

**K. H. M. Natsir, K. H. M. Isa Anshary and K. H. Rusyad Nurdin:
Three Ulama of the Persatuan Islam (Persis),
Fighting to Reject Communist**

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Doi: [10.24252/jad.v25i1a4](https://doi.org/10.24252/jad.v25i1a4)

(Submitted: 10/02/2025, Accepted: 07/05/2025, Available Online: 19/05/2025)

Abstract

Communist ideology once existed and developed in Indonesia, especially during the Old Order government. This study aims to explain the struggle carried out by K. H. M. Natsir, K. H. M. Isa Anshary and K. H. Rusyad Nurdin in an effort to reject the existence of communist ideology in Indonesia. By using historical research methods, this study found that communist ideology damages humanity because it rapes character, and human rights. The ideology of communism is anti-God, anti-religion. Communist ideology is against democracy and creates new imperialism. Communist ideology is also very contrary to *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution. On this basis, many *ulama* from various religious organizations oppose the existence of communist ideology in Indonesia. Based on the conclusions supported by Ruth T McVey in her book entitled: *Kemunculan Komunisme di Indonesia*, K. H. M. Natsir, K. H. M. Isa Anshary and K. H. Rusyad Nurdin are three *ulama* of the *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) who during their lifetime persistently rejected and opposed the development of communist ideology in Indonesia.

Keywords: Fight; Ideology; Communist; Reject: *Persatuan Islam* (Persis); *Ulama*

المخلص

كانت الإيديولوجية الشيوعية موجودة ومتطورة في إندونيسيا، خاصة في عهد حكومة النظام القديم. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى شرح النضال الذي قام به ك. ح. م. ننتسير، وك. ح. م. عيسى أنشاري وك. ح. م. رسياد نور الدين في محاولة لرفض وجود الأيديولوجية الشيوعية في إندونيسيا. باستخدام مناهج البحث التاريخي، وجدت هذه الدراسة أن الأيديولوجية الشيوعية تضر بالإنسانية لأنها تغتصب الشخصية



وحقوق الإنسان. أيديولوجية الشيوعية معادية لله ومعادية للدين. الأيديولوجية الشيوعية تتناقض مع الديمقراطية وتخلق إمبريالية جديدة. الأيديولوجية الشيوعية تتعارض أيضًا مع البانكاسيلا ودستور عام ١٩٤٥. وعلى هذا الأساس، يعارض العديد من العلماء من مختلف المنظمات الدينية وجود الأيديولوجية الشيوعية في إندونيسيا. استنادًا إلى الاستنتاجات التي أيدتها روث تي ماكفي في كتابها المعنون: ظهور الشيوعية في إندونيسيا، فإن ك. هـ. م. ناتسير، وك. م. عيسى أنشاري وك. هـ. م. عيسى أنشاري وك. هـ. رسياد نور الدين هم ثلاثة من علماء الجمعية الإسلامية (برسيس) الذين رفضوا بإصرار خلال حياتهم وعارضوا تطور الأيديولوجية الشيوعية في إندونيسيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المحاربة، الأيديولوجية، الشيوعية، الرفض، الوحدة الإسلامية (برسيس)، العلماء

Abstrak

Ideologi komunis pernah eksis dan berkembang di Indonesia, terutama pada masa pemerintahan Orde lama. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan perjuangan yang dilakukan K. H. M. Natsir, K. H. M. Isa Anshary dan K. H. Rusyad Nurdin dalam usaha menolak keberadaan ideologi komunis di Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian historis studi ini menemukan bahwa ideologi komunis merusak kemanusiaan karena memperkosa tabiat, dan hak-hak asasi manusia. Ideologi komunisme merupakan paham anti-Tuhan, anti-agama. Ideologi komunis bertentangan dengan demokrasi dan menciptakan imperialisme baru. Ideologi komunis juga sangat bertentangan dengan Pancasila dan UUD 1945. Atas dasar ini banyak ulama dari berbagai organisasi keagamaan yang menentang keberadaan ideologi komunis di Indonesia. Berdasarkan kesimpulan yang didukung Ruth T. McVey dalam bukunya yang berjudul: *Kemunculan Komunisme di Indonesia*, K. H. M. Natsir, K. H. M. Isa Anshary dan K. H. Rusyad Nurdin merupakan tiga ulama Persatuan Islam (Persis) yang selama hidupnya gigih melakukan penolakan dan penentangan terhadap berkembangnya ideologi komunis di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci : Berjuang; Ideologi; Komunis; Menolak; Persatuan Islam (Persis); Ulama

How to Cite This Article: Kusdiana, Ading. "K. H. M. Natsir, K. H. M. Isa Anshary and K. H. Rusyad Nurdin : Three Ulama of the Persatuan Islam (Persis), Fighting to Reject Communist ". *Jurnal Adabiyah* 25, no. 1 (May 11, 2025). Accessed May 19, 2025. <https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/adabiyah/article/view/55366>.

A. Introduction

Communist ideology has entered Indonesia since the early 20th century. This ideology was brought and introduced to Indonesia (formerly: Dutch East Indies) by Snevliet. Communist ideology began to enter and spread to Indonesia synchronously with the occurrence of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia on November 7, 1917, where since that event Lenin has tried to spread the communist ideology throughout mainland Europe, Asia and Africa, including one of them to Indonesia. This condition is increasingly conducive coupled with the state of the Indonesian people who are economically, many live in poor conditions as a result of colonization carried out by the Dutch.¹ In this context, as stated by Musni Umar, this condition becomes more conducive, because communist ideology will always thrive when it is in a poor community environment. Communist ideology however will never be weathered by the times. In order to stay alive, this ideology is very strong in its grip so that in a community of people it is not easy just to disappear.²

After Indonesia's independence, along with the issuance of the Vice Presidential Decree, November 3, 1945, which directed and gave legitimacy to the development of ideology with the opening of a multiparty system, this ideology continued to grow, especially after the establishment of the Indonesian Communist Party. Although the communists through this party had carried out a failed coup in September 1948 in Madiun led by Muso and Amir Syaripudin³, but in its journey, especially in the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, the communist ideology still through its party called the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI) led by DN Aidit still got a "living space" by increasingly existing and developing until then carrying out a second coup in 1965.⁴

As stated by Ricklefs⁵ in his book entitled: *Sejarah Indonesia Modern*, communist ideology in the decade of the 1950s until 1965 had spread and developed in Indonesia. As evidence of this statement, in the first general election in 1955, the PKI

¹ A.K. Pringgodigdo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia* (Dian Rakyat, 1949), 1-12. ; Suhartono. *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional dari Budi Utomo sampai Proklamasi 1908-1945* (Pustaka Pelajar, 1994), 52-53; Dwiki Anugerah Gustiawan Putera Hatama, Anwar, dan La Batia, "Perkembangan Komunisme di Indonesia 1914-1927," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Sejarah (JPPS-UHO)*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Januari (2022) : 60-63.

² Musni Umar, "Sosiolog: Komunis Bisa Tumbuh Subur di Indonesia," <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-1274753/sosiolog-komunis-bisa-tumbuh-subur-di-indonesia>.

³ Satriyono Prio Utomo, "Indonesia, Tiongkok, dan Komunisme," *Indonesian Perspective*, Vol. 02, No. 01, (Januari-Juni 2017): 65-75.

⁴ *Duta Masyarakat; Pembawa Amanat Penderitaan Ummat*, Selasa, 3 Januari 1965, 1-2; Tim Penyusun, *30 Tahun Indonesia Merdeka 1945-1949 & 1965-1973* (Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 1981), 184-188 & 20-22; Dian Wardiana Sjuchro, "Manajemen Isu Komunisme dalam Bingkai Nasakom di Era Soekarno," *Jurnal Representamen*, Vol 06, No. 02, Oktober, (2020): 75-77.

⁵ M.C. Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern* (Gadjah Mada University Press, 1994), 317-431.

managed to gain votes by coming fourth as the winning party after the *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (PNI), *Masyumi*, and *Nahdlatul Ulama*.

His condition has certainly worried the Muslim community in Indonesia. The Muslim community in Indonesia, especially those represented by the modernist Muslim community, which in fact is represented by many *ulama*, openly voiced their rejection and opposition to the existence of communism.⁶ The rejection can be seen through the statements of the scholars of the *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) such as K.H. M. Natsir, K. H. M. Isa Anshori, K. H. Rusyad Nurdin and K. H. E. Abdurrahman and the official statement of the organization.⁷ Their rejection generally originated from seeing the principle contradiction between communism and Islam in terms of theoretical-ideological and practical (political behavior). For Persis, the existence of communism can be considered as an enemy of religion, nation, and state because communism considers that the presence of religion is the opium of society.

According to Dadan Wildan Annas⁸ *et al.* in his book: *Anatomi Gerakan Dakwah Persatuan Islam* informs that K. H. M. Isa Anshory and K. H. E. Abdurrahman in their capacity as Chairman and General Secretary of the *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) organization on March 4, 1957 by taking place in Bandung issued a manifesto containing that communist theory and practice not only contradicts all religions, but also contains hostility and opposition to the creed taught by all religions. Persis also considers that any Muslim who has listened to the evil reasons for communism but still follows its political concept, then the followers can be considered apostates.

B. Literature Review

The Efforts to oppose and reject the presence of communist ideology in Indonesia actually did not come and emerge from *ulama* from the *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) religious organization alone. The discourse of opposition and rejection of communist ideology actually emerged and came from among other religious organizations such as the religious organization *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), and *Muhammadiyah*. A. Mansur Suryanegara⁹ in his book: *Api Sejarah 2* argues that the *ulama* of *Nahdlatul Ulama* have never forgotten the coup carried out by the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI) in Madiun on September 19, 1948, where in this event many of the victims were *ulama*, *kiai* and *santri* from *Nahdliyin* residents. In an effort to counterbalance the PKI

⁶ Ali Usman, "Revitalisasi Gerakan Pembaruan Persatuan Islam (Persis)," *Mukaddimah: Jurnal Studi Islam*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Juli-Desember, (2021): 242-244.

⁷ Kasman, "Sejarah Pendidikan Persatuan Islam (Persis)," *Jurnal Pendaia*, Vol 04, No. 1, Juni (2022): 35-47.

⁸Dadan Wildan Annas *et al.*, *Anatomi Gerakan Dakwah Persatuan Islam* (Amana Publishing, 2015), 103-123.

⁹A. Mansur Suryanegara, *Api Sejarah 2: Buku yang akan Menuntaskan Kepenasaran Anda akan Kebenaran Sejarah Indonesia* (Salamadani, 2010), 408.

movement, the NU *ulama* in their struggle did not remain silent. The NU *ulama* have an attitude that if the PKI mobilizes its masses, NU will raise its *Anshor* and *Banser*. If the PKI mobilizes *Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* (Lekra), then NU will mobilize Lesbumi. If the PKI sings *genjer-genjer*, then NU will stir up *shalawat badar*. Only one exception for NU *ulama*, if the PKI carries out a coup, then the NU *ulama*, they will continue to defend *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI).

The study of the opposition and rejection of communist ideology also came from the *Muhammadiyah* organization. According to Muhammad Munawar Cholil¹⁰ in his research entitled: “Muhammadiyah's attitude towards the PKI in the period of Yunus Anis and Ahmad Badawi (1960-1966)”, in its journey the scholars of the Muhammadiyah religious organization actually opposed the existence of communist ideology in Indonesia. This can be seen when in the 1955 General Election, *ulama* and intellectuals from Muhammadiyah organizations such as Yunus Anis and Ahmad Badawi, had become special members of the *Masyumi* party, as one of the Muslim parties that competed and opposed the PKI.

The 1955 elections were won by *Masyumi*, followed by the PNI, NU and PKI. With this result, the map of political power in Indonesia at that time began to be controlled by three major forces, namely nationalists, religious and communists. In order to balance his political power, President Soekarno then tried to “unite” the three ideologies that developed at that time, namely nationalist-based ideology, religious-based ideology and communism into Nasakom. During this period, President Soekarno in his steps was more inclined to be close to the Communists, so that in making decisions he tended to favor the PKI. It was apparently because it was considered counter-revolutionary that the *Masyumi* party was dissolved by the government in 1960. With this incident, the scholars of the *Muhammadiyah* organization finally began to change course by striving to put more emphasis on business charities to help the community. The *ulama* of the Muhammadiyah organization were actually very opposed to the existence of communist ideology, but because in the face of these problems their position was unfavorable, they were more inclined not to be frontal.

As part of the Muslim community, the leaders of these religious organizations have realized that communist ideology is contrary to the teachings of Islam. It seems that efforts to oppose and reject communist ideology from religious organizations such as *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah* are not too obvious, even though as a sample how many community members from the *Nahdlatul Ulama* organization who became victims of kidnappings and killings committed by PKI people.

¹⁰ Muhammad Munawar Cholil, “Sikap Muhammadiyah terhadap PKI Periode Yunus Anis dan Ahmad Badawi”, *Thesis* (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2020), 262-280.

In this context, the scholars from the Persis organization, through their activities in the government, parliament or religious organizations, were the ones who openly fought against and rejected communist ideology. As a consequence, it is not surprising that some of them were dismissed from parliament, and even their parties were dissolved.

C. *Research Methods*

In this study, the historical research method is used, which in its implementation is carried out through the stages of heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography. In the heuristic stage, sources were traced and searched at the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia and several other libraries that provide information on related topics. In the criticism stage, through external and internal criticism, analysis and synthesis of the sources that have been found are carried out so that they become historical facts. Furthermore, through the interpretation stage, historical facts are not left alone, but in order to have meaning or meaning, the facts are assembled into a harmonious and logical unity. Furthermore, as the last stage, reconstruction efforts are made in the form of this writing as part of the historiography stage.¹¹

D. *Findings and Discussion*

1. **Communist ideology in the view of K. H. M. Natsir: Destroying Humanity**

M. Natsir is one of the *ulama* who is seen as having a major contribution to this Republic. This *ulama* figure is very modest, so that among the Indonesian people it is not uncommon for his name not to be listed with the nickname *kiyai haji* or *ustadz*. This could be a form of his modesty in his daily life, even though it is legitimate if he bears the title of *kiyai haji*. He is a religious expert. He is also an administrator of the Persis organization, which of course has a pesantren educational institution. Likewise, he has many networks with Islamic figures around the world, who have already performed the Hajj pilgrimage. Nevertheless, he is often referred to or familiar with the nickname Muhammad Nasir or M. Natsir alone.

Talking about the role and contribution of M. Natsir during his life to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, we know that the figure of Muhammad Natsir can be said to be one of the nation's best sons who was once one of the Muslim figures who had a great influence, especially in the Islamic world. Since the Japanese occupation, he has been in contact and built relationships with senior figures of the movement, both from the Islamic and nationalist circles, such as Soekarno and Muhammad Hatta. Thanks to his relationship with Muhammad Hatta, M. Natsir became an official of the

¹¹Gilbert J. Garaghan, *A Guide to Historical Method* (Fordham University Press, 1946), 103-426; Louis Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah* (Yayasan Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1975), 32; G.J. Renier, *Metode dan Manfaat Ilmu Sejarah* (Pustaka Pelajar, 1997), 118; Nina Herlina, *Metode Sejarah* (Satya Historika, 2008), 17-60.

education bureau in Bandung during the Japanese military occupation. Likewise, during the Japanese Occupation Government, thanks to his good relationship with Muhammad Hatta, he was proposed to be appointed Secretary of the Islamic College in Jakarta.¹² During this period, M. Natsir moved back and forth between Bandung and Jakarta. Likewise, when facing the unstable political situation before and after the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945, he was still actively in contact with Islamic leaders. M. Natsir was also heavily involved in various processes of the struggle to support and defend independence. Among his concerns were his efforts to encourage the growth of political parties and political ideologies in the early days of Indonesia.

It should be noted that the political conditions in Indonesia during the period 1945 to 1955, apart from being characterized by various struggles to maintain the independence of Indonesia that had been obtained, in this period can also be seen as a period of the peak of ideological political battles. In the process of forming and defending a new state born through revolution, the emergence of various political groups that compete with each other for power and influence is usually common. Therefore, naturally, when the state is established and exists, inevitably the management of the state will involve various ideologies, because ideology is a belief that can unite ideas, behavior, and character.¹³

When the Indonesian nation successfully proclaimed its independence, there were at least three ideologies that developed at that time, namely Islam, secular nationalism, and communism.¹⁴ Furthermore, in the early days of Indonesian independence, another ideological group emerged, namely socialism. The phenomenon of the emergence of new ideologies was not a new thing in Indonesia, because since the beginning of the 20th century, these four ideological groups had been competing with each other in the struggle for independence. Furthermore, this phenomenon also became more obvious along with the support from the government with the issuance of the Vice Presidential Decree, November 3, 1945, which directed and gave legitimacy to the development of these ideologies with the opening of the multiparty system.

¹²Muhammad Yusuf Algifari and Suparto, "Manajemen Organisasi Persatuan Islam dalam Bidang Tarbiyah," *Tadbir: Jurnal Manajemen Dakwah*, Vol. 9 No.2, (2024): 182.

¹³ Lihat Isa Anshary, *Mujahid Dakwah* (Bulan Bintang, 1961), 54- 56; Rusyad Nurdin, "Tausyiyah Kepada Generasi Muda Islam" in Slamet Aminy (ed), *K.H.M. Rusyad Nurdin: Profil Seorang Muballigh* (Corps Muballigh Bandung, 1988), 18; Howard M. Federspiel, *Labirin Ideologi Muslim Pencarian dan Pergulatan Persis di Era kemunculan negara Indonesia*, (Serambi, 204), 302; Mohamad Hatta, *Memoir* (Tinta Mas, 1987, 326; Pepen Irfan Fauzan, "Dinamika Pemikiran Politik Persis 1945-1957; Perbedaan Pandangan dan Sikap Politik Politik Natsir Berhadapan Dengan Isa Anshary Tentang Konsep Negara", *Tesis* (Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Program pascasarjana, Universitas Indonesia, 2011), 168.

¹⁴Susmihara, "Islam dan Nasionalisme di Indonesia; Tinjauan Sejarah," *Jurnal Rihlah*, Vol. 04 No. 1, (2016): 55-59.

After Indonesia's independence, the existence of these ideologies became stronger and more prominent because they felt strong after being promoted through the existence of their political parties. The secular nationalist ideology was promoted by the *New Partai Nasional Indonesia* (PNI), the communist ideology was promoted by the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI), and the socialist ideology was promoted by the *Partai Sosialis Indonesia* (Parsi), later transformed into the *Partai Sosialis Indonesia*.¹⁵ Apparently, with the Competition and the emergence of new challenges coming from non-Islamic ideologies, this condition has encouraged several Islamic figures, such as M. Natsir to provide an assessment of the existence of various ideologies that developed in Indonesia critically. Finally, an idea emerged which was then followed by the need to formulate an Islamic ideology. Islamic leaders, including Agus Salim, Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, Wachid Hasyim, M. Natsir, and Mohammad Roem, took the initiative to establish an Islamic party. In order to realize this goal, these figures then planned to hold a congress involving representatives of Islamic groups in Indonesia.

As a follow-up to that desire, a committee was finally formed that would carry out the congress with the chairman being M. Natsir. The complete composition of the congress committee is Chairman: M. Natsir. Member: Dr. Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, Abikusno Tjokrosujoso, A. Wahid Hasjim, Wali Alfatah, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, Sri Paku Alam VIII, and A. Ghafar Ismail. On November 7-8, 1945 in Yogyakarta, M. Natsir successfully organized a congress called the Indonesian Muslim Congress. The congress itself was attended by more than five hundred people consisting of Islamic leaders and the general public. After M. Natsir presented his draft, an agreement was reached. As a result of the congress, it was successfully formulated about the need to establish a party for Muslims called the Masyumi Party as a single party that channeled the political aspirations of Indonesian Muslims.

According to M. Natsir, communism is the same as capitalism, both of which damage humanity because they rape human nature and human rights. Whereas capitalism in giving freedom to each person does not heed humanity and lives from the extortion of other people's sweat and opens the way for the destruction of natural wealth. M. Natsir also believes that communism in providing the concept of humanity is different from Islam. For example, in terms of ownership, communism rejects the existence of individual ownership while Islam recognizes individual property rights.¹⁶

¹⁵Samsuri, *Politik Islam Anti Komunis; Pergumulan Masyumi dan PKI di Arena Demokrasi Liberal* (Safiria Insania Press, 2004), 75-90.

¹⁶Soekarno, *Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi*, M. Natsir, (Panitya Penerbit Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi, 1963), 10-22; M. Natsir, "Seruan Ilmiah Pak Natsir Kepada Kaum Beragama Mengenai Komunisme", <https://www.dakta.com/news/9895/seruan-ilmiah-pak-natsir-kepada-kaum-beragama-mengenai-komunisme>; Bandingkan Bakti Nusa, "Nasionalisme, Islamisme, dan Marxisme: Pemikiran Politik Soekarno terhadap Perkembangan Ideologi di Indonesia",

Figure 1. K. H. Muhammad Natsir

Source: William Ciputera, "Biografi Mohammad Natsir, Pahlawan Nasional Asal Solok yang Pernah Jadi Presiden Liga Muslim Dunia", <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2022/02/06/113956978/biografi-mohammad-natsir-pahlawan-nasional-asal-solok-yang-pernah-jadi?page=all>, 2025.

In addition to forming an Islamic party called the Masyumi party, M. Natsir's struggle through the congress also succeeded in formulating the need to make efforts to foster the potential of Islamic youth through the *Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia* (GPII) under the guidance of the Masyumi Party. The nature of membership in the Masyumi Party, apart from individuals, is also an organization, in its position as a special member. This membership idea is based on two considerations. *First*, so that there are many party members. *Second*, so that the interests of existing Islamic organizations can be represented.

Therefore, Masyumi's supporters expanded to consist of various organizations, both political organizations such as *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* (PSII) and community organizations. Initially *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU). Furthermore, another supporter is the Muslim Brotherhood. Masyumi's membership is

<https://www.baktinusa.id/nasionalisme-islamisme-dan-marxisme-pemikiran-politik-soekarno-terhadap-perkembangan-ideologi-di-indonesia/>.

increasing, marked by the entry of Islamic organizations. In addition to Persis, which entered in 1948, in 1949 the organization of the *Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh* (PUSA) joined it, in 1950 the Al-Irsyad organization joined; then in 1949 *Al-Jami'ah Al-Washliyah* and *Al-Ittihadiyah Sumatra* followed. Likewise, *Mathla'ul Anwar* in Banten and *Nahdlatul Wathan* in Lombok.

Those were some of M. Natsir's diplomatic steps, in his "hidden and silent" efforts to reject the communist ideology that had contributed to this country. Regardless of his strengths and weaknesses, during his life M. Natsir was active by becoming various administrators in several national and international organizations. The positions he has held include: Deputy Chairman of the *Persatuan Islam* (1937), Chairman of the Bandung branch of the *Partai Islam Indonesia* (PII) at the end of the Dutch colonial period, Minister of Information of the Republic of Indonesia (1946-1949), Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia (1950-1951), Chairman of Masyumi (1949-1958), Chairman of the *Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia* (DDII) since 1967 until his death on February 6, 1993.¹⁷

At the international level, M. Natsir has been listed as Vice President of the World Muslim Congress (*Mu'tamar 'Alam Islami*) and General Counsel of *Rabithah 'Alam Islami* since 1967 and since 1976 a Member of the World Council of Mosques (*Majelis A'lâ al-'Alami al-Masjîd*). Another position is a member of the Founding Board of The Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies based in London, and so on. Through these organizations M. Natsir participated in diplomatic efforts to resolve international issues, especially those relating to the interests of the Muslim world community.¹⁸

2. Communist Ideology from the Perspective of K. H. M. Isa Anshary: Communism is Anti-God and Anti-Religion

Apart from M. Natsir, another Persis scholar who aggressively rejected the existence of communism was K.H. M. Isa Anshary. During the independence period, K. H. M. Isa Anshary tried to reorganize the *Persatuan Islam* and he himself became its Chairman (1948-1961). In addition, he also held the position of General Chairman of the Bandung branch of Masyumi (1950-1954), and later became a Member of the DPP Masyumi (1954-1960). In between holding these positions, K. H. M. Isa Anshary still had time to express his thoughts through books, among others: *Falsafah Perjuangan Islam* (1949), *Islam dan Nasionalisme* (1955), *Manifes Perjuangan Persatuan Islam* (1958), and *PKI Pembela Negara Asing* (1955).

K. H. M Isa Anshary was once the leader of the Masyumi Party in West Java. In the management of the party in 1956, he became the Masyumi Central Board. He also became a member of the Masyumi faction in the Constituent Assembly of the Republic

¹⁷ Lukman Hakiem, *Biografi Mohammad Natsir; Kepribadian, Pemikiran dan perjuangan* (Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2019), 302-310.

¹⁸ Lukman Hakiem.

of Indonesia as a result of the 1955 elections. Besides K. H. M. Isa Anshary, Persis figures who became members of the Constituent Assembly from the Masyumi Faction were Rusyad Nurdin and E. Abdurrahman.¹⁹ Thus, at that time, the top elites of Persis entered and were active in practical politics. The prominent role played by Persis elites in Masyumi was the struggle to win the ideology of Islam against communism. Persis became the mouthpiece of resistance to communism. They agreed to forbid the teachings of communism. They also agreed that communism could not live in Indonesia. Even more emphatically, K. H. M. Isa Anshary rejected and opposed the ideology of communism and called it “the opponent and at the same time the number one enemy”.²⁰

K. H. M. Isa Anshary is one of the important figures of several post-independence Islamic figures who are not only famous as *ulama*, but also as political figures who have had a significant impact on politics in Indonesia. In politics, K. H. M. Isa Anshary is known as a strong figure in voicing Islamic ideology.²¹ Therefore, it is understandable if someone calls K. H. M. Isa Anshary a fundamentalist. In fact, Achmad Syahid called him an “opposition *ulama*”. The inclusion of K. H. M. Isa Anshary as a fundamentalist group to be called an opposing *ulama* is not without reason. The attitude shown by K. H. M. Isa Anshary was a response caused by the political conditions after Indonesian independence which were considered less favorable for Muslims, especially when Soekarno's great power with the PNI showed solidarity with the PKI, where the PKI was an ideological and political opponent of K. H. M. Isa Anshary in Masyumi.²²

As a politician from the Masyumi Party, K. H. M. Isa Anshary always preached that the right ideology for the foundation of the Indonesian state was Islam. Therefore, the PNI and the PKI did the same thing by campaigning against the anti-Islamic politics echoed by Masyumi. At first, K. H. M. Isa Anshary gave the view that he was in line with *Pancasila* as the state ideology²³. However, since the PKI was under the protection of Soekarno, K. H. M. Isa Anshary fought against it in the political arena. K. H. M. Isa Anshary in his speech gave a presentation on *Pancasila* about Islam, which he said was not contradictory or identical to Islamic teachings. K. H. M. Isa Anshary

¹⁹ Muhammad Yusuf Algifari and Suparto.

²⁰Hamid, *Perkembangan Pesantren Persatuan Islam* (Insan Cindekia, 1993), 42- 47; Isa Anshary, *Manifest Perjuangan Persatuan Islam* (PP Persis, 1958), 24; S. U. Bajasut, *Alam Fikiran dan Djedjak Perdjungan Prawoto Mangkusasmto*, (Documenta, 1972), 435; Pepen Irpan Fauzan.

²¹M. M. Al-Barbasy, *Politik Perda Syariah: Dialektika Islam dan Pancasila di Indonesia* (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2017), 85.

²² A. Syahid, *Islam Nusantara: Relasi Agama-budaya dan tTndensi Kuasa Ulama* (Rajawali Press, 2019), 32.

²³Yusril Fahmi Adam and Emal Emalia, “Fundamentalism in Indonesia : A Political History”, *Bulletin Al Turas*, 307. <https://doi.org./10.15408/bat.v28i2.25589>.

reminded those present that the outcome of the upcoming election would determine the fate of Muslims in Indonesia, regardless of whether they were members of PSII, NU, or Masyumi. He insisted on unanimity among Muslims. In addition to political reasons, K.H. M. Isa Anshary's reason for fighting for Islam as the basis of the state was ideological.²⁴

According to him, Islamic ideology has been integrated with all aspects of human life, including politics. Therefore, the breath of the struggle of Islamic ideology must always be upheld in politics. On the other hand, he considers that there is an ideology that is not in accordance with Islamic teachings, namely the communist ideology found in the PKI. This ideology is based on the philosophy of materialism which considers that reality is only one thing (material). In this materialism teaching, there is nothing beyond the material (immaterial). In that sense, God is something invisible and intangible. Therefore, Marxism's belief in materialism is that it does not recognize the existence of God.²⁵

On the basis of this communist ideology, the PKI used a political practice they called the revolutionary movement. Through its revolutionary movement, the PKI took confrontational action against Islamic figures such as Islamic politicians in the Constituent Assembly.²⁶ Even more than that, the PKI revolutionary movement also did not hesitate to kill *kiyai*, *santri*, and leaders of Islamic parties who were considered to be blocking their political steps. The vicious political attitude shown by the PKI made K. H. M. Isa Anshary carry out various manifestos to save the *aqidah* of Muslims from communist ideology. K. H. M. Isa Anshary made various political speeches to provide awareness for Muslims about the issue of communism. One of his speeches was an open campaign in front of fifty thousand participants who watched at the Ikada Stadium.²⁷

K. H. M. Isa Anshary invited Muslims to unite in the 1955 elections in order to defeat the enemies of Islam on the political stage. K. H. M. Isa Anshary called on the Islamic parties, Masyumi, *Nahdlatul Ulama*, and PSII, to shed their outer garments and unite. If the Islamists did not unite, then the prediction of the opponents of Islam that Muslims would be defeated would come true. Prior to the stadium meeting attended by 50,000 Muslims, the state apparatus had taken special measures to prevent any

²⁴ M. Isa Anshary, "Masyumi dan Darul Islam," *Warta Harian Pikiran Rakjat*, Tuesday, Februari 13, 1951/ Djumadil Awal 6, 1370 H.

²⁵ Muhammad Isa Anshary *et al.*, *Bahaya Merah di Indonesia* (Front Anti Komunis, 1956), 5-9.

²⁶ Abdul Munim, *Benturan NU-PKI 1948-1965* (Langgar Swadaya & Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul, 2013), 101.

²⁷ A. Afifi, A. & T. Zuharon, *Banjir Darah: Kisah Nyata Aksi PKI terhadap Kiai, Santri, dan Kaum Muslimin* (Aqwam, 2020), 69.

incidents.²⁸ In addition to delivering his political speech, K.H. M. Isa Anshary also established the *Front Anti Komunis* (FAK) movement as a step to safeguard Islamic ideology and fight the PKI in the political arena on September 12, 1954 in Bandung, West Java.²⁹ FAK was not a political movement but a movement that aimed to stem the PKI's aggressive communism by writing Islamic values in books, magazines, newspapers and pamphlets. Although FAK was not the right wing of Masyumi, it was not uncommon for FAK to assist manifestos by Islamic leaders against the PKI.³⁰

With the formation of the FAK movement, Aidit as the leader of the PKI felt disturbed by the FAK movement. This can be found in Aidit's newspaper quote, which states that FAK was a threat to the PKI. This kind of thinking can be found in the following quote:

*"Front Anti Komunis jang terang-terangan di Djawa Barat dan di Djawa Timur dengan tudjuan membendung bahaya komunis dan menjelamatkan negara dari kebangkrutan dan perbudakan, front mana adalah dengan dipimpin oleh pemuka-pemuka Masjumi, dikatakan oleh Aidit tindakan jang akan menantang komunisme itu sebagai anak-anak buah Van der Plas."*³¹

A few years later, after establishing FAK, on March 4, 1957 the Persis Leadership Center issued a Persis political manifesto signed by K.H.M. Isa Anshary as Chairman and KHE. Abdurrahman as General Secretary. The manifesto states that communist theory and practice are not only contrary to all religions, but contain hostility and opposition to the creed taught by all religions, the manifesto is a rejection of Persis against Bung Karno's conception that wants to include communists to take control of the government in Indonesia.³² The manifesto reads in detail:

Setelah mempelajari konsepsi Bung Karno sedalam-dalamnya, meninjaunya dari segala segi, Pusat Pimpinan Persatuan Islam berpendapat, bahwa yang menjadi "persoalan pokok" dari konsepsi Bung Karno hanyalah hendak memasukkan kaum komunis untuk ikut memegang pemerintahan di Indonesia, dan keinginan Bung Karno itu dirumuskan melalui saluran teori "Demokrasi Indonesia Asli", perdamaian nasional dan kekeluargaan nasional, musyawarah dan gotong royong, maka Pusat Pimpinan Persatuan Islam dengan ini menyatakan pendirian dan keyakinannya sebagai berikut :

²⁸ Yusril Fahmi Adam and Emal Emalia.

²⁹ Yusril Fahmi Adam dan Badrun, "Front Anti Komunis dan Fron Pembela Islam: Studi Komparatif dalam Perpektif Sejarah," *Tamaddun: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sastra Islam*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, (2023), 113-115 and 117-120.

³⁰ "Aidit Mengkhawatiri Front Anti Komunis," *Suara Masjumi*, 1954.

³¹ "Aidit Mengkhawatiri Front Anti Komunis," *Suara Masjumi*, 1954.

³² Yusril Fahmi Adam and Badrun.

- a. Teori dan ideologi komunisme bukan saja bertentangan dengan segala ajaran agama (terutama Islam) akan tetapi mengandung permusuhan dan “peperangan” terhadap segala kepercayaan batin yang diajarkan oleh segala agama.
- b. Praktek pemerintah komunis di segala bangsa dan negara yang dikuasainya yang membasmi dengan secara kejam kehidupan keagamaan, meruntuhkan tempat-tempat beribadat serta membunuh, dan menteror para pemuka dan ulama dengan cara yang buas dan bengis, di luar peri keadaban dan kemanusiaan, seperti yang terjadi di Turkistan, Kaukasia, Honggaria, dan sebagainya.
- c. Penyembelihan besar-besaran yang dilakukan oleh kaum komunis di Madiun terhadap kaum muslimin pada bulan September 1948 sewaktu Partai Komunis Indonesia mengadakan pemberontakan dan perebutan kekuasaan terhadap pemerintah Republik Indonesia.
- d. Partai Komunis Indonesia sebagaimana juga partai-partai komunis di negara lain adalah serdadu upahan dan agen suruhan dari markas besarnya (Kremlin dan Peking).
- e. Kemenangan partai komunis di Indonesia dalam pemilihan umum yang baru lalu mendapat suara pemilih enam juta banyaknya itu karena hanyalah semata-mata penipuan dan kecurangan, janji yang muluk-muluk dari kaum komunis terhadap rakyat jelata Indonesia, bukan karena kesadaran dan pengertian dari rakyat kepada ideologi komunisme itu.
- f. Untuk menyelamatkan negara dan rakyat Indonesia dari bahaya dan bencana kehancurannya, bukanlah dengan membawa kaum komunis dalam pemerintahan, tetapi haruslah dengan mengadakan perlawanan, tantangan dan perjuangan semata untuk membasmi ideologi komunisme itu, yang nyata-nyata bertentangan dengan ajaran segala agama, bertentangan dengan Pancasila, tidak sesuai dengan hidup kejiwaan bangsa Indonesia.
- g. Sesuai dengan ajaran Al-Qur’anul Karim diantaranya surat Ali ‘Imran ayat 117 yang memperingatkan bahwa kaum kafir anti agama dan anti Tuhan itu senantiasa menarik dan membawa kehancuran kepada seluruh umat yang percaya dan beragama; Surat al-Mujadalah ayat 22 yang berisi penegasan bahwa umat Islam tidak boleh mengadakan kerjasama dengan golongan yang memusuhi Allah dan Rasul- Nya; Surat an-Nisa ayat 140 yang terang-terangan melarang kaum muslimin duduk bersama kaum kafir yang memperolok-olok ajaran agama, ingkar, dan kufur terhadap ayat-ayat Allah; Surat al-Maidah ayat 2 yang memerintah kaum muslimin supaya bergotong-royong untuk menegakkan kebajikan dan kehidupan taqwa dan melarang bergotong-royong berbuat dosa dan aniaya.
- h. Sesuai pula dengan fatwa Majelis Ulama Persatuan Islam yang diambil dalam konferensinya tanggal 9 Nopember 1954 tentang sikap dan pendirian terhadap ideologi dan golongan yang menentang dan memerangi ajaran Islam.

- i. Sesuai pula dengan program jihad yang dirumuskan dalam Manifesto perjuangan Persatuan Islam ayat 4 yang berbunyi; “menyusun dan mengadakan perlawanan dan tantangan terhadap gerakan anti Islam dengan cara yang sepadan, sesuai dengan ajaran Islam.
- j. Memutuskan:
 - 1) Menolak konsepsi Bung Karno yang hendak membawa ikut sertanya kaum komunis ke dalam pemerintahan Republik Indonesia.
 - 2) Menasehatkan kepada Bung Karno sesuai dengan jiwa “Demokrasi Indonesia asli” yang beliau anut, agar beliau tidak memaksakan diri untuk melaksanakan konsepsinya itu, karena bertentangan dengan pendirian dan keyakinan sebagian besar rakyat Indonesia dan pasti akan membawa negara dan rakyat Indonesia kepada kehancuran.
 - 3) Mengajak kepada segenap ulama, mujahidin Islam Indonesia agar lebih merapatkan barisan, melakukan jihad, tantangan dan perlawanan total dan frontal terhadap ideologi komunisme, dengan cara yang teratur dan tersusun.
 - 4) Menyerukan terhadap segenap kaum nasionalis yang masih murni, kaum sosialis yang masih sehat, agar bersama-sama kaum muslimin membendung bahaya komunisme di Indonesia, menyelamatkan bangsa dan negara, sejarah dan keturunan Indonesia dari aliran anti Tuhan, anti agama, ialah Komunisme dan Atheisme.³³

³³M. Isa Anshary, *Manifesto Perjuangan Persatuan Islam*, (Bandung: Sekretariat PP Persis, 1958, 5-40; Syafiq A. Mugni, *A. Hassan Bandung: Pemikir Islam Radikal* (Bina Ilmu, 1980), 80-88; Dadan Wildan Annas *et al.*, *Anatomi Gerakan Dakwah Persatuan Islam* (Amana Publishing, 2015), 130-132.

Figure 2. K. H. Muhammad Isa Anshary

Source: Mahmud Budi Setiawan, "The Bomber of Masjumi, KH. Isa Anshary," <https://hidayatullah.com/kajian/sejarah/2023/01/06/243033/the-bomber-of-masjumi-kh-isa-anshari.html/>, 2025.

During the leadership of K. H. M. Isa Anshary, Persis was very eloquent in talking about politics. Anshary's main enemy was communism. For him, communism was forbidden for national politics. Therefore, he said communism was anti-God, anti-religion, and anti-Islam. To combat the communists, with other Persis *ulama* he published books, declared political manifestos, and issued fatwas rationalizing their strong rejection of communism. Because of his strong anti-communism stance, M. Natsir personally referred to him as "our Joe McCarthy".³⁴

Feeling disturbed by the FAK movement, Njoto, who was also an elite of the PKI, asked Soekarno to dissolve FAK.³⁵ In the end, in 1958 President Soekarno dissolved FAK on the grounds that it was disrupting the ongoing Old Order.³⁶ Various efforts were made by K. H. M. Isa Anshary in politics for the realization of Islamic ideology and also he did not want Indonesia to become a communist and secular state like the Soviets, China and the United States, where the three countries were the center of world

³⁴ M. Taufiq Rahman, "Peranan Elit dalam Organisasi Keagamaan," *Paper*, 10.

³⁵ "Djika Tolerant, Bubarkan Front Anti Komunis dan Front Anti Marhaenis!," *Suara Rakjat*, 1955.

³⁶ P.I. Fauzan, *Negara Pancasila vis-à-vis Negara Islam; Pemikiran politik M. Natsir dan M. Isa Anshary (1945-1960)* (STAIPI Garut Press, 2019), 120.

communism and capitalism.³⁷ His final effort was made while in the Constituent Assembly.³⁸

The long debate in the constituent assembly had to end with a Presidential decree on July 5, 1959. In addition, Isa Anshary's political platform, Masyumi, was also dissolved by Soekarno in 1960.³⁹ With the dissolution of Masyumi, the political steps of K. H. M. Isa Anshary and other Islamic figures came to a halt. However, one thing that is important is that even though Masyumi has been dissolved, it does not mean that the struggle for Islamic ideology has stopped. K. H. M. Isa Anshary and ex-Masyumi Islamic figures then established the *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (DDII). The establishment of DDII is expected to create cadres of Islamic fighters who will succeed the nation who have a strong *aqidah* that is free from the ideologies of communism, secularism, liberalism, and atheism.⁴⁰

There are several things that are the basis of K. H. M. Isa Anshary's thinking against communism, namely *first*, because communism is based on the philosophy of historical-materialism which he considers to be an unfinished view of life and contrary to human nature. *Second*, this ideology is anti-God, anti-religion, even a false religion. *Third*, K. H. M. Isa Anshary showed from history that the communists are actually a government of terror. Therefore, it is in itself contrary to democracy and creates a new imperialism. In its *fatwa*, Persis officially rejects communism. Likewise, people who follow this ideology are considered infidels. Consequently, if he dies he cannot be prayed for and cannot be buried according to Islam.

K. H. M. Isa Anshori also criticized the dangers of communism for Muslims firmly and comprehensively as follows: *First*, that communism is built on an unfinished philosophy of life, namely historical materialism which is very contrary to the natural nature of humanity and the rules of this great nature. *Second*, this materialism is basically rejecting the existence of God, revelation, and prophets. *Third*, the implication of rejecting the existence of God is that communism becomes anti-religion. *Fourth*, the implication of historical materialism is the application of the law of the jungle with the adage that what you seize is your right. *Fifth*, communism is built without morals because moral decency is only a fence for the bourgeoisie to perpetuate its power. *Sixth*, Marxism uses different class conflicts (class wars) to achieve its goals, namely a classless society. *Seventh*, the power of the dictator-proletariat is basically a reign of terror based on power, threats, and fear and is upheld with suspicion and jealousy between classes. *Eighth*, communism is hell on earth because individual property rights

³⁷ Ruth T. McVey, *Kemunculan komunisme di Indonesia* (Komunitas Bambu 2009, 2017), 145.

³⁸ M. Orsan, *Menuju Republik Indonesia berdasarkan Islam* (Sega Arsy, 2019), 156.

³⁹ Haji Salim Said, *Gestapu 65* (Mizan, 2015), 231.

⁴⁰ T.A. Bachtiar & P.I. Fauzan, *Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Politik Persis* (Persis Press, 2019), 35.

are eliminated through force and violence, so that humans as individuals are deprived of their freedom. *Ninth*, communism is basically anti-democratic because it does not recognize differences in interpretation and freedom of speech. *Tenth*, communism is anti-national because it is oriented towards and serves the interests of Moscow as the parent of world communism. *Eleventh*, communism is basically a new imperialism because the world revolution dreamed of by the communists aims to carry out a new colonization of humanity by overthrowing every non-communist power (this is proven by the three rebellions and coups carried out by the communists in the Archipelago or during the Dutch occupation in 1926 and Indonesia in 1948 and 1965). *Twelfth*, communism is the incarnation of a new religion because communism or Marxism is not limited to the epistemology of historical materialism in matters of human life and society alone, economic principles and the distribution of sustenance, but also acts like a new religion that distorts human views. This communist religion is called a religion of hatred because it seeks to turn the face and spirit of humanity from worshipping a supernatural God to worshipping a real (concrete) God in the form of the material world.⁴¹

K. H. M. Isa Anshary was a *ulama* figure with broad political insight, so that *Persatuan Islam* under his leadership tended to be progressive and political. K. H. M. Isa Anshary is very appropriately called a representative figure because he was able to play a dual role in two essential interests: religion and politics. This dual ability, of course, was inspired by the struggles of the two previous figures. Hassan who tended to be a religious person and Nasir who tended to be a politician and statesman, was reflected in the fighting pattern of K. H. M. Isa Anshary. Therefore, he is known as a *ulama* figure who appeared as the General Chairperson of *Persatuan Islam*, who with his abilities was determined to improve the quality and quality of *Persatuan Islam* as a socio-religious organization. Apart from that, he was also classified as a politician or political fighter, one of the manifestations of which was that he was able to oppose the strong current of communism by creating the "*Front Anti Komunis*" movement which emerged on the stage of power at a time when the political situation of guided democracy was under the leadership of Soekarno with his Nasakom idea. In mid-November 1954, K. H. M. Isa Anshary formed the "*Front Anti Komunis*" by using the Persis office as its headquarters.⁴²

K. H. M. Isa Anshary explained the rationale for establishing the *Front Anti Komunis* as a movement and form of total struggle to stem the threat of communism, fascism, and totalitarianism in Indonesia. *The Front Anti Komunis* was not a political party that actively practiced state politics. The Anti-Communist Front fought to build an even resistance force from all anti-communists in Indonesia from all religions and beliefs. K. H. M. Isa Anshary carried out the activities of the *The Front Anti Komunis*

⁴¹M. Natsir; Bakti Nusa.

⁴² M. Natsir; Bakti Nusa.

with the assistance of Yusuf Wibisono and Syarif Usman. Together with them, Isa Anshary published a book concerning his rejection of the communist ideology. The book was entitled *Bahaya Merah di Indonesia*, written by K. H. M. Isa Anshary, Jusuf Wibisono, and Sjarif Usman. Support for this organization was quite widespread, especially in the Jakarta and Surabaya areas.⁴³

The struggle of K. H. M. Isa Anshary to uphold the fundamental Islamic ideology then ended when he died on December 11, 1969, coinciding with 2 *Syawal* 1389 H, in Bandung, West Java. K.H. M. Isa Anshary died at the age of 53 years. The death of Isa Anshary has left a very deep sorrow for all members of DDII and other Islamic fighters, and made K. H. M. Isa Anshary a role model in a figure who is persistent in the struggle for religion and state. K. H. M. Isa Anshary has provided an example to the next generation to understand the meaning of the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith correctly, and to make Islam the soul and spirit of struggle in political participation. This is proof of his devotion to maintaining the Islamic religion and the integrity of the Indonesian nation.⁴⁴ K. H. M. Isa Anshary has succeeded in providing resistance through great national ideas ideologically and demonstrating a political attitude in accordance with the constitution towards communists, especially those who are members of the PKI, so that they are not free to participate in the national political stage.⁴⁵

3. K. H. Rusyad Nurdin Rejects Communist Ideology: Communism is Anti-God, Hates Religion, is Anti-Pancasila, and Opposes the 1945 Constitution

The efforts to reject communist ideology carried out by the *ulama* were not only carried out by K.H. M. Natsir and K.H. M. Isa Anshary. A similar step was taken by another Persis leader, namely K.H. M. Rusyad Nurdin. K.H. Muhammad Rusyad Nurdin (April 17, 1918 – March 31, 2002) was an Indonesian *ulama*, teacher, and politician. He was one of the founders of the Bandung Islamic University. In the political arena, he joined the *Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia* Party and was recorded as having been the Chairman of the West Java DPRD before being elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly. After leaving politics, he was very active in the field of Islamic preaching and education, one of which was through the *Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia* (DDII).

⁴³ Pepen Irfan Fauzan.

⁴⁴ Kevin. W. Fogg, *Spirit Islam pada Masa Revolusi Indonesia* (Mizan Republika Press, 2020), 78.

⁴⁵ Yusril Fahmi Adam, "Fundamentalism in Indonesian Political History: A Biography of Isa Anshary", *Buletin Al-Turas*, Vol. 28, No. 2, September (2022), 299-312.

Figure 3. K. H. Rusyad Nurdin



Source: Muhsin M. K., "Mengenal Pendiri Partai Bulan Bintang, KH M Rusyad Nurdin Sesepuh PBB Hingga Wafat," <https://www.abadikini.com/2020/07/16/mengenal-pendiri-partai-bulan-bintang-kh-m-rusyad-nurdin-sesepuh-pbb-hingga-wafat/>, 2025.

During his struggle in the political world, K. H. Rusyad Nurdin felt concerned about the way the PKI people fought for their ideology. They incited, slandered, terrorized, threw stones while hiding their hands and had bad morals against their opponents in order to achieve their ideals.⁴⁶ Therefore, in 1955, the Masyumi Leaders

⁴⁶ M. Rusyad Nurdin, "Komunisme Musuh Agama, Bangsa dan Negara", in Slamet Aminy (ed.), *K.H. M. Rusyad Nurdin Profil Seorang Mubaligh* (Yayasan Corps Mubaligh Bandung, 1988), 102.

of West Java established the *Barisan Front Anti Komunis* (FAK) following in the footsteps of K. H. M. Isa Anshary.

There are several reasons that encourage the need to establish an *Front Anti Komunis* in West Java, namely: *First*, communists are people who are anti-God and hate religion. *Second*, the prohibition of religion (Islam) to cooperate with them. *Third*, they are anti-Pancasila, and *fourth*, they oppose the 1945 Constitution. The *Front Anti Komunis* in West Java was established with the *first* goal, to explain to Muslims about the dangers of communist ideology for religion, nation and state so that none of them are deceived into becoming communist members. *Second*, it is necessary to form a line that will face the PKI physically.⁴⁷

The PKI people had justified various means and because of the negligence of the Muslims, the PKI people managed to approach and influence Soekarno. Only in a period of approximately 12 years after the Madiun rebellion in 1948, with the help of Soekarno they were able to rise again and were able to control the political situation in Indonesia at that time. In 1959, on Soekarno's orders, several Masyumi leaders, namely K. H. M. Rusyad Nurdin, Tb. Djaja Rachmat, M. Sape'i, M. Djerman Prawiradinata, and Dadun Abdul Qohar were detained. The detention was carried out in Bandung by the Commander of the Siliwangi Division, Brigadier General M. Kosasih. In his letter, Brigadier General M. Kosasih asked them to come to the Siliwangi Headquarters to discuss something.

After the five of them had gathered, the Commander said that he had received orders to detain them. He did not take the path of taking them from their respective homes, but the path he took was considered a good way for politicians, "I apologize to you," he said, "because what you are experiencing now is different from the contents of my letter."⁴⁸

Then the five of them were allowed to go home to inform their families and prepare themselves with everything they needed, and then we were asked to come back to the Siliwangi Headquarters, because they would be taken to Jakarta at around 10:00. At 10:00 they were taken to Jakarta and went straight to the Military Detention Center on Jalan Budi Utomo. They were treated well for once, but they later became prisoners of the Attorney General.

After completing the Dhuhr and Asr prayers and having lunch, at around 16.00 they were immediately examined separately. K. H. M. Rusyad Nurdin was examined by a judge. After being asked for his identity and so on, he was then asked what was the reason he was detained. K. H. M. Rusyad Nurdin answered that he did not know. Then the judge showed a leaflet, which contained a petition (application) to Bung Karno as President of the Republic of Indonesia which had been signed by five of them. The

⁴⁷ M. Rusyad Nurdin.

⁴⁸ M. Rusyad Nurdin.

contents of the petition are a request to the President of the Republic of Indonesia so that he reconsiders his oath of office as President, which will comply fully with the 1945 Constitution. However, in reality, President Soekarno had placed himself above the 1945 Constitution and only through a Presidential Decree he violated almost every article.⁴⁹

Furthermore, in the contents of the petition, they asked President Soekarno to stop cooperation with the PKI. Many questions were asked, and all were answered frankly and directly. There was no fear that overshadowed K. H. M. Rusyad Nurdin, because he believed that his actions were right according to religion and according to the 1945 Constitution. When asked why he was anti-communist? He answered frankly that Islam is a revealed religion, the religion of Allah, its teachings aim to be *rahmatan lil 'alamiin* (blessing for all nature) and encompass all aspects of human life, politics, social, economics, and so on.

Furthermore, K. H. M. Rusyad Nurdin stated that if there is an attitude of a Muslim in the political field, which is not well understood. If a Muslim politician criticizes the government, in general such an attitude should not be considered as an attempt to corner the government or an attempt to overthrow it. Such criticism does not exist in the dictionary of Islam. In Islam, criticism is *amar ma'ruf nahyi munkar*. If a leader has been elected and appointed, then it is a must for every Muslim to help him in carrying out his duties so that he succeeds successfully, and that assistance includes *nahyi munkar*, saving the leader from mistakes, so that the country and nation are protected from disaster. The words of the Prophet SAW: "If you see your leader making a mistake that you hate, then what you hate is his actions (not the person)." (Muslim). "Save your brother who made the mistake!" (al-Hadith).⁵⁰

It is clear that the guilty leader is not your enemy, but your brother, whom you must save. Isn't this a very beautiful way to take care of and carry out the mandate of the people? Humans are weak creatures. They can make mistakes at any time. Furthermore, the Prophet said: "Never hate a disobedient person (who lives a luxurious life as a result of his fraud). Indeed, you do not know where this person will go after he dies, because there is indeed someone behind him who is chasing him to claim him." (Bukhari and Muslim). If a Muslim reprimands or warns his greedy brother, it is not because of envy, nor because of anger or hatred, but is driven by pity, because surely the greedy person will suffer punishment in the hereafter for all time and in a state of not living nor dying. And the person who receives the warning should be grateful, because there is still a brother who loves him and who warns him.⁵¹

⁴⁹ M. Rusyad Nurdin.

⁵⁰ M. Rusyad Nurdin.

⁵¹ M. Rusyad Nurdin.

After the five of them had finished being questioned, on the 11th day they were sent back to Bandung with the status of house arrest for 10 days and city arrest for about one month. After the house arrest period was over, K. H. M. Rusyad Nurdin and M. Sape'i, as members of the Constituent Assembly, were able to attend the sessions again. Furthermore, as time went on, something unexpected happened. President Soekarno then dissolved the Constituent Assembly, which was formed based on the will of the Indonesian people, and after that it was the turn of the Masyumi party to be forced to dissolve. Masyumi, which together with other parties and the army had worked together to fight for and defend Indonesian independence, had to disband. The Masyumi party, which demanded that the PKI be dissolved, was instead the one that was dissolved.

After the Masyumi Party was dissolved, M. Rusyad Nurdin returned to the world of education. Together with Prof. Soemardja, Prof. H. A. Sadali, K. H. E. Zainal Muttaqien, Abdullah Dahlan, and Aban Sobandi, he rebuilt the *Perguruan Islam Tinggi* (PIT) which had long been discontinued. This PIT was later transformed into the *Universitas Islam Bandung* (Unisba). The main purpose of establishing this university was to produce intellectual *ulama* and *ulama* intellectual. K. H. Rusyad Nurdin's activities were not enough with that alone. In 1967, M. Natsir founded the *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (DDII). K. H. Rusyad Nurdin participated as the administrator of the DDII. When M. Natsir sat as the General Chairperson of the Center, he became the Chairperson of the DDII for the West Java region. When M. Natsir died, he was among those appointed together with Dr. Anwar Harjono SH, Prof. Dr. H. M. Rasyidi and H. M. Yunan Nasution, as the Collective Chairperson of the Central DDII. Likewise, when M. Natsir founded the *Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah* (FUI), K.H. Rusyad Nurdin also founded FUI in West Java. After the DDII together with FUI formed the *Badan Koordinasi Ummat Islam* (BKUI) led by Anwar Harjono, he also formed BKUI in West Java. The Central BKUI founded the *Partai Bulan Bintang* (PBB), the West Java BKUI founded the West Java DPW PBB. BKUI appointed Prof. Dr. Yusril Ihza Mahendra as the General Chairperson of the DPP PBB. The West Java BKUI appointed Prof. Dr. Yusuf Amir Feisal.⁵²

When the *Partai Bulan Bintang* (PBB) was declared by BKUI on July 17, 1998, K.H. Rusyad Nurdin was one of the figures who participated as its declarant. His name was listed as number two after Anwar Harjono. He was also appointed as a PBB elder together with Anwar Harjono (Jakarta) and K.H. Misbach (East Java). In the management of the West Java PBB DPW, he was also appointed as the Chairman of the *Majelis Pertimbangan Wilayah* (MPW). He had witnessed the West Java PBB successfully contributing three seats to the Indonesian House of Representatives in the

⁵² Muhsin M.K., "Mengenal Pendiri Partai Bulan Bintang, KH M Rusyad Nurdin Sesepuh PBB Hingga Wafat", <https://www.abadikini.com/2020/07/16/mengenal-pendiri-partai-bulan-bintang-kh-m-rusyad-nurdin-sesepuh-pbb-hingga-wafat/>.

1999 Election. His deputies were Yusuf Amir Feisal, Hartono Marjono and Prof. Dr. Yusril Ihza Mahendra.

During the 1st PBB Congress in 1999 in Jakarta, K.H. Rusyad Nurdin also gave his sermon. He did not want the PBB to be divided. He wanted the PBB to exist in the future by still adhering to the results of the *syura*. While active in the West Java PBB MPW, K.H. Rusyad Nurdin always gave sermons to motivate functionaries to grow his Party. It seems that because of his increasingly old age, he has limited himself from being present in many PBB activities at the national and West Java levels. He mostly follows the PBB situation from his home and office at the Al-Istiqamah Mosque in Bandung.⁵³

The name K.H. Rusyad Nurdin is still widely known among PBB functionaries throughout West Java. This was proven in the West Java PBB Regional Conference I in Nagreg Bandung, K.H. Rusyad Nurdin was still re-elected as the Chairman of the West Java PBB MPW for the 1999-2004 period. He accompanied K.H. Maksum Nawawi who was elected as the Chairman of the West Java PBB DPW. During his duties as the Chairman of the West Java PBB MPW, K.H. Rusyad Nurdin still had time to witness his Secretary at the West Java DDII and DPW Council, H. Daud Gunawan becoming a member of the West Java DPRD I. On March 31, 2002, he passed away peacefully. K.H. Rusyad Nurdin was unable to witness the further development of the PBB. However, his struggle did not end.⁵⁴ His two children, H. Saefullah Rusyad, Chairman of the PBB DPW and Ade Fathullah Rusyad ST, Chairman of the PBB DPC for Bandung City for the 2019-2024 period, who continue their political struggle at the PBB.

Thus the rejection of the *ulama* of *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) represented by K. H. M. Natsir, K.H. M. Isa Anshary and K.H. Rusyad Nurdin towards the existence of communist ideology in Indonesia. The struggle and contribution of these three *ulama* of *Persatuan Islam* together with other *ulama* from socio-religious organizations outside Persis is of course very great. Thanks to the cooperation between the *ulama* from all existing religious organizations, communist ideology cannot live in Indonesia until now.

E. Conclusion

Communist ideology once existed and developed in Indonesia, especially during the Old Order government. In response to conditions like this, *ulama* from various religious organizations, including the *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) religious organization led by K. H. M. Natsir, K.H. M. Isa Anshary and K.H. Rusyad Nurdin have struggled

⁵³ Muhsin M.K.

⁵⁴ Muhsin M.K.

by continuing to try to reject and oppose the existence of the communist ideology. K.H. M. Natsir opposed the communist ideology because in his thinking, the existence of communism is the same as capitalism, where both only damage humanity and human rights. M. Natsir also rejected and opposed the communist ideology because the communist ideology in providing the concept of humanity is very different from Islam. Islam recognizes the existence of individual property rights, while the communist ideology rejects individual ownership. In an effort to oppose communist ideology, he then formulated the need to foster the potential of Islamic youth through the *Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia* (GPII) under the guidance of the Masyumi Party. K.H. M. Isa Anshary opposed communism, because *first*, communism is based on historical-materialist philosophy which is contrary to human nature. *Second*, communism is anti-God, anti-religion. *Third*, K.H. M. Isa Anshary rejected and opposed communism because this ideology is contrary to democracy and creates new imperialism. K. H. M. Isa Anshori also explicitly criticized the dangers of communism for Muslims for several reasons: *First*, as an implication of historical materialism, in the communist understanding the law of the jungle applies, what you take is your right. *Second*, communism is built without morals. *Third*, Marxism uses class conflict. *Fourth*, dictatorial-proletariat rule is essentially a reign of terror based on force, threats and fear. *Fifth*, communism is a hell on earth because individual property rights are abolished by force. *Sixth*, communism is fundamentally anti-democratic. *Seventh*, communism is anti-national because it is oriented and serves the interests of Moscow as the mother of world communism. *Eighth*, communism aims to carry out a new colonization of mankind by overthrowing every non-communist power. *Ninth*, communism is the incarnation of a new religion that distorts human views. K. H. Rusyad Nurdin rejected and opposed the communist ideology, because people who hold this ideology: *First*, communists are people who are anti-God and hate religion. *Second*, the prohibition of religion (Islam) to cooperate with them. *Third*, they are anti-Pancasila, and *fourth*, they oppose the 1945 Constitution.

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