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## Ahmad Sanoesi, 1888-1950: The Leading Figure of *Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijjah*

**ABSTRACT:** For his era, Ahmad Sanoesi was a much reckoned figure. His presence in a historical stage of indigenous or "pribumi" Muslim has colored Islamic movement, particularly the *All* (*Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijjah* or Islamic Unity). Although in its organization statute, *All* focused its movement on education and social fields, political educations promoted by Ahmad Sanoesi have made *All* was a very militant organization in West Priangan, particularly in Sukabumi, Bogor, and Cianjur. This research aims to find out and uncover the authenticity of its movement. This is an important task in the era when global figure is idolized. Thus, it is very wise to scrutinize a local figure who has a big role in finding out its history of nation-state. By implementing a historical research, it was found that Ahmad Sanoesi has successfully engineered a Muslim organization, namely the *All* as a place to unite Muslim scholars or "kyai" around Sukabumi. Through his organization, Ahmad Sanoesi has successfully given solution for governmental policies that disadvantage the people. In addition, dialogues of Ahmad Sanoesi with Indonesia movement's leaders and Japanese occupation government have encouraged a new nationalism attitude among himself and others, which are in his era considered to be very open and plural (non-religious and non-ethnic oriented). He was the one who promoted the idea of "imamat" or republic (for Indonesian state formation) to the BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik dan Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or the Investigation Body for Preparing and Working the Indonesia Independence) assembly.

**KEY WORDS:** Figure of Ahmad Sanoesi, Muslim organization, movement, political educations, parliament, and Indonesia independence.

### INTRODUCTION

The early information about Ahmad Sanoesi was found by the researchers at *Pendaftaran Orang Indonesia jang Terkemoeka jang Ada di Djawa* [Listing of Famous Indonesia Figures in Java] to *Gunseikanbu Tjabang* [Branch Japanese Military Office] I, Pegangsaan Timoer 36 Djakarta, year 2602/1942. Ahmad Sanoesi wrote his name as "Ah. Sanoesi". He was born at village Cantayan, *onder-distrik* (sub-district) Cikembar, Sukabumi, West Java, Indonesia. According to the resource above, Ahmad Sanoesi did not go to a formal school at educational institution called *gubernemen*

(government), but he went to several Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) for around 4.5 years and continued his religious education to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, for 5 years.

Several years after he returned from Mecca, Ahmad Sanoesi established an Islamic boarding school called *Pesantren Babakan Sirna* at Kampung Genteng (Mawardi, 2011:98). After several years managed and run *Pesantren* Genteng, Ahmad Sanoesi was caught and *di-interneer* (isolated) by the Dutch colonial or *Hindia Belanda* to Batavia Centrum. During his isolation, Ahmad Sanoesi has been appointed by his students and followers to

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become a *voorzitter hoofdbestuur* (a chairman) of *Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijjah* (AII). It seems that because of his isolation, Ahmad Sanoesi and members of AII (*Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijjah* or Islamic Unity) choosed his political attitude to oppose the Dutch colonial.

The oppositional attitude of Ahmad Sanoesi and members of *Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijjah* (AII) to Dutch was totally different with their attitude to accept the Japanese occupation. In fact, during Japanese occupation (1942-1945), Ahmad Sanoesi and members of AII got privileges and favors from the Japanese. For example, Ahmad Sanoesi was offered to become a member of *Dewan Penasihat Daerah* (*Shu Sangi Kai* or Regional Advice Board) of Bogor Residence. At the same time, R. Sjamsoeddin, as a member of AII, was also offered to become a chairman of *Gerakan Tiga A* or Three As Movement, a propaganda organization sponsored by Japanese miliary occupation that propagated "Japan as leader of Asia, Japan as protector of Asia, and Japan as light of Asia" (Iskandar, 1991:276; and Sulasman, 2007:76).

When AII changed its name to become POII (*Persatoean Oemat Islam Indonesia* or Unity of Indonesia Islamic Society), Ahmad Sanoesi was appointed as a Vice Regent (*Wakil Residen*) of Bogor; and when the *Dokuritzu Zyunbi Tyoosakai* or BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik dan Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or Investigation Body for Preparing and Working of Indonesia Independence) was formed, Ahmad Sanoesi and R. Sjamsoeddin represented POII to become members of BPUPKI. In addition, after Indonesia got the independence in August 1945, Ahmad Sanoesi actively involved as a member of PETA (*Pembela Tanah Air*), the Indonesian auxiliary troops in the Japanese occupation; and Ahmad Sanoesi moved to Yogyakarta as result of Renville's Agreement between Indonesia and Ducth governments in January 1948.

Based on the information above, several questions came up as research questions that are: (1) Why did Ahmad Sanoesi develop political conflict with Dutch colonial?; and (2) If his political conflict attitude toward the Dutch related to his movement and organization, how was Ahmad Sanoesi

movement during the Japanese occupation, 1942-1945; and during the Indonesia Independence war, 1945-1950?

This research tried to document bibliography of leading figure of movement in order movement's values can be inherited to the next generations. For the field of historical science (history), this study could enrich Indonesian historiography, particularly in term of a leader biography or *prosopografi*. Hopefully, this study could explain the role of Ahmad Sanoesi during Dutch Colonial, Japanese Occupation, and the era of Indonesia Independence War.

Ahmad Sanoesi movement, 1888-1950, was interesting to be analyzed due to several reasons. Firstly, 1888 was a year when Ahmad Sanoesi was born. Here, we can elaborate Ahmad Sanoesi's family life and educational backgrounds. Secondly, 1950 could be elaborated as a final stage of its research because at this year, Ahmad Sanoesi was passed away. Thirdly, from 1888 to 1950, Ahmad Sanoesi has shown his dedication and he has successfully given solutions for problems which were faced by indigenouse people (*pribumi*), particularly Indonesian Moslems. *Spatial* aspect of its research covered West Java region where mass basis and organization led by Ahmad Sanoesi was established.

The method used in this research is a historical research method which covers four steps, namely: *heuristic, critics, interpretation, and historiography* (Garaghan, 1946:103-426; and Herlina Lubis, 2008:17-60). In the *heuristic* step particularly, the researchers visited and sojourned to several archive institutions and libraries such as *Bibliotheek KITLV* (*Koninklijk Institut voor Taal Land en Volkenkunde*) in Netherlands; ANRI (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta; PNRI (*Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Library of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta; Secretariate of DPP PUI (*Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Persatuan Ummat Islam* or Central Committee of Unity of Islamic Society); and personal library of the Big Family of Ahmad Sanoesi in Sukabumi, West Java, Indonesia. From its visits, the researchers

found data and information which are important and needed for this study.

### HISTORY OF FAMILY AND EDUCATION

Ahmad Sanoesi was born on September 18, 1888.<sup>1</sup> The child Ahmad Sanoesi was called by his family and people in the village as "Uci" (Wanta, 1991:2). His father's name is Abdurrohman bin Yasin and his mother called Empo. According to Asep Mukhtar Mawardi, Ahmad Sanoesi still has a family line with Anggadipa (Tumenggung Wiradadaha III, popularly known as *Dalem Sawidak* Regent of Sukapura III) through his father line (Mawardi, 1985:30). Although Ahmad Sanoesi's father is *kyai* (Islamic religious scholar), in term of economy, they live very modestly. Ahmad Sanoesi and his brothers were educated in a religious milieu. At that time, it was known that there were many people who became *santri* (Islamic students) and studied at *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) Cantayan. They came from Cianjur, Bogor, and Sukabumi in West Java (Iskandar, 1993:2-3; and Sulasman, 2007:22).

Ahmad Sanoesi has never studied at a formal educational institution. The young Ahmad Sanoesi studied religion to his father. When his age was quite big enough, which according to A.M. Sipahoetar (1946:72) was "*lepas oemoer 15 tahoen*" (around fifteen years old), Ahmad Sanoesi started to study Islamic teachings at several *pesantrens* located at *Afdeling* (region) of Sukabumi, Cianjur, Garut, and Tasikmalaya. Following his father guidance, Ahmad Sanoesi started his study at *Pesantren* Selajambe, Cisaat, Sukabumi under supervision of Mohammad Anwar.

Sulasman (2007) mentioned that Ahmad Sanoesi studied at that *pesantren* for eight months. Ahmad Sanoesi then moved to *Pesantren* Sukamantri, Cisaat, Sukabumi. In this *pesantren*, Ahmad Sanoesi studied Islamic teachings to Mohammad Sidik. In *Pesantren* Sukamantri, Ahmad Sanoesi felt uncomfortable to stay and only studied for two months. After that, his father encouraged Ahmad Sanoesi to study at *Pesantren* Sukaraja.

Here, Ahmad Sanoesi studied religious Islamic teachings to Djenal Arif and Hafidz for around six months. He continuously studied at *Pesantren* Cilaku in Cianjur for twelve months and *Pesantren* Ciajag, Cianjur for five months (Sulasman, 2007:23).

From sources found by the researchers, Ahmad Sanoesi's teachers in those two *pesantrens* were not mentioned. Another *pesantren*, where Ahmad Sanoesi studied, was *Pesantren* Gudang in Tasikmalaya. In this *pesantren*, Ahmad Sanoesi studied to his teacher Sudja'i for twelve months. After that, he continued his study to *Pesantren* Gentur in Cianjur under supervision of Ahmad Sjatibi, for three months. Ahmad Sanoesi continued to study in *Pesantren* Keresek (for seven months) and *Pesantren* Bunikasih (for three months) in Garut. Unfortunately, Ahmad Sanoesi's teachers in these two *pesantrens* were not mentioned. Then, Ahmad Sanoesi came back to study at *Pesantren* Babakan Selaawi, Kebon Pedes, Baros, in Sukabumi. In this *pesantren*, Ahmad Sanoesi learned on Islamic teachings to his teacher, Affandi.<sup>2</sup>

Based on a story narrated by A. Badri Sanusi (Ahmad Sanoesi's son) to Muhammad Iskandar, among several *pesantrens* where Ahmad Sanoesi studied, *Pesantren* Gentur in Cianjur was a very interesting one. In this *pesantren*, Ahmad Sanoesi has had different opinion with his teacher when he studied *Ilmu Mantiq* (logic as a discipline). For Islamic students (*santri*) at that time, having different opinion or arguing against teacher (*kyai*) were impolite and forbidden (*tabu*). Thus, Ahmad Sanoesi was considered to have broken *pesantren's* norms (Iskandar, 1993:4).

When he was studying at *Pesantren* Babakan Selaawi, Ahmad Sanoesi met Djoewariyah, daughter of *kyai* who own this *pesantren*. They then married and several months after marriage, they went to perform pilgrimage (*hajj*) in Mecca. Unfortunately, Ahmad Sanoesi did not explain his journey to Mecca, both route and first places they visited in Middle East. However, it was clear

<sup>1</sup>See "Proses Verbaal Hadji Ahmad Sanoesi, Tanggal 7 Oktober 1919" in *Koleksi R.A. Kern*, No.278, KITLV, RA.III-6. No.S.283 (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia).

<sup>2</sup>See, for further information, "Surat Residen Priangan, Tanggal 15 Desember 1927, No.50/E, Salinan" in *Mailrapporten Geheim*, No.679 X/28 (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia); and A.M. Sipahoetar (1946:72).

that after finishing pilgrimage rituals, Ahmad Sanoesi and his wife did not directly return back to Sukabumi. They stayed and studied Islamic teachings in Mecca for several times (Sulasman, 2007:24; and Falah, 2009:18). Therefore, Ahmad Sanoesi was considered to have a deep knowledge of Islam, because he not only studied in several *pesantrens* in Indonesia, but also continued his education in Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

During his study in Mecca, Ahmad Sanoesi has many teachers such as 'Ali al-Maliki, 'Ali al-Thajjibi, Shaleh Bafadhil, Sa'id Djawani, Abdullah Djamawi, and Moehammad Djoenaidi. Among Ahmad Sanoesi's teachers was Shaleh Bafadhil who was popularly known as *Mufti* (adviser on religious law) of Mecca. Another Ahmad Sanoesi's teacher in Mecca was Moehammad Djoenaidi who originally came from Garut, West Java. All Ahmad Sanoesi's teachers have the same *madzhab* (Islamic school of thought), namely *Syafi'i* (Mawardi, 1985:43; Iskandar, 1993:3; and Sulasman, 2007:24). Some resources also mentioned that because Ahmad Sanoesi was much closed to Shaleh Bafadhil and his "depth" understanding of Islamic knowledge, he was ever appointed to lead a prayer (*imam*) at *Masjidil Haram* (Grand Mosque) in Mecca. At that time, almost all Muslim from Sukabumi who performed pilgrimage (*hajj*) and returned back to Indonesia from Mecca, would talk about Ahmad Sanoesi who was very young, but led prayer successfully in Mecca (cited in Mawardi, 1985:45).

During his study in Mecca, Ahmad Sanoesi met Abdoel Moeloek in 1913. Abdoel Moeloek showed Ahmad Sanoesi the *statuten* or a statute (*Anggaran Dasar*) of Muslim organization, i.e. SI (*Syarekat Islam* or Islamic League) of Indonesia. Abdoel Moeloek asked Ahmad Sanoesi to join the organization; and Ahmad Sanoesi agreed to join because SI was considered by Ahmad Sanoesi to have the same objectives with his struggle.

However, the process of Ahmad Sanoesi's acceptance as a member of SI was different with other members. Ahmad Sanoesi joined SI without *bai'at* or *sumpah* (oath). It seems that Abdoel Moeloek did not have an authority to take Ahmad Sanoesi an oath. Since that

meeting in Mecca, Ahmad Sanoesi became a member of SI.<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Sanoesi returned back to Sukabumi in 1915. And according to Sulasman (2007:25), when Ahmad Sanoesi returned back to Sukabumi from Mecca, he brought huge numbers of *kitab kuning* (classical books of Islam). At that time, only rarely religious scholars (*kyai*) in Sukabumi have had these books collection.

### THE HISTORY OF AHMAD SANOESI'S ISOLATION (*INTERNEER*)

As soon as he returned from Mecca, Ahmad Sanoesi was obliged by his father to teach at *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) Cantayan. In this *pesantren*, Ahmad Sanoesi implemented a new method of teaching that was very different with other teachers, including his father. Ahmad Sanoesi started to change a method of *halaqah* with a new method, which he learned from Mecca. Ahmad Sanoesi delivered his teachings by using a simple language. Through his new method in teaching, teaching's materials that he delivered were accepted easier by the students (*santri*). Thus, in a very short time, Ahmad Sanoesi was called *Ajengan* (religious leader in Sundanese society). Dutch colonial resources mentioned that Ahmad Sanoesi was called as *Ajengan Cantayan* or *Kyai Cantayan*, it means that he is as Islamic religious leader from Cantayan (*ibidem* with footnote 3).

From time to time, number of Ahmad Sanoesi followers (*jamaah*) increased dramatically. His father, then, advised Ahmad Sanoesi to establish a *pesantren* in 1920, at the village of Babakan Sirna, Genteng. During opening ceremony of the *pesantren*, Ahmad Sanoesi's students were not less than 170 students (Iskandar, 1993:6).

In addition to actively teaching, Ahmad Sanoesi also joined organization of SI (*Syarekat Islam* or Islamic League) Sukabumi District. In this organization, Ahmad Sanoesi was ever appointed as an adviser of organization. However, he became a member for only ten months. He resigned from this organization, because he has had different

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, "Proses Verbaal Hadji Ahmad Sanoesi, Tanggal 7 Oktober 1919" in *Koleksi R.A. Kern*, No.278, KITLV, RA.III-6. No.S.283 (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia).

opinion with the Chairman and Secretary of SI of Sukabumi District in term of organization's vision and mission, which was according to Ahmad Sanoesi different from what he known about SI from Abdoel Moeloek when they met in Mecca.

Chairman and Secretary of SI Sukabumi District at that time were Haji Sirod and Sardjono. It was known that Sardjono was a figure of SI who was at the same time also led organization of SR (*Syarekat Rakyat* or People League) which had a Communism tendency. Therefore, when the case of SI *Afdeeling B* in 1919 occurred, Ahmad Sanoesi was considered to be one of Muslim scholars (*kyai*), who involved in the case. Ahmad Sanoesi was accused to hide *Kyai Adro'i* (the figure of SI *Afdeeling B*) who was a fugitive person. However, Ahmad Sanoesi was freed from accusation, because no enough evidences that he involved in the case.<sup>4</sup>

Ahmad Sanoesi's talent to become a writer started when he was a religious teacher at *Pesantren* Cantayan. Several books written by Ahmad Sanoesi were printed and distributed to the public audiences, such as: (1) *Tafriju Qulub al-Mu'minin fi Tarjamati Surati Yasin* or Interpretation and Translation the Verse of *Yasin* in Sundanese. This book was published by a popular publisher at that time called Publisher of Syekh Abdullah bin Afif Cirebon; (2) *Kasyf as-Sa'adah fi Tafsiri Surat al-Waqi'ah* or Interpretation and Translation the Verse of *al-Waqi'ah* in Sundanese, published by Boekhandel en Steendrukkerij, Sayyid Yahya, Tanah Abang Weltevreden; and (3) *Qawanin ad-Diniyyah wa Dunyawiyah fi Umri Zakat wa al-Fitrah*, published by publisher of Gunung Puyuh.

The influence of his writings could be seen from the fact that Ahmad Sanoesi's students improved; and he was considered by people as a brilliant; and people admired him as a *kyai* who had more Islamic knowledges compare to that of *kyai* in Sukabumi at that time. Unfortunately, the admiration of people

to Ahmad Sanoesi at that time was misused by SI *Afdeeling B* Sukabumi (popularly known as Red SI or Left SI) to confront Ahmad Sanoesi with another religious leader in Sukabumi, namely Ahmad Djoewaini. Ahmad Sanoesi's writing, *Qawanin ad-Diniyyah wa Dunyawiyah fi Umri Zakat wa al-Fitrah* was considered as Ahmad Sanoesi's confrontation to the Dutch's policy on the collection of *zakat-fitrah* (Islamic tithe in rice or money paid on last day of fasting month).

In addition, in a report of PID (*Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* or Police and Intelligence Agent) to Dutch colonial, Ahmad Sanoesi was accused to cooperate with *Kyai* Samin to resist Dutch colonial in Sukabumi. This accusation was related sabotage act done by *Kyai* Samin's students in 1925. *Kyai* Samin's students cut telegraphic cable of train which crossed the village of Babakan Sirna, Genteng, where Ahmad Sanoesi's *pesantren* took place. As a result, in 1926, Ahmad Sanoesi was caught by Dutch colonial. However, according to Ahmad Sanoesi's family, he did not do what Dutch colonial suspected or accused (Mawardi, 2011:102-103).

Ahmad Sanoesi was jailed for two years without judgeship or tribunal. Based on *Besluit* (government decree) Governor-General of Hindia Belanda Number 2 X, on 11 September 1928, Ahmad Sanoesi was isolated to Kampung Bali, Tanah Abang, Weltevreden, Batavia (Jakarta now). The reason for Ahmad Sanoesi's isolation was not because of his writing on *zakat* (tithe) or his cooperation with *Kyai* Samin, but due to his activities which were reckoned by the Dutch to disturb public security, particularly in Western Priangan in West Java.<sup>5</sup> However, if the isolation of Ahmad Sanoesi was due to his dangerous activities to disturb public security, the Dutch has failed because Ahmad Sanoesi successfully continued keeping in touch with his students.

The continuous contact between Ahmad Sanoesi and his students could be clearly known from the fact that Ahmad Sanoesi's proposal to move from Gang Kampung Bali

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, "Proces Verbaal Hadji Ahmad Sanoesi, Tanggal 7 Oktober 1919" in *Koleksi R.A. Kern*, No.278, KITLV, RA.III-6. No.S.283 (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia); Sekjen DTK RI (2009:45); and Asep Mukhtar Mawardi (2011:100).

<sup>5</sup>See "Uitbrek uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indie No.2 X, Batavia den 11 den September 1928" in *ANRI [Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia]*.

Kecil No.6 Tanah Abang, Batavia to *Gemeente Meester Cornelis* at Jatinegara reached the Governor-General of Dutch colonial. Ahmad Sanoesi's letter was sent to Governor-General passed along Regent and Police Commissioner. In addition, a continuous contact between Ahmad Sanoesi and his students could also be seen from the fact that there were several letters found in several places in regard with Ahmad Sanoesi's proposal to move.

These letters were found by Muhammad Iskandar at ARA (*Algemeen Rijksarchief* or Geeral Royal Archives) Den Haag and by Asep Mukhtar Mawardi at ANRI (*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* or National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), which are: (1) A Letter from Batavia Regent to Batavia Resident on 12 June 1929, No.234/Z.G.; (2) A Letter from Police Commissioner to Batavia Resident on 19 June 1929, No.574/Geh.; (3) A Letter from Batavia Resident to Governor of West Java on 5 July 1929, No.1144/F, *Geheim Eigenhandig*; and (4) A Letter from Governor of West Java to *Guverneur Generaal*, on 10 July 1929, No.G51/14/14. Those letters could be found in *Mailrapporten Geheim* No.1057 X/29. Ahmad Sanoesi, who was in jail in Batavia, was impossible to send these letters by himself (cited in Iskandar, 1993; and Mawardi, 2011).<sup>6</sup>

Another fact was different responses to Ahmad Sanoesi's proposal. There were controversies among Dutch leaders in response to Ahmad Sanoesi's letter. For example, on the one hand, Batavia Regent did not reject Ahmad Sanoesi's proposal to move (from Gang Kampung Bali Kecil No.6 Tanah Abang, Batavia to *Gemeente Meester Cornelis*, at Jatinegara). For Batavia Regent,

if Ahmad Sanoesi kept staying in Batavia, he would be more dangerous for Dutch. He found that Ahmad Sanoesi had made a contact with provocateurs of PNI (*Partai Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesia National Party) in Tanah Abang. On the other hand, the Head of Police Commissioner in Batavia did not agree with Batavia Regent's idea. For the Commissioner, during Ahmad Sanoesi's isolation in Batavia and under supervision of police, he has been able to make a contact with his students outside the jail; if he moved to *Meester Cornelis* (without security supervision), Ahmad Sanoesi would make more intensive contact with his students and colleagues from PNI (led by Sartono). The Resident of Batavia, J.C. de Berg had the same idea with Police Commissioner of Batavia. According to J.C. de Bergh, to remove Ahmad Sanoesi to *Meester Cornelis* means to grow a problem and conflict at Jatinegara. The Governor of West Java has had also the same idea with J.C. de Berg (Iskandar, 1991:247-248).

However, Gobee as *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken* (the Advicer for Indigenous Matters) understood the aim of Ahmad Sanoesi's proposal. For Gobee, the political view of Ahmad Sanoesi was not dangerous and the Dutch should not afraid. To strengthen his argument, Gobee showed six books written by Ahmad Sanoesi during his ten months isolation in Batavia. According to Gobee, books written by Sanoesi were religious books consisted religious rituals and dogma for ordinary people (*orang awam*). However, Gobee honestly said that there was a little critic to the Dutch colonial in Ahmad Sanoesi's books. Gobee further said that Ahmad Sanoesi's books were published by Sayyid Yahya bin Usman's publisher with a high cost. Thus, Ahmad Sanoesi's aim to move to *Meester Cornelis* was to establish his own publication because in Batavia, Ahmad Sanoesi could not free from Sayyid Yahya's publisher. Moreover, in the new place (Jatinegara), Ahmad Sanoesi would stay and live around orthodox Islamic teachers (*kyai*) who were governmental *kyai*. Thus, according to Gobee, in a new place, Ahmad Sanoesi would be more "isolated" compare to his stay in Batavia (cited in Iskandar, 1991:248).

<sup>6</sup>See, for further information, "Surat Bupati Batavia kepada Residen Batavia (A Letter of Regent Batavia to Resident Batavia), on 12 June 1929, No.234/Z.G.ARA" in ANRI [*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*]; "Surat Gubernur Jawa Barat kepada *Guverneur Generaal* (A Letetr of Governor of West Java to Governor-General), on 10 July 1929, No.G51/14/14, ARA" in ANRI [*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*]; "Surat Kepala Komisarisi Polisi kepada Residen Batavia (A Letter of Chief of Police to Resident of Batavia), on 19 June 1929, No.574/Geh. ARA" in ANRI [*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*]; "Surat Residen Batavia kepada Gubernur Jawa Barat (A Letter of Resident of Batavia to Governor of West Java), on 5 July 1929, No.1144/F" in *Geheim Eigenhandig*, ARA (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia); and "Surat Residen Priangan (A Letter of Priangan Resident) on 15 December 1927, No.50/E" in *Mailr Geheim*, No.679X/28 (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia).

The polemic of Ahmad Sanoesi's displacement seemed to never end. The Governor of West Java, Hartelust, in his letter to Governor-General of Batavia on 8 August 1929, questioned the argument of Gobee. Hartelust was teasing Gobee in regard with Gobee approval of Batavia as an appropriate place for Ahmad Sanoesi's isolation beforehand. And now, Hartelust was questioning Ahmad Sanoesi's motive to move to Jatinegara, life or job's motive? To respond Governor's argument, Gobee said that wherever Ahmad Sanoesi stayed and lived, his influence was around.<sup>7</sup>

### THE ESTABLISHMENT HISTORY OF AL-ITTIHADIJATOEL ISLAMIJJAH (AII)

While Dutch leaders were discussing the polemic to whether accept Ahmad Sanoesi's proposal or not, Ahmad Sanoesi was busy to meet *kyai* (Islamic scholar and figure in Java) and his students. They informed Ahmad Sanoesi about development of religious understanding among people in Keresidenan Priangan and Buitenzorg (Bogor now), particularly in *Afdeeling* (section) Sukabumi. On 8 *Rabi'ul Akhir* 1349 (1930), several Ahmad Sanoesi's colleagues (consisting of *kyais* and religious teachers) from Sukabumi and Karawang visited Ahmad Sanoesi in Batavia. During the visit, they brought a newspaper and magazine called *Sipatahoenan* (Test Lake) and *Tjahaja Islam* (Light of Islam). In these newspaper and magazine, the writings of Muhammad Zakaria popularly (known as *Kyai Ba'ali*) and Anwar Sanusi on *ibadah* (ritual) according to Islamic *sharia* (law) were published.

Ahmad Sanoesi's colleagues informed him that people in grassroots level were confused because of these writings. People confused to whether their *ibadah* they performed were based on Islamic *sharia* and accepted by God or not (Sanoesi, 1930:2). After reading these articles, Ahmad Sanoesi then wrote a book entitled *Tahdzirul Awam min Muftarayati Cahaya Islam*, a guidance book for the common people based on the Islamic truth and values.

<sup>7</sup>See, for example, "Surat Tanggal 8 Agustus 1929, No.G51/16/9, Salinan" in *Mailrapporten Geheim*, No. 1057 X/29, ARA; and Muhammad Iskandar (1991:250).

This book was published in 1930 by Harun bin Ali Ibrahim's publisher Pekojan, Betawi (Jakarta now).

In addition to his book, *Tahdzirul Awam min Muftarayati Cahaya Islam*, Ahmad Sanoesi also published a periodical monthly magazine called *Al-Hidajatoel Islamijjah* (God or Islamic Guidance), firstly published on March 1931.<sup>8</sup> Due to a monthly publication of *Al-Hidajatoel Islamijjah*, Ahmad Sanoesi's meetings with his colleagues and students were very intensive. In these meetings, Ahmad Sanoesi proposed the idea to establish an organization where *kyai* and Muslims people in Sukabumi could unite.

At almost the same time, in *Afdeeling* Sukabumi, there were two influential groups that are *Kaum Mujadid* (reformer) and PSI (*Partai Sarekat Islam* or Islamic League Party). The movement of PSI at that time was considered to be a very dangerous movement by Dutch colonial. Thus, according to Ahmad Sanoesi, it was important to establish an encountered organization that could resist PSI's movement. This idea was welcomed by religious Muslim reformers who disagreed with PSI's existence (Iskandar, 1991:254). Muslim reformers (*ulama kaum*) led by Hasan Basri from *Pesantren Babakan Cicurug* gathered *ulamas* (Muslim scholars) in Sukabumi to join. Hasan Basri also sent a letter to Ahmad Sanoesi in Batavia. Unfortunately, Ahmad Sanoesi who has known attitude (*tabi'at*) of Hasan Basri rejected to join. Thus, Cicurug's meeting was held without Ahmad Sanoesi's presence (Sulasman, 2007:69).

In Cicurug's meeting, they agreed an organization platform and decide to choose who would become a leader of organization. The group of *Ulama Kaum* agreed to choose Hasan Basri as a leader. However, the *kyai* or *ulama* outside *Ulama Kaum* rejected to join the organization, except Ahmad Sanoesi became a head of organization. It was assumed that the numbers of *Ulama Kaum* were less compare to that of outside *Ulama Kaum*, Ahmad Sanoesi then was chosen to lead the organization. After the agreement, they sent Dasuki to Batavia to inform results of Cicurug meeting and

<sup>8</sup>See the magazine of *Al-Hidajatoel Islamijjah*, No.1, March 1931.

asked Ahmad Sanoesi to become their leader (Mawardi, 2011:205).

After listening to Dasuki's explanation, Ahmad Sanoesi agreed to become a leader or *vootzitter* of the organization (Sulasman, 2007:70; and Shaleh, 2011:10-11). On 21-22 November 1931, there was a meeting in Batavia Centrum (Central Jakarta now). In this meeting, they decided to name organization as *Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijah* (AII), meaning of Islamic Unity, arrange organization structures or *Hoofdbestuur*, and decide an official office of the organization at Tanah Tinggi No.191, Kramat-Batavia (Siti Nurani, 2005:53; and Falah, 2009:78). The first programs of *Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijah* (AII) were held *pengajian-pengajian* (Islamic teachings and gathering), *tabligh-tabligh* (preach at such meetings), and encouraged the *kyai* to establish *madrasah-madrasah* (Islamic modern schools).

Because at that time Ahmad Sanoesi was a "city detainee" in Batavia (he can not go to outside *Gemeente Batavia* and *Meester Cornelis*), he could not freely develop his organization of AII. Thus, to accelerate the program of AII, Ahmad Sanoesi appointed Sjafe'i from *Pesantren* Pangkalan Sukabumi as a *Hoofdbestuur* (chairman) who run daily activities of AII and appointed him as a District Chairman of AII Sukabumi (Iskandar, 1991:255). Since his appointment, many *kyais* joined the organization of AII. They not only came from Sukabumi, but also from Karawang, Purwakarta, Bogor, Cianjur, Bandung, Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis in West Java (Mawardi, 2011:208).

### THE MOVEMENT HISTORY OF *AL-ITTIHADIJATOEL ISLAMIJAH* (AII)

Firstly, *Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijah* (AII) during the Dutch Colonial Era. After becoming a chairman of AII (*Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijah* or Islamic Unity), the influence of Ahmad Sanoesi has strengthened. Although AII was formally a social-religious organization, but in practice AII involved in nationalism movement. In its very young age, AII became the most "militant" organization in the area of *Karesidenan* Bogor and Sukabumi (Iskandar, 1991:256; and Sulasman, 2007:71).

The report of *Bupati* (Regent) Sukabumi, on 28 August 1933, stated that many *kyais* (Islamic scholars in Java) from AII became leading figures of PI (*Partij Indonesia* or Indonesian Party) / PARTINDO (*Partai Indonesia*) and PNI (*Partai Nasionalis Indonesia* or Indonesia National Party). In this report was also mentioned that there were members of PNI and PARTINDO who taught at several schools of AII (Iskandar, 1991:256; and Sulasman, 2007:71). The Regent of Sukabumi was afraid of AII development after he read article published by AII in a *Soeara Moeslim* (Moslem Voice) newspaper. The Regent of Sukabumi said that the political orientation of AII was very clear and active (cited in Iskandar, 1991:257).

Up to 1933, the status of Ahmad Sanoesi's detainee in Batavia Centrum was unclear. However, since the activities of AII increased, colleagues and activists of AII who visited Ahmad Sanoesi in Batavia increased as well. The members of AII also demonstrated their militancy and the Dutch colonial could not stop their movement and development. In 1932, it was informed that Dutch colonial intended to return back Ahmad Sanoesi to Sukabumi, but his status was still a "city detainee". The reasons for Dutch to relocate Ahmad Sanoesi to Sukabumi were, firstly, because Sukabumi was considered to be a relatively isolated place from nationalism movement; and, secondly, if Ahmad Sanoesi stayed in Sukabumi, it was easy for Dutch to ask his responsibility for AII activities which disadvantage Dutch colonial (Sulasman, 2007:72).

On July 3, 1934 the Governor-General de Jonge issued the *besluit* (government decree) which ordered Ahmad Sanoesi to remove from Batavia Centrum to Sukabumi under "a city detainee" status.<sup>9</sup> When the *besluit* was issued, at the end of 1934, Ahmad Sanoesi and his family returned back to Sukabumi. Because Ahmad Sanoesi's status was a city detainee, he could not directly come back to his hometown, *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) Genteng or Cantayan, because both of these places

<sup>9</sup>See, for example, "Besluit No.32, Tanggal 3 Juli 1934" in *Collection of Binnenlandsche Bestuur*, No.5154 (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia); and Muhammad Iskandar (1991:259).



were outside *gemeente* (city are) of Sukabumi. Thus, Ahmad Sanoesi firstly stayed in Cipelang Gede. Then, he decided to stay in his brother's house, Abdoellah, in Vogelweg or Jalan Burung No.100, and now as Jalan Bayangkara No.33, Kelurahan/Kecamatan Gunungpuyuh, Kota Sukabumi (Shaleh, 2011:12).

Ahmad Sanoesi's return to Sukabumi was greeted by members of AII, but moaned by his opposition, particularly *Ulama Kaum* (Islamic religious officials and scholars who are in charge of the mosque). With the back up from the Dutch colonial, *Ulama Kaum* continued to disturb activities of Ahmad Sanoesi and members of AII. Besides the back up of Dutch, *Ulama Kaum* was also urged by *Sarekat Hejo* (Green/Islamic League) and *Pamitran* (Brotherhood Organization). They sometimes disturbed and interrupted activities of AII. AII has ever reported the disturbance of members of *Sarekat Hejo* and *Pamitran* to *Assisten Wedana* or *Bupati* (Regent). However, they did not follow up the report. As a result, young activists of AII then established a paramilitary group what they called *Barisan Ittihad Islamijah* (BII) to guard AII activities. BII was then finally admitted as an official *orgaan* of AII in 1937 led by Mh. Basjunie (Shaleh, 1966:22-24; and Sulasman, 2007:73).

At the end of 1938, Ahmad Sanoesi's freedom seems to have a "green light". It was firstly marked by an issuing statement of Regent of Sukabumi, Soeria Danoeningrat, on October 18, 1938 followed by other statements from the government officials at that time, such as from the *Assisten Residen* of Sukabumi, Tacoma, on October 19, 1938; *Politieke Inlichtingen Dienst* (PID) *Keresidenan* Bogor and Banten, Steensma, on October 31, 1938; and *Residen* of Bogor, van Rossen, on November 3, 1938. The content of their letters were almost the same that was agree with the view of Pijper, who replaced Gobee as *Adviseur voor Inlandse Zaken* (Adviser for Indigenous Matters), to release Ahmad Sanoesi from detainee centre. Because of several statement letters above, the *Karesidenan* Batavia agreed to release Ahmad Sanoesi (Iskandar, 1991:273).

Besides statemnet letters mentioned above, the *Mantri Polisi* (Police Aide) of Cianjur also

sent a report to *Residen* (head of residency) Bogor on January 21, 1939 stated that people in Cianjur collected signatures and petition which asked Ahmad Sanoesi's release. This report then became a consideration of *Residen* Bogor in his letter to Governor of West Java on January 25, 1939. This consideration was reported by West Java Governor to the Governor-General in Batavia (now Jakarta). Pijper, as *Adviseur voor Inlandse Zaken*, agreed with the statement of West Java Governor (cited in Iskandar, 1991:273). Thus, Ahmad Sanoesi, then, was released on February 20, 1939 after the Governor-General Tjarda van Starkenborgh issued a letter No.3 consisted a statement that Ahmad Sanoesi was released.<sup>10</sup>

Several months after Ahmad Sanoesi's freedom, AII held a third congress in Bandung from 23 to 26 December 1939. This third AII Congress was almost the same time with the war of *Asia Timur Raya* (Great East Asia). At that time, in Dutch Hindia (*Hindia Belanda*) there were number of parties and mass organizations which were some based on Islamic ideology and some neutral organizations. Thus, some AII members and sympathizers encouraged AII to become a political party. However, the congress rejected this idea due to several reasons.

*First*, there were too many political parties at that time, including Islamic political parties. AII did not need to make a new competition with existing political parties. In addition, without declaring AII as a political party, many AII members have taken part as members of existed political parties, such as: A. Zarkasji Sanoesi was actively in PII (*Partai Islam Indonesia* or Indonesia Islamic Party); Atjun Mansur was actively in GERINDO (*Gerakan Indonesia* or Indonesian Movement); and Mr. Sjamsuddin was actively and as Chairman of PARINDRA (*Partai Indonesia Raya* or the Great Indonesia Party) in West Java (Shaleh, 1966:24).

*Second*, based on its statute (*statuten*) chapter 2, AII's objective was to develop intellectual and life of Indonesian Muslim. AII members should respect other members who have actively involved in existed political

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, *Mailrapporten Geheim*, No.248 geh/39, ARA as cited in Muhammad Iskandar (1991:274).

parties. AII did not want its members who have joined political parties became confused if AII changed from mass organization to become a political party. According to Platform of AII, as mentioned in its *statuten*, AII gave a freedom to his members to articulate their political aspiration to political parties they have chosen.

On this third congress, AII have successfully made re-organization. In this congress, Abdoerrahim was chosen to become a *Hoofdbestuur* (Chairman) and Ahmad Sanoesi became an *Adviseur* (Adviser) of the organization. The congress also decided to add five *madjelis* (sections) that were: (1) *Madjelis Tardjih* or Expert Board in Islamic Matters; (2) *Madjelis Tabligh and Propaganda* or Section of Preaching and Propaganda; (3) *Madjelis Sosial* or Social Section; (4) *Madjelis Ekonomi* or Economic Section; and (5) *Madjelis Ittihadijiah Madaris Islamijjah* or Section of Islamic Modern School Unity. In addition, AII also decided two autonomy wing organizations: BII (*Barisan Ittihad Islamijjah* or Front of Islamic Unity) for young male members and *Zainabijah* for female members (Mawardi, 2011:209).

The forth congress was held one year later in Cianjur from 24 to 27 December 1940. Two autonomy wing organization: *Zainabijah*, BII, and IMI (*Ittihad Madaris Islamijjah* or Islamic Modern School Unity) were present in this congress. At that time, many nationalist parties were promoting the idea of *Indonesia Berparlemen* (Indonesian must have the parliament). AII responded to this issue by strengthening the position of its autonomy wing organizations: BII and *Zainabijah*. Moreover, the congress decided to add one organization section or *madjelis*, namely *Madjelis Pers* or mass media section (Wanta, 1991:19; and Mawardi, 2011:209).

On December 24-27, 1941, AII held its fifth congress in Batavia. Asep Mukhtar Mawardi stated that this fifth congress was focused to strengthened AII organizational structure or *organ* AII. Up to AII fifth congress, there was no single governmental apparatus came to the congress arena (Mawardi, 2011). AII actually did not invite any representative of government to come to the congress, because

Ahmad Sanoesi was anti Dutch colonial government (Darmawan, 2009:66; and Mawardi, 2011: 210).

Secondly, *Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijjah (AII) during the Japanese Occupation*. The attitude of Ahmad Sanoesi and members of AII (*Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijjah* or Islamic Unity), that was anti-Dutch, different from their response to Japanese occupation, 1942-1945. Ahmad Sanoesi and other members of AII were very welcome to Japanese. It was informed that the relationship between Ahmad Sanoesi and Japanese have started in 1938. In 1938, the Dutch colonial was wondering if there was something special between Ahmad Sanoesi and Japanese. However, Ahmad Sanoesi could make sure the Dutch government that his relationship with Japanese was pure economic relationship for a business need of AII organization (Sulasman, 2007:75; and Darmawan, 2009:67).

From their early cooperation, it was assumed that Ahmad Sanoesi has been informed that Japanese would occupy and came to Dutch Hindia (*Hindia Belanda*) or Indonesia. Ahmad Sanoesi also got this information from his friends who were active in MIAI (*Madjelis Islam A'la Indonesia* or Council of All Indonesian Moslems) and other AII members who were active in political parties. Moreover, the information of Japanese's present could also be found by Ahmad Sanoesi from Soetan Sjahrir and Mohamad Hatta who in early 1942 stayed in official house of *Agent Polisheschool* (School of Police) in Sukabumi, West Java. Soetan Sjahrir and Mohamad Hatta have taken a rest in Sukabumi after their isolation in Banda Island (Mawardi, 2011:116).

It was not found when actually the Japanese came to Sukabumi. However, a quick process of Japanese occupation in Sukabumi, according to Asep Mukhtar Mawardi (1985:98), could not be separated from the role of Ahmad Sanoesi who asked members of AII and BII to help Japanese to find out military base camp of Dutch colonial in Sukabumi. Due to Ahmad Sanoesi's experiences living under Dutch colonialism, his choices were not to cooperate or not-cooperate, but his choice was to compromise or to be wiped

out. Ahmad Sanoesi was aware, if he chosen non-cooperative with the Japanese, it would be disadvantages him and AII organization. Ahmad Sanoesi then accepted an offer of Muni'am Inada (a Japanese representative who is Moslem) to cooperate with Japanese.

During the Japanese occupation, Indonesian Moslems have had a "more room" to activate compare to that of under the Dutch colonial (Benda, 1980:165). Ahmad Sanoesi and AII also had more opportunities to develop the organization. Firstly, for example, while other Moslem groups were disbanded to have political activities, Ahmad Sanoesi and AII could continue their activities, except publication's activity (Mawardi, 2011:117).

Secondly, on May 19, 1943 Ahmad Sanoesi was appointed as a member of *Kaikyo Kyoshi Koshu-Cho* or the instructor of military training for *kyai* (Islamic scholars in Java). At the same year, Ahmad Sanoesi successfully negotiated with Japanese to re-activate his organization which was officially disbanded during the Dutch colonial era. On September 1943, AII was officially re-activated and changed its name became POII (*Persatoean Oemmat Islam Indonesia* or United of Indonesia Islamic Society); and its organization was officially registered by law under Japanese occupation government on February 1, 1944 (Hernawan, 2013).

Thirdly, on May 25, 1944 Ahmad Sanoesi was offered to become a member of *Shu Sangi Kai* or *Dewan Penasihat Daerah* or Local Advisory Board for *Keresidenan* (residency) Bogor. At the same year, Mr. R. Sjamsoeddin, one of AII members and activist of PARINDRA (*Partai Indonesia Raya* or the Great Indonesia Party), which was officially banned on July 27, 1942, was offered to become chairman of *Gerakan Tiga A* or Three A's Movement, namely: Japan as leader of Asia, Japan as protector of Asia, dan Japan as light of Asia (Iskandar, 1991:276; and Sulasman, 2007:76).

Forthly, at the end of 1944, Ahmad Sanoesi was appointed as Vice Resident of Bogor and became the only one of *pribumi* (indigenous) people who held an executive position (Benda, 1980:218). And finally, fifthly, when the *Dokuritu Zyunbi Tyoosakai* or BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik dan Usaha-usaha Persiapan*

*Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or Investigation Body for Preparing and Working of Indonesia Independence) was established on April 29, 1945, Ahmad Sanoesi and Mr. R. Sjamsoeddin became members of this new organization (Bahar *et al.*, 1995:xxv-xxvii; and Herlina Lubis *et al.*, 2011:17).

Ahmad Sanoesi's important opinions in BPUPKI's meetings could be seen at the plenary meeting held on July 10, 1945 when they discussed the Indonesian form of state if Indonesia became independence. In this meeting, a long and serious discussion has happened among members, such as Soesanto, Dahler, Mohammad Yamin, Wongsonegoro, and Singgih, which paved the way Soeroso as Vice Chairman of meeting closed the meeting at 13.30 (1.30 PM West Indonesian Time). The meeting was continued at 3.30 PM. The discussion on Indonesian form of state continued, and Soekardjo Wirjopranoto was offered to deliver his idea. Soekiman also delivered his idea which was argued against by Latuharhary. The discussion then ended to two choices whether Indonesia would become a monarchy or republic. At this point, Ahmad Sanoesi was offered by Radjiman Wideodiningrat to deliver his idea. Ahmad Sanoesi proposed the idea of *imamat* (priesthood or leadership state) for the form of Indonesian state (Iskandar, 1991:277; and Bahar *et al.*, 1995:107-124).

After Ahmad Sanoesi's delivered his idea, Radjiman Wideodiningrat as a Chairman of the meeting said, as follows: "*If there were not other members, who intended to deliver his thought, we would vote to decide an Indonesian form of state: monarchy, republic, or others*". Before a voting (stem) was held, Woerjaningrat asked the chairman: "*What did mean by others?*" Radjiman Wideodiningrat answered: "*For example the form of 'imamat' as proposed by Ahmad Sanoesi*". Mohammad Yamin then explained that between *republic* and *imamat* were no different. Ahmad Sanoesi also explained what he mean by *imamat* was republic. After that, Soeroso informed that to make a voting successful, it was necessary to form a commission. Then a commission was formed consisted Pratalykrama, Ahmad Sanoesi, and Dasaad as members. Dasaad

then was appointed as a Chairman of the commission. When Dassad informed the result, from 64 members, 55 members chosen republic, 6 members chosen monarchy, 2 members chosen others, and 1 member was abstain (cited in Bahar *et al.*, 1995:124-125).

Ahmad Sanoesi's role in BPUPKI, besides he contributed an idea of *imamat* or republic, he also contributed to the idea of border line for an independence state (Bahar *et al.*, 1995:157-158). Furthermore, when three *Bunkakai* (committee) of jurisprudence/laws draft were formed, namely: (1) Section of Constitution or *Undang-Undang Dasar*, (2) Section of Monetary and Economic, and (3) Section of Judiciary or *Pembelaan*, Ahmad Sanoesi and Mr. R. Sjamsoeddin were appointed as members of Section of Judiciary (Bahar *et al.*, 1995:204).

Thirdly, ***Persatoean Oemmat Islam Indonesia (POII) during Independent Era and Sanoesi's End of Life.*** Ahmad Sanoesi's activities and POII (*Persatoean Oemmat Islam Indonesia* or United of Indonesia Islamic Society) did not end when Japanese occupation ended in 1945. In the Independence War era in Indonesia (1945-1949), Ahmad Sanoesi was registered as a member of KNIP (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* or Centre of National Indonesia Committee). When a Renville's Agreement was signed in 1948, and one of agreement's content was the capital city of Indonesia should move from Jakarta to Yogyakarta and Sukabumi was not part of Indonesian territory, Ahmad Sanoesi also should move from Sukabumi to Yogyakarta. When Ahmad Sanoesi was in Yogyakarta, his father Abdoerrahim passed away (Iskandar, 1991:277-278; and Mawardi, 2011:121).

When the war of Indonesia independence ended in 1949, Ahmad Sanoesi returned back to Sukabumi. One of political role of Ahmad Sanoesi at that time was his rejection to joining the movement of DI (*Daarul Islam* or Islamic Reign State) that was proclaimed by Kartosoewirjo in 1949. Ahmad Sanoesi did not agree with the idea of Kartosoewirjo on the Islamic state in Indonesia. For Ahmad Sanoesi, many of Kartosoewirjo's thought were not in line with Islamic teachings. For example, the

idea of *madjelis suffah* or board for special training of youth to be cadres; and also the right to veto hold by the *imam* or great Muslim leader (Jackson, 1990:30-31; and Sulasman, 2007:103). The same rejections to the Islamic state's idea of Kartosoewirjo were done by Yusuf Tojiri from Cipari, Garut; and Badruddin from Kadudampit, Sukabumi; and all Ahmad Sanoesi's students in West Java (Iskandar, 1991:278).

In Sukabumi, Ahmad Sanoesi was sick. Although he ever met his students and colleagues, he did not have opportunities to rebuild his *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) and POII organization. Thus, to manage the *pesantren* and POII, Ahmad Sanoesi gave his authority to his children, families, and students. And on Sunday night, 15 Syawal 1369 AH (*Anno Hijriyah*) / 1950 AD (*Anno Domini*), Ahmad Sanoesi passed away at age 63. He was buried at a hill, around 200 meters South of *Pesantren Gunung Puyuh* in Sukabumi, West Java, Indonesia (Mawardi, 2011:121).

***About the Writings of Ahmad Sanoesi.*** Ahmad Sanoesi was a very productive *kyai* (Islamic scholar and figure in Java) in writing books. He wrote more books than published articles in newspaper or magazine. A.M. Sipahoetar (1946:74) mentioned that during his 11 years of isolation (*interneer*) in Batavia Centrum, Ahmad Sanoesi wrote 200 books (thick and thin) related to Islamic issues. Ahmad Sanoesi himself, in his report to *Gunseikanbu Tjabang* (Branch Japanese Military Administration) I, Pegangsaan Timoer 36 Djakarta, on 2602/1942, mentioned several books as follow:

*Kitab-kitab jang bahasa Melajoe* (books written in Malay language): (1) *Tafsier Maldjaoettolibien, 1 boekoe*; (2) *Fadoilul kasbi, bab kasab dan ihtiar*; (3) *Mifatahoerrohmah, bab hadijah*; (4) *Tamsjijatul Moeslimien, 53 boekoe dari 7½ djoez Qoer'an*; (5) *Bab woedloe*; (6) *Bab bersentoeh*; (7) *Lidjamoel goeddar, bab ajah boenda nabi*; (8) *Jasin waqi'ah, di gantoeng loegat dan keterangannja*; (9) *Asma'oel hoesna, dengan ma'nanja serta choesoasiatnja*; (10) *Tahdzirul afkar, menolak kitab tasfijatul afkar*; (11) *Loe loeunnadied, ilmoe tauhied*; (12) *Tauhidul Moeslimien, tentang ilmoe tauhied*; (13) *Al-Djawahirul bahijah, tentang adab2ban istri*; (14) *Kurse lima ilmoe*,

10 nomer; (15) *Bahasan Adjroemijah*; (16) *Al-Hidajatul Islamijah*, 10 boekoe; (17) *Hiljatul a'qli, bab moertad*; (18) *Addaliel*, 10 nomer; (19) *Bab istigfar*; (20) *Fathoel moeqlatain, tentang pendirian djoemah*; (21) *Noeroel jaqien, penolakan Ahmadijah Qadian Lahore*, 2 boekoe; (22) *Tolakan kepada foetoehtat*; (23) *Silahul irfan 2, boekoe dari 2 djoez Qoer'an*; dan (24) *Miftahul djannah* (Gunseikanbu, 2602/1942).

According to Ahmad Sanoesi, as cited in Gunseikanbu (2602/1942), "*Inilah kitab2 karangan saja jang bahasa melajoe, jang mana sebagian masi sedia, dan sebagian soeda habis beloem bisa di tjitak lagi*" (These were books written by me in Malay language, among them were still available and some were out of stock and were not printed yet). Moreover, Ahmad Sanoesi also reported his 101 articles written in Sundanese language to *Gunseikanbu Tjabang I*, Pegangsaan Timoer 36 Djakarta, in 2602/1942. Unfortunately, these Ahmad Sanoesi's writings are currently difficult to be found.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>But, based on the researchers' tracing to Indonesian figures, Indonesian libraries, *Bebliotheek KITLV*, and *Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden* in Netherlands, only several articles are found, as follows: (1) *Al-Isyarat fi al-Farq Bain al-Shadaqat wa al-Dhiyafat*, 1934, Percetakan Al-Ittihad, Poncol Tanah Tinggi, Batavia Centrum; (2) *Al-Muthahhirat min al-Mukaffirat*, Tt, Tp, Sukabumi; (3) *A'iqadz al-Himam fi Ta'liq al-Hikam*, Tt, Tp, Sukabumi; (4) *Al-Jauhar al-Bahiyat fi Adab al-Mar'at al-Mutajawwijat*, Tt, Al-Ittihad, Poncol Tanah Tinggi, Batavia Centrum; (5) *Al-Lu'lu' al-Nadlid fi Masail al-Tauhid, Al-Sunat wa al-Jamaat*, Tt, Pekojan, Betawi; (6) *Al-Mathlab al-Asna fi Asma al-Husna*, Tt, Tp, Sukabumi; (7) *Al-Shilah al-Mahiyat li Thuruqal-Firaq al-Mubtad'at*, 1942, Tp, Sukabumi; (8) *Hilyat al-Aql wa al-Fikr*, Tt, Sayid Yahya ibn Usman, Tanah Abang; (9) *Hilyat al-Shibyan fi Bayan, Shaum Ramadhan*, Tt, Tp, Sukabumi; (10) *Tafsir Surat Al-Mulk*, Tt, Tp, Babakan Sirna, Sukabumi; (11) *Hidayat al-Qulub fi Fadhl, Surat Tabarak al-Mulk min Al-Qur'an*, Tt, Tp, Babakan Sirna, Sukabumi; (12) *Tuntunan Budi*, Tt, Tp, Djatinegara; (13) *Kasyf al-Auham wa al-Dzunun fi Bayan Qaulih Ta'ala la Yamassuh Illa al-Muthahharun*, Tt, Sayid Yahya, Tanah Abang, Weltevreden; (14) *Qala'id al-Dhurur fi Bayan Aqd al-Jauhar*, Tt, Sayid Yahya, Tanah Abang, Weltevreden; (15) *Jauharat al-Mardhiyyat fi Mukhtashar Madzhab al-Syafi'iyat*, Tt, Sayyid Abdullah ibn Sayyid Yahya, Tanah Abang, Betawi; (16) *Qawanin al-Diniyyat wa al-Dunyawiyat fi Umur al-Zakat wa al-Fithrat*, Tt, Tp, Sukabumi; (17) *Raudhat al-Irfan fi Ma'rifat al-Qur'an*, Tt, Pesantren Gunung Puyuh, Sukabumi; (18) *Silah al-Basil fi al-Dharb Ala Tazahiq al-Bathil*, 1347, Sayid Yahya ibn Usman, Tanah Abang; (19) *Siraj al-Adzkiya fi Tarjamah al-Azkiya*, Tt, Tp, Sukabumi; (20) *Tadzkirot al-Thalibin fi Bayan Sunniyat al-Talqin*, Tt, Al-Ikhtiyar, Bogor; (21) *Tahdzir al-Anam min Miftarayat Nur al-Islam*, 1931, Harun ibn Ali Ibrahim, Pekojan, Betawi; (22) *Tamsijjatoel-Moeslimien fie Tafsieri Kalam Robbil-Alamaien*, No.1, Oktober 1934 - No.25 Oktober 1936; (23) *Tanwir al-Dzalam fi Firaq al-Islam*, 1935, Al-Ittihad, Sukabumi; (24) *Tanwir al-Ribathi fi Tadrish Nadzm al-Imrithi*, Tt, Al-Ittihad, Sukabumi; (25) *Tarjamat Washiyat al-Musthafa ka Imam Ali ibn Abi Thalib Karram Allah al-Wajh*, Tt, Al-Ittihad, Sukabumi; (26)

## CONCLUSION

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that Ahmad Sanoesi was a hero and activist of organization AII (*Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijah* or Islamic Unity), who lived from 1888 to 1950. During his life, Ahmad Sanoesi has led political movement to oppose the Dutch colonial policies that were disadvantages for Indonesian people (*pribumi*). As a result, he was isolated (*di-interneer*) to Batavia Centrum without law process in court. However, in his isolation, Ahmad Sanoesi established the most militant organization in West Priangan, namely AII. Through AII, Ahmad Sanoesi promoted the idea of nationalism which was in the future becoming a political opposition to the Dutch.

However, Ahmad Sanoesi declared a compromise and cooperative attitude toward Japanese occupation, 1942-1945. As a result, Ahmad Sanoesi and AII got opportunities to freely develop their organization. Thus, when *Dokuritzu Zyunbi Tyoosakai* or BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik dan Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or Investigation Body for Preparing and Working of Indonesia Independence) was formed, Ahmad Sanoesi and other movement activists could participate in formulating Indonesian state ideology, form of Indonesian state, and border of Indonesian state. When Indonesia got independence in 1945, Ahmad Sanoesi was appointed as a member of KNIP (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* or Centre of National Indonesia Committee) and after Renville's Agreement in 1948, Ahmad Sanoesi moved to Yogyakarta as new capital city of the Republic of Indonesia in the time of revolution.

It is important to note here that this study and its conclusion, which are limited generalization, do not explain the organization of AII completely. Therefore, it is important to make a further research on AII that cover larger research questions. However, we hope this research has described a quite important history of AII. And this research hopefully could give contributions to a historical writing on a micro politic of Indonesia. To appreciate

*Tasyiqiq al-Auham fi al-Rad'i 'an al-Thagam*, 1347, Sayid Yahya ibn Usman, Tanah Abang; and (27) *Tauhid Al-Muslimin wa 'Aqid al-Mu'minin*, Tt, Sukabumi.

Ahmad Sanoesi's struggle, we strongly suggest that Ahmad Sanoesi deserves to get an appreciation from Indonesian government as a national hero.

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**Ajengan Ahmad Sanoesi**  
(Source: [www.google.com](http://www.google.com), 10/11/2014)

Ahmad Sanoesi was a hero and activist of organization AII (*Al-Ittihadijatoel Islamijah* or Islamic Unity), who lived from 1888 to 1950. During his life, Ahmad Sanoesi has led political movement to oppose the Dutch colonial policies that were disadvantages for Indonesian people (*pribumi*). This research hopefully could give contributions to a historical writing on a micro politic of Indonesia. To appreciate Ahmad Sanoesi's struggle, we strongly suggest that Ahmad Sanoesi deserves to get an appreciation from Indonesian government as a national hero.