

## The Political Relevance of Kartosuwiryo's Hijrah in the Global Context: Inspiration for Struggle in the Modern Era

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### Abstract

Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo, familiarly called Kartosuwiryo, was the proclamaor of the Islamic State of Indonesia. Kartosuwiryo believed Islam had a significant influence on every aspect of human life. The idea he wanted to realize was establishing the Islamic State of Indonesia, and hijrah politics was one of Kartosuwiryo's efforts toward the Islamic State of Indonesia. This article will analyze the basic concept of the hijrah political thought of Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo in establishing the Islamic State of Indonesia. The method used is qualitative, with literature studies such as books, journals, articles, and others. In addition, the author uses a historical approach and the construction of a day approach to explore information about Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics. The results showed that Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics was an Islamic-based struggle to build a state with laws and order based on the Qur'an. This concept remains relevant to address modern global challenges, such as migration, religious identity, and cross-cultural solidarity. In addition, this article also shows that the politics of hijrah is not only a strategy of resistance against colonialism but also has relevance in the modern era. Hijrah can be translated as an effort to create social transformation, such as community empowerment, cross-cultural solidarity, and humane management of global migration. By adapting to digital technology, the concept of hijrah can also encourage interfaith dialogue and spread social justice values in an increasingly connected world.

**Keywords:** *Kartosuwiryo; Hijrah Politics; The Islamic State of Indonesia; Modern Era.*

### Introduction

The politics of hijrah initiated by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo is a concept that was not only relevant in his time but also able to provide significant insights in a global context. The concept of hijrah in the history of Islamic struggle is understood as

a physical migration and a social, political, and spiritual transformation towards a better order. In Islamic history, hijrah initially referred to the physical movement of the Prophet Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina to escape persecution (Ahyuni, 2019). However, Kartosuwiryo gave a new dimension to hijrah by making it an ideological foundation for building a government order based on Islamic law.

In the context of Indonesia's struggle, the concept of hijrah developed through the thoughts and actions of two key figures Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto and Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo. Tjokroaminoto instilled the idea of Muslim self-reliance as a form of resistance against colonialism economically, socially, and politically. He emphasized the importance of hijrah in a symbolic sense, encouraging Muslims to break free from backwardness and move towards independence and glory. His influence on Kartosuwiryo was profound, particularly in shaping the understanding that Islam should serve as the foundation for political and national struggles (Prapta, 2024).

Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo's political migration began in 1931, and it became an important momentum. The Chairman of PSII and his staff agreed to appoint Kartosuwiryo as Secretary General of the Indonesian Islamic Union Party, more familiarly called PSII (Suryana, 2019). This was stated in the results of the PSII congress in Cirebon. PSII is a continuation of the SI or Islamic Union founded by H.O.S Tjokroaminoto. The Islamic Union itself was a development of the Islamic Trade Union formed by natives to offset the dominance of Chinese traders in the early 20th century (Holk, 1995).

Tjokroaminoto developed the Islamic Union into an Islamic-based party called PSII (Syaharuddin, 2017). Political principles are held together to realize the goal of an independent Indonesia. PSII always tries to be disciplined in implementing what has become a collective agreement. This was done to minimize any indecision in determining the direction of the party's struggle and also to avoid confusion in choosing to be independent in realizing the party's ideals or by strengthening

relations with the ruler, which at that time the ruler was the Dutch East Indies government. After Kartosuwiryo served as the party's secretary general, the direction of PSSI's struggle became clear and visible. His ideas generally represented PSII's non-cooperative attitude (Rudiansyah, 2021). He considered that the colonial influence not only restricted physical freedom but also undermined the values of the Muslim faith. Through PSII's Hijrah Brochure, he called on Muslims to abandon dependence on the colonial system and strive to build an independent political consciousness. This non-cooperative attitude was a political choice in the firmness of principle to fight for its political principles. At that time, the situation of society was very complex, so in hijrah politics, there was one function, namely as a party to attract the masses. This attitude can later be used to fight against the Dutch government, usually called a party propaganda tool (Al-Chaidar, 1999). Kartosuwiryo tried to explain his hijrah politics again because he had gained knowledge from Tjokroaminoto

In his intellectual journey, Kartosuwiryo was inspired by Tjokroaminoto and Mahatma Gandhi's Swadeshi philosophy, which emphasized self-reliance and non-cooperation with colonial powers. This Swadeshi thought shaped Kartosuwiryo into a figure with a global perspective, enabling him to view the struggle of Indonesian Muslims as part of the broader global resistance against colonialism. Subsequently, he interpreted hijrah as a strategic struggle to build a self-sufficient Islamic society, free from secular influence and possessing political strength.

Kartosuwiryo's interpretation of hijrah reached a critical juncture when Indonesia gained independence. The 1948 Renville Agreement, which required the Indonesian Republican forces to withdraw from West Java to Central Java and Yogyakarta, was seen by Sukarno as a form of hijrah to preserve national military strength. However, Kartosuwiryo rejected this notion, as he believed that such hijrah was not in the spirit of the Islamic struggle but rather a compromise with the Dutch that ultimately weakened the Muslim community. As a result, Kartosuwiryo chose to remain in West Java and strengthened the base of the Darul Islam (DI) movement.

The culmination of Kartosuwiryo's hijrah political struggle was the Indonesian Islamic State (NII) proclamation on 7 August 1949 (Farhan, 2017). He saw the NII as a real implementation of the concept of hijrah, which is to create a state whose laws and governance are derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah. The politics of hijrah became the party's political principle. However, figures such as Agus Salim, Sukiman, and KH Mas Mansyur agreed that this hijrah attitude was only a tactic of struggle within the party. The difference in opinion led to a division within the party, resulting in two factions: PSII Hijrah, led by S. M. Kartosuwiryo, and PSII Penyardar, led by Agus Salim (Kahin, 2012).

Despite the internal split, PSII remains in its stance that the hijrah attitude remains the principle of the party's struggle, as explained in the Qur'an surah al-Baqarah verse 218: "Indeed, those who believe, hijrah and jihad fii sabilillah, those are those who expect the mercy of Allah. And Allah is most forgiving and most merciful" (Awwas, 2008). Although this proclamation sparked controversy, Kartosuwiryo's ideas remain a relevant intellectual legacy to study, especially in the modern era where religious identity and political struggle are often central issues.

Apart from being a way of party struggle only, hijrah politics has a deeper meaning based on the value of religiosity (Al-Chaidar, 1999). At that time, the community was amid infidel rulers. So through the politics of hijrah in PSII, Kartosuwiryo invited the community to clean up the understandings that had been mixed by the understanding of the Dutch authorities, who were generally non-Muslim (Baiahaki, 2019). In general, hijrah politics has two significant meanings, namely, hijrah politics as a means of party struggle and as a principle and basis for party struggle, which means that it is not only oriented toward party goals but also to raise public awareness to believe.

In the New Order, all studies related to Kartosuwiryo became very sensitive, and many things had to be explored from the circulating issues. Kartosuwiryo's thoughts still lingered in some circles of society, especially in the communities where Kartosuwiryo's movement in the Darul Islam movement took place (Santoso, 2014).

At this time, there were many riots in the name of religious ideology, and the riots were aimed at demanding the implementation of Islamic law as a rule of human life in the country of Indonesia.

Studies related to Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics have not received adequate attention compared to the militaristic aspects of his struggle. Most of the literature, such as Sanusi, Anwar, Anisah, and Didin Nurul Rosidin focus on examining the concept of hijrah according to Kartosuwiryo and the formation of the Darul Islam / Indonesian Islamic Army movement as a form of jihad against injustice in various aspects of Indonesian society (Sanusi dkk., 2022) without specifically exploring the ideological basis of hijrah which became the core of Kartosuwiryo's struggle. Yana Waliyadi, in his journal article entitled "Politik Hijrah Sekarmaji Karto Suwiryo," also discusses Kartosuwiryo's hijrah political concept. However, the study is still limited to the historical context (Waliyadin, 2020) without delving deeper into the relevance of the hijrah concept in contemporary situations. This shows a gap that can be filled by analyzing the relevance of Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics in a global and modern context. Most studies only focus on the historical and militaristic dimensions of his struggle without looking at how the concept of hijrah can be adapted to address contemporary challenges, such as global migration, religious identity in multicultural societies, and the struggle against social inequality. In addition, integrating hijrah values with inclusive approaches and cross-cultural dialogue is also a topic that is rarely touched upon.

In a global context, the phenomenon of hijrah has undergone a transformation in meaning. No longer limited to physical displacement, hijrah now also includes ideological and social displacement. Conflicts that cause mass migration, such as the refugee crisis in Syria, Palestine, and Afghanistan, reflect how hijrah can symbolize the struggle to seek justice, freedom, and a better life (R. Putri, 2023). Muslim diasporas scattered around the world face challenges in maintaining religious identity in multicultural societies. In this context, Kartosuwiryo's hijrah thinking can be an inspiration for building global solidarity based on Islamic values.

Furthermore, hijrah is also relevant for social and political transformation. Kartosuwiryo's idea of the importance of Islamic sharia as the foundation of government emphasizes that faith must be at the core of any change. However, in the modern world, hijrah needs to be modernized into a more inclusive approach, respecting cultural and religious diversity and upholding cross-cultural dialogue. By understanding and adopting the concept of hijrah contextually, Muslims can continue to contribute to creating a more just and harmonious world order. Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics, although originating from a local context, provides valuable lessons on the importance of consistency and courage in the face of global challenges. In addition, although Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics sparked much controversy, his ideas remain a relevant intellectual legacy to be studied, especially in the modern era where religious identity and political struggle are often the main issues.

Method, or what is often interpreted as a way of doing anything, is doing something to achieve a goal. In this paper, the author uses a descriptive-qualitative method or describes the figure of Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo, then critically analyses how the basic concept of Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo's hijrah political thought in the formation of the Islamic State of Indonesia. The author uses a historical approach, which discusses the history of Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo in the formation of the Islamic State of Indonesia. In addition, the author also uses the construction of the day's approach, which discusses the day when Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo proclaimed the Islamic State of Indonesia.

The data obtained comes from primary and secondary data. Primary data is data that comes from the works of figures in the form of books such as "*Jejak Jihad Kartosuwiryo: Mengungkap Fakta yang Didustakan*" by Irfan S Awwas and secondary data is data that comes from books, journals, articles, theses or other media related to the concept of hijrah political thought of Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo in the formation of the Indonesian Islamic State.

## Discussion

### History of S.M. Kartosuwiryo and His Political Struggle

Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo, better known by his father's name Kartosuwiryo, was born on 7 February 1905 in Cepu, a small town located between Blora and Bojonegoro, Central Java. His full name combines his grandfather's name, Maridjan, his father's name, Kartosuwiryo, and his name, Sekarmadji. His father was an Indigenous man who held a high position as *Mantri candu*, a position that was equivalent to district secretary at the time. His father's prominent position greatly influenced Kartosuwiryo's life, including his education and the opportunities he received under the Western education system that the Dutch began implementing in the Dutch East Indies (Baiahaki, 2019).

In 1911, when Kartosuwiryo was six years old, he began his education at ISTK (*Inlandsche School der Tweede Klasse*). He continued his education at HIS (*Hollandsch-Inlandsche School*) in Rembang four years later. When his parents moved to Bojonegoro in 1919, Kartosuwiryo was admitted to ELS (*Europeesche Lagere School*), an elite school for indigenous people. This school was usually only accessible to intelligent and exceptionally talented indigenous children. Kartosuwiryo's intelligence and talent allowed him to be one of the students selected to attend the school (Ridlo, 2019).

After graduating from ELS in 1923, Kartosuwiryo continued his education at NIAS (*Nederlandsch Indische Artsen School*) in Surabaya, a Dutch medical school specifically for natives. During his studies at NIAS, Kartosuwiryo became involved in various organizational activities related to the Indonesian nationalist movement. Here, he became acquainted with Islamic thoughts, which later became an important foundation in his life. He actively learned the Quran and developed a deep understanding of Islam. The Islamic thoughts he absorbed further shaped his personality into someone who was "Islam-minded," so that almost all of Kartosuwiryo's activities and actions were directed towards the interests of Islam. Because of his intense focus on the struggle, he often left his studies at NIAS and no

longer cared much about his studies there (Ridlo, 2019). In 1926, while he was still in his first year at NIAS, Kartosuwiryo started joining political parties. In his fourth year, he was expelled from NIAS due to his political activities, especially his involvement in the Indonesian Youth League and Jong Islamieten Bond (JIB). The JIB, which was established in 1924, was an Islamic youth organization that became one of the platforms for modern Islamic thought and nationalism. Through JIB, Kartosuwiryo also became one of the originators of the early ideas of the youth movement that later gave birth to the Youth Pledge, an important milestone in the history of Indonesia's national movement (Sudirman, 2008).

After being expelled from NIAS, Kartosuwiryo returned to Bojonegoro and worked as a private teacher. In Bojonegoro, he received religious education from a modern Islamic figure named Notodihardjo, who came from the Muhammadiyah. Notodihardjo played an important role in shaping Kartosuwiryo's religious thinking. He introduced aspects of modern Islam, such as the importance of education, rationality, and the renewal of Islamic thought. Kartosuwiryo learned a lot from Notodihardjo on how to respond to Islamic teachings progressively and contextually (Risman, 2019).

Through Notodihardjo's guidance, Kartosuwiryo integrated the values of Islamic modernity into his thinking (Awwas, 2008). This view then became the basis of the movements he initiated later on, in which Islam was not only seen as a spiritual belief system but also as the basis of social and political struggle. This thought transformation made Kartosuwiryo one of the unique figures in the history of the national movement, as he combined the spirit of Islam with a political vision to build a society based on Islamic law.

Kartosuwiryo's dynamic life since his youth reflects the journey of a figure who dared to go against the grain and create his own path. With his Western education since childhood, he could understand various modern concepts. However, his encounter with Islamic thought and the guidance of figures such as Notodihardjo led

him to choose a life path fully orientated toward Islam (Risman, 2019). It was this choice that would shape his political career and future endeavors. Over time, Kartosuwiryo became increasingly active in Islamic political movements. His involvement in various political and religious organizations made him known as a figure who persistently fought for Islamic values in the national arena. He became a symbol of resistance to Dutch colonialism and a pioneer in forming an Islamic movement to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia (Diningrat, 2021).

Kartosuwiryo's life journey, from an elite student in Dutch education to the leader of an Islamic political movement, shows a remarkable personal transformation. Despite his Western education, Kartosuwiryo chose to devote himself to the cause of Islam, both in social, political, and spiritual aspects. This choice reflected his search for an identity aligned with his religious beliefs.

Kartosuwiryo's story also reflects the challenges faced by Indigenous intellectuals in the colonial period. They were often at the crossroads between a Western education that opened up opportunities for social mobility and a cultural and religious identity that demanded loyalty. Kartosuwiryo combined the two, although he eventually abandoned the Western educational path to pursue his vision of building an Islamic-based society. Kartosuwiryo's education and experiences in his youth became an important foundation for his later thoughts and actions. He learned how the colonial education and political system worked, but he also understood how Islam could be a tool to fight oppression. This combination allowed him to create a unique strategy in his political struggle.

With all his experience and education, Kartosuwiryo became a symbol of Islamic struggle that involved not only religious but also social, cultural, and political aspects. His life is an important lesson for the next generation on building an identity and struggle that aligns with their beliefs and values. He is proof that the struggle for higher values requires tremendous sacrifice, courage, and commitment.

## **The Basic Concept of Hijrah Political Thought of S.M. Kartosuwiryo and Its Implementation in the Global Era**

S.M. Kartosuwiryo's political journey began when he was still studying at NIAS; since then, he also began to recognize modern Islamic thought, and he then wanted to apply modern Islamic thought to every aspect of life, including politics. Kartosuwiryo received full support from his uncle, which increased his enthusiasm to deepen his knowledge of politics. Unsurprisingly, Kartosuwiryo is highly aware of the political and Islamic world.

S.M. Kartosuwiryo joined the Sarekat Islam Party, or what had developed into PSII, led by H.O.S Tjokroaminoto. PSII has a political principle that holds together in fighting for the ideals of making Indonesia independent. At that time, S.M. Kartosuwiryo served as secretary at PSII; Kartosuwiryo clarified the political principle by choosing an independent or non-cooperative attitude towards the Dutch East Indies government (Ridlo, 2019). According to him, this attitude made it difficult for Muslims to embrace faith.

Kartosuwiryo showed his rejection of the ministerial seat given to him during Amir Syarifudin's cabinet; Kartosuwiryo felt that he was not too far involved in PSII and felt that he still had an attachment to Masyumi. Kartosuwiryo did not want to worsen the political situation at that time, as was done by politicians with communist views. Kartosuwiryo did not agree with Amir Syarifudin's thinking, which he thought was too left-leaning. Kartosuwiryo's hijrah political thinking made him a disciplined politician firm in his political principles.

Hijrah politics is the basis of S.M. Kartosuwiryo's thinking, which is based on the struggle for the Islamic faith. According to him, the Islamic faith needs to be applied in all aspects of life, including in the governance of a country. The government order at that time would not be able to guarantee the realization of an Islamic order of life if the Indonesian state did not stand alone and was still under the pressure of the Dutch East Indies in parliament.

Kartosuwiryo did not agree with the Dutch East Indies' thinking because he thought it would hinder the achievement of Daulah Islamiyah. It was evident that in 1928, Kartosuwiryo attacked the Dutch Queen's birthday celebration fiercely because the Dutch Queen was not an Indonesian hero. In the following year, Kartosuwiryo emphasized his statement that Nationalism in Islam is not a sport or, a time filler or a place to find satisfaction, but nationalism in Islam is an obligation.

The political thinking of S.M. Kartosuwiryo was the beginning of the realization of the Islamic State. This was similar to Tjokroaminoto's thinking in PSII, which saw itself as a local manifestation of the broader international movement of Pan-Islamism. In 1927, Tjokroaminoto said, "We Indonesians cannot be fully Muslim if the believers are not yet free in their own land." Later, Tjokroaminoto also said that believers could only fulfill their obligations as believers perfectly if their country was independent (Prapta, 2024). Many commands in the Quran must be carried out, but we cannot carry them out perfectly if we are not independent. From this, Kartosuwiryo's political thinking differed greatly from Tjokroaminoto's because Tjokroaminoto's thinking influenced Kartosuwiryo. The essential thought was the realization of Islam in the Indonesian state. In addition, various thoughts of nationalism that were influential in Kartosuwiryo's life were obtained while studying at NIAS. Kartosuwiryo began to study the Koran actively until he was possessed by *Shibghatullah* to become Islam-minded (Huda, 2018). All his activities are always related to Islam, and all his actions are intended for Islam alone.

In essence, the basic concept of Kartosuwiryo's hijrah political thought in forming the Indonesian Islamic State is a form of Islamic-based struggle. To realize the Islamic State of Indonesia, Kartosuwiryo chose a non-cooperative attitude towards the Dutch East Indies government. Kartosuwiryo's thinking was realized by holding a conference with Masyumi. Kartosuwiryo had his views on the Islamic State, namely that Islam is very influential in every aspect of human life, especially Muslims, starting from the fields of education, culture, politics, economics, and various other fields. The Islamic State of Indonesia was an ideal that Kartosuwiryo wanted to realize during his

lifetime. The Islamic State of Indonesia was proclaimed in West Java on 7 August 1949 (Subqi, 2021). Kartosuwiryo's concept of hijrah politics has excellent potential to be applied in a modern context. One of the main relevant aspects is its essence as a form of resistance to injustice and exploitation. In the current global context, hijrah can be translated as a collective effort to create a more just social and political order.

First, in a modern context, hijrah can be interpreted as a transformation of values and culture. Kartosuwiryo emphasized the importance of Islamic sharia as the basis of government (Baiahaki, 2019). In the current context, Sharia values can be modernized for inclusive governance. This includes upholding social justice, empowering people experiencing poverty, and protecting vulnerable groups.

Second, hijrah can also play a role in answering global challenges such as migration. The phenomenon of mass migration due to conflict or natural disasters shows the need for a holistic approach to dealing with refugees. The hijrah values taught by Kartosuwiryo, such as solidarity and togetherness (Suryana, 2019), can be an inspiration for building humane policies towards migrants and refugees.

Third, hijrah can symbolize cross-cultural and religious dialogue in a multicultural society. Kartosuwiryo's idea of the importance of Islamic sharia should not be interpreted as exclusivity but as an encouragement to strengthen religious identity without setting aside universal values. This inclusive approach is important to create harmony amidst global diversity.

Fourth, the implementation of hijrah politics also requires adaptation to modern technology. In the digital age, hijrah can be implemented through online campaigns to spread the values of justice, solidarity, and peace. Social media can be used to promote cross-cultural dialogue and spread awareness about the importance of social justice.

In the modern context, Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics can be a guideline for facing global challenges while adhering to the values of faith. As expressed by (Al-Chaidar, 1999), the hijrah struggle is an ongoing process to achieve a better world order. This approach must be dynamic, contextual, and inclusive to answer the times' needs.

### **The Political Relevance of Kartosuwiryo's Hijrah to Global Issues**

The politics of hijrah promoted by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo in his struggle to establish the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) is an idea that has great relevance to various modern global issues, including migration, religious identity, and cross-cultural solidarity. In the context of his struggle, hijrah is understood as a physical movement and a process of spiritual and ideological transformation. Kartosuwiryo viewed hijrah as a strategic step to build a society based on Islamic values, separate from the national political system that was considered secular. This perspective reflects how hijrah can be used as a means of struggle to maintain religious identity amidst pressures or challenges faced by a group of people.

Such a broad interpretation of hijrah is also closely related to modern migration, where people's movements are often caused not only by economic or security reasons but also by the need to find a space that allows the exercise of their religious or cultural values. In a globalized world, this cross-border movement often reflects an individual or group's attempt to find an environment more aligned with their identity. Kartosuwiryo, through his movement, demonstrated that migration, whether physical or spiritual, can be a tool to fight for a particular vision and values that a community believes in.

In addition, hijrah in Kartosuwiryo's context was closely related to efforts to build a religious identity in response to the secular nationalism that dominated post-independence Indonesia (Sanusi dkk., 2022). Kartosuwiryo utilized the hijrah to symbolize resistance to the political system that he considered unIslamic. In this case, hijrah served as a medium to strengthen Islamic identity amidst the threat of homogenization of secular values. Globally, such movements resonate in various modern contexts, especially in multicultural societies where religious identity is often at the center of debate and conflict.

However, the politics of hijra that focuses on religious identity also presents its own challenges. An overly exclusive approach to religious identity can create social polarisation and segregation. In an increasingly pluralistic modern society, the concept

of hijrah needs to be reinterpreted to create harmony rather than resistance. In this way, hijrah can serve as a tool to promote inclusivity and interfaith dialogue rather than a trigger for conflict (Nafi', 2022).

Kartosuwiryo was also inspired by the spirit of Pan-Islamism, which called for the worldwide unity of Muslims (Formichi, 2012). In his movement, he proposed the idea of solidarity across cultures and national boundaries to strengthen Muslims in facing everyday challenges. The relevance of this idea is evident in the modern world, where cross-cultural solidarity often comes in the form of global support for humanitarian issues, such as the struggle of the Palestinian people or Rohingya refugees. Such solidarity demonstrates the importance of the values of justice and empathy that transcend cultural or religious barriers.

However, Kartosuwiryo-style cross-cultural solidarity has potential risks if not managed properly. When this idea of solidarity is applied exclusively to specific groups, it can create new segregation and exacerbate inter-community conflict. In the context of globalization, inclusive solidarity needs to be emphasized so that human values do not only apply to certain groups but also all humanity.

Hijrah in Kartosuwiryo's politics is also relevant when viewed through a modern lens, such as migration due to the ecological crisis. Climate change has forced many communities to relocate, creating new challenges in managing global migration. In this context, hijrah is not only interpreted as a spiritual struggle but also as a form of adaptation to changing external conditions (Yunus, 2019). This concept provides a unique perspective on how societies can collectively transform to face global challenges.

Kartosuwiryo's view of hijrah also reflects the value of spiritual transformation, which is relevant when facing the global crisis. In the modern world, hijrah can be interpreted as an invitation to leave an unsustainable lifestyle towards a more caring lifestyle for the environment and others (S. A. R. Putri, 2021). Thus, hijrah is a physical or ideological movement and a collective step to create a better future.

Despite its positive relevance, Kartosuwiryo's politics of hijrah also presents an important critique. An approach that overemphasizes the exclusivity of religious identity risks ignoring the values of pluralism that are the foundation of modern society. In a global context, it is important to reinterpret the concept of hijrah so that it can be a tool for building bridges between cultures rather than reinforcing existing barriers.

Historically, Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics provides a valuable lesson on how religion can be used as an effective political mobilization tool. However, history also shows that using religion in politics does not always result in harmony. This is an important reminder that hijrah must be understood wisely, especially in an increasingly connected global society.

The concept of hijrah initiated by Kartosuwiryo is also relevant to understanding the dynamics of identity in the era of globalization. In a changing world, hijrah can be interpreted as a flexible process of identity adaptation without losing its spiritual essence. This shows that religious and cultural identity need not be seen as something static but as something dynamic and able to adapt to changing contexts.

Kartosuwiryo's hijrah politics can also be seen as an inspiration for building broader global solidarity. In the face of global challenges such as social injustice, environmental crises, or conflicts between nations, hijrah can symbolize a collective struggle to create a more just and harmonious world. However, to achieve this goal, it is important to ensure that the concept of hijrah is not used to create exclusivity but to build inclusivity.

Overall, Kartosuwiryo's politics of hijrah offer rich insights into how traditional concepts can be adapted to meet modern challenges. Hijrah is relevant not only as a historical reflection but also as a guide to understanding the complexities of the modern world. With the right approach, hijrah can be a powerful tool to build solidarity, strengthen identity, and create a better world for all.

## Conclusion

S.M. Kartosuwiryo's politics of hijrah, rooted in the struggle to build an Islamic society, has strong relevance in the modern global context. Hijrah is a physical movement and a spiritual, social, and ideological transformation. This idea inspires various approaches to dealing with global challenges, such as migration, efforts to maintain religious identity, cross-cultural solidarity, and creating a more just society. *First*, hijrah can inspire Muslim communities to build diaspora solidarity and maintain religious values amidst globalization. *Second*, the relevance of hijrah is seen in the struggle to maintain religious identity in a multicultural society, where the value of inclusiveness must be prioritized to create harmony. *Third*, hijrah encourages cross-cultural solidarity to fight global injustice and build strategic community alliances. *Fourth*, the idea of hijrah guides the creation of just and sustainable policies to address global challenges, such as economic inequality and climate change.

Overall, Kartosuwiryo's concept of hijrah politics is relevant for Muslims and offers a universal framework for creating inclusive and equitable social transformation. With adaptation to the modern context, this idea can be an inspiring model for building a more peaceful, just, and harmonious world.

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