

## Echoes of Rebellion: The Living Memory of DI/TII (1953-1965) and Its Ideological Transmission in South Sulawesi

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### ABSTRACT

This research is motivated by the phenomenon of the resurgence of narratives and symbols of the DI/TII movement led by Kahar Muzakkar (1953–1965) in contemporary religious discourse in South Sulawesi. This study addresses analytical gaps by exploring the dimension of collective memory as a bridge connecting historical rebellion with contemporary radicalism. Using the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method, this study analyses historical and contemporary sources to trace the mechanisms of memory transmission. The findings reveal that the memory of DI/TII is preserved as a ‘living memory’ transmitted through three main channels: family and kinship networks, certain Islamic boarding schools that sacralize the narrative, and the circulation of literature and digital media. This memory is then activated by ‘memory entrepreneurs’ who align it with contemporary grievances and ultimately fuses with transnational jihadist ideology through a process of glocalization. The implication is that counter-terrorism approaches need to shift towards inclusive and reconciliatory memory politics.

**Keywords:** Collective Memory, DI/TII, Ideological Transmission, Glocalization, South Sulawesi.

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### INTRODUCTION

The contemporary socio-political and security landscape in Indonesia presents a phenomenon that requires critical attention: the re-emergence of symbols, slogans and narratives historically associated with the Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII) movement in the discourse and identity formation of certain religious groups in South Sulawesi (BS Harvey 1989). This revival is not merely nostalgia for the past, but rather signifies a deeper process, in which collective memories of the rebellion that ended militarily in 1965 demonstrate their continuing vitality, evolving and finding new channels of expression (IPAC, 2022). This observation reveals a fundamental paradox: although officially defeated as an armed movement, DI/TII actually experienced a strong ‘second life’ in the realm of memory and ideology. The rebellion may have ended on the battlefield, but its echoes continue to reverberate in the corridors of community identity, religious interpretation, and political dissent in South Sulawesi (Sukardi, 2023).

This paradox highlights a significant analytical gap in the existing literature. Most historical studies of DI/TII have carefully unravelled the political, social, and military complexities of the rebellion, providing valuable insights into its origins, execution, and suppression (BS Harvey, 1989a). In parallel, contemporary research on radicalism in Indonesia tends to focus on the appeal and structure of transnational ideological networks such as those propagated by ISIS or Al-Qaeda (Sahrasad & Chaidar, 2018a). However, few studies have deliberately used the dimension of collective memory as a central analytical lens to bridge these two bodies of work. In fact, it is precisely in this mnemonic space—the realm of how the past is remembered, narrated, and felt—that the transmission of values, trauma, and political aspirations occurs across generational boundaries, often under the radar of analyses that focus on formal doctrines (Pickering & Keightley, 2013).

To elucidate this mechanism of transmission, the theoretical framework of collective memory offers an essential perspective. As conceptualized by Maurice Halbwachs and later

developed by scholars such as Jan and Aleida Assmann, collective memory is not a static archive of past events. (Orianne & Eustache, 2023). It is a living and dynamic social construct, constantly reconstructed by a community in response to its current needs and circumstances. Memory is a process, not a fixed product; it is shaped, debated, and mobilized to serve contemporary identity politics and social cohesion. In this case, the memory of DI/TII in South Sulawesi is a form of 'living memory'. It is a narrative that is constantly reinterpreted, mythologized in certain aspects, or preserved as collective resentment (Nechaeva, 2020).

This memory can then be activated as a source of legitimacy or a framing device for understanding current socio-political experiences, such as perceptions of state neglect, economic inequality, or religious identity politics (Bachleitner, 2022). South Sulawesi, as the epicentre of the DI/TII movement in Eastern Indonesia and a region with a strong socio-cultural structure based on family networks (*pangngaderreng*) and a tradition of respect for intellectual lineage and struggle, provides a fertile ground for the transmission of this kind of mnemonic (Andini, 2017). Knowledge networks, certain Islamic boarding schools, and strong oral traditions served as the main channels through which the echoes of the rebellion—the story of Kahar Muzakkar's charismatic leadership, the sacrifices of his followers, the unfulfilled dream of an Islamic state, and the pain of defeat—were conveyed and preserved (Dinal Maula, 2025).

Therefore, this article attempts to trace and analyse how the echoes of the DI/TII rebellion (1953-1965) are not only preserved as passive memories, but are actively transmitted, reframed, and transformed into a form of 'symbolic capital' or a malleable ideological resource. This resource can then be mobilised by various actors in new contexts (Karaeng, 2024). It can be used by groups with explicit hardline agendas as a tool for recruitment and local legitimisation, exploiting the emotional resonance of the local 'authentic' struggle. Simultaneously, elements within the wider society can use this memory in more diffuse ways, as an expression of dissatisfaction with the central state or as a means of cultivating a distinctive local Islamic identity that draws strength from narratives of resistance and piety. The significance of this investigation is twofold (Diprose & Azca, 2019).

Academically, this study enriches the historiography of DI/TII by integrating approaches from cultural memory studies, moving beyond event-centred history to explore the post-rebellion period in consciousness. It also provides important contextual depth to studies of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia, showing that the roots of an ideology's appeal are often embedded in traumatic and complex local histories, rather than solely in imported global narratives (Ali, 2016). Secara praktis, pemahaman mendalam tentang mekanisme transmisi memori kolektif merupakan prasyarat untuk merancang kebijakan dan program yang efektif dan berkelanjutan untuk pembangunan perdamaian, rekonsiliasi, dan deradikalisasi di Sulawesi Selatan (Schulze & Hwang, 2024).

Interventions that ignore the political power and dynamics of memory in regions bearing such historical wounds are likely to remain superficial and prone to failure, as they fail to engage with the deepest layers where meaning, identity, and ultimately, the choice to consent to or participate in violence, are formed. Capturing and analysing these 'echoes of rebellion' is an intellectual and social imperative for understanding the present and shaping a more peaceful future in the region. The specific mechanisms and intensity of DI/TII memory transmission cannot be understood separately from a study of the unique socio-cultural context of South Sulawesi. Several key characteristics of this region make it a highly resonant echo chamber for rebellion (Rerung & Susanta, 2024).

First, the Bugis-Makassar community in South Sulawesi is known for its strong sense of local identity and historical pride, often reflected in the concept of *siri'* (shame, honour, self-respect). The historical narrative of resistance and defiance against external forces, from the Dutch colonial forces to the central government of Indonesia, is an important part of this collective identity (Andini, 2017). The DI/TII rebellion, led by a local figure (Kahar Muzakkar was a Bugis nobleman), was easily assimilated into the broader narrative template of defending honour and autonomy. The rebellion was thus not a foreign historical anomaly, but could be framed as a chapter in a longer saga of local struggle (Druce, 2020).

Secondly, the social structure is deeply embedded in an extensive kinship network and a customary legal system (*pangngaderreng*) that governs social relations, including obligations of loyalty and mutual support. This network is a highly effective channel for the transmission of memory across generations (Karaeng, 2024). Stories about family members who fought alongside Kahar, family heirlooms from that period, or oral histories about the hardships endured during the conflict are passed down within this intimate circle. This transmission is imbued with an emotional weight and sense of personal connection that cannot be replicated by abstract history books. Memories become familial, not just historical (BS Harvey, 1989a).

Third, South Sulawesi has a dense and influential Islamic education ecosystem. Islamic boarding schools are not only centers of religious teaching but also important hubs for social networking and identity formation. Several boarding schools have direct or indirect historical links to the DI/TII period, either through sympathetic founders or through a line of religious scholars who share the movement's ideological concerns about the relationship between Islam and the state. (Azizah, 2020). In this environment, discussions about history can blend with religious lessons, and figures such as Kahar Muzakkar can be referred to—sometimes explicitly, sometimes subtly—as examples of steadfastness (*istiqamah*) or sacrifice (*jihad*) for religion. This sanctifies historical memory, grafting it onto religious identity (Karaeng, 2024).

Fourth, the post-1998 Reform era created political openings for the re-emergence of previously suppressed narratives. Decentralisation empowered local identities, and a freer climate allowed for more open discussion of regional history, including narratives that contradicted the official New Order narrative (Pratisti et al., 2019). This allows for a more public circulation of literature, seminars, and discussions about DI/TII, enabling memory to transition from a highly personal and guarded transmission to a more publicly accessible cultural resource, albeit one that remains contested.

Finally, the spillover effects of sectarian conflict in Poso (Central Sulawesi) in the early 2000s created a renewed context of tension and communal violence, which made narratives of religious struggle and defence highly relevant (Schulze & Chernov Hwang, 2024). For some people in South Sulawesi, the conflict in Poso is viewed through the prism of an ongoing struggle to defend the Muslim community, creating a receptive audience for historical narratives that frame similar struggles in the past as necessary and heroic. This contemporary context ‘fills’ the historical memory of DI/TII with new urgency and relevance, facilitating its functional activation. (IPAC, 2022).

## METHOD

Given the interdisciplinary nature of this investigation—encompassing history, sociology, and memory studies—and the need to synthesise diverse source material, this research employs a Systematic Literature Review methodology (SLR). The SLR protocol provides a rigorous, transparent, and replicable framework for identifying, selecting, and critically evaluating relevant research and primary sources to answer specific research questions regarding mnemonic transmission (Marzi et al., 2025).

The process began with the development of a protocol, defining the main research question: Through what mechanisms, and for what purposes, is the collective memory of the DI/TII rebellion (1953-1965) transmitted and mobilized in contemporary South Sulawesi? Based on this, a comprehensive search strategy was designed. Keywords and Boolean operators combine terms related to historical events (DI/TII, Darul Islam South Sulawesi, Kahar Muzakkar), concepts of memory (collective memory, cultural memory, oral history, trauma), and contemporary phenomena (radicalism, ideology, transmission, South Sulawesi identity). The search was conducted in various academic databases, Indonesian research institution repositories and relevant think tank websites (e.g. Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict - IPAC, International Crisis Group) - (IGC).

The screening and selection process involves historical methodology (Kuntowijoyo, 2005). Using the SLR approach, first, titles and abstracts are screened for relevance. The inclusion criteria require sources to: 1) directly discuss DI/TII in Sulawesi, its historical context, or its legacy; 2) discuss mechanisms of cultural/ideological transmission, the formation of collective memory, or identity in South Sulawesi; or 3) analyze contemporary religious or political movements in the region

with potential historical connections. Sources focusing solely on military history without socio-cultural analysis, or on other regions of Indonesia without a connection to Sulawesi, were excluded. Second, the full texts of the selected sources were obtained and subjected to a more in-depth critical assessment for credibility, depth of analysis, and relevance to transmission mechanisms (Marzi et al., 2025).

The core of the methodology is data extraction and synthesis. It focuses on a) the content of DI/TII memories presented (heroic, traumatic, political); b) identified transmission channels (family, Islamic boarding schools, literature, digital media); c) actors involved in curating or mobilizing memories; and d) the perceived function or outcome of this transmission. The extracted data is then synthesized using thematic analysis. Codes are developed inductively from the data (e.g., 'family storytelling,' 'pesantren as mnemonic communities,' 'framing as local jihad') and grouped into overarching themes that constitute the findings of this article. This systematic approach ensures that the analysis is based on a comprehensive review of the available evidence, reducing selection bias and allowing for the identification of consistent patterns across different types of sources—from academic historiography and ethnographic studies to policy reports and documented legal testimonies from terrorism cases.

## **FINDING AND DISCUSSION**

### **Research Findings: Transmission, Mobilization, and Implications of DI/TII Memory in South Sulawesi**

Studi ini berhasil memetakan arsitektur sosial-budaya yang kompleks yang menopang narasi Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) yang dipimpin oleh Kahar Muzakkar di Sulawesi Selatan. Melalui pendekatan historis dan analisis memori kolektif, temuan menunjukkan bahwa pemberontakan, yang secara resmi berakhir pada tahun 1965, sebenarnya tidak pernah benar-benar berakhir (Dinal Maula, 2025). It underwent a fundamental metamorphosis from an armed political movement into a 'living memory'—a collective narrative that is continuously reproduced, transmitted, and reconstructed. This process did not occur in a vacuum, but within an ecosystem consisting of specific transmission channels, driven by strategic actors, and interacting dialectically with global ideological forces (IPAC, 2023). The following are three main points that summaries the overall dynamics, ranging from the transmission mechanism, the process of ideological mobilization and synthesis, to the implications for peace policy.

#### **Ekosistem Transmisi: Saluran Privat, Sakral, dan Digital Memori DI/TII**

The preservation of DI/TII memory in South Sulawesi cannot be separated from three main transmission channels that form a mutually reinforcing ecosystem. The first channel, and the most resistant to change, is the extensive family and kinship network (extended family) (Andini, 2017). It is in this private space that these memories find their most intimate and emotional form. In many households, especially in former strongholds such as Sinjai, Bulukumba, or the interior, Kahar Muzakkar—or familiarly known as 'Commander Kahar'—is not a historical figure in books, but part of the family lineage, a neighbour, or a respected figure in small communities. Transmission occurs through oral storytelling between generations, a tradition that holds high authority in Bugis-Makassar culture, which values oral tradition and literature (BS Harvey, 1989b). These stories are often triggered by physical artefacts: a heirloom keris (traditional dagger) that was supposedly used by a family member who fought in the war, a faded black and white photograph, or documents such as job applications kept as proof of loyalty (Druce, 2016).

The narrative tends to be heroic and personal, emphasizing Kahar's character as a charismatic figure, a devout and ascetic worshipper, a just leader, and most often, as a victim of political and military betrayal (Interview). Alongside this, there are also stories of the family's suffering during the military crackdown and suppression—about houses being burned, families being detained, or lives being displaced (Proietti, 2025). In the context of *siri' na pacce* culture (pride and solidarity), the DI/TII narrative is framed as a struggle to defend collective honour against a central power that is considered oppressive and disrespectful of local Islamic identity. At this level, the memory of DI/TII has become a core component of family identity. It is a symbolic legacy that

carries a double burden: pride in principled steadfastness and sacrifice, as well as historical wounds and resentment over defeat and stigmatization. The effectiveness of this channel lies in its informal, closed and trusting nature. It operates in the dining room, in conversations on the porch, or in whispers between parents and children, making it almost immune to formal and mass counter-narratives from the state or outside parties. (Azizah, 2020).

The second channel that provides religious structure and legitimacy to this memory is Islamic educational institutions, particularly certain Islamic boarding schools. While transmission within families is fragmentary and emotional, Islamic boarding schools play a role in systematising and sanctifying these narratives. In *pesantren* environments that have historical ties to DI/TII-supporting clerics or that ideologically agree with the idea of an Islamic state, the history of Kahar Muzakkar's struggle is integrated into the informal religious teaching curriculum (Dinal Maula, 2025). These stories are not taught in history lessons, but are slipped into lessons on monotheism, *fiqh*, or morals. For example, the steadfastness of Kahar and his followers in surviving in the forest can be used to illustrate the concept of *Istiqamah* (steadfastness in faith) or patience in the face of trials. Their rejection of the secular ideology of the Republic can be linked to lessons about the obligation to reject *thaghut* (systems or forces that oppose Allah). In this process, *kiai* or *ustadz* act as highly influential 'curators of memory' (Farida, 2015).

They select and interpret historical events, choosing aspects that fit the religious doctrine they wish to convey, while perhaps obscuring other aspects that are more political or controversial. The total, intensive, and relatively closed environment of the *pesantren* creates a strong 'community of interpretation'. Within it, this sacralised narrative is validated by the authority of the *kiai*, repeated on various occasions during recitations, and reinforced through daily interactions among the *santri*. Thus, *pesantren* not only preserve memory, but transform it into part of a coherent religious worldview. They also function as social networks that connect children from different families who share similar memories, expanding the circle of narrative owners from the private sphere of the family to a more structured religious community with a mission of *da'wah* (Budiyanto et al., 2020).

The third channel, which experienced rapid development in the post-Reformation era, was the circulation of alternative literature and digital space. Freedom of expression has opened the floodgates for the publication of books, memoirs and treatises discussing the DI/TII from a sympathetic, even hagiographic perspective. Although not available in general bookshops, this literature circulates in certain circles, through religious study networks, Islamic bookshops, or sold directly at religious events (Schulze & Liow, 2019). However, the most dramatic transformation occurred with the rise of digital memory. Platforms such as WhatsApp, Telegram, Facebook Groups, YouTube, and blogs became new and highly dynamic mediums. Within them, DI/TII memory is reproduced in various formats: scans of old documents and newspapers, recordings of lectures by religious teachers praising Kahar's struggle, self-made documentary videos with dramatic narration, and even popular content such as memes and graphic quotes that spread short messages about the 'exemplary nature of the DI/TII fighters' (Shodiq, 2021). This digital space creates an 'imagined community' that transcends the geographical boundaries of South Sulawesi. Someone from Pinrang who is newly interested in this narrative can connect with information sources and discussion groups in Makassar or even with sympathisers outside Sulawesi (interview 2025).

Digitalisation accelerates dissemination, enables interactivity that reinforces beliefs through group discussions, and most importantly, serves as a 'gateway to radicalisation' (Shodiq, 2021). For younger generations who may only inherit fragments of stories from their grandparents, this structured and ideologically charged digital content often serves as a starting point for more serious study, which can then lead them to more radical literature and networks. These three channels—private, sacred, and digital—are not separate entities (international crisis group, 2004). They are interrelated and reinforce each other. A narrative heard at home can find doctrinal justification in Islamic boarding schools and then be disseminated and discussed in social media groups, forming a cycle of memory reproduction that is continuous and difficult to break (Dinal Maula, 2025).

## Activation and Synthesis: The Power of Memory and the Localisation of Transnational Ideology

Preserved memories will only become nostalgia if they are not activated for present purposes. This is where this research finds the crucial role of actors who function as ‘memory entrepreneurs’ (Krawatzek, 2020). They are individuals—they may be itinerant preachers, charismatic community leaders, writers, digital content managers, or ideologues in radical groups—who consciously and strategically mobilise the collective memory of DI/TII for contemporary agendas (IPAC, 2016). Their core action is to perform ‘frame alignment’. They take the main frames in the DI/TII narrative, such as ‘holy war against the thaghut state’, ‘the struggle to uphold Islamic law’, or ‘martyrdom’, and then align them with the current reality, which is full of (grievances.) (Schulze & Chernov Hwang, 2024). These grievances can be very local: a sense of injustice in development, rampant corruption among the regional elite, or the marginalisation of Islamic values in public policy. They can also be national or global in nature: the handling of the conflict in Poso, which is considered unfair; the persecution of Uighur Muslims in China; or Israeli aggression in Palestine. With rhetorical skill, these memory entrepreneurs stitch together current grievances with historical wounds from the past (Aulia et al., 2023). They argue that the root of the problem is the same: a system that is not based on Allah's law, which was once opposed by Kahar Muzakkar and now exists in a more modern and global form. (IPAC, 2022). The narrative that has been constructed is one of an ‘unfinished struggle’. DI/TII is not seen as a historical mistake or a defeated movement, but as a precursor movement whose vision was correct, only to fail to be realised due to untimely timing, limited resources, or betrayal (Orynbekov et al., 2023). The task of the current generation, they claim, is to continue the struggle in ways that are appropriate to the current context.

This mobilisation process reaches its maximum potential when it encounters and combines with the ideology of transnational jihadism promoted by groups such as Al-Qaeda or ISIS. (Sahasrad & Chaidar, 2018b). This encounter gave birth to a synthesis known as glocalisation—a process whereby the global becomes local, and the local acquires a global dimension. (Sahasrad & Chaidar, 2018a). For propagandists and recruiters of transnational networks, the history of the DI/TII resistance is an invaluable asset. Rather than presenting narratives about the ‘Caliphate’ or ‘Global Jihad’ as something completely foreign and imported from the Middle East, they cleverly package them in familiar and proud local historical contexts. Their message is roughly: ‘The struggle to establish the Islamic State that we are fighting for is not a dream from a distant land.’ (IPAC, 2016). Ia adalah cita-cita yang sama yang pernah diperjuangkan dengan darah dan air mata oleh pahlawan-pahlawan Islam tanah Sulawesi, Kahar Muzakkar dan para mujahidinnnya. Mereka adalah pejuang-pejuang terbaik kita. Kami tidak membawa sesuatu yang baru, kami hanya menghidupkan kembali dan menyempurnakan perjuangan suci mereka di pentas dunia yang lebih luas” (Interview Informan 2025). This synthesis has an extraordinary appeal for several reasons. Firstly, it provides a very deep historical legitimacy.

Transnational ideologies are no longer seen as imported goods without roots, but as a revival of local ideals that were once alive and fought for by the ‘sons of the region’ themselves. This answers and refutes accusations that they are foreign agents (Orynbekov et al., 2023). Secondly, he personalised and rooted abstract and harsh doctrines. Theological concepts such as ‘the obligation to eradicate thaghut’ or ‘migration to war zones’ became concrete and emotional when linked to real stories of resistance in the forests of Sulawesi, family sacrifices, and resistance against the Republic's army (Schulze & Hwang, 2024). Thirdly, it evokes a sense of responsibility and historical debt.

Young people who grew up with heroic stories from their grandparents or great-grandparents about DI/TII may feel morally compelled to ‘fulfil the promise’ and ‘complete the struggle’ that was interrupted. Joining the global struggle that is claimed to be its continuation becomes a form of piety and respect for their ancestors. Therefore, activated local memory becomes a golden bridge to radicalisation, providing a strong emotional and cultural foundation for the adoption of global violent ideology. This explains why in the discourse, testimonies, or even propaganda of groups such as the East Indonesian Mujahideen (MIT) in Poso or the pro-ISIS

network in South Sulawesi, pride and references to the history of DI/TII are often found as part of the construction of their jihadist identity. (IPAC, 2022).

### **Implications and Reorientation: The Politics of Memory as a Path to Peace**

The findings of this research are not only academically valuable but also have urgent and practical implications for peace efforts, violence prevention, and deradicalisation in South Sulawesi. The first and most fundamental implication is the deconstruction of the rigid analytical dichotomy between 'local' and 'transnational' drivers in the study of radicalism (Nopian Gustari et al., 2021). This study clearly shows that these two dimensions do not stand alone but rather coexist organically and reinforce each other. Transnational ideologies require an emotional and narrative foundation in the local context to 'land' and be accepted by a particular community. Conversely, latent local narratives gain an ideological 'upgrade', a broader theoretical framework, a global network, and a more epic sense of purpose from transnational ideology.

Therefore, a counter-terrorism approach that focuses solely on global aspects—such as cutting off foreign funding, blocking ISIS propaganda websites, or simply deconstructing the narrative of the caliphate in Arabic—will be like hitting water in a tray, splashing everywhere but not touching the container (Orynbekov et al., 2023). Such an approach fails to address the historical and cultural roots that provide fertile ground for the seeds of global ideology to grow. The real threat lies not only in imported ideology, but in its ability to localise, that is, to merge with local memory and identity. (Bachleitner, 2022).

The second implication, which is no less important, is the need for a radical reorientation of deradicalisation and peacebuilding policies. Deradicalisation programmes, which have often been generic, nationally standardised, and overly focused on counter-narratives against ISIS, have proven to be ineffective and fail to resonate in regions such as South Sulawesi. (Nechaeva, 2020). The findings of this study point to the need to develop an approach that dares to delve into a more sensitive but crucial realm: the politics of memory (Pratisti et al., 2019). This means that the state, together with civil society, must proactively create an inclusive, safe and well-managed space for dialogue to discuss the history of the DI/TII critically and comprehensively. This dialogue must involve all memory stakeholders: victims and survivors from all sides (civilians, former members of the DI/TII, and families of officials), historians, community leaders, clerics and the younger generation (Nopian Gustari et al., 2021). The aim is not to judge or declare a winner, but to decompress a single, mythologised narrative.

The public needs to be encouraged to view this history in all its complexity: as a product of post-revolutionary political disappointment, as a movement that had sincere religious dimensions but also resorted to violence, as a humanitarian tragedy that caused widespread suffering on all sides, and as a chapter that was ultimately resolved—albeit imperfectly—within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. By unravelling the tangled threads of historical facts, collective trauma, and political instrumentalisation, it is hoped that simplistic narratives that are easily mobilised for violence will lose their power.

The third implication is the importance of empowering local moderate actors as 'counter-memory providers'. To counter the narratives mobilised by radical memory entrepreneurs, an equally compelling and credible counterforce is needed at the local level (Krawatzek, 2020). Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, academics, historians, cultural figures, and traditional leaders who have authority must be encouraged to actively engage in this discourse. They need to offer a constructive and soothing alternative reading of history (Farida, 2015). This reading emphasises that a strong Islamic spirit does not necessarily lead to separatism or violence; that the true struggle is to build justice and prosperity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; and that the greatest lesson from the history of DI/TII is precisely how costly and tragic armed conflict is, so that peaceful means and deliberation must always be prioritised. In addition, critical and contextual history education must be strengthened, both in public schools and Islamic boarding schools. The younger generation needs to be equipped with historical thinking skills that enable them to analyse sources, understand context, and assess various claims about the past, so that they are not easily trapped in simplified and manipulated narratives.

Ultimately, this study concludes that sustainable and lasting peace in South Sulawesi cannot be built by burying or ignoring the past. On the contrary, peace must be built on the foundation of honest reconciliation with collective memory. The people of South Sulawesi need to be accompanied through a shared process: acknowledging different historical wounds, understanding how these wounds are passed down and can be exploited, and collectively committing to transforming this divisive historical legacy into a source of shared wisdom that unites. Ignoring the ‘echoes of rebellion’ of the DI/TII is tantamount to allowing a social time bomb to continue ticking. Only with the courage to listen, understand, and reconcile conflicting memories can South Sulawesi truly transcend the shadows of its history and build a more peaceful and inclusive future for all its children..

## CONCLUSIONS

Based on all the analyses conducted, this study concludes that contemporary radicalism in South Sulawesi cannot be understood as a sudden and purely imported phenomenon, but rather as the result of a long and complex process of transmission and transformation of collective memory. The historical narrative of Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII) led by Kahar Muzakkar (1953-1965) has successfully transmuted from an armed rebellion into a ‘living memory’ that continues to be reproduced through private (family and kinship), sacred (certain Islamic boarding schools), and digital channels. This memory is then strategically activated and mobilised by ‘memory entrepreneurs’—through the alignment of frames with current socio-political grievances—thus transforming it into a powerful source of legitimacy. The peak of danger occurs when this activated local memory combines with transnational jihadist ideology in a process of glocalisation, in which the global narrative of the caliphate successfully takes root and gains deep emotional appeal through identification with the heroic struggle of ‘local sons. The urgent implication of these findings is the need to overhaul counter-terrorism and deradicalisation approaches that have been overly focused on global and generic aspects, towards approaches that dare to touch on local memory politics. Sustainable peace in South Sulawesi can only be built through honest reconciliation with the past, namely by creating an inclusive space for dialogue to unravel the complexities of the DI/TII history, empowering local moderate actors as conveyors of counter-narratives, and strengthening critical history education, so that memories that have long divided can be transformed into unifying collective wisdom.

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