



## Hijrah and Islamic Movement in Indonesia: Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo's Perspective

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### **Abstract**

#### **Purpose**

*The study aimed to understand the concept of Hijrah as perceived by Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo or commonly known as Kartosuwiryo who was encouraged to establish the movement of Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) as a jihad (struggle) against injustice in all life aspects of Indonesian citizen.*

#### **Method**

*The study applied historical research that comprised of four stages, namely heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The research relied on the primary data of newspaper articles, magazines, journal articles, books, and other written documents. The data were qualitatively analyzed to identify the concept of Hijrah that Kartosuwiryo perceived.*

#### **Results/Findings**

*The study revealed that Kartosuwiryo thought that Indonesia in the colonialization period was similar to the age of ignorance. The human exploitation through slavery and violence triggered to establish DI/TII movement to change Indonesia as Islamic state and implement Islam in all aspects of life.*

#### **Conclusion**

*The study concluded that Kartosuwiryo perceived Hijrah as a jihad against injustice implemented through establishing DI/TII movement. It was intended to break the injustice in all life aspects of Indonesian citizens.*

#### **Keywords**

*Hijrah; Jihad; DI/TII; Kartosuwiryo.*

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## Abstrak

### Tujuan

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk memahami konsep Hijrah menurut Perspektif Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo yang lebih dikenal dengan Kartosuwiryo yang terdorong untuk mendirikan gerakan Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI/TII) sebagai jihad (perjuangan) melawan ketidakadilan dalam segala aspek kehidupan warga negara Indonesia.

### Metode

Kajian ini menggunakan penelitian sejarah yang terdiri dari empat tahap, yaitu heuristik, verifikasi, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Penelitian ini mengandalkan data primer yang berupa artikel surat kabar, majalah, artikel jurnal, buku, dan dokumen tertulis lainnya. Seluruh data dianalisis secara kualitatif sehingga dapat ditemukan konsep hijrah yang dipahami oleh Kartosuwiryo.

### Hasil/Temuan

Kajian tersebut mengungkapkan bahwa Kartosuwiryo menganggap Indonesia pada masa penjajahan seperti dengan kondisi masyarakat pada zaman jahiliyah. Eksploitasi manusia melalui perbudakan dan kekerasan memicu lahirnya gerakan DI/TII yang bertujuan untuk mengubah Indonesia menjadi negara Islam dan menerapkan Islam dalam segala aspek kehidupan.

### Kesimpulan

Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahwa Kartosuwiryo memandang Hijrah sebagai jihad melawan ketidakadilan yang dilaksanakan melalui pembentukan gerakan DI/TII yang dimaksudkan untuk mendobrak ketidakadilan dalam segala aspek kehidupan warga negara Indonesia.

### Kata Kunci

Hijrah; Jihad; DI/TII; Kartosuwiryo

## المخلص

### الهدف

هدفت الدراسة إلى فهم مفهوم الهجرة كما يراه سكارماجي ماريان كارتوسويريو أو المعروف باسم كارتوسويريو الذي تم تشجيعه على تأسيس حركة Darul Islam / Tentara Islam Indonesia (DI / TII) كجهد ضد الظلم في جميع جوانب الإندونيسيين

### الطريقة

وقد طبقت الدراسة بحثاً تاريخياً يتكون من أربع مراحل، منها: الكشف عن مجريات الأمور، والتحقق، والتفسير، والتأريخ. و اعتمد البحث على البيانات الأولية للمقالات الصحفية والمجلات والمقالات والكتب وغيرها من الوثائق المكتوبة. و تم تحليل البيانات نوعياً للتعرف على مفهوم الهجرة الذي أدركه كارتوسويريو.

### النتائج

وكشفت الدراسة أن كارتوسويريو يعتقد أن إندونيسيا في فترة الاستعمار تشبه عصر الجهل. و أدى الاستغلال البشري من خلال العبودية والعنف إلى تأسيس حركة DI / TII لتغيير إندونيسيا كدولة إسلامية وتطبيق الإسلام في جميع جوانب الحياة.

### الخاتمة

وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن كارتوسويريو ينظر إلى الهجرة على أنها جهد ضد الظلم الذي يتم تنفيذه من خلال إنشاء حركة DI / TII. كان القصد منه كسر الظلم في جميع جوانب حياة المواطنين الإندونيسيين.

### الكلمات الرئيسية

الهجرة؛ الجهاد؛ DI / TII؛ كارتوسويريو

## INTRODUCTION

The Islamic teachings and doctrines develop along with the complexities of life undergone by Moslems. one of Islamic doctrines that was important for them is Hijrah. It was a concept that had been known since the migration of the Prophet Muhammad SAW from Mecca to Medina even before that. The concept of Hijrah cannot be separated from the whole context of Islam because seen from its history, the Prophets known to Muslims before Muhammad SAW also migrated. The holly Qur'an elaborates that Allah had emigrated the Prophet Adam AS who moved from the sky to the earth, Prophet Noah (as) who asked his followers to emigrate from the land to sea with his ark. That was what Hijrah meant in the early Islam. Currently, Hijrah does not only mean moving from one place to other place, but it also means all efforts done by Moslem to live better in according to Islamic teaching and doctrines (Suarni, 2017).

Such doctrine of Hijrah understanding influenced right-wing figures in Indonesia, especially Kartosuwiryo. Kartosuwiryo was the leader of the Islamic separatist movement in Indonesia; and his goal was to build Darul Islam with the end result of establishing the Islamic State of Indonesia and its armed forces (Suryana, 2019). This separatist movement, commonly known as DI/TII, was considered by the local government to be a rebel movement based in West Java. In its development, DI/TII became a movement to destroy secularism and anti-colonial movements (Formichi, 2012). One of the concepts that Kartosuwiryo offered to establish an Islamic state was the Hijrah which he did while serving at Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia (PSII) in 1936. The PSII introduced Hijrah through a brochure published in two volumes. The brochure contained five sub-chapters. In the first volume it discussed about religion and humans, it also included the history of PSII and in the second volume it contained the meaning of Hijrah seen from a historical perspective in the Qur'an (Kartosuwiryo, 2018).

Previously, there have been several previous studies discussing the Hijrah and also the DI/TII movement, including research conducted by Supyan written in 2016. In his thesis he described the efforts and motives that prompted Kartosuwiryo in realizing the Islamic State of Indonesia through DI/TII movement in West Java. The DI/TII movement in West Java was one of the main research subjects. While, the current research focused more on Kartosuwiryo's concept of Hijrah which was one of the backgrounds of the DI/II movement in West Java.

Differently another study described the DI/TII movement in Aceh was as a means of social mobility which at that time the central government was unable to handle until DI/TII became a way out to be free from worrying conditions. It was because it did not receive special attention from the government (Minarva & Bukhari, 2017). Suryana (2019) in his article elaborated that the concept of Hijrah was used as a political path of the diplomacy that carried the image of Islam as a continuation of PSII's goal led by HOS Cokroaminoto to form Darul Islam. The concept and meaning of Hijrah according to this study was considered different from the previous history of Moslems, especially in the context of Indonesia. It is known that the concept of Hijrah came from Kartosuwiryo as a means of political diplomacy with the invaders. From this research, the writer wants to discuss what Hijrah was as Kartosuwiryo perceived, and how the concept of Hijrah was then applied by his DI/TII Movement.

## METHOD

The study made use of a qualitative approach which was commonly used in the social sciences and humanities. It depended so much on verbal data oral and written sources which did not require any statistics or calculations to analyze (Afrizal, 2019). The study used a historical design which tried to elaborate data and other information seen a historical point of view (Afroni, 2019). It comprised of four stages of heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography. In the heuristic stage, the relevant data were gathered from written sources in available in online and offline libraries. The next

stage was verification intended to verify data sources externally to determine their accuracy and authenticity; and internally to determine the credibility of data sources whether they were deemed sufficient. The next step was that the verified source entered the interpretation stage by providing a more in-depth analysis, and reconstructing events. After having analyzed the results, the next step was to rewrite it in historical terms called historiography (Zulaicha, 2014).

## FINDING AND DISCUSSION

### The Biography of Kartosuwiryo

Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo is the full name of Kartosuwiryo, born on February 7, 1905 in Cepu which is an area between the Blora and Bojonegoro regions. His father's name was Marijan Kartosuwiryo who was an *opium mantri*. His father died when Kartosuwiryo entered the age of 20 years in 1925. His family background was a *priyayi*, meaning as someone who was considered noble or financially capable and was usually a highly respected position in the feudal system of society. Before the colonial period the *priyayi* were those who had a lineage from Javanese kings; while during the Dutch occupation it referred to people who were under the control of the government and became its accomplice (Geertz, 2014). In 1929 Kartosuwiryo married the daughter of Ajengan Ardiwisastra Dewi Kalsum, a descendant of a noble kiai in Malangbong West Java, and they had twelve children. (Kartosuwiryo, 2019).

Kartosuwiryo spent his early education at *Ongko Loro* school, a special school for indigenous people with no Dutch language subjects. After graduating from his primary education, he continued to Hollands Indlandische School (HIS) in Rembang, Central Java (Kartosuwiryo, 2019). When his family moved to Bojonegoro in 1919, he continued his education at a European school, namely Europeesche Lagere School. This school was founded in 1831 in Sawahan Surabaya. The school that had also given birth to national cadres, like Raden Ajeng Kartini, a famous fighter for women emancipation. Then in 1923, Dengel (2011) confirmed that he enrolled in a medical elementary school called Nederlandsch Indische Arisen School (NIAS). However, he could not continue his education at the medical faculty because of an incident where he was considered a communist. Even in 1927 he was expelled because he found keeping communist and socialist books when a rebellion in the name of the communists occurred, and he was suspected of being one of them. In fact, the books did not belong to him, but to his uncle, Marko Kartodikromo, a popular journalist at the time (Dengel, 2011). In the same year, as he got the encouragement and inspiration of his uncle Kartosuwiryo joined the Jong Java youth organization. It did not take long time for him to become the chairman of the Jong Java branch in Surabaya, and the Jong Islamieten Bond organization in Jakarta (Kartosuwiryo, 2019). The first Jong Islamieten Bond was founded on January 1, 1925 by R. Samsulrijal. It was a form of counter organization to the Jong Java organization which was considered an anti-Islamic organization (Suryanegara, 2016).

After leaving the two youth organizations, Kartosuwiryo entered politics, joining *Partai Serikat Islam* (PSI) in 1927, which later changed its name to the *Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia* (PSSI) in 1930. In 1931 he was appointed as secretary general of PSII at the age of 26. Even until Cokroaminoto died in 1934, he still served as Secretary General of PSII (Dengel, 2011).

Kartosuwiryo's aspiration to make Indonesia as an Islamic state had been seen since he entered politics, meeting HOS Cokroaminoto and other Islamic figures at PSII. The term Darul Islam was closely related to the term hijrah. He implemented Darul Islam by the establishment of an Islamic State whose code of ethics was based on Islamic law. Since becoming a member of a political party, he wanted to separate Islam from the West. Therefore, the idea of establishing an Islamic state was not just a hoax. The cadres of the Indonesian Islamic Army came from the Suffah Institute, namely Hezbollah and Sabilillah troops, who were from West Java region (Dengel, 2011). In 1948, at the PSII

conference in Cisayong, West Java, he was appointed as Imam and Commander of DI/TII, and R. Oni Qital was appointed Commander of the Indonesian Islamic Army. Oni used to be a commander of the Sabilillah troops in West Java. He followed Kartosuwiryo and proclaimed the Islamic State of Indonesia on August 7, 1949 in Tasikmalaya, West Java. In its development DI/TII became a movement to destroy secular and anti-colonial movement (Formichi, 2012). DI/TII controlled almost all areas of West Java, especially around Tasikmalaya such as Sukabumi, Cianjur, Bandung, Bogor, around Mount Salak and Mount Halu. Finally, on June 4, 1962, Komando Daerah Militer III/Siliwangi found Kartosuwiryo in Mount Geber Majalaya. He served a trial on charges of rebel on August 14, 1962, and on the decision of the Army Court Council on August 16, 1962 he was sentenced to death. He was executed by firing squad on September 5 after bidding farewell to his family the day before. He was dispatched by a Navy ship through the port of Tanjung Priok, and was executed at 05.50 AM in Pulau Ubi, Jakarta (Dengel, 2011).

### The Genealogy of Kartosuwiryo's Thought

Kartosuwiryo's lineage of thought was influenced by several aspects, such as the family, two movement organizations, Jong Java and Jong Islamieten Bond, as well as Islamic political organizations from the colonial period to the Japanese occupation, and the social conditions of Indonesian society at that time. All of them formed his very distinctive thinking character. In his family circle, he grew up among the *priyayi* where he used to learn to think secularly and democratically that he was considered a separatist Moslem. With the support of a family he attended elite Dutch schools, such as Ongko Loro, HIS, ELS and later NIAS that enhanced his modern and secular thinking. However, he also got his first Islamic education from Notodiharjo when his parents moved to Bojonegoro. Notodiharjo taught him Islam from his childhood to adolescence because he did not receive a basic education in Islamic boarding schools (Dengel, 2011). Notodiharjo was a Muhammadiyah figure, the thought of a modernist and progressive Muhammadiyah group.

Inheriting the modernity and progressiveness of Islam, Kartosuwiryo became a member of the Jong Islamieten Bond (JIB), where he learned intellectual and modern understanding of Islamic youth organizations as well as he got it in PSI. JIB that was founded by figures who became parts of PSI had a pattern of rules that looked the same by prioritizing puritan and modern aspects. One of them was H. Agus Salim, who had served as chairman of JIB, taking the place of Purbohadijoyo, who was also a member of PSI. Prior to joining JIB, Kartosuwiryo became a member of the Jong Java youth, his leadership spirit had already been formed, as evidenced by his recognition as a leader (Formichi, 2012).

How these two organizations shaped his character. As Jong Java was considered a traditional organization among the Javanese indigenous people and had no clear goals and was very wary of colonialism, Kartosuwiryo decided to join Jong Islamieten Bond and put forward Islamic elements against all forms of colonialism. He educated a cadre of Islamic leaders, in the realm of his organization to be open about his Islam (Formichi, 2012). However, Kartosuwiryo was still considered to lack an understanding of Islam, because he did not attend a *pesantren* education but learned from his religious teacher Notodiharjo, and from literatures of Islamic books published by the West assumed to contain secularism. It was because he did not understand Arabic, and did not either study Islam in Islamic countries (Dengel, 2011). Kartosuwiryo who lived during the Islamic movement, reformist Islam, and conservative Islam developed rapidly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was spearheaded by Jamaludin Al Afghani with his Pan Islamism. Besides, this century was also still in the realm of imperialism and colonialism that had occurred in Eastern countries, including Indonesia. Many Islamic organizations were born from this influence, like SII led by H. Samanhudi. Later when Cokroaminoto took his place, SII became PSII (Iqbal, 2010).

Kartosuwiryo joined SII when he was expelled from the Dutch medical school NIAS in 1927. In this organization he met with HOS Cokroaminoto intensely. Previously, he



had met and became acquainted with the youth organizations of Jong Java and Jong Islamieten Bond (Dengel, 2011). It was different when Kartosuwiryo began to be active in the PSII organization, the large Islamic party organization that pioneered the establishment of other Islamic organizations, as well as organizations that dared to voice their disapproval of colonialism and ideologies that damaged the country's image, and the image of Islam (Suryanegara, 2016). The scope of the organization filled by major Islamic figures included HOS Cokroaminoto who gave Kartosuwiryo the opportunity to join PSII and two months after joining he served as HOS Cokroaminoto's personal secretary. HOS Cokroaminoto was an Islamic nationalist figure, known as a person who was flexible and tolerant, including his views on Islamic, national and social ideals. Cokroaminoto was also regarded as the nation's teacher of influential figures (Dengel, 2011). Influential figures born from Cokroaminoto's ideas were Semaun, who manifested his ideology through Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), Soekarno, who was also referred to as a secular nationalist figure who founded the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), and Kartosuwiryo, who had a secular right wing by forming DI/ TII as a principle of struggle against the invaders through a path that led more to confrontation (Santosa, 2018). His relationship with other HOS Cokroaminoto's students was influenced by his political activities, like discussing with Sukarno (Dengel, 2011).

In addition, Kartosuwiryo learned socialist thought from both Cokroaminoto and his uncle, Marko Kartodikromo. He learned Marxism from his uncle's Marxist and Communist books until he was expelled from NIAS. According to Al Chaidar, Marxist ideology also became an alternative route during the movement because it focused on the resistance to colonialism and imperialism after Jamaludin Al Afghani's Pan Islamism idea received special attention in Indonesia. His Islamic mindset was not only influenced by HOS Cokroaminoto, but it was also influenced by his father-in-law, Ajengan Ardiwisastira, one of the influential people in PSII and a person recognized by the Dutch as *menak* in his position as regent during the Dutch period. He was also a kyai in Tatar Sunda who colorized Sundanese tradition. For the Sundanese people at that time, especially the *menak* was to make Islam a political practice as well as a link between Islamic teachings and the social life of the local community (Formichi, 2012).

Kartosuwiryo was an influential person in West Java society, especially when he served as Secretary General of PSII and chairman of the West Java branch of PSII in 1929. It was a phenomenon of local power domination with a perspective of religious knowledge and even mixed with ancestral habits (syncretism). This influence was a tradition since the days of Islamic kingdoms in the Sunda and Java regions (Formichi, 2012). In Melangbong, which later became the basis of his strategy to carry out his dream of establishing an Islamic state, besides meeting his father-in-law and marrying his wife who was a member of the West Java branch, Kartosuwiryo also learned Islam from local clerics, like Yusuf Tajuri who in the end also opposed his DI/TII movement. His religious experience through an Islamic rural atmosphere that tended to be mystical, made it easier for him to interact with the surrounding community, to get support to realize his movement (Formichi, 2012). During his career at PSII, his patterns of thought and struggle were also formed. Kartosuwiryo discovered the implications of the struggle against colonialism, such as the Indian movement, namely the Swadeshi Mahatma Gandhi Movement in India. This movement was also a symbol of rejection of West colonialism and all kinds of influences. Swadeshi itself meant the use of domestic products and boycotting foreign products (Hartati, 2017). When PSSI was led by Abikusno after HOS Cokroaminoto died in 1934, Kartosuwiryo's concept of hijrah and Islamic view remained consistent even though PSII was later disbanded during the Japanese occupation. At that time, he became a part of Majelis Islam 'Ala Indonesia (MIAI). However, he did not more about politics because Japan had banned political activities. A year later, Kartosuwiryo became a part of Djawa Hokokai with Sayuti Melok ( Sayuti Atmoprasodjo), SK Trimurti and Samanang. When he stayed in Jakarta, Kartosuwiryo began to discuss about Jaya Baya's predictions with his neighbor, Atmoprasodjo. In his discussions, he often talked about abstract

things, which made Atmoprasodyo think that he followed a mystical school (Dengel, 2011).

### Kartosuwiryo's Hijrah Concept

Hijrah as narrated in the Qur'an happened to the prophets of Allah with the different contexts. The Prophet Adam AS moved from the heaven to the earth; Prophet Noah AS asked his followers to onboard his ship moving to the north to escape from the flood; and many others that conveyed various meanings (Suarni, 2017). Ibn Kathir said that Hijrah is a way for Moslems not only to safe from the current of disbelief, but also to get the honor, freedom, peace and prosperity of Islam. The essence of Hijrah is to encourage Moslems to understand the nature of being a Muslim (Bukay, 2016). For Al Qurtubi Hijrah means moving from one place to another in the hope of getting goodness and guarantees of safety. Meanwhile, Ibn Taimiyah and Ibn Arabi interpret Hijrah as the same as the meaning of Hijrah Sharia, namely by leaving an infidel country to an Islamic land because of an emergency, such pressure from others and so on (Zuhri, 2019).

However, currently Hijrah known to Moslems means the migration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina as a manifestation of the highest peak of the spread of Islam in the world by establishing a Daulah Islamiyah in Medina. It is known in various Islamic histories that before the Hijrah event, jihad was preceded by a period of defending and fighting anyone who obstructed Islamic law. Therefore, before doing Hijrah, Moslem should take jihad as main way (Al Usairy, 2017). Q.S Al-Baqarah 218 reads:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أُولَٰئِكَ يَرْجُونَ رَحْمَتَ اللَّهِ ۚ وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

"Indeed, those who have believed, those who emigrated and fought in the way of Allah, they hope for Allah's mercy, and Allah is Forgiving, Most Merciful."

In Sahih Muslim as narrated by 'Aisha RA, when the Prophet Muhammad SAW was asked about migration, he replied:

فَانْفِرُوا اسْتَغْنَوْكُمْ جِهَادٌ وَإِذَا وَنِيَّةٌ، وَلَكِنْ الْفَتْحَ بَعْدَ هِجْرَةٍ لَا

"There is no migration after Fathu Makkah, there is only jihad and intention (to do good). And if you are asked to fight, then you go to war."

This means that Hijrah after *Fathul-Makkah* was considered a form of maintaining the Islamic principles brought by the Prophet Muhammad SAW in opening the doors for Islam to spread in this world by fighting in the way of Allah (Al Mundziri, 2013). Al Maududi said Hijrah does not have to move from infidel countries but it is an attempt to illustrate the superiority of Islam in infidel countries that is full of pressure and corruption. It is because Moslems have the potential to lead humans by the way of Hijrah and jihad to enforce Islamic law in the form of a caliphate (Bukay, 2016). This then gives rise to a new understanding of the Islamic Movement (Hijrah) which is considered the embodiment of Islamic revivalism, conservative Islam, commodification of religion, and rebranding of Islam (Fuad, 2020).

### Hijrah as a Movement

The Hijrah after *Fathul Makkah* echoed the spirit of reform to change the order of life, not only about migration to other places but also migration to a spiritual and moral perspective. Its embodiment is also conveyed in the views of the Qur'an and Hadith regarding the implementation of the Hijrah movement, namely jihad in the way of Allah. According to Muhammad Iqbal "Stopping has no place in Your path, indolence means death, those who move are those who will advance, those who wait even for a moment

will be crushed." That is the life guide for a movement. What Muhammad Iqbal said was also implemented in a large movement led by Hasan Al Banna, an influential Middle Eastern figure through the Muslim Brotherhood guided by Islamic rights. It was also stated that the essence of Hijrah was to establish an Islamic state that Muslim Brotherhood had tried to implement. Here are Muslim Brotherhood movement's ten principles: (Rusli, 2014).

Al-Fahm, open understanding that everyone understands and believes that the ideology of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn is solely Islam.

Al-Ikhlās, the most basic principle of all life goals that is seeking the pleasure of Allah.

Al-Amal, all forms of good intentions will be realized with good deeds as well.

Al-Jihad, the path taken to achieve the *maqomat* of Islam in order to achieve the goal of defending the religion of Allah.

Al-Tadhhiyah, scarifying the soul, property, time, life and everything to achieve a goal.

Al-Tha'at, carrying out all orders sincerely in all circumstances.

Al-Thabat meaning the determination, effort and struggle to achieve a goal with the consequence of winning or being martyred.

Al-Tajarrud meaning the chastity to avoid all forms of usury that have nothing to do with the development of Islamic values.

Al-Ukhuwwah, forming a bond of brotherhood based on the same creed by taking shelter in the same creed to be able to maintain the harmony of the ummah.

Al-Tsigah, trusting and respecting the leader.

These principles are carried out by the Muslim Brotherhood as a guide to realizing its goals, starting with activities that focus on improving various aspects of life in Egypt to using Islamic rules that are considered very qualified and ideal.

At first the movement was only engaged in da'wah, education, social and economic activities (Rusli, 2014). After the revolution in Egypt, the goal of the Muslim Brotherhood changed its direction, the path towards the inevitability of Islam, Islamic renewal and the purification of Islam by connecting it by not separating aspects of leadership, worship, religion and state to come down to the ground. Darul Islam contains the meaning of spiritual aspects with tangible forms of deeds, connotes prayer with struggle, law with obedience, even linking manuscripts and weapons. Thus, Hasan Al Banna explained the reason that Islam was an ideal religion that implied the best way of life and system was Islam as the Qur'an and Sunnah has answered all the challenges of the times.

It was further emphasized that the Muslim Brotherhood Movement also held a general assembly to determine its position around 1945. It was intended to strengthen its goals and aspirations by taking the form of confrontation by holding military exercises, forming battalions and coordinating with loyalty (Rusli, 2014). Even according to David Bukay that the Moslem Brotherhood has made the basis concept of Hijrah as a form of civilizational Jihad to build Islam which was considered ideal in a country (Bukay, 2016). Similarly, in carrying out Islamic da'wah or uphold Islamic principles, if there is a conflict it is allowed to fight commodification of religion, and rebranding of Islam (Qardhawi, 2010; Fuad, 2020).

The Muslim Brotherhood movement after the declaration of confrontation was solely to prevent Islamic countries from being invaded by Muslim territories, one of which was Egypt. To reject all forms of domination, the Muslim Brotherhood launched a rejection of the government which chose to negotiate with Britain (Rusli, 2014). The Muslim Brotherhood movement was only one movement in the name of Islam as the basis of the struggle. In other parts of the world, there were still many such groups, one of which was in Indonesia, the DI/TII Movement which made Islam its basis and goal. The concept of Hijrah offered by Kartosuwiryo also echoed the spirit of jihad. With the establishment of DI/TII as a forum for the movement to realize the creation of Darul Islam. Proclaiming the establishment of an Islamic State of Indonesia, as stated by the Muslim Brotherhood above,



Kartosuwiryo confirmed DI/TII movement was also to establish an Islamic state with all aspects of its life based on Islamic law, and not tolerating and all forms of colonization and oppression of Islam (Kartosuwiryo, 2019).

Kartosuwiryo's concept of hijrah was born from the Islamic political organization PSII. For him, the concept of Hijrah as a strategy for dealing with the increasingly troubling colonial political situation, divided into two volumes of brochures with five chapters of discussion. The first was about the correlation between religion and humans, the second was the state of Mecca before the Hijra, the third was the migration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. The four discussed the first years of Hijriah, and the last chapter discussed the transmission of Islam (Kartosuwiryo, 2018).

Kartosuwiryo did not directly mention whether the essence of the concept of Hijrah applied in Indonesia has the same essence as to the Hijrah of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. However, from the descriptions of the chapters of both volumes of the Hijrah brochure, he wanted us to understand the importance of understanding Islam as religion for mankind, and the situation of the Arab Jahiliyah community before his arrival. There was a similarity between the conditions of post-independence Indonesia, and the conditions of Mecca after the arrival of the Prophet Muhammad SAW that triggered Moslems to struggle. Implicitly in the brochure, Hijrah was used as a way to escape from a situation full of hostility between humans by bringing in figures such as the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Kartosuwiryo, 2018). However, Suryana (2019) stated that Kartosuwiryo's concept of Hijrah was a non-cooperative expression of dissatisfaction with the Dutch leadership at that time. At the same time realizing the ideals of his teacher HOS Cokroaminoto to make Indonesia like Medina after the Hijrah of the Prophet SAW whose all aspects of life were Islamic.

Kartosuwiryo explained that hijrah had to be done wholeheartedly and physically in the sense of hijrah fi Sabilillah, which in practice cannot be separated from jihad. According to him, hijrah could not stand alone but was also connected with jihad. In addition, he presented the intellectual tradition of influential Islamic figures such as Al Mawdudi, Hasan Al Banna, Al Gazali and Sayyid Qutb (Formichi, 2012). This is supported by several verses of the Qur'an, among others.

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَهَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ ... (72)

“Indeed, those who believed and emigrated and fought with their wealth and their souls in the way of Allah” (Al-Anfal: 72)

Kartosuwiryo's concept of Hijrah was implemented by carrying out faith and jihad in everyday lives, meaning that his concept referred to something that had to be realized in certain actions through several stages (Suryana, 2019). The first stage of the hijrah struggle was to start with da'wah which was similar as what Hasan Al Banna had done in carrying out and developing Islamic da'wah. The second was forming a troop unit by recruiting the masses. The last was the realization of the initial concept. He made Hijrah brochure that became a guide in his struggle regarding the da'wah done by the Prophet Muhammad SAW in several places to spread Islam, such as Mecca, Ta'if, and finally Yathrib (Medina).

### ***The Concept of Hijrah in the DI/TII Movement***

In implementing the concept of Hijrah in everyday life activities, Katosuwiryo founded DI/TII, as a stepping stone to establishing the Islamic State of Indonesia. His Hijrah was the same as Hijrah as done by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Hijrah was not only moving from one place to other place, but it was also changing the structure of domination by prioritizing aspects of Islam in all life in Indonesia, including the power system (Formichi, 2012). For him, the Hijrah became the subject of a collective struggle to

improve a country that was in ruins. The formation of DI/TII in West Java in 1948 with the inauguration of the Islamic Army, was as a practical form of Hijrah to carry out in war areas (Indonesia). In one hand, it was because at that time Indonesia had been colonized by Dutch who wanted to reclaim Indonesian independence; in other hand, Indonesians themselves responded cooperatively which caused Kartosuwiryo to rebel. Kartosuwiryo's next step was to form an Imamate Council, a Fatwa Council, and establish Islamic law (*Qonun Asasi*), as one of the conditions for the establishment of an Islamic State in Indonesia, just as the Prophet Muhammad SAW established the State of Medina with Medina charter (Kartosuwiryo, 2019).

DI/TII movement was guided by the correlation of faith, Hijrah, jihad *al-Asghar* and Jihad *al-Akbar*; however, in the end it was only identical to Jihad Al Ashgar, a jihad carried out in the context of resistance and physical war (Formichi, 2012). For Kartosuwiryo there was no other way to enforce Islam in Indonesia, which he considered *dzolim* because of an agreement agreed upon by the central government and the colonial parties other than war. Therefore DI/TII tried to realize Islam as the ideology of the State and the principle of struggle by carrying out the Islamic revolution. (Kartosuwiryo, 2019). On that basis, he persuaded the Indonesian military to join TII building Darul Islam and stop all Dutch oppression. However, through General Sudirman, the central government rejected it (Dengel, 2011). Prior to the Islamic Political Program, this matter was still in the realm of the Hijrah concept made in his brochure. The struggle of DI/TII, was based on slander in religion, so that with the atmosphere at that time the Hijrah, Hijrah fi Sabilillah and Jihad fi Sabilillah brochures were back in effect. Those were the steps and foundations in carrying out the DI/TII movement. All considerations were relevant to the situation to carry out and legalize the form of confrontational struggle. It indicated that he did not want to be labelled as a rebel and solely for Islamic freedom in Indonesia, although many considered this reasoning only for defense.

In addition, the main reason why he did his jihad because the Dutch violated the agreement and carried out Military Aggression and the formation of *Republik Indonesia Serikat* (RIS), which resulted in the expulsion of the Indonesian Army. Therefore, such condition fulfilled the demand to establish an Islamic state as the main basis (the Hijrah process). In decree No. 1 Year 1948, Kartosuwiryo stated that the current situation was a jihad against Dutch oppression and ferocity. He ordered and decided that all resident leaders up to a lower level were assigned the task of being the commander of defense in their respective regions; all army commanders in each region served as battle commanders in their respective regions; and this decision was effective as of August 25, 1948. He said, "We don't want to leave West Java, we don't want to see the Indonesian ummah and people in West Java become slaves to the evil Dutch...", "What will happen to the people who are left behind? Isn't that betrayal? Finally, with determination, we decided not to participate in the withdrawal to Yogya and instead continued to fight against the occupation of the Dutch, joining the Sabilillah group in West Java." (Formichi, 2012).

Kartosuwiryo made this decision after learning about the results of the Renville Agreement, namely the decision to move the Siliwangi division to Central Java, where West Java became part of the Netherlands. However, on January 25, 1949 the Siliwangi Division returned to West Java or the so-called Long March. The Long March action was the result of the Second Dutch Military Aggression on December 16, 1948. However, the return of the Siliwangi Division made TII, which since the Renville agreement considered itself to be fighting for the Dutch colonialists, ignited the spirit of the Islamic Revolution. He and his party invited the Siliwangi Division to negotiate and join, but it refused. Both parties rubbed against each other even to the point of a gun fight. He assumed that it was the Siliwangi Division that started the war. He considered it a form of Jihad. So, the famous battle called the "Triangle Battle" broke out between the TNI, the Pasundan Army and TII. Then, the Islamic State of Indonesia was built in 1949 in Cisayong as a representation of Darul Islam with the stages that he went through with the DI/TII movement to develop a government systems and the like on the basis of Islam. Even though the procla-

mation of the Islamic State had been carried out, he still considered it was still in the struggle to carry out the Islamic Revolution. The establishment of the NII as the final goal of the Darul Islam movement was actually still called *Darul Islam fi Waqti Harbi*, meaning an Islamic State that was still locked in war and still not fully independent until the decision to execute himself by the Army. The trial in 1962 marked the end of Kartosuwiryo's DI/TII movement (Dengel, 2011).

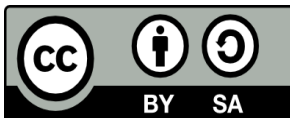
## CONCLUSION

Some conclusion can be drawn that Kartosuwiryo saw the condition of Indonesia's colonial period was similar to the Arab jahliyah period. Exploitation of humans through slavery and violence triggered Hijrah with the DI/TII movement to establish Indonesia as an Islamic State and make Islam as an aspect of human life. This research was expected to bring benefits to both individuals and institutions as a reference for further research. The limitation that further research can cover includes that the DI /TII insurgency movement is also touted as the root of the Islamic separatist movement in Indonesia today; the relevance of Hijrah and Jihad for critical and advanced thinking in the era of globalization; Hijrah as a way to renew individual independence in the industrial era; and the concept of Jihad against rigid mindsets that does not accept change.

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