

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN MALAYSIA

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Abstract

This article raises the main question: How was the influence of the Indonesian nationalist movement namely nationalism and Islam in the initial nationalism movement in Malaysia? Using the political history approach of this article reveals this important issue. First, the Indonesian nationalism movement had influenced the nationalist movement in Malaysia through Indonesian political activists to Malaysia, then known as Malaysia. The important results of this article make an important contribution that not only is there a national political connection to the formation of Malaysian independence, but the spirit of nationalism and Islam is united in the influence of the early Islamic nationalist movement in Malaysia.

Keywords: Indonesian nationalism movement, nationalism movement in Malaysia, islamic movement, islamic political party

A. Introduction

The initial period of the formation of the nation state was a crucial period. In times like this every group or community entity strives to bring out and grow its influence on other groups. Friction often occurs between party ideology or political organization. As a result, it did not strengthen the formation of a nation state, but rather undermined it. In Indonesia, party ideological competition played by party leaders such as the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and Masyumi or the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) has become part of the history of the Indonesian movement that illustrates how fierce the

ideological competition is between them. Not only before Indonesia's independence, but afterwards. However, interestingly, in the context of the history of the initial movement to help the Malaysian nation state, formerly known as Malaya, PNI, Masyumi, the PKI party activists even moved together and influenced the initial movement of nationalism in Malaysia. So that we can find political organizations such as UMNO (United Malay Nation Organization), KMM (Kesatuan Melayu Malaya), PKMM (Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya), PAS (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia) influenced by the nationalism and Islam movement from

Indonesia. Interestingly, it is not only a matter of influence but also the initial movement of nationalism in Malaysia precisely wants to be identical and to join with Indonesia through the Greater Indonesia movement.

With a political history approach, this article will reveal the background and issues that developed against this phenomenon.

B. Nationalism and Islam as Social Forces: The Early Influence

After the Second World War, two important social forces were nationalism and Islam.¹ Both of these social forces eventually became very influential in shaping the nation's "national" identity. More than that, between nationalism and Islam which are supported by their respective bodies, they even compete to establish identity regarding the coloring of the nation. At this time the intellectuals who led political parties began to think of a state system, ideology, or political direction and form of struggle suitable for the life of the nation in the future. This phenomenon, if we associate in Malaya, two important social forces namely nationalism and Islam have become an inseparable part of the political phenomenon before independence.²

However actually these two social forces that shaped Malaya's political style, were heavily influenced by the nationalism and Islamist movements in Indonesia.³ Both the nationalism and Islam influenced by Indonesia, as Funston said,⁴ had given rise to a radical attitude that was anti-colonialism to intellectual growth within political party leaders in Malaya. A political situation that emphasizes action, fundamentals and

wants to change the ruling government.⁵ Madrasas (Islamic school), schools and college schools which are widely exposed and influenced by the nationalist movement in Indonesia are the origins of this radical attitude. These two institutions contributed to Indonesia's (radical) political transformation into Malaysia.

Among the most influential educational institutions and being the light of both the awakening and intellectual and literary centers is the Sultan Idris Training College (SITC), in Tanjung Malim, Perak.⁶ According to Ibrahim Yaacob, an important political expert at SITC, the flood of books, magazines as well as grand ones including *Persatuan Indonesia*, *Pewarta Deli*, *Pertja Selatan*, *Pedoman Masyarakat*, *Fikiran rakyat*, *Soeloe Rakyat Indonesia*, *Semangat Islam*, *Seruan Al-Azhar* (published by Indonesian students and Malaya in Egypt), *Bintang Timur* and *Bintang Hindia*, from Indonesia who told the national struggle in Indonesia to SITC was an important phenomenon that opened the minds of students and teachers at SITC in fostering national circulation. With the effort of Ibrahim Yaacob, in SITC, a political body known as radical nationalist from Indonesia, PNI (Indonesian National Party) was founded in 1928 PNI's presence and influence in this SITC, as Radin Sunarno said, gave revolutionary political symptoms to Malaya. This is because the SITC motto will bring Malaya independence which will later merge with Indonesia.⁷

⁵ Firdaus Haji Abdullah, *Radicals Malay Politics: Its Origin and Early Development*, (Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1995), p. 6

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibrahim Yacoob, "Menerima Pengertian Cita-cita Indonesia Raya" in an incomplete and unpublished manuscript entitled "Following the Great Indonesia Struggle: Around the ideals of Indonesia, said introduction to 19 August 1951. See this article in the appendix to Ismail Hussin's book, *Between the Malay World and the Nationality World*, Public Lecture Position of the Malaysian Nationality Professor, on January 30, 1990 at the Nationality University of Malaysia, p. 22. See also Warjio "From Nationalism to Political Literature: Impression of the Rise of Indo-

¹ Ibrahim Ahmad, *Konflik UMNO-PAS Dalam Isu Islamisasi*, (Selangor: IBS Buku Sdn, 1989), p. 51.

² Safei bin Ibrahim, *The Islamic Partai of Malaysia: its Formative stages and Ideology*, (Kelantan: Nuawy bin Ismail, 1981), p. 3.

³ N.J.Funston, *Malays Politic in Malaysia: Study of The United Malays National organizations and Party Islam*, (Kuala Lumpur: Heineman Educational Books (Asia) Ltd, 1980), p. 32.

⁴ Ibid.

The establishment of the PNI at SITC as carried out by Ibrahim Yaacob is inseparable from the influence of Abdul Hadi Hassan. He is a teacher of history at the SITC release from Malacca Malay Training College. He helped open the minds of students at SITC, especially Ibrahim Yaacob. Through him he also developed Indonesian nationalists by establishing the PNI in SITC. This is not surprising, because Abdul Hadi Hassan is Indonesia's "nationalist general" to the Malay Land, specifically to the SITC. In addition, he is also an "agent of reform". Because it sells and at the same time distributes books that inspire Indonesia's national spirit through its bookstore, "AMHY Book Store & Co.". Books by PNI activist entitled Student Indonesia, Dr. A. Rivai is forbidden by the Dutch in Indonesia, sold and circulated through this bookstore.⁸ In the author's own view, Ibrahim Yaacob's establishment of the PNI branch in SITC as Ramlah Adam said,⁹ needs to be studied more deeply. However, PNI's proposal at SITC has brought PNI's nationalism ideology, namely the National Unity, Solidarity, Non-Cooperative, and Self-Reliance,¹⁰ in the national activity movement in Malaya. And the PNI National Ideology, later became the grip of the activity of radical political leaders in Malaya and became a hallmark of the radical nationalist movement in Malaya.

nesian Nationalism Towards the Formation of Malaysian Political Literature", working paper in (Proceeding on the 2nd International Seminar on Malay Studies in Beijing, 8-15 October 2002).

⁸ Radin Sunarno, *Malay Nationalism: 1896-1941*, (Tanpa Kota Penerbit: Tanpa Penerbit, Tanpa Tahun Penerbit), p. 20.

⁹ Ramlah Adam, *Maktab Melayu Malaka 1900-1922*. (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991), p. 85

¹⁰ The PNI National Ideology actually originated from the Indonesian Association (PI), the student political organization which later gave birth to the PNI. This National Ideology was later developed in 1925. For more details about the National Ideology of this PI, further read John Ingleson, *Jalan Kepengasingan: Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia Tahun 1927-1934*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1981).

Many SITC alumni who later became active in politics, literature, teachers and administrators. One of the SITC alumni, Ibrahim Yaacob even founded and chaired the Unity of Merdeka Melayu (KMM) in 1937. The KMM which is a hallmark of the radical movement in Malaya was strongly supported by youth and students of students from the Technical School in Kuala Lumpur and the School of Agriculture, Serdang, such as Onan Siraj and Mustapa Hussein. Then KMM was supported by other youth activists such as Hassan Manan. A. Karim Rasyid, Isa Mohammad, who has been holding it since 1929, has participated in a national-style Indonesian political party. The Indonesian National Party (PNI) led by Ir. Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta.¹¹ According to Mustapha Hussein, the name KMM was taken perfectly from the Jong Sumatran Movement.¹² The purpose of the KMM as stated by Ibrahim Yacoob, besides demanding Malaya to be independent by non-cooperation, also wanted to unite Malaya into a single Indonesia Association.

Registeredly, the KMM is indeed a continuation of the Young Malay Unity, but it is difficult to avoid the British ordering, the Merderka Malay Unity. This affair (KMM) although according to Muhammad Hussein is moving to imitate the Jong Sumatra movement, but the influence of St. Jenain, an Indonesian Communist political Party activist, is very large. At the beginning of the establishment of KMM, as recognized Muhammad Hussein, St. Jenain advised

¹¹ 11 Ibrahim Yaacob, *Sekitar Malaya Merdeka*, (Jakarta: Bagian Penerangan Kesatuan Melayu Malaya, 1957), p. 24

¹² See the magazine Nadi Ihsan, (September 1980) Jong Sumatran himself is a body established on December 9, 1917 which aims to strengthen students from Sumatra to instill nationality. Among the leaders of this body were Mohammad Hatta and Mohammad Yamin. See this information in A.K. Pringgogido, *Sejarah Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1961), p. 25

KMM's founders to establish one body that had the aim of being able to free Malaya.¹³ St. Jenain himself also attended the establishment of KMM. The composition of KMM membership from various groups is not only limited to those who are educated but also includes those who work for the government. This means, there is a shared awareness of these KMM members above the Malay people.

Unfortunately, before Japan's arrival in 1941, for PUTERAs of defense law, the KMM was dissolved and banned by the British. As many as one hundred and fifty of its leaders had been arrested, including Ibrahim Yaacob, Ishak Haji Muhammad, Ahmad Boestamam and St. Jenain.¹⁴

During the Japanese era, Ibrahim Yaacob and members of the KMM then founded a new, radical political organization, the PKMM. Among the people who were quite influential in the founding of PKMM were Dr. Burhanudin Al-Helmy and Ustadz Baharuddin Latief. From the organizational side, PKMM wants to be like the PNI led by Ir. Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta. Meanwhile, in terms of the symbol and flag, PKMM uses the color Red-White and the official song of the Party is a great Indonesian song, as a sign that this Party wants and truly identifies itself with Indonesia. Mokhtaruddin Lasso was chosen as Chairperson and Dahari Ali as Secretary and Arshad Anshari as Treasurer. Both Mukhtaruddin

¹³ Based on the recognition of Mustapha Hussein, KMM was registered by Mustapha Hussein himself with his money of \$ 15.00 as a social entity to advance Malay youths in sports, lessons, cooperation, health, agriculture, and various other fields, which took many regulations from the growth of the Selangor Indian Youth League (The Selangor Indian Youth League) and not for political purposes. This is tactical to trick the British government towards the true objectives of the KKM. See Insun Sony Mustapha, *Memoir Mustapha Hussein: Kebangkitan Nasionalisme Melayu Sebelum UMNO*, (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1999).

¹⁴ Mohd Nasruddin bin Rahman, "Gagasan Indonesia Raya Dalam Percaturan Politik Malaya-Indonesia: Peranan Ibrahim Yaacob 1938-1950" (Universiti Gadjah Mada, 1993), p. 5

Lasso, Dahari Ali and Arshad Anshari, are people who are known for their radical thinking when controlling the Voice of the People.¹⁵

Just like KMM, PKMM also aims to free Malaya and the interests of the people as a whole based on nationalism by uniting ties with Indonesia Raya (Greater Indonesia).¹⁶ PKMM's desire to liberate Malaya and unite it in the ties of Greater Indonesia is part of the eight bases of the results of the PKMM congress on 30 November 1945. The eight basic outlines PKMM outlined are:

1. Unifying the Malay nation, instilling the spirit of nationality in the heart of the Malays and aims to declare Malaya in a large family, the Republic of Greater Indonesia.
2. Aiming at achieving freedom of speech, moving, thinking and demanding lesson.
3. Awakening the position of the Malays intention by promoting the business of agriculture and agriculture and raising the level of life of the Malays.
4. Achieve the freedom to sprout. The person who is about to plant is freed rather than the community renting the land in the event of a time and where he will and will be released to sell the results of his business in the commercial market.
5. Want Malays to be given complete freedom to establish their national schools, that is, where they can get lesson and language for free.
6. Want to be given the freedom to print his own books, promote lesson in a democratic manner, so as to elevate the position of the Malays in political tactics to devote a sense of nationality to the Malays.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ See this information in Ahmad Adam's working paper, "Malayan Malay Nationality Party: An Archipelago's Dream" in the Nationalism and Development Seminar in Malaysia, History Position", (Community and Humanity Faculty of Science, Universiti Kebangsaan, 15 November 1994).

7. The Malay national party wants to collaborate with other people living in this country to live well and work to establish a mix of Malayan people (Malayan United Front) to make Malaya independent prosperous and happy as a member of the Republic of Greater Indonesia. Support the movement of the Indonesian people in their struggle for independence.

PKMM's engagement with Indonesia clearly shows Indonesia's influence is so strong in the struggle and formation of the spirit of nationalism in Malaya. This fact was clearly revealed by one of the PKMM leaders, Ishak Hj Muhammad in *The Straits Times* paper:

"As to Indonesian influence in The Malay Peninsula, I can only register my pleasant surprise at the ignorance you show as to this influence on our history. If we are only a community now in this part of the Malay Archipelago, we have been a nation once, even in this tiny spot, able to hold our own against possible aggressors. We too had our golden age represented by the Malay Empire of Malacca. And who would ever believe you if you tried to suggest that we are agent of Indonesia, now or at any other time?"¹⁷

PKMM's involvement with Indonesia has become more firm and real. On February 17, 1945 in Ipoh, Perak, PKMM activists commemorated the six months of Indonesian independence achieved on August 17, 1945 by raising a red and white flag. In this case the opportunity also "officially" PKMM has established a youth wing named the Insyap Youth Force (API) led by Ahmad Boestamam. As the PKMM's growth wing that gathers and awakens the nationalism of Malay youth, API statement as a radical and non-cooperative entity is inevitable.

¹⁷ The Straits Times, 28 November 1946, in Firdaus Haji Abdullah, p. 90-

With the motto "Freedom with Blood", API seems to want to show that the struggle is radical and without compromise. One way to realize Malaya's independence. API believes Malaya's independence can be achieved with its own abilities, in a radical, fast and simultaneous way. However, desire is not necessarily true.¹⁸

The nationalist movement to establish a nation of Greater Indonesia which was attempted by leftist political activists in the Malay Peninsula. The efforts of Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy and Ibrahim Yaacob who met Indonesian national movement activists, Ir. Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta on August 12, 1945 in Taiping, who stopped on their way back to Indonesia from the Japanese headquarters in Southeast Asia, Saigon, to discuss the possibility of jointly proclaiming independence with Indonesia, failed.¹⁹ Japan's defeat in the second world war from the Allied power, became the root of that failure. Japan, which had occupied the Malay Land for three years, after conquering the whole of Malaya on January 31, 1942, left hopes unreachable.²⁰

In the same period, Japan left its own impression on the style of the Indonesian political movement. Some bodies such as PUTERA (Pusat Tenaga Rakyat), a military establishment founded during the Japanese period, have their own unique views on the flow of radical leftist movements in Malaya.

In Malaya, between 1945-1948 the political activity movement was marked by an effort to determine the identity of the movement in achieving Malaya's independence goals. At least this situation can be classified in that large group; that is, the first movement that supports the struggle of UMNO, sec-

¹⁸ See Testament API in majalah Nadi Ihsan, (Pebruari 1981)

¹⁹ Kamaruddin Jaffar, Perjuangan dan Pemikiran Politik DR. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, in *Akademika*, (No. 15, Julai 1979), p. 29-30.

²⁰ Arkib Negara Malaysia, Hari Ini Dalam Sejarah, (jilid I, 1980), p. 95

only, which positions the movement of its activities rather than UMNO. In these two divisions the terminology of the “left (left) and right (right)” movements appears and is commonly used to distinguish the two movements. Clearly, this fact is explained by Tun Dr. Ismail bin Dato ‘Abdul Rahman, former Prime Minister of Malaysia. He said:

“Freedom Fighters in those years (Immediately after World War II) were divided into two groups. One group believed that freedom could only be achieved through revolutionary mass, whereas the other group believed in the constitutional process.

“British colonialis had two alternatives, namely, either to agree to granting independence to the moderate group or to take firm action in continuously combative manner in the face of armed struggle.

The British Government decide to concede to the nationalis group which chose the constitutional path and possessed the basis for compromise with other ethnic communities in this country.

It is true that independence was achieved by the moderate group, but history has also shown that the radical nationalist group also made its contribution toward the achievement of independence.”²¹

They believe that the concept of cooperation (cooperative) and non-cooperation (non-cooperative) can be done in achieving goals. With such conditions, in achieving that goal, clearly appearing-own (clique). A Malay Journal, *Kenchana*, has written:

“It is now clear that the Right Wing believes that the way of cooperation is a way that can be used to achieve independence, but the flow of this movement (Left clique) believes that independence can only be achieved if the path of cooperation is not implemented

and by doing opposition to achieve independence.”²²

Based on the principle of faith and pattern of participation in this struggle, Malay bodies incorporated in UMNO have revealed the seeds of inner division. PKMM as a body which indeed from the beginning distanced itself from the cooperative nature of the British, in addition to the overwhelming desire to establish Indonesia Raya with Indonesia, had withdrawn from UMNO. This was done through one of UMNO’s first trials in June 1946.

During the trial, the PKMM effort to identify itself with Indonesia, represented by activists such as Ishak Hj Muhammad, Ahmad Boestamam, Abdur Rahman Rahim was strongly illustrated when the struggle to raise the red and white flag, the Indonesian color, as the UMNO flag.

Submission of the Red and White flag with bright reasons, when the PKMM was given a case in the trial, was carried out by Ishak Hj Muhammad who was then the PKMM President’s invisibility. The submission of Ishak Hj Muhammad as a “speaker PUTERA” in the submission of the red and white flag reserves was caused by several things. First, he was the second PKMM person, after Dr. Burhannuddin Al-Helmy. Secondly, he is as good as speeches as activists of the Indonesian national movement, Muhammad Hatta. Third, he is better known to many people because of his sharp writings as a journalist. The determining factor that can be used as a “weapon” for “lobbying” participants is because of Isaac Hj. Muhammad is from Pahang. Because, as is well known, one of the influences in UMNO is WATANIAH, which has thousands of officials in Pahang.²³

The meeting was attended by 50 Malay entities. PKMM is the only leftist organization. PKMM proposed the Red and

²¹ A. Karim Haji Abdullah (Ed.), *Amanat Tun Dr. Ismail*, (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Budaya Agenci, 1974), p. 47.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

White flag as the UMNO flag. This proposal was very warm and received a warm welcome. However the Indonesian red-and-white flag, is already the same as the Malays in Malaya. When the voting took place, PKMM was only one-time votes, compared to the proposed red and white flag with a yellow dagger in the middle. The UMNO flag that we know today.

Although the struggle to establish the Indonesian flag, red and white, as a symbol of the UMNO flag was not achieved, but in fact by looking at the comparison of votes that were only one, it clearly showed that the PKMM as one of the only left organizations within UMNO had a huge influence. In a situation where a "discrepancy in UMNO is felt" the effort to withdraw in UMNO is felt to be so strong. Although in the PKMM meeting before the UMNO meeting there was no intention to leave. This situation is clearly a burden on PKMM. Said Ahmad Boestmam after the UMNO meeting:

"The difference in political views between UMNO and PKMM is now clearly contradictory. While we want one hundred percent independence for Malaya. UMNO only wants to return to the status quo. Because of this difference in political views, we will gradually part with it. That is why we are inseparable. We are doing it now."²⁴

Said Ahmad Boestmam again:

"If we want to change the political outlook of UMNO from the inside I do not believe we will succeed in doing it because the voting in it is very unfair-not democratic. Small organizations are given votes, and large organizations are given votes too. It is impossible that with these voices we will get to change the political views of about 50 other organizations with almost 100 votes, while institutions are these official institu-

tions. Only we are the left organizations in their class."²⁵

Actually, the thoughts conveyed by Ahmad Boestmam constituted "opposition" to Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, who when sending the PKMM representatives in the UMNO trial there was not a single mandate that required PKMM to leave UMNO. This fact is reflected when Isaac Hj. Muhammad raises a question about the lack of mandate given by the PKMM central leadership to pull PKMM out of UMNO. However, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, as the President of PKMM, gave full power to the PKMM envoy to take any targets that might be considered necessary. This was confirmed again by Ahmad Boestmam:

"It's true that the mandate was not given to us, but aren't we given the mandate to use our policies to determine further action? It means that pulling PKMM out of UMNO is an act of our policy, so we cannot be said to be out of the mandate given to us."²⁶

With the "opposition" of the PKMM coming out of UMNO, there was definitely a political divide between the Malays. In addition, there has also been a "new opposition" among the Malays in the political arena in Malaya. PKMM as a symbol or advance of the non-cooperative struggle, now "officially" has positioned itself to be an "opponent" rather than UMNO.

On 22 December 1946 the non-Malay leftist organizations formed a joint body called the Council of Joint Actions under the leadership of Tan Cheng Lock. The one who actively established this joint body was the Malayan Democratic Union (MDU), whose activists consisted of English clever intellectuals. Among them are Philip Hoalim, Jhon Eber, Lim Kean Chye and Gerald De Cruz.²⁷ In carrying out these activities of

²⁴ Ibid. p. 87.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 88

²⁷ Ibid., p. 122

the struggle, the Assembly is moving in PUTERA holding on the 6 principles of struggle, namely:

1. Malaya United, including Singapore
2. A central legislative council for all of Malaya with all members being chosen by the public
3. The same political rights for all people who regard Malaya as their homeland and as a loyal oath
4. Malay sultans must take place as sovereign kings of full sovereignty and accept the advice of the people through democratic institutions of "English" advisers.
5. Matters relating to Islam and the custom of the Malay Istiadat must be placed solely under Malay control.
6. Special attention must be paid to the progress of the Malays.

Because of this leftism and progressiveness, the Assembly Moves Simultaneously is not in line with UMNO which is a combination of right-wing Malay organizations. No wonder the Assembly then moved in PUTERA with PKMM. Politics "looking for friends and strength" in addition to the equality of ideas and the progressiveness of the struggle, has been thought by the PKMM to be shoulder-to-shoulder with the Concurrent Movement Assembly. This was admitted by one PKMM activist, Ahmad Boestaman:

"First, the PKMM must balance the strength of the organization, the strength and the area of influence of the Malay right group represented by the UMNO it has abandoned. Maybe the PKMM power organization is not inferior to UMNO but in influence one can say PKMM is inferior to UMNO in the sense that UMNO is a combination of several organizations. PKMM is only one body. So PKMM must immediately

spearhead the founding of a joint Malay left-wing organization."²⁸

Based on this thinking, PKMM then decided to make a large meeting of left organizations which took place at the PKMM office, on Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur on 22 February 1947. This meeting succeeded in gathering all organizations considered left such as PKMM, API (Angkatan Pemuda Indonesia), AWAS, and GERAM (Youth Force Movement), a youth left movement centered in Singapore that sent its representatives, Abdul Aziz Iskak, Abdul Samad Ismail, and Taharuddin Ahmad.

In this meeting it was decided to form a joint Malay leftist organization. At API's suggestion, the name of the left joint organization was given the name PUTERA, a name taken from the name of the organization formed by Sukarno during the Japanese period in Indonesia, PUTERA. The submission of the name PUTERA by the API was accepted by a single vote. The meeting also succeeded in determining the name of the leader of PUTERA namely Ishak Hj Muhammad. Election of Isaac Hj. Muhammad to lead PUTERA was based on several considerations:

1. Ishak Hj Muhammad is an intellectual activist with a high level of British knowledge
2. Dr. Burhanuddin must fully exert force in the PKMM who must continue to hold a leadership role in the combined organization
3. Ishak is the Chairperson of the PKMM. With him leading the PUTERA, then the possibility of PUTERA being perverted from PKMM is certainly very difficult
4. As much as possible PKMM activists must be presented in front so that it can be proven that the Malay left is not a barren activist. This lawsuit against the

²⁸ Ibid., p. 123

British then gave birth to the Malay Land Alliance on 1 February 1948.²⁹

Although the PKMM and API are known to be radical and have a “nationalist” ideology, they cannot be denied, but they also collaborate with religious organizations and Islamic “ideologies”. This is evidenced by the opening of PKMM and API branches in the Padang Rengas area where the Al-Diniyah religious school was opened, led by Syeik Junid, an Islamic reformist from the South Tapanuli region, East Sumatra.³⁰ In the Kelantan API area, it is led by Asri Muda,³¹ a freelance Maahad Ihya Assyaf Gunung Semanggol (MIAGUS), Perak. Aside from the API, Asri is also active in PKMM. While attending the PKMM congress in Padang Rengas in 1946, aside from being given the task of compiling a report on his visit to the South of Thailand regarding the Haji Sulong rebellion, Mohd Asri had been given the task of playing a play in the form of sketches and tablo about the Islamic struggle. In addition PKMM and API have also been established in Maahad Ihya Assyarif Gunung Semanggol, in collaboration with PKMM leaders, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy and leader of Maahad Ihya Assyarif of Mount Semanggol, Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir.³²

C. The Collaboration between the Direction of nationalism and Islam

The collaboration between the direction of nationalism and Islam as carried out by PKMM, API and MIAGUS leaders is not new. At the end of 1937, MIAGUS had succeeded in reviving students not only in their educational abilities but also in the case of national circulation. Internal and external influences have shaped political ideology

in MIAGUS. The available cases of MIAGUS students jumped happily when they were taken into the KKM activities.³³ For MIAGUS students, their participation in politics will mean more to the nation and the nation. How much more if they realize that religion and politics are a case of inseparable unity, a concept in Islam that has strong roots since the time of the prophet Muhammad. Another factor that caused them to enter the KKM was that what was intended by the KKM was in accordance with what they were thinking at that time, that is, not confined by the elements of the establishment.³⁴

The composition of MIAGUS students consisting of various descendants also has the spirit of Greater Indonesia as what the KKM has fought for and portrayed. Good cooperation between Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy and Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir because of their compatibility in their duties and strong struggle alongside Islam in advancing the Malays. This makes it easier for MIAGUS students to become KKM members and at the same time open KKM branches in MIAGUS. Proximity of Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy as the leader of PKMM and Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir from MIAGUS, apparently had a reflection on the development of PKMM ideological changes that had been known to be radical and seemed “secular”.³⁵ Dr. Burhanuddin understood, how religious matters (Islam) can attract people. For this reason, Islam began to be used as an activator in PKMM politics, and MIAGUS would become a place to launch this ideology. Exactly how changes and absorption of Islamic “ideology” into PKMM are described by Nabir Haji Abdullah:

²⁹ Arkib Nasional Malaysia, jilid I, p. 99

³⁰ Firdaus Haji Abdullah, p. 19

³¹ Asri Haji Muda, *Memoir Politik Asri: Meniti Arus*, (Bangi: UKM, 1993)

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Nabir bin Haji Abdullah, *Maahad Il-Ihya Assyarif Gunung Semanggol, 1934-1959*, (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1976), p. 76

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.76

³⁵ *Ibid.*

“At the end of 1946, several times Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir could discuss with Dr. Burhanuddin held the position of religion (Islam) and education in Malay Land in the political upheaval. Although their meeting was not long, but some leaders from MIAGUS such as Ustaz Osman Hamzah, Yunus Yatimi who were also students at MIAGUS and several others who were active in PKMM, API, were the intermediaries of the two religious and political activists. What is the subject of the problem has been understood by each of them. The interests of the Islamic religion have been taken into account, reasonable attention must be taken because the form of kingship when it was carried out at the Malayan Union keel in full, was to reject the official right of Islam. This is because the Sultans whose origins were in charge of matters of religion and tradition are now kingdoms in name only. They will have Islamic religious rights, but the British kingdom has assumed it is natural to establish a religious council in which the sultans are members and the British Governor as Chairperson, a Christian who leads the Islamic council.”³⁶

The influence of MIAGUS on PKMM or other radical leftist movements, was even stronger when the MATA (Malaya Supreme Religious Council) was formed, which was also discussed by Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir. Mata himself was the result of a meeting held on Saturday, March 22, 1947 at MIAGUS. The meeting was held to discuss the problems of the position of Islam, economics and education of Malays in the atmosphere after the Second World War. The meeting was attended by around 2,000 people consisting of scholars and intellectuals from almost the entire Malay Peninsula and also from Indonesia including Ustaz Haji Abdul Rasyid Siddik (from Palembang, Indonesia) who also became a mourner and reciter at

³⁶ Ibid., p. 109

MIAGUS. This meeting was a proposal submitted by Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy with Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir.

It should be noted, that this trial also resulted in a decision to fulfill the comedian of the vice President of Indonesia, Muhammad Hatta (from PNI) for the economic meeting and economic performance of the country and sent representatives consisting of Mr. Burhanuddin Haji Odd, Baginda Buyong and Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir. Unfortunately, these representatives were unable to meet the Indonesian vice president's pick because of their movements, the national politics and the unrest in Indonesia.³⁷

Strategically, the establishment of MATA is expected to be the only organization chosen by Muslims in dealing with religious issues in Malay Land. This means, the establishment of the MATA is a great slap to the group that works in the formation of state clerics or religious officials of countries because of this organization as it is dealt with in matters of religion. The impact of this situation actually demanded that the Sultan should no longer hold the matter of religion.³⁸ Because while the Sultan has the right, religious movements will not pack, instead will violate the teachings and desires that are reasonable. With demands like this, it can be understood why the ulama who were close to the religious bureaucracy that was approached by the Sultan were not present at the trial that gave birth to the MATA, even half of them made a deal with the ulema so as not to accompany the March session.

In addition to the demands above, the establishment of MATA also has another purpose. As an institution of “religion”, the closeness of MATA to this leftist movement actually has a political goal, namely to desire

³⁷ Utusan Melayu, 30 Jun 1947, p 2, in Nabir Haji Abdullah, *ibid.*, p. 110-111

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 121

and side with the Malay nationalists so that they do not overdo so much that they are swept away in a struggle that is not only religiously more and prioritizes the nation and homeland. Clearly, so that escorting Malay nationalists should not be carried over to communist ideals and those that are in line with them. This will have been voiced by several scholars who played an important role in the MATA, and these two bodies that were born later, also at MIAGUS, namely LEPIR and Hizbul Muslimin including Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy is aware that "the victory of the Malays in all things will not be separated from dragging religion to great place." They want this so that the "religious force" can provide maximum integrity to the Malays to gain independence and for determine the fate of religion and nation.

As explained before, that communist ideals as well as the communist influence of Indonesia under the Indonesian communist escape, St. Jenain, has colored the formation of radical left political relations in Malaya. This phenomenon shows that the role of the Islamic religion, through MIAGUS, in the arena as well as the discourse of the formation of a nationalist revival in Malaya, is very dossier. Furthermore, Islam has become a "new ideology" in the relations of radical leftist politics, which were previously more secular nationalist and even influenced by communists. Meanwhile, for Indonesia itself the MATA organization has a very deep meaning in its efforts to color and support Indonesia's independence.³⁹

As is known, one of the aims of MATA is to combine the Islamic Land of Malay Land with the whole Islamic movement, including Indonesia. In MATA's view, Indonesia is a "brother" who must be helped to free him from the Netherlands, which wants to re-colonize Indonesia, after being terminated as

³⁹ Ibid.p.122

independent by Ir. Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta on August 17, 1945. It is not surprising then that MATA supports and establishes movements with entities established by Indonesians in Malaya such as the Free Indonesia Association (PIM) and the Malaya Kalimantan People's Union (PRKM) to help maintain independence Indonesia. Besides MIAGUS, the religious school that played an important role in connecting Indonesia and Malaya was the Al Diniyah School, in Kampong Lalang, Padang Rengas, Perak. This school was built in 1924 by Syeik Al-Junid, a person from Mandailing, North Sumatra.⁴⁰ Although this school has a curriculum that teaches commercial subjects such as mathematics, history and English, this school also plays an important role in transforming political thought, in response to prevailing social and political conditions. Syeik Al-Junid, the founder of this school, even established relationships with political activists such as Asri Muda, who later became his son-in-law.

At the end of the 1940s, a Muhammadiyah (Indonesian) activist, Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimy came to Malaya. According to Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir, Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimy came from the MInado area (Manado). He graduated from al Arsayadah, Surabaya. When he entered the Malay⁴¹ he was in his 30s. At the beginning of the emergency relief in 1948, together with Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir, Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimy was arrested.⁴²

Previously, Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimy had also been active as a teacher in Arabic and Arabic in Kelantan in several Islamic schools including Maahad Muhammadiyah who before the war was known as Jami

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 189

⁴¹ Nabir bin Haji Abdullah, Ustaz Abu Bakar al-Baqir Dalam Kenangan, In Malaysia in History (jurnal) (volume XIX No. 2 December 1976), p. 28.

⁴² Kelantan magazine, Zulhijah 1396-(Disember 1976 bil. 12). p.11.

'Merbau'.⁴³ In this religious school he actively teaches his knowledge. Through this activity Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimy contributed to the people's movement in Malaya.⁴⁴ He emigrated to Semangol Mountain, Perak, to accompany the Hizbul-Muslim movement and actively gave power to the preparation of popular religious schools under the "People's Education Institution" (LEPIR) "centered on Mount Semangol which was founded in September 1947. The Institute People's Education (LEPIR) itself was established with the aim of: Try combining people's schools. Until Mac, 1948, there were pledges from 70 schools to work together to get an accurate education and harmonization.

1. LEPIR, especially scholars in MIAGUS (including Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir) are trying to form a religious education curriculum for schools that want to join
2. Releasing religious / Arabic books for the use of religious schools
3. Trying to establish a university. Therefore, a tube has been formed called "charity of students."⁴⁵

LEPIR was established in the efforts of the Board of the MATA Benevolent Learning Agency. It's emerged from the weak state of education of the Malays. With the remembrance of the need to "nurture the nation with spiritual and physical lesson, and advance the nation through coaching high school, in order to pursue a more perfect world life in addition to being willing

⁴³ This Mahaad was established through the Kelantan Islamic Council which was founded in 1915 during the reign of Al-Marhum Sultan Mohammad. Regarding the history of the establishment of the Islamic assembly, see Honorable Speech Honorable Tengku Sri Utama Raja, the elder of the Islamic Religious Council and the Malay Customary Tradition, *Perkembangan sekolah-sekolah Agama/Arab Di Negara Kelantan Di Bawah Kelolaan Majelis Agama Islam, Kelantan in Kelantan Magazine*, (Jamadil Awal 1394-Jun 1974, bil 6). p 12

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

to prepare for the afterlife", the crowd was invited to attend the LEPIR's congress.⁴⁶

Apart from Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimy, the Indonesian representative who was picked up to attend the congress was Mr. Haji Latif Zeki. He is a cleric from Maktab Muhammadiyah, Sumatra; Haji Yusuf Lubis or also known as Yusuf Medan, because he came from Medan. Besides them, the political activists who participated in this congress were a number of strong people in the PKMM including Ishak Haji Muhammad and Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy.⁴⁷ When given the opportunity to provide an explanation at the congress, Mr. Haji Latif Zeki explained the need to encourage the establishment of more schools if they wanted to progress, and the school was not fostered by others because they were helping with their own deception. The establishment of LEPIR has received strong encouragement and support from Haji Agus Salim, a political activist from the Masyumi Party who was then the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia when he visited the Malay Land. According to the political activist from Masyumi, there was a lack of curriculum alignment and administration of Islamic religious schools in Malay Land.

In addition to the desire and efforts to dignify the position of Islam in Malay Land as demonstrated by MATA. In addition, to advance the Malays in the field of education as shown in LEPIR. Actually there is one more wish that hasn't been accomplished that surrounds the political activists of the Malay Land. That desire is the establishment of Islamic political Parties. Malay political activists like Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy himself, consciously or unconsciously, has raised a hope of the birth of a form of Parti that is based on Islam because the Malays

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

will only live right after believing in religion and its administrative system is guaranteed.

Another reason, in the author's view, is that the position of non-Malay "left" political entities such as AMOJA, MDU and MCP is getting stronger. These people not only tried to attract Malay people like PKMM, API, PUTERA to join them, but more than actually alienated them from Islam. This can be seen by understanding the aggressiveness of activists from MIAGUS, as the center of the Islamic movement, as Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir drew these Malay bodies within the "circle" of MIAGUS. MIAGUS itself sees the effort and responsibility of MATA to restore the power of religion from the land of the "king" into MATA feels very heavy, and for that it needs an Islamic political party that can fight for it. In this situation actually, the "Islamic ideology" as MIAGUS is fighting for is going forward and "fighting" with the secular ideology as well as the communists of the non-Malay political organizations.⁴⁸

For MATA itself, an Islamic political party that can be emulated to fight for the interests of Muslims in Malay Land is the Indonesian Political Parties of Masyumi Indonesia. Such mimic ideas and intentions had long been sparked by MATA and it was until early 1948 that the ability of their party (Masjumi) began to be convinced of the consequences of the support received by the MATA and the political atmosphere of the Land of Malays. On January 28, 1948, a member of the MATA, Al-Hamidi, had written in the end of the Malay Messenger under the title 'The Islamic Party in the Design of the Year A Formerly Formed Problem with an Islamic Party Like Masyumi. " Establishing an Islamic political party such as Masjumi in Indonesia."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

With the desire to imitate the Islamic political party Masyumi, a committee was formed for the trial which was planned on 31 Mac-16 Mac 1948 to discuss the establishment of the Islamic political party which consisted of PKMM, API, MATA, LEPIR and UMNO. The involvement of UMNO represented by Sidin was more than a case of personal representation. This would later be seen not only did UMNO not approve of the committee's subsequent sessions, but actually UMNO itself had rejected all types of movements centered on MIAGUS. This committee vowed that the reserve to form the Islamic Party must try to elevate the Muslim status in lesson, science, economics, in politics and in social Islam. This aim must be based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet. In addition, the role of the reserved Islamic Party must broaden its struggle to provide support to the Malays to collaborate with Muslims worldwide, to use the Islamic principle to achieve the glory and glory guaranteed by God.⁵⁰

In addition to discussing the main issues for establishing Islamic political Parties, the meeting will also discuss the establishment of an Islamic university (the people), education donations and economic issues. To make this event a success, the committee will also pick up several Masyumi Islamic political Party activists such as Kyai Masykur, a well-known cleric who often gave public lectures in Singapore and Johor at the beginning of 1948. He was a Masyumi activist from West Sumatra. Another activist picked up was Tengku Osman, a Masyumi political activist from Al Wasliyah, Medan.

Finally, the meeting at MIAGUS which was held to unite all the "Malays" was attended by various groups consisting of 50 representatives of both local movements and Indonesian movements such as the

⁵⁰ Ibid.

PKMM (Malayan Malay National Party), API (Angkatan Pemuda Insyaf), The Merdeka Indonesia Association (PIM) in Malay Land and more than 4,500 people from far away and local and strongly supported by the inhabitants of the villages around Mount Semanggol itself. According to the leader of the Maahad II Religious School Ihya Assyariff of Mount Semanggol, Ustaz Abu Bakar al-Baqir, Masyumi's influence was very fierce in this meeting which also inspired the birth of Hizbul Muslimin, especially through Islamic activists who were members of the Masyumi, such as Muhammadiyah and Alwasliyah from Sumatra. In fact, when this meeting opened, Masyumi's song, Selamat Masyumi (Happy Masyumi), became the official song that was sung at the hearing.

Masyumi activist who also gave a speech at the meeting was Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimi, apart from Tanah Malay activists such as Asri Haji Muda, and Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy who represented the Malayan Malay Nationality Party (PKMM). Some of the decisions that have been made at the meeting are:

1. Formation of Islamic political party, named Hizbul Muslimin;
2. Establishment of Malaya Malay Economic Center Management Board;
3. Establishment of a People's Education Institution named Universiti Hang Tuah; and
4. Establishment of a Higher Education Foundation.

The most important impression of the meeting was the formation of the Islamic political party Hizbul Muslimin or HAMIM. The name of Hizbul Muslimin, which was actually reserved by Ustaz Abu Bakar al-Baqir, was strongly supported by several meeting participants including Ustaz Abdul Rab Tamimy and Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy from PKMM. For PKMM itself, "cooperating"

with the Indonesian national movement and its political activists is not something new. PKMM itself when it was founded according to its initiators such as Ahmad Boestamam and Ibrahim Yaacob was anxious to follow the national movement in Indonesia. One of the Indonesian national movements which became the "role model" of the PKMM was the Indonesian National Party (PNI), which at that time was led by Ir. Sukarno.

The main objective of the formation of Hizbul Muslimin was to achieve independence, to build a society based on Islamic demands and to create Malaya as an independent Islamic state. In terms of Party growth, it can also be said that Hizbul Muslimin tried to model Masyumi. The HAMIM leadership when it was established was:

1. Chairperson: Ustaz Abu Bakar Al-Baqir
2. Secretary: En. Yaacob bin Black
3. Chair I: Ir. Haji Arifin (JKR trainee participant)
4. Chair II: 1. Haji Husin Che Dol, responsible in the northern part
5. Daud Abdul Jamil, is responsible for East Coast Parts.

Unfortunately, the political ideals of Islam in the Malay Land fought through HAMIM did not last long. The British finally hoped for hopes of mounting the political elite of the Malay Land of Islam through the submission of the Emergency Act of 1948. HAMIM was dissolved on the charge of HAMIM as a communist organization. This is an episode about the initial attempt of the Islamic political movement in Malay Land. A change that inspired the birth of the Islamic political movement continued.

D. Conclusion Remark

From the explanation above, the influence of nationalism and Islam movements in Indonesia is very large in the formation

of nationalism in Malaysia. This influence arose not only from figures or political parties and organizations with nationalism orientation but also Islam. Moreover, even Indonesian political activists who are known to be influenced by the communist movement also influenced the thoughts and forms of the initial movement to form nationalism in Malaysia. Political institutions such as UMNO, API, KMM, PKMM, HAMIM are political institutions that are heavily influenced by the Indonesian nationalism movement. The strategy of influencing the Malaysian nationalism movement by the Indonesian nationalism movement was not only formed or the direction of thought from books produced by political activists of the Indonesian movement but they also came directly to Malaysia. This is an important finding in the flow of the early nationalism movement in Malaysia which is identical with Malayness and Islam.

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