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GROWING IN THE MIDDLE OF COMMUNIST AND ABANGAN (HISTORY OF MUHAMMADIYAH TULUNGAGUNG)

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ABSTRAK

Sejarah Muhammadiyah di Tulungagung selalu luput dari peneliti. Jangankan berbicara tentang persyarikatan, nama kabupaten yang dilewati Sungai Brantas ini saja masih kurang familiar. Data dan fakta terkait sejarah Muhammadiyah di Tulungagung wajib diteliti. Karena di wilayah ini sangat kental nuansa abangan di masa kini dan komunis pada era sebelum 1965. Riset ini menggunakan metode penelitian literatur. Meskipun kenyataannya sumber tertulis mengenai Muhammadiyah di Tulungagung cukup sulit ditemukan. Untuk menutupi kekurangan dalam hal literatur maka dimanfaatkan juga metode wawancara. Hanya orang-orang dengan kapasitas yang sesuai dengan bidang penelitian ini lah yang diminta untuk menjadi responden. Hasil riset dapat dijadikan pelajaran berharga bagi semua orang. Baik akademisi, warga Muhammadiyah, umat Islam, ataupun masyarakat Indonesia secara keseluruhan. Dikarenakan terdapat ibrah berharga. Ketika seseorang atau komunitas terkena tekanan bukan malah semakin kecil nyalinya. Namun sebaliknya. Justru lebih semangat dan menunjukkan berbagai prestasi membanggakan. Muhammadiyah Tulungagung patut diapresiasi di bidang keagamaan, pendidikan, seni budaya, dan politik.

Kata Kunci: Abangan, Komunis, Muhammadiyah, Pendidikan, Sejarah, Tulungagung.

Introduction

The growth of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung, East Java deserves to be appreciated. It is not something simple for the organization carrying the modernity growing in the basis of communist and *Abangan* (those not adhere strictly to the precepts of nominal religion). Moreover, Tulungagung is not equal to other cities in East Java such as Lamongan in which the *Tadjid* is simply accepted. In 1960s, it was not easy to follow Muhammadiyah - even to follow Islam was something uncommon for the people in Tulungagung. At that

time, this City of Marble was mostly populated by community following communism and *Abangan* in which PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) was very powerful particularly approaching the movement of 30 September (G30S) of 1965. In Tulungagung, a city that is only 70 km from Madiun, as the story goes, is claimed as the capital of community with the symbol of hammer and sickle. It is a small town in Southern East Java 120 km from the capital of Surabaya. This town is not really known compared to its neighbouring towns such as Blitar and

Kediri. However, Tulungagung has some excellences not found in other places; one of which is that it is the largest producer of marble in Asia. The history of Tulungagung sometimes is not known among researchers. The story of *Kadipaten Ngrowo* as the previous name of Tulungagung has been less famous compared to the history of Dhoho Kingdom and the imperium of Kahuripan in Kediri. Due to its infame, this research becomes interesting to be proposed. It is a must for the public to know about the history of regency that has 19 sub-districts. Certainly, it is also with the initial development of the proselytization of Muhammadiyah that must be directly correlated to the communism and Abangan power. The non-physical and physical dispute emerged along with the growth of Muhammadiyah to give Enlightenment to the city that is also called as Bumi Wajakensis. A number of good deed activities even have been disputed, though the next generation today, as a matter of fact, can feel the benefits and even are grateful for the advancement concept carried by Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung. It is expected that this simple research could give contribution to some parties. The purposes of this research include:

1. For the researchers and academicians it can be useful as the source of primary

reference on the history of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung. It is in consideration to the lack of literatures on the proselytization movement of organization in this district now led by Syahri Mulyo.

2. It is beneficial in inspiring Muhammadiyah citizen in general to be more consistent in doing proselytization in accordance with their respective fields. It is since the challenges and obstacles being faced today are not as hard as the ones in the past.

The mind-set is the idea underlying an effort to answer the research questions; thus, it can be in the form of the existing theory, concept formulation, and research logics. Theory is required for the overall core guidance grip in the research. If connected with data, then the theory can be compiled from a number of existing data in a particular system of thought, but a theory is not necessarily true even though it has been supported by some data. Related to that, then theory becomes the base for a hypothesis. Related to the hypothesis, then theory becomes the first milestone of a hypothesis to be verified (Narbuko and Achmadi 2009, 28). Such hypothesis test research is based on a deductive reasoning process. In research, theory can also provide a direction on the

research process, both in terms of data collection, analysis, and conclusion. Data collection is a process conducted prior to the formulation of the research problem. The data will subsequently be processed by means of a particular analysis to be able to figure out the correlation between data that can be taken as the research conclusion to support whether the initial hypothesis is true. Such research uses an inductive reasoning process. The way of reasoning (inductive) has been used in this research.

This research used a historical narrative about Muhammadiyah Tulungagung itself. This cannot be naive as, according to Schiffer (1995: 35), the development of historical narratives is a good reason to form the view of behavioural theory. It then means that the exposure of historical narratives is closely related to behavioural theory. The uniqueness of this research is when the organization activity in Marble City frequently encountered some obstacles, challenges, threats and disturbances but it in fact showed many advantages. In this case, it seemed an anomaly.

This research is limited only in the scope of Tulungagung Regency, an area bordered by Kediri Regency on the northern part, Trenggalek Regency in the western part, Blitar Regency on the

Eastern part and Indian Ocean in the southern part. In addition, Tulungagung also has 19 districts.

It is very hard to find a literary source telling about the early history of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung. It is almost nothing at all. To overcome this limitation, the interview would be more intensified in this research purposely to make the result more valid. In addition, documents owned by Regional Executive of Muhammadiyah (PDM) Tulungagung and all branches of Muhammadiyah (PCM) under would be totally analysed. The study on the document later would also include the old photographs. By examining these documents, it is expected that the early history of Muhammadiyah proselytization in the regency bordering with the Indian Ocean in the southern area can be further explored. Moleong (1989) argued that when it will begin about the thinking of a research, it must be considered and formulated clearly, simply, and thoroughly. Thus a research is deemed necessary. From this, the problem formulation in this research includes:

A. How is the history of the proselytization movement development of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung particularly when it contacted to communist and Abangan groups?

B. What is the Charitable Contribution of Muhammadiyah in which its establishment has ever been opposed in Tulungagung but now its positive things can be felt today?

The purposes of this research include (1) identifying the history of the proselytization movement development of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung particularly when contacting with communist and Abangan groups and (2) to recognize the Charitable Contribution of Muhammadiyah (AUM) in which its establishment has ever been opposed in Tulungagung but its positive things can be felt today.

This section includes the methods of collecting, analysing, and presenting the data. The existing literature reference was then synergized with the subject matter or problem proposed. This is secondary data. Primary data was the ones directly obtained in the field (Harimurti, 2011). Principally, literature study is useful as the complement, and support for the research data. The approach method used in this research was qualitative. The written data about the early Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung was highly required in supporting this research. The pictorial data were also needed in consideration to the very limited source of the literature particularly for the books. The

development of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung certainly has documented some of its activities through photos as the image data about those period times has started to spread in Tulungagung.

Literature Review

Thesis by Moh Shoim entitled *Pola Pembinaan Masjid al-Fatah Tulungagung* (1989) (The Development Patterns of Al-Fatah Mosque Tulungagung (1989)) is highly needed in literature studies as the work contains one of Charitable Contribution of Muhammadiyah (AUM) in Tulungagung that is Al-Fatah Mosque. This mosque was built in the *black zone* that is in the basis of the Communist and Abangan. For people surrounding, Al-Fatah Mosque was like an ivory tower in the past. Its construction has raised a debate; even it has created a physical dispute between the citizens of Muhammadiyah and the people living nearby.

Regarding the age, Al-Fatah Mosque is stated as the old. It was built by Hajj Masjhuri together with the local Islamic community in 1952. The first process of refinement was in 1984. From the result of interview of the thesis writer and the *Takmir/* Committee of Al-Fatah Mosque, it can be seen that the mosque was reconstructed since 1984 when the

mosque was donated by the founder H. Masjhuri to PDM Tulungagung.

Though it is less correlated to the theme of this research, but at least the above data could be used as a reference to know the early history of Muhammadiyah movement in Tulungagung through charity activities. As the additional information, Al-Fatah Mosque is located in Kepatihan District; Tulungagung now becomes the centre for the Muhammadiyah proselytization in the city with the motto *ayem, tentrem, mulya, lan tinata* (Safe, Calm, Peaceful, and Organized).

Though not directly related to the theme of this research, at least the book of Ahmad Adaby Darban and Muhammad Syakir entitled *Sejarah Muhammadiyah* (History of Muhammadiyah) Part I (1994) can be used as a reference in literature study. The book contains some signposts related to the writing of Muhammadiyah history sometimes different from other organizations. For example, to keep the trace of the thoughts and life of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan is something quite difficult considering that the founder of the Muhammadiyah organization has never composed or written a book. The story of KH Ahmad Dahlan is ultimately known from the works of his students such as KH Syudja.

Data obtained through the interview process was required in this study. The interviewees were not the ordinary people but the ones competent and reliable in the field related to the theme (Endraswara, 2009: 225). The figures considered to have knowledge of the early history of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung were asked to provide the most up-to-date information to support the validity of this study.

The research site was determined through the field survey in order to know which objects were selected. Site selection was useful in determining which the charitable contribution of Muhammadiyah had the growth interesting to be observed as mentioned in the background.

In this stage two types of data: secondary data and primary data were used. Primary data was data obtained directly from the field. Accuracy in data collection and processing was highly prioritized. Secondary data, meanwhile, was more based upon the existing literature references and then synergized with the subject matter or problem proposed by the researcher. Library data and interviews are useful as the complement, and support for research data.

Once obtained, the data were then analysed. The analysis was done by matching data in the field, comparative

study, and literature study. The social principle of humanities remains the base in later generating a conclusion. By combining several analyses either the data from the interview or the literature studies applied in the social disciplines of the humanities, the processing sequence was viewed sufficient and the conclusion would reach the validity point.

Results and Discussion

From the search on the site of www.muhammadiyah.or.id it can be seen that KH Ahmad Dahlan in doing proselytization not only in Yogyakarta also called as the Gudeg City (traditional food) but also out of this city. One of the cities was Surabaya. In the city formerly named Ujung Galuh, the figure nicknamed Sang Pencerah (The Enlightener) could convince the local people to have a religious life in accordance with the guidance of the Qur'an and Sunnah. KH Mas Mansur, an Islamic religious leader from Ampel, Surabaya, responded to the good intentions of KH Ahmad Dahlan by establishing Muhammadiyah in a town adjacent to Madura Island in 1920.

The movement of the figure born in August 1, 1868 in Surabaya in fact broadly brought an impact. Muhammadiyah slowly but surely was established in some areas of

East Java. Finally, the enlightening movement reached Tulungagung in 1932. At that time the Marble City as well as other regions in Indonesia was still controlled by the Dutch. Though the system of organization was not well structured, the pioneering steps began to appear in Bumi Wajakensis.

The Establishment of Educational Institution

It is recorded in history, Muhammad Palil who mobilized Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung in 1939. Together with his colleagues, this man born June 6, 1900 ran the wheels of organization. However, it did not last long. In 1942 to 1945, Muhammadiyah activities in the city bordering Trenggalek on the western part were totally stopped. This was due to the movement of Japanese colonization in the archipelago.

In 1954, Palil together with Moh Djen, Sastrodarmadjo, and Koesman initiated the establishment of Muhammadiyah Junior High School (SMP). Palil himself became a Javanese language teacher. This was a distinct achievement considering culturally Tulungagung was dominated by people who still believed in the myth or Abangan.

SMP Muhammadiyah was present and well accepted.

When the communist power was getting increased in Tulungagung, the Muhammadiyah movement attempted to balance it. This was proven in 1964, when Muhammadiyah Youth assisted by Hizbul Wathan frequently did some social works in Bono and Campurdarat by distributing food or compensation for the poor. This was important in which, in addition to part of the application of the spirit of al-Ma'un it was also the form of fortifying the community from the influence of PKI (Indonesia Communist Party).

Three years before Palil initiated Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung, Mohammad Ridwan had already taken a part. Ridwan invited a number of his friends to realize this noble intention. They were Mansoer Mandailing, Abbad, Soemaniman, and Achmad Maula. However, for being unfamiliar, the five fellows firstly did a comparative study to PCM Blitar related to the procedure of establishing a new branch.

The advice of Blitar PCM to its neighbour was quite wise. It was unnecessary to establish a branch in hurry but building the sympathizers was better. This proved quite powerful. Ridwan and colleagues held a public recitation in Tulungagung in which many attendees

came. Some of the participants of the study were interested in the religious ideas promoted by Muhammadiyah.

The location of recitation was held in Botoran District. The speaker presented was from PCM Blitar. Through this Islamic event, it also included the vision and mission of Muhammadiyah. This was a very unique. Because the event was held in Tulungagung filled by preachers from Blitar; two areas were very close to Abangan culture. Especially after the events of Madiun Affair on 19 September 1948, Southern Blitar was a refuge for PKI activists.

In addition to give an advice to conduct the public recitation, PCM Blitar also proposed that Tulungagung immediately established an educational institution in accordance with the core Muhammadiyah. Fortunately, Ridwan in fact had some friends that concerned with the field. Finally Abbad donated the land in the west of Alun-Alun to be the Muhammadiyah People's School (SR). Now the land is used for the office of PDM Tulungagung on R.A. Kartini St No. 35, a very strategic location for being located in the heart of the city.

It was through SRM, Palil, Djen, and Ridwan could make a collaboration to establish and develop Muhammadiyah through education. Then, the former

district community named Kadipaten Ngrowo gradually was familiar with and interested in that organization. The early proselytization of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung was very effective when choosing the path of education.

Building Mushalla and Social Institution

The inaugural ceremony in Tulungagung held in Botoran, in addition to the first activity of Muhammadiyah in Marble Earth, was an initial step of the establishment of the Muhammadiyah branch (PRM) in the Kelurahan known as the centre of the textile industry. The prominent figures in the establishment of PRM Botoran were Suhur, Abdul Ghani, and Subandi. Although it was only at the branch level, the Muhammadiyah activities in Botoran were quite massive.

The incidental event carried out in Kelurahan adjacent to Kedungwaru Subdistrict in the north included the distribution of nine basic commodities to the people in need, the fund-raising for disaster management, mass circumcisions usually held during Muhammadiyah anniversary, and the provision of shroud for poor families. While the routine events of PRM Botoran included Eid ul-Adha as well as distribution of Qurban, collection and distribution of Zakat Fitri, and regular Quran recitation door to door.

The climax occurred in 1960 when PKI power in Tulungagung was increasingly greater; PRM Botoran in fact got a land endowment. Although initially it was only in the form of a warehouse, the local activists made it to be a Mushalla, placed in a very strategic place in Botoran at that time for located rightly in the edge of the highway. In contrast to other mosques that tended to be hidden. The community was greatly helped by the existence of this mushalla.

One of the core activities of PRM Botoran conducted in the mushalla was mass circumcision. A total of 25 children followed the event as modelled by Ibrahim AS. Now the Mushalla originally as a warehouse has grown rapidly and changed into a mosque named Mujahidin.

In the southwest of Botoran there was an urban village which was also a base of Abangan named Sembung. In 1989 a local Muhammadiyah leader named Imam Suyadi donated his land to an orphanage. A year later he was appointed as the chairman of the orphanage development. Now the social AUM has been serving, nurturing, educating, and teaching the orphans from various backgrounds. The orphanage was named *Siti Fatimah*, and many benefits could be obtained from its existence.

Initiating to hold Eid in Field

In 1964 Muhammadiyah Tulungagung started pioneering Eid in Pasar Pahing field. At that time there were only 16 people present. The residents of the organization started the Eid by echoing *Takbir*, *Tahmid*, and *Tahlil* started from getting out of the house to the location. The people still viewed something uncommon because commonly the Eid (*Eid ul-Fitr and Eid ul-Adha*) was held in mosques or mushalla.

The challenge of the groups that were not in line with the idea of Muhammadiyah about the location to do the Eid praying increased more. They did some terrors, debating, profaning, and even fighting. However, all was faced temperately by the activists of organization. The event of Eid praying in Pasar Pahing field did not last long as Muhammadiyah then moved the location of *Eid ul-Fitr and Eid ul-Adha* to Alun-Alun but it was also not for permanent. The Government of Tulungagung District renovated its land mark. For this, PDM Tulungagung looked for another alternative. It was then agreed that Ahmad Yani street as the location to do the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad.

Now the event of Eid prayer in Tulungagung with the largest number of Jama'ah is held along eastern Ahmad Yani Street and it was organized by PDM. The

combination of Imam from Muhammadiyah and *Khotib* (speaker) as the board of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) was considered very powerful to attract the sympathy of community of the district once also known as the flood city.

Today, all sub-districts in Tulungagung now have held the Eid Prayer in the field either officially organized by Muhammadiyah or other groups in Fiqh manner that are equally with the organization that is based in Yogyakarta. It is true what Ahmad Syafii Ma'arif the former chairman of the Central Leadership (PP) of Muhammadiyah stated that a progressive movement would be argued against at the beginning but it would be followed later.

Syamlan the Legend

Since 1955 Muhammadiyah in *Bumi Wajakensis* has been intensifying the regular Quran recitation. The activists involved were Supardi, Subakir Yahya, Muhammad ibn Abdullah Syamlan, and Ridwan Yahya. The Quran recitation was conducted at Muhammadiyah Hall at R.A Kartini Street No 35 routinely every Sunday night. When the building was renovated, the recitation study was moved to Mushalla Menara, Kauman. The Islamic study at Mushalla Menara was held daily every Sunday and was attended by hundreds of people. Here, Syamlan also

the merchant of the book became a regular speaker.

The latter figure was quite phenomenal in the history of Muhammadiyah Tulungagung. Syamlan tirelessly invited the people to follow the recitation. Sometimes he also suggested establishing a branch of Muhammadiyah in the living environment of his recitation participants.

In 1964, Syamlan was asked to be the speaker of the Quran recitation in Kediri. Because the event was held at night, it made the man born in November 12, 1924 had just got home at 1 a.m. While passing through Kediri-Tulungagung he was intercepted by a mob of communists. Syamlan was notoriously quite vocal to fight against PKI activists when delivering the Quran. That was what made the figures of the hammer of the sickle to hate the man born in Tuban. However, it was thankful for the help of Allah SWT a group of PKI people failed to do their evil action because Syamlan rode his motor cycle very fast so it could not be chased.

One day Syamlan was visited by someone who claimed as a Kyai (venerated scholar in Islam). However, before the Kyai talked at length, the man who had been active in the Party of Shura Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi) was

questioning something considered awkward to his guest. Syamlan questioned the habit of Kyai of Kediri who liked to use black magic to be used with the aim of inviting people as much as possible. He stated that it was shirk. Those were the obstacles and challenges of the Proselytization of Muhammadiyah in an area dominated by Abangan.

Dispute with PKI and Abangan

It was still in the same year. But it shifted to southern Tulungagung. It was noted a couple was in a very high spirit to join Muhammadiyah. They both rode bicycles from their home in Kalidawir to Tulungagung to join the Quran recitation held at the office of PDM. The distance between Kalidawir to Tulungagung is 25 km and taken by bicycle. It can imagine how deep the *ghirah* to Islam inside both.

The high spirit of the couple to follow Muhammadiyah had led the building of Mushalla close to their house. The activists of organization at the time were extraordinary. For the competition between Muhammadiyah and PKI, the friction often occurred in fact became the motivation for the cadres of Muhammadiyah to more diligently spread *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*. From the explanation of Halim Abhadi in 2011, both are still able to tell the heroic experience. It means that they are still healthy.

However, there is no further information about the today existence of the couple.

Another story occurred in Karangrejo in which the Quran recitation held by Muhammadiyah was sometimes stoned by the communist sympathizers. Also, they often made some yells harassing the participants of the recitation. Even, the bamboo trees were usually burned to scare the participants of the organization in order to create a tense atmosphere. Even in Kedungwaru, PKI cadres had prepared the mass cemeteries for the seniors of Muhammadiyah.

In Kedungwaru in 1963 there was tension because Muhammadiyah held their own Friday Prayer in accordance with the Sunnah. This was opposed by many people. Finally, the prominent figure was invited to ask the Muhammadiyah to stop its unusual ritual. Syamlan here came in front. The man who died in 1994 explained about the arguments related to Friday Prayers. However, the counter party did not understand about this explanation. They failed to understand about the Ahad (Sunday) Hadith or Mutawatir Ahadith. Finally, the first person who came to Tulungagung in 1938 was reluctant to continue the debate for considering that it was just wasteful to face the fool people.

For the umpteenth time Syamlan was vis-a-vis with the Abangan group.

This time he faced Kyai Ahmad Tafsir who used his belt as a media to strengthen his supernatural. It was said that the belt was filled with certain verses and could change a person's destiny - even for the one still written in *Lauh al-Mahfudz*. With a smart and wise approach, Syamlan assured Ahmad Tafsir that his habits were wrong. With the guidance of Allah SWT, Tafsir realized it and then became a cadre of Muhammadiyah.

Another opposition of Syamlan to the polytheism was to fight against the figure of Abangan from Mangunsari. The person sold a stick that weighed only 1 ounce but if filled with a spell it could become 1 quintal. It was illogical. Finally, Syamlan challenged the man from Mangunsari for the power. The trick was by asking the seller of the stick to hit the foot of Syamlan using the stick for 10 times. In contrast, Syamlan wanted to hit the foot of the shirk expert with only one hit but using a crowbar. Of course, the man refused and realized that his trading activities were not true according to Islamic Sharia. That was a little of history of organization activists in Tulungagung that until the end of his life he had no place to live. Syamlan had a very simple life.

When the movement of organization in Marble City constantly rubbed against the communist, the leaders

of Central Muhammadiyah in 1964 delegated someone to strengthen the power of *Da'wah* (religious proselytization). It was Imam Buchari - a graduate of Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta who then continued his study of Arabic Literature at Gadjah Mada University. This man born in Southern Aceh later joined the Muhammadiyah figures of Tulungagung to further strengthen and enlighten Islamic proselytization. Buchari himself later was married with the original woman of Trenggalek. Although finally, Buchari faced a problem with organization as for being so ambitious to be number one in the proselytization organization.

Three years later, Buchari and other Muhammadiyah activists established Takhasus - a special education for the people. This was a part of Muhammadiyah College. The public was very enthusiastic about the existence of the institution. This was because the typical principles and rules in Muhammadiyah were strongly held so as to distinguish it from other educational institutions.

It was not enough to balance the power of the PKI in Tulungagung if only through the conventional proselytization. Then, it was turned to political arena to be concerned by the activists of this organization with the symbol of shining sun. Most of the activists then joined

Masyumi Party. Some Muhammadiyah leaders actively involved in Masyumi included Muhammad Palil, Basthomi, Imam Moedjono, Muhammad ibn Abdullah Syamlan, and Muhammad Anwar. While those joining the politics from non-party included Ali Karaman and Muhammad Ma'sum. They both became the members of the Gotong Royong Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) representing Muhammadiyah during the New Order era.

The power of PKI in Tulungagung should be taken into account – particularly in Kepatihan. It is noted that there were some communist leaders living in the place well known for the iron sheeting industry. They included Laman, Sumadi, Keni, and Bari. The four joined in Pemuda Rakyat, one of the PKI's under bow. Four people were sometimes involved in a feud with Pemuda Muhammadiyah (PM). One of the PM activists who often disagreed with the four friends was Latif Suprpto.

According to Latif, they usually were debating at the district level. In every event held by the Village Office, there would be a different aspiration between PM and Pemuda Rakyat about the concept to be carried. In 30 September 1965, the atmosphere at Kepatihan was quite tense. No men slept in the house but stayed on the terrace or in Al-Fatah Mosque.

Several youths intentionally slept in Al-Fatah mosque for hearing that the remnants of PKI sympathizers would patrol at night and aimed to destroy the Muhammadiyah worship place. They were ready standby armed with any existing arms. They watched out if the communists really wanted to destroy Al-Fatah Mosque. Every time a group of people passed would be asked to show their identity with a certain code. If the code was found different and suspected of the PKI, then the activists of Al-Fatah Mosque expelled to prevent the undesired things.

In addition to use conventional and political proselytization, Muhammadiyah Tulungagung also showed its power when the communist was at peak. The actor was the Muhammadiyah Youth who always performed the drum band performance beautifully. Even some attractions presented by the autonomous organizations were the best in Tulungagung. At that time the majorette was the son of Saimuntaqim, a merchant of Kuto Anyar. It was what stated by the mother of the writer¹.

PM presented an excellent drum band to compete with the PKI who always performed the dances completed with their best song, *Genjer-Genjer*. Thus, in addition to the normative and political

Genjer-Genjer field, Muhammadiyah Tulungagung also responded to the communist movement in the field of culture. In Marble City itself the strongest base of PKI is in South Tertek.

On the other hand, Muhammadiyah in urban area mostly were concentrated in a small part of Kepatihan, Sembung, Kauman, and Tawang Sari. Mohammad Ridwan, a figure mentioned earlier in this paper also lived in Kauman which then became the basis of Muhammadiyah. His house was on Wahid Hasyim street; in the western part of the Great Mosque of al-Munawar. Uniquely, the community of Muhammadiyah and NU in Kauman was separated by the highway. The northern part was where the activists of the association lived; while the other side of the street was inhabited by Nahdliyin residents.

At that time, Islamic groups were only classified into two groups. Muhammadiyah and NU. For junior high school students, they could easily know which one belonged to Muhammadiyah or NU. It was because a Quran recitation was held by each mass organization every Friday.

After blocking the power of communism through normative, political, and cultural proselytization, Muhammadiyah Tulungagung also extended its existence in business. When

¹ Based on the interview with Mrs. Istiqomah, an activist of PCA Tulungagung

the PKI was in victory, most of the activists were merchants. Similar with founding fathers, the names such as Mohammad Ridwan and Imam Buchari were also listed as successful traders capable of competing with the economic efforts of the communists. In the 1960s, Ridwan's role in developing Muhammadiyah Tulungagung was great. In Tulungagung, it was only few the activists of Muhammadiyah but they were able to show a proud achievement either in the religious, social, political, cultural, and economic fields.

One of Abangan bases in Tulungagung was in Gondang Sub-district. After the event of G30S/PKI, people started to worship. But the rituals they did were not as taught by the Qur'an or as-Sunnah. Most of them still tightly believed in the teachings of ancestors who were certainly in contrary to Islam. One who was consistent with the pure Islam is Yoesoef who served as Nadhir at the local mosque. His duties included cleaning the place of worship and echoing the call to prayer.

Some figures who disliked Yoesoef invited this man born in 1922 to attend the recitation. Yoesoef fulfilled it. But it was not an Islamic recitation but only the media of judgment for him who also had

the sewing skill. They asked Yoesoef to give up his Nadhir position. Initially the man who was once the head of this village objected and opposed the wishes of the *ahl al-bid'ah*. But then Yoesoef was willing to let go of his trust and he felt free to run the worship according to the beliefs he believed.

For being pressured by the Abangan group and ending with the resignation from Nadhir's position in fact had encouraged Yoesoef's determination to accept Islam according to the correct rules. Together with like-minded friends like Asmuri, Masduk, Moengin, Bakri, and Sutrisno, PCM Gondang was established. But they did not have their own mosque. In the meantime the activists of this organization borrowed a mushalla in Kauman, Kalangbret for Friday prayers according to Muhammadiyah.

The initial activity of PCM Gondang besides Friday Prayer was to hold a routine Qur'an recitation. Finally Asmuri donated his land and property to Muhammadiyah to be used as a madrasah as well as a mosque. Now the place has become a centre for proselytization of PCM Gondang and it was named as Miftakhul Huda Mosque.

Being Hated but Loved

This is the novelty of this research. If the previous points are so common for

Muhammadiyah movement especially in the early days; 'hated but liked' becomes a novel thing. Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung was not favoured but later on its activity was followed, and adopted, even participated in Muhammadiyah organization. This is what is emerged as something novel.

In 1970 Muhammadiyah Tulungagung obtained the additional ammunition. At that time, PCM Ngunut was officially established. The initial activity carried out was to establish Kindergarten (TK)' Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal (ABA) together with the Branch Managers 'Aisyiyah (PCA). At that time the PCM level was not categorized at the sub-district level as it should be. However, it was still at the level of Kawedanan covering Ngunut, Kalidawir, Sumbergempol, and Rejotangan.

At that time the association in Marble City in organizational context was still in the form of PCM. It was then changed into Regional Muhammadiyah (PMD) on July 3, 1970 by Decree No. L117/D-24/70². At that time the nomenclature was still called as PMD but now it turns into PDM. Previously it was still under the PMD Blitar and hierarchically, PCM Tulungagung was under it. However, the archive that

reinforced the statement has so far not been found. That was what made Syafii Ma'arif gave a criticism to the association for being careless to manage the document (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 12 November 2016: 7).

Two years earlier, Muhammadiyah Kalidawir made a breakthrough. Muhammadiyah Junior High School (SMP) in the sub-district was established directly adjacent to the Indian Ocean on the south side. This was something extraordinary because Kalidawir included an Abangan base in Tulungagung. Although in its realization, it was found difficult to be implemented, but until now SMP Muhammadiyah Kalidawir still exists to educate the next generation of the nation.

At that time, Muhammadiyah education in Tulungagung developed rapidly. One that stood out was the Kindergarten ABA Kauman. This preschool educational institution then occupied the land on Teuku Umar Street. Though still in the form of a lease, people were enthusiastic to send their children in the place. Most of them were not from the Muhammadiyah. Many NU citizens entrusted their children's education to Kindergarten ABA Kauman. Now the institution is located on Wahid Hasyim

² Based on the archives of PDM Tulungagung

Street with the status of land of property rights.

Turned to Al-Fatah Mosque, Kepatihan. In 1990 though the PKI was gone, the barriers to AUM still existed. But this time came from the Abangan group with their more subtle reactions. In every Sunday, there was always patrol near the Al-Fatah Mosque. Some Muhammadiyah activists such as Moh Shoim (the author's father) and Latif Suprpto also took part in the local post. However, sometimes the Abangan group evicted them both in a subtle way by serving soto rice and then they were asked to go home with the reason that the situation was safe. In fact, it was aimed to make Shoim and Latif did not interfere with their activities. Abangan people had a habit of playing gambling in a patrol post located close to the mosque as well as plan to ban AUM for calling the call to prayer.

Eventually Takmir thought more deeply about the problems that wrapped around Al-Fatah Mosque. Some people put their signature on a piece of paper with the statement that the mosque was banned to make adzan (calling for praying) aloud. How could a mosque not be loud when the call to prayer? Some of these Abangan assumed that the call to prayer only disturbed those who were engaged or

disturbing the conversations engrossed with the guests.

Finally Takmir had an idea to invite neighbours nearby the mosque especially those who had protested the call to attend the halal bi halal or Eid al-Adha. In two moments of the feast the takmir, jama'ah, and the neighbours attended the event at the mosque as well as welcoming. This method proved successful. Those initially contradicting with the existence of al-Fatah Mosque gradually began to accept and was active in the congregational prayers in the AUM. There was an indication that people's sentiment towards the mosque because in the place of worship was never held a meal and the abangan community on average was the campaigners of Kenduri.

When Al-Fatah Mosque was led by a Muhammadiyah leader named Yazid Manap, many activities were held by Takmir. The events sufficiently obtained the sympathy from local residents who fought against the AUM. It was also seen in the quran recitation in the holy month of Ramadan, public studies, recitation of the new year of Hijriyah, and mass circumcision.

As explained by Slamet Riyanto, institutionally PDM Tulungagung started in 1975 with Umar Daham as its chairman. Then it continued by Mastur Ghozali

(1980 - 1985). It then continued under the command of Sanusi Effendi (1985 - 1990). It was furthermore going to Basthomi (1990 - 1995). Amanuddin (1995 - 2000) became the next successor and continued under the leadership of Anang Imam (2000 - 2010). It was further led by Marsudi al-Ashari (2010 - 2015) and the present period (2015 - 2020) returns to Anang Imam.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The history of Muhammadiyah in Tulungagung deserves to be appreciated. Its activists were able to deal with some unfortunate situations and conditions when the communist power was in a great shape and the Abangan society was quite resistant to the progress Islamic movement. The achievement of Muhammadiyah Tulungagung in the world of proselytization, education, art culture, and politics cannot be denied. For being minority, their spirit is amazing so.

In its establishment, some Muhammadiyah Assets were initially opposed or encountered obstacles. But various benefits can now be obtained by the surrounding community. For example Al-Fatah Mosque Kepatihan, the official place of worship belongs to PDM Tulungagung, when the PKI was still strong, got some disturbances for several times. But now its positive contribution is

highly needed. It was also in the establishment of the Integrated Service Post (Posyandu) for the Elderly. Another example of AUM that had a conflict with the local residents but is now beneficial so is SMP Muhammadiyah Kalidawir.

It is recommended for all public to be more concerned about the past archives. It is useful in retrieving the information or obtaining some valuable lessons. It is because history is not simply a bedtime tale story but there is a positive value in it. To academics it is suggested to not only conduct a research with famous objects but also fields that are rarely discussed or even not well known. For Muhammadiyah people it is recommended to pay attention and develop the results of this research for the sake of Progressive Islamic proselytization.

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