

LIFE OF WOMEN IN SOUTH SULAWESI DURING THE KAHAR MUZAKKAR REBELLION, 1953-1965**Nurul Azizah**

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Abstract

This research examines the life of women in South Sulawesi when it is a study of the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion in South Sulawesi, 1953-1965. The rebellion was carried out as a form of protest because there was no appreciation for the guerrillas in the Army after the war for independence took place. The form of this rebellious movement changed in 1953, when Kahar officially joined DI/TII in West Java. The merger of this movement with DI/TII has an impact on society. They began to seek the sympathy of the people and the clergy, drew boundaries between their territory and the Republic of Indonesia, and imposed Islamic law. This rebellion influenced women as vulnerable subjects. The androcentrism, patriarchy, and sexist interpretation of social and religious phenomena by the rebel movement Kahar Mudzakkar has led to gender inequality among women. This gender injustice occurs not only to those who live in areas controlled by the rebels, but also to those who live outside these areas. As a result, during the rebellion, women experienced subordination and violence.

Keywords: Women; Gender; Kahar Mudzakkar; Rebelation.

INTRODUCTION

Various uprisings in different regions, such as the APRA rebellion in West Java, RMS in the Maluku Islands, and PRRI in Sumatra marked the post-Revolution period in Indonesia. These uprisings stemmed from dissatisfaction among regional inhabitants with policies issued by the central government. The Kahar Muzakkar rebellion stands out as one of the uprisings occurring in the aftermath of the physical revolution. The Kahar Muzakkar rebellion, in the narrative of Indonesian history, is better known as the DI/TII rebellion (Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia) in South Sulawesi (Djoened, Poesponegoro, & Notosusanto, 2008).

The Kahar Muzakkar rebellion that occurred in South Sulawesi stemmed from dissatisfaction among the veterans of the War of Independence in South Sulawesi toward the decisions made by Kawilarang, the commander of KTTIT or the Eastern Indonesia Territorial Army Command. These veterans were part of an organization known as KGSS or The South Sulawesi Guerrilla Unit. Kawilarang, as the KTTIT commander, imposed regulations that limited former soldiers eligible to join the Indonesian National Army.

The issue of troop numbers emerged post-Revolution. During the independence period, the government had around 250,000 to 300,000 army members, excluding unrecorded guerrilla fighters, in addition to 26,000 colonial soldiers (Riclefs, 2008). The South Sulawesi guerrilla fighters felt entitled to join the then APRIS. However, the government enforced demobilization policies, selectively admitting guerrilla fighters into APRIS (Armed Forces of the United States of Indonesia) based on educational backgrounds. Many South Sulawesi guerrilla fighters lacked military education and were illiterate.

Disappointment over the government's policies escalated, leading to conflict. Former soldiers retreated to the forests and initiated the rebellion. Kahar Mudzakkar, initially sent from Java to persuade the guerrilla fighters, chose to join them and became the leader of KGSS. This

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rebellion triggered armed conflicts between Kahar Mudzakkar's forces and the TNI in South Sulawesi by the end of 1951.

Witnessing the escalating conflict, APRIS Sulawesi sought resolutions. One approach was contacting rebel commanders and offering them entry into APRIS. This policy attracted several rebel leaders, resulting in many rebels joining. One of Kahar's supporters who joined APRIS was Andi Selle.

With the departure of his forces, Kahar Mudzakkar accepted Kartosuwirjo's offer to join the DI/TII movement. In 1952, Kahar became the commander of the Fourth Division of the Indonesian Islamic Army (Dijk, 1983). However, Kahar only officially announced the incorporation of his territory into the DI/TII in West Java a year later.

The nature of Kahar Mudzakkar's rebellion transformed after joining DI/TII. Their foundation shifted towards Islam. Islamic law was enforced, and territorial boundaries were established. During this period, Kahar Mudzakkar's supporters were found in the hinterlands of Sulawesi. Various efforts were made to resolve the rebellion. By the 1960s, the TNI took over the efforts to end the rebellion. Operation Kilat was carried out to capture Kahar Mudzakkar. However, internal intrigues gradually weakened Kahar Mudzakkar's forces. Eventually, Kahar Mudzakkar was apprehended in his hideout in Southeast Sulawesi. Operation Kilat, led by M. Jusuf, succeeded in isolating Kahar from community support, leading to a shootout resulting in Kahar Mudzakkar's death on February 3, 1965 (Abdullah, 1985).

The history of the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion in South Sulawesi has been extensively studied. However, there's a lack of literature discussing this event from the perspective of women or the involvement of women in the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion. Previous studies, such as SC. Druce's work on Kahar Mudzakkar's legacy in South Sulawesi, showed the aftermath of the rebellion, highlighting Kahar Mudzakkar's leadership and the efforts to legalize Islamic Sharia in South Sulawesi (Druce, 2020). Sahajuddin's research focused on utilizing oral sources in studying the history of the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion (Sahajuddin, 2019). Additionally, there's a piece by Abu Bakar concentrating on the conceptualization of statehood used by Kahar Mudzakkar in the rebellion he led in South Sulawesi (Bakar, 2018).

The involvement of women in the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion is intriguing for research because stories about women's lives are prevalent within it. For instance, after adopting Islam as the movement's ideology in 1953, Kahar established a specific organization for women called the Revolutionary Islamic Women's Movement, led by his wife, Corry Van Stenus (Gonggong, 1992). This organization became more commonly known as Gerwais or the Islamic Women's Movement. Furthermore, within this movement, specific rules governing women's lives were identified. For example, in the Makkalua charter - regulations devised to organize the lives of Kahar's supporters - there were rules about the age limits for marriage and recommendations for polygamy. Based on these narratives, this research then focuses on women's lives during the time of Kahar Mudzakkar as a research theme .

RESEARCH METHOD

This research delves into women's history. Writing women's history entails revealing personal experiences that play a crucial role as testimony: discussing what has happened to oneself or bearing witness with the mission to uncover the hidden and foster a reflective attitude toward self-discovery (Rahayu, 2016). The study positions women as subjects and social life as objects, thus aligning it with social history. Consequently, a sociological approach is employed. The use of sociology in historical research aims to comprehend the subjective meaning of social behaviors (Abdurrahman, 2011). This study uses historical research methods. The historical research method encompasses heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). To analyze events, two concepts are utilized: Social Movement and Gender.

The Kahar Mudzakkar uprising is a movement emerging from conflicts between the government and Kahar Mudzakkar and his followers. According to Greene, social movements have

several characteristics: originating from a group of people, having a general goal to support or prevent social change, having a publicly acknowledged leadership structure, and conducting activities over a considerable period (Sukmana, 2016).

There are four stages in the social movement process:

1. **Emergence:** The movement arises due to a perception that conditions are unfavorable. The Kahar Mudzakkar movement emerged due to dissatisfaction with the government and APRIS.
2. **Coalescence:** After emerging, a movement defines itself and develops strategies to present itself in public. The movement's leaders determine policies, and tactics, build morale, and recruit members. Additionally, the movement often forges alliances with other organizations to acquire necessary resources.
3. **Bureaucratization:** To become a political force, a movement requires bureaucratic qualities, possessing a stable structure.
4. **Decline:** Eventually, a movement loses its influence. Causes for a social movement's decline include achieving its goals, internal conflicts, leadership co-optation, external pressures, or being formed in a tumultuous situation that poses no challenges (Sukmana, 2016).

The Kahar movement underwent a process from formation to decline. To examine its impact on women, the Gender concept is applied. Gender is defined as differences in roles, functions, status, and responsibilities shaped by social and cultural environments applicable to men and women. These role divisions are embedded through socialization from one generation to the next. Hence, gender is a human construct, not an inherent nature. Caplan in 'The Cultural Construction of Sexuality' explains that male-female differences are not merely biological but social and cultural, thus gender can change whereas sex cannot.

The gender ideology emerges due to gender differences in society. This ideology places men in a higher position than women. This gender construct is then associated with societies that view gender differences as an unchangeable nature. Such gender differences lead to injustices in society. These injustices manifest in various forms including marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence, and greater work burdens (Fakih, 2008).

These five forms of injustice occur at various levels, including customs and religious interpretations. Feminist critiques and challenges to religious phenomena stem from three aspects: androcentrism, patriarchy, and sexism. Androcentrism in religious interpretations refers to the process of interpreting religious teachings developed from a male perspective, focusing on male experiences (Anggraeni, 2019).

Androcentrism in society creates the concept of patriarchy, indicating male domination and superiority in religious discourse and history (Rohmaniyah, 2013). Subsequently, women are placed in a second-sex position, subordinate to men. Sexism is a negative bias against a group due to gender differences. In religious interpretations, sexism leads to the dominant religious understanding of privileging and providing a superior position to men.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In the South Sulawesi community, the forces of Kahar's rebellion were more commonly known as "Gerombolan". Kahar's rebellion officially declared its integration with the DI/TII movement in 1953 (Arsip Provinsi Sulawesi, 1953). The change in organizational structure and ideology led Kahar to establish several institutions to garner public sympathy. He founded a party named the Revolutionary Islamic Party, the Revolutionary Peasant Front, and an organization for women called the Revolutionary Islamic Women's Movement.

The movement led by Kahar received support from religious scholars. One significant scholar who supported Kahar Mudzakkar's movement was Haji Abdul Rahman Ambo Dalle, who ran the educational institution Darul Da'watul Irsyad (DDI) in several districts across South Sulawesi (Gonggong, 1992).

Apart from Kahar Muzakkar, the Islamic State of Indonesia also garnered support from figures in various regions of Indonesia. At least in the 1950s, this movement had supporters in Aceh, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and Central Java, who identified themselves as part of the Kartosuwirjo Movement. Despite referring to themselves as part of the Kartosuwirjo movement, these movements in these areas tended to be more regional and were founded on the interests of their respective leaders (Dengel, 1995). In this period, South Sulawesi's region could be categorized into three: the city area guarded by the republican army, the "middle" area frequently disturbed by insurgents, and the interior region under rebel control.

South Sulawesi was a region just beginning its development after the revolution (1945-1949) ended. The Kahar Muzakkar rebellion had an impact, slowing down development efforts in the area. The division of power can be observed from the Urgent Meeting of Revolutionary Islamic Fighters (PUPIR I) in the Makkalua region, under the Latimojong mountain in 1955. During this three-day meeting, all DI/TII commanders from various parts of South Sulawesi were invited. Several decisions were made, one of which was an order to enforce the instructions of the Universal War issued by Kartosuwirjo, explicitly delineating boundaries between DI/TII areas and the TNI. The designated border was 5 KM from cities and highways (Mattalioe, 1965).

In 1955, reports mentioned the issuance of identity cards given to "Gerombolan" residents in the controlled districts. Every resident aged 15 and above, male or female, had to be registered and given a GM (Gerakan Muslimin) card to be recognized as a citizens of the NII (Republic of the Islamic Indonesia). Holders of these cards were obliged to pay a 5.5% annual income tax, 10% wetland tax per harvest, 5% dryland tax per harvest, Rp15- the tax on cows/buffaloes per year, and Rp5- the tax on horses per year (D. P. P. Sulawesi, 1955).

In Rantepao, Toraja, it was reported that in Mengkendek, a Head of the Gerombolan Government had been formed. This government was divided into several parts. Laso, the brother of the Mengkendek district chief, was appointed as the Military Head; Patangai was the advisor; Romang was the head of the Gandang Batu village; Siampa was the head of the Sillanan Gojang village, and Pakkabe managed the economic affairs. Interestingly, in each village, not only men but also women were appointed as village heads and other officials, though their names were not known yet (Rantepao, 1953).

The finances of DI/TII were overseen by the Co. DMKB Supply and Finance section. This section was responsible for collecting zakat (Islamic charity) and sacred contributions. Furthermore, newly issued receipts were only valid if signed by the supply and finance section and approved by the DMKB commander (Arsip Propinsi Sulawesi, 1953). As previously mentioned, the delineation of boundaries between Gerombolan territories and the government led its inhabitants to live in remote areas. Bridges and roads connecting them to the cities were intentionally destroyed, and trees were felled.

A government report in 1954 mentioned damages in the Bothain and Bulukumba regions. In the Bothain region, the Djagung/Mappilawing Bridge, Nipa-Nipa Bridge, and Bingkeke Bridge were dismantled. Additionally, roads in Bonthain-Banjorng were dug up, and several roadside trees were felled. In Bulukumba, damages were reported at Bono Bridge (Barabba/Gantarang) with losses of Rp. 5000-, Kirasa-Buttakeke, and Katangka bridges (Tanete direction) with losses of Rp.15000, Rp.7500, and Rp.6500. Lembang and Panjikko bridges in Ujungloe direction were dismantled twice, with losses of Rp. 20000 and Rp.10000. Additionally, bridges were destroyed in Sallae (Tanete direction). Moreover, tree cutting, road digging, and telephone wire cutting occurred along the Bonthain, Tanete, Ujungloe-Kadjang Kantisang, and Sawere routes (Bonthain, 1953).

The involvement of women in South Sulawesi in the Kahar Muzakkar movement was divided into two categories: active and passive. The first group included those living in Kahar Muzakkar's territory, directly participating in the rebellion. The second group consisted of those living outside Kahar Muzakkar's domain but still experiencing the effects of the rebellion.

In the 1950s, women's organizations in politics, social, and cultural fields flourished in the urban areas of South Sulawesi. Aisyiyah was one such Islamic women's organization that had been

developing for some time. For instance, in 1941, Aisyiyah had 2000 members (Harvey, 1989). The women's organizational movement in the 1950s in Sulawesi was outspoken. In 1957, representatives of mothers and delegates from women's parties/organizations like the Indonesian Democratic Women, Bonthain Women's Union, Muslimat Tjabang Bonthain, Bonthain Perwabsi Women, and PKR Women issued a statement urging authorities to investigate and take decisive actions to eradicate acts that seriously offended social and moral feelings, especially those concerning mothers (Bontain, 1957).

The Islamic Women's Revolutionary Movement (GERWAIS) was founded by Kahar to rally women's support for his rebellion. This organization was led by Kahar Mudzakkar's wife, Corry Van Stenus. Organizations like GERWAIS aimed to unite women, particularly in the remote regions of Sulawesi. Members were tasked with finding medicines and drawing attention, especially from TNI members, to join DI/TII. GERWAIS members mainly comprised middle and high school students as well as teachers (Gonggong, 1992).

Corry Van Stenus, Kahar Mudzakkar's wife, led the GERWAIS administration. Branches of GERWAIS were established in DI/TII headquarters. The branch chairperson positions seemed to be occupied by wives of leaders in these headquarters, as seen with Sitti Hamry, Bahar Mattalioe's wife, the leader of the DI/TII forces in the Gattareng Mattinggi region, serving as the GERWAIS Branch Chairperson there.

The Gattareng Mattinggi branch of GERWAIS had a Kepandaian Puteri School situated in the southern area of Wanua Waru Village, within Bahar Mattalioe's headquarters. The school curriculum taught theoretical and practical lessons in various skills such as embroidery and sewing.

Due to its mountainous location, students from various DI/TII-controlled areas were accommodated in dormitories, eliminating the need for long commutes to school. The SKP GERWAIS provided a 6-month education (Mattalioe, 1994). Additionally, in this area, GERWAIS conducted health and midwifery courses to assist women in childbirth, instructed by Health Officer Abdul Latif Dg. Lanti.

Although women were allowed space for organization, they were not visibly involved in leadership contests or decision-making within the DI/TII cabinet during the 1957-1959 period in South Sulawesi. The adoption of Islam as the movement's ideology did not erase the pre-existing gender ideology that placed men in higher positions than women. This gender ideology persisted in the management of the Kahar Mudzakkar movement. For instance, women were excluded from decision-making processes, such as the formulation of the Makkalua Charter, a rulebook for Kahar Mudzakkar's supporters. Bahar Mattalioe wrote that Corry Van Stenus and other women opposed the enactment of the polygamy rule in the Makkalua Charter. However, their voices were disregarded, and the article remained part of the Makkalua Charter (Mattalioe, 1965).

Regarding the schools owned by GERWAIS, the government reported news indicating that schools were opened on Sundays and closed on Fridays in Laompo Batu, Rante Bella resort. It was suspected that these schools were operated by TII (Palopo, 1954).

The integration of gangs as part of DI/TII led to the implementation of rules by Islamic law. Punishments included hand amputations, stoning, and even killings for those considered to have violated the rules. Furthermore, during PUPIR I, an agreement was reached called the Makkalua Charter. This charter comprised 50 articles that detailed various aspects of life for Kahar Mudzakkar movement members to live simply (Harvey, 1989). These rules governed the community's life, including the prohibition of possessing imported cigarettes, imported foods like cheese and milk, and the prohibition of owning luxurious clothes and jewelry. Additionally, it regulated the maximum amount of money a family could possess each month at Rp. 30- (Mattalioe, 1965). The Makkalua Charter significantly influenced the lives of women, specifically in three areas: social welfare, marriage, and the promotion of polygamy.

The domestic division of women and the public sphere for men resulted from gender differences entrenched in social and cultural norms. This division had a noticeable effect, granting

better access to men, particularly in education. During the colonial period, education was challenging to access due to fewer schools, anti-Dutch sentiments, and parental reluctance to send children to school if the effort didn't match the outcomes. This made it difficult for women to access education. This situation persisted during the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion. Although primary schools were established in various places, continuing secondary education required going to the city. The rebellion further limited women's opportunities for education as rebels were reported to have burned down government school buildings.

For those living outside the rebel-controlled area, continuing education was possible by living in the city or with families residing there. However, obtaining permission for girls to move out of their region was difficult due to societal views considering women as vulnerable to crimes. For those within the rebel-controlled area, access was confined to the available education in their region as reaching city schools was nearly impossible due to restricted access. Although GERWAIS had a school, it was in the form of a six-month course, lacking a structured educational system. This made it challenging for women to pursue education after the rebellion.

During this period, women's subordination was evident in decision-making and the imposition of Islamic law, especially for those residing in rebel-controlled areas. The Makkalua Charter in Chapter VIII on social welfare, Article 41, stated that all widows of martyrs and orphaned children of the revolution must be supported by the local social office. In Article Four, it was mentioned that every responsible person for the widows and orphans was obliged to find them a partner as soon as possible.

While seemingly innocuous at a glance, this article caused problems in execution. Consequently, those responsible for widows engaged in an exchange, where Person A would marry their responsibility to Person B, and vice versa.

In Chapter IX, the charter regulated marriage laws and social order. Article 45 dealt with penalties for those opposing polygamy, subjecting them to trial if they did not agree to polygamy.

Pasal 46, clause one, outlines reasons for rejecting marriage proposals:

1. Because of an age below 15 years.
2. Due to impotence.
3. Because of contagious diseases.
4. Due to low moral conduct/character.

Clause two of Article 46 emphasizes that anyone rejecting a proposal for reasons other than the four stated above will be imprisoned. Article 47, clauses one and two, set the maximum limits for dowry and marriage expenses at Rp. 125-. The third clause prohibits celebrations lasting more than a day. Those violating these provisions in clauses one, two, and three can be killed (Mattalioe, 1965).

The Kahar movement was opposed to the Women's Awareness Movement and the Indonesian Women's Movement, viewing these movements as spreading feminism, emancipation, anti-polygamy, and anti-Indonesian Islamic marriage laws throughout the region (Druce, 2020).

Polygamy was practiced personally by Kahar Mudzakkar. Since 1940s-1964, Kahar have been married 9 times. Corry is his second wife. After Corry, He married a woman named Sitti Haliah, a women from a noble family in Luwu and played a key role in introducing Islam to Luwu. Following this, Kahar married Sitti Rawe, dubbed by Kahar as his "Family Wife" due to her originating from the same village as Kahar. And then he married Siti Hamie, initially betrothed to Kahar during his time at Standandschool Muhammadiyah Palopo. Kahar further married three other women named Sitti Habibah, Andi Tenri Liwang, and Sitti Hudayah (Kahar Mudzakkar, 1961).

Beyond merely being part of her husband's marriage proposals, Corry was involved in preparing Kahar's marriages to his other prospective wives. For instance, when her husband was marrying Hudayah, Corry personally bathed Daya, Hudayah's childhood name from the Marunene tribe in Southeast Sulawesi, before she became Kahar's ninth wife (Bakri, 1961).

Looking at Kahar's actions, his practice of polygamy had practical reasons. Marriages to individuals from his village were sought to gain support from close associates. This seems evident in his marriage to Sitti Haliah. Apart from political backing, these marriages also impacted the organization's economy. For instance, when Kahar married Sitti Hamie, a widow controlling copra trade in Southeast Sulawesi. Reports indicate Kahar conducted copra trade in Singapore twice, in 1955 and 1957 through Tawao. Proceeds from copra sales were directed towards purchasing armaments.

To marry, a man provided Rp. 250- as dowry. The practice of polygamy persisted, and anyone opposing it would be held accountable before a judge (Mattalioe, 1965). Aside from subordination, reports during this period documented violence against women. The obligation for women to wear head coverings, as dictated by modesty norms, was enforced, and those who refused were punished. There were reports from women in the Bangkala district, specifically from the villages of Pallengumnasara and Allu. These women resisted wearing head coverings, resulting in their hair being cut by the insurgents (Arsip Propinsi Sulawesi, 1954).

On November 23, 1953, a pregnant woman and her house were reportedly set on fire in the Palu area. This act was carried out by insurgents because the woman cooked more food than was permitted by the group. She was suspected of feeding spies from the enemy camp. On March 26, 1959, a man and a woman from Mannamungang Onto village sought refuge from the government. They fled the insurgent-controlled area because the woman was to be executed. She was sentenced to death for being impregnated by a man named Padi. The man accompanying her was her brother-in-law, assisting in their escape to the city to seek protection (Bontain, 1959b).

Subsequently, on April 12, 1959, a woman sought protection from the government. She was a captive of the insurgents (rebel prosecutor) in Puroro village, Bontain. She was held captive by the insurgents because she was reported to have had sexual relations with someone else's husband (Bontain, 1959a).

Such situations continued until the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion was deemed over after Kahar Mudzakkar was arrested in 1965. The rules during the Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion ceased to apply. Recommendations for polygamy, restrictions on women's movement due to the division of territory between DI/TII and the Indonesian government, and violence perpetrated by rebel supporters no longer occurred.

CONCLUSION

Kahar Mudzakkar's rebellion endured for fifteen years, evolving from guerrilla dissatisfaction to joining DI/TII and adopting an Islamic ideology. This shift brought about several impacts, rallying support from religious leaders and the populace, marking territorial boundaries distinct from the Indonesian Republic, collecting taxes, and implementing Islamic law in their controlled areas. The Kahar Mudzakkar rebellion significantly affected the social lives of women in South Sulawesi, both those residing within and outside the rebel-controlled territories. Women's involvement, whether active or passive, had varying influences due to the uprising. Active participants were subject to the implementation of various regulations, including the imposition of Islamic law and the Makkalua charter. Passive participants faced violence directed at them and their families, including kidnapping, house and public facility burnings, looting, and killings. Moreover, the imposition of Islam as an ideology couldn't erase the pre-existing gender ideologies, which positioned men above women. This led to interpretations of religious and social phenomena that were androcentric, patriarchal, and sexist by the rebellion's leadership, resulting in subordination and violence against women.

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