
Radicalism of Islamic Politics: Metamorphosis of DI/TII (Darul Islam/Indonesia Islamic Army) in Olan Hamlet, Garut?

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Abstract

Radicalism of Islamic politics in Indonesia has been characterized with violence. In the context of DI/TII (Darul Islam/Indonesia Islamic Army), Islamic politics refers to the rebel movements against the Indonesian government in view of both political disappointment and radical religious understanding. This study aims to analyze the adaptation of DI/TII in Islamic education in Olan Hamlet, Garut as the basis of the DI/TII movement. It used a qualitative method based upon primary data obtained from interviews with the Head of Islamic Boarding School Nurul Falah in Olan Hamlet, Garut, community figures, religious figures nearby and government. This study found that the radical Islamic political movement of DI/TII did not undergo any metamorphosis to the Islamic education movements through the Madrasah and Islamic boarding school of Nurul Falah in Olan Hamlet, Garut. In fact, the Islamic boarding school and Madrasah have had some efforts to campaign for moderate religious understanding through the programs and curricula. Hence, there are no worries of government about the emergence of the radical movements in Olan Hamlet. The religious figures, however, still suspect the metamorphosis of DI/TII in this hamlet.

Introduction

The relationship between religion and politics in Indonesia has led to radical political movements. The religious understanding that requires Islam to be the main political locomotive in a country has triggered the emergence of armed rebellion movements. DI/TII (Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army) (Andrea Hynan Poeloengan, n.d.; Andrée Jeanne Feillard, 1991; C. Van Dijk, 1981) is a radical Islamic political movement in Indonesia, which is fought through rebellion. It is not merely Islamic politics with the nuance of a rebellious movement, a number of rebellious movements have also emerged from religious, political and ethnic struggles, such as PRRI (the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) (Kevin William Fogg, 2012), RMS (the Republic of South Maluku), GAM (the Free Aceh Movement) (Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, 1985; Robert Shaw, 2008), and OPM (the Free Papua Organization). (Tristan James Mabry, n.d., p. 163)

However, for Indonesia, the religious rebellions still become a serious challenge, as seen from the reincarnation or metamorphosis of the DI/TII movements in a number of areas (Karl D. Jacson, 1980, pp. 10–11) in which they still exist and are operating in a variety of forms. (Zachary Abuza, n.d.,

p. 62) Though having been successfully crushed during the reign of Soekarno once Kartosoewiryo was sentenced to death in 1952 (S. Soebardi, 1983), DI/TII still exists in a number of regions. Metamorphosis becomes their way to show their existence as an Islamic movement.

Islamic education in the form of Islamic boarding schools/Madrasah becomes the basis for the ideological struggle of DI/TII as an effective way to prevent any suspicion from the government. DI/TII then has camouflaged themselves in formulating the movement's agenda. Madrasah refers to a place for DI/TII to build their movement agendas. They have never established any Islamic mass organizations considering that it would be easily detected by the government. This strategic choice has been made to maintain the ideology and struggle of DI/TII. (Umar Abduh, n.d.) This study focuses on the infiltration of DI/TII in Olan Hamlet, Garut as the basis of the DI/TII movements.

Method

This qualitative research used a case study approach at Madrasah Nurul Falah in Olan Hamlet, Cigedug Garut. This Madrasah was selected by considering that it has been founded by DI/TII activists. This research used a political-history approach, describing the evolution and originality of politics by presenting a number of political thoughts and movements in the past (Bueno, Ph.D, n.d.) and by comparing them with the recent thoughts of political movements. With this political history approach, this research focuses on the evolution and originality of the DI/TII movements in Garut which was implemented in the education environment of Madrasah. This study also used a sociological approach to explain the relationship of community functions. Functional approach aims to observe the society as an integrated system that maintains the balance and social equilibrium where people interact to influence or be influenced. (*SOC 100 - Three Views of Society*, n.d.) Through this approach, this research focuses on the continuity and change of the DI/TII movement in Garut.

The primary source of this research refers to the results of interviews with the education practitioners of Madrasah, such as the Head of Madrasah, foundation administrators, and the community nearby in which it was conducted using an in-dept interview technique. Another primary source refers to the results of field observations in relation to the patterns of social and religious life conducted by means of observation technique. Other sources (secondary sources), meanwhile, were obtained through official documents at Madrasah of Nurul Falah, Olan Hamlet, Garut.

The analysis step began by categorizing the data obtained, and by describing the categorized data to be further correlated and compared with other data systematically and comprehensively. This study used historical-sociological analysis, specifically to explain the historical relationship between DI/TII and the behavior of madrasa education practitioners in Cipari hamlet, Wanareja hamlet, and Olan Hamlet, Cigedug, Garut.

Demographics, Social and Politics of Olan Village

Barusuda village have no legends or Sasakala (folklore) to be narrated to the next generation because it was founded not because of its past history, but it is only the expansion of Cigedug village. In its history, in 1971, Cigedug was one of the villages in Bayongbong District. Initiated from the community's aspiration to obtain the effective and efficient government services, a Village Expansion Committee was formed in 1981. In 1982, there was an expansion into Cigedug District, which consisted of two villages: Barusuda Village and Sindang Sari Village. Barusuda Village officially became a village in accordance with Regional Regulation Number 15 of 1974 on Village Formation.

Demographically, Barusuda Village has administrative boundaries with Cigedug Village, Mount Cikuray, Giriawas Village, Cikajang District, and Mekarsari Village, Cikajang District. This village

consists of three hamlets with 11 hamlet level associations (locally known as RW) and 45 neighborhood associations (locally known as RT). Barusuda Village comprises 14 hamlets, including Olan, Pasir Tengah, Barusuda, Barusuda Kulon, Sayuran, Cikuray, Arang Kolot, Cibitung, Cisurian, Pasir Urip, Babakan Salam, Babakan Falah, Ciroyom, Buka Tanah, and Tanggung Renteng.

Topographically, Barusuda Village is a village situated on the eastern slope of Mount Cikuray with an altitude of about 1700 above sea level. The area of Barusuda Village is mostly the mountain slope with a slope of 30-45 degrees to the west bounded by Cikutay River, which is also the boundary with Cikajang sub-district and to the south is bordered by Ciparay River and the boundary with Giriwaras Village, Cikajang District.

In general, the areas in Barusuda Village have been productively used; it is just little to be left unused. This shows that this village area has the adequate natural resources that are ready to be processed. The land area is 441,367 hectares of fields, 7,873 hectares of plantations, 16.7 hectares of yards, 1,110 hectares of offices, 11,950 hectares of public infrastructure, 131 hectares of state forest, and others.

Demographically, the population of Barusuda Village reaches 9336 people (with 2606 families). The main sources of income for the population come from agriculture, fishery, plantation, mining, quarrying, tofu manufacturing industry, wholesale/retail trade and restaurants, motorcycle taxi drivers, transport services/porters, traditional birth attendants, civil servants, teachers and general public, honorary teachers, military, retired military, retired Civil Servant/State Owned Enterprises (BUMN), private employees, farm labourers, police, migrant workers, politicians, midwives/nurses, ustadz, students, tailors, convection, snack craftsmen, chairs craftsmen, car rentals, welding workshops, tire repair shops, mini gas stations, and carpentry. Most of the population in this village are agricultural laborers (1716 people). The significant percentage of the occupation people in Barusuda Village as the farm laborers is directly proportional to their educational background dominated by the graduates of primary school/Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (3991 people) and the graduates of Middle School/Madrasah Sanawiah graduates (1589 people).

Immigrants and The Actors of Madrasa in “Dutch Village”

Madrasah of Nurul Falah is situated in Olan Hamlet, Barusuda, Cigedug, Garut. Different from other madrasah in general, Nurul Falah was built on a hilltop, precisely on the hills of Mount Cikuray, the highest mountain in Garut. Being located on the hills, Olan Hamlet has a very beautiful scenery, which is surrounded by vegetable gardens, such as cabbage, potatoes, carrots and tomatoes. Tea plantation has also adorned the fresh natural scenery in this hamlet. In past, Olan Hamlet was an empty area only surrounded by forests and tea plantations and no people lived in this village. Historically, there was a Dutch house near Olan Hamlet, which was surrounded by tea plantations like a Dutch house on a hill. The Dutch people love the beautiful scenery with the tea plantations surrounding it. But today, there are no more tea plantations as found in the Dutch era; it is now only a small land for the tea gardens. When walking along the road to the Madrasah, people can find more *Palawija* (second crops) farming.

The residents of Olan Hamlet are the immigrants from the area around Garut and Tasikmalaya. When Mount Galunggung erupted, only a few heads of families remained to stay as they worked in plantation and some worked as the cattle breeders. Unfortunately, they were not the owner of the plantation but laborers on the tea and crops (Palawija). Their economic level is not as good as the people living in Garut; they live in poverty though they are still able to survive by relying on the crops they cultivate everyday.

As most of the residents of Olan Hamlet are the agricultural and plantation workers, they mostly are unable to send their children to the college. It is only for teachers that can have college education. Considering their income only relying on as the labors in crop agriculture and tea plantation, they then feel that it has been enough for their children to study at the level of high school/Madrasah Aliyah.

Sundanese customs are still embedded in the life of people in Olan Hamlet. Similar with other traditional societies, they are living in a mutual life. This is in line with the religious understanding of the people who adhere to religious sect of *Syafiiyah* that is in line with the religious amaliyah of Islamic boarding school adhering to *Syafi'iyah fiqh*, such as *amalaiyah qunut*, jahr after prayer, though the community conceptually does not understand about *fiqhiiyah*. The diversity of religious understanding among communities is in line with the diversity of Islamic mass organizations the community follows. It is not surprising that people are affiliated with NU, Persis, and Muhammadiyah. (Ijang Saefudin, personal communication, May 4, 2017)

Politically, people have various political affiliations in which there is no continual domination of single political party. In the 2014 election, PAN (National Mandate Party) and Golkar (Party of Functional Groups) won in Olan Hamlet though during the New Order era, PPP (United Development Party) dominated in this hamlet. The current situation is not similar with the one in New Order era; people today are not directed to vote for one party. Similarly, community figures in this hamlet do not direct the community to vote for a particular party though the Kiai usually vote for an Islamic-based political party. (Ijang Saefudin, personal communication, May 4, 2017)

At the beginning, the religious education level of people in Olan Hamlet was low, but with the development of religious education, such as Islamic boarding school and madrasah, their religious education level is now growing. The existence of the educational institution Nurul Falah has led the society to be apart from ignorance. Surprisingly, though they adhere to Syafi'iyah fiqh, their political affiliation is to PAN (The National Mandate Party). In other words, even though their amaliyah of worship adheres to Syafi'iyah, their political affiliation can be different. Even, children and parents might have different understandings of fiqh. The caretaker of Nurul Falah is an administrator of NU at district level – different from his son who is active in Muhammadiyah. *"If religious tolerance is possible, it is also possible for the tolerance between Mazhab/sects."*

Being situated on a hilly area becomes a challenge for Islamic education practitioners as most of people are not interested in establishing an Islamic education in an empty and hilly area without many residents. This is also worsened with the low education level of community due to unfavorable economic condition. This is what has made Anshari Yusuf, Raden Amin and Raden Eman coming from South Garut to establish an Islamic educational institution. Here, it is only Raden Amin as the native of Barusudan Village, while other founders are the migrants. (Ijang Saefudin, personal communication, May 4, 2017)

The initial step taken by these three people was to build a Mushalla together with the officers of KUA at the district level. Then, they changed the Mushalla into a bigger mosque for the need of Friday prayers. Considering that the children in Olan Hamlet at that time did not have a space for education, a Madrasah Diniyah was then established as the forerunner of Islamic boarding school, which was independently funded by the community. After establishing the Islamic boarding school, many students arrived, particularly from Olan Hamlet surrounding.

Along with the development of Islamic education in Indonesia promoting the formal education, an Madrasah Ibtidaiyah/MI (equivalent with elementary school level) was founded in 1996 considering the absence of elementary education in Olan Hamlet. Even though MI did not have a building,

education activities were then conducted at home and the examination was based on MI At-Taqwa. As the time goes by, Education Office of Garut District has provided 3 classes originating from the Special Allocation Fund (DAK). In the next stage, MTs was established in 2004. All was aimed at providing a formal religious education for children.

Madrasah Aliyah Nurul Falah is under the Ikhwatul Hasanah Nurul Falah Foundation located in Olan Hamlet (RT/RW: 01/05), Barusuda Village, Cigedug, Garut with waqf status covering an area of 1152 m². The area of this madrasah is included in the geographical category of mountains and special area (underdeveloped/remote area).

At Madrasah Nurul Falah, there are no religious organizations, such as IPNU or IRM. Also, the students do not know about Ikhwan Muslimun; they only follow Scout activities. The madrasah even does not have PMR (Youth Red Cross activities), Youth Scientific Work, Marching Bands, and Flag Raising Troops. Any other extracurricular sports, such as football, badminton, basketball, martial arts and chess are not provided as well. In contrast to students, the teachers of Madrasa Nurul Falah may involve in Islamic organizations. In this case, the foundation does not give any restriction for the teachers' activities. It is then not wondering if there are a number of teachers affiliated with NU or Muhammadiyah.

In essence, the establishment of a madrasah in Olan Hamlet is to complement the development of Islamic boarding school and *Taklim Assemblies* in Barusuda Village. In addition to Nurul Falah (in Olan Hamlet), Barusuda Village has Darul Amin Islamic Boarding School (Barusuda Village), Miftahul Falah Islamic Boarding School (Awi Hideung), Babussalam Islamic Boarding School (Sayuran Village). These four Islamic educational institutions have provided an access to Islamic education for the community. However, as told by the Village Secretary Ijang Saefudin, Nurul Falah madrasah is not found inactive in any village religious activities, different from other madrasahs/Islamic boarding schools around the village.

The presence of Islamic boarding school has become a solution for the people in Olan Hamlet since the students at Nurul Falah are the local residents. PAUD, MI, MTs, and MA of Nurul Falah have provided great benefits to the community surrounding, even though the educational level of the community is still at the level of Madrasah Aliyah, since there are not many graduates coming from this village - except for the teachers at Nurul Falah. Hence, it then becomes the aspiration of the founders to establish a higher institution in Olan Hamlet to increase the educational level of community.

Madrasahs and the Connection of Darul Islam

The Madrasah Nurul Falah in Olan Hamlet is the one under the DI/TII movement, particularly for the basis of DI/TII in the southern area of Garut. Historically, an Islamic boarding school has long been established in Sayuran village that had ever been the basis of Islamic education for DI/TII. However, Awi Hideung Islamic Boarding School today no longer has any connection with the DI/TII movement. In this socio-historical setting, Madrasah Nurul Falah has two strong potentials, i.e. the connection with the DI/TII movement through infiltration or a change in the form of the struggle of Indonesian Islamic State in the form of Islamic education or a disconnection with the DI/TII movement through a change in the orientation of the Islamic struggle, which no longer fights for the Islamic State of Indonesia.

Olan Hamlet is a remote area located in a mountainous area; hence, there is no Islamic educational institution in such location. The presence of the Madrasah of Nurul Falah in this village is intended to serve the high demand of the community to study religion. At the beginning, the madrasah and Islamic boarding school in Olan Hamlet have been oriented to provide Islamic education services both formal and non-formal, to increase the community capacity in terms of Islamic education. For this

reason, as explained by the founder and head of the Madrasah, most of the students studying at this madrasah are those coming from Olan Hamlet nearby.

However, from the documents of students studying at Madrasah of Nurul Falah, it can be found that there are not so many students coming from Olan Hamlet. Practically, there are only 22 of 179 students. The rest are those coming outside Olan Hamlet, such as Situgede Hamlet Karamatwangi Village, Cintaraya Hamlet Rt. 02 Rw. 08 Tanjungjaya Village, Cikadu Hamlet, Pasir Tengah Hamlet, Barukai hamlet, Cihuru hamlet, Balariuk hamlet, Paledang hamlet, Bencoy hamlet, Cipray hamlet, and Patrol hamlet. The orientation of education to serve the education for the local residents has not been proven then as most of students come from outside Olan Hamlet. This is possible because there are not many students from the local area who are of Madrasah Aliyah educational age or probably students in Olan hamlet prefer to go to madrasahs located in other areas.

Teaching at the Islamic Boarding School Nurul Falah, similar with the NU Islamic boarding schools, uses yellow books, such as the books of *Safinat al-Najah*, *Jurumiyah*, and *Sullam Taufiq*. Meanwhile, its curriculum from MI to MA level uses the curriculum from Ministry of Religion. This is also affirmed by the Ministry of Religion in Garut Regency that the Madrasah Nurul Falah uses Curriculum 13. (Muhtarom, personal communication, May 3, 2017) Even, they showed that the madrasah Nurul Falah is committed to counteract any DI movements. Say, in the subject of SKI, students are directed to deepen their knowledge to prevent any rebellions like what DI/TII did. The subjects, in fact, are oriented to morals, knowledge and good deeds.

In the view of KH. Yusuf Anshori, in relation to the development of DI in Garut, what needs to be done is to build morale, socialization and adaptation to public. He stated: "There is no need to carry out *jihad* using arms since today *jihad* refers to the understanding and awareness of people to be educated or learn as we state that the biggest enemy is the ignorance." *Stupidity can make us unable to be a master in our own house, not to be a maid*". (Yusuf Anshori, personal communication, May 3, 2017)

In the context of madrasah, which is under DI/TII, the founder of the madrasah Nurul Falah has been called upon to present an Islamic educational institution to prevent any forms of radicalism. What is to be done is to prevent radicalism through understanding and teaching the book. Also, he stated: "We select the books in teaching and we record the background of parents of the students, their organizations, for example, in order to prevent any forms of radicalism." (*Interview with the Head of Nurul Falah in Garut*, personal communication, May 3, 2017)

At the formal education level, similar with other madrasah; MI, MTs, and MA of Nurul Falah use the curriculum of Ministry of Religion. This choice does not deviate from government regulations considering that it becomes the obligation of every madrasah to use the Ministry of Religion curriculum. With this curriculum, DI/TII understanding can be prevented. Unfortunately, the students of madrasah have no idea about DI/TII; hence. it seems to be impossible for students to be radicalized in madrasah, but they are educated with religious understanding based upon the concepts of Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. However, there is no special efforts from MI, MTs and MA Nurul Falah to prevent DI/TII. It is only to build cooperation with TNI (Indonesia Army Force) to defense the Country (2016) aims to prevent DI/TII. The madrasa only selects if there are the candidates of students as the DI/TII descent by providing an understanding. However, many parties still believe that the madrasah of Nurul Falah has a connection with DI/TII. (Sirojul Munir, personal communication, April 25, 2017)

Conclusion

Olan Hamlet, Garut is one of the main bases of DI/TII in Garut as a convenient place for DI/TII troops. The presence of the Islamic boarding school and madrasah Nurul Falah in Olan Hamlet, Garut has caused a concern among the community about the re-existence of DI/TII and even

the metamorphosis of DI/TII in Islamic education. In fact, this study concluded that the Islamic boarding school and Madrasah of Nurul Falah in Olan Hamlet, Garut is not a place for DI/TII to again exist. The Islamic boarding school and Madrasah even have built a moderate religious understanding through curricula and programs oriented to the national defense and tolerance. Even though the moderation efforts have been made by the leaders of the Nurul Falah Islamic boarding school and madrasah, Olan Hamlet, Garut, the community is still worried about the metamorphosis of DI/TII into Islamic education in their hamlet.

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