ABSTRACT: The change that occurs in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia has positioned the Ulamas (Islamic Scholars) to have a significant role in various aspects of lives, especially in religious affairs, almost in every age or period of Islamic history. In the New Order government era (1966-1998), the Ulamas of Garut were positioned by the government to be in the right tract, namely religious aspect. However, along with the changing period, the Ulamas in Garut have attempted to reposition their identity, which is not only limited to religious but also in political, law, and economic aspects. This article – using the qualitative approaches, historical methods, and literature studies – elaborates the role of Ulamas in socio-political movement in Garut. This shows that there has happened a movement shift of the Ulamas in Garut in the period of 1998-2007. The findings showed that in the previous period, in the New Order era, the Ulamas tended to only move in religious corridor. Meanwhile, in the period of 1998-2007, the Ulamas’ movement reached other aspects, such as politic and law. In this period also, through the BKUI (Badan Koordinasi Umat Islam or Muslim Coordination Institution), the Ulamas’ movements were aimed to reunite their position which was considered as experiencing a gap as a result of national political chaos. Then, the Ulamas’ movement in Garut attempted also to create the “Syari’at Islam” (Islamic Law) as behavior base in Garut Regency through media called as LP3SyI (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari’at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation). Other movement is anti-corruption action by seriously providing inputs and feedbacks to the Regional Budgeting or APBD (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah) of Garut Regency, both in planning process and its implementation.

KEY WORDS: Ulamas’ Movement; Social Changes; Garut Regency; Islam and Politics.

INTRODUCTION

During 1998-2007, the Ulamas (Islamic Scholars)’ movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia had dinamically occurred. The Ulamas, who previously focused on religious affairs and the development of ummat (Islamic community), started to involve in various aspects of life, such as economy, politics, or even law. Thus, the Ulamas’ movement in Garut had changed. Obviously, there was a functional and movement change of Islamic scholar in Garut. This condition changed the previous stigma upon the Garut people, which told that the Ulamas’ movement was divided, or the so called reduced, which means it was just to manage...
the religious affairs. This condition also happened at the time of the New Order era, 1966-1998. And when it entered the Reform era in Indonesia, 1998 to date, the orientation of the Ulamas’ movement was not on the religious affairs only, but also the economic, politics, and law aspects (cf Horton & Hunt, 1984; Iskandar, 2007; Zulkifli, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).

The reality above mainly caused by the existence of the change on the socio-politics arrangement at the time of New Order era, which limited the Ulamas’ movement turned into the social arrangement at the time of Reform era, which opened the freedom for all people; and it means that the Ulamas do all of their activities. The existence of this Ulamas’ movement change implied to the social order in Garut. For instance, the Ulamas’ movement oriented on political aspect implied the Ulamas reposition in their relationship to umara or the government leader. In economic aspect, the alms movement issued by the Ulamas implied the alms awarnes increasing of Garut people. In law aspect, the Ulamas’ movement in Garut implied the awareness of implementing various policies issued on PERDA (Peraturan Daerah) or Regional Regulation.

This article – using the qualitative approaches, historical methods, and literature studies (Lloyd, 1993; Leirissa, 1999; Sjahmsuddin, 2007; and Zed, 2008) – tries to analysis the Ulamas’ movement in Garut with pertaining to: (1) Social Structure and the Existence of Islamic Scholars in Garut; (2) the Islamic Scholar Movement in Garut at the Time of the New Order; and (3) Islamic Scholars’ Movement in Garut around 1998-2007.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Social Structure and the Existence of Islamic Scholars in Garut. The Regency of Garut is well known as one of Islamic student city located in East Preanger, West Java, Indonesia. It is because the majority of Garut people are Muslim and also there are many Islamic boarding schools, or Pesantrens, and many religious activities there. Based on 2008 data, the number of Muslim in Garut was 2,220,516 souls, from entire Garut people summed as 2,225,241 souls. The number of Ulamas (Islamic Scholars) in Garut Regency, based on data, was 2,335 people.\(^1\)

The number of Pesantrens (Islamic Boarding Schools) spread in Garut was 988 with 127,999 Santris (Islamic Boarding School Students) on it. The number of great mosque was 4,297; mosque was 6,677; and mushola (small mosque) was 3,571.\(^2\)

The religious situation and atmosphere in Garut is well kept. Recently in Garut, there are 108 RAs (Raudhatul Athfals or Islamic Kindergartens); 151 Mis (Madrasah Ibtidaiyahs or Islamic Elementary Schools); 137 MTs (Madrasah Tsanawiyahs or Islamic Junior High Schools); 46 MAs (Madrasah Aliyah or Islamic Senior High Schools); 942 MDs (Madrasah Diniyahs or Islamic School); dan 515 Pesantrens or Islamic Boarding Schools.\(^3\) This number of Islamic educational institution perhaps is not as many as in other Regencies in West Java; however, with those number, Garut has been known as an “Islamic Student City” or Kota Santri, with its breeze religious atmosphere.\(^4\)

\(^1\)From the data above, if we convert to a percentage, the whole Muslim in Garut reached 99%. This number is not different to the previous years’ data, which was from 2005, 2006, and 2007, which told that the number of Muslim in Garut reached 99%. See the table of religious worshiper in Garut dated on 2008. See also the table for Sub-District, or Kecamatan, dated on 2007; and also see the table of religious leader recapitulation in Garut dated on 2008.

\(^2\)See the table of Islamic boarding schools development in Garut Regency for last six years; the data of Islamic Information Division from Religious Affair Department in Garut, 2008; and also the table of the development of religious facilities in Garut for last five years.

\(^3\)The data of Islamic Information Division from Religious Affair Department in Garut, on Agustus 2002. There is also categorization of large Pesantrens (Islamic Boarding Schools), such as Pesantrens Al-Musadadiyah, Pesantrens Darul Arqam, Pesantrens PERSIS (Persatuan Islam or Islamic United) in Bentar and Rancabogo, Pesantrens Kerese, and Pesantrens Cipari.

\(^4\)For comparison, besides Garut, Cianjur is also known as the Kota Santri (Islamic Student City). The majority of Cianjur people are Muslim (1,893,203 souls or 98%) and Non-Muslim reached 2% consist of: (1) Christian, 32,841 souls or 1.7%; and (2) Buddhist and Hindu, 5,796 souls or 0.3%. See, for further information, the enclosure of PERDA (Peraturan Daerah or Regional Regulation) of Cianjur Regency. Number 16 Year 2001, dated on 3rd Oktober 2001, about the Yearly Development Plan of Cianjur Regency in 2002, Chapter I, the Common Condition, pp.8-12. The religious facilities in Cianjur are as following here: 4,462 large mosques; 13,850 mushola (praying room); and 663 Islamic boarding schools. Besides those above, in Cianjur, there are also 1,668 TPAs (Taman Pendidikan Al-Qurans or Al-Quran Education Schools); 473 TKAs (Taman Kanak-kanak Al-Qurans or Al-Quran Kindergartens); 59 RAs (Raudhatul Athfals or Islamic
This religious atmosphere can be seen on the religious spirit in Islamic institutions, such as doing shalat (praying) on time, say salam (greeting) when meet people, and use Islamic clothes or jilbab (veil). These behaviors are still implemented in various religious institutions, such as Pesantren and Islamic-based schools. Meanwhile, in the other public institution, the practice of Islamic way is still far from perfection. Besides in Islamic institution, women from the institution under the Regional Government or PEMDA (Pemerintah Daerah) also wear jilbab. So, the PEMDA in Garut has ordered the Muslim women to wear the jilbad, when they work in the government office (Kushidayati, 2009; Gumilar, 2014; and Kusmana, 2017).

The religious atmosphere in Garut is proved once again by the existence of Dakwah (Islamic proselytizing) institution. The Dakwah institution in Garut is classified into four kinds of: ORWAH (Organisasi Dakwah or Dakwah Organization); MT (Majelis Ta’lim or Lecturing Session); RM (Remaja Masjid or Mosque Youth); and LPA (Lembaga Pendidikan Al-Qur’an or Al-Qur’an Educational Institution). From the available data, it is recorded that theumber of ORWAH in Garut is 364; MT is 4,791 groups; RM is 722; and the number of LPA from the kindergarten level to boarding school level is 430 institutions with the total students of 40,083. These numbers are the combination of 22,451 students for LPA; 11,304 students for Al-Qur’an Kindergarten, and 6,327 students for Islamic Borading School.5

The religious atmosphere in Garut is still strong. Almost in every areas of Garut Regency, there are many the Islamic educational institutions with its various religious activities; therefore, it makes Garut as a place of Santri (Student of Islamic Boarding School) as well as the place of Ulama (Islamic Scholar).7 This situation becomes the significant aspect, which influences the movement to issue the governmental policies and/or the public needs directly in line with the condition and potency of that particular area (cf Tilly, 1978; Gumilar, 2014; and Zakiyah, 2016).8

The people of Garut, as a religious society, are very close to Ulama,9 who

Kindergartens); dan 4,099 MTs (Majlis Ta’lims or Islamic Learning Communities). The religious human resource in Gianjar are consisted of: Ulumes [Islamic Scholars] are 4,169 people; 4,046 are Da’e (Preachers); 9,965 are Khatab Jun’ahs (Friday Preachers); and 510 Ustadz (Islamic Educators). See, for further information, data of LPPI [Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Islam or Institution of Islamic Development and Study] in 2002, Chapter II, p.5.

5See also “Data of Islam Information Section of Religious Affair Department of Garut, on Agustus 2002”, Unpublished Files, owned by the Author.

6This Islamic Institutions, such as RA (Raudhatul Athfal or Islamic Kindergarten); MI (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah or Islamic

Elementary School); MTs (Madrasah Tsanawiyah or Islamic Junior High School); MA (Madrasah Aliyyah or Islamic Senior High School); and Pesantren (Islamic Borading School).

7The term of Ulama come from Arabic language, plural form of ‘Alim, which is sigihah mubahaghah from ‘alima ya’Tamu, which means a person who knows a lot of the Islamic knowledge. Therefore, not all people who have knowledge are called ulama, because ‘a’lim has the plural form of ‘a’ilimun not ‘ulama. Whereas etymologically, the word of ulama means Muslim who has deep knowledge about Islam, it is not those who have lack of knowledge about Islam, believe and faith, not an infidel or those who do sins; and doing good deeds, not a bad deeds. The appearance of ulama was born from the development of the Islam itself, which sees ulama as a group of Islamic scholar. It has become the basic characteristic of the Indonesian people, who always promote the knowledgeable one as a leader. The appearance of ulama in the society has well accepted as the modernity volunteer, who makes the influence of ulama become greater after successfully managing the Pesantren (Islamic Borading School).

8In Garut, for instance, there is a force from ulama to immediately issue the Anti-Sin Regulation or PERDA (Peraturan Daerah) Anti Muktasir; the Learning Obligatory in Islamic Elementary School or PERDA Wajib Belajar di Madrasah Dinjaih; Alms Regulation or PERDA Zakat; and etc. Recently, there is the regional government regulation which attempt to implement the formalization of Islamic law by releasing “PERDA No.2 Year 2008 about the Anti-Sin Activity, which becomes the clear follow-up of PERDA No.6 Year ‘2000”, Unpublished Files, owned by the Author.

9Ulama in this study is categorized into ulama who works in religious institution, such as: DI or (Dewan Imaham or Leader Council); MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Ulama Council) from Regency level to Village level; and ORMAS (Organisasi Massa or Mass Organizations), such as Muhammadiyah (Followers of Prophet Muhammad), NU (Nahdlatul Ulama or Islamic Scholars Awakening), and PERSIS (Persatuan Islam or Islamic United). The other categorization is the political ulama, such as: Hajj Qusdi, Imam Sibawe, Ustazd Siroj, Yusuf L.C., Cecep Abdul Halim, Kyai Haji Saeuf Azhar, and Gion Suwarsono. This political categorization is marked by the ulama’s activity in political party; their thinking concept which is more political in minds, such as stjuosah (Islamic politic). Furthermore, the ulama categorization based on law aspect, such as: Kyai Haji Ulimudin Banani, Kyai Haji Aceng Zakaria, Kyai Haji Fauzan, Kyai Haji Yosef Juanda, and Kyai Haji Toto Tantowi Jauhari. This categorization is marked by the activity of ulama who order the law, teaching fiqh (law) in Pesantren, and writing the figh books. The categorization of ulama based on Tarekat (Islamic mysticism) aspect, such as Kyai Haji Ilyan Sibawe, Ajangan Satibi, and Hajji Aan Mustafa Kamil. Ulama on this category are marked by the more intense on rijayah (Islamic practice of piety and mortification for spiritual enlightenment) activities, have the Pesantren Tarekat (Islamic
become the influence paragon for the followers, as an honored and adored people. The people impression toward Ulama is mainly because Ulama has deep religious knowledge and also has a charismatic aspect (Noer, 1991; Iskandar, 2007; Siregar, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).

The existence of the Ulamas’ movement in socio-political constellation in this country cannot be underestimated. Agreed or not, their existence becomes on of all powers which always become the consideration for groups interest, especially the decision of policy-making, in this case the government. Garut has a deep Islamic socio-political history. In this area, there was also the movement which involves the role of Ulama. It is proven by the appearance of the Ulamas’ movement in this area, whether at the time of Ducht collonialism (Iskandar, 2001:170-171);10 at the time of Indonesian independence, 1945-1950;11 and the post Indonesian independence and New Order eras, 1950 to date (cf Noer, 1991; Leirissa, 1994; and Gumilar, 2014).

**The Islamic Scholar Movement in Garut at the Time of the New Order.** The Garut Ulamas (Islamic Scholars) could only express their movement on a limited area with the strict supervision of the government. For instance, when they do the dakwah Islamiyah (Islamic propagation), they should have the permission of the local security.12

The condition above made the role of Ulama was focused more on the religious affair. This situation had become the target of the New Order government (1966-1998), which in this case the Regional Government of Garut which attempted to make Ulama has just a religious affair role in the society living. But, functionally, Ulama has a function of warasatul anbiya’ wal mursalin (the descendants of the Prophets), who has two dimensional deeds, namely: ubudiya (divine deeds) dimension; and muamalah (social deeds) dimension; therefore, there is a balance and synergy between both two.13

The reality, if Ulama did the political movement orientation, the government would respond strictly and always tried to block it. For instance, when the General Election time was come,14 there were many Ulamas started to be active in a political activity, such as becoming the political party officer; becoming the member of the advisor council of the mass organization; or even becoming the political party cadre, who mobilize the supporting vote. This reality was opposed by the Regional Government, who always brought back the Ulama position and function to its previous basic-track, which is the religious affairs.15

This government attitude was done to decrease any policial opposition movement from the Ulamas. The limitation of the Muslim

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10At this time, there were well known Ulama, such as Kyai Harya, Kyai Adra’, Kyai Haji Muhammad Zakaria, Yusuf Taqijri, Kyai Haji Muhammad Anwarsanusi, Kyai Haji Romli, Kyai Haji Abdul Qohar, Kyai Haji Muhammad Bakri, Kyai Haji Fatah, and Raden Haji Sukantawijaya. They were the SI (Syarikat Islam or Islamic League) activists, who held the reformation movement by establishing the MASC (Majlis Ahli Sunnah Clame or Islamic Mainstream Member Council of Clame) in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.

11At this time, there was the GIS (Gerakan Institut Sufiah or Sufiah Institute Movement), who intended in education which became the embryo of DI/TII (Durul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia or Islamic State/Indonesian Islam Soldier) led by S.M. (Sekarmaji Marijan) Kartosuwiryo. Besides that, the GD (Gerakan Dorussalam or Peace Domain Movement) cooperated with TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia or Indonesian National Soldier) to eradicate the DI/TII movement in Garut led by Yusuf Taqijri; the GP (Gerakan Perutusan or Deputation Movement) which issued the Muslim to be non-reactionaire radical, volunteered also by Ajengan Fauzan; and the GTT (Gerakan Tarekat Tijanisyah or Tijanisyah Islamic Mysticism Movement) in Garut that will Islam to be non-reactionaire radical led by K.H. (Kyai Haji) Badruzaman.

12See also, for example, the Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Giom Suwarsono; and Undang Hidayat in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2nd March 2009. Interview Transcriptions owned by the Author.

13Meaning also that the position of Ulama (Islamic Scholar) does not only move on the religious affair, but the other aspects, such as politics, economy, and law should be done by Ulama. See, for example, Interview with Undang Hidayat, a Secretary of MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2nd March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.


15See also the Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Giom Suwarsono; and Undang Hidayat in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 6th July 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
movement was the government great weapon to always dominate the political situation. It is proved by the result of the General Election, where the government political party, namely GOLKAR (Golongan Karya or Functional Group) would always have the significant result and lead the count. It was irony because Garut is a Kota Santri (City of Student Islamic Boarding School), but the Islamic political party never win in the General Election. Every General Elections in the time of New Order government won by GOLKAR.

On 1992 General Election in Garut, for example, GOLKAR got 22 chairs position in the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut; whereas PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or Development United Party), as an Islamic political party, got 7 chairs position; and PDI (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia or Indonesian Democratic Party) got 3 chairs position. It was even until 1997, at the end of the New Order government, the GOLKAR was still dominating the chairs position in the DPRD of Garut. From 36 chairs that being competed at the DPRD of Garut Regency, PPP has taken 11 chairs; PDI has taken 1 chair; while the GOLKAR has taken 24 chairs. Therefore, the Bupati (Regency Leader) position at the time of the New Order government, 1966-1998, which became the right-hand of GOLKAR; and President Soeharto regime was very strong and full-power (Aspinall & Fealy eds., 2010; Frederick & Worden eds., 2011; and Gumilar, 2014).

From those realities above, the position of Ulama in the Garut society’s perspective was just only to maintain the religious affairs around their areas. The struggling-line of the Ulama had been restored to the strengthening of the civil society. So, the people orientation was not added by the policial projects that consumed the great energy of conflict. They were realized that to move back to the civil society one. Ulama were hopefully having an orientation to the religious affairs, such as dakwah (propagation), ceramah (lecturing), sermon, reciting and discussing, and managing the Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School). This condition was not merely leaving the whole political world, but there were Ulamas that concerned on politics, but their political activities were not exposed clearly to the public.

For instance, the Ulamas who enrolled in PII (Pelajar Islam Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic Student) of Garut Regency, such as Gjom Suwarsono, Karna, and Kyai Haji Saeful Azhar. This was what that distinguish the Ulama activists in the New Order era (1966-1998) and those who in the Reform era (1998 to date). The Ulama activities in the Reform era are not only becoming the stamp or the judge of the religious affairs for the government interest. Ulamas start to criticize the government, such as the conduction of Islamic law movement and anti-corruption.

Ulamas, when they do their dakwah activity and guide people, they use the religious institution whether in the Pesantren and/or in mosque. They become a voluntary religious teacher without having salary, whether salary from the government or from the people, To revitalize the religious institutions, the Ulamas get donation from the people, such as zakat (tithe), infak (donation), and sadaqah (alms). Besides that, they also get support from the follower, whether it is psychological and physical supports. With both supports and the participation from people, the Ulamas could conduct their religious mission optimally (cf Wahab & Rahman, 2011; Gumilar, 2014; and ibidem with footnote 15).

Besides guiding the religious educational institution, among all Ulamas in Garut, there are Ulamas also that skillful in Ilmu Falaq or Astronomy, who help people to decide the praying time and schedule, including fasting time in the month of Ramadham or Imsakiyah.

17The Ulamas (Islamic Scholars) who skillful in this field are: Ustadz Yusak, an Ulama from Muhammadiyah (Organization of Prophet Muhammad Followers): Ustadz

15They are Ulama (Islamic Scholars), who have the Pesantrens (Islamic Boarding Schools) base, such as: K.H. (Kyai Haji) Toto Tantowi Jaufari and K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim, as leaders of Pesantren of Al-Musadadiyah in Garut; K.H. Buryamin, as a leader of Pesantren in Cipari; Garut; Ustadz Aceng Zakaria, a leader of Pesantren of PERSIS (Persatuan Islam or Islamic United) in Rancabago, Garut; and K.H. Ummuddin Banani, as a leader of Pesantren of Al-Huda in Garut. Those Pesantrens are categorized who have historical value in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia.
The value and behavior of the Garut people show the Islamic atmosphere in every aspect of life. For instance, people attempt to always involve the Ulamas in every activity, such as the establishment of house building, start from consulting it to Ulama; when they do celebration, such as marriage or any other reception, Ulamas become the people who to be asked their opinion. This condition happens to those who live in the rural area, such as in Cikedokan Village in Bayongbong Sub-District in Garut. In this area, there is a Pesantren named Nanggoh led by who categorized as a great Ulama of Garut, he is Kyai Haji A. Mimar Putera, the grandson of the other Garut great Ulama, named Kyai Haji Hidayatullah.

Now, Kyai Haji A. Mimar Putera becomes the great Imam (Islamic leader) in Great Mosque of Garut. This Pesantren, led by Kyai Haji A. Mimar Putera, has a historical value; it is a reference for the Pesantren Salaf (Conservative Islamic Boarding School) of NU (Nahdhatul Ulama or Islamic Scholars Awakening) people, when deciding the first day of Ramadhan (Fasting Month) and Idul Fitri (feast celebrating the end of fasting period) day in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.

The situation above cannot be separated from the role of Ulamas through their Pesantren educational institution as a life base of Ulama. The role of Ulama on that educational institution is very influencing for all social order in the society. Even, the construction of mosque is always be volunteered by Ulama. So, Ulamas become the people mobilizer who stands on the front-line by giving explanation to the people about the important of mosque. Ulamas also motivate people to donate and pay their alms in order to finish the mosque’s construction. The will of people to donate part of their wealth for mosque construction is not separated from the ability of Ulama in explaining the people regarding the important things of those institutions. These Ulamas motivate people through various ways, which always oriented to the reward value that will be gain from the people.18

Islamic Scholars’ Movement in Garut around 1998-2007. In the next development time, as well as the socio-political change from the New Order era (1966-1998) to the Reform era (1998 to date), the Ulamas (Islamic Scholars)’ movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia has changed. The shift from the New Order era to the Reform era was marked by the change of the social structure; it brought hopes for many social components, for instance the Ulamas. The Ulamas in Garut responded thos shift joyfully. The understood movement hopefully will bring the good change to the people.

The barrier at the time of New Order hopefully would be opened immediately. The democracy in the Reform era brought the new hope for strategy, pattern, characteristics, and the target of the movement of Ulamas in Garut.19 Actually, the shift of this order changed the characteristics and paradigm of Ulamas movement. The Ulamas and Kyais (Clerics of Islamic Boarding School), who stricted on the religious affair, cultural-civil-society affair, as Clifford Geertz (1960) called “cultural broker,”20 had changed. The Ulamas

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18See also, for example, the Interviews with Asep Ahmad Hidayat; Yadi Januar; and Rofik Azhari in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 7th July 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

19See again the Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; Undang Hidayat; and Giom Suwarsono, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 2nd March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

20Clifford Geertz (1960), in his book, argued that Ulama (Islamic Scholar) is just able to manage religious affair; meanwhile in politics, the ability of Ulama is lack. Regarding this statement, the Author does not agree that Ulamas are just only having the ability on a religious affair. The Author, and other Indonesian scholars, argued that Ulamas are also able to involve in politics. There is a proof where how the Ulamas movement in Garut, West Java, Indonesia attempted to involve in a political and law affairs. Besides the opinion above, Clifford Geertz (1960) argued also that the role of Ulama, as cultural broker, makes the great Ulama position becomes even greater and more charismatic. This argument gains various responses from the experts, for instance the response from Mohammad Iskandar (2001:24). He stated that the position of Ulamas are not only decided by their role as cultural broker, but it is decided by measuring aspects, such as: Ulamas who have done pilgrimage already having Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) consisted hundred or thousands Santris (students of Islamic boarding school) make Ulama gained his great name. In my opinion, the great name and position of Ulama, besides as stated by Clifford Geertz (1960) and Mohammad Iskandar
movement slowly moved as well as the change of the political situation in Indonesia. The Ulamas also started to enter the politics, economy, and law (cf. Geertz, 1960; Dhoifier, 1982; Horikoshi, 1987; Iskandar, 2001; and Gumilar, 2014).

Around 1998-2007, Ulamas in Garut started to do their movement, besides the religious aspect; they also oriented on the economic, political, and law aspects. Furthermore, in economic aspect, Ulamas in Garut issued the alms awareness movement, created the BMT (Baitul Maal wat Tamwil or Alms Institution). Then, on political aspect, the Ulamas in Garut attempted to reposing themselves on their relationship to the government. In law aspect, the Ulamas in Garut issued the alms awareness movement, which criticized the implementation of Garut Regency Budgeting. The focus of this Ulamas movement started from the political movement by giving advice to the Regional Government policy. Then, the policy is realized as the PERDA (Peraturan Daerah or Regional Regulation) in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia.

In conducting their movement, Ulamas in Garut hold the “ethic-theologic principal”, based on Islam. Based on this principal, the early attempt to respond the order-shift by Ulamas was through conducting coordination among Muslim, so that Muslim will still be unified. In 1998, it had been established an institution which was oriented more on the process of integrating Muslim. The institution is called the BKUI (Badan Koordinasi Umat Islam or Muslim Coordination Institution) in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia.

One of the Ulamas movements which connected to BKUI was coordination movement of Muslim in Garut, when they were interest conflict happened after the Regency Leader Election for 1998-2003 period. Muslim was successfully coordinated in order to not to involve in any of the interest conflicts. This interest conflict was caused by the spreading different perception of a group of Garut people, which told that the triumph of Dede Satibi elected as Bupati (Regent) of Garut was dishonest; there was a gratification of the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or Regional Legislative Assembly) members in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.

Due to the change of the political situation in Indonesia, around 1998-2007 was devided by the increasing of the people toward various effort of Ulama at that time. See, for comparison, Clifford Geertz (1960); Zamakhsyari Dhoifier (1982); Hiroko Horikoshi (1987); Mohammad Iskandar (2001); and Setia Gumilar (2014).

A moral foundation which is oriented in reaching the divine values, such as the realization of the religious society who do the Islamic norms. See also, for example, interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Muhammad Qudsi, a Leader of Pesantren Suci (Holy Islamic Boarding School); an Initiator of LP’Syfi (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari’at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation); and Member of Advisory Board of PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or Development United Party), in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 5th March 2009; and 26th November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

Around the establishment of BKUI, the religious and social condition in Garut was dynamic. It was because there was a change on the socio-political order, which influenced the Garut condition after the agenda of democracy; it was the Election of the Regency Leader, which triggered various political intrigues that would excess the differences among Muslim. Ulamas who enrolled in MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic Scholar Council) of Garut Regency, one of them was Cecep Abdul Halim, conducted an attempt which concern more on the Muslim integration. This attempt gained support from the Regency Leader of Garut, Dede Satibi. This attempt was also conducted formally through establishing BKUI of Garut Regency. The establishment of BKUI was so effectively for the Ulamas in conducting the religious and other matters’ movement toward the Garut people (cf. Leirisss, 2004; Siregar, 2013; Zulkifli, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).

One of the Ulamas movements which connected to BKUI was coordination movement of Muslim in Garut, when they were interest conflict happened after the Regency Leader Election for 1998-2003 period. Muslim was successfully coordinated in order to not to involve in any of the interest conflicts. This interest conflict was caused by the spreading different perception of a group of Garut people, which told that the triumph of Dede Satibi elected as Bupati (Regent) of Garut was dishonest; there was a gratification of the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or Regional Legislative Assembly) members in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.
Facing the 1999 General Election, the Ulamas in Garut – under the coordination of BKU1 and MUI of Garut Regency – attempted to always support this democracy agenda. To prove it, Ulamas in Garut met the Regional Government. This meeting was mainly to strengthen the relationship between Ulamas and the government, as stated by K.H. (Kyai Haji) Makmun Syamsuddin, the leader of MUI of Garut Regency.25 The Ulamas issued Muslim to not to do mis-choice. The Ulamas issued also the Muslim to always stayed under the corridor of Ukhawah Islamiyah (Islamic Brotherhood) in order to create the the peace and calm society.26

This issue was continuously attempted by the Ulamas in Garut. The attempt of integrating Muslim in Garut became the main strategy of Ulamas movement in Garut. According to K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim and Giom Suwarsono, this Ummat (Islamic society) integration became a capital for the Islamic value struggle, whether in the local or even in national level. This strategy was also conducted when K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim led an organization called Dewan Imamah Kabupaten Garut or the Leader Council of Garut Regency.27

This Autonom Government Council,28 a form of the Ulamas' movement which oriented on the religious aspect, was made to respond the national tension, because Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) was assumed fail to lead the country for particular groups, in 1999; which, then, dispose from the postion as a President of the Republic of Indonesia. That political event triggered tension on the grass-root people, especially those who declared themselves as the member of NU (Nahdatul Ulama or Islamic Scholars Awakening), as Gus Dur supporters, versus Muhammadiyah (Prophet Muhammad Followers) organization, as Amien Rais supporters.

To anticipate the tension between NU members and Muhammadiyah members, it was made the Islamic Leader Council volunteered by many religious and political figures. The activity done by Islamic Leader Council was doing silaturahmi (Islamic meeting) between ORMAS (Organisasi Massa or Mass Organization) of Islam and ORPOL (Organisasi Politik or Political Organization) leaders. The Islamic Leader Council, as stated by Undang Hidayat, a member of the Islamic Leader Council, this organization has a dual function: the intern function, it has a function as silaturahmi forum among the religions and political figures that cooperate to solve the people problem. Meanwhile the other function, it has a function as a moral force.29

Beside the effort done by the Ulamas of Garut above, they also kept maintaining their movement through issuing the order to fight against the sin-practice and violation. On 22nd October 2001, for example, the Ulamas30 in Garut visited the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut building to force the council members to give the moral support to Ulamas and the interlinked parts regarding the fighting against the sin-practice and violation in Garut.31

25As states in the News in Galamedia, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia: 19th April 1999 and 23rd April 1999.
26One of the issues is that Muslim hopefully would not be provoked by a particular group, who intended to separate Muslim. Muslim should always aware and hold the Islamic value strongly, based on the Al-Qur'an (holy book of Islam) and Al-Hadits (words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad).
27Interviews with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim; and Giom Suwarsono, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 23th March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
28Establishment of Dewan Imamah (Islamic Leader Council) was not depended on the other institutions; it was pure from the idea of Ulama to reach the harmony among all religious organizations in Garut. See, for example, Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Cecep Abdul Halim, Head of MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency and also as Head of Dewan Imamah (Islamic Leaders Council) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 23th March 2009; and 27th November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
29One of the moral actions conducted by Dewan Imamah (Islamic Leader Council) to the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut was the critis to DPRD Kabupaten (Regency) Garut members, who asked money for 1.00 million Rupiah to the PEMKAB (Pemerintah Kabupaten or Regency Government) of Garut to buy the private vehicle.
30The arrival of Ulamas was accompanied by the leader of Garut MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council), K.H. (Kyai Haji) Marmun Syamsuddin; the leader of Dewan Imamah (Islamic Leaders Council), K.H. Cecep Abdul Halim; and the leader of KANDEPAG (Kantor Departemen Agama or Religion Affairs Department Office) of Garut of Garut, Drs. H. (Doctorandus Haji) Cecep Alamsyah.
31News in Priangan, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 24-26 October 2001.
This arrival of Ulamas was an accumulation of disappointed for the fast spreading growing of sin-practice and violence in Garut. Meanwhile, the council members were assumed not too reactive toward this social problem. The Ulamas hoped that the council members make the PERDA (Peraturan Daerah or Regional Regulation), which forbid all kinds of violence comprehensively. The existing regulation about the violence, PERDA No.6 Year of 2000, was assumed by the Ulamas to be insufficient enough to forbid the violence. This PERDA was only forbid the prostitution practice; meanwhile, the Ulamas argued that violence is not only prostitution, but many, such as gambling, drinking, and so on (Siregar, 2013; Zulkifli, 2013; Gumilar, 2014; and ibidem with footnote 31).

Next, in law aspect, the Ulamas’ calling was based on ethic-theologic, which stated that the alternative action towards the moral and mental crisis was by activating the implementation of Islamic Law. This indication of moral crisis can be seen upon the weak of the law enforcement in the society, country, and nation. The existing of sin-practice and violence happened in Garut, such as prostitution, gambling, corruption, whether the religious law or the public law which codified into the government policies. The weakness of solving the violence practice was understand as meter of increasing the law force, whether by implementing the existing law or making the new law. Thus, the discussion of the law culture should be conducted by seeing the life norms in the society which mainly Muslim, as stated by Haji Qudsii.32

The call of Haji Qudsii was responded by the Garut Ulamas,33 through establishing the KPSI (Komite Penegak Syari’at Islam or Islamic Law Upholder Committee) in the beginning of 2002. This KPSI forced the PEMDA (Pemerintah Daerah or Regional Government) and DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or Regional Legislative Assembly) of Garut to regulate the Syari’at Islam (Islamic Law). To accommodate the KPSI force, PEMKAB (Pemerintah Kabupaten or Regency Government) and DPRD of Garut along with the Ulamas established the LP3SyI (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkkan, dan Penerapan Syari’at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation).34 The establishment of LP3SyI was meant to become a place for reciting, implementation, and upholding the Islamic law. Besides that, LP3SyI was as a response of the PEMKAB of Garut and Islamic organizations regarding the will of regulatin the Islamic law, as mentioned by Kusaeni, a leader of KESBANG (Kesejahteraan dan Pembangunan or Prosperity and Development) of PEMKAB in Garut, West Java, Indonesia (Gumilar, 2014; and ibidem with footnote 34).

LP3SyI has two written documents regarding their movement. Firstly, the ethic code of LP3SyI; and the secondly, the working program of LP3SyI. The ethic code of LP3SyI in Garut Regency consists of trait, function, purpose, guidance (basic), method (way), and the ethic of upholding the Islamic law. On the ethic code of LP3SyI, the characteristic is independent. The independence and freedom understood by LP3SyI is a unity. The freedom is understood as a incarnation of the total theoligism, the basic attitude which becomes the belief that the one who has power is

32Among all Ulamas (Islamic Scholars) who agree with Haji Qudsii, they are K.H. (Kyai Haji) Aceng Dadang Zakaria; K.H. Ubun Bunyamin; Ustadz Firmansyah; and K.H. Syahrul al-Gifari. These Ulamas remind all Muslims to immediately stick together for the sake of the Muslim safe by regulating the Syari’at (Islamic Law) and Khilafah (Caliphate); and the Ulamas hopefully not to be stucked on the pragmatic thinking that will lead to the personal destruction which impact the society; because the Ulamas are the representation of the risalah (message) brought by Rasulullah (the Meseeer of God) SAW (Sallallahu Alaihi Wassalam or Peace Be Upon Him). So, it is good if Ulamas hold the mabda Islam (Islamic law), not the others.

33They are K.H. (Kyai Haji) Endang Yusuf, Lc.; Giom Suwarsono; Halim Basyarah; Undang Hidayat; Mahyar Suwara; and K.H. Saeful Azhar. See, for example, Interview with K.H. (Kyai Haji) Endang Yusuf, Lc., as Head of KPSI (Komite Penegak Syari’at Islam or Islamic Law Upholder Committee) and Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkkan, dan Penerapan Syari’at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 4th March 2009; and 4th February 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

34See, for example, News in Priangan, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 2-5 March 2002 and Interview with Asep Ahmad Hidayat, as a Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkkan, dan Penerapan Syari’at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation) of Garut Regency, in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 3rd March 2009. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.
only Allah the only one God. Meanwhile, the independence is understood as consequence and ordered of the caliphate faith, which is ordered for every single person that should be submitted to Allah.\(^{35}\)

The declaration of LP3SyI was held on 15\(^{th}\) March 2002 AD (Anno Domini), or 1\(^{st}\) Muharram 1423 AH (Anno Hijriah) in the Islamic calendar. This decision based on the agreement between MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) and Dewan Imamah (Islamic Leaders Council) consists of 50 members, including Ulamas (Muslim Scholars), law practitioners, and Islamic political organizations. The coordinator of the declaration was based on the agreement was led by the leader of MUI. The content of the declaration as follows:

Firstly that as an attempt to create the peaceful Garut people to reach the Allah will in NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia or Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia), which is based on the one divinity, therefore the implementation of Islamic law for the believers is a must. Secondly, the implementation of Islamic law in Garut Regency is a reality of aspiration, which needs to be attended and followed up. Thirdly, the spread and the implementation of Islamic law must be conducted well and respectable enough. Fourthly, in order to reach the maximal implementation of Islamic law in Garut regency, it needs a deep audit in line with the dynamic change of social and cultural order of the society.

To reach those purposes, by trusting to Allah SWT (Subhanahu Wa-Ta’ala or Almighty), we agree to declare the upholding and implementation of Islamic Law through LP3SyI of Garut Regency. May Allah bless and always give His guidance upon us. Amin.\(^{36}\)

One of the implementations of this declaration, Dede Satibi, as Bupati (Regent) of Garut instructed all his staffs, especially for women to wear jilbab (veil) and instruct all Muslims to pay the zakat (tithe).\(^{37}\) Regarding these zakat, the Ulamas in Garut attempt to do a movement in an economic aspect by issuing the zakat awareness movement. Started by the of PERDA (Peraturan Daerah or Regional Regulation) No.1 Year of 2003 about the Zakat (Tithe), Infaq (Donation), and Shodaqoh (Alms) managing influences the Muslim awareness in Garut to pay the Zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh (cf Wahab & Rahman, 2011; Zulkifli, 2013; and Gumilar, 2014).

The making of PERDA about Zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh managing was based on several consideration: Firstly, in its attempt to increase the Muslim awareness to do the good deeds, including the finishing of Zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh managing, which become a potential source of fund for creating the welfare for the people and give a chance for those who wants to participate; secondly, Zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh are the obligation of all Muslims to create the social justice for the people of Garut; and thirdly, the attempt of finishing the Zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh management system needs to continuously increased, so that the implementation will be more useful to be responsible.

The awareness of paying the Zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh in Garut Regency was increasing. It was based on the record in 2001/2002, which reached the sum of IDR (Indonesia Rupiah) 1,140,450,417.00 for Zakat Fitrah (tithe in rice or money paid on last day of fasting month), which increase into IDR 8,585,734,310.00 in 2007/2008.\(^{38}\)

Meanwhile, in the other law section includes the political section, the Ulamas in MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic Scholars Council) of Garut Regency participated on the movement "Garut as an Anti-Corruption City". A number of movements conducted by the Ulamas, it is giving the report to the lawyers regarding the

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\(^{35}\)See, for example, “Kode B&k LP3SyI dan Pedoman Dasar LP3SyI Kabupaten Garut”. Unpublished Paper. Available and owned by the Author; and Interview with H.H. (Kyai Haji) Yosef Djuanda, a Member of Executive Board of LP3SyI (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari’at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation) in Garut, West Java, Indonesia, on 26\(^{th}\) November 2010. The Interview Transcription owned by the Author.

\(^{36}\)See “Naskah Deklarasi LP3SyI Kabupaten Garut”. Unpublished Manuscript. Available and owned by the Author; and also qoutes is translated from the Indonesian language to English by the Author.

\(^{37}\)News in Suara Rakyat Merdeka, a newspaper published in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, on 5-12 April 2002.

\(^{38}\)See “Rekap Laporan BAZIS (Badan Amil Zakat, Infaq, dan Shodaqoh) Kabupaten Garut: Laporan Rekapitulasi Tahun 2002-2009”. Unpublished Report. Available and owned by the Author. This IDR (Indonesia Rupiah) 8,585,734,310.00 sum comes from 18 Sub-Districts. Meanwhile, in 2008/2009 until February 2009, the sum of IDR 2,045,880,950.00 comes from 9 Sub-Districts in Garut, West Java, Indonesia.
mis-implementation of the APBD (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah or Regional Budgeting and Income Generating) of Garut Regency, which happened since 2001. The case known as APBD Gate was volunteered by the Ulamas in Garut, which was ended by the imprisonment of the regional council members. This Ulamas movement of eradicating corruption was kept running until the end of the Bupati Garut for 2003-2008 period, Agus Supriadi, from his position (BPKP, 2002; Basyar, 2008; and Gumilar, 2014).

CONCLUSION

The structure of Garut society is a religious area; therefore, it is well known for the title of Garut as the Kota Santri (City of Islamic Boarding School Student). This title means that how the religious attitude is very strong upon the Garut people. It is proven by the existing of plenty religious institution, which direct the religious behavior to become the important and unseparable part of the Garut people. Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) is an influencing religious institution that makes Garut Regency tasted strong in its religious atmosphere. This condition cannot be separated from the role of the religious figures, which is called Ulama (Islamic Scholar).

The position of Ulamas in Garut Regency, West Java, Indonesia is very strategic. From the Garut historical track aspect, the Ulamas had a significant position and role. Their struggle had brought Garut to become the Kota Santri. There are many great Ulamas come from Garut, for example K.H. (Kyai Haji) Muthofa Kamil; Yusuf Taujiri; K.H. Badruzaman; K.H. Anwar Musaddad, and many more. A factor that makes Ulamas to have a prestigious position in Garut is that they place the ethic-theologic foundation as a base of activities in all aspects of life.

During 1998-2007, for example, the Ulamas of Garut kept doing their role in various aspects of the movement, whether religious, political, economic, or law aspects. During this time, the Ulamas of Garut focused their movements on a non-religious field, such as politics and law. 

Preiously, at the time of the New Order government (1966-1998), the Ulamas of Garut in the surface were only able to show their role on only religious aspect; whereas in the other aspects, they were not able. It was because the policy of New Order government forbid the Ulamas to involve in the political aspect. On the next development, which was exactly at the time of Reform era (1998 to date), the Ulamas in Garut started to show their identity to participate in the other aspects beyond the religious aspect.

There were many the Garut Ulamas' role by their movement, for example the Muslim integration movement in order to strengthen the unity of Muslim by establishing the BKUI (Badan Koordinasi Umat Islam or Muslim Coordination Institution). The anti-violences movement rearding the maintaining the title of Garut as a "Santri and Religious City" by establishing LP3Syl (Lembaga Pengkajian, Penegakkan, dan Penerapan Syari'at Islam or Institution for Islamic Study, Empowerment, and Implementation). This institution attempts to make Garut as an area that implement the Islamic law.

The others political movement was to keep correction the Regional Government works. It was proven by the hard effort of reducing the corrupt govermental. The discharging of Bupati (Regent) of Garut, Agus Supriadi, as a real form of the Ulamas attention to the law aspect. Besides that, the Ulamas in Garut are also focused on the making and implementing the Regional Budgeting or APBD (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah) of Garut Regency.  

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