

K.H.E. ABDURRAHMAN AND FORMULATION OF CADRE EDUCATION IN PERSATUAN ISLAM'S BOARDING SCHOOLS

Ridwan & Pepen Irpan Fauzan

STAI Persatuan Islam Garut
Jl. Aruji Kartawinata, Kabupaten Garut, Jawa Barat, 44151
e-mail: ridwan@staipersisgarut.ac.id, pepenirpan@staipersisgarut.ac.id

Ahmad Khoirul Fata

IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo
Jl. Gelatik No. 1, Kota Gorontalo, Gorontalo, 96112
e-mail: cakfata@gmail.com

Abstract: This present study discusses the boarding school-based regeneration in Persatuan Islam (PERSIS) organization formulated by KH. Endang Abdurrahman during the period of 1954-1983. Historical approach is employed in this study with qualitative descriptive model. It reveals that cadre management is culturally performed, where direct and personal relationship between teacher and students are formed. In its development, PERSIS regeneration is more organized through educational institution: *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) owned by PERSIS and courses for *Muballigh* or preacher. Historically, this reinforcement gained its momentum when PERSIS was led by KH. E. Abdurrahman from 1962 to 1983. The system developed by Abdurrahman was yet exclusive and unintegrated with the national education system. Through such system, PERSIS was able to produce many religious scholars (*muballigh* and *ustadz*).

Abstrak: Kajian ini membahas regenerasi berbasis pondok pesantren dalam organisasi Persatuan Islam (PERSIS) yang dirumuskan oleh KH. Endang Abdurrahman selama periode 1954-1983. Pendekatan historis digunakan dalam penelitian ini dengan model deskriptif kualitatif. Ini mengungkapkan bahwa manajemen kader dilakukan secara budaya, di mana hubungan langsung dan pribadi antara guru dan murid terbentuk. Dalam perkembangannya, regenerasi PERSIS lebih diselenggarakan melalui lembaga pendidikan: Pesantren PERSIS dan kursus untuk Muballigh. Secara historis, penguatan ini ketika PERSIS dipimpin oleh KH. E. Abdurrahman dari tahun 1962 hingga 1983, di mana sistem pendidikan eksklusif dan tidak terintegrasi dengan sistem pendidikan nasional. Melalui sistem itu, PERSIS menghasilkan banyak ulama (mubaligh dan ustaz).

Keywords: PERSIS, cadres management, PERSIS Pesantren, K.H.E. Abdurrahman

Introduction

Jam'iyah (organization) of Persatuan Islam (PERSIS) is a puritan organization established in Bandung on the 12th of September 1923. This organization was initially a religious study club chaired by H. Mohamad Zamzam and H. Mohamad Yunus.¹ Based on their often-discussed topics, the background of PERSIS establishment was: first, and foremost, the degradation of Islamic ummah. At that time, the situation of the Islamic ummah in Indonesia was generally a *taqlid* (a taken for granted attitude), creating inventions in religious practices/syncretism (*bid'ah*) and believing in mysticism. The reformist group called this as a chronic disease.² Therefore, they tried to eliminate such disease by creating a reformation and purification of Islamic teaching, using their well-known tagline, "Back to Qur'an and Sunnah and to purify Islamic teachings from superstition, syncretism, mysticism that stains it."³

The second factor, the interest on purification of the religion shows an influence from the Middle East thought. The reformation ideas in the Middle East was often published in the *Al-Manâr* magazine, who often published the articles written by Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridha from Egypt.⁴ These articles were later discussed and spread to public through *Al-Munir* magazine, where Abdullah Ahmad in Padang was its editor.⁵ The main themes that often discussed by this study club revolved around actual problems among the Islamic society, both locally and internationally. As Jajat Burhanuddin said, "based on the reformist ideas of the Cairo 'ulama', Indonesian Muslims began to engage in the project of purifying Muslims' religious practices and voicing the need to reformulate Islamic doctrines in the light of the modern spirit of progress."⁶

The knowledge about the Middle Eastern socio-political phenomenon was made

¹ Comprehensive study that specifically discusses PERSIS, see Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Singapore: Equinox Publishing LTD, 2009); Pepen Irpan Fauzan and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Rethinking Howard M. Federspiel's Thesis on The Conflict Between Persatuan Islam Vs Permoefakatan Islam," *JCIMS* 5, no. 1 (2021): 37-76, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v5i1.8889>.

² On the Islamic reformist groups and their roles in Indonesia, see Khoirun Niam, "The Discourse of Muslim Intellectuals and 'Ulama' in Indonesia: A Historical Overview." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 04, no. 02 (2010): 287-316; R. E. Elson. "Islam, Islamism, the Nation, and the Early Indonesian Nationalist Movement," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 01, no. 02 (2007): 231-266; Compare with Yudi Latif, "On the Genesis of Intellectual Crossroads: Early Fragmentation in the Formation of Modern Indonesian Intelligentsia," *Studia Islamika* 11, no. 1 (2004): 63-113.

³ PP. Persis, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam* (Bandung: PP. Persatuan Islam, 1984), 4-5.

⁴ See Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of al-Manar's Reformism to the Malay-Indonesian World: The Cases of al-Imam and al-Munir," *Studia Islamika* 6, no. 3 (2014): 143-58.

⁵ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia...*, 18.

⁶ Jajat Burhanudin. "The Fragmentation of Religious Authority: Islamic Print Media in Early 20th Century Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 11, no. 1 (2004): 23-62.

possible due to the founders of PERSIS that were mostly have performed the Hajj. At that time, hajj pilgrimage was understood as a ritual as well as an education medium. Apart from performing the hajj, they also used to study. Hence, the intellectual relationship between the Nusantara and the Middle East was formed. When the founders of PERSIS were in Mecca and in surrounding cities, a reformist movement by a Wahhabi group emerged since the 18th century, and later strengthen by Abduh and Rasyid Ridha in the 19th century. Thus, the idea was also brought to Indonesia, and came to Bandung at the beginning of the 20th century.⁷

As an Islamic organization that founded based on *tajdîd* principle, PERSIS has an interest to pass on its belief and dreams and objectives to the younger generations of this organization. *Tajdîd*, etymologically means new or reformation. Within the perspective of PERSIS, *tajdîd* has two meanings: First, purification of the belief, religious practices, manners, and *mu'âmalah* from the *shirk*, syncretism, mysticism, and superstition, and other practices that were not Islamic teaching. Convince the ummah that Allah SWT. is the only God that deserves to be worshipped, Islam is the only righteous religion; Al-Qur'an is His words, and that Muhammad is his prophet and the seal of the prophet whose teachings need to be followed; second, dynamization, that is development and modernization of *ijtihâdiyah* that can conditionally change, such as organizational system, and development of educational models, da'wah, economy and all the things that should be based on Islamic teachings based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah.⁸

Since its beginning, these efforts had taken shape in various models of regeneration by founding fathers of PERSIS. Both culturally and structurally, the regeneration process has been going on for years.⁹ Within the *Qânûn Asâsi* and *Qânûn Dâkhilî* (the bylaws) of PERSIS, the term *cadre* appeared seven (7) times in six (6) articles, article 55, 61, 64, 65, article 66, and article 67.¹⁰ PERSIS' cadres, as described by Fauzan, Fata, and Basit was support provided by members of organization based on the recruitment mechanism applied within the organization. These cadres are projected to be the next motor of the organization,

⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 142–47; Rifki Abror Ananda and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Sejarah Pembaruan Islam di Indonesia," *Jawi* 2, no. 1 (2019): 19–40, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/jw.v2i1.4121>. For contemporary study, see also Azyumardi Azra, "Transregional Islam in the Malay-Indonesian World: Legacies and New Dynamics," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia* 9, no 2 (2021): 163-166, Doi:10.1017/trn.2021.20.

⁸ *Penjelasan Qanun Asasi Dan Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam* (Bandung: Sekretariat PP Persis, 2015), 73.

⁹ A broader and more comprehensive study on this regeneration system, see Pepen Irpan Fauzan, Ahmad Khoirul Fata, and Gun Gun Abdul Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan: Studi Kritis Atas Persatuan Islam," *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 19, No. 2 (2020): 247–78.

¹⁰ *QA-QD PERSIS 2015-2020* (Bandung: Sekretariat PP Persis, 2015), 42–46.

either as management or as *tasykîl* of the *jam'iyah* (organization's leaders), as well as public officers recommended by the organization. In order the organization to be effective, the cadres should agree with the ideology and rules of the organization. This is evident in the acceptance of the charter and the bylaws of the organization.¹¹

KH. M. Isa Anshary, the Chairman of PERSIS for the period of 1948-1960, insisted on the important of regeneration in PERSIS organization as follow:

The plans and struggles of the organization would be meaningless if there are no cadres who will become motors in achieving those objectives. Cadres (*hawâriyyûn*) are those who fully understand the history of the organization and consider the objectives as his own objectives, and ready to fight for those objectives responsibly. It is the leaders' discretion to select the cadres, and positioned them in the fields that are suitable with his or her abilities and attitudes.¹²

However, studies on PERSIS that have been done such as those by Howard M. Federspiel pay little attention to this. Federspiel's study was too much oriented towards aspects of religious and political thought. The same goes for the study by Dadan Wildan,¹³ or Tiar Anwar Bachtiar.¹⁴ A more specialized study on the aspect of education was conducted by Toto Suharto.¹⁵ Suharto's study has provided new insights into PERSIS on the specific aspects of its education institutions, but the related aspects of cadre education have less place.

Within this context, the efforts to map the regeneration process of the PERSIS organization within the framework of its institutionalization in educational institution of Pesantren is important. This institutionalization role itself established by KH. E. Abdurrahman when he was sitting as the *Tablîgh* and Education committee of PP PERSIS in 1952-1953 and especially when he was the Chairman of PP PERSIS for the period of 1962-1983. Therefore, this paper qualitative descriptively discusses the regeneration model of PERSIS *jam'iyah* based on pesantren education from the historical perspective within the period of 1953-1983.

Methodology

This study is a qualitative-descriptive study in the form of library research on contemporary primary sources and secondary sources as supporting sources. This study uses historical

¹¹ Fauzan, Fata, dan Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan," 267.

¹² M. Isa Anshary, *Falsafah Perjuangan Islam* (Medan: Saiful, 1951), 153.

¹³ Dadan Wildan, *Pasang Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia: Potret Perjalanan Sejarah Organisasi Persatuan Islam* (Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2000).

¹⁴ Tiar Anwar Bachtiar, *Sejarah Pesantren PERSIS 1936-1983* (Jakarta: Pembela Islam, 2012).

¹⁵ Toto Suharto, *Pendidikan Berbasis Masyarakat Organik: Pengalaman Pesantren Persatuan Islam* (Surakarta: Fataba Press, 2013).

research procedures, which include heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography.¹⁶ The dynamics of historical change, as Christopher Lloyd says in *The Structures of History*,¹⁷ as a result of social structures that have the power to curb and define (constraining), while individuals or social groups that act as agents of change want such structural changes. That is agents who have abilities to change social structures.

Results and Discussion

Cadres, Regeneration and Cadres Education

Cadre is derived from French “*cadre*” or “*les cadres*” which means core member. The term cadre also referred to the Latin, “*quadrum*.” It means rectangle or a frame or a backbone of a group. Cadre, in Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, is defined as “a small group of highly trained soldiers, workers, managers, etc.”¹⁸ Therefore, cadre is a member of an organization, which was selected (from training) in a leadership or about a leadership. Cadre also means a core team with high fighting spirit. Cadre should be of high quality, has broad knowledge, and militant. The term cadre initially spread in French around 1830s. This term is often used and identified with Marxism, or even closely with communism. For instance, Mao Tse Tung notes related to the importance of training for the youth, for the descendants to be able to preserve and develop Marxism – Leninism teachings.¹⁹

A cadre is a person expected to play an important role in the government, party, or in other community organization.²⁰ Hence, its position in an organization becomes critical. In addition, as the core team of an organization, cadre is also a necessity for the sustainability of the organization, to ensure the continuation of its movement and leadership. Quantitatively, regeneration of cadres is also a recruitment means for the organization to strengthen its position (*al-quwwah*). Zubaedi, comprehensively defines cadre as:

A group of best human being selected as the backbone of a large organization and is permanently organized through a process of gradual values instilment. Hence cadres will agree and believe the objective of a group. Later, the cadres will continuously fight for and believe in the process of achieving the objectives that they believed in.²¹

¹⁶ See Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

¹⁷ Christopher Lloyd, *The Structures of History* (Oxford-Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 93-94.

¹⁸ Jonathan Crowther, *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1995), 157.

¹⁹ M. Manion, “The Cadre Management System Post-Mao: The Appointment, Promotion, Transfer and Removal of Party and State Leaders,” *The China Quarterly* 102 (1985): 203–33.

²⁰ “Kader,” KBBI Daring, accessed September 1, 2021, <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/kader>.

²¹ Zubaedi, *Pendidikan Berbasis Masyarakat; Upaya Menawarkan Solusi terhadap Berbagai Problem Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006), 86.

Cadres are the result of regeneration process. There is no cadres without regeneration process. Both are important parts of recruitment system. That is elements and components that are bound to form a totality in an organization. Thus, regeneration also serves to ensure that selected people in recruitment are those who are competent and are loyal to the organization. Within such regeneration process term cadres' training meerges. Islamic organizations in Indonesia such as, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), generally have formal educational institution, which serves as cadres' educational institution. As such, the educational content is adjusted to the needs of the cadres of the organization that differs from other general education.

This phenomenon is evident in cadres' training institute of Muallimin Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah. Maarif's study reveals that among other factors, the role of the organizational cadres has strengthened these two organizations to what it is today, and even making these two organizations two of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta is one of the oldest educational institutions in Yogyakarta established by Muhammadiyah to produce the cadres of Muhammadiyah. NU also has the school that produces cadres of this organization called Muallimin Bahrul Ulum, Jombang, Jawa Timur.²²

The Biography of KH. E. Abdurrahman (1912-1983)

One of important figure in the development and formulation of cadre education in PERSIS organization is KH. Endang Abdurrahman (KH. E. Abdurrahman). Endang Abdurrahman was born in Pasarean of Bojong Herang village in Cianjur Regency on Wednesday, 12th June 1912 (26 Jumadi Tsaniyyah 1330 H). He is the oldest of 12 siblings. His father is Ghazali, a tailor man. His mother is Haftsah, a batik maker.²³

From both of his parents, Abdulrahman initially learn to read the Qur'an. At the age of 7 or 8 years old, Abdulrahman has finished learning the Qur'an. He then started to become a student at the al-Ianah traditionalist school in Cianjur for at least seven years (1919-1926). Following his completion of study in this school, he became fluent in Arabic and he then went to Bandung due to the request from Mr. Swarha (Hassan Wiratama) to teach in the traditionalist al-Ianah school in Bandung (1928-1930). In around 1930, due to the request from Mr. al-Katiri, a rich merchant in Bandung, Endang was asked to teach his children. In addition, Mr. al-Katiri also established an Islamic Education (MPDI)

²² On these two institutions, see Ahmad Ma'arif, "Sistem Pendidikan Kader Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta dan Madrasah Muallimin Bahrul Ulum Jombang, Jawa Timur" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2017); Azhar, Wuradji, dan Dwi Siswoyo, "Pendidikan Kader dan Pesantren Muallimien Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Pembangunan Pendidikan: Fondasi dan Aplikasi* 3, no. 2 (2015): 113-25, <https://doi.org/10.21831/jppfa.v3i2.9816>.

²³ Dadan Wildan, *Yang Dai Yang Politikus: Hayat Dan Perjuangan Lima Tokoh Persis* (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1997), 121.

in Gang Ence Azis No.12/10 Kebonjati, Bandung. KH. E.Abdurrahman was then tasked to manage this MPDI together with his colleague, O. Qomaruddin Saleh who also managed the al-Hikmah school in Rancabali, Padalarang.²⁴

Teaching in MPDI had made Abdurrahman to get to know Tuan (Mr.) A. Hassan, the principal teacher of PERSIS who carried out Islamic studies in Pangeran Sumedang Weg of Bandung. Just like other reformist puritan Islamic forum, the preach by Tuan A. Hassan revolved around the themes of the *harâm tahlîl, talqîn, marhaban*, and utilization of *ushallî* word in the prayer. They often held discussion on various other problems. Their discussions were often filled with serious debate, especially on things that were usually criticized by the reformists.²⁵ Dadan Wildan describes:

It was initiated from the Islamic discussion forum held by Persatuan Islam in Pangeran Sumedang street led by A. Hassan. In one occasion, A. Hassan was discussing the haram of performing *tahlilan, talqîn, marhaban*, and *usholli*, which he called as *bid'ah*. Ustadz E. Sasmita, one of the students of E. Abdurrahman who knew about this thing then informed the topic discussed by A. Hassan to his group of Islamic study in the evening class of MPDI. This was heard by E. Abdurrahman. Abdurrahman and the surrounding community felt offended due to this view of A. Hassan, as they practiced and believe on what have been scorned by A. Hassan as *bid'ah*. Ustadz E. Abdurrahman then went to the Islamic study session held by PERSIS, which was led by A. Hasan. The debate between A. Hassan and E. Abdurrahman lasted for several nights. At the end, ustadz E. Abdurrahman accepted all the arguments put forward by A. Hassan. Since then, ustadz E. Abdurrahman always participated in each Islamic study session held PERSIS in Pangeran Sumedang street, and he became the closest student of A. Hassan and often accompanied his teacher in various activities. At one time, during a public lecture by A. Hassan, A. Hassan stroke the head of E. Abdurrahman, and said, "Abdurrahman! You will become my clever student and even will be more than my biological children."²⁶

Abdurrahman then became actively participating in the Islamic study held by A. Hassan, he even became A. Hassan's closest student and assistant. However, his new view and activities were disliked by the people in MPDI. He was then expelled from this school. Even though he was disappointed, this made him focus on PERSIS organization. In 1934, he formally became the member of PERSIS. He then joined the Islamic education (Pendis) who was part of Persis Education led by M. Natsir. When PERSIS Pesantren was established on March 1935 by A. Hassan, Abdurrahman was recorded as one of the teaching staff. His

²⁴ Wildan, *Yang Dai Yang Politikus*, 122; Shidiq Amien, *Panduan Hidup Berjamaah di Jamiyyah Persis* (Bandung: PP Persis, n.d.), 136.

²⁵ On Tuan A. Hassan and his role, see Akh. Minhaji, "Islamic Reform in Contest: Ahmad Hassan and His Traditionalist Opponents," *Studia Islamika* 7, No. 2 (2000): 87-126.

²⁶ Dadan Wildan, "KH. E. Abdurrahman dan Sejarah Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia," persis.or.id, 2016, <https://www.persis.or.id/k-h-e-abdurrahman-w-kamis-21-april-1983-dan-sejarah-pembaharuan-islam-di-indonesia>.

ability to manage an educational institution made him to be trusted in leading this small Pesantren that was open in the morning. Because A. Hassan relocated to Bangil, Jawa Timur, the PERSIS Big Pesantren and its students was also relocated to Bangil. Since then, the only one that left in Bandung was the PERSIS Pesantren managed by Abdurrahman. In 1940, this small pesantren transformed into a Pesantren PERSIS in Bandung who served as a model for many PERSIS pesantrens in other regions.²⁷

His organizational carrier in PERSIS started when he served as chairman of the Tabligh and Education unit in 1952. A year later, he was elected as the General Secretary of PERSIS with KH. Isa Anshari as the General Chairman during the 5th General Assembly of PERSIS in Bandung. At that time, he focused on the internal issues of the organization and to the issues related to social and religious-laws problems. The year of 1962 was a critical year for KH Endang Abdurrahman: he was entrusted to lead PERSIS. Under his leadership, PERSIS consistently driven to become a da'wah-education organization with a futuristic vision. He was committed to preserve the "reformation ideology" of PERSIS. In many occasions, he was relentless to describe the basic principles of the organizations, such as the meaning of the name of PERSIS as mentioned in its 1984 charter interpretation.²⁸

The central and branches organizational activities during the reign of K.H.E Abdurrahman (2962-1983), showed strong tendencies toward *tabligh* and educational activities. This was due to K.H.E. Abdurrahman's policies who directed the PERSIS activities with *tabligh* and educational institutions development (pesantren), thus, PERSIS as a public organization did not show strong political movement. K.H.E. Abdurrahman prioritized "religious organization", as he acted following the ulama leadership pattern and not political leadership. Howard M. Federspiel described,

Abdurrahman was one of Hassan's pupils who followed his mentor in terms of religious doctrines. He was primarily an educator and administrator for the Persatuan Islam. His writings in PERSIS's periodicals show deep knowledge of Islamic history and doctrine. As an administrator, he showed considerable organizational ability in keeping the PERSIS functioning during a period of considerable political instability and rapid national economic decline.²⁹

In summary, his thoughts reflected all the beliefs of the reformist group that the main issues surrounding the Muslim ummah is due to the mistakes in understanding the Islamic teaching and due to deviation from the principles mentioned in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Abdurrahman believed that the solution to this problem is interpreting the Qur'an and the Sunnah based on the guidance provided by the Prophet and his companions,

²⁷ "KH Endang Abdurrahman, Sang Reformis Persis," *Republika.co.id*, 2008, <https://republika.co.id/berita/7820/kh-endang-abdurrahman-sang-reformis-persis>.

²⁸ Persis, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam*, 4.

²⁹ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, 123.

and not solely following the views of the ulama of the madhabs. This was clearly reflected in his writings. He considered the period of the Prophet as the golden period that serves as an ideal pattern. Therefore, the themes that Abdurrahman often discussed are related to the role of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, *ijtihad*, *ittibâ*, and *taqlîd*. Apart from being an orator, Abdurrahman was also a productive writer. Most of his writings were independent writings that often published in many magazines. Several of his works were *Risalah Wanita* (a compilation), *Renungan Tarikh* (a compilation), *Jihad and Qitâl, Dârul Islâm*, and *Dirâyah Ilmu Hadîst*.³⁰

After completing his second hajj pilgrim in 1981, his health deteriorated. At that times he was 70 years old. He was hospitalized twice in Hasan Sadikin hospital Bandung, and on the 21st of April 1983, KH. Abdurrahman passed away. All his life, K.H.E. Abdurrahman has devoted his life for Islam through PERSIS organization. Hence, he became one of the legendary figures in PERSIS:

KH.E. Abdurrahman was the second grand teacher after A. Hassan. This was the view of the figures in Persatuan Islam and Islamic Scholars in Bandung. Due to many of Islamic views of PERSIS were influenced by these two figures. Eventhough the role of other figures was also similarly important. Nevertheless, for the subject of *fiqh*, these two figures are the most prominent ones among the Persatuan Islam figures.³¹

The Role of KH.E. Abdurrahman in the Existence and the Formulation of PERSIS Islamic School (Pesantren)

Before the independence (1927-1942), PERSIS actually had a general education institution led by M. Natsir. This institution is called Islamic Education (PENDIS school). It provided several levels of educations like HIS, MULO, and *Kweekschool*. In Post-independence era, Natsir opted to be active in politics rather than furthering his carried in education, thus PENDIS school had become history.³² Apart from PENDIS school, in March 1936, PERSIS also established another educational institution called Pesantren PERSIS aimed at producing cadres who have *tafaqqah fid-dîn*.³³

³⁰ “KH Endang Abdurrahman, Sang Reformis Persis.”

³¹ Dadan Wildan Anas, “Perjalanan Sejarah Persatuan Islam,” in *Anatomi Gerakan Dakwah Persatuan Islam*, ed. Dadan Wildan Anas et al. (Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2000), 239.

³² On Pendis which was established by A. Banama and developed by M. Natsir, see Dadan Wildan, *Pasang Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam*, 59–60.

³³ In general, Pesantren is aimed as a *tafaqquh fiddien* educational institution. See Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982); Pepen Irpan Fauzan and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, “Jaringan Pesantren di Jawa Barat Tahun 1800-1945: Critical Review on dissertation ‘Jaringan Pesantren di Priangan 1800-1945’ Karya Ading Kusdiana,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 17, no. 1 (2019): 139–68, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v17i1.602>. See also Jajat Burhanudin and Fuad Jabali, “Mainstreaming Pesantren and Madrasah,” *Studia Islamika* 14, no. 3 (2007): 567–577.

Aside from the Pesantren that managed by A. Hassan in the morning, in the afternoon, there was a religious study club/course – known as “Small Pesantren”—by E. Abdurrahman. Later, due to the relocation of A. Hassan to Bangil in 1940, most of the students of the students of Pesantren PERSIS from the morning class were also relocated to Bangil and established a Male Pesantren there. A year later, in 1941 a pesantren for female was established. Meanwhile, the PERSIS Pesantren in Bandung was managed by E. Abdurrahman.

During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), when Persis Educational Institution—and other educational institutions – were forced to close, the Perantren Kecil managed by E. Abdurrahman was still open. This bravery created a good result. The PERSIS Pesantren in Bandung accepted many new students, thus, needs many new teachers. Further, O. Komarudin, E. Abdullah and M. I. Sudibja also assisted in teaching the elementary students of PERSIS at that time. Bachtiar narrated that the success of this Small Pesantren was largely due to the assistance of M. Natsir – who at that time was appointed as the Educational Bureau of Bandung city.³⁴

During the Physical Revolution era (1945-1949) that pesantren was forced to relocate to Gunung Cupu, Ciamis. His deep concern for education made E. Abdurrahman unwilling to neglect the education of his students, even though he had to do it by exploring the mountains in Ciamis, Priangan Timur. His teachings were carried out in emergency situations with very limited means. One of the students who followed him to Gunung Cupu was A. Latif Muchtar—who later became the chairman of PERSIS for the period of 1983 -1997. In the beginning, the class is only open for elementary education level/*ibtidaiyah*. However, during the improvement in 1950, the PERSIS Pesantren in Bandung open the classes for middle school/*tsanawiyah* in their new building in Pajagalan 77 street. The building owned by KH. Zamzam, founder of PERSIS. Over time, the number of students were increasing, thus, a larger land plot was needed to accommodate all those students. In 1952, H. Anang Thayib donated a piece of land and a home in Pajagalan street number 22 and 26 who are now PERSIS Pesantren number 1 and 2.³⁵

From 1952-1955, PERSIS educational department had started to standardized and unified their pesantrens curriculum. In 1963, there were at least twenty Pesantrens in West Java and Central Java owned by PERSIS. At that time, the Education Department of PP PERSIS was led by E. Abdurrahman who also chaired the PERSIS Pesantren in Bandung. According to Howard M. Federspiel, since that standardization of PERSIS Pesantren in Bandung by E. Abdurrahman, it had indirectly became the model for all PERSIS Pesantrens. The six years education was called *Ibtidaiyah*, whereas the two years education in *ibtidaiyah* was called *Tahdliri* A and B classes. On the third year, the students went to I, II, III and IV grades of *Ibtidaiyah*. Higher education level that consisted of four years-time was called

³⁴ Tiar Anwar Bachtiar, *Sejarah Pesantren PERSIS 1936-1983*, 56.

³⁵ Dadan Wildan Anas, “Perjalanan Sejarah Persatuan Islam,” 150.

Tsanawiyah. In addition, in 1955/1956 an advanced secondary school was opened, this model of education was called *Mualimin* that lasted for two years.³⁶

The PERSIS Pesantren's curriculum developed by E. Abdurrahman was referring to his teacher, A. Hassan. Distribution of subjects consisted of 60% of Islamic education and 40% of general subjects. The religious subjects are comprehensive study (*muthala'ah*) on the hadith and hadith science (*Musthalahul Hadîts*, *Rijâlul Hadîts*, and *Riwâyat Hadîts*), Fiqh (*Ushûl al-Fiqh* and *Fiqh*), Arabic (*Nahwu*, *Sharf*, *Balâghah*, *Bayân*, *Badî*, *Ma'âny*, speaking and pronunciation). General knowledge given are, Bahasa, English, Math, Geography, Psychology, Health Science, and Education science. Some text books used are written in Bahasa Indonesia, especially those written by A. Hassan and some others are in Arabic.³⁷

In terms of their educational institutions, as Toto Suharto said, PERSIS is slightly different from NU and Muhammadiyah. Whereas NU and Muhammadiyah have adopted a system of education that was developed by the government, both the Department of Religious Affairs and the National Education Department, PERSIS maintains the pesantren (Islamic boarding school) based madrasah model, which uses a special curriculum developed by PERSIS leaders, in accordance with policy determined by the organization in 1936.³⁸

The PERSIS Muallimin Pesantren: A Model of Organizational Regeneration's Education (Jam'iyyah)

Historically, the regeneration process in PERSIS organization was informally carried out. It happened naturally due to the concern of its leaders to assist and regenerate the leaders of the ummah. The patten applied by A. Hassan, for instance, is a model of students' regeneration. The teacher-student regeneration is the embryo of teacher-students network in developing Islamic thoughts in Indonesia. Especially in PERSIS organization, this teacher-students regeneration played a role in developing the network of PERSIS Pesantren.³⁹

Intensive development of organizational regeneration based on pesantren was especially evident during the leadership era of KH. E. Abdurrahman. Abdurrahman as the highest leader of the organization was seen to not have any political willingness to revive PENDIS. He preferred to carry out Pesantren education established by A. Hassan in 1936 in Bandung and later in 1939 in Bangil. It can be ensured that Abdurrahman's interest was on pesantren, as he considered it as more appropriate with his initial vision of movement.

As the general chairman of PERSIS (1963-1984), he wanted PERSIS comeback to

³⁶ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, 198.

³⁷ Dadan Wildan, "Perjalanan Sejarah Persatuan Islam," 150; Bachtiar, *Sejarah Pesantren PERSIS 1936-1983*, 92-110.

³⁸ Toto Suharto, "Ma'had Ittihad al-Islam (Persis) 1984-1996 wa al-Ta'lim al-Qa'im 'ala Da'amah al-Mujtama'," *Studia Islamika* 11, no. 1 (2004): 145-166.

³⁹ Fauzan, Fata, dan Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan," 262-263.

its initial idea, that is education and da'wah, which he understood as educating the candidate of preachers and religious teachers. These preachers/*da'i* and religious teachers would later teach directly among the ummah. He described his vision during the opening speech at *Mu'akhat* PERSIS on the 16th of January 1981, which he titled as, "*Kita Sekalian Sebagai Pelengkap/We all as complement.*" What he means by "complement" is that PERSIS is no longer need to directly participate in politics, as PERSIS's role is to prepare the "religion" for this country, that is by doing da'wah (preaching) and teaching. His vision is firmly described in the bylaws of the PERSIS written under his supervision that:

Persatuan Islam is more of an educational education than a *jam'iyyah* in *siyasah* (practical politics) sense. Persatuan Islam is a pesantren before it is a *jam'iyyah*. Therefore, pesantren nature will always be part of Persatuan Islam, since before, now, and by Allah's will, in the future... If we no longer have the characteristic of a pesantren, it means main spirit of Persatuan Islam is no longer there. Then, naturally, there will be no longer Persatuan Islam and there will be no need for it to exist.⁴⁰

The concrete form of this vision is seen in various organizational policy taken by Abdurrahman. During his reign, the programs implemented are about two main themes: implementation of *tabligh* and development of pesantren. In *tabligh*, PP PERSIS implemented a course for *muballigh* (preacher) candidates through "*Tamhîdul Muballighîn*" (preparation for *muballigh*). In this course, the candidates are taught on basic knowledge of Islam including *'aqidah*, *'ibadah*, *adab*, *akhlaq*, and speech techniques.⁴¹

The "*Tamhîdul Muballighîn*" course is part of the PERSIS regeneration. The alumni of *Tamhîdul Muballighîn* would be assigned to be a *muballigh* in each of their regions. Following the completion of their course, they usually became the imam in their mosques and became local *muballigh* in their areas. The rest of them then established the new branches of PERSIS in the regions. However, due to the participants of this *Tamhîdul Muballighîn* were mostly from Priangan region (Garut, Tasik, Ciamis, Bandung, Cianjur, Bogor, Sukabumi, and its surrounding areas), then the development of PERSIS under E. Abdurrahman leadership was only concentrated in Jawa Barat.⁴²

In education field, educational institutions operated by E. Abdurrahman, which later developed into various regions by his students are "pesantren". The selection of this type of educational institution for PERSIS is unique due to:

The concept of 'pesantren' is taken from the classical Islamic knowledge (traditional)

⁴⁰ Persis, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam*, 6–7.

⁴¹ This has been the main concern of PERSIS since the very beginning. See Howard M. Federspiel, "Islamic Fundamentalism in Late-Colonial Indonesia: The Persatuan Islam Revisited," *Al-Jami'ah* 64, no. XII (1999): 50–51.

⁴² Tiar Anwar Bachtiar and Pepen Irpan Fauzan, *Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Persis* (Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2019), 317.

that can be integrated with the modern concept of education system from the west (Dutch). A unique combination. Its orientation is still 'pesantren-centered, which is *li yatafaqqahu fi al-dien* (to learn Islamic knowledge and producing cadres of ulama), however, it should not repel the development of science and technology from the west."⁴³

In addition, the pesantrens that he led were trying as much as possible to be associated with politics. For instance, he forbade his students/santris to participate in equivalency test, either for junior high school (tsanawiyah) or senior high school (muallimin). He also forbade his students to continue their study to public higher education or even Islamic higher education, even though he himself taught in IKIP Bandung and UNISBA (Islamic University of Bandung). This ban was imposed due to his willingness for his students to become *muballigh* and teachers who are ready to be assigned anywhere, including the remote areas,⁴⁴ hence, there is no need for the Equivalency test and formal degree.⁴⁵

From two of main programs of PERSIS above, E. Abdurrahman was clearly trying to prepare his version of authentic cadres. Authentic cadres are not influenced by outside world, to prepare them to be *muballigh* and teacher's cadres. However, inadvertently he was isolating PERSIS from the society, especially isolating it from states' institutions and international society. In this case, there was a note written by Bachtiar and Fauzan:

What was expected by E. Abdurrahman through these steps? These steps of his are often misinterpreted and brought discredit to him. Many saw these steps as a backward step. However, the positive impact of his steps on PERSIS' development was later revealed in the next decade.⁴⁶

In 1983, when E. Abdurrahman had passed away, many of his students were able to established new PERSIS pesantrens that were modeled after the PERSIS Bandung pesantren. Several of his prominent students were: Aminah Dahlan (together with her husband Syihabuddin) established PERSIS pesantren in Tarogong and Garut Kota,⁴⁷ Ali Ghazaly in Cianjur (City), O. Syamsudin in Padalarang, Aminullah in Tasikmalaya, E. Saefuddin in Rancaekek Bandung, Eman Sar'an in Jakarta and in several other places such as in Majalengka, Sumedang, Ciamis, Bogor, and Sukabumi.⁴⁸

⁴³ Endang S. Hafidz et al., *Pergulatan Pemikiran Kaum Muda Persis* (Bandung: Granada, 2005), xx.

⁴⁴ Bachtiar and Fauzan, *Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Persis*, 318.

⁴⁵ Hamdani Hamid, *Persatuan Islam Dan Usaha Pembaharuan Pendidikan* (Bandung: Sumber Prima, 1993), 97–98.

⁴⁶ Bachtiar and Fauzan, *Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Persis*, 322–23.

⁴⁷ In around 1975, E. Abdurrahman agreed to release one of his best students, Aceng Zakaria, a native of Garut to establish a PERSIS pesantren in Garut. A. Zakaria then became a leader for PERSIS pesantren in Garut up and made it into a very progressive pesantren.

⁴⁸ Bachtiar, *Sejarah Pesantren PERSIS 1936-1983*, 71–78.

If E. Abdurrahman selected to 'isolate' pesantren and his santris from the outer world, Abdul Qadir Hasan (one of the sons of A. Hassan) with his pesantren in Bangil tend to be more open.⁴⁹ He gave freedom for his students to continue their education anywhere. Even, Natsir got a privilege to recommend the candidates of Indonesian students who will continue their study in the Middle East, and PERSIS Bangil took this opportunity. There are many students of A. Q. Hassan who were encouraged to study in the Middle East. Even his son, Ghazi Abdul Kadir, and his nephew, Hud Abdullah Musa, were encouraged to study in the Middle East. This policy that made the PERSIS Bangil networks wider than the PERSIS Bandung network that tended to be stagnant and its resonance only limited to Jawa Barat.⁵⁰

The current development of PERSIS pesantren in general are now integrated with the national education system (state). Rohman and Saebani⁵¹ described this as part of important thing to the changes of education pattern from exclusive to inclusive education. Hence, public trust on educational institutions managed by PERSIS becomes even higher, considering its output are in equivalent with other educational institutions in Indonesia. The pesantren managed by PERSIS is not only contributed to Indonesian education in general, but also on the santrization (making Indonesian people are more pious) of the Indonesian Islamic ummah.⁵²

Through the education system that are not following the formal standard of the state, PERSIS experienced an increase of its ulama cadres (in PERSIS their ulama are called ustadz). This was different from modern organizations such as Muhammadiyah who had once had a crisis on the lack of their ulama cadres.⁵³ However, only small parts of these cadres that were able to be heard nationally such as, K.H. Latief Muchtar, M.A. (d. 1997), K.H. Endang Saefudin Anshary, MA (d. 1995), Prof. Syafiq Mughni, and KH. Aceng Zakariya.⁵⁴

The regeneration concept in PERSIS is more evident on Muallimin education. Since the beginning, the muallimin education was designed as 'training camp' to produce cadres

⁴⁹ On the role of A.Q. Hassan in managing the PERSIS pesantren in Bangil see Abdur Rohman, "Peranan Ustadz Abdul Qadir Hassan dalam Pengembangan Pesantren PERSIS Bangil 1958-1984 M" (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2016).

⁵⁰ Bachtiar and Fauzan, *Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Persis*, 324–25.

⁵¹ M. Taufiq Rohman and Beni Ahmad Saebani, "Membangun Gerakan Inklusivisme Model Jamaah Persatuan Islam," *Temali: Jurnal Pembangunan Sosial* 1, no. 1 (2018): 58–72, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jt.v1i1.2488>.

⁵² Toto Suharto, "Kontribusi Pesantren Persatuan Islam Bagi Penguatan Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia," *Millah Jurnal Studi Agama* XI, no. 1 (2011): 109–33, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol11.iss1.art5>.

⁵³ M. Isnanto, "Gagasan Dan Pemikiran Muhammadiyah Tentang Kaderisasi Ulama (Studi Kasus Tentang Ulama Di Muhammadiyah)," *Aplikasia: Jurnal Aplikasi Ilmu-Ilmu* 17, no. 2 (2017): 95–108, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/aplikasia.v17i2.1380>.

⁵⁴ Fauzan, Fata, dan Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan...", 263-264.

of PERSIS. Historically, Muallimin education of PERSIS have given birth to alumni that became the leading figures within the organization. It is education implementation, there were specific programs to embed Islamic ideology to its students. Toto Suharto described:

Islamic ideology is made as guideline in all PERSIS activities, including its education. Therefore, in determining all of its educational policies, PERSIS always upheld this Islamic ideology, including determining the objectives and educational curriculum. For PERSIS pesantren, Islamic ideology is its systemic belief, value, or views as well as thoughts based on the Qur'an and the sunnah. This Islamic ideology that based on the Qur'an and the sunnah are the basis of PERSIS Pesantren.⁵⁵

The development of curriculum for Muallimin PERSIS education was made through educational activities. Muallimin education consisted of education of general knowledge and religious knowledge, teaching skill and organizational skill, and student's attitude based on needs. In relation this cadres' education, muallimin education, specifically for organizational education/jam'iyah PERSIS education. This was the first model to passed on and ingrained the PERSIS ideology to its students. Second, cadres' assignment by providing them opportunities to be involved in many organizational trainings and development. It is a custom for PERSIS Pesantren, for first level muallimin students to be trained through basic leadership program (LDK). Within this context, the male muallimin students would become *Rijalul Ghad* (RG, which means future leaders), whereas female students would be *Ummahatul Ghad* (UG, future female leaders). This two underwing organizations within PERSIS, according to Darmadi, "aims at training the mental of the future leaders to ready them to join organization within the community."⁵⁶

Third, specific program of *khidmah jam'iyah*. Within the educational department regulation of PP PERSIS on Middle Education of PERSIS Pesantren in 2015, in Article 4 paragraph (6), it is mentioned that on Muallimin education, a *khidmat Jam'iyah* training would be held (PLKJ).⁵⁷ This program required each santri/student of Muallimin PERSIS to devote themselves and their knowledge among the community. Students service is usually in a form of training to teach, to preach, and to directly socialize with the community. This institution is a regeneration institution for PERSIS, which aimed at producing muballigh for PERSIS who will preach among the society. The benefit of the alumni of this muallimin pesantren of PERSIS was that they are more militant compared to other organization such as Muhammadiyah or NU. Their militant was evident especially due to their educational

⁵⁵ Toto Suharto, *Pendidikan Berbasis Masyarakat Organik: Pengalaman Pesantren Persatuan Islam* (Surakarta: Fataba Press, 2013), 235.

⁵⁶ Dadi Darmadi, "Pesantren PERSIS Pajagalan Bandung: Dengan Al-Qur'an Dan Sunnah Mencetak Kader Ulama Harapan Umat," *Madrasah: Jurnal Komunikasi Dunia Perguruan* 3, no. 1 (1999): 56.

⁵⁷ PP. Persis, *Pedoman Jamiyyah Dan Kaiyyat Kerja PERSIS 2015-2020* (Bandung: PP Persis, 2015), 114.

doctrine that PERSIS has made their Pesantren institution as means to spread the doctrine of PERSIS.⁵⁸

Conclusion

This qualitative descriptive study has reached several conclusions but was limited to the Jam'iyah PERSIS and the kaderization system of its educational institutions. Historically the regeneration of cadres in PERSIS had been culturally developed, based on teacher-student relationship. In the next stage, regeneration of the Jam'iyah PERSIS was made through non-formal educational institution (*tablîgh* course) and formal means (Pesantren). Both of this regenerations' pattern (*tablîgh* and pesantren) became the main elements for the development of PERSIS as an organization, up to the contemporary era. Second, institutionalization of PERSIS regeneration was based on structured pesantren education and its curriculum formulated primarily by ustaz E. Abdurrahman.

The significance role of ustaz Abdurrahman is not only related to the existence of PERSIS pesantren but also on the formulation of educational education as the means for regeneration of PERSIS organization. This was proven by the establishment of PERSIS in many regions due to the contribution of the alumni of PERSIS pesantren. This formulation was also evident on the PERSIS Bandung pesantren managed by ustadz Abdurrahman as a role model for other PERSIS pesantrens in Jawa Barat and other regions.

The formula of cadreization in PERSIS educational institutions by ustaz Abdurrahman makes Pesantren PERSIS unique. This formula makes pesantren PERSIS as the "backbone" for *jam'iyah*. Pesantren PERSIS has a crucial role for the existence and development of *jam'iyah*, especially in the era of 1953-1983. Because the leaders of *jam'iyah*, both formal and non-formal leaders, were mostly born from "the womb" of the pesantren PERSIS.

This present study recommends for this regeneration system of PERSIS to be formulated in an integrative way with the muallimin education of Pesantren PERSIS. This is important to ensure the regeneration of PERSIS system to become a sustainable catalyst for *jam'iyah* regeneration, from PERSIS pesantren as autonomous part of PERSIS. The alumni of PERSIS pesantren can directly become the members of autonomous body of PERSIS, either studentship or youth, due to the nature of its integrated *jam'iyah* regeneration system.

References

Amien, S. *Panduan Hidup Berjamaah di Jamiyyah Persis*. Bandung: PP Persis, n.d.

⁵⁸ Suharto, *Pendidikan Berbasis Masyarakat Organik: Pengalaman Pesantren Persatuan Islam*, 235.

- Ananda, R.A. & Fata, A.K. "Sejarah Pembaruan Islam di Indonesia," *Jawi* 2, no. 1, 2019: 19–40, <https://doi.org/10.24042/jw.v2i1.4121>.
- Anshary, M.I. *Falsafah Perjuangan Islam*. Medan: Saiful, 1951.
- Azhar, W. & Siswoyo, D. "Pendidikan Kader dan Pesantren Muallimien Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Pembangunan Pendidikan: Fondasi dan Aplikasi* 3, no. 2, 2015: 113–25, <https://doi.org/10.21831/jppfa.v3i2.9816>.
- Azra, A. *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
- Azra, A. "The Transmission of al-Manar's Reformism to the Malay-Indonesian World: The Cases of al-Imam and al-Munir." *Studia Islamika* 6, no. 3, 2014: 143–58.
- Azra, A. "Transregional Islam in the Malay-Indonesian World: Legacies and New Dynamics." *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia* 9, no. 2, 2021: 163-166.
- Bachtiar, T.A. *Sejarah Pesantren PERSIS 1936-1983*. Jakarta: Pembela Islam, 2012.
- Bachtiar, T.A. & Fauzan, P.I. *Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Persis*. Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2019.
- Burke, P. *History and Social Theory*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Burhanudin, J. "The Fragmentation of Religious Authority: Islamic Print Media in Early 20th Century Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 11, no. 1, 2004: 23–62.
- Burhanudin, J & Jabali, F. "Mainstreaming Pesantren and Madrasah," *Studia Islamika* 14, no. 3, 2007: 567–577.
- Crowther, J. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Darmadi, D. "Pesantren PERSIS Pajagalan Bandung: dengan al-Qur'an dan Sunnah Mencetak Kader Ulama Harapan Umat," *Madrasah: Jurnal Komunikasi Dunia Perguruan* 3, no. 1, 1999.
- Dhofier, Z. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982.
- Elson, R.E. "Islam, Islamism, the Nation, and the Early Indonesian Nationalist Movement." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 1, no. 2, December 2007: 231-266.
- Fauzan, P.I. & Fata, A.K. "Jaringan Pesantren di Jawa Barat Tahun 1800-1945: Critical Review Disertasi Jaringan Pesantren di Priangan 1800-1945' Karya Ading Kusdiana." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 17, no. 1, 2019: 139–68, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v17i1.602>.
- Fauzan, P.I., Fata, A.K., & Basit, G.G.A. "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan: Studi Kritis Atas Persatuan Islam." *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 19, no. 2, 2020: 247–78.
- Fauzan, P.I. & Fata, A.K. "Rethinking Howard M. Federspiel's Thesis on The Conflict Between Persatuan Islam Vs Permoefakatan Islam." *JCIMS* 5, no. 1, 2021: 37-76, <http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v5i1.8889>.

- Federspiel, H.M. "Islamic Fundamentalism in Late-Colonial Indonesia: The Persatuan Islam Revisited." *Al-Jami'ah* 64, no. XII, 1999: 50–51.
- Federspiel, H.M. *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing LTD, 2009.
- Hafidz, E.S., et al. *Pergulatan Pemikiran Kaum Muda Persis*. Bandung: Granada, 2005.
- Hamid, H. *Persatuan Islam dan Usaha Pembaharuan Pendidikan*. Bandung: Sumber Prima, 1993.
- Isnanto, M. "Gagasan dan Pemikiran Muhammadiyah Tentang Kaderisasi Ulama (Studi Kasus tentang Ulama di Muhammadiyah)." *Aplikasia: Jurnal Aplikasi Ilmu-ilmu* 17, no. 2, 2017: 95–108, <https://doi.org/10.14421/aplikasia.v17i2.1380>.
- Latif, Y. "On the Genesis of Intellectual Crossroads: Early Fragmentation in the Formation of Modern Indonesian Intelligentsia." *Studia Islamika* 11, no. 1, 2004: 63-113.
- Lloyd, C. *The Structures of History*. Oxford-Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.
- Manion, M. "The Cadre Management System Post-Mao: The Appointment, Promotion, Transfer and Removal of Party and State Leaders." *The China Quarterly* 10, no. 2, 1985: 203–33.
- Minhaji, A. "Islamic Reform in Contest: Ahmad Hassan and His Traditionalist Opponents." *Studia Islamika* 7, no. 2, 2000: 87-126.
- Niam, K. "The Discourse of Muslim Intellectuals and 'Ulama' in Indonesia: A Historical Overview." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, no. 02, December 2010: 287-316.
- PP Persis, *Tafsir Qanun Asasi-Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam*. Bandung: PP Persatuan Islam, 1984.
- PP Persis. *Penjelasan Qanun Asasi dan Qanun Dakhili Persatuan Islam*. Bandung: Sekretariat PP Persis, 2015.
- PP Persis. *QA-QD PERSIS 2015-2020*. Bandung: Sekretariat PP Persis, 2015.
- PP Persis. *Pedoman Jamiyyah dan Kaifiyat Kerja PERSIS 2015-2020*. Bandung: PP Persis, 2015.
- Rohman, A. *Peranan Ustadz Abdul Qadir Hassan dalam Pengembangan Pesantren PERSIS Bangil 1958-1984 M*. UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2016.
- Rohman, M.T & Saebani, B.A. "Membangun Gerakan Inklusivisme Model Jamaah Persatuan Islam." *Temali: Jurnal Pembangunan Sosial* 1, no. 1, 2018: 58–72, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jt.v1i1.2488>.
- Suharto, T. "Ma'had Ittihad al-Islam (Persis) 1984-1996 wa al-Ta'lim al-Qa'im 'ala Da'amah al-Mujtama'." *Studia Islamika* 11, no. 1, 2004: 145-166.
- Suharto, T. "Kontribusi Pesantren Persatuan Islam Bagi Penguatan Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia." *Millah Jurnal Studi Agama* XI, no. 1, 2011: 109–33.
- Suharto, T. *Pendidikan Berbasis Masyarakat Organik: Pengalaman Pesantren Persatuan Islam*. Surakarta: Fataba Press, 2013.

Wildan, D. "Perjalanan Sejarah Persatuan Islam," in *Anatomi Gerakan Dakwah Persatuan Islam*, ed. oleh Dadan Wildan Anas et al. Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2000.

Wildan, D. *Pasang Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia: Potret Perjalanan Sejarah Organisasi Persatuan Islam*. Bandung: PERSIS Press, 2000.

Zubaedi, Z. *Pendidikan Berbasis Masyarakat; Upaya Menawarkan Solusi Terhadap Berbagai Problem Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006.