

Chapter 3: The Development of the Movement

3.1 Introduction

“Religion is like a nail. The harder you hit it, the deeper it goes into the wood” (Emerson, 1981:159).

The second stage, the focus of this chapter, is the development of the Islamic resurgence movement among young people. The important feature of this period is the spread of Islamic resurgence ideas through communication and evangelism, either by persuasive individuals, or through various sorts of mass gatherings. To assist an understanding of this process, I attend to two aspects of the development: the organisations through which the movement developed, focusing on public mosques, campus Islamic preaching organisations, and Islamic movements; and the social phenomena which challenged or accelerated the development of the movement during the 1980s.

3.2 Three Channels: Campus Islamic Preaching Organisations, Public Mosques, and Underground Movements

In the early 1980s, as reported by *Panji Masyarakat*,¹ youngsters all over the country became much more familiar with mosques. This was a new phenomenon. Mosques were crowded by young people, especially during the month of Ramadan. They spent much of their time in mosques. They came to mosques not only to pray *tarawih* (an optional night prayer during Ramadan) and *subuh* (morning prayer) but also to attend religious sermons, scientific discussions (*diskusi ilmiah*), recitation of the Qur'an and to attend other activities held during the day. Such phenomena could be seen in large and small public mosques in most big cities of Indonesia. It was estimated that approximately 2,000 mosques conducted such activities. Young Muslims active in these mosques began to form mosque organisations for young people (*Ikatan Remaja Mesjid* and *Pemuda Mesjid*).

University and school mosques were different from public mosques. In terms of organisational structure, they were, directly or indirectly, attached to the universities or schools where they were located. Therefore the chiefs of the mosques could only be university staff or students, whereas in public mosques there was no such requirement. Moreover, on some campuses, religious activities were closely related to Islamic religion courses and were compulsory course components. The activities were specifically aimed at students and academic

¹ An Indonesian Islamic fortnightly magazine; 11 July 1982.

staff. Later, however, because university mosques offered various interesting activities, they were also attended by people from surrounding areas. Later these Islamic organisations within university campuses became known as *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK, Campus Islamic Preaching Organisation)*

Similar activities were also conducted by various Islamic groups known as *harakah* ('movement').² These *harakah* differed from others by conducting their activities secretly. These Islamic groups usually held their activities in their members' premises; for example, in homes, halls, and sports stadiums. Sometimes they used mosques, schools or other places, as organised by their members. Like other Islamic organisations, they held sermons (*pengajian*), small group discussions (*usrah*), short training courses and other activities. Those activities could only be attended by members who had completed certain training. Membership recruitment in these groups was achieved through personal approaches. They were also different from other Islamic organisations such as Muhammadiyah or HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, Islamic Student Association*) in a sense that they were not formally approved by the government, and they were not attached to other Islamic organisations.

In Bandung and generally in Indonesia, these three types of organisations -public mosques, campus preaching organisation and Islamic groups- played an important role as channels through which Islamic revivalism among young people developed. Representative of the first type are two of the most prominent public mosques in Bandung, ie. Istiqamah and Mujahidin mosque.³ The second type, ie. the *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK)*, is represented by three important campus mosques: Salman Mosque of ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology), Padjadjaran University (UNPAD) mosque, and Al-Furqan mosque of Bandung Teaching and Education Institute (IKIP, Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan). The third type is illustrated by *Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pesantren Kilat (LP3K, Research and Development Organisation of Islamic Education Short Course)*, which was also known as the Pesantren Kilat Movement, and Young *Darul Islam (DI Muda)*.⁴ There are other groups besides these. However, because of their exclusiveness, I was able to collect only general information about them. In the following section I describe the main types of organisations in turn, starting with university mosques, followed by public mosques and *harakah*.

² The word '*harakah*', came from Arabic *harakat al-Islamiyah*, meaning 'Islamic movement'.

³ In Bandung, there are more than a hundred large public mosques (*Masjid Jami and Masjid Raya*), which are usually used for *Jum'at* prayer. However, only a few of them are used as centres for young Islamic activists. The functioning of these two mosques, I believe, provides an understanding of the role of public mosques in the development of the Islamic revivalist movement among young people. Moreover, due to practical limitations, I focused my observation only on these mosques.

⁴ *Darul Islam* was an Indonesian Muslim rebellion movement, which aimed at establishing an Indonesian Islamic State (NII, Negara Islam Indonesia). *Dar al-Islam*, an Arabic word means Islamic house and family, and lands or territories under Islamic rule, as opposite of *Dar al-Harb*, the non-Muslim state, lands in which Islamic rules do not prevail.

3.2.1. a. Salman's Inspiration

The need for a mosque on the ITB campus emerged in 1950s, when academic staff and students who came from santri families began to feel that their campus did not provide for spiritual values, especially Islamic values. The need became much greater as the number of Muslim students with strong Islamic backgrounds increased every year. A committee was formed in 1960 to produce a mosque development plan. In 1960, Sukarno approved the plan, and he even named the proposed mosque 'Salman', the name of a Muslim technocrat in the Prophet's era. Three years later, building of the mosque commenced, and Salman Mosque was first used in 1972. In 1965 the management of the mosque was delegated to *Yayasan Pembina Mesjid Salman* (YPM Salman, Salman Mosque Development Foundation). Although this mosque is independently managed by the YPM Salman, almost all of the board are academic staff of the ITB.

The Salman Mosque is located on the north side of Bandung. It is quite different from other mosques in Bandung. The architecture of the mosque is unique, its roof being flat, without a dome. The walls on the three sides and the floor are made of wood, and this gives a shaded (*teduh*) impression. This impression is even stronger at night, the arrangement of lamps giving a soft lighting effect. There is a bright lamp only at the *mihrab* (the niche or chamber) located at the very front of the main praying room where the *imam* (leader) leads the prayers and *khatib* (preacher) gives speeches. The first floor is the main prayer room for women. Close to the mosque, there are toilets, a hall, the YPM Salman office, a student dormitory, a clinic, printing room, library, canteen, the Kharisma office, and the PAS office. Behind the mosque is Ganesa Park, which is always used for Karisma and PAS (*Pendidikan Anak-anak Salman*, Salman's Children's Education of) activities.

The popularity of Salman Mosque increased rapidly after 1974, when it was comanaged by "Sadali who is calm and Imaduddin who is furious" (Tempo, 13:5:1989). Among other things, what attracted young people to this mosque was the *Latihan Mujahid Dakwah* (LMD, Preacher Training), which was developed and engineered by Imaduddin. LMD was a type of Islamic training in which university students were trained for about seven days without contact with the outside world. During this training, students learned some basic teachings of Islam, such as the source of Islamic values, Qur'an and *Sunnah* (Tradition of the Prophet), and the Islamic faith (*Aqidah Islam*). Attracted to this kind of training, students from various universities in Bandung, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Medan and other areas, came to the Salman Mosque. When they returned to their universities, they began to develop Islamic activities in their own universities. Not surprisingly, two or three years later (1976–77) Islamic activities mushroomed on university campuses throughout Java. In IPB (Bogor Institute of Agriculture), Islamic activities developed through the Islamic

Spirituality Bureau (Badan Kerohanian Islam, *BKI*). At the University of Indonesia (UI) Jakarta, the Arief Rahman Hakim Mosque was a centre of Islamic activities. In Gajah Mada University Yogyakarta, Islamic activities also developed through *Jama'ah Shalahuddin*.⁵ Similar phenomena also spread widely in Surabaya and other cities outside Java.

In 1979, LMD was expanded and renamed Islamic Intensive Study (Studi Islam Intensif, SII). This change, according to Imaduddin,⁶ was because of government pressure, which in turn resulted in the stagnation of the LMD program. In addition, it was also an attempt to widen the program in terms of aims and time period (Aziz and Thokhah 1989:265). LMD was available only to university students. There was no opportunity for high school and junior high school students to attend such training. The birth of the SII program offered similar activities to school students. Other than training programs, Islamic activities for adolescents were held from 1976, although initially they were not well organised. Since September 1980, adolescent Islamic activities have been organised properly and given the name *Program Pembinaan Remaja* (Youth Education Program). Its activities included mentoring, *Bimbingan Test* (a preparation test before entering university), theatre, a singing group and other activities. A year later in 1981, the *Program Pembinaan Remaja* was renamed *Keluarga Remaja Islam Salman* (Salman Mosque Youth Association) or *Karisma*, the name which is still used.

One of the most important activities of *Karisma* is "mentoring", an obligatory activity for all participants. When it was first introduced, it was a unique form of Islamic education. Mentoring sessions involve groups of eight to fifteen students discussing a 'package' of Islamic subjects. The main mentoring activity is held every Sunday morning at six a.m, and lasts for two hours. It takes place inside a mosque and its surrounding areas. The session always begins with a recitation from the Qur'an and its Indonesian translation, followed by a short speech given by the mentor as an introduction to discussion. The members then discuss the planned topic. During the discussion, participants not only ask about religious matters, but also discuss personal and family problems. Most of the participants want Islamic solutions to the problems they face. During the mentoring program, a bond among the members themselves, and among members and the mentor, develops. They are encouraged to visit each other, and to get to know each other better. To achieve this, every month they hold an excursion, picnic, bush walking or some other relaxation activities.

The discussion is led by a mentor, who is also a resource person. To be a mentor, one should be a university student (not only set aside for ITB students), pass an interview and have attended mentor training. This opportunity attracted many

⁵ *Jama'ah*, an Arabic meaning group or community. *Shalahuddin* (Saladin), a Muslim leader during the Crusades.

⁶ Interview with Imaduddin 8 March 1994

students from various universities in the area of Bandung. From 1978 the number of participants and mentors increased gradually and reached a peak in 1985–86, when it was reported that there were 300 mentors (*Anggota Pembina*) from 25 universities in Bandung. Most of them (35%) were ITB students, followed by UNPAD (15%), IAIN (11%), IKIP (8%) and the remaining 25% from 20 other universities in Bandung. In the same year it was also reported that there were about 2,700 participants or ordinary members (*Anggota Biasa*). In terms of level of education, approximately 23% were university students, 57% Senior High School (SMA) students, and 20% Junior High School (SMP) students. Most university and school students involved in Karisma activities were usually involved or later became involved in Islamic activities on their campuses. In this way Islamic activities spread widely through university and school campuses throughout Bandung.

The mentoring program is divided into several groups based on age and level of education. "A" group, divided into four levels, is the first level of education for basic Islamic teachings. Included in this group are young people, fourteen years of age or junior high school students (*SMP, Sekolah Menengah Pertama*). In this group, the topics of discussion stress moral (*akhlaq*) education and basic rituals, such as prayer (*shalat*), religious alms (*zakat*), fasting (*puasa*) and pilgrimage (*haji*). Students learn about the meanings and functions of rituals, to recite prayer (*bacaan dan do'a-doa dalam shalat*) and the detailed rules for many rituals (*ibadah*). The *akhlaq* education portrays some ideal Islamic personages, for example the Prophet and his companions. Students, at this stage, learn proper Islamic behaviour toward God (Allah), people and other creatures. The aim of this stage is to lay a basic foundation for the development of Muslim personality.

Senior high school and university students complete a further six stages: I and II B, III and IV C, V D and VI E. Each stage lasts one semester, or twenty-seven weeks, and within three years a participant can complete all of them. During these stages students begin to learn Islamic teachings in more depth. The package of Islamic subjects consists of fourteen main themes, including 'Toward Understanding Islam', 'Qur'an as the Guide for Life', 'Islam and Sunnatullah (Law of Nature)', 'Sunnah' (example of the Prophet Muhammad) and 'Tjtihad',⁷ 'Tawhid', 'Muslim Personality', 'Islamic Leadership', 'Islamic Society', 'Islamic Family', 'Long Life Education', 'Man' (*Manusia*), 'Dakwah' (Islamic Preaching), and 'Trace of The Prophet'. Material on these fourteen themes is published in the form of small guide books distributed to all mentoring participants a week beforehand.

⁷ A term used in Islamic jurisprudence to designate the process of arriving at new judgments in a rule of law in a particular case by drawing conclusions from basic sources of Islam, ie. Qur'an and *hadits*, as opposed to acceptance of tradition

Besides the main activity of mentoring, participants are also involved in some “supporter” (*pendukung*) activities, usually held on days other than Sunday. One of the most important programs is the *Bimbingan Test*, a preparation course to enter top state universities.⁸ Compared to other organisations that offer similar courses, Karisma is considered superior. Its instructors are usually ITB and UNPAD students and graduates, who are regarded as superior to other students and graduates. The cost of the course is lower than similar courses offered by other organisations. Course participants are required to be members of Karisma and to attend the mentoring program. Parents often prefer their children to attend the *Bimbingan Test* in Salman rather than elsewhere because they believe that besides acquiring general knowledge, their children also learn about Islam. This course attracts many high school students from Bandung and surrounding areas. At first students are only interested in attending the *Bimbingan Test*, but through mentoring gradually they also become attracted to Islam.

Additionally, Karisma often organises other activities to coincide with the Islamic calendar, one of the most important being the fasting month *Ramadan*. A special committee, ie. *Panitia Pelaksana Program Ramadhan (P3R, Ramadan Program Organiser Committee)* is formed to plan the glorification of the Holy month with various activities. The committee offers various activities, such as *tarawih* and *subuh* sermons, distributing *zakat fithrah*, an Islamic book fair, various courses and trainings, breaking fast (*buka puasa bersama*) with the poor, panel discussions and an art appreciation night. These activities try to accommodate most age groups. These programs also aim to attract other people to come to the mosque, and in turn to become involved in Salman mosque activities or generally in Islamic activities.

As well as the Ramadhan activities there are many activities organised for different age groups. Activities for school and university students are organised by Karisma; for children from primary and secondary schools, Islamic education activities are organised by *PAS (Pembinaan Anak-anak Salman, Salman Children's Education)*; Islamic activities among women (*ibu-ibu*) are included in *KKR (Kursus Kesejahteraan Keluarga, Family Welfare Course)*; and for the general public there are Sunday morning sermons (*Kuliah Dluha*). In fact, all these activities are usually held on Sunday. Mentoring and PAS activities are held on Sunday morning, starting from 6:00 a.m. Sunday morning sermons are usually held from 8:00 to 10:00. KKR activities are usually held in the afternoon. Every Sunday

⁸ Completing this course was often regarded as one of the ways to pass the “University Entrance Exam” (*Ujian Masuk Perguruan Tinggi, UMPTN*). Today, when competition to enter higher education has become harder, more and more students are attracted to such courses, although they are quite expensive. Instructors are usually students or graduates of some top universities in Indonesia. The subjects studied in this course are divided into two major areas: mathematics and natural sciences (*Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam, IPA*), such as physics, mathematics, biology, chemistry and social sciences (*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial, IPS*), such as accounting, geography and economics.

Salman Mosque is always crowded by children, adolescents and adults, especially in the morning.

Since its establishment, Salman Mosque has been a model for other Islamic organisations on many university campuses throughout Java and even outside Java. A lecturer of the University of Indonesia told me that in the early 1980s he was part of a group delegated to attend the Islamic course in Salman.⁹ Upon their return they applied what they learned at Salman, and became much more involved in Islamic activities on their campus. The mentoring system, which proved effective in Islamic education, has been followed by other Islamic organisations, although they use different names for the approach. The curriculum of Karisma was also used by other organisations. A lecturer of IKIP Surabaya, who was also an organiser of Islamic activities in his campus and for a big Islamic organisation in Surabaya, Al-Falah Foundation (*Yayasan Al-Falah*), explained that the Karisma curriculum forms the Islamic education curriculum on his campus. Similar information was also given by a lecturer at the Andalas University Padang. A group of mosque activists was asked to attend Islamic training at Salman Mosque, and soon after they returned, they applied what they learned.¹⁰ Some Islamic youth organisations from outside Bandung came to Salman to study the Karisma organisational system for managing Islamic activities for young people.

In Bandung, the influence of Salman, and especially Karisma, on other Islamic organisations, both public and university, has been significant. Some university students involved in Salman activities such as LMD and SII training, or in the mentoring program either as participants or as mentors became pioneers of Islamic activities on their university campuses or in their communities. Bambang Pranggono and Toto Tasmara, for example, after their involvement in Salman LMD training later developed Islamic activities at Istiqamah Mosque. Another example is Fahmi, who was involved in Karisma mentoring activities since he was a senior high school student. When he was a student of UNPAD he became a mentor in Karisma, and he was also involved in Islamic activities at UNPAD mosque. Now he is a lecturer at the same university and was nominated as a chief of UNPAD's mosque organisation.

One of the reasons why Karisma became one of the most important campus preaching organisation is that it was the first on-campus Islamic organisation to properly organise -in modern style- various Islamic activities for young people. Moreover, it is supported by a good managerial system and relatively complete facilities. Another reason is that Karisma is strongly associated with the ITB, one of the most prestigious higher education institutes in Bandung and even in

⁹ Interview, 8 August 1994.

¹⁰ Interview, 7 September 1994.

Indonesia. To a certain degree the prestigious image of ITB became a factor which attracted many young activists to come to the mosque and join Karisma activities.

In the mid-1980s, when there were Islamic activities on almost all large university campuses in Java, the Islamic preaching organisations at some universities began to realise that they should unify in order to make the *Dakwah* movement more effective. At the time the Islamic Campus Preaching Organisations were moving in different directions and operating without coordination. Only a few were in contact with each other. It was felt that if this situation continued, it would disturb the *dakwah* movement generally. A meeting of Islamic Campus Preaching organisations (*Sarasehan Lembaga Dakwah di Kampus*) was held for the first time at Gajah Mada University, Jogjakarta.¹¹ Delegations from thirteen top universities all over Java attended this meeting.

This meeting was followed by another meeting (see Appendix A), and developed into an annual forum among the university campus preaching organisations. Every year the number of the participants increased, and the scope of the forum became much wider. Since the fifth meeting in IKIP (Teaching and Education Institute) Malang the scope of the forum has been widened to include all of Indonesia. Participants at the meeting not only have come from campus preaching organisation on Javanese university campuses but also from other islands in Indonesia. As well as at this national level, at the regional (province) level such meetings have also been held every year hosted in turn by various universities and academies. In 1994 at both national and regional levels the forum was convened nine times.

Besides unifying various campus preaching organisations throughout Indonesia, the forum also aimed to establish the Islamic preaching organisation in university campuses which did not have one. The forum encourages the members to stimulate and help other universities in their region to establish similar organisations. This is achieved through mutual visitation among activists

¹¹ Four important agreements emerged from this first meeting: 1) to develop an Islamic brotherhood (*Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, Arabic. *Persaudaraan Islam*, Indonesian) amongst Islamic Organisations on university campuses, 2) to meet again in Salman Mosque ITB Bandung in 1987, 3) to reach a mutual understanding among Islamic Organisations on campuses through informal and formal discussion, and 4) to divide the coordination of Islamic preaching organisations on Javanese university campuses (*Lembaga Dakwah Kampus*) into three regions. The west, central and east regions were coordinated respectively by Karisma of ITB, *Jama'ah Shalahuddin* of Gajah Mada University, and the Activity Unit of Islamic Spirituality (Unit Kegiatan Kerohanian Islam UKKI BKK) of Air Langga University.

Later, these regions were named Centres of Regional Communication (PUSKOMWIL, *Pusat Komunikasi Wilayah*). Each large region was divided into two or three smaller regions, coordinated by the Central District Communication (PUSKOMDA, *Pusat Komunikasi Daerah*). The western region, for example, was divided into two: Jabotabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi), and Bandung and east Priangan (including Karawang, Sukabumi, Bandung, Sumedang, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis and Cirebon). This division aimed to make easier and more effective communication and coordination amongst university campuses. Through effective coordination, it was hoped that the established Islamic Campus Preaching Organisations could encourage and help those universities which did not have Islamic preaching organisations to develop such organisations.

(individual or collective) of campus preaching organisations in which they share experiences with others that do not have one, encourage, stimulate and help them. Another activity, which became an important element for the development of the campus preaching organisation, is joint activities among those organisations both in regional and national level. These joint activities include Leadership and Management Training, Islamic Teachings Training and Muslim Female Training. Moreover, the idea to establish Islamic organisations for young people was spread further to other cities and remote areas by the *mudik* (back to home area) tradition of the students. University students, most of whom come from other cities and remote areas in Java and even other islands, go back to their home area during most long holidays. For students involved in Islamic activity, this time is used to form Youth Mosque Associations, or at least an Islamic youth discussion group. They also try to stimulate Islamic activities generally in the areas where they live. However, they often face obstacles in older circles, especially in a community that in ritual aspects is affiliated with NU. The older circles are usually traditional whereas the younger generation is modernist/reformist (see Appendix B).

3.2.2. b. Public Mosques: Mujahidin and Istiqamah

Students involved in Islamic activities began to realise that their activities appeared to be exclusively for university students, and did not touch the wider Muslim community. Consequently, some of them began to extend their activities to public mosques close to their campuses or homes. This awareness forced Bambang Pranggono and Toto Tasmara,¹² two Salman activists, to build another base of Islamic activities for young Muslims in Istiqamah Mosque. Later, this mosque became a centre for young Muslim activists in Bandung to which students, especially senior high school students, came to learn and discuss Islam.

The mosque was built in 1969 by the Istiqamah Foundation, and it was completed and opened for use in 1971. Although Istiqamah Mosque is not affiliated to any Islamic organisation, Istiqamah is regarded as a modernist mosque. This can be seen from the membership of the Istiqamah Foundation board from 1991 to 1995. Most members are important figures of Islamic reformist organisations, namely Muhammadiyah,¹³ and Persatuan Islam (PERSIS, Islamic Association).¹⁴

¹² Bambang Pranggono is now a manager of a large real estate firm in Bandung, and is also a preacher. Toto Tasmara is now an employee of a large company in Jakarta.

¹³ An Islamic organisation established 18 November 1912 in Kauman Jogjakarta, by Ahmad Dahlan. As an Islamic reformist movement, Muhammadiyah emphasised its program of (1) purifying Islam from the incorrect teachings, (2) reformation of Islamic education, (3) reformation of Islamic thought and (4) defending Islam from Western influence and Christian teachings (Natsir 1972:16). These programs are implemented in religious, educational and social activities. Besides religious reformation, Muhammadiyah established various social institutions such as hospitals and orphanages. Muhammadiyah also established schools and other educational institutions as a response to the establishment of Dutch schools, believed to be a means of promoting the Christian mission (Poerbakawatja 1970:22).

¹⁴ PERSIS is an Islamic mass organisation like Muhammadiyah, which was established in Bandung 12 September 1923. It was a response to the predicament of Indonesian Muslims, who, in the view of this

Board members include K.H. Hambali Ahmad, a well-known Muhammadiyah *ulama* in Bandung, and K.H. Rusyad Nurdin, one of the PERSIS *ulama*. The pattern of Islamic thought within this mosque is reformist and modernist, and because of this, all subjects preached should be in accordance with the above patterns of Islamic thought, and all the preachers should be those who come from the modernist or reformist circles.

At each prayer time, many people come to pray (*shalat*), including high school students waiting for their classes to begin. During prayer time on Fridays, the mosque is always crowded, and indeed the mosque cannot always accommodate them, many of them having to pray outside. During the month of Ramadhan, as in university mosques, the mosque organises various special activities, such as religious sermons, Islamic training for school students, Islamic courses for women, preaching courses, panel discussions and organising alms (*zakat*). Such activities are organised by the board of the Istiqamah Foundation. However, the practical organisers of these activities are usually young activists.

The involvement of young Muslim activists, according to K.H. Rusyad Nurdin, started with the establishment of the mosque in 1971. At that stage young Muslim activists had not been included in the organisational structure of the Istiqamah Foundation. Moreover there were no special activities for young Muslim activists. They only participated in the general mosque activities. Islamic activities for young Muslim activists in Istiqamah developed during the mid-1970s, when a few Salman Mosque activists, most of them ITB students, began to organise special activities for school students and young Muslim activists. These started with an informal, small-group discussion program, usually conducted after Sunday morning sermons. At that time, according to an informant, such activities had no name. The number of participants gradually increased, especially among the young. It was at this stage that the idea emerged among activists to establish a special section within the mosque's organisational structure to organise Islamic activities for young Muslims.

After Islamic activities for young people were established in this mosque, the idea emerged to extend such an organisation and its activities to other mosques in other cities. To achieve this goal, Toto Tasmara proposed an idea to establish an organisation in which youth organisations of various mosques could assemble. This goal was achieved in Ramadhan 1976, when delegations from Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bandung gathered in Istiqamah Mosque. With the approval of the Indonesian Council of Religious Clergy (*MUI, Majelis Ulama Indonesia*), an organisation called the Communication Body for Mosque Youth

organisation, were trapped into "stagnation (*jumud*), superstition (*Churafat* and *Tahayyul*), heresy (*Bid'ah*), polytheism (*Syirik*), and ... Christian Dutch Colonialism". See *Tafsir Qanun Asasi Persatuan Islam*. Panitia Perubahan Qanun Asasi Persatuan Islam. Bandung: Pusat Pimpinan Persatuan Islam, Mukhtamar Persatuan Islam VIII, 1967)

of Indonesia (*Badan Komunikasi Pemuda Masjid Indonesia*, BKPMI) was established. The first leader of this organisation was Toto Tasmara. The main aim of this organisation was to make use of mosques not only for ritual activities, but also for the quality development of the Islamic community (*umat Islam*) and nation (*bangsa Indonesia*). It was felt that mosques should become a centre for youth activities in the widest sense. Moreover, mosques, through various activities, were seen as being able to balance secular influences on the young generation (BKPMI 1991:1). The popular slogan of this organisation was "Back to the mosque" (Tempo, 13.5.1989).

To achieve their aims, BKPMI tried to intensify communication, consultation and synchronisation of mosque youth organisations throughout Indonesia. For established organisations, BKPMI provided clear directions and aims for the organisations and their activities. For mosques which did not have such an organisation, BKPMI assisted and encouraged the younger generations and mosque boards to establish them. To support these activities, various programs were introduced, including magazine publications, joint activities amongst mosque youth organisations, Islamic education and various other courses, and Al-Quran Kindergarten. Every three years BKPMI held a national meeting to share experiences to decide on national programs and to choose a new board. By 1992 such meetings had been held four times. Today, BKPMI has spread to all provinces of Indonesia.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Islamic activities among youngsters in Istiqamah developed further. Many more school and university students from the Bandung area came to this mosque to attend sermons, and to discuss and learn about Islam. Some informants, who lived about 15 kilometres away from the Istiqamah Mosque, said that they woke up before dawn so that they could arrive at the mosque on time and attend the sermon. This was quite extraordinary, because public mosques are usually attended by the community in which the mosque is located. The attractiveness of Istiqamah Mosque was, perhaps, influenced by the emergence of the *Jama'ah Imran* (Imran Group),¹⁵ which made Istiqamah Mosque a centre of its activities.

Jama'ah Imran attracted young Muslim activists for several reasons. The appearance of its leader, Imran, who was dynamic, radical and attractive, and his preachings, which were critical, were important factors in the recruitment

¹⁵ The Jama'ah Imran movement was an Islamic movement lead by Imran Muhammad Zein, who had previously been unemployed, stubborn, fond of gambling, drunk and fighting. Because of this, he had been in jail, although for a short time. Furthermore, his father had said "I cannot stand it anymore. You or I should leave Medan". Imran replied, "Let me go". Not long after this, in 1972, he went to Saudi Arabia. His real motivation was not clear; whether he wanted to confess or to look for a job. Imran admitted that "In Saudi Arabia he found what he was looking for in Islam, safety and happiness". With his young Indonesian friends, Imran planned that when they returned to Indonesia, they would establish an Islamic group (*Jama'ah*) which would apply Islam as revealed in the Qur'an and Sunnah (Tradition of the Prophet) (Any 1982:21).

process of this movement. From his preaching held every Sunday morning, it was clear that he rejected Pancasila as being superior to Islam. Such an idea at that time in government eyes was a considerable offense. Later Imran also criticised Indonesian Islamic figures, such as Natsir, Hamka, Idham Khalid and E.Z. Muttaqin, who were respectively the leader of Masyumi, the leader of Indonesian Muslim Clergy Assembly (MUI, *Majlis Ulama Indonesia*), the leader of Nahdlatul Ulama and the leader of West Java region MUI, for not struggling (*berjuang*) for Islam. They, in Imran's view, only struggled for "their stomach" (Any 1982:16). Such ideas, of course, provoked conflict not only within the Istiqamah circle but also in the wider Muslim community. Opposition to this movement became even clearer when it became involved in terrorist activities, such as robbery, hijacking and murder.¹⁶ In August 1980 Istiqamah Mosque was raided by the army and police, and forty-four young activists were arrested initially. In the following days more activists were arrested.

This event led to a decline in the number of young Muslim activists attending the mosque. Many were scared to come to the mosque because they did not want to be accused of being a member of the Imran movement. Furthermore, parents of activists forbade their children attending the mosque. More widely, it created a phobia in the Muslim community about being involved in Islamic activities. However, after a year-long period of stagnation, Muslim youth activities in Istiqamah started to re-emerge. Students, mostly school students, again began to attend Sunday morning sermons. Some Istiqamah activists, who were not involved in the Imran case, began to reorganise Islamic activities for young Muslim activists. In the mid-1980s, Istiqamah again became a centre of Islamic activities among young people. At this time, the motor of Islamic activities, as discussed later, comprised those students involved in various Islamic groups (*harakahs*).

There is another important mosque which serves as a centre for young Muslim activists in Bandung: Mujahidin Mosque. It is located in the inner city, about two kilometres from the city centre (*Alun-alun*). It is surrounded by a dense population, by schools, a market, sports fields and busy roads. There are at least ten junior and senior high schools close to the mosque. Each prayer session, especially noon and afternoon sessions, are crowded by students. Moreover, some schools organise praying lessons in this mosque. According to research organised by IKIP Bandung, almost 75 percent of those attending daily and Friday prayer sessions are young people (Djamari 1988:71).

¹⁶ In his trial, Imran explained that his idea to take up arms (*angkat senjata*) was inspired by Anderson's book about the President and a copy of a CSIS document about a meeting between Dewan Gereja Indonesia (DGI) and MAWI, signed by Ali Murtopo, T.B. Simatupang and others. In the latter, he found that there was an attempt from Christian groups to eliminate Indonesian Muslims. In Imran's view "if someone wants to crush me, I will crush him first. And if there are people who want to crush the Muslim *umat*, the Muslim *umat* should move and crush them first".

Building of the mosque began in 1955 when a mosque development committee, which consisted of Masyumi figures, was allotted an area by the local government. In the same year, the project was assigned to the Muhammadiyah organisation which has administered it ever since. Mujahidin Mosque began as a temporary mosque, and the building proceeded gradually and was completed in 1993. Throughout the building process, the mosque was used as a proper mosque, for daily prayers, Friday prayer and sermons.

Unlike Istiqamah Mosque, the Mujahidin Mosque is clearly affiliated with Muhammadiyah. As a consequence, all its policies and activities are in accordance with Muhammadiyah policy. Sermons must be in agreement with the Muhammadiyah teaching guidelines. All preachers, either as *khatib* (speaker) during Friday prayers or as speakers during regular sermons are from modernist organisations, such as Muhammadiyah and PERSIS. Islamic activities among young activists in Mujahidin mosque have developed since the mid-1970s, when some university students from various higher education organisations and high schools in Bandung began to gather and discuss Islam informally. It started when young people who attended regular sermons at the Mosque got to know each other and began small discussions.

In the early 1980s, Islamic youth activities in Mujahidin mosque developed further, and the number of young Muslim activists increased, especially when young Muslim activists who had always attended Istiqamah Mosque moved to Mujahidin mosque because of the Imran case. Beside being involved in general mosque activities, they organised gatherings, mosque camps and short Islamic training courses. During these activities some speakers addressed Islamic subjects such as the Meaning of Islam, basic faith (*Aqidah*) and *Jihad* (Holy War). A subject always mentioned was Muslim community problems (*Problematika Umat Islam*). According to an informant, almost all speakers (all university students) were very critical of the government. Moreover, they believed that Islam in Indonesia was being forced into a corner (*dipojokkan*). The latter idea was often spread through youth secretly distributing pamphlets to university and school campuses. University students from various universities in Bandung area organised these activities for senior high school students and taught them Islam. University students visited the senior high schools from which they had graduated to recruit students.

These two mosques are quite similar. First, they are located in urban¹⁷ areas close to universities and other educational organisations. Sociologically Islam in urban areas has been dominated, as Fachry Ali puts it, by Islamic reformists,

¹⁷ The urban environment with its characteristics of “isolation, insecurity and loneliness” as a result of “loosening of traditional social bonds... [and] less apt to develop close personal association” (Louis Wirth and George Simmel in Curran and Renzetti 1990:579) seem to be a fertile field for the development of the Islamic movement.

such as Muhammadiyah and PERSIS. This has led to another similarity: in terms of their religious views, they are modernist mosques. In addition, these two mosques show that the Islamic resurgence movements among young people are mostly developed in Islamic reformist and modernist environments. Although in Bandung there are some big mosques organised by NU,¹⁸ to date I have not identified centres of Islamic youth activities among the mosques organised by traditional Muslim Nahdlatul Ulama. These similarities show that there is a clear connection between the reformist/modernist and the current Islamic resurgence among young people. There is a continuation of ideas that previously raised by the modernist and reformist movements that emerged since the turn of the century.

3.2.3. c. *Harakah*: Independent Movements

Harakah is an Arabic word meaning 'movement' and refers specifically to Islamic movements. However, *harakah* does not refer to conventional Islamic movements, such as *Nahdlatul Ulama* (Association of Muslim Scholar, NU), Muhammadiyah, PERSIS (Persatuan Islam, Islamic unity) or other Muslim organisations. Neither does it refer to formal¹⁹ *dakwah* activities held by campus preaching organisations such as at Salman Mosque of ITB, Jama'ah Shalahuddin of Gajah Mada University in Jogjakarta and other Islamic organisations on university campuses which are officially approved by universities. The term *harakah* emerged and has developed since the early 1980s along with the further development of Islamic activities among young people on university campuses and public mosques. According to figures from one *harakah*, there are about ten *harakah* spread over many campuses and public mosques throughout large cities of Indonesia, including Bandung. A few reported by *Tempo* in 1993 included *Ikhwan al-Muslimun* (Muslim Brotherhood), *Hizb al-Tahrir* (Liberation Party), *Tarbiyah* (Education), *Salafiyah*, *Dar al-Arqam*, and *Jama'ah Tabligh*. All of these movements arose outside Indonesia, most coming from the Middle East (*Tempo* 3.4.1993).

Harakah, in a broad sense, are organised Islamic movements²⁰ aimed at applying Islam comprehensively in all aspects of life, as the Prophet Muhammad exemplified. On the basis of the Qur'an and *Sunnah* (the words, behaviour and

¹⁸ There has traditionally been a division between modernist and conservative among Indonesian Muslims. In the 1950s Islamic political power was divided between the reformist Masyumi and conservative NU. All Islamic reformist, modernist and even fundamentalist groups affiliated with the former, whereas other Islamic conservative groups affiliated with the latter (Feith 1982:218).

¹⁹ The word 'formal' in 'formal Islamic activities' or 'formal Islamic movement' means that those activities or movements are approved officially by authorities. The word 'informal' indicates the contrary. Campus Islamic preaching institutions and public mosques are formal organisations because they are approved by the government or by the universities.

²⁰ According to Kalim Siddiqui in his book *The Islamic Movement: a system approach*, "The Islamic movement is a world wide, open, diffuse system in which individual Muslims or Muslims organised in groups are consciously working towards the reconsolidation of the Ummah into a behavioural, operational and a goal seeking system" (1980:9).

pattern of life of the Prophet), they seek to establish concrete Islamic alternatives to existing socio-economic and political organisations in Muslim countries which are believed to depart from Islam. They seek to resurrect the glory of Islam as achieved during the era of the Prophet and his companions. This idea stems from a deep consciousness that the world's Muslim community (*Ummah*) is in a state of decline. They believe that most Muslim countries -whether ruled by Islamic governments or not- are politically, economically, socially and culturally under non-Islamic foreign (Western: Europe and America, and Soviet) domination. Muslim countries, all of which are 'third world countries', are closely linked with poverty, backwardness and dependence on foreign loans. Some leaders of a few rich Muslim countries have been the 'arms' and 'puppets' of foreign powers, which often suppress any Islamic movements. Moreover, in their view moral decadence is a common trend throughout Muslim countries. Like Sayyid Qutb, they found that:

Now [Muslims] are in a *jahiliyah* (ignorance) period, like in the early period of Islam or even worse. Everything that exists around us is *jahiliyah*, including conception, beliefs, customs, traditions, sources of science, art and literature, laws and constitutions. Many things that we thought of as Islamic cultures, Islamic sources, and Islamic ideas, are in fact the product of *jahiliyah* (1978:1st chapter).

Although these *harakah* have similar ideological views each has different interpretations about what real problems are faced by the Ummah. These differences have resulted in various types of Islamic groups, with each *harakah* stressing a specific problem and a specific solution.

Those *harakah* reported by Tempo are all imported *harakah*, which developed later. In fact, local Islamic movements in Bandung emerged in the mid-1970s, when some militant Muslim groups organised underground Islamic movements. These Islamic movements originally reflected local backgrounds, environments, ideas and other factors, although they were inevitably influenced by imported Islamic movements. In Bandung, there are at least two important Islamic movements which developed among, and greatly influenced, young Muslim activists. These movements are the Young/New DI (*Darul Islam Muda/Baru*) and LP3K (*Lembaga Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Pesantren Kilat*, Institute for Education and Development of Islamic Short Course Training). Among the movement activists, they are called respectively IIN, reversal of NII (*Negara Islam Indonesia*, Indonesian Islamic State), and PK (*Pesantren Kilat*). I have not included *Jama'ah* Imran here because it lasted only a very short time, emerging in late 1979 and dissolving in 1980. Moreover it did not influence greatly the development of Islamic movements, either in Bandung or more generally in Indonesia.

The Young DI is a term I use to refer to various movements which are historically and ideologically related to a 1950s Islamic rebel movement. It is difficult to identify each of these Young DI movements, because although they have similar historical and ideological sources, they have different names and different teachings. This is, perhaps, understandable given that the important figures or the founders of movements are those members of the *Darul Islam* (DI) movement, who scattered and hid in various places in Indonesia. They continue to share their ideas with the people, especially with young people in the community where they live. To avoid the suspicion of the authorities, and to adapt to the social and political environment, they have modified their teachings and identities.

The basic idea of this movement can be traced to the establishment of the *Darul Islam* itself. According to Van Nieuwenhujize (cited in Boland 1985:59), Kartosuwirjo (full name Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo) began openly preaching about the idea of an Islamic State in the Malangbong Garut region, about 30 kilometres east of Bandung, in 1935. On 14 August 1945, according to Alers (in Boland 1985:60), Kartosuwirjo proclaimed an independent Islamic state, but when Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesian independence on 17th August 1945, he took the side of the Indonesian Republic. However, it did not last long because he rejected any negotiations between the government and the Dutch. On 7 August 1949, Kartosuwirjo proclaimed for the second time an Indonesian Islamic State (*Negara Islam Indonesia*)²¹, and proclaimed himself as the head (*Imam*) of the new state, which was better known as *Darul Islam* (territory or house of Islam). The law of the state was Islamic law, and the state constitution was called *Kanun Azasy* (in Arabic, *Qanun al-Asasi*). These documents argued that Islamic law should be adhered to by all Muslims, whereas non-Muslims were free to practise their religions.

All members of the Young DI movements believe that the Indonesian Islamic State has continued to exist since the time it was declared in 1949. According to this movement there are only two states: the Islamic state (*Dar al-Islam*) and the infidel state (*Dar al-Harb*). Each person has to choose between the two. The present regime is considered to be a *kafir* (infidel) regime as it opposes the Islamic state. Moreover, according to one informant, the Indonesian Republic has seized the Islamic state, and there are continual confrontations between these two states. There is a tendency to regard other Muslims who are not members of the Young DI groups, as being un-Islamic, if not infidel. In the late 1980s, for example, some Young DI activists in Istiqamah mosque and in UNPAD Jatinangor Mosques, stole donation boxes (*kotak amal*) from the mosques, because they believed such

²¹ Its proclamation text is "In the name of Allah the Compassionate and the Merciful, we the Muslim community (*Umat Islam*) of Indonesian people hereby declare the establishment of the Indonesian Islamic State. The law of the Indonesian Islamic State is Islamic law. God is Great, God is Great, God is Great".

acts were *fa'i* (robbing the enemy, in a war situation in the early era of the Prophet). Some groups of the Young DI also forbade watching TV and listening to the radio, because they believed it would “damage” their morality.

Similar to the “old DI” in the period of Kartosuwirjo, the Young DI tried to spread the idea of establishing an Indonesian Islamic State by appealing to the Muslim community in public mosques, university campuses, schools and other places, through various activities. As in public mosques and university campuses, they also held gatherings, religious sermons, short Islamic courses, and sports or military simulation training. All of these activities were organised secretly and carefully, and were to be attended only by members. Such care was taken because they believed that if the authorities knew about the activities and their involvement in them, they would be jailed. During the gatherings, besides learning about and discussing Islam, they also discussed contemporary political matters.

A distinctive activity of Young DI movements was *bai'ah* or an oath of allegiance ceremony for new members, usually presided over by the leader (*Imam*) of the Indonesian Islamic State. The ceremony began with recitation from the Qur'an, and with the *Imam* giving a short speech. The *bai'ah* began with the leader saying the *shahadat*, “There is no God but Allah, and the Prophet Muhammad is His messenger”. This was followed by a statement that they would obey the constitution and rules of the Indonesian Islamic State. Unlike other *harakah*, as we shall see later, there was no special training before the *bai'ah* process. Recruitment took place only through personal approach. People with similar views about Islam would be asked to attend some of the gatherings, and then they would be asked to perform *bai'ah*. Such open recruitment made it easy for the authorities to infiltrate, and in the early 1990s almost all of the important figures of the movement were arrested and sentenced. However, this did not mean that the movement died completely because other members continued to spread their ideas.

Another important local Islamic movement was LP3K, more commonly known as the *Pesantren Kilat* movement. According to Mursalin Dahlan (1994), the founder of the movement, the thrust of the *Pesantren Kilat* was to “defend the basic faith (*aqidah*) of young Muslim generations, especially school and university students from secularisation movements and the Christian Mission.” He further referred to the struggle of *santri* against Dutch and Japanese colonialism. Thus to resist secularisation and the Christian mission it was necessary to create *santri*, and *pesantren* were needed to educate *santri*. Therefore, in 1976 Mursalin Dahlan established an organisation called *Pesantren Kilat* (Islamic Short Course Training). Since that time, *Pesantren Kilat* has become an Islamic movement which tries to

revive the comprehensive teachings of Islam (*Kaffah*)²² among Muslim community, especially the younger generations.

To further build and develop the Pesantren Kilat, Mursalin Dahlan in the same year established the Organisation for the Building and Development of Pesantren Kilat (*Lembaga Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Pesantren Kilat, LP3K*). Through continuous and aggressive propagation this movement developed rapidly. In the early 1980s the network of *Pesantren Kilat* spread to other big cities throughout Java, while the centre of the movement remained in Bandung. Activities of the movement were usually based in the premises (such as house, sport hall, musholla) of members of the movement. They sometimes used public mosques, university campuses, school campuses and other places, after they managed to disguise themselves to get approval from the owner. For important meetings and special training, they usually used facilities provided by members, eg. houses, sports halls, or other buildings.

The term Pesantren Kilat has a special meaning which indicates the types of activities of the movement. Pesantren are Islamic schools to educate young Muslims to become *Ulama* (Islamic scholar). Students (*santri*) usually spend five to ten years in mastering Islamic teachings, and when they graduate from the pesantren they become *ustadz* (Islamic teacher) or *ulama*. The word 'kilat', means flash of lightning. These meanings taken together show that *Pesantren Kilat* is an Islamic school aimed at creating Islamic scholars and Islamic proselytisers in a very short time.

Pesantren Kilat as an activity was a short Islamic course or training, in which about five to ten participants, most of them school and university students, study Islamic teachings and the problems of the Muslim community. The course lasted three or four days, usually starting on Friday afternoon and finishing on Monday morning. During the course participants were isolated from the outside world; they did not read newspapers, listen to the radio, watch TV or have contact with people outside the house. They spent all of their three or four days in the same house, with the same people. The idea to create a condition of isolation with less than ten participants, according to Dahlan, derived from the story of the *ashab al-kahf* (people of the cave) in chapter 18 of the Quran, The Cave. It relates how seven young, devout believers escaped from the tyranny of injustice, and hid in a cave. In the cave they could not see or hear anything; they were completely isolated from the outside world.²³

²² An Arabic word meaning 'comprehensive'. The idea was taken from the 208th verse of the 2nd chapter of the Qur'an.

²³ In Christian tradition it was known as the legend of the Seven Sleepers of the Ephesus. The story in Christianity and Islam is quite similar, with the differences perhaps in its spiritual lessons. In *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, as cited by Abdullah Yusuf Ali in *The Meaning of The Holy Qur'an*, it was told that in the era of Roman Emperor when Christians were persecuted, seven Christian youths of Ephesus escaped and hid themselves in a cave in a mountain from the oppressive tyrant, Decius.

Throughout the course, participants engaged in two kinds of activities, core and supportive activities. The former were sermons and discussions, whereas the latter included reciting the Qur'an, praying *tahajud* (midnight optional prayer) and daily prayers. Participants woke very early, at about 3:00 a.m., to pray *tahajud* and to recite the Qur'an. At about 4:00 a.m. they attended morning prayer, which was followed by a short speech, the speaker usually being one of the participants. From 5:00 to 8:00 a.m. participants attended a sermon followed by a discussion. After the sermon participants rested, bathed and then ate together. The food was usually put in a big container from which two groups of participants ate together with their fingers. The food was prepared by the organisers, and was purchased using financial contributions from the participants and the organisers. By about 9.30 a.m., participants were ready to listen to another speech and discussion, which finished in time for the noon prayer. After the noon prayer, lunch and a short rest, at 1.30 p.m. another speaker was ready to give a speech, finishing before the afternoon prayer. The afternoon prayer completed, participants had a short rest or walked around inside the room before attending another sermon. Participants took a bath, had dinner and then performed the evening (*maghrib*) prayer, read the Qur'an and rested before the last session of the day, 8:00– 10.00 p.m.. At 10:00 p.m., participants were asked to sleep, and were woken at 3:00 a.m.. On the last night, Pesantren Kilat activities were brought to a close by an important ceremony. This began with a short period of self-reflection and self-introspection led by an instructor: one by one participants came forward and did *bai'ah* (oath) by saying the *shahadat* (the profession of faith: "There is no God except Allah, and the Prophet Muhammad is His messenger") and shaking hands with the instructor, usually the leader of the movement or a senior member of the movement.²⁴ After this, one of the organisers gave an Islamic or Arabic name to each participant who did not already have one. However, in some cases, as an informant said, although participants already had Islamic names, they also were given new Islamic names. These new names were later used among the members of the movement. Sometimes these new names were used even in daily social life, because the recipients believed that their new names were much better and imparted a new personality.

The Pesantren Kilat activity was organised by a committee consisting of university and school students, all of whom were members of the movement. Usually, participants who completed the Pesantren Kilat activity were asked to organise similar activities in the following months or even in the same month. Participants were also encouraged to recruit their friends at school, their

They slept, and continued to sleep for some generations and even centuries. When they awoke, they thought that they were still in the same period. However, when one of them came to the town, he realised that the world had changed. The Christian religion had become the state religion (Ali 1991:709).

²⁴ This ceremony is very much the same with the conversion ceremony when a non-Muslim converts to Islam. One informant says, "After that ceremony I found myself as a 'real' Muslim. Before hand my Islam was only hereditary (*keturunan*) without understanding and consciousness".

neighbours and even their brothers and sisters to attend Pesantren Kilat. Such high mobility contributed to the movement spreading widely and rapidly.

The instructors of the Pesantren Kilat were the founder himself and alumni of the Pesantren Kilat. Their levels of education varied: some were senior high school students or university students, and others were university graduates. They were all members of the movement who had received special instructor training. No outsiders, even *ulama* and Muslim intellectuals, were ever invited to be instructors in Pesantren Kilat activities. Each instructor usually mastered one special subject of the Pesantren Kilat syllabus, and could be called upon at any time to give a speech on that subject.

Activities of the Pesantren Kilat movement were interrupted in 1983, when some of its members became involved in subversive and terrorist activities. Authorities accused the LP3K movement of being a "training ground for militant cadres prepared to set up an Indonesian Islamic State or NII". A leader of the Surabaya LP3K, who was also a preacher, was charged with subversion and was sentenced to twenty years, because of his preachings. Another member of LP3K was sentenced to twelve years for his involvement in distributing illegal pamphlets. Further, some members of LP3K were accused of being involved in a series of bombing incidents in Jakarta, Malang, Yogyakarta and Surabaya. One member of LP3K was accused of being involved in LP3K courses, in a series of bombings, and even in a plot to assassinate Suharto, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. The 1985 and 1986 trials of many subversive and terrorist cases involving Islamic groups showed that the LP3K network had relations with a range of opposition powers, such as the Petition-of-50 group.

From 1983, the level of activity of the LP3K movement began to decline, until finally it ceased to function in the mid-1980s. However, wherever they are, alumni of the Pesantren Kilat continue to spread ideas learned in Pesantren Kilat. The term "Pesantren Kilat" and its type of activity has been used by various Islamic organisations in recent development. It became a fashionable type of Islamic education in Indonesia, usually held during holiday times, especially during the month of Ramadhan. Some government offices, big companies and other organisations held such activities, either for the children of the employees or for the employees themselves.

Some members of the Pesantren Kilat movement moved to and became involved in other *harakah*, which began to develop in 1982 and 1983, when the Pesantren Kilat movement had begun to decline. Some other members of the movement developed a new movement with a new orientation, new strategy, new style of education and a new name. In terms of ideology, however, the new movement was similar to its predecessor. Its type of educational process was modified and divided into three stages: *Ula* (first), *Wustho* (second) and *A'la* (high). Each of these stages had special follow-up activities involving what were called *usrah*

groups, which had a core group of five to ten persons led by one of its members called *naqib* (leader). *Usrah* group meetings were held weekly or fortnightly at members' houses in turn. The gatherings usually lasted from Saturday night to Sunday morning, and on Sunday morning, together with other members of the movement, the group often engaged in sporting activities such as football, badminton and occasionally swimming.

During *usrah* gatherings, commitment of the members to the movement was reinforced and strengthened. Meetings started with reciting the Qur'an and checking each others' memories of verses of the Qur'an. An instructor (*zaim*) who had completed the higher stages of training gave a speech on a planned Islamic subject and this was followed by a discussion. After this, members of the group discussed topics such as the current socio-political situation or the personal problems of members, and finally they mutually advised one another (*taushiyah*, an Arabic term, meaning 'mutual teaching'). The gatherings finished at about 10:00 p.m., and at 3:00 a.m. participants woke up to pray *tahajud*. One important aim of these activities was to increase a sense of brotherhood among members. Such activities did have this sort of significance for many, especially for university students, most of whom were far from their families.

Although not identical, *usrah*-type activities were in fact used by various *harakah* which developed on university campuses. This type of activity, as in the development of Islamic revivalism in Malaysia, was "the most effective vehicle" in spreading the ideas of the Islamic movement (Anwar 1987: 45). The term *usrah*, used to describe a type of Islamic education group, can be traced back to the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan al-Muslimun*) movement in Egypt. According to Hassan al-Banna, the founder and the leader of the movement, *usrah* is a family, which bound Muslims into brotherhood on the basis of Islam. There are three pillars of *usrah*, namely acquaintance (*ta'aruf*), mutual understanding (*tafahum*) and mutual responsibility (*takaful*) (al-Banna 1979:4–10).

During the mid to late 1980s, the number of *harakah* that developed amongst young Muslim activists increased. *Harakah* which developed during this period, in addition to local Islamic movements, mostly came from outside Indonesia, especially from the Middle East. These movements, as I mentioned before, were *Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, *Hizb al-Tahrir*, *Tarbiyah*, *Salafiyah*, *Dar al-Arqam*, and *Jama'ah Tabligh* (see Appendix C).

These Islamic groups because of their independent characteristics and their aggressive attempt to recruit and train the followers were an important channel by which Islamic resurgence ideas spread rapidly among young Muslim activists. The radical, rebellious, underground and secretive nature of these Islamic groups became important factors which attracted young activists to join them. Members of these groups usually became activists and the motor of various Islamic activities both in campus preaching organisation and in the public mosques, through

which they recruited their new members. This does not mean that there is a clear division among activists of Islamic groups, preaching organisations and of public mosques, since one activist can be a member of an Islamic group and at the same time an activist of public mosque and of preaching organisation.

3.3 Fertile Milieu

This Islamic resurgence could not take place successfully without the right social and political conditions. How much then do the conditions of the early resurgence still apply?

One of the most common phenomena associated with the development of the Islamic revival among young Muslims was the increased number of young female Muslims who wore *Jilbab*.²⁵ Since 1977, a few female Salaman activists had begun to wear *jilbab*, and gradually this practice spread widely amongst young, female Muslim activists, especially university and school students. Wearing this type of cloth spread through various Islamic trainings activities. Among the *harakah* and Islamic movements generally, according to a leader of one *harakah* in Bandung, wearing a *jilbab* became one of the parameters of success of training or organised activity. If female participants continued to wear *jilbab* after the training it meant that the training had been successful.

In 1982 when many more students were wearing *jilbab*, even when they went to their schools, the Ministry of Education and Culture created a new act concerning student uniforms. It detailed acceptable uniforms for both male and female students. The act forbade female students to wear *jilbab* within the school area. As a consequence, those who wore *jilbab* had to choose between removing their *jilbab* and moving to other schools which allowed them to wear such clothes.²⁶

²⁵ Garmen for women which reveals only the face, and falls down loosely to below the chest or the waist.

²⁶ Such a case first occurred in one of the top senior high schools in Bandung, namely SMA 3 (Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri 3 Bandung). In 1982 a sports teacher forbade some female students from wearing tracksuits. The teacher said that if they did not wear short pants, he would mark them down. Moreover, although they came to school, they were not allowed to enter the classroom nor to attend the class. In later developments, they were not allowed even to enter the school area. However, the school staff did not expel them formally from the school. Students felt that they were being treated discriminatively, and asked the *ulama*, for their support, but the *ulama* could not do much. The students also went to the Regional House of Representatives asking for a clear legal explanation of the prohibition to wearing *jilbab*. Similar cases also occurred in other state public schools in Bandung, and other places throughout Java.

Various negotiations were held among students, parents, *ulama*, and government authorities. In general there were two sides, and these were in confrontation: the government authorities and the students. The government authorities insisted that they only did what the Act and their superiors asked them to do. Moreover, according to the government authorities, *jilbab* or *kerudung* was not a religious matter. This led to the accusations that the spread of such clothing was only a political device of certain interests, the identity and nature of whom was not clear. In contrast, students believed that they wore *jilbab* for religious reasons.²⁶ They argued that they knew nothing about politics. Furthermore, they argued that what they did was guaranteed by the Indonesian Constitution (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945), which

This led to a “confrontation” between students and the government. Such confrontation created and reinforced two attitudes among students and young Muslims activists generally. First, suspicious responses from the government created a new view that the government was actually not in favour of Islam. For student and Muslim activists who already viewed the present regime as un-Islamic, government actions reinforced their belief. Second, the lack of comment by the *ulama*, who were unable to advocate the freedom of using veils, to a certain degree created an antipathy toward *ulama* among young Muslim activists. Furthermore, the feeling of powerlessness and hopelessness of the overwhelming majority of Muslims led to frustration and alienation. Such feelings, given that Muslims are in the majority, were described by Wertheim (1986) as a “Majority with minority mentality”.

Another influential event was the Tanjung Priok massacre in 1984, followed by a series of trials of many Islamic activists, throughout Java. The beginning of the first case was a Tanjung Priok massacre in which hundreds of people (Muslim) were killed. A similar massacre against Muslims occurred in 1989, when an army operation was held to quell unrest (Tapol 92:4:89) and ‘suspicious’ Islamic activities (Tempo 18:4:1989) in the Lampung province. According to one source, hundreds of people were killed and others injured. These massacres were followed by many arrests and trials of the Muslim activists. For Muslim activists, these cases showed that the government continuously oppressed Islam.

These various cases from the late 1970s to the late 1980s illustrate some important points. First, there was a clear indication that government authorities were cautious and suspicious about the new tendency among young Muslims. This cautiousness often was marked by unsympathetic and even oppressive attitudes such as the prohibition to use veils that identified them as political devices. Second, government attitudes in turn led to a state of frustration and antipathy towards the government; fertile conditions for the development of the Islamic movement because the teachings and methods of the Islamic resurgence movement provided a kind of shelter from that frustration. At this point, I agree with Emerson (1981), who says “Religion is like a nail. The harder you hit it, the deeper it goes into the wood”. Here, some conditions of the early emergence in early 1970s ie. frustration and dissatisfactions still apply in this development

says that all citizens are free to perform religious rituals, appropriate to their religion. In addition, they pointed out that they never made trouble or did anything wrong at their schools, and they were never involved in any political group. In fact, according to the *Panji Masyarakat* report, many of them performed at the top of their class.

While negotiations continued, application of the uniform act continued. All attempts at negotiation seemed to come to a dead end. Finally, in 1984 and 1985, almost all female students who wore *jilbab* moved to other schools which allowed their female students to wear *jilbab*, whereas some others remained in the same school, for examination reason, but took off their veils when they entered the campus area. In Bandung, most of those who were expelled from their school because of their veils, moved to a private school namely PGII (Persatuan Guru Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Teachers Association).

stage. The difference is that in this stage the spread of the frustration and dissatisfaction became much more pervasive, since it spread through various channels.

To conclude there are some distinct characteristics of this development stage. First, the movement initially centered on charismatic figures but developed with the establishment of various organisations, both formal and informal, through which the resurgent ideas dispersed effectively. Another important characteristic of this stage was the aggressive preaching and evangelical attempts launched by those organisations. Finally, as in the first stage the common trend during the stage was towards emotional and radical expression.