister of Home Affairs at the urging of Muslims, but later President SBY issued a presidential regulation that is more or less similar, regulating the distribution of alcoholic beverages.

According to Kiai Ade, based on his experience in FPI West Java, the concept of a sharia-compliant Indonesia is an Indonesia free of immorality, heresy, liberalism, and communism. According to him, in Indonesia, there is a systematic effort in the mass media to silence the Islamic movements by supporting the efforts of criminalizing ulemas and stigmatizing the 212 action as treasonous and anti-diversity. This informant analogized the current condition of the Islamic movement activists with the TV movie "Inverted World", namely that the rulers create a narration of the Islamic movement as a group supporting rebellion. When asked why the PKI is targeted by the Islamic movement campaign, he responded that although the PKI had been dissolved through TAP MPRS no. 25 of 1966, there is no guarantee that the teachings have disappeared. According to him, the PKI still exists underground and there is a fear that they regard religion as an opiate for the people. The indications of the rise of the communist movement in Indonesia include the following five: the stopping of the screening of the G 30 S/PKI film on television, the abolition of the G 30 S/PKI history from national history books, the abolition of Litsus [background examination] for civil servants, and the demands from former PKI that the state apologize for the 1965 incident.

In connection with the relationship between Islam and Pancasila, he says that someone who practices Islam properly is a nationalist. However, not all of those who practice Islam properly are nationalists. According to him, the junction between a Muslim and a nationalist is his commitment and support to the state's sovereignty in politics, economy and culture. Indonesian nationalism that exists at this time, according to him, is lipstick nationalism, or only existing on the surface. When state assets and wealth are controlled by private companies both national and foreign, nationalism is meaningless. When a scholar speaks of social injustice, they are easily accused of hate speech. On the other hand, when Victor Laiskodat talked about killing groups that support the *khilafah*, he was not censured for hate speech. According to him Islam and Pancasila must

not be contrasted, but a meeting point needs to be sought. Pancasila should be preserved by Muslims and otherwise Islamic traditions should be preserved in Pancasila. Pancasila must be seen as part of the teachings of Islam and Islam should be given place in Pancasila.

The shift from the idea of the Islamic State of Indonesia to a sharia-compliant Indonesia or the implementation of sharia as part of Pancasila seems to be one of the markers of the conservative after 2 December 2016. However, the idea is not new since it has been publicly expressed by several leaders of Islamic organizations. In 2012, the imam of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Habib Rizieq Shihab (HRS) wrote a thesis at Universiti Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, titled “The Effect of Pancasila on the Implementation of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia”. The thesis is then published as “The National Insight to the Sharia-compliant Republic of Indonesia.” In the book HRS states that Pancasila, which is the basis of the state, is Islamic, as well as the 1945 Constitution. In a talk show about the book in 2013, he said that the essence of NKRI is an Islamic state, without having to change the basis of the state, because Sharia can be fully enforced in a pluralistic Indonesia.

The Cisayong Islamic Movement Groups

The network of Islamic movement cells is located in Cisayong District. According to Jani Noor, the Islamist movement in Cisayong is difficult to identify because it is a collection of closed and exclusive cells (interview with Jani Noor, *Kabar Priangan*, Tasikmalaya, 14 August 2017). They are active in educational and training activities, whose contents correspond to the ideal of establishing an Islamic state. The existence of active cells in Cisayong is justified by the Chairman of Miftahul Huda Pesantren in Manonjaya, Asep Maoshul, that some of them are affiliated with a new NII that is different from the DI/TII movement and some of them are ‘red’ groups (interview with K. H. Asep Maoshul, 18 August 2017). These groups have no connection with the Miftahul Huda Pesantren, and even have different movement strategies, i.e. not participating in local politics and choosing to move underground.

In addition to these three networks, there are also other activists who support the idea of an Islamic state, such as Popenus Rusfendi, a member of DPC PPP Tasikmalaya who lives in Kawalu. When he was a member of the Tasikmalaya Regency House of Regional Representatives, he once made a suggestion to use the name of S. M. Kartosowirjo as a street name

in Tasikmalaya. However, his opinion was rejected in the plenary session of the DPRD (interview with Jani Noor, *Kabar Priangan*, Tasikmalaya, 14 August 2017).

CONCLUSION

Based on the information presented above, it can be seen that the East Priangan region, especially Tasikmalaya and Ciamis, which used to be the base area of NII in the past, inherited the dynamic situation of the religious public sphere. Various literature studies and interviews on a number of pesantren figures show a shift and a change of orientation in the politics of Islamic communities. If in the past some of them supported the ideals of the establishment of an Islamic state as proclaimed by Kartosuwirjo, in the present, the orientation is shifting into a sharia-compliant Indonesia. The Sharia in this context is understood differently by the actors in the religious public sphere. The strategy to realize it also varies. For some pesantrens associated with NII in the past, such as Miftahul Huda Manonjaya, Islamic Shari'a is realized through the control of local political institutions such as regents, mayors and the parliament. But for more conservative groups, such as the Islamic Defenders Front, the idea is manifested through concrete action, if necessary using physical violence to create amar mahruf nahi mungkar. FPI in Ciamis and Tasikmalaya is rooted from alumni of Miftahul Huda Usmaniyah pesantren in Cikole, Ciamis Regency. This article also identifies the existence of active NII cells in Tasikmalaya Regency, but due to its very closed and exclusive nature, insufficient information is available.

This article also shows that in religious circles, it is generally agreed that Islamic Sharia is part of Pancasila and is not contradictory to one another, even. They believe that a good muslim is also a nationalist Indonesian citizen. In this case it is agreed that the fact that Pancasila is the foundation of the state is already final. However, those who adhere to a political Islam orientation hold that Pancasila is an empty glass, which can be filled by any ideology. Therefore, they are trying to struggle to fill Pancasila with Islamic values. This group does not agree that Pancasila is placed higher than Islam or Islam higher than Pancasila, but are one. Meanwhile, the concept of Sharia that adheres to the Indonesian state, according to the FPI is an Indonesia free from immorality, liberalism, capitalism, communism, and heresy. The moderate religious groups see that sharia is better applied in the fields of economics, education,

and other aspects of life. They support the Tasikmalaya City bylaw that regulates the way women dress according to the sharia, and support that vision of Tasikmalaya Regency as the religious regency of East Priangan.

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