

# RURAL TURMOIL AND RADICALIZATION:

## Javanese Coastal Communities in the Mid-Twentieth Century, A Case Study about Comal District in Southern Area

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### 要旨

中部ジャワ州北海岸のオランダ領時代の旧チョマル郡(Comal district)は、オランダの研究者 J.F.A.C.ファン・モルと H.シャーコブが 1903 年から 05 年にかけて同地で行ったきわめて綿密な調査の対象となったがゆえに、地域研究にとって「データの宝庫」と称されるにふさわしい場となった。この調査結果は貴重な価値を持つ報告書に結実し、*De Desa-volkshuishouding in Cijfers*〔数字に見る村落の民衆経済〕と題されてオランダで刊行された。同書は分析と資料データの計 2 章から構成されている。

このデータの重要性を認識した東京大学の加納啓良は、1990 年に東京大学、ガジャマダ大学(インドネシア)、ネイヘメン大学(オランダ)等の研究者と共にチョマル地域における農村調査を行い、『数字に見る村落の民衆経済』のデータと対比し、この地域の 85 年間の社会変容を明らかにしようと試みた。さらに 2012 年には、1990 年調査の主要メンバーと、その指導を受けた若い世代の研究者によって再度の農村調査が実施され、最近 20 年間の社会変容の検証が行われた。加納の指導の下で上述の農村調査に従事してきた愛知県立大学の小座野八光は、2016 年からガジャマダ大学と共同で地方史の視点から村落調査を継続しており、筆者はこの調査チームメンバーとして小座野と共同研究を進めている。

この共同研究チームは、チョマル地方で 1960 年代に頻発した社会騒乱を研究の対象としており、同地方の 6 村落においてインタビュー調査を実施した。筆者はチョマル地方再南部のカランブライ村(desa Karangbrai)の調査を重点的に担当し、必要に応じて同村北郊のウォノギリ村(desa Wonogiri)についても比較調査を行った。本論文においては、筆者は、まずカランブライ村内のカルヨムクティ集落(dusun Karyomukti)がイスラム原理主義武装組織「ダルル・イスラム(Darul Islam)」軍を名乗る集団によって焼失させられ、近隣のウォノギリ村においても数件の家屋が放火された事例を取り上げる。この武装集団は強盗同然に村落住民を威嚇し、周辺村落では「ガロン(Garong)」の名称で記憶されている。また、ウォノギリ村ではインドネシア共産党(Partai Komunis Indonesia)のシンパ住民の家屋に対する放火も行われた。

本論文の目的は、特に 20 世紀中庸以降にチョマル地方南部村落で発生した社会騒乱との関係においてジャワ農村社会の状況を明らかにすることにある。本論文では筆者は文献研究とインタビュー調査の両方の研究手法を用いた。今回の筆者の分析によれば、西部ジャワの「ダルル・イスラム」の影響が当時のチョマル地方南部における政治的安定の崩壊を引き起こし、村落社会に大きな影響を与えたといえる。そして、この「ダルル・イスラム」軍を名乗る勢力は、一連の社会騒乱を通じて、その存在をアピールしようと努めたと考えられる。またこれらに加えて、スハルト体制以降の社会の安定状況の中で、カランブライ村のたどった経緯についての解説を加えた。

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## Introduction

Comal, a small area on the coast of northern Java Island is well known as "mine of knowledge" for academic researchers coming from diverse fields of study, such as socio-politic, economics, history, etc. For example, In 2012, there was a research in this area involving several institutes supported by universities, such as Universitas Gadjah Mada, Kyoto University, and University of Amsterdam. Another research was conducted by student from Kyoto University in 2017<sup>2</sup>.

According to Peter Boomgard, it is hard to find the name of Comal in the period of Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) before 1833. In 1813, Comal was the name of a village. In 1833, Comal Sugar Mill (archaic: Tjomal) was built and the name of Comal then used as the name of the territory. The Comal Sugar Mill was founded in 1833. R. Addison is the owner of the Comal Sugar Mill and he has a sugar cane plantation area of 600 odors or equivalent to 444 Hectare. Comal area was a prosperous district, especially before the period of economic depression between 1813 until 1930. Even the leaseholder from China and the merchant were ready to provide agricultural tools, livestock and payment for the farmers, because this district was very rich for agricultural aspect. In addition, the existence of Comal Sugar Mill changed the district's economy in terms of incomes and wages.<sup>3</sup> Until the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Comal district was divided into three categories based on the field's type: the dry field in the southern area, the prosperous field around the central area (Semarang-Jakarta), and the swamp land in the northern area.

In 1903-1904, JFAC Van Moll and H.'s Jacob conducted a survey in Comal district. They recorded socio-economic changes in rural farmers. Their report can be used as a data comparison for this study.<sup>4</sup> A follow-up study of the former of Comal district is an interesting study by taking a common thread on the names of the villages identified at this time. The names of the old villages are still the same name of the village administrative unit and some village are part of the sub administrative unit. This was because the village's reorganization which was occurred during the colonial period and the independence period.

In the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Comal was divided into two territories: Comal Lor (North Comal) and Comal Kidul (South Comal). It was under *afdeling*

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<sup>2</sup> Based on Karangbrai village guest book. Research conduct in Karangbrai village by master student from Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies (ASAFAS), Kyoto University in 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Boomgard. "Selayang Pandang Perkembangan Ekonomi dan Sosial Daerah Comal Periode 1750-1940" (A Bird's Eye View of Economic and Social Development in the District of Comal, 1750-1940) in Hiroyoshi Kano, Frans Hüsken, Djoko Suryo (ed). *Di Bawah Asap Pabrik Gula, Masyarakat Desa di Pesisir Jawa Sepanjang Abad ke-20* (Beneath the Smoke of Sugar Mill, Javanese Coastal Communities during the Twentieth Century). (Yogyakarta: Akatiga dan Gadjah Mada University Press, 1996). Pp. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> Final report can be seen in *De Desa-volkshuishouding in Cijfers. Vol 1. 1913* and *De Desa-volkshuishouding in Cijfers. Vol 2. 1914*. The Hague: Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch Indie

administrative units of Pemalang Regency, Tegal Residency. In addition, Pemalang district, Mandireja, and Bongas were included in *afdeling* administrative units of Pemalang Regency, Residency of Tegal.<sup>5</sup>

In the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the growth of modern transportation and communication lines changed the Comal people furthermore. It opened the door for more intensive and dynamic relationship between Comal people and the outsiders, thus the factors of the social and political changes were getting bigger. Throughout the socio-political life in the villages, the former village of Comal district was not separated from the linkages of existed other villages.

In general, rural Java including the Comal district has a changes as a result of penetration, thus the rural communities in Java has an experience for pressure and extraction from the outside. People responded in various ways, such as static, adaptive, creative, and reactive depending on the influential factors. One of the most interesting socio-political dynamics in the Comal district after The independence of Indonesia was Incidents of the Three Regions, involving three regions in Central Java: Tegal, Brebes, and Pemalang. The Incidents of the Three Regions spawned a social revolution as a people's protest movement to dismiss village administrators as well as officials over the village administrative.<sup>6</sup> After the social revolution, radicalism was also seen in the southern area of Comal in the 1950s through a suite of homicides and arson.

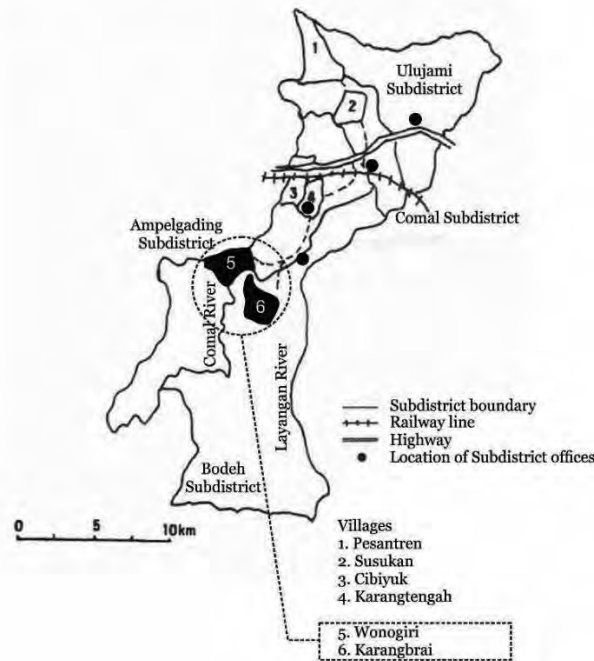
This paper delivers a view on *Rural Turmoil and Radicalization: Javanese Coastal Communities in the Mid-Twentieth Century, A Case Study about Comal District in Southern Area*. It aims to analyze the dynamics of rural Java related with the turmoil and radicalization occurred in 1950s. In a broader view, this paper digs the socio-political and cultural dynamics in the Comal village, especially in the southern area. This study refers to former village of Comal district of Karangbrai village and Wonogiri village (as a comparison).

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<sup>5</sup> *Staat der Inlandsche Hoofden, Beambten en Geestelijken onder ultimo, 1861*, in *Politiek Verslag, 1861 no. 15*. National Archives of The Republic of Indonesia via Djoko Suryo. "Dinamika Pedesaan Comal Dalam Perspektif Sejarah" (Rural Comal During the Japanese Occupation and the Revolution for Independence) in Hiroyoshi Kano, Frans Hüsken, Djoko Suryo. *Di Bawah Asap Pabrik Gula, Masyarakat Desa di Pesisir Jawa Sepanjang Abad ke-20*. (Beneath the Smoke of Sugar Mill, Javanese Coastal Communities during the Twentieth Century), (Yogyakarta: Akatiga dan Gadjah Mada University Press, 1996). Pp. 295-296.

<sup>6</sup> Comprehensive study of the Three Regional Events have been written by Anton E. Lucas with title *Peristiwa Tiga Daerah, Revolusi dalam Revolusi*.

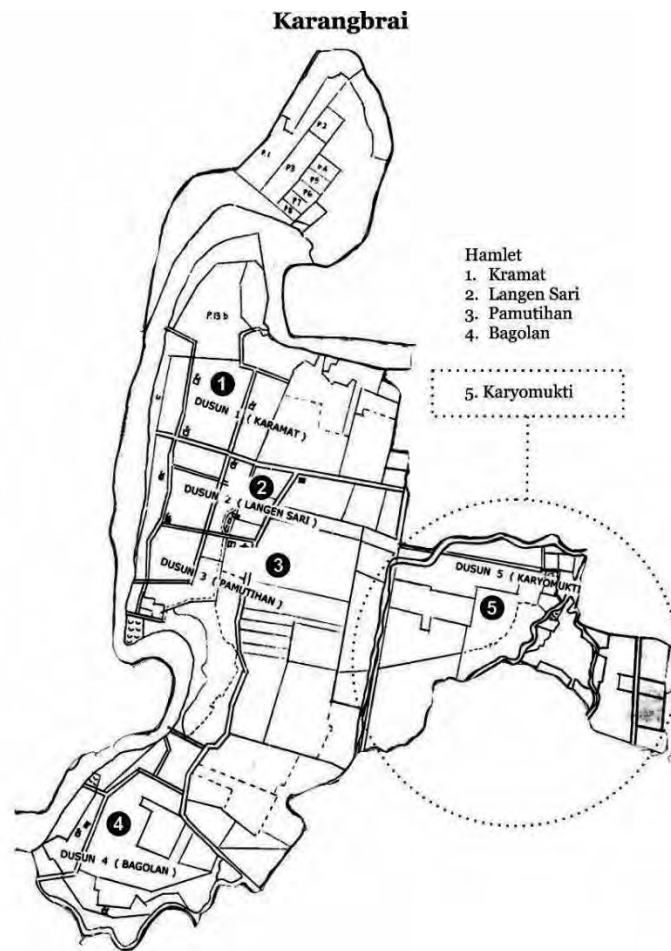
### Map of The Former Comal District



**Fig 1. Map of The Former Comal District**

Adapted from *Di Bawah Asap Pabrik Gula, Masyarakat Desa di Pesisir Jawa Sepanjang Abad ke-20* (Beneath the Smoke of Sugar Mill, Javanese Coastal Communities during the Twentieth Century) by Hiroyoshi Kano, Frans Hüsken, and Djoko Suryo. (ed), 1996, Yogyakarta: Akatiga and Gadjah Mada University Press.

This study uses data from many sources, including data from the survey by JFAC Van Moll and H.'s Jacob in 1903 which is continued by the survey conducted by the team from the Faculty of Letters, Universitas Gadjah Mada in 1990, data from research institutes under universities support such as Universitas Gadjah Mada, Kyoto University and Amsterdam University in 2012, and also data from a structured research with Yako Kozano of Aichi Prefectural University in 2016-2017. This study concentrates on Karangbrai Village. This study uses two method of research: literature study and respondents method. Literature study includes finding and choosing the relevant written sources for the topic. Respondents method mainly uses oral history to understand the historical process. Meanwhile, the rural dynamics in Java is going to be described by looking at historical perspectives, through historical sources or archived research. Basically, there is a limitation on the historical sources. Therefore, approaches on oral history would be essential and important to reconstruct the dynamics of the history of rural Java, especially the Karangbrai village, one of the former villages of Comal district.



**Fig 2. Map of Karangbrai**

Adapted from Archives of Karangbrai Village.

### **The Forerunner of the Villages in Oral Tradition**

Karangbrai village and other villages were mentioned in JFAC Van Mol's field report. The villages were also recorded in the historical archives in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> The former Comal district, including Karangbrai village, was the result of long time growth and development. Rural development was powered by many factors, such as economics, politics, demographics, transportation, and communication.

According to Djoko Suryo (1996), the growth and development in Comal district are estimated into three forms. First, rural growing in the southern and northern coastal fringes. It is also estimated that Comal grew in the Comal River and in the middle of a forest or swamp area. Second, the growing countryside is an extension from the south to the north and from the north extending towards to the middle. Third, the growth of the village started gradually before the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

According to the oral history, the first form is attributed to the *petilasan* (historical relic) of the village founder. The *petilasan* is located in Karangbrai village

<sup>7</sup> Hiroyoshi Kano, et.al, *op.cit.*, pp. 290.

and it is still associated with the embryo of the other villages such as Wonogiri village or Pesantren village in the north. Meanwhile, Comal district inherits transportation lines from kingdom of Demak and Cirebon. Villages in Comal district were known as strategic place for a stopovers and it helped them grew.<sup>8</sup>

The *petilasan*, such as *petilasan* Sheikh Jambu Karang and *petilasan* Sheikh Bukojati in Karangbrai village, are the evidences of historical relic because they have connection to Islamization process in Java. Legend says, Sheikh Jambu Karang comes from the kingdom of Padjadjaran (West Java), a prince whose title name is Adipati Mendang, son of Prabu Barawijaya Mahesa Trademan I. The name of King Prabu Barawijaya Mahesa Trademan I is Raden Mundingwangi. Raden Mundingwangi preferred as a *wiku* (hermit) and left the throne to Raden Mundingsari, his younger brother. He made a journey as hermit and converted to Islam. Then he changed his name into Sheikh Jambu Karang and he preached toward people. In the middle of his journey, he came to a forest which has no name. The name of Karangbrai village is believed to be derived from Karang, the last name of Sheikh Jambu Karang.

The forerunner of Karangbrai village has a connection to oral tradition. There are two different story about the origin of Karangbrai village: the Islamic version and the *kejawen* (traditional) version.

According to Harsono (80 years old), the villagers had not embraced in Islam until religious leaders comes through the village. Kyai Ageng Cempaluk and his disciple, Pamutih, took a rest in the village and they taught Islam to the villagers. Hence the name of Pamutihan (hamlet) in Karangbrai village. Islam spreads not only in the center of the village but it also spread to the south of Bagolan.<sup>9</sup>

The second version of the story is the *kejawen* version. It contains myth and it also has its own uniqueness. According to Tarjono (75 years old), the cemetery (*makam dowo*) caretaker, Karangbrai villager are the descendant of the wild boar. The boar has very high power.<sup>10</sup> In the daylight, the boar turned into a beautiful woman. In the evening, the boar turn back into it's original form. The story was started as the boar fell in love with a prince. Love relationship of them gives a princess. When she grew up, she went to the palace and she found out that the prince had become a king. At first, the king did not recognize her as his daughter but through certain condition the king then finally believed that she was. The daughter then placed in the forest accompanied by a dog.

By the time, the princess was weaving at a tree house when one of her weaving tools fell down on the ground. She declared that whoever help her taking

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<sup>8</sup> Hiroyoshi Kano, et.al, *op.cit.*, pp. 291-292.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Harsono, February 18, 2017

<sup>10</sup> Tarjono is a caretaker for cemetery. He lives near the *Dowo* cemetery. *Dowo* in Javanese means long, so *Dowo* cemetery means long cemetery. *Dowo* cemetery is not like the tombs in general.

back the weaving tools would be given a prize. If it was a man, she would take him as her husband. If it was a woman, she would take her as her sister. Surprisingly, the dog who accompanied her took the weaving tools for her and since the dog was male, she took him as her husband. They married and the princess had a son who like to hunt with the dog. One day, when they went for hunt together, the dog was accidentally impaled by an arrow. The princess wondered about the dog (her husband) and his son finally admitted that the dog had been accidentally killed. She went mad and then she beat her son so bad. His head was badly wounded and left a bald scar (locals call it *kalang/kelang*). After the incident, his son went wandering and never returned. Time went by and one day they accidentally met but they did not recognize each other. They fell in love and they got together. The princess did not know that the man she married with was his son until one day he told her about the bald scar on his head which was caused by severe beats from his mother. From the traditional oral story, the local people called this village as Karangbrai or Kelang Birahi village. Kelang means bald scar and Birahi means sexual desire.

Most villagers of Karangbrai more believe to the Islamic oral stories than traditional stories or *kejawen*. This is evident from some testimony of citizens who only provide limited information. They will not tell you who the people are or are not. Although there are some residents who mentioned that many people are located in the hamlet Karyomukti, a village located on the east. There is no clear reason why Kalang people are identified with the villagers of Karyomukti.<sup>11</sup>

The myth of Kelang peoples is indeed an interesting study. According to Mitsuo Nakamura, they are considered as the descendant of the dog. Nevertheless, some people also have an important position. Professionally, these people also have skill as a woodcutter, carrier, and even businessmen. People tend to marry off their children with their relatives in order to keep their blood stay intact.

Beside the two version of the story, there is another myth associated with the cemetery (*makam dowo*). It is associated with *kedung sigolo-golo*, the deepest part of the river which is believed to be a mystical place. The existence of the cemetery (*makam dowo*) is always associated with negative mystical things. While the *petilasan* of Syeikh Jambu Karang and Syeikh Bukojati considered as a blessing bearer for those who believe in the power of God.

The tentative hypothesis explains that from several versions of the forerunner of Karangbrai village shows the correlation as a personification. The state of Karangbrai village before the introduction of Islam shows its people who behave negatively, have no manners or rules. These negative behaviors seems like animal behavior. Islamic preaching by Syeikh Jambu Karang or Kyai Ageng Cempaluk has a vision to convert the behavior. This is reflected in the oral tradition of the divinity marked by a *petilasan* located in the village of Karangbrai, a proof of

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with Tarjono, February 18, 2017.

historical relic that has so far remained awake. Most people in Karangbrai village still have strong trust toward the *petilasan*.



**Fig 3. The Cemetery (*makam dowo*)**

Source: Personal Documentation, February 18, 2017



**Fig 4. Petilasan of Sheikh Jambu Karang**

Source: Personal Documentation, February 18, 2017

### **The Characteristic of Karangbrai Village**

Karangbrai village located in the southern area (see figure 1). Compared to other villages, it can be said that Karangbrai has more rapid growth. The distance between the villages and the subdistrict town is quite far away, but with adequate transportation facilities and infrastructure, economic relations between villages face no obstacles. The asphalt road connecting villages and sub-villages proves that the development of Karangbrai village is already visible. Figure 5 is an alternative short cut road connecting Karangbrai village to another village (Kesesi village) which is a former lorry passage. In the VOC period, the lorry track in the village of Karangbrai was connected to the Comal Sugar Mill.



**Fig 5. Alternative connecting road**

Source: Personal Documentation, February 17, 2017

The pattern of settlements in Karangbrai village began to spread in the central village administration in the west. While in the east and north are the areas of rice fields and plantations. On the western side is the stream of the Comal river which in each stream is a place of sand mining. Most houses use bricks for walls and few houses use woven bamboo. All houses use tiles for roof. The number of villagers Karangbrai reach 5121 inhabitants.<sup>12</sup> At 1990's research, Karangbrai village had only three hamlets, including Karangbrai, Bagolan, and Karyomukti. At 2012's research, the structure of Karangbrai village has changed into five hamlets. They were Kramat, Langensari, Pamutihan, Bagolan, and Karyomukti. The social life of Karangbrai village is also determined by the study group, *syawalan*, *selamatan*, *pengajian* and so on.

The villagers of Karangbrai are mostly farmers even though people, both of those who have no farm and those who have farm, are also getting interested in non-agricultural jobs. This is because they need more money to make living. Qualitative data taken from 138 heads of households shows that non-agricultural jobs is 54% of the population. The top rank of non-agricultural jobs is working in the sand mining activity. Those who work in sand mining activity are mostly people who have no farm. Only small numbers of people who have farm also work in sand mining activity, usually during the summer season.<sup>13</sup> They have three reason for the job switching. First, they need more money to rent water pump in order to keep their farm irrigated

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<sup>12</sup> Taken from Population Census Data in June 2012.

<sup>13</sup> Data processed by survey in 2012.

during the summer season. Second, sometimes they also have to accept the risk if the harvest is not good when some money has been issued so that the fields can still harvest. Third, there is no cost to work in sand mining. They only need their body power for getting paid. Later, they can use the money as an initial capital for planting in the rainy season. During rainy season, there is abundant amount of sand in Comal river makes it the source of sand in the village. The quality of the sand is very good so it is often used as basic material of building or road.

Working in farm is mostly done by middle-aged people while working in sand mining is mostly done by young people ranging from 18 to 30 years old. As shown in the survey conducted in 2012, it takes average 144 working days per year for sand mining. In one day, the couple get about Rp. 80,000 per sandbar so that during the dry season (for 6 months), they get about Rp. 11,520,000.<sup>14</sup>

Another non-agricultural job is bricks craft (local: banon). In the summer season, a householder is capable of making 10,000 bricks. If they sell it Rp. 600 per bricks and 1% of the production fails, they will get Rp.6,000,000. Reduced with production cost about Rp.2,000,000, they get net income about Rp.4,000,000.<sup>15</sup>



**Fig 6. Traditional sand mining**

Source: Personal Documentation in 2012

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<sup>14</sup> Data processed by survey in 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Data processed by survey in 2012.s



**Fig 7. Traditional Bricks Maker**

Source: Personal Documentation in 2012

### **Turmoil and Radicalization in the Karangbrai Village.**

The Karangbrai village consists of five hamlets. One of hamlet is Karyomukti (see the figure 2). According to historical narration, the name of Karyomukti is derived from *Sajimerto* or *Ajimerto*. The name of Sajimerto has its own meaning. *Saji* or *Aji* means useful and *Merto* means water. According to the oral history, once upon a time, there was a wanderer from Kesesi subdistrict, Pekalongan. He is Pamutih, the disciple of Kyai Ageng Cempaluk. One day, Pamutih took a rest and he felt thirsty. He made a hole in the ground with a wooden stick and suddenly water sprung out from the hole. Eventually, the water coming from the hole on the ground became an abundant water spring. Locals call it *Sumur Kerti*. Based on this oral history, locals believed that the original name of *Ajimerto* or *Sajimerto* is a form of gratitude to God. They expected Karyomukti to be a prosperous village. The name of *Sajimerto* or *Ajimerto* persisted until the radical incident of “Darul Islam”.

Karyomukti is a small hamlet that is included in local government in the Karangbrai village. Karyomukti located in the easternmost and also can be said to be far apart from the center of village government. Compared to the other hamlets, Karyomukti has only one household with a low economic level.

On the other hand, during the Dutch military aggression II (*Operatie Kraai*), the socio-political life in Karangbrai village did not have much changes. Karangbrai village is located at the southern area and became the headquarters of the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI). It is possible that the existence of PMI made Karangbrai village safe and peaceful. Since the Dutch military aggression II, Karangbrai village appointed a new head of village called head village of Recomba (*Regerings Commisaris Bestuurs Aangelegenheden*). The head of village of Recomba is Mukhayat, replacing the previous head of village Rekso Sukaryo, an anti-Dutch man. At the time, Rekso Sukaryo sought refuge in the other village. In Karangbrai village, there is no killing act toward the head of village like in other villages. This

is because Mukhayat acted as a double agent. He supported the government yet he was still on his people's side. Therefore, he survived the killing act (social revolution) after the surrender to the Republic of Indonesia.

The social revolution is well known as the Three Region Incident, including Brebes, Tegal, and Pemalang. Killing act did not occur in the Karangbrai village, but the community stayed cautious when things went wrong. They heard information from the officials about the Kutil troops attacking the villages. They also heard that Panji Suwarso troops had been preparing his troops around the Payung village. Karangbrai village has also been used as an unofficial headquarters by Panji Suwarso to hold a small meeting at the residence of *Carik* Yasin.

The incident on behalf of "Darul Islam" (DI) occurred around the 1950s causing a disturbance toward the security and stability of Karangbrai village. At that time, the headquarters of the DI troops was so close to the Sokowati dam area in the forest, Kaliwadas village (About 5 km away from Karangbrai village). Geographically, this area was not included in the area of Karangbrai village. However, Karangbrai village, especially Karyomukti and Bagolan, became the entry path for DI troops. Since Karangbrai village was the southernmost and it also considered as a dead end with Comal River as the boundary, there was no other way beyond the Karangbrai village.

The DI troops attack in Karangbrai village as a result of the first attack in Payung Village (side of Bagolan). At that time, there was a command for the troops of the Republic of Indonesia in Karangbrai village to retreat to the Kali Wuluh, Jraganan village (side of Karyomukti), located in the east of Karangbrai Village, in order to defend from the DI troops. The situation got worse when houses in Bodeh sub-district were burned. Iskak, the head of the sub-district, and his assistant died.<sup>16</sup>

When there was a house burning incident by DI troops in Jraganan village, Karyomukti became a victim. Many houses in Karyomukti were burned. The house of the head of village Oesman was also attacked. It is known that the head village Oesman considered not pro with the DI troop. Luckily, the head of village Oesman was not at home at that time. He was going to Pemalang with his secretary Yasin, so they survived.

After the incident in the Karyomukti, the residents of Karyomukti were temporarily moved to the Kramat, Pamutihan or Langensari. At this time, the head of village Oesman urged his people not to return to Karyomukti village and he asked people to stay in Kramat, Pamutihan or Langensari. However, people refused to move because they felt comfortable to live in Karyomukti.

When the burned houses were restored, people of Karyomukti dwelled in this village. Houses were arranged neatly and regularly face to face. The name of the village changed to Sidomukti. *Sido* means being and *Mukti* means prosperous.

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<sup>16</sup> Anton E. Lucas. *Peristiwa Tiga Daerah, Revolusi dalam Revolusi*. (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1989).

However, some time later, some people felt the meaning of Sidomukti was too heavy. In the rural Java community, the meaning of a name is very important. If the meaning name is too heavy, it could be a boomerang because it is burdensome. According to Harsono, at that time the name Sidomukti replaced with Karyomukti. *Karyo* which means to work or work and *Mukti* means prosperous. Karyomukti literally means work to gain prosperity. Radicalism which happened in Karyomukti is the main reason for Ajimerto or Sajimerto to change the name into Sidomukti and then Karyomukti. The restoration of the houses in Karyomukti village was done during the era of Harsono as the head of village. Houses are reorganized by facing the road, while the division of land for restoration area is adjusted to the area of initial ownership.

After the radicalism incident in Karangbrai village, the political organization in the Karangbrai village began to appear. The main organization of Nahdatul Ulama is in the Kramat, Langensari and Pamutihan. Bagolan was the base of PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia) and Karyomukti was the base of PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia). The political dynamics in the Karangbrai village began to appear at the first elections of 1955 and the political organization Nahdatul Ulama was the most prominent entity at the time. When the G 30S event, Karangbrai village looked less worrisome than other villages. Generally, the Karyomukti who was involved in PKI at that time was merely a participant because it was influenced by Suwiryo, a political cadre from Bandaran village. It is quite logical considering that the location of the Karyomukti is far from the village government center and the Karyomukti villagers can be easily affected. When G 30S events occurred some people sought refuge by following the Islamic forums such as *pengajian*.



**Fig 8. Houses in Karyomukti and former of Harsono's head of village**

Source: Personal Documentation February 17, 2017

### **Turmoil and Radicalization in the Wonogiri Village: A comparison**

The location of Wonogiri village is quite far from the Karangbrai village (see

figure 2). According to oral tradition, the forerunner of Wonogiri village is related to the myth of Sawunggaling and the legendary figure of Sigeseng. The village of Wonogiri is also associated with the legendary rebel Prince Papak of Tegal. The myth of Sawunggaling is related to the myths of Demak and Cirebon's political relations in the 16th century. The legendary figure of Sigeseng is associated with the former Pemalang Regent who opposed the Dutch in the 19th century.

“Darul Islam” incidents also occurred in the village of Wonogiri. DI came to Wonogiri village for logistical support. They asked it to the villagers harshly, especially at night. Torture and murder might occur if the villagers did not obey their request. When DI troops arrived at night, sector commanders were on patrol and in the end there was a shooting battle between DI troops and patrol troops. One of the commanding officers of the sector was killed. Whenever DI troops were coming to the Wonogiri village, most of the people hide. The turmoil and radicalization that took place in Wonogiri Village has disturbed the security of this village.

After the incident, political organization also emerged. Political parties in Wonogiri Village consisted of PNI (Partai nasional Indonesia), Nahdatul Ulama, Masyumi and PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia). The majority of villagers were PKI. Kepuh (hamlet) was the base of PKI and Jetis was the base of PNI. The socio-political situation in Wonogiri Village referred to the houses burning done by members of the PKI. Wadiyo is a native of Wonogiri who campaigned for PKI and he became chairman of the village. Kadis (sister of Wadiyo) convert his PKI membership into a PNI before the PKI incident (G 30S). Meanwhile, Wadiyo had become a PNI membership during the PKI incident with approval from police chief, but Sunardi, leader of village commissioner did not recognize him. Officially, Sunardi had not signed it. Most of the PKI members set fire to Wadiyo's house. After his house was burned, Wadiyo was arrested and imprisoned. Fortunately, he was not a victim of murder.<sup>17</sup>

Until today, political victims who still live in Wonogiri village earn Rp. 900,000 per month. They are Mucitro, Turiyah and Ragim. They do not earn the money through the village authority. The source of the money remains unclear. Burning action also happened in Comal area in 1965. The targets were Heritage store and Pilus Factory.<sup>18</sup>

### **Karangbrai Village and Harsono's Head of Village Leadership (1974-1998)**

Harsono is a Bandaran villager who married a Karangbrai woman.<sup>19</sup> In Bandaran village, the head of village's clan is also attached to Harsono. In accordance with the Regent's Decree No: Huk.B.II / 12/62/74, applied on January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1974, Harsono was appointed as the head of Karangbrai village. Previously, he

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Sunardi, March 18, 2017

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Kharodji, March 18, 2017.

<sup>19</sup> Bandaran Village located in the east of Karangbrai Village, bordering Karyomukti.

worked as a secretary of village (*carik*) replacing the Waryadi, who was too old to work as secretary at that time. Harsono was appointed as a secretary of village in December 22, 1960, in accordance with a letter of appointment No.22 / 1961 and he worked as secretary of village for 15 years. Later, Karangbrai village has no head of village when Oesman, the head of village died. Election was conducted in 1974 and Harsono won the election. Below is the village's administrative structure in the period of Harsono according to Government Regulation No.5 / 1975:

Head of village	: Harsono (1974-1989)
Secretaries of Village ( <i>carik</i> )	: 1. Muh. Bisri (1975-1989) 2. Muh. Bachroni (1978-1987)
Head of development affairs	: Tarmidi
Head of government affairs	: Sulam
Head of financial affairs	: Khaelani
Head of people's welfare affairs	: Suwiyahman

There were two secretaries of village with each own task. Secretary 1 (Muh. Bisri) did the official administrative task to assist the head of village. Secretary 2 (Muh. Bachroni) did the rural administratives task.<sup>20</sup> In 1982, Muh. Bachroni died so there was only one secretary left. In 1989, Muh. Bisri died of illness so there was no one doing the secretarial jobs. It was then temporarily held by Sulam until the next election. Thus, Sulam held two jobs with three task: as the head of government affairs and as the temporary secretaries of village.

Harsono's tenure was until 1989. Subsequent head of village elections were held in 1990. The vacuum of office for a year was temporarily held by Sulam as the Implementer of the Head village (*Yang Menjalankan Tugas Kepala Desa*) dated September 27, 1989, in accordance with the Decree of the Regent No .141 / 150/90 / PM.

There were four candidates competed in election in 1989: Harsono (the incumbent), Ngadimin (Harsono's son-in-law), Mulyadi, Tarmidi (head of development affairs). After the administrative selection, only two candidates remained: Harsono and Tarmidi. At the day before final election, Tarmidi shocked by the fact that he did not pass the administrative selection. Therefore, only one candidate remained in the election day. Harsono, the incumbent, won the election and he became the head of village again. Below is the village's administrative structure in the second period of Harsono:

Head of village	: Harsono (1990-1998)
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<sup>20</sup> Based on a statement letter made by Harsono on March 27, 1974. He was willing to release a bengkok land around of 0.735 hectare to be used in addition for secretaries of village. Distribution of bengkok land was divided equally. It should be 4 to 5 hectare of rice fields and 2 hectare of moor. Secretaries of village get 2 to 2.5 hectare of rice fields and 1 ha of moor.

Secretary of village ( <i>carik</i> )	: Khaerun (1990-1998)
Head of development affairs	: Tarmidi
Head of government affairs	: Sulam
Head of financial affairs	: Khaelani
Head of people's welfare affairs	: Suwiyahman
Head of general affairs	: Suratman (grandchild of Mukhayat head of village of Recomba)
PPN	: 1. Sakhowi 2. Mursalin (Harsono's son in law)

During the second period of Harsono, the election to choose the secretary of village position were conducted. Five candidates signed up, including Khaerun, Mulyadi, Sakhowi, and Suryadi. Khaerun is chosen to fill the position as secretary of village through final selection from sub-district level. According to peoples view point at that time, the performance of Khaerun was less satisfactory. Because he was a novice and need adaptation of all tasks assigned to him.



**Fig 9. Infrastructures in Karyomukti (left: Elementary school, right: Kindergarten)**

Source: Personal Documentation, February 17, 2017

Politically, the institutional of land reform implementation such as registration committees becoming social justice. It allows each of the ideologies and political struggles to fight in the countryside. In accordance with the Basic Agrarian Law Act (Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria) in 1960, land ownership with over 5 hectare must be distributed and bengkok land is divided for road construction. Horizontal conflict on land did not happen in Karangbrai village. Villagers who object to the land's ownership got his land re-measured

Making mass land certification program received by subsidy from the government during leadership of Harsono. Surprisingly, he accused for embezzling the money. According to information, Harsono is willing to spend money, because there are some residents who have not paid off. The process of making mass land certificate took a long time. This made villager think that Harsono has corrupted. It

was revealed later that there was provocateur who took advantage of 1998's reformation moment to end the period of Harsono as the head of village.

Related with footpath program to the sand mining, Harsono was also accused of having unilateral land ownership action. However, Harsono only combined several small streets into one big road with the same area as its original state. The evidence was found in a statement that each land owner does not have a lack of land ownership.<sup>21</sup> The politics in the village's administration which happened in Karangbrai in 1998 made Harsono want to take a break from any village's administrative thing.

## Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, some conclusions can be taken. *First*, there are several versions of the forerunner of Karangbrai village. According to oral history told by the respondents, the Karangbrai village was formed in the process of Islamization. Meanwhile, the other sources assume that the formation of Karangbrai village can not be separated from the traditional myth (*kejawen* version). The myth of the *Kalang* as a breed of Dog is still inherent in the oral tradition. But along the time, the identity of the *Kalang* began to fade. The kinship of people who were tied up through marriage began to be abandoned. Before Islam entered Karangbrai village, most peoples had no manners and proper rules. The preaching of Sheikh Jambu Karang or Kyai Ageng Cempaluk was to improve the attitude of people in Karangbrai village. This is reflected in the oral tradition of the divinity marked by a *petilasan* located in the center of Karangbrai village.

*Second*, the incident of house burning in a hamlet Karyomukti and the houses in the Wonogori village limited to small-scale rages and radicalization. These villages coincidentally became the access to and out of the "Darul Islam" troops. The "Darul Islam" troops are only guise in the name of Darul Islam. It can be proven that the DI troops were none other than robbers who plundered villagers. Villagers call the "Darul Islam" as the robber or *Garong* in Javanese. If DI troops did not get what they requested to the villagers, they did not hesitate to burn the houses or killed the owner of the house. It can be underlined that Darul Islam's influence in West Java caused the destruction of political stability at that time greatly affected the social life of rural communities, especially in the southern villages of Comal.

*Third*, relationship in one breed in village leadership is fundamentally influenced by political power and economic wealth. With the economic power possessed by the village's elite families, it is certain for them to won the election. On the other hand, the old village elite who has enough resources and earned a respectable position within the village always has an appeal to its people. Harsono, former head of village who has been worked for 32 years still respected by peoples.

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<sup>21</sup> Statement Letter, March 20, 1998

If we are talking about politics in Karangbrai village since the nineteenth century, it can be said to be relatively stable.

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### Respondents:

Name	Position
Harsono	: Former of Karangbrai head of village.
Tarjono	: Caretaker of Dowo cemetery.
Sunardi	: Former of Kepuh head of hamlet.
Kharodji	: Secretary of Wonogiri Village.