

The Islamic State of Indonesia Deviations History in West Sumatra

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Abstract. West Sumatra, the land of the Minangkabau people, is one of the fertile breeding grounds for the Indonesian Islamic State (NII) terrorist network. This study aims to describe and analyze in depth the history of the Indonesian Islamic State's religious deviation in West Sumatra. This study uses a qualitative, direct research approach within a social-historical framework. The FGD informants are former NII members and local government officials. The results of the study show that, according to former NII members in West Sumatra, Kartosuwiryo was the main figure in spreading the NII, which was founded to replace the Republic of Indonesia with an Islamic state. This organization was divided into two factions: Abi Tahmid and Abu Toto. The main figures in the spread of NII in West Sumatra were Datuak, I_s, and W_n. Before the raid, NII in West Sumatra had around 1,125 followers, many of whom were trapped in deviant teachings due to their search for religious understanding, dissatisfaction with the government, and a lack of deep religious understanding.

Keywords:

The Islamic State of Indonesia, Deviations in Islamic understanding, history.

Introduction

West Sumatra, as a region with a Muslim majority population, has a long history in the development of Islam in Indonesia. Since the 16th and 17th centuries, Islam spread to this region through prominent scholars such as Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin, who used Sufism to acculturate Islamic teachings with local Minangkabau traditions (Sefriyono 2018).

When discussing the history of Islam in West Sumatra, it is impossible to ignore the process and movement of Islamization in the northern coastal region of Sumatra in the 16th and 17th centuries AD. The province of Aceh, as the center of government and intellectual development of Islam at that time, produced many reliable scholars who then spread the teachings of Islam to various regions of the archipelago, especially the teachings of philosophical Sufism introduced and taught by Hamzah Fansuri and his colleague Syamsuddin. This route became a very effective means of Islamic transformation, reaching the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra (Bustamam, 2016).

The background to the NII's religious deviation in West Sumatra is related to the dynamics of the radical Islamic movement in Indonesia. The historical tradition

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of Islamic radicalism began with the Paderi Movement in the 19th century, which sought to purify Islam from deviant practices. The gap between the religious aspirations of the Muslim community and the secular nation-state system was a factor in the emergence of radical movements. The 1998 reform opened up space for democracy, allowing Islamic organizations, including NII, to operate more openly (Isral Naska 2022).

The emergence of Islamic radicalism became more apparent when faced with the desire to repeat the period of Islamic history exclusively. In other words, the desire to revive the golden age of Islam without a comprehensive study is a dominant factor in the emergence of radical movements. This conclusion confirms the ideological and movement connections between HTI, Salafi, FPI, and KPSI in West Sumatra and the Paderi movement (Barat 2014).

The police say that West Sumatra, the land of the Minangkabau people, is one of the fertile breeding grounds for the Indonesian Islamic State (NII) terrorist network. The number of members is not insignificant, namely, more than a thousand people. The two areas that have been singled out are Dharmasraya and Tanah Datar (Isral Naska 2022).

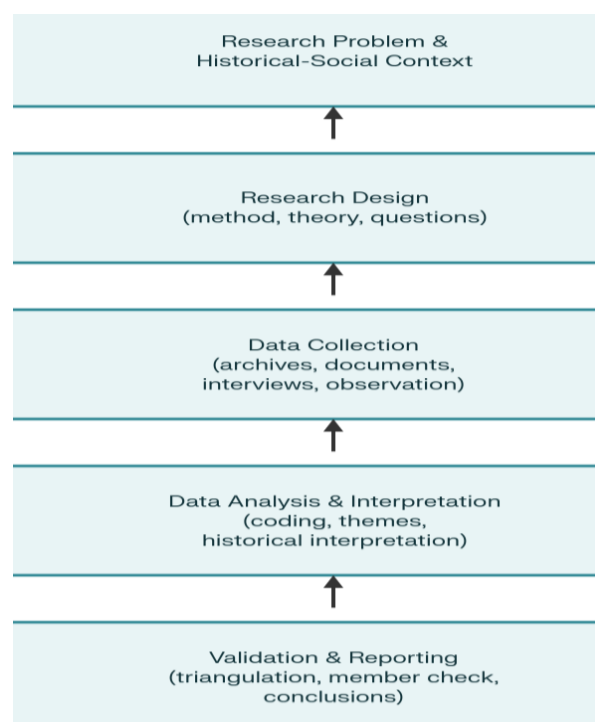
Deviations from NII teachings have not only occurred in West Sumatra but also in Indramayu, such as deviations in understanding issues such as zakat, the Prophet, and misinterpretation of Quranic verses. In addition, there are indications of cooperation between Ma'had Al-zaitun and the NII KW IX organization in the form of historical, financial, and leadership ties (nwk/nrl 2011). However, this was refuted by research findings that noted significant differences in the practice of zakat fitrah and qurban compared to mainstream fiqh, and linked this to the alleged affiliation with NII KW 9 (Basri 2005). In addition, previous deviations included the tradition of bai'at (oath of allegiance), the requirement for husbands and wives to join the organization, the belief that non-Muslims are infidels, the permissibility of theft for people who are not members of NII, and the belief that the reward for hajj is limited to applause and whistles. It is not obligatory to obey the ulama and parents. NII members are required to give alms. Friday prayers are not obligatory for NII members, sins can be redeemed with fines, and joining the NII means getting a ticket to heaven (Salim 2022).

Research on the history of NII's religious deviations in West Sumatra is very important and relevant to be thoroughly examined for several fundamental reasons. Given the local context of West Sumatra with its strong Minangkabau traditional values, it is clear that religious deviation is not only a religious phenomenon, but also a complex socio-cultural phenomenon. Uncovering the history of NII's deviant beliefs can shed light on the indoctrination and recruitment mechanisms used by radical groups, so that the community can be more vigilant against radicalization efforts. Identifying key figures and target segments can provide a comprehensive picture of how this movement has continued to survive and adapt after Kartosuwiryo was arrested more than sixty years ago.

This study aims to describe and analyze in depth the history of the deviant ideology of the Indonesian Islamic State in West Sumatra, including its historical roots, mechanisms of dissemination, and figures involved in its spread.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with the implementation of direct research using a social historical approach. The resource persons in the interview amounted to 18 people, consisting of the Head of the Tanah Datar Police Headquarters, the Secretary of the Sungai Kambut Walinagari, and the ustad, who is a former member of NII and the families of former NII members who were detained. This research took place through focus group discussions that took place in the Dharmasraya and Tanah Datar districts. The resource persons in this study were deliberately hidden to minimize unwanted events in the future. In addition to the interviews, the results of this research are complemented by documents proving the implementation of activities and recitations in the district. Here is a chart of social historical research:



Results and Discussion

The Development of NII in Indonesia

The history of the formation of NII in West Sumatra can be known through the history of the first formation of NII. NII developed in West Sumatra, districts that were once targets, and residents who have joined can be explained based on the following data.

The results of interviews with all speakers show that the general history of the formation of NII can be known from the results of the interview of one of the first FGD participants, namely:

"The history used to be Kartosuwiryo who always feuded with Soekarno because the one who often gave the time gap Kartosuwiryo used to be in feud with Soekarno, so the Republic of Indonesia is an enemy (Thogut), and the State whose right is NII, the one who has the right to control the State is NII, in terms of history he has proclaimed, once controlled Indonesia, which continues to be seized by

Soekarno, so it is as if the Republic of Indonesia is an infidel country and must stand an Islamic State to become an Islamic State. Indeed, the point is that, as a rebel, the point is to fight against the Republic of Indonesia; the existence of NII is to destroy the Republic of Indonesia."

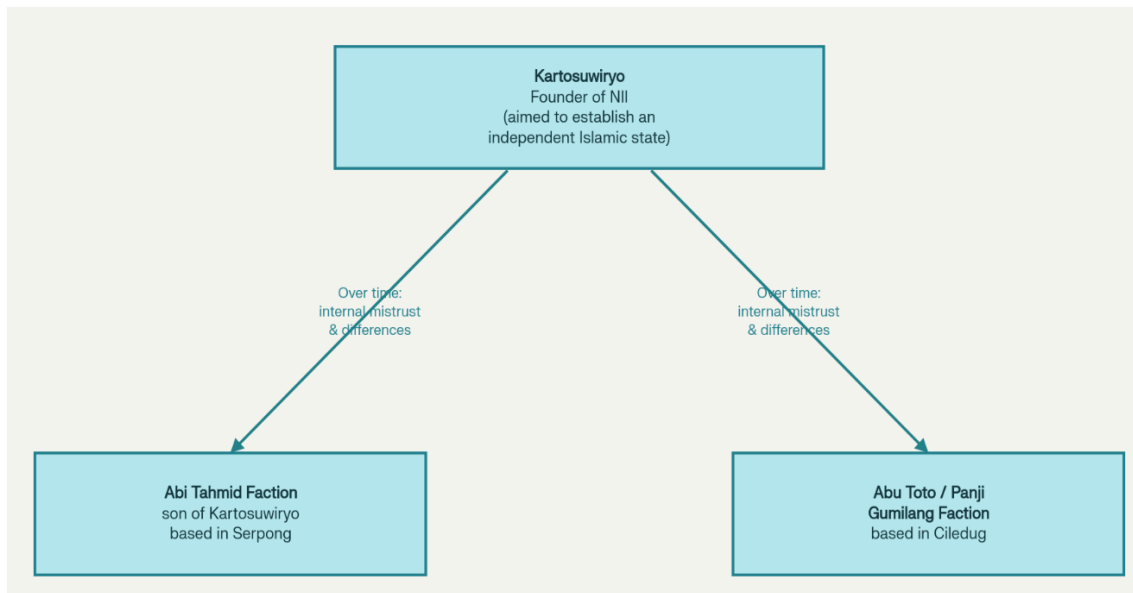
The source continued, *"He said (history)... recognized by the United Nations is Kartosuwiryo, not 45,"*

In addition to the above, some of the speakers knew clearly, but some admitted that they were only members, so they could not explain the history in detail. The interviewees said that their initial goal was only to learn to recite without knowing the history. One of the speakers who claimed to have joined NII for 13 years said that *"The history of NII's independence began on August 7, 1949, and August 7 was celebrated as the independence day of NII. One of the celebrations I have participated in was the commemoration of independence on that date and month in Tangerang, 1990, Mount Salak, Cibubur, Yogyakarta. We recognize that NII must be independent of the Islamic system; there is no such thing as the Republic of Indonesia. In fact, we participate in military training that has been designed to protect ourselves and our members. The exercise uses weapons in the form of sticks and horses."*

Referring to the results of the interview, it can be seen that the initial centennial of NII, namely Kartosuwiryo, felt that NII was a country that should exist in Indonesia, which is an Islamic country. This was a form of protest against Soekarno, who had seized independence. After some time, the NII trust was divided into the Abi Tahmid faction, the son of Kartosuwiryo, based in Serpong, and Abu Toto, which is now called Panji Gumilang, which is based in Cileduk. This difference stems from a sense of suspicion among fellow NII followers.

Furthermore, the sense of suspicion among NII followers, which also colored the history of the formation of NII, is contained in the following interview results:

"Even though he admitted that NII is not necessarily our colleague, so we are united because there is one that develops here the Abi Tahmid faction and another one that Abu Toto does not develop", the source continued that "so when he invited me to study in Serpong, Abu Toto in Cileduk, Abu Toto was known as Panji Gumilang" while another source said that he brought "In Serpong, the Abi tahmid line, the son of Kartosuwiryo, the NII director, is a biological child, the confession was through him, I was suspected at that time because I did not follow the path, it was also suspected actually. If the different paths are suspicious of each other until my wife was expelled, who followed the other path, maybe because of the level of caution".



Based on this explanation, it is concluded that based on the understanding of former NII members in West Sumatra that the first figure who played a role in the spread of NII was Kartosuwiryo who is unknown where this organization was first initiated, but August 7, 1949 is commemorated as the day of NII's independence, for its members, the Islamic state of the archipelago was triggered by the idea that in Indonesia an Islamic state must be established instead of the Republic of Indonesia. Even based on the information mentioned above, it is known that in addition to recitation, NII has self-protection training in the form of military training using wood and riding horses. Over time, NII was continued by two different factions, namely by Abi Tahmid, the son of Kartosuwiryo, who developed in Serpong, and Abu Toto, who is often called Panji Gumilang, who developed in Ciledug.

A treason movement by proclaiming the establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) (Soraya, 2019). On August 17, 1949, Kartosuwiryo formed a movement that declared an Islamic State in the West Java area under the name of Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII) (Usman & Megawati, 2017). The Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) was first known in Malangbong, Tasikmalaya, West Java, Indonesia (Hidayatulloh, 2013). Kartosuwiryo and his group made sharia (Islamic law) the legal basis for their group and called themselves the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) (Ahda, 2017).

Furthermore, several speakers said that:

"There is no difference (in worship) except in the ashes of Toto, which he knows as the gumilang banner. There is a lack of proficiency in the form of non-existent prayers, sacrificing using money, halal infag in various ways, because this is a kafir country if they are. If our path (Abi Tahmid) is because we see the faction here is normal to worship and pray as usual. The point is that the worship is the same, but the NII must be hidden. Because we are directing the salafi to worship. Tahlilan bid'ah because we like to be different from people. Interpreting that the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) prayed until the prayer was not a swollen prayer, the way of da'wah from place to place, always proves that you prayed all night, swollen or not, feet, that is the interpretation. If the banner is different in terms of property, which is outside the NII halal blood, that's why there is a term robbery and stealing, because the kafir is halal taken. If Kartosuwiryo is good, worship is maintained, and there are many different factions."

Based on the explanation above, it is concluded that overall the way of worship of the two factions is almost the same, but there are some differences in understanding instilled by the two factions, namely the ash, toto prayer, there is no prayer, sacrificing using money, halal infag in various ways, for example, robbing and stealing people outside NII is halal. Abu Toto/Panji Gumilang interprets worship and has a different understanding of worship than the majority of Muslims (Sifana and Lewoleba 2024: Rohmah, Purbatin, and Soenjoto 2024) (prayer, fasting, zakat, and other worship) differently, including the idea that deeds of worship are "only accepted" if they are within the structure of NII KW 9, as well as the extreme emphasis on fundraising (infak) for the benefit of groups (Basri 2005). Meanwhile, in the Abi Tahmid faction, prayer is almost the same as the understanding of Islam, but must be secret, while Tahlilan is considered heretical. The Abi Tahmid faction has been explained by another study that explains that many scriptural groups consider the practice of tahlilan to be heretical, even though outwardly they still perform the five-hour prayer like Muslims in general (Sukiman 20M).

Development of NII in West Sumatra

The Islamic State of Indonesia in the field began to develop rapidly in 2006. This is as conveyed in the following interview results: *"In 2006, NII Already Exists in Padang, West Sumatra"*. In addition, a different opinion was expressed by one of the speakers, namely, "The first deployment in South Sumatra was brought by people from Tangerang to Padang in 1996 on the island of Punjung, structurally separated from West Sumatra, but the most developed was the Abi Tahmid faction."

Based on the results of the interview with one of the speakers, he said *"The main figure in the spread of NII is a Datuak and married to a Salimpaung, a datuak is a person who is appointed as the leader of the Malay tribe, Age $\pm$ 35 years old at that time, Has 3 children, Commercial work, Habit of not getting along much with the local community, Recitation activities are carried out regularly every week in Barulak and bring all members his small family, Less harmonious with the in-laws' family because of differences in understanding/recitation and behavior that are not acceptable to the wife's extended family, causing the in-laws concerned to change their residence to live in the wife's brother/sister house around Salimpaung and Jakarta."*

Besides that, another opinion says that "the main character is actually Datuk's cousin named Ikes. And this grandfather is not only an administrator, but also the one who has been with him for the longest time and who develops. I_S used to bring him from Jakarta first. Jakarta and Dhamasraya have the same network, so, for West Sumatra, the center is in Dhamasraya. With an average follower aged 30 years."

Adding "Apart from I_S, there is a name D_i, they are in their 30s around the birth of 1984. For influential old figures, there seems to be nothing but joining. Initially, Datuk did not exist. He invited, "Let's go ngaji". Here, who wants to recite it? "

Besides that, there is a figure who is said to have become the main figure in the spread of NII in the place of ain, namely Ustad W_N, who has now left NII members. Furthermore, the results of interviews with all the interviewees agreed that the existence of NII was first sourced in the Dharmasraya district. This is as described in the results of the following interview: *"The initial developer of NII in Dharmasraya is Nagari Barulak."* This opinion is supported by the results of the second FGD as follows: *"So, for those in West Sumatra who are centered in Dharmasraya, I_S (one of the arrested members who is a cousin of the datuak who is one of the resource persons) used to bring from Jakarta, Jakarta and Dharmasraya have the same network."*

Datuak is only as an administrator, but the one who has participated the longest and who develops in Salimpaung is I_s".

Based on one of the former NII members who used to spread NII for the first time in West Sumatra, namely *"W_n with me we both lived in Tangerang in 1995, here in 2008, followed by recitation from 1994-2004"*. Then, W_N also provided related information that strengthened the history of the formation of NII in West Sumatra, as described in the following interview results

"I used to live here in 2008, but before that, there were already people from Padang who came here, the people of Padang came here (Dharmasraya), but even that was an instruction from Tangerang from my area as well, so there is information please take care of the Punjung Island area because there are brothers and sisters here from Padang".

According to one of the former NII leaders in Dharmasraya

"I joined NII for 20 years. They want to make Indonesia an Islamic country and destroy the Republic of Indonesia. The teachings of Abi Tahmid, the son of Katosuwiryo. The teaching material is still the same. Doctrinated as a defender of the Prophet (in other words, others are wrong). There is an obligation of zakat, infaq, and alms every month. Have attended military training (without using firearms). After that, it is better to go to Tangerang because it is better to go there. But it turns out that the superiors are contradictory, we just walk, stay tangerang, after that we are separated because there is a side of suspicion that is not our friend, and indeed always suspects us, even though he admitted that NII is not necessarily our colleague, so we are united."

Thus, the various descriptions of the data above point to the center of NII's development in West Sumatra, namely through the two people who moved from Tangerang to Dharmasraya. Although there is a difference in the estimated year of NII's entry into Dharmasraya, it can be concluded that NII entered and developed in the Dharmasraya district in 2008. This was concluded based on the results of interviews with the main actors of the spread of NII in the district.

The majority of the speakers stated that NII began to emerge and develop in Padang around 2006. However, there are different opinions that the first seeds were brought from Tangerang to Padang since 1996, especially to the Punjung Island area. Despite the age difference, all the speakers agreed that the initial center of NII development in West Sumatra was in Dharmasraya Regency, especially in Nagari Barulak.

The first main figure of the Spread is Datuak, referred to as the main character by several speakers. He was about 35 years old when he was active, traded, rarely socialized, regularly held weekly recitations in Barulak, and brought his small family. Experiencing tension with the in-laws due to differences in religious understanding. Second, I_s (Datuak's cousin). According to many sources, I_s is actually the real main character, because he is the one who brought the NII network from Jakarta to Dharmasraya. Datuak only acts as an administrator who assists in activities. I_s also developed the NII network in Salimpaung and D_i: Active followers, in their 30s (born ±1984), assisted in the development process. Third, W_n (Ustad, former NII member): Participated in developing NII since he was still in Tangerang in the 1990s. Moved to West Sumatra in 2008 and confirmed that the previous network had entered from Padang to Dharmasraya through the central instruction in Tangerang. However, the rapid development of NII began with the return of the ustad to Dharmasraya.

The characteristics of the spread of NII in West Sumatra are that NII followers in West Sumatra are dominated by the age of 30 years. In the reform era, rumors about the struggle to enforce the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) resurfaced. Several young

generations and educated groups were influenced and joined this organizational group. For several months, this news became an important headline in various media, both mass media and the government (Suryana, 2019). The faction that developed strongly was the Abi Tahmid faction (son of Kartosuwiryo). The doctrinal material is still the same: making Indonesia an Islamic State, considering the Republic of Indonesia as a system that must be rejected, and convincing members that they are "defenders of the Prophet". There are obligations of zakat, infaq, alms, and military training without weapons.

The first spread in Sumatra was brought by people from Tangerang to Padang/West Sumatra, then the structure for West Sumatra stood alone, but the most developed was the Abi Tahmid faction (Wardah 2022). The relationship between members is full of suspicion; even fellow people who claim to be NII do not always trust each other.

Three main figures in the development of NII in West Sumatra

Figures	Datuak	I_s	W_N
Origin of the spread	Jakarta-padang	Jakarta to Dharmasraya	Tangerang to Dharmasraya
Initial deployment site	Barulak	Dahamasraya and Salimpaung	Dharmasraya

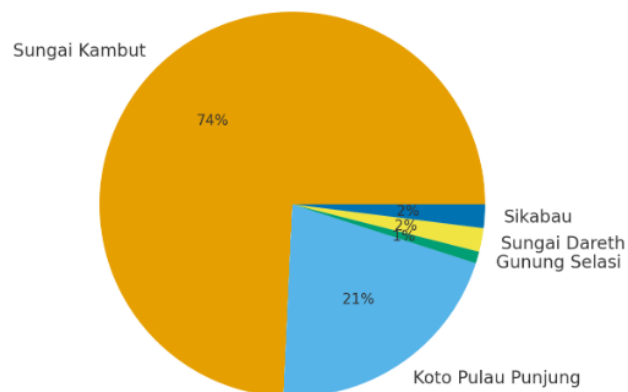
Officials and observers place Dharmasraya (which includes Pulau Punjung District) and Tanah Datar as important bases for the NII network in West Sumatra, including the disclosure of the number of members and the process of baiat/revocation of baiat in the region (Hamdi, I., & Ritonga 2022 : Maswandi 2022 : Aditya 2022)).

Former followers of the NII organization

Based on the results of the interview and the results of documentation to the Dharmasraya regional command, it was stated that "Several areas that have been indicated as members of NII are Dhamasraya, Kenagarian IV Koto, Tanah Datar, Kenagarian Barulak" while based on an interview with Andi, one of the NII members said that "Kenagarian Salimpaung is one of the villages where there are NII members" Based on the results of the interview, it can be concluded that the average NII member is spread across the district Dharmasraya and Tanah Datar, West Sumatra.

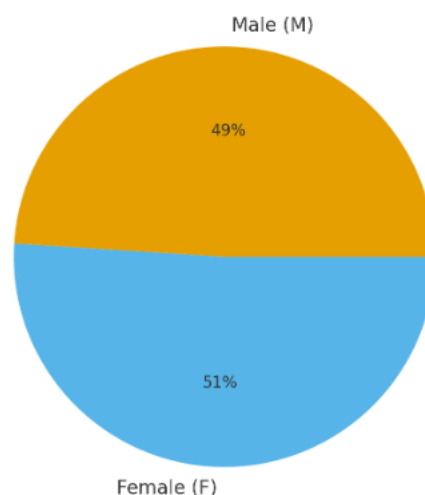
Based on the results of the documentation from one of the Dharmasraya districts above, the following results were obtained:

Distribution of NII Members in Each Village

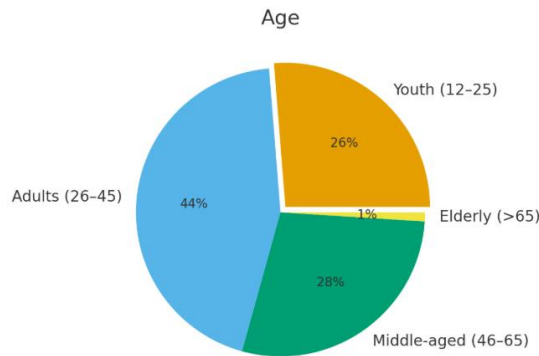


Based on the results above, it can be seen that the distribution of NII members in Dharmasraya is not too varied from the 111 NII members recorded in the chart, describing that 75% or 83 people come from Sungai Kambut, 25% or 23 people come from Nagai IV Koto Pulau Punjung, while the remaining 1% or 1 person comes from Mount Selasi, 2% or 2 people come from Sungai Dareh, and 2% or 2 people are from Sikabau. Based on the distribution above, the distribution of NNI members can be seen based on gender, age, and marital status.

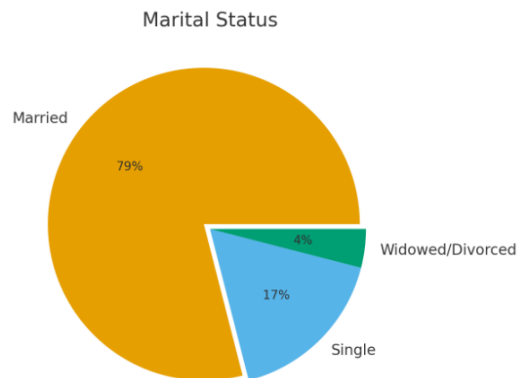
Gender



Based on the chart above, it can be concluded that there are almost as many female and male NII members, but there are still many NII members who are more powerful than men, where women number 51% or equivalent to 57 people, while men amount to 49% or equivalent to 54 members.



Based on the chart above, it can be seen that age is divided into four categories, namely NII members Adolescents aged 12-25 who are members of NII as much as 26% or equivalent to 29 people, while the adult category of Age 26-45 is the most at 44% or equivalent to 49 people, while the elderly Age 46-65 who become NII members is 28%, and the rest are Seniors who are > 65 years old there are only 1% or equivalent to 1 person only.



Based on the results above, the chart illustrates that NII members who are members and still married are 79% of the total number, or equivalent to 88 people, who are not married, as much as 17% or equivalent to 19 people, and the rest are widows/widowers, as much as 4% or equivalent to 4 NII members.

BBC Indonesia writes that NII is still active and that in West Sumatra there are around 1,125 members, with concentrations in Dharmasraya and Tanah Datar Regencies, and mentions the relationship between the West Sumatra network and other regions, such as Tangerang (AFP 2022).

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that the distribution of the most NII members in Dharmasraya is in Nagari or Sungai Kambut village, among females, in the adult age category, and with a still-married status.

The activities, development, and spread of the Indonesian Islamic State network, nowadays, are increasingly expanding, until they spread to West Sumatra. Desus 88 revealed that the members of the NII network in West Sumatra amounted to 1,125 people, and 400 of them were declared as active members in the recruitment process, and member cadres (Sindo 18 April 2022 : Wardah 2022).

Based on the results of the interviews, NII is spread not only to the community but also to schools and foundations that are directly connected to the center, from husband to wife, from wife to child. Based on the results of interviews with the local government in cases that have occurred in 2022, there are still 12 people arrested and secured, and four released. In addition, the district secretary said that

"Dharmasraya residents, they are not developers, but movers because they only want to learn religion, which is used. There is no shortage of activities, there is no NII movement, because they are used, and the Minang tribe highly values religion so that religion is very effective and thick. The religious understanding of graduates who become government officials does not consider that they should be watched out for because they are victims."

Based on this, it can be concluded that of the many members who joined, most of them were victims who only wanted to learn religion, but did not have clear guidance, and met with deviant teachings. Based on the results of the FGD, it was found that the main reasons for the residents were security factors, friendship, dissatisfaction with the rulers, shallow understanding of religion, offering salaries to 15 people, and lack of knowledge when participating in studies. The factors that contribute to the rapid development of members are enthusiasm and concern, lack of government attention, the location of heterogeneous areas, and running because of enthusiasm, worship, and ideology.

Conclusion

Based on the knowledge of former NII members in West Sumatra, Kartosuwiryo is considered the main figure in the spread of NII. NII's Independence Day is commemorated every August 7, 1949, to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia to replace the Republic of Indonesia. This organization is divided into two factions, Abi Tahmid and Abu Toto, which have differences in worship practices. The Abi Tahmid faction applies prayer secretly, while the Abu Toto faction legalizes criminal acts in the context of worship. The main figures of the spread of NII in West Sumatra are Datuak, I_s, and W_n, with significant developments after the arrival of W_n to Dharmasraya. Before the raids and arrests of active members, the NII in West Sumatra had about 1,125 followers, most of whom were individuals seeking religious understanding, but were trapped in deviant teachings, influenced by security factors, dissatisfaction with the authorities, and a lack of deep religious understanding.

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