

# The Polemic of Ahmadiyah Community Existence in Tasikmalaya City, Indonesia. Case Study of Religious Freedom Conflict

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**ABSTRACT** : The problem of religious freedom is a problem that is still hampering the dynamics of society, especially for the Ahmadiyah followers in Tasikmalaya city. At least, there are two problems that can be asked in this research. First, how is the socio-religious dynamics of Tasikmalaya city people towards the emergence and existence of Ahmadiyah so far. Conflicts and violence often occur along with the emergence of Ahmadiyah in Tasikmalaya since the early 20th century. Vandalism incidents of people's homes, sealing the places of worship, and persecution of Ahmadiyah followers have adorned their lives, particularly after the reformation era. In the Tasikmalaya city itself, it has happened several times and many popular incidents were the closing of an orphanage, attack on Ahmadiyah-owned building in Nagarawangi, and the prohibition of Ahmadiyah children from attending Madrasah Diniyah. Second, how the government formulates policies to address the conflict and its resolution from academic point of view. The method used in this article is critical historical method with two types of sources, namely primary and secondary. For primary sources, this article takes data from interviews with few informants in Tasikmalaya city and contemporary news, while secondary sources rely on literature studies. The analysis shows that the Indonesian government's decision to freeze Ahmadiyah activities through Three Ministerial Decree dated 9 June 2008 invited reactions from Islamic groups. Liberals and moderates declared the decision was unfair, while fundamentalists wanted a total ban. The central government's decision was also followed by the issuance of local government policies. The conclusion states that differences in interpretation of Islamic teachings are the root of a long conflict between Ahmadiyah and general Muslims in Tasikmalaya city. The best attitude to respond the different religious paradigms should not be anarchic actions, but rather by presenting rational arguments and better persuasive efforts. To be officially accepted as part of the Tasikmalaya city community, it seems that the Ahmadiyah still have a long way to go.

**KEYWORDS** -Ahmadiyah, conflict, Tasikmalaya city, fundamentalism, liberalism

## I. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

The problem of freedom of religion and belief is a problem that is still hampering the dynamics of Indonesian people's lives, particularly in Tasikmalaya city. After the issue of terrorism re-emerged, the previous world was still rocked by the problem of sects or deviant sects and again, the main targets were Muslims. One sect that is considered heretical and has large number of people is Ahmadiyah sect. This sect has members in almost all corners of the world. The Ahmadiyah is a preaching movement that has more than ten million followers, from Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Central Africa, West Africa, to the United States. The city of Rabwah, Central Pakistan, was once the center of this organizational structure. The current leader of the movement is the fourth generation, namely Mirza Masroor Ahmad, one of the great-grandsons of Ahmadiyah founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

Ahmadiyah is a sect that has been in Tasikmalaya for almost a century, where so far their existence has never been questioned as well as in the post-reform era. The issue of the existence of Ahmadiyah teachings made the Muslims in Tasikmalaya city finally split into two major groups in response to the existence of Ahmadiyah.

There is one majority group who strongly disagrees with the existence and activities of Ahmadiyah, this group really hopes that the government with their power can dissolve the Ahmadiyah group. This group can be called a fundamentalist group that prohibits matters related to the Ahmadiyah. While the second group is a minority Islamic group who defends the existence and rights of the Ahmadiyah faith. This second group uses the issue of democracy, postmodernism, and human rights (Cheetham, 2000:29-36). Some of articles stated them as liberal or moderate group. The issue of Ahmadiyah has resulted in conflict between fundamentalist muslims and liberal muslims.

We need to re-emphasize the real essence of one question, "What is meant by religious freedom?". First of all, it must be said that freedom of religion and belief is only one aspect of the meaning of such a broad and general freedom (Kurten, 2000:1-4). We need to define terminology about the meaning of freedom. In many literatures, freedom is generally a positive ability so that humans by doing and especially doing good realize themselves into good people. This is the main human responsibility, this is the main task, this is the meaning of human life. Therefore, the freedom to act according to his beliefs about good and bad is a human right (freedom to follow conscience), which cannot be given and cannot be taken away by others. So freedom can be formulated discretely as the ability of humans to regulate behavior and life according to their own will without being limited or hindered. It is in this context and background that freedom of religion and belief is reviewed (Ndungwrlarunu, 1986:7).

## **1.2. Problem Formulation**

At least there are several important issues to be discussed regarding this case study research, such as:

1. What is the attitude of the community to the emergence of Islamic views that are different from the Islamic views mainstream that have been believed so far, especially this religious view that is original in dealing with the beliefs raised by Ahmadiyah?
2. What is the historical aspect of Ahmadiyah existence in Tasikmalaya city and the phenomenon of resistance (persecution, intimidation, etc.) to their existence, particularly in the Indonesian Post-Reformation period?
3. How are the sociological dynamics of Tasikmalaya people after the central and regional government issued policies that froze daily activities of Ahmadiyah?
4. What are the efforts to conflict resolution and group relations harmonization between the Ahmadiyah community and the general Islamic community Tasikmalaya city? Are the strategy that being implemented by the Ahmadiyah significant enough to reduce people's violence behavior?

This research may not pretend to provide complete answers and satisfy all parties. However, what needs to be underlined is that as policy to take the right attitude, we should first know more deeply what Ahmadiyah is and what main points have sparked debate so far that in some cases will lead to conflict and violence.

## **1.3 Research Method**

The method that used in this article is the critical historical method assisted by sociology. The author realized after seeing several books and journals that the sources relevant to the topic of this study were more primary sources of interviews and archives. However, it does not escape the processing of secondary sources in the form of literature studies. Thus, the data collection method on this article is qualitative method.

In this study, the data has been obtained from literature study and various parties were deliberately selected according to the circumstances or purposive because it is assumed to have relevance to the research topic and is considered capable of providing data and information about the existence, polemics, and harmonization of the Ahmadiyah with the general Islamic community in the city. Tasikmalaya. Qualitative methods do have the aim of getting a general understanding of people's statements and observed behavior to be directed at the background and the individual holistically. Furthermore, conclusions are drawn in the form of a general understanding of these facts (Silverman, 1985:3-25).

The data sources in this study are primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data sources have been extracted from respondents, archives, and contemporary news. Respondent themselves are termed as people who provide complete and credible information about the data needed by means of in-depth interviews (May, 1993 : 93-94). The selection of community informants as sources of information is through purposive sampling, namely the Ahmadiyah and Tasikmalaya city residents who undergo socialization and social interaction in their daily lives. The secondary data sources in this study were data obtained from books, scientific journals, and news related to the polemic of the Ahmadiyah community in the city of Tasikmalaya. Also, a number of data were taken from previous studies that were correlated with the polemic. Then, for data analysis, it is carried out starting from the data reduction process to data presentation. Data analysis can be understood as a process of transforming data from something less valuable to something very valuable. With this, raw data can be more meaningful and well interpreted. The conclusions expressed are expected to have good credibility supported by valid and consistent evidence.

## II. THEORETICAL BASIS

### 2.1 Conflict and Violence Theory

Sociological conflict is a social process in which two people or groups try to get rid of the other party by destroying it or making it powerless. Meanwhile, according to Gillin & Gillin, conflict is a social process that occurs due to differences in physical, emotional, cultural, and behavioral so that conflict is defined as dissociative social process (Ruhing, Lumolos, & Kumayas, 2020:7). The form of conflict itself is often in the form of squabbles, disputes, or conflicts. The factors of conflict, among others, differences between individuals, cultural differences, differences in interests, and social change.

Often conflict is accompanied by violence acts. A number of incidents prove that a conflict can arise if it is accompanied by an overflow of dislike feelings, hatred, etc. If the overflow is accompanied by intention of destroying or eliminating the opponent or target party, then that's when violence occurs. In terms of the theory of violence, there are two main factors that cause violence, namely violence as actors act (individual or group) and structural violence. Structural violence does not come from certain people or groups, but is formed from social system.

In the real life of society, we often hear various acts of violence perpetrated by one community member against another community member. For instance, persecution, intimidation, slander, beatings, rape, and others. The types of violence that can be identified include: (1) overt violence, (2) covert violence, (3) aggressive violence, (4) defensive violence, (5) indirect direct violence, and (6) direct or indirect violence. Thus, how important for us to maintain our passions and protect ourselves from evil by taking preventive measures (Fachri, 2017:260-261).

### 2.2 Theory of Liberalism and Religious Moderation

At first liberal Islam was introduced by Charles Kuzman in his book entitled "Liberal Islam: A Source Book" and Leonard Binder's book entitled "Islamic Liberalism: A Critique of Development Ideologies". Although this book was published in 1998, the idea of supporting religious liberalization has been born before such as the secularization movement (Kuzman, 1998:286), modernization (Kuzman, 1998:26), etc. Although the Liberal Islam Network in Indonesia was emerged in 2001, the ideas of Liberal Islam in Indonesia have existed since the previous three decades.

The liberal movement of Islamic teachings is actually the influence of the liberalism philosophy that was born and developed in the West. Then this liberalism entered into various fields of life like economics, culture, politics, and others. This liberalism movement also infiltrated the religious field. One example is the British reform movement which aims to abolish the headship and power of religious people (papal jurisdiction). Usually, the liberalism movement is associated with opposition to religious teaching and the system of government carried out by the church or kings who rule in the name of God. However, for the Liberal Islam group, they do not manifest themselves as people who reject religion. Liberal Muslims tend to reject all old and conservative interpretations of religion. For liberal group, religious life should be adapted to the reality of times, although sometimes there are debates regarding religious laws. If there is law that needs to be adjusted for the times, modernity, global civilization, and human rights, then this law can be interpreted (Husaini & Hidayat, 2002:3).

The emergence of liberal Islam is also related to the Islamic modernism movement that emerged in the early 19th century in the Islamic world. It was a consequence of the interaction of the Islamic world with the West. Islamic modernism is heavily influenced by Western mindsets based on rationalism, positivism, liberalism, humanism, until secularism. This concept reflects a soul that feels disappointed with religious conservatism. The concept raises doubts and in this process philosophy has been recognized as an important instrument of truth that needs to be proven.

Religious moderation is a perception related to the process of studying and practicing religious teachings so that in its implementation it is always on a moderate path. The meaning of the word moderate includes attitudes and actions that are not excessive or extreme. In essence, moderation focuses on how to practice religious teachings, not on beliefs about their religious beliefs (Davids, 2017:309-310).

### **2.3 Theory of Religious Fundamentalism**

The word "fundamentalism" was first born in Christian religious groups in the United States. Fundamentalism is essentially an old English term for Christians that is specifically applied to people who have the perspective that the Bible must be interpreted and implemented in its entirety (Bouwer, Gifford, & Rose, 1994:13-14). Meanwhile, in the Indonesian Dictionary, fundamental means "basic (principal)" or "fundamental". Fundamental has a basic meaning, principle, and foundation. Therefore, fundamentalism can be considered as an understanding that seeks to fight for or apply what is said to be fundamental.

In later times, the use of "fundamentalism" word has given rise to new stereotype that is attached to fanaticism and extremism in order to maintain their beliefs. Fundamentalists people are often called irrational, anti-moderate, and tend to commit violence when certain conditions occur (Choueiri, 1990). There are several opinions from sociologists and religious scholars regarding fundamentalism. M. Said Al-Ashmawi argued that fundamentalism does not always have a negative connotation as long as the movement is rational and spiritually combined well. This means that religious teachings are carried out based on the spirit and context as shown by rational fundamentalists who are distinguished from political activist and fundamentalists who fight for Islam as a political entity, then do not emphasize the renewal of authentic religious thought.

Indonesia's fundamentalist muslim movement was heavily influenced by socio-political instability. At the end of the New Order era, Indonesia experienced a deep multidimensional crisis. The economic, social, and political aspects were volatile which caused people to become restless and lose their trust in the government. This is felt by Islamic fundamentalists. After the fall of the New Order, the faucet of freedom was wider and fundamentalists began to show themselves more (Burhani, 2014:133-152). One of the efforts made is to establish campaign for the establishment of Islamic state as way out of instability. Based on this background, it is not surprising that many opinions stated that the Islamic fundamentalism movement is part of the Islamic politicization.

In a number of Islamic groups, there are some fundamentalist Islamic movement characteristics. First, they tend to carry out literal interpretations of religious sacred texts and reject contextual processing of religious texts because the process is assumed to reduce the level of religious holiness. Second, this group rejects pluralism and relativism. For the fundamentalist group, pluralism is the wrong product of sacred texts understanding. Interpretation and behavior that is not in harmony with the views of fundamentalist groups is a relativism religious form. Third, the fundamentalist group also has a monopoly on the accuracy of religious teachings interpretation. They tend to assume themselves to be the most correct and view deviant sects that are not in accordance with their understanding. Finally, each fundamentalism movement is strongly correlated with fanaticism, exclusivity, intolerance, radicalism, and hardliners. This group often takes radical steps against threats that are considered harmful to religion, including violence acts.

## **III. HISTORICITY OF AHMADIYAH IN TASIKMALAYA CITY**

### **3.1 The Birth of Ahmadiyah**

The main figure and founder of Ahmadiyah is Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. He was born in Qadiyan, India 1839 (Abubakar, 1992:5). Ghulam Ahmad was the son of Ghulam Murtada, who was descended from Haji Bartas, a king in the Qesh region. When Amir Tughlak Temur, Haji Barlas' nephew, attacked Qesh, Haji Barlas and his family were forced to flee to Samarkand. In about 1530, during the reign of Mughal King Babur, Ghulam Ahmad's ancestors immigrated from the Samarkand region to Gurdaspur region, Punjab, India, which is a place

about 100 miles northeast of Lahore (Walter, 2016:13). They settled there and founded a village called Islampur Qadhi Majhi. Over time, the community removed the word Islampur and the name Qadhi Majhi was changed to Qadiyan. The village of Qadiyan was originally called Qadhi Majhi because the area contained a large number of cows, which in Hindi is called Majh, so the area, which has an area of about 120 square miles, is known as Majhah. In addition, because the ancestors of Ghulam Ahmad were given the authority to manage the area, they were then known as Qadhi.

When he was 6 years old, Ghulam Ahmad was taught about the Quran and several religious texts in Persian by a teacher named Fazl-I-Illoho. Then, when he was 10 years old, another teacher, named Gul Ali Shah from Batala, was brought to teach Ghulam Ahmad in the fields of nahwu, mantiq, and philosophy. Ghulam Ahmad also admitted that he read books on medicine from his father, a healer who is good at traditional medicine. In 1864-1868, Ghulam Ahmad worked at government office in Sialkot. At this time apart from doing his daily routine, he also spent a lot of time reading the Quran. While in Sialkot he was even involved in many controversies with Christian missionaries. He also became familiar with Sayyid Ahmad Khan's views on Genesis, although later he made strong criticisms of Ahmad Khan's very naturalistic understanding of Islam, he also had concern on Ahmad Khan's apologetic attitude (Walter, 2016:13).

In 1868, Ghulam Ahmad was recalled to Qadiyan by his father to take care of their agricultural land and to handle a dispute over their family's land. However, because he felt not suitable for the job, he spent a lot of time studying the Quran. He prefers to be alone and less interested in worldly affairs. He once wrote a letter to his father that he wanted to spend his life alone. The death of his father, Ghulam Murtada in 1876, had prompted Ghulam Ahmad to devote more of his attention to Islam (Walter, 2016:14).

Furthermore, in 1880, he began to write the book Barahin Ahmadiyah as many as four volumes and it also took four years. In this work, he expressed views on Islamic teachings and raises his objections to the teachings of Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, and Christianity which were the major movements at that time in India (Walter, 2016:15). While compiling the book Barahin Ahmadiyah, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad informed that he had received inspiration from God who assigned him to be mujadid of the 14th century Hijr and appointed to defend Islamic cases. However, at that time he had not yet formed ritual place. Only in 1889 he formed a movement, after previously on December 1, 1888 he announced that God had ordered him to accept allegiance and form a congregation named "Ahmadiyah".

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, for the first time made allegiance in the city of Ludhiana on 1 March 1889 at the house of Mian Ahmad Jaan (Abubakar, 1982:12-13). The person who first took allegiance to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was Maulana Nuruddin Sahib and at the same time stated that Mirza was the founder of this movement. The city of Ludhiana was chosen because this is the center of Christian missionary activities and that is where the Christian journal Noor-I-Afshan has been published since 6 March 1873. In addition, Ludhiana is a place for famous maulawis who had played an active role in the 1857 rebellion. Mirza's arrival there seems to be a response to two types of such activity in the city.

Then, around 1891, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad proclaimed that he was al-Masih al-Mawud as well as al-Mahdi for Muslims in order to remove two obstacles and spread "true" Islam (Al Badry, 1981:66-70). The first obstacle, there is a popular belief both among Christians and Muslims that Isa ibn Maryam has not died, but was saved at the crucifixion and raised to the sky, then will return at the end of time. The second obstacle is the belief that the Mahdi will be sent down at the end of time to uphold the truth of Islamic teachings by "violence" (Otten, 1970 : 20-22).

Since 1901, Mirza Ghulam also started the spread of Islam to other parts of Europe and the Western World, by publishing a monthly English-language magazine, named Review of Religions. Among the first editors were Maulana Muhammad Ali and Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din. In addition, since 1904, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has also tried to spread Islamic teachings among Hindus by claiming that apart from being al-Mahdi among Muslims and al-Masih among Christians, he is actually a manifestation of Krishna among Hindus (Al Hadar, 1980 : 69-70). In order to build peaceful and friendly relations between Muslims and Hindus, before his death Mirza Ghulam had written a book containing a message of peace for the two communities entitled Paigham Suih (Message of Peace).

In December 1905, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad stated that he had been notified that "his term was coming to a close". For this reason, he wrote a small pamphlet entitled "Washiyah Will" which contained, among other things, the formation of Anjuman (Society), which was later named Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyah. This anjuman is given full power to deal with matters relating to the Ahmadiyah movement and will become Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's



successor upon his death. Finally, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad breathed his last on May 26, 1908, after suffering from stomach ailments and diarrhea. After Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's death, Maulana Nuruddin was appointed as the successor to the leadership of the Ahmadiyah, but in the end he also died on 13 March 1914 (Abubakar, 1982:19).

### **3.2 Ahmadiyah Arrived in Indonesia**

Although in a smaller scope the teachings of Ahmadiyah have been known for a long time, the majority of Indonesian Muslims generally still have limited knowledge about Ahmadiyah. An indication of the limited knowledge of Ahmadiyah is the ignorance of Indonesian Muslims that Ahmadiyah itself developed in two groups of teachings and movements, namely Qadiyan Ahmadiyah and Lahore Ahmadiyah (Iqbal, 1991:3-4). Organizationally, the Qadiyan group is represented by the Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI), while the Lahore group is represented by the Indonesian Ahmadiyah Movement (Sa'ied, 1981:361-362).

In Indonesia, the teachings of Ahmadiyah Islam, especially the Lahore Ahmadiyah, have actually been known since 1918 through Islamic Review of Malay edition that published in Singapore. However, this teaching was introduced directly in around 1920 through a prominent Lahore Ahmadiyah, namely Maulana Khawaja Kamalud-Din who came to Surabaya for the purpose of treatment and at the same time monitoring the situation in Surabaya. Furthermore, on 28 November 1920 he was given the opportunity by the Taswirul Afkar Association to give a speech at the commemoration of Prophet's Birthday at the Ampel Mosque in Surabaya. Then in 1921, he was also invited to give a lecture at Gambir Park. Other Ahmadiyah figures in Lahore who spread the teachings of Ahmadiyah Islam to Indonesia were Mirza Wali Ahmad Baig and Maulana Ahmad around 1924.

As discussed earlier, the Ahmadiyah Islamic understanding has actually received various opposition since the beginning of its spread in Indonesia. Although strong opposition was specifically addressed to the Qadiyan Ahmadiyah, the Lahore Ahmadiyah also received a strong response, especially from Muhammadiyah circles at that time. However fierce the reaction against Ahmadiyah was at that time, the disagreement was not manifested in acts of violence, but in the form of debates and discussions. For example, in 1926 in Padang, Abdullah Ahmad Haji Abdul Karim criticized the Ahmadiyah view that Prophet Isa AS was dead and could not come to earth again. Haji Abdul Karim specifically compiled a book entitled *Al-Qawl Al-Sahih* which discusses the meaning of prophets, apostles, revelations, and Prophet Muhammad is the closing apostle. In 1925, in Tapaktuan (Aceh), Muhammad Isa and Ahmad Syukur, students of Abdul Karim Amrullah denied Ahmadiyah understanding through recitations. Meanwhile, in 1933 in Bandung (West Java), Ahmad Hassan from the Islamic Union held many open debates to criticize Ahmadiyah.

Violent acts as an disapproval expression of the Ahmadiyah Islamic teachings, particularly the Qadiyan sect, have emerged in the 1980s (Hariadi, 1988:43-54). At that time, the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) enacted a fatwa regarding the Ahmadiyah Qadiyan understanding "outside of Islam, heretical, and misleading" through the 2nd National Deliberation which took place in Jakarta on 26 May - 1 June 1980. However, then acts of violence arose such as in Cianjur (March 1984) and Garut, West Java (1988).

The Directorate General of Islamic Guidance and Hajj Affairs of the Ministry of Religion also issued Circular No. D/BA.01/3099/84 dated 20 September 1984 which was addressed to the Regional Offices of the Ministry of Religion, in particular the Head of the Islamic Information Division in Indonesia who stated that the study of the Ahmadiyah sects resulted that the Ahmadiyah Qadiyani sect was considered deviant from Islam because they believed in Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a Prophet, so they believe Prophet Muhammad is not the last Prophet. Then the circular reads "It is necessary to maintain that the activities of the Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation do not spread their ideas outside of their adherents, so as not to cause unrest in the religious community and disturb the harmony of religious life". Then, the Ministry of Religion also called on the Indonesian Ulama Council, the Level I and Level II Regional Ulama Council, scholars and preachers throughout Indonesia to explain to the public the heretical teachings of the Ahmadiyah Qadiyan.

### **3.3 Ahmadiyah Presence in Tasikmalaya and the Beginning of Intimidation**

Ahmadiyah entered the city of Tasikmalaya during the Dutch East Indies period through a number of Tasikmalaya traders who often stopped at the Mataram hotel, which was located on Jalan Molenvliet Oost, Batavia, The Capital of Dutch East Indies. One Ahmadiyah leader named Mohammad Toyyib once visited traders and they discussed religious matters. Toyyib's hometown is Singaparna, Tasikmalaya Regent. During the discussion, they admitted that they knew the teachings of Ahmadiyah because they read the news and there was also a debate between Ahmadiyah and Persis (Islamic Union) in 1933. The news spread even more after

there was news that young people in Tasikmalaya were asking about Ahmadiyah who had started there. One of the youths named Enggit Syarif was looking for news about Ahmadiyah in Batavia. When visiting Batavia, he also briefly met with Raden Mohammad Muhyiddin, who is well-known as the Secretary of the Pasundan Association and wrote an article in the *Orgaan Pasundan* magazine. In Batavia, Enggit finally found a complete copy of *Verslag* debate between the Ahmadis and Persis (Ahmadiyah.id, 2021: 6).

Returning to Tasikmalaya, he studied the contents of publication and discussed Ahmadiyah with another figure, Surdjah who lives in Indihiang. After a long discussion, they agreed to visit the Ahmadiyah center in Batavia. While on their way, they stopped in Garut and met Toyyib. They had intensive discussions and got the answers they had been looking for. They immediately returned to Tasikmalaya and Enggit Syarif was asked to immediately establish the Ahmadiyah Jamaat organization in Tasikmalaya. At first, Enggit Syarif was reluctant to respond to the invitation and found it difficult considering that only the three of them really believed in Ahmadiyah. Toyyib once again believed and came forward as their adviser. Since then, leaflets entitled "Imam Mahdi has arrived" began to spread in several markets and streets throughout Tasikmalaya city. Furthermore, there was an uproar in the Tasikmalaya city regarding the entry of a new religious sect and not a few residents began to ask questions about Ahmadiyah. Toyyib was often invited to come to Tasikmalaya for lectures and many people began to join. In 1935, the Ahmadiyah Committee was born in Indihiang led by Surdjah and Enggit Syarif as secretary (Ahmadiyah.id, 2021: 6-7).

In early 1941, Enggit Syarif founded the Gementee Ahmadiyah Qadian Tasikmalaya. Then, on 1 May 1941, the Ahmadiyah Qadian Tasikmalaya was established with its chairman named Rusli. He donated a piece of his land for the construction of a mosque belonging to the Ahmadiyah. The mosque was inaugurated by Mubaligh Malik Aziz Ahmad Khan while he was in Tasikmalaya. During the time of the Japanese army, Ahmadiyah continued to spread its wings and there were many oaths in the Kersamenak area (Ahmadiyah.id, 2021: 7). In 1944 there was a major resistance in Sukamanah against the Japanese government by KH Zainal Mustafa, a Muslim who rejected the obligation of "seikerei" and was known to be anti-colonial since the Dutch East Indies era. On 25 February, the Sukamanah Islamic Boarding School was surrounded by six companies of Japanese troops and within 1.5 hours finally KH Zainal Mustafa and 30 of his followers were arrested in Cihaur. During these years missionaries and Ahmadiyah followers were also suspected by the Japanese and some were arrested, but because there was no evidence of involvement in the rebellion they were released.

After the proclamation of independence in 1945, several Islamic political organizations were established and one of them was Masyumi. When an invitation to politics was made to the Ahmadiyah, they stated that the Ahmadiyah did not participate in politics, but this angered a number of elements in Masyumi. Intimidation and persecution began to overshadow the Ahmadiyah. Not long after it, they fled from the village to city because the situation was precarious. This was because the Dutch wanted to return to power in Indonesia. At that time many armed militia formed various groups or laskar. In West Java, there is Laskar Hezbollah which has close ties to certain political sects. These soldiers did not hesitate to attack the Dutch and certain groups that were targeted by them.

One of the shocking incidents was the attack in Cukangkawung village, Sukapura. There were rumors that Ahmadis were victims of the attacks. Ahmadis were tied up and herded for execution. This was due to differences in understanding and the influence of the state conditions which were in turmoil due to the arrival of the Dutch. The same incident also occurred in the village of Sangianglobang, Indihiang. There were around four Ahmadis who were executed by armed militia in the Tasikmalaya city (Ahmadiyah.id, 2021:8). It wasn't until 1949 when the Dutch agreed to leave Indonesia that Mubaligh Malik Aziz Ahmad Khan proposed that the Tasikmalaya Ahmadiyah congregation buy a piece of land for worship place. However, the proposal was deemed difficult to achieve because the economic conditions were chaotic due to the war and DI/TII rebellion. Ahmadis carry a heavy burden of life and it is difficult even to eat daily. After the situation began to stabilize, the Ahmadiyah Congregation even competed to donate and buy land to support the construction of their worship place, residence, and businesses. Since the first half of the 20th century, the Ahmadiyah community has been able to survive the hardships of war and rebellion (Ahmadiyah.id, 2021: 8).

### **3.4 Religious and Ahmadiyah Development in Tasikmalaya before the Reformation**

The 1950s were politically escalating years. At that time Indonesia was entering a period of Liberal Democracy and Tasikmalaya was a strong base for Masyumi. When the 1955 general election took place, the winning party in this city was Masyumi. On the other hand, DI/TII gangs are still wreaking havoc with armed battles. The era of Liberal Democracy is considered less safe for the people of Tasikmalaya who live in rural areas, especially

the Ahmadiyah. They seem to be lacking in the Tasikmalaya city history because of a large-scale religious conflict. Nevertheless, Ahmadi residents continue to blend in economically by conducting buying and selling activities or working as employees in offices (Mudzakir, 2017: 60).

When the New Order government came to power, the political and economic power of Muslims was strongly controlled by the government. During New Order Era, Golkar is the strongest and superior party, although in the Tasikmalaya city the power of PPP (Development United Party) cannot be underestimated, especially during the 1971 and 1977 elections. PPP relies on the influence of kyai and religious leaders in Tasikmalaya. But slowly, many ulama and kyai have shifted their support to Golkar. Besides Golkar, the military is also dominant in Tasikmalaya politics. Almost every term of office for regional heads in Tasikmalaya is held by military officers through direct appointments (Mudzakir, 2017:60). The positive side of New Order era which was dominated by the military was that there were almost no major events related to the persecution of the Ahmadiyah in Tasikmalaya city. The Ahmadiyah tend to be able to carry out various kinds of activities even though they are not one hundred percent free. Fatwas and prohibitions exist. Incidents also exist, but still on a local scale. Meanwhile, on a local scale in Tasikmalaya, there is hardly any big conflict. However, this invites skepticism because during the New Order era, news and media were still very limited. In fact, religious conflicts appeared more after the reformation era.

#### **IV. POST-REFORMATION CONFLICT AND RESOLUTION IN TASIKMALAYA CITY**

##### **4.1 Persecution and Subjugation of Ahmadiyah: Jakarta to Tasikmalaya**

The 1998 reform that marked the fall of the New Order was a new chapter in Indonesian history. At that time, there were hopes for the pro-democracy and minorities to achieve freedom after the fall of the New Order. However, it turns out that this does not apply to the Ahmadiyah. In July 2005 there was a mass raid on the Mubarak campus in Parung, Bogor. The Mubarak Campus is a complex of Islamic religious education centers as well as the headquarters of the Indonesian Ahmadiyah Community (JAI). At that time, the 46th Jalsa Salana at the national level was taking place from 8 – 10 July 2005. Jalsa Salana is a religious forum containing a series of lectures and congregational worship.

Knowing that the Jalsa Salana event would be held, Islamic fundamental groups intensified provocations and asked the police to disband the event. The JAI also insisted that they did not want to disband because it had official permission from the local police. Because no agreement was reached, there was an incident of vandalism by the masses. Not only the campus, houses around the campus belonging to the congregation were also targeted for vandalism and criminal acts. With the attitude of some police officers who were unable to prevent and allow the anarchic actions of this group on behalf of Muslims, the JAI then lodged a complaint with Komnas HAM and appointed a well-known lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution as their lawyer.

Various criticisms arose over the incident, not only from individuals, but also institutions such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah (Beck, 2005 : 210-246), etc. However, instead of getting a humanitarian defense from the MUI as the official organization of ulama, the MUI has issued a new fatwa to affirm the 1980 fatwa which stipulates that Ahmadiyah teachings are heretical and misleading, and Ahmadiyah is non-Islamic congregations.

Although the 1980 MUI Fatwa and the Circular of the Director General of Islamic Guidance and Hajj Affairs were explicitly addressed to the Ahmadiyah Qadiyan. However, through the 7th National Conference on 26-29 July 2005, the MUI issued a new fatwa containing a reaffirmation of the Ahmadiyahism deviation and no longer distinguishes between the two Ahmadiyah groups, the Qadiyan and Lahore. Several ideologies or teachings that are different from the majority of adherents of Islam and are the basis for the MUI's fatwa to condemn them as heretical and misleading have indeed widened the gap in ideological conflict between Ahmadiyah and MUI, which represents the majority Muslim community. The implication of this conflict is the disharmony of relations between Ahmadiyah and MUI-Ministry of Religion which then has a wider spectrum to their respective followers.

This is related to the theory of Relational Communication which says that communication as an interaction creates the structure of a relationship. Communication functions to strengthen, maintain, or change relationships. They put forward two propositions that underlie this theory. The first is ambiguous message. Every relational communication carries two messages, namely the "report" message and the "message command". The "messagereportconcerns the substance or content of the communication, while the "messagecommandrelates to a statement regarding the relationship". The deviant and misleading fatwa issued by the MUI is a



“messagereportto Ahmadiyah”, while the statement not to influence or follow the teachings of this group is a “message command”.

Even though the MUI and the government have intervened against Ahmadiyah, up to now horizontal conflicts are still common. We still remember the clash between the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and the National Alliance for Freedom of Religion and Belief (AKKBB) on 1 June 2008 (Kompas, 2008). FPI considers AKKBB have supported the existence of the Ahmadiyah sect, which has angered Muslims. The Ahmadiyah sect caused great turmoil. Ahmadiyah supporters are no less powerful than their opponents. Human rights support groups said that we must let a group of religious people carry out their worship and take care of their own interests, determine their teachings and laws without any intimidation from other parties (Ndungwrlarunu, 1986:8). In fact, according to several media, recently there was an issue of Ahmadiyah followers are still asking for political protection.

The situation in the Tasikmalaya city itself also has a fairly high level of intolerance, especially in the post-reformation period. This was observed from a number of violent incidents and the intensification of meetings between the government, religious leaders, and NGOs in order to quell the turmoil. The ambiguity of the attitude of the central and local governments is still visible and may be understood as a reflection of the complexities that must be faced. This complexity becomes even more evident when we examine Ahmadiyah in terms of the differences between the dichotomies that develop within it. This is what has been described in order to reach the differentiation between them, although it is not yet complete. As a result, there are still many incidents of violence that befell the Ahmadiyah community in Tasikmalaya after the reformation.

Since 2003, there have been a number of intolerant acts against the Ahmadiyah in Tasikmalaya. It started with the destruction of the Ahmadiyah mosque in Tolonjeng, Sukaratu on 5 April 2003 by a group of people as a result of provocation during a recitation lecture, then spread to downtown Tasikmalaya. To be precise, in June 2003, the Hasanah Kautsar Orphanage in Cicariang, Kawalu was visited by hardline mass organizations to protest. They insisted that the orphanage should be moved immediately because the existence of orphanage was suspected of spreading Ahmadiyah teachings. Without further communication, the orphanage, which can accommodate more than 40 children, was sealed and forcibly closed. The mass organizations stated that they had received support in the form of statements from local figures (Hidayat, 2010). It did not stop there, at a meeting with government officials in Kawalu District, the MUI of Tasikmalaya City concluded that the existence of the Ahmadiyah Jama'at there was exclusive, aggressive, expansionary, and tended to disturb the community so that Ahmadiyah activities had to be stopped immediately. The incident of the attack on the location of the Regional Working Meeting (Mukerda) of the Ahmadiyah Management throughout West Java on 19 June 2007 did not go unnoticed.

What is interesting to understand is how the Ahmadiyah community in the Tasikmalaya city responds to the anarchic actions of certain dominant groups. It turned out that the Tasikmalaya Ahmadiyah did not act symmetrically. The Ahmadiyah followers are more patient, persist and take cases to legal channels. This is a reflection of the teachings of non-violence and patience since their leader and prophet Mirza Ghulam Ahmad redefined the meaning of jihad as one of the symbols of Islam from "war with the sword" to "war with the pen" (Connley, 2016:58).

#### **4.2 Three Ministers Decree: A Temporary or Permanent Solution?**

The turbulent atmosphere after 2008 National Monument incident in Jakarta still persists on the community. The Tasikmalaya city is also in a conducive condition, but tensions have been risen since the events of 2003 and 2007. The police have decided to investigate carefully and thoroughly who is the mastermind behind these incidents. As a result, a number of unscrupulous members of mass organizations were “forcibly picked up” by the police at their base. Without significant resistance, the mass organizations handed over their leaders to the police to take them to the police headquarters to undergo the examination process. However, it turns out that tensions have not subsided, large-scale demonstrations regarding the pros and cons of disbanding Ahmadiyah are still visible on the faces of the streets of Tasikmalaya city day after day. To ease tensions in various regions, the government finally intervened. On behalf of the government, the Minister of Religion, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the Attorney General enacted a joint decree known as the Three Ministerial Decree (SKB Tiga Menteri). Minister of Religion Maftuh Basyumi emphasized that Three Minister Decree did not contain order prohibiting Ahmadiyah activities but only to ask Ahmadiyah followers if they considers themselves to be a Muslim, it is proper to abandon their acknowledgment of other prophets besides Prophet Muhammad as the

last prophet. According to him, this is the best decision that is considered to be able to bridge the wishes of all parties involved in the Ahmadiyah controversy.

The following are the complete contents of the Joint Three Ministers Decree relating to Ahmadiyah (Detik, 2008):

1. Giving warnings and ordering all Indonesian citizens not to tell, then follow a religion that deviates according to the 2005 PNPS Law concerning the prevention of religious blasphemy.
2. Giving warnings and instructing all adherents, the administrators of Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI) as long as they adhere to Islam, they must stop all activities that are not in accordance with the interpretation of Islam in general, such as acknowledging the existence of a prophet after the Prophet Muhammad.
3. Giving warnings and ordering all JAI members who do not heed these warnings may be subject to sanctions in accordance with the laws and regulations.
4. Giving warnings and ordering all citizens to protect and maintain harmony lives of religious people and not to take unlawful actions against Ahmadiyah adherents.
5. Giving warnings and ordering citizens who do not heed warnings and orders can be subject to sanctions according to applicable laws.
6. Ordered each local government to carry out guidance on this decision.

This central government decision was finally followed by the issuance of Regional Regulations (Perda), both at the provincial and city/regent levels as more specific implementation. First, at the provincial level there was West Java Provincial Governor Regulation (Pergub) No. 12, 2011 concerning the Prohibition of Activities of the Ahmadiyah Congregation in West Java. Second, specifically for the Tasikmalaya city, a new religious regulation was born which regulates the life of Tasikmalaya city people, namely the Regional Regulation of Tasikmalaya City No. 12, 2009 concerning the Development of Values for Community Life Based on the Teachings of Islam and Social Norms for the people of Tasikmalaya city. What's unique here is that the Tasikmalaya City Perda came out first before provincial regulation.

The emergence of these regulations, the majority of which essentially want to freeze the activities of the Ahmadiyah Community, has invited various reactions from Muslims in the Tasikmalaya city. Liberals resisted the decision and consider it unfair, while fundamentalists or hardliners want a total ban. MUI stated that the decision was relevant to their wishes. However, government regulation that this is not what the fundamentalist community has asked for because this community has requested that the Ahmadiyah sect be disbanded and all activities prohibited. Meanwhile, liberals or moderates deplore this action. This is evidenced by statements from religious freedom observers who say that the government has submitted to pressure and intimidation from hardline groups. For the moderates, this will be a sign that anyone who wants the government to fulfill their wishes only has to do social unrest and spread hatred.

#### **4.3 The Condition of the Ahmadiyah in Tasikmalaya City After Three Ministers Decree**

After Three Ministers Decree was issued, the Ahmadiyah community continued to carry out their daily activities, which provoked hard-line Islamic organizations to carry out attacks. Exactly two years after the issuance of the decree, it was proven that the alleged activities of the Ahmadiyah congregation in Tasikmalaya were proven. At one location, the gate to the shelter for orphans of the Ahmadiyah congregation was locked in accordance with a mutual agreement between the Ahmadiyah congregation, the MUI, the security forces, and the local government. Locking gate of the house held a sign the security forces closure of religious activities are still carried out by Ahmadiyah in Tasikmalaya city through meetings and coordination meetings in Tasikmalaya City Hall dated 8 December 2010 (Wisnubrata ed., 2010).

The closure is done because there is no activity in front of the worship despite visible like orphanages. The orphanage's house is located in Cicariang Village, Kersamenak Village, Kawalu District. Beside the house, the Ahmadiyah meeting building on Jalan Nagarawangi was also closed again. The Ahmadiyah Mosque in Nagarawangi is often being target of attacks by mass organizations. The closure of these places was followed by the taking of Ahmadiyah books and their socialization materials so that all Ahmadiyah members would rejoin Muslims in general again (Wisnubrata ed., 2010).

If traced a few moments earlier, it turns out that the closing process was carried out because there was pressure from a number of Islamic organizations in connection with the Ahmadiyah congregation's worship activities that violated the SKB regarding the prohibition of Ahmadiyah activities. Some mass organizations want to urge the

local government to close all activities of Ahmadiyah residents. They said that they still saw the activities of the Ahmadiyah congregation and clearly violated the Three Ministerial Decree. On the other hand, the Head of the Ahmadiyah Congregation of Tasikmalaya City, Iyon Sofyan, strongly objected by stating that what they had been doing so far was only limited to internal worship and routines. There is no da'wah activity, let alone the dissemination of teachings to other people outside them (Wisnubrata ed., 2010).

In February 2011, hundreds of police and TNI members guarded Ahmadiyah's houses and mosques in Tasikmalaya. The security was carried out due to the increasing number of demonstrations demanding the disbandment of Ahmadiyah. Both locations that were guarded by the authorities were the Nagarawangi and Cicariang areas. In these two areas (besides Kawalu), many Ahmadiyah congregations live and carry out activities. The authorities are worried that Ahmadiyah houses and mosques will become targets for mass action because they usually lead there. To increase the security capacity, the Tasikmalaya Police also asked for the assistance of members from the Ciamis Police Office and Banjar Police Office. The issue of a massive attack once haunted the congregation and they put stickers or paper in front of their houses which indicated that they were not Ahmadiyah members. They had to do this in order to prevent damage if a mass action came (Liputan 6, 2010).

Several Ahmadiyah congregations also responded to accusations that orphanages were often used as places of worship. According to them, it is not true and needs clarification first. For them, many places of worship for the Ahmadiyah congregation have been closed and sealed so that not a few of them doing worship at home. They could not understand why the shelter for orphans was also closed. In the end, they could only be patient with the situation and persist until the problem of intolerance can be resolved.

The situation in Tasikmalaya Regency is even worse than in the city because there have been sporadic attacks against the Ahmadiyah. One example of major incident is the case of violence in Tenjowaringin where a mob of 200-250 people vandalized Ahmadiyah congregation houses and worship places there on 5 May 2013. The attackers used motorbike and car. There were no injuries recorded in this incident, but many houses that the mob passed through had been damaged so that they suffered substantial material losses (Soedirgo, 2018:197-207).

#### **4.4 Efforts for Reconciliation, Mediation, and Solutions**

In accordance with the theory of conflict and its resolution, efforts for reconciliation and mediation in Tasikmalaya continue to this day. Referring to the concept of forming a state government, the Indonesian government is considered not yet convinced to become the nightwatchman state. The Indonesian government should be able to carry out the task of maintaining the security of all citizens without interfering in their privacy matters. The 1945 Constitution has stated its guarantees for freedom of religion and belief, including freedom to express thoughts, teachings, and opinions. Moderate groups think that this constitutional guarantee should also apply and be enjoyed by minority groups such as the Ahmadiyah Congregation. The world order has changed, the United Nations has declared human rights as one of progress and improvement of civilization pillars, in addition to security and economic growth (Jason, 2005:29-30). According to them, Indonesia had Human Rights Law and ratified Article 18 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (Little, 1997:24) and it was adopted into Law No. 12, 2005 which provides similar guarantees for all Indonesian citizens. Unfortunately, these instruments are considered only to be a political 'showcase' in the eyes of the national and international public, not yet fully implemented in accordance with their true essence (Sweet, 2006).

The pro-Ahmadiyah parties used the human rights discourse to justify and defend the Ahmadiyah group. They interpret human rights as rights that freely include religion and belief. Some observers consider in a narrow understanding this opinion can be justified. However, in human rights there are also known human obligation and limitation on human rights themselves. Article 28J of the 1945 Constitution states that: (1) Everyone is obliged to respect the human rights of others in the orderly life of society, nation and state; (2) In exercising his rights and freedoms, everyone is subject to the limitations stipulated by law for the sole purpose of guaranteeing the recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others in accordance with considerations of morals, religious values, security and public order.

Freedom to one's religion practice or belief may be restricted in the interest of protecting public safety, public order, the human rights, and freedoms of others. Six official religions which are recognized by the government, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism in Indonesia, almost no adherents of one religion demand the dissolution of another religion because basically each religion has different and unrelated teachings. In the case of Ahmadiyah, especially Tasikmalaya city, this group is in the name of

Islam, but the teachings they adhere to are contrary to and even deviate from the true teachings of Islam. This makes the followers of the Islamic fundamentalist religion angry because it interferes their religious beliefs (Beck, 2005). The existence of Ahmadiyah group according to the opponents can also be said to violate human rights and blaspheme religion so that it is not in its capacity to support the group using the context of human rights. Actually, there is nothing that prohibits them from having religion and belief, but it is better not to interfere the teachings of religion that have been outlined.

In Islam, it is recognized that schools of thought existence, namely various schools of interpretation, both in the fields of Kalam, Fiqh, and Tasawwuf. However, the difference in interpretation does not contradict the main points of Islamic teachings, but rather on the details. In Kalam, for example, the interpretations of Muktaẓilah and Ash'ariyyah regarding al-Qada wal-Qadar, although different, there are still within limits and in line with the main points of the creed. Likewise, the schools of Fiqh are differences in interpreting the legal rules as contained in the Al-Quran and Hadith that do not deviate from the principles of Sharia. In Tassawuf, the Sufi schools have different perceptions about the ways of dhikr in getting closer to Allah. However, in terms of the basic creed, there is no principal difference between the schools of Sufism. As for believing that there is still a prophet after the Prophet Muhammad, it is clearly against the principles of Islamic creed. For this reason, Rabithah al-Alam al-Islami and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) have long issued statement that Ahmadiyah is a group that has left Islam. The government of Saudi Arabia also prohibits Ahmadiyah followers from performing the pilgrimage. These facts make MUI and Islamic fundamentalist organizations in Indonesia declare their rejection of Ahmadiyah (Beck, 2005).

An Ahmadi resident in Kawalu, with initial AS, said they would always survive under any circumstances until the long road to permanent reconciliation and recognition was obtained in Tasikmalaya city. They believe that this will happen in the future. Here is the quote:

“The Ahmadi congregation will always try to survive. We are taught to always survive at any circumstances. We have so far been able to mingle, but there is no acknowledgment yet. We still don't dare to be outspoken. However, we believe that one day they will acknowledge our existence.”  
(Interview, 16 May 2021)

AS revealed that the Ahmadiyah currently tend to be exclusive because if they openly, they will experience intimidation. His house is often visited by mysterious mobs and some claim to be Islam Fundamentalist. AS was under threat, but AS faced it calmly.

Another Ahmadi in Kawalu, with initial HE, also revealed that so far the Ahmadis have fairly solid network and received assistance from outside Tasikmalaya city. HE believes that what HE is getting now is the result of her belief and she has received a lot of help from other congregations, even some of her family members who have received scholarships to study abroad. The following words is her statement:

“Since I was a child, I have been attracted to Ahmadiyah because of my heart calling. I know that maybe my family and surroundings will reject me. However, I know the consequences. After entering, I just found out that there are quite a lot of Ahmadiyah followers. They formed a kind of network, even some of my family members were paid for their school, some of them went abroad. I did experience various pressures from the environment around me, but... hmm.. I'm also grateful for getting scholarships from their donations, even I can go abroad. So far I'm comfortable, although personally I don't dare to say much”  
(Interview, 16 May 2021)

Analysis of fact-finding result or data shows that the dissolution or ban of Ahmadiyah is not a permanent solution. Experts who argue that the government declares the Ahmadiyah sect as a non-Islamic minority group can also be a middle way to resolve the conflict. However, this proposal must also be followed by a prohibition for Ahmadiyah to use Islamic attributes and rituals because even if they are declared non-Islamic, whether the rituals are similar, there will still be conflict.

We can learn from Yogyakarta case because in this city, harmony and assimilation began to be created in a more inclusive manner between Muslims and the Ahmadiyah. Even though they had experienced violence until they were expelled until 2011, the Yogyakarta Ahmadiyah Movement did not respond to these acts with counter violence, but by carrying out social activities. The movement oftenly uses a soft approach and attends number of invitations to religious activities in Yogyakarta. After previous times, the Ahmadiyah Jama'at experienced uncertainty in celebrating Eid, so in 2018 they received government instructions to celebrate Eid al-Fitr and be able to stand side by side when carrying out Eid prayers with other Muslims. They looked solemn, safe, and calm in the courtyard of Mandala Krida Stadium, Yogyakarta. Harmony is evident in Yogyakarta and they even



work with 9 mosques and 3 prayer rooms to welcome the big days of the Islamic religion (Connley, 2016:30-35).

Back to the context of the Tasikmalaya city, between 2013-2019, several year-end dialogues and reflections were held on freedom of religion and belief. This meeting leaders from various elements of society is expected to reduce the potential for conflict and violence to recur. However, until 2019, it was stated that the level of tolerance in the Tasikmalaya city was still relatively low. This is because there are still some incidents of intolerance that afflict the community, including (1) the banning of the book "Accompanying Minorities" by Ahmad Najib Burhani in Nagawangi by the Tasikmalaya Muslim Community and Activist Alliance (ALMUMTAZ), even though he is a Muhammadiyah figure, (2) The prohibition of Ahmadiyah children from attending Madrasah Diniyah, until (3) the rejection of funeral home establishment in Cihideung (Rizal, 2019). It seems that efforts to harmonize and resolve conflicts between these religious groups will still have a long way to go.

## V. CONCLUSION

Differences in interpretation of Islamic teaching are the subject of ideological conflict between Ahmadiyah and the general Islamic community, particularly fundamentalist Islamic groups. This has a significant impact on the lower layers of people. Several community groups stopped Ahmadiyah worship and social activities, even in the Tasikmalaya city, the group expelled and damaged places of worship for the Ahmadiyah Community. Intimidation has historically been going on since long time ago.

These events directly or indirectly have implications for the social communication pattern of the congregation members influenced by the Ahmadiyah sect. The pattern of social communication is influenced by the process of self-concept and social identification which is formed from the reflection of the social environment perception against misguided assumptions from the community so that it is possible that many members of the congregation try to hide their Ahmadiyah identity when interacting with other social groups. One the other hand, they are active in consolidating values as a form of obedience and strong belief in their teaching and organization.

Some facts explained that social riots, including the Ahmadiyah cases, were conspiracy project that weakened the Indonesian people, especially Muslims strength in Indonesia. This include dynamics of religious tolerance in Tasikmalaya city. Deliberately Muslims collided each other in conflicts that claimed victims and losses amount was not small. Through conflict theory approach, we believed that behind the conflict, there is a group of people who plan and manage the conflict. So, who gain benefits from the conflict, both politically and economically, then they are somebody who should be suspected of being conspiracy mastermind.

However, one of the parties that has authority to implement human rights is the state. All forms of violence in overcoming religious issues will be counterproductive to uphold human rights. There is nothing that prohibits the Ahmadiyah from having religion and belief, but it should not interfere with or tarnish the other religion teaching, for example by creating a new religion or belief that is totally different. The Monas incident which was occurred and attracted the attention of Indonesian people is something that should be regretted.

The explanation above clearly may not be able to provide a comprehensive picture of Ahmadiyah, including theological conflict issue in two groups' perspectives (fundamentalist and liberal) and addressing the problem. However, there are several important things that need to be considered in finding a way out of this polemic over the existence of the Ahmadiyah congregation in Tasikmalaya city, including:

1. The best attitude to respond the emergence of different religious paradigms, including thought developmentst, is not by anarchy, but by putting forward a variety of better arguments. If it is not possible to reach a common ground, each party should remain firm in their own beliefs while respecting the rights of others. In the long term, this will lead to maturity and tolerance between religious people, especially in the face of different interpretations among existing religious beliefs.
2. The various different views in religious understanding should not lead us to hastily label other groups as "heretic", "infidels", or "apostate". This is in accordance with the context of Ahmadiyah and other Islamic groups.
3. The government must formulate more comprehensive policies (in addition to the Decree of Three Ministers and Regional Regulations), both religious community internal and between religious communities. The state must indeed keep its distance from controversies related to religious matters, but government could set boundaries as stated in the Ministerial Decree.



Any form of violence for any reason remains unjustified. Hopefully in the future the Central Government, West Java Provincial Government, and Tasikmalaya City Government will not hesitate and procrastinate in deciding on a conflict-prone matter because it will be paid dearly with high social costs.

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