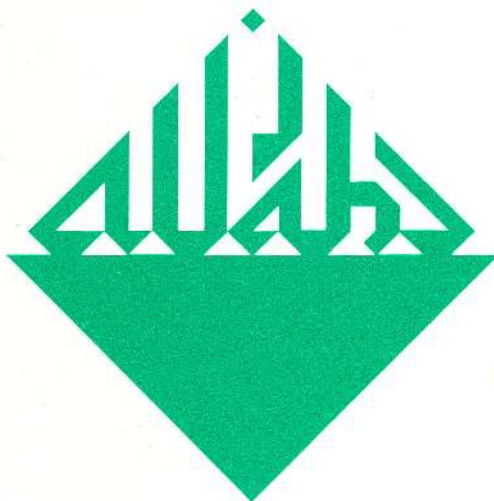


# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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IN INDONESIA  
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ISLAM AS AN IDEOLOGY:  
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NEW LIGHTS ON THE LIFE AND WORKS  
OF SHAIKH DAWUD AL-FATTANI  
Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman

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## Islam as an Ideology: The Political Thought of Tjokroaminoto

**Abstraksi:** Sejarah Indonesia telah mencatat lahirnya Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto sebagai salah seorang tokoh pergerakan terkemuka. Lahir di Ponorogo, Jawa Timur, pada 16 Agustus 1882, Tjokroaminoto berasal dari keluarga aristokrat yang taat beragama. Buyutnya, Kyai Bagoes Hasan Basri, adalah seorang ulama pesantren, yang kemudian menikah dengan seorang putri kraton Surakarta. Melalui perkawinan ini ia menjadi bagian dari keluarga priyayi. Kakeknya, Raden Mas Adipati Tjokronegoro, adalah seorang bupati di Ponorogo. Ayahnya, Raden Mas Tjokroaminoto, menduduki jabatan wedana di Madiun. Dari sini, Tjokroaminoto mewarisi darah keturunan baik priyayi maupun santri. Dan karena itu pula ia bergelar Raden Mas, meski lebih memilih gelar Haji di depan namanya.

Didukung kecakapannya, darah keturunan di atas tampaknya berperan penting dalam perjalanan karir Tjokroaminoto dalam dunia pergerakan nasional Indonesia. Semasa kecil Tjokroaminoto mengenyam pendidikan modern di sekolah Belanda. Selepas Sekolah Dasar Eropa (ELS), ia kemudian melanjutkan pendidikannya ke OSVIA, sekolah yang sengaja dirancang untuk mendidik calon tenaga pegawai pemerintah kolonial. Tjokroaminoto mengikuti jenjang pendidikan yang biasa dilalui oleh umumnya kalangan priyayi Jawa. Karena itu, tidak lama setelah tamat OSVIA, ia bekerja di kantor pemerintah. Hanya saja, penolakannya terhadap adat priyayi Jawa mendorongnya memutuskan keluar. Tjokroaminoto kemudian bekerja di sebuah perusahaan di Surabaya.

Keterlibatan Tjokroaminoto dalam dunia pergerakan berawal ketika ia diminta Hadji Samanhoe di untuk membenahi Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI), yang menghadapi batasan politik pemerintah kolonial Belanda. Sejak saat itulah, ia kemudian mendirikan Sarekat Islam (SI), sebagai perwujudan baru SDI dalam lingkup lebih luas; SI tidak hanya sebuah asosiasi yang didirikan semata untuk kepentingan ekonomi melawan pengusaha Cina, tapi juga menyentuh perjuangan di bidang politik. Tjokroaminoto, pendiri dan sekaligus pemimpin SI, telah menjadikan lembaga tersebut semakin intensif bergerak dalam pergerakan nasional Indonesia. Dan mela-

lui SI ini pula, Tjokroaminoto tampil menjadi seorang tokoh yang memberi sumbangan penting dalam pergerakan, sekaligus seorang intelektual yang memperkaya wacana politik Islam di Indonesia.

Artikel ini menghadirkan pembahasan tentang pemikiran Tjokroaminoto, khususnya di bidang politik. Pemikiran politik Tjokroaminoto dirumuskan seiring dengan posisinya sebagai pemimpin SI. Karena itu, pemikiran Tjokroaminoto kerap dikemukakan dalam rangka menjawab tantangan dan dinamika perjuangan, baik dalam tubuh SI maupun di kalangan masyarakat Indonesia pada umumnya. Hal ini terutama berhubungan dengan pergolakan dalam tubuh SI, khususnya mereka yang memiliki haluan politik komunis, dan kemudian nasionalis. Dan karena itu pula, pemikiran politik Tjokroaminoto kerap bernada apologetis.

Demikianlah, tampil mewakili kelompok Muslim, Tjokroaminoto berusaha menjadikan sebagai Islam sebagai ideologi perjuangan politik, yang memang menjadi konsentrasi utama gerakan SI. Bagi Tjokroaminoto, dan juga anggota SI, Islam telah menjadi alat pemersatu bangsa Indonesia. Karena faktor agama inilah SI berkembang menjadi satu organisasi pergerakan yang memiliki jumlah pengikut sangat banyak, dan karenanya bisa dengan mudah terkonsolidasi menjadi gerakan politik Islam Indonesia terkemuka di awal abad ke-20.

Sejalan dengan itu, Tjokroaminoto berpandangan bahwa Islam dan politik merupakan satu kesatuan. Islam meliputi tidak hanya masalah spiritual keagamaan, tetapi juga masalah-masalah sosial-politik dan ekonomi. Dalam kerangka ini, Tjokroaminoto menulis sebuah buku, *Islam dan Sosialisme*, yang, antara lain, ditujukan untuk menjawab sikap sebagian anggota SI yang berhaluan kiri, di samping juga untuk menjadi semacam tawaran program pembaharuan untuk menjadikan kehidupan sosial, ekonomi, dan politik sejalan dengan ajaran Islam. Dalam buku ini, Tjokroaminoto juga menekankan bahwa Islam bisa menjadi landasan penting dalam menciptakan persatuan Indonesia; Islam bisa menciptakan solidaritas kebangsaan yang berfungsi sebagai penghalang bagi tumbuhnya nasionalisme chauvinistik, bahkan nasionalisme di tingkat etnis-regional.

Berdasarkan pemikiran di atas, Tjokroaminoto kemudian mengedepankan konsep umat sebagai bentuk rumusan masyarakat Indonesia yang hendak diwujudkan. Dalam hal ini, "negara madinah" yang didirikan Nabi Muhammad dipercaya bisa menawarkan pemerintahan demokratis, dan karenanya menjadi acuan Tjokroaminoto. Menurut Tjokroaminoto, di negara madinah lah konsep musyawarah dan kesetaraan hukum telah dipraktekkan, dan karena itu pula ia bisa menjadi model acuan untuk membangun masyarakat Indonesia yang mayoritas beragama Islam.



## Islam as an Ideology: The Political Thought of Tjokroaminoto

خلاصة: يشهد تاريخ إندونيسيا بمولد الحاج عمر سعيد شوكر و أمينوتو (Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto) على أنه ميلاد أبرز قائد الحركات المقاومة الوطنية، فقد ولد في بونوروجو بجاوه الشرقية في ١٦ أغسطس ١٨٨٢م من أسرة تنتمي إلى طبقة النبلاء الملتزمين بالشريعة الإسلامية، وقد كان جده الأكبر وهو الشيخ باغوس حسن بصري (Kyai Bagoes Hasan Basri) من شيوخ المعاهد التراثية الذي تزوج بإحدى بنات قصر سوراكارتا (Surakarta)، وبهذا كان جزءاً من الأسرة المالكة؛ وكان جده المباشر وهو رادين ماس آديباتي شوكر ونيجورو (Raden Mas Adipati Tjokronegoro) حاكم منطقة بونوروجو (Ponorogo)، وكان والده رادين ماس شوكر و أمينوتو (Raden Mas Tjokroaminoto) يشغل منصب رئيس منطقة ماديون (Madiun)، ومن هنا سرى في عروقه العنصر الملكي والعنصر الديني، ولذلك كان ملقباً برادين ماس (Raden Mas) وإن كان يفضل استعمال لقب الحاج.

فبالاعتماد على موهبته يبدو أن نسبه كان له دوره في توجيه حياته إلى التورط في الحركات القومية الإندونيسية، وقد تلقى تعليمه الأساسي على النظام الحديث في مدرسة هولندية (ELS)، ثم التحق بعد ذلك في المدرسة المتوسطة التي كانت مخصصة لإعداد الموظفين لدى الحكومة الاستعمارية (OSVIA)، وجرى عليه في ذلك ما يجرى على أنظاره من النبلاء عموماً، فلم يلبث أن تخرج من المرحلة المتوسطة حتى عين موظفاً في مصلحة حكومية، إلا أن معارضته لأساليب الحياة التي عليها النبلاء دفعته إلى الانتقال إلى عمل آخر في إحدى الشركات بسورابايا (Surabaya).

وكان تورطه في الحركة القومية بدأت عندما طلب إليه الحاج سامنهودي (Hadji Samanhoeði) أن يقوم بتنظيم شركات التجارة الإسلامية التي كانت تتعرض لضغوط من جانب الحكومة الاستعمارية الهولندية لكي تحدد من نشاطها، ومنذ ذلك الحين أنشأ جمعية شركات إسلام (Sarekat Islam) لتكون صورة جديدة لشركات

التجارة الإسلامية ليشمل نشاطها مجالاً أوسع، فلم يكن إنشاؤها كجمعية من أجل مصلحة اقتصادية في مواجهة التجار الصين وإنما يتعدى نشاطه إلى المجال السياسي، فقد جعل يدفع هذه الجمعية التي هو مؤسسها ورئيسها إلى الدخول بشكل مكثف في الحركات القومية الإندونيسية، وعن طريق هذه الجمعية برز هو كذلك كزعيم أسهم بدور هام في الحركة وفي إثراء الفكر السياسي الإسلامي بإندونيسيا.

وهذه المقالة تستعرض أفكار الحاج عمر سعيد شوكر و أمينوتو وخاصة في مجال السياسة، وهي أفكار عرضت مقترنة مع مكانته كزعيم لشركات إسلام، ولذلك قدمت أفكاره دائماً في إطار مواجهة التحديات وحرية المقاومة سواء في شركات إسلام أم في وسط المجتمعات الإندونيسية عامة، وهذا يتعلق بصفة أخص بالصراع القائم في شركات إسلام مع التيار الشيوعي ثم التيار الوطني بعد ذلك، ومن هنا جاءت أفكاره مصاغة في صورة دفاعية في كثير من الأحيان.

وهكذا فقد برز هذا الشخصية ممثلاً للجماعة الإسلامية يحاول أن يجعل الإسلام إيديولوجية المقاومة السياسية التي تمثل محور الحركة الإسلامية، وبالنسبة وله ولأعضاء الجمعية ورائه فإن الإسلام أصبح وسيلة لتوحيد الشعب الإندونيسي، ولهذا الجانب الديني الفضل الكبير في سرعة انتشار الجمعية ليكون لها أكبر عدد من الأنباع الأمر الذي يسهل طريقها إلى أن تكون أبرز الحركات الإسلامية بإندونيسيا وأكبرها في أوائل القرن العشرين.

وتمشيا مع ذلك يرى الحاج عمر سعيد شوكر و أمينوتو أن الإسلام والسياسة وحدة واحدة، فالإسلام يشمل ليس فقط المجالات الروحية والدينية وإنما أيضاً المجالات الاجتماعية والسياسية والاقتصادية، وفي هذا الصدد ألف كتاباً بعنوان "الإسلام والاشتراكية" وكان من أهدافه في هذا التأليف مواجهة التيار اليساري يجانب أن يكون أطروحة جديدة في سبيل جعل الحياة الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والسياسية موافقة للشريعة الإسلامية، وفي هذا الكتاب يؤكد كذلك مرة أخرى أن الإسلام يمكن أن يكون أساساً هاماً في تحقيق الوحدة الإندونيسية، فالإسلام يستطيع أن يحقق الأخوة الوطنية التي تقف عائقاً لنشوء الوطنية الضيقة أو الوطنية العرقية.

وبناء على هذه الآراء يقدم الحاج عمر سعيد نظرية الأمة في صورة المجتمع الأندونيسي الذي يذهب إلى تحقيقه، وهو بهذا الصدد يقصد "دولة المدينة" التي أنشأها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم والتي تضمن أن تقدم حكومة ديمقراطية، ففيها أي في دولة المدينة وفي ظلها تم تحقيق الشورى والمساواة وهي بذلك كفيلة بأن تبني إندونيسيا التي يدين معظم سكانها بالإسلام.

The early twentieth century Indonesia witnessed the rise of Tjokroaminoto as a leader of the political movement of Indonesian society. With the Sarekat Islam (SI) he led, Tjokroaminoto presented one of the biggest challenges to the Dutch colonial government. It is the fact that the steps of Sarekat Islam were intimately tied to the actions of Tjokroaminoto. Under his leadership, the SI was quickly transformed into a mass organization with a political agenda. His success in making the SI into the biggest national party of the time could be seen at its first congress in 1913, where he was instrumental in defining its ideology and in defining the nationalist mission of the organization. Indeed, this had far-reaching implications and provided new concepts and ideas for all Indonesians, such as nationalism, democracy, religious modernism, and modern economics.<sup>1</sup>

As a pioneer of the nationalist movement, Tjokroaminoto's ideas on politics influenced subsequent Indonesian nationalist activity, particularly within Sarekat Islam itself. His ideas had a great impact on both the political activities of the organization as well as its distinctive goals. He held that Indonesians had the same rights as the Dutch, both in politics and the economy, which made Indonesians aware of their poor position in the country. Furthermore, while there was strong agreement that the ultimate goal of the movement was to gain independence Tjokroaminoto argued that this could only be done in stages. The key stage, according to Tjokroaminoto, was "self-government" when Indonesians would govern their own state and, indeed, free from Dutch interference; he argued that Indonesian had an inherent right to do so. But to reach that stage Tjokroaminoto believed, Indonesians had necessary to be well educated.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, Tjokroaminoto placed special emphasis on national education.

Like most Muslim leaders and thinkers throughout history, Tjokroaminoto regarded Islam as more than just a religion but as a way of life. But he was also one of the first Muslim leaders in modern times to "proclaim Islam as 'a binding factor and national symbol'"<sup>3</sup>, which would ultimately lead to complete independence for Indonesia. He argued that Indonesian Muslims would be able to apply their Islamic ideals if they held unity and power in their hands. In his conceptualization of Islamic thought, he saw Islam broadly, as concerned with politics as they affected economics, the state and government. These ideas flowed from his concept of the Islamic community (*Ummah*).

This study is to analyze the political thought of Tjokroaminoto. It will devote particular attention to the issues of politics and Islam, and his involvement in various political discourses during his life time. In particular, this study attempts to show that Tjokroaminoto's ideas on Islam and politics were influential and provided a definition in early twentieth century Indonesia as to what political Islam should encompass that had a strong effect on Muslim in Indonesia at that time.

### Tjokroaminoto: His Life Background

Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, better known as Tjokroaminoto, was born on August 16, 1882 in Bakur, Ponorogo East Java<sup>4</sup>. He was descended from a religious aristocratic family and had the Javanese title of *Raden Mas*.<sup>5</sup> His great grandfather, Kyai Bagoes Kasan Basari, was a well-known *kyai*<sup>6</sup> in Ponorogo, East Java, and ran an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) in Tegalsari. This *kyai* married the daughter of *Susubunan* (the King of Surakarta in Central Java) and thus joined an aristocratic family. As his great grandfather preferred to use *Kyai* over the title of *Raden*, Tjokroaminoto also never used the title *Raden Mas*. He preferred to use the title *Hadji* (for one who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca) before his personal name.

As a *ningrat* (a Javanese aristocratic family), his family worked primarily within government. His grandfather, Raden Mas Adipati Tjokronegoro was a *bupati* (regent) in Ponorogo and once received the *Ridder der Nederlandsche Leeuw* (Knight of the Netherlands Lion) medal from the Dutch government for his loyalty and devotion to the Dutch government. His father, Raden Mas Tjokroamiseno, was a *wedana* (chief district officer) in Madiun. Tjokroaminoto was the second child of eleven brothers and sisters.

During his childhood Tjokroaminoto was regarded as intelligent, but was not well behaved. For instance, he liked fighting. Anhar Gonggong mentioned that once Tjokroaminoto won a fight against four Chinese men.<sup>7</sup> However, he was able to survive the repercussions of such misbehavior because of the father's social position; after all, he was a *priyayi* and a *wedana*'s son. Amelz also stated that in his childhood Tjokroaminoto liked playing "horsy" with his friend. In this game his friends pretended they were horses and Tjokroaminoto would ride on their back horses. Through this game, it seems that

Tjokroaminoto attempted to make his friends aware of how bad their life as a colonized people really was.<sup>8</sup>

Still such misbehavior forced him to move from one school to another, but because of his intelligence and social position, Tjokroaminoto finished his Western-style education at a Dutch school (OSVIA = the Training School for Native Civil Servants) at Magelang in 1902,<sup>9</sup> a seven-year course which opened the way to a *priyayi* career. It was considered to be advanced education for Indonesians who had attended the ELS (European Primary School). It was understandable that most *priyayi* families or B.B. (Binnenlandsch Bestuur), would try to gain access to OSVIA so that they could work at government offices.<sup>10</sup>

His OSVIA certificate provided him with the opportunity to work in the Dutch administration. The Dutch offered some Indonesians from the *priyayi* class the chance to study at European schools in the hope of producing people who would embrace Dutch values and could be recruited to work in the local administration. Known as the “association”, this policy was one of many “reform” policies undertaken by the Dutch government that the famous Dutch administrator-scholar Christian Snouck Hurgronje had introduced.<sup>11</sup>

After graduating from OSVIA, at the age of twenty Tjokroaminoto became a clerk at the *Pangreh Pradja* (local government office) where *jongkok* (a humble, crouching walk) and *sembah* (a gesture of obedience with hands held before one’s face) when in the presence of seniors were still common office practice. This unpleasant working environment was one reason he quit *Pangreh Pradja* in 1905 after only three years and moved to Surabaya. This was at a time when white-collar jobs were becoming available to the Western-educated in major urban centers. He then worked at the Cooy & Coy Firm while completing an engineering course at night school- the *Burgerlijke Avondschoon* Afdeeling Wertuigkundige (BAS) or Civil Evening School, which he undertook from 1907 to 1910. After finishing this course he relocated as an engineer to the *Rogojampi* sugar factory in Surabaya.<sup>12</sup>

Tjokroaminoto was well known for his radical attitude toward the customary practices he considered as demeaning; this was one reason why he quit his job as a clerk at the *Pangreh Pradja*.<sup>13</sup> He was also known to consider himself an equal with Dutch and Indonesian officials at a time when this was not a common viewpoint. He was said to have the courage to sit on a chair when meeting any Dutch-

man or official, to speak to his superiors without looking down on the floor, to cross his legs when sitting on a chair in front of these superiors - all small matters, but which, in his time, were considered taboo.<sup>14</sup> He was called *the gatokkaca* of the Sarekat Islam, a reference to a heroic *wayang* (shadow play) figure known for his rough character, but innate goodness.<sup>15</sup>

Tjokroaminoto was well known as an orator. His appearance gave the impression of an extraordinarily strong personality. His great power as an orator could attract people as if by enchantment, while his almost magical low voice gave listeners a sense of confidence. Sukarno, later the first President of Indonesia, was his disciple<sup>16</sup> who learned much of his skill from Tjokroaminoto; in fact Sukarno delivered his speeches in a way very similar to Tjokroaminoto's.<sup>17</sup>

With his identification with the Sarekat Islam, Tjokroaminoto quit his job as an engineer in the sugar factory in Surabaya and became the first leader of his age to make his livelihood as a professional politician - that is, he was the first to earn his income through leading the Sarekat Islam and running its commercial company named the *Setia Oesaha* (the faithful efforts).<sup>18</sup> After its establishment, the *Setia Oesaha* founded its own printing house and started to publish the newspaper, *Oetoesan Hindia* (the Indies Messenger) in December 1912, which was to become an important organ of the Sarekat Islam. Hasan Ali Soerati remarked at the Sarekat Islam's general meeting that, "any association should have its organ as the Indische Partij (IP) has *De Express*."<sup>19</sup> Initially, Hasan Ali Soerati had offered the job of editor-in-chief to Dr. Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo but Tjipto became an editor at *De Express*. Tjokroaminoto was then offered the position at *Oetoesan Hindia*. Since editing was new for Tjokroaminoto, R. Tirtodanoejdo, a former editor-in-chief of *Sinar Djarwa* (the light of Java), and a former official of *Volkslectuur*, became coeditor. *Oetoesan Hindia* thus became a *de-facto* Sarekat Islam organ and *Setia Oesaha*, the office for the Surabaya branch of the Sarekat Islam. To consolidate his position in the Sarekat Islam and to run the Sarekat Islam and the *Setia Oesaha*, Tjokroaminoto gathered his friends and protégés around him and led them to expand the Sarekat Islam under the Surabaya leadership.<sup>20</sup>

In *Oetoesan Hindia*, Tjokroaminoto developed his journalistic skills. His writings not only appeared in this journal but also in *Soeara Soerabaya* (the Voice of Surabaya), another leading journal of the city.



His writings were critical of Dutch government policies and called for self-determination for the Indies.<sup>21</sup> Later, as a product of Sarekat Islam's actions, he also founded *Fadjar Asia* (the Dawn of Asia) and *Al-Jihad* (the Holy War) which all served as supporters of the S.I. position on politics.

Tjokroaminoto was interested in the West and Western culture, sometimes learning about it directly from Dutch writers at other times as it was filtered through other Asian writers. This is evident in the books he read, mostly in Dutch and English such as *The Spirit of Islam* by Ameer Ali, *The Prophet* by Muhammad Ali, *Islam and Socialism* by M. Mushi Hoesain Kidwai, *Zut Kiritiek der politichen Oekonomie* (Commentary on Political Economy) and *Das Kapital* (Capital), both written by Karl Marx. Using these references in his own writing Tjokroaminoto elaborated his ideas on Islam concerning politics and socialism. In particular he expressed himself fully in *Islam dan Socialisme* (Islam and Socialism), *Tarich Agama Islam: Riwayat dan Pemandangan atas Kehidupan Nabi Muhammad dan Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad SAW* (Islamic History: History of the Life and the Journey of the Prophet Muhammad), *Program Asas, Program Tandhim Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* (Declaration of Principles and Action Program), and *Reglement Umum Bagi Ummat Islam* (General Regulations for the Muslim Ummah).<sup>22</sup>

In *Islam dan Socialisme*, Tjokroaminoto discussed at length the concept of socialism in Islam, which was written to answer the criticisms launched by socialist groups in Sarekat Islam. In particular, Tjokroaminoto addressed the assumption made by the communists of the age that Islam was not able to regulate economic, political and social matters. He insisted that Islam and socialism were compatible and drew heavily on a Muslim Pakistan writer named S. Mushir Hoesain Kidwai in his study *Islam and Socialism* who maintained the same point.<sup>23</sup>

Another book of his, *Tarich Agama Islam: Riwayat dan Pemandangan atas Kehidupan Nabi Muhammad dan Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad SAW* covers the history of the Arab people and the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In this book, Tjokroaminoto hoped to motivate Muslims to take lessons from the Prophet Muhammad for their own struggle against the forces arrayed against them. In the introduction, he mentioned that his book relied mainly on *The Spirit of Islam* by Amir Ali,<sup>24</sup> *The Ideal Prophet* by Khwaja Kamaluddin<sup>25</sup> and

*The Prophet* by Muhammad Ali. Indeed, Tjokroaminoto seems to have drawn heavily and sometimes literally on those sources to present his view of the prophet as suited to the challenge of modern times.

In *Program Asas, Program Tandhim Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia*, Tjokroaminoto proposed his concept of the Muslim community (Muslim *Ummah*), which included discussions on Islamic unity, freedom, state and government, socialism and economics. His concept of the *Ummah* was later completed when he wrote his monumental work, *Reglement Umum Bagi Ummat Islam*, published in February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1934. Its twenty chapters elaborate the general framework of guidance for the Muslim *Ummah* in Indonesia.<sup>26</sup>

There are several factors that influenced Tjokroaminoto's ideas. First is the rise of nationalism, which resulted from changing political, economic and cultural conditions that marked the early years of twentieth century Indonesia. Second is the rise of education among the Indonesian cultural elite which opened those trained in Dutch schools to modern Western ideologies such as nationalism, democracy and self-rule. Significantly Islam became important in the emergence of this nationalistic outlook. Third, two great historical events were influential. The Japanese success in its war against Russia in 1905 encouraged the view that Asians could triumph against Europeans through effort. Pan-Islamism arising in the Middle East spread throughout the Islamic world including Southeast Asia and asserted that Muslims had powers to control their own countries. The fourth factor was the development of Communism in Indonesia, which apparently influenced the political thought of Tjokroaminoto. Finally, a widely held belief that Tjokroaminoto was the *Ratu Adil* (Messiah) furthered his cause especially among the uneducated.

### Tjokroaminoto's Ideas on Politics

Tjokroaminoto's ideas on politics cannot be separated from his varying roles in Sarekat Islam (S.I.)<sup>27</sup> because many of his ideas, along with others as well, were directly connected to S.I. activities. It is not only Tjokroaminoto himself who controlled the political movement of Sarekat Islam but there are many others who were of key importance to this organization. Men like Agus Salim and Abdul Moeis, both from Sumatra, were also important leaders of the S.I.. Indeed Agus Salim and Tjokroaminoto were called *dwi tunggal* (duumvitate), or the "solid team", due to their close cooperation in Sarekat Islam.

In discussing Tjokroaminoto's ideas on politics, it must be considered that in addition to proposing his ideas, he also attempted to implement those ideas as strategies. It is also important to look at the background of his ideas since many of his ideas were responses either to Dutch policies or to some other events. This writing will attempt to apply this method in order to get a complete picture of Tjokroaminoto's conception of politics as well as his efforts to carry out those concepts.

Tjokroaminoto became a member of the S.I. on May 1912,<sup>28</sup> and officially became a leader after the First Congress of the S.I. on 26 January 1913. He led Sarekat Islam as "a national umbrella organization for all Indonesians regardless of sectional or political orientations."<sup>29</sup> His first task in the S.I. was to gain the official recognition of the party, so that it could be legally incorporated. In September 10, 1912, statutes of the S.I., as drawn up according to legal advice, were presented by Tjokroaminoto to the Dutch notary in Surakarta and were subsequently registered by notarial act.<sup>30</sup> The programs of the Sarekat Islam as stated in the new statute included the following points: the promotion of commercial enterprise among Indonesians, the organization of mutual economic support, the promotion of the intellectual and material well being of Indonesians, the promotion of Islam.<sup>31</sup>

Under his leadership, the party soon became a mass movement whose membership extended far beyond the elite group responsible for its foundation. It was also led by a Western-educated executive which included men like Agus Salim, who were influenced by the currents of Islamic reformism. The party also derived its main support from white-collar workers and from the urban middle-class. At the village level, in addition to concentrating on the peasantry, Sarekat Islam's popularity rested primarily on the traditional leadership of the *kyai* and the *haji*, whereas at the urban level, the organization's support was concentrated upon urban and estate workers. Sarekat Islam grew phenomenally and drew in diverse elements: not only the few Muslim entrepreneurs from whom the founders had been drawn, but also Muslims from the mosque schools, Islamic reformists, and increasingly, the peasant masses. Already by 1914, the S.I. claimed over 360,000 members and by its first national congress in June 1916, it had recruited more than 80,000 members outside of Java.<sup>32</sup>

In addition, the increasing number of Sarekat Islam might be a result of a widespread idea of *Ratu Adil* (A Just King). Tjokroaminoto used the popularity of the idea of *Ratu Adil* as his vehicle particularly when in promoting his idea of Islamic socialism.<sup>33</sup> In one meeting he declared: "We await a new messenger of God, the successor of Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, who will drive all evil desires from the hearts of men. This is the messenger called *Ratu Adil*. All of us, whatever our religion, await him. But this *Ratu Adil* will not appear in human form; rather, he will appear in the form of socialism. It is to this that the S.I. looks forward."<sup>34</sup> Prior to this time on, the term had been applied to him personally, but here he attempted to use the term in a wide, symbolic meaning that would promote the Islamic ideas of the S.I. Through this idea Tjokroaminoto did effectively gain his popularity among people.

This attempt to change the public perception of the *Ratu Adil* concept had its roots in internal SI politics. Hadji Agus Salim continually warned Tjokroaminoto about the dangers of the people's adoration and their high expectations. Salim also wanted to disassociate the movement from the concept of *Ratu Adil* because he believed that this concept was dangerous for the movement, as it necessitated an external force quite beyond the power of the Sarekat Islam leadership.<sup>35</sup> Tjokroaminoto ultimately agreed and apparently this change to symbolic meaning was an attempt to give new direction that would be more fitting with the Islamic context.

The increasing size and ethnic diversity of its membership indicates that its orientation was not only commercial but also political. Political orientation of the S.I. could be categorized particularly when Tjokroaminoto criticized Indonesians whose a pervasive feeling of dependence on and inferiority to foreigners, especially the Dutch, who promoted the status of Indonesians. This situation was even worse, particularly when *priyayi* identified lay people as the lowest class in society. The term *wong cilik* (low people) and slavish images were always attached to them. This condition consequently created a feeling in which they were always felt they had to accept a subordinate position and were fearful of standing up for their rights. He argued that the term *wong cilik* was no longer suitable for Indonesians who were trying to regain their sense of dignity. There were no differences between people before God. He also argued that Indonesian people had to be aware of their rights in terms of politics and economic matters.

The establishment of Sarekat Islam marked the emergence of Indonesians' self-awareness. At the first National Congress, Tjokroaminoto delivered a speech, saying that:

This congress is one of the indications of the revival of the Indonesian, who has been assessed as a quarter human being for such a long time... [that] whenever people have wakened from slumber, there is nothing which can stop their movement; [that] the birth of the S.I. is the will of God alone; [that] the Muslim community in Indonesia must unite themselves with the bond of their religion...; [that] the S.I. association is like a small stream of water in the beginning, but which within a short time becomes an enormous flood.<sup>36</sup>

On another occasion, Tjokroaminoto was more specific as to what the relationships between Indonesia and the Netherlands should be. He argued that for a long time the Indonesian was considered a slave working for his master. He stated that it was unreasonable that Indonesians were ruled by the Dutch government as "a landowner who controls his lands" (*Zoale een landheer zijn percelen beehert*). He also used an analogy of how the Dutch treat Indonesians in their own country. He mentioned that:

It is not decent to regard Indonesia as a milk cow which is given food only because of its milk (*een melkkoe, die slechts teeten krijgt ter wille van haar melk*); it is not proper to regard this country as a place where people go with the intention of fetching its fruits (*een plaats, waar de mensen slechts beengaan met doel om voordeel te behalen*), and at present it is also no longer justifiable that its population, especially the native, one does not have the right to participate in political affairs which are concerned with its very fate...<sup>37</sup>

In addition to criticizing the Dutch, his criticism was also leveled toward SI members whom he always felt accepted a subordinate position and were fearful of standing up for their rights. One example was the way lay people gave honor towards *priyayi* or the Dutch. It was done by *merangkak* (crawling on hands and knees), *jongkok* (a humble, crouching walk), sitting on the ground and *sembah* (a gesture of obedience with hands held before face) before the *priyayi* or the Dutch. Another example was the manner of dressing. Only the Dutch or *priyayi* might wear pants or other 'European' styles, such as coats and ties.<sup>38</sup> Even though giving honor towards superiors was a custom in most Javanese kingdoms, Tjokroaminoto criticized it as no longer appropriate. At the Sarekat Islam congress he stated:

Because we were colonized for a long time, there grew a feeling that we always stand on a lower level and have no respect toward our own identity. It is a duty of Sarekat Islam to criticize terms that are meant to lower our dignity. People living in *kampung* (villages) were always called as *de kleine men* or *wong cilik* (lower people). Is this term appropriate? To whom do we have to feel subordinate? Is it to God? No. This term is not appropriate to us who are now fighting to raise our dignity.<sup>39</sup>

His concept of the worth of Indonesian people was also more clearly articulated when the *Comité 'Indië Weerbaar'* (Committee for the Defense of the Indies) was established.<sup>40</sup> Although he supported this action, he also criticized the Dutch by making some political demands. First, he expressed that Indonesians were disappointed by the arrogance shown by Dutch government officials and businessmen. If the Dutch could not address this disappointment, Indonesians would not support the Dutch in defending the country. Second, the Dutch had to fulfill the political rights of the people that in fact were not equal with their duties. Finally, Tjokroaminoto also put forward many comments concerning the adverse economic condition experienced by Indonesians.<sup>41</sup>

Tjokroaminoto's ideas on Indonesian self-esteem were the direct result of the colonial system, which denied the concept of equality for Indonesians. It was therefore Tjokroaminoto and other Sarekat Islam leaders who attempted to change this condition, in addition to achieving rights, status and power. Strikingly Tjokroaminoto did not believe that this could be accomplished through revolutionary tactics, so he chose cooperation with the Dutch. This was clearly evident in the early years of his leadership (1913-1916), which was the period from the first Congress of Sarekat Islam to the first National Congress.

His cooperative attitude toward the Dutch government can be detected throughout in his speeches and writing.<sup>42</sup> At the first Congress of the Sarekat Islam in 1913, he declared that the Sarekat Islam rejected all forms of anti-government activities. In a speech Tjokroaminoto declared that the S.I. was loyal to and satisfied with the Dutch Government and that it was not true that the S.I. wanted to fight. He said "it [Sarekat Islam] is not a political party; it is not a party that wants revolution, as many think."<sup>43</sup> Further, Blumberger notes, on the basis of Tjokroaminoto's speech:



"...We must, when we are oppressed, call upon the Governor General for aid. We are loyal towards the government, and we are content under the Dutch regime! It is not true that we are causing trouble: it is not true that we are going to fight. He who says that or thinks of that is mad. We do not want that, a thousand times no."<sup>44</sup>

*Sinar Djawa* reports his speech at a rally held in Semarang:

It [the Sarekat Islam] is on the basis of religion that we will find the strength to hold high our worth as Natives by legitimate means...As the book says people must obey the commands of their King. Who is it now that commands us Natives? Indeed it is the kingdom of *Ollanda* (the Dutch). Thus according to the religious law of Islam we have to obey the laws of the kingdom of *Ollanda*. Therefore, we must also obey the commands of the kingdom of *Ollanda*. We must fully and loyally comply with the laws and regulations of the Dutch, which have been for the people of the kingdom of *Ollanda*...<sup>45</sup>

There are two reasons why Tjokroaminoto maintained a cooperative attitude toward the Dutch. First, he was more inspired by the fear of government retaliation than by conviction; at that time, based on Article 111 of the ordinance of 1854, the Dutch government forbade any political association.<sup>46</sup> Second, this attitude could not be separated from the political environment created by the Dutch government. A moderate attitude shown by Governor General Idenburg created a sympathetic attitude among the S.I. leaders toward the Dutch.<sup>47</sup>

But this cooperative attitude did not mean that Dutch policies or dominance would all be accepted or that the Indonesian position was regarded as acceptable, consequently at the first S.I. congress, Tjokroaminoto began redefining the political landscape:

- a. The congress brought into being new conceptions of life for Indonesians, such as nationalism, democracy, religious modernism, and economic schools.
- b. There arose a movement for constitutional change; a transitional legal order began to be developed. The native element of Indonesian society was forming itself into groups outside of official channels. The Managing of the S.I. Committee was putting itself between the government and the people, and beginning to undermine the power of the government.

- c. Religious sentiment among the Muslims influenced the emergence of a democratic tendency that touched the very foundations of the colonial system.
- d. The S.I. proved to be in accordance with the social evolution created by the change in the psychological conditions of individuals.<sup>48</sup>

In general Tjokroaminoto encouraged SI members to be aware of their political rights despite a declared policy of cooperation with the Dutch.<sup>49</sup> In a meeting at Surabaya on 26 January 1913, he made it clear that the Sarekat Islam aimed to 'build nationalism, get back human rights which have been a grant of God, elevate the inferior [the Indonesians], improve the present unsatisfactory conditions...'<sup>50</sup>

Furthermore, the Sarekat Islam definitely worked for the general improvement of conditions on behalf of the people through support of a reform movement. Together with the two Surabaya SI leaders, Tirtodanoedjo and Tjokrosoedarmo, Tjokroaminoto led the *Djawa Dwipa* (Noble Java) movement, founded in March 1917, which took as its task removing serious obstacles from the path to the development of a new self-confidence among the Javanese people. The obstacle was the "caste system" in the Javanese language, through which the medieval *Kawula-Gusti* (master-servant) relationship had carried down into the twentieth century. It required the most Javanese to use *kromo*, a language of studied politeness and obsequiousness, in every relation with a superior, whereas a superior speaking to an inferior used *ngoko*, a language of command, lacking concern for the feelings of the listener. As examples of this movement, there was an instruction issued to its members not to use *Raden*, *Raden Mas* or *Bendoro* in their daily communication with *priyayi*. After the *Djawa Dwipa* had been founded, the S.I., by systematically promoting *ngoko* as the language of all Javanese attempted to remove the most obvious symbol of oppression.<sup>51</sup> With this particular movement, solidarity among SI members was greatly increased.<sup>52</sup>

In addition, Tjokroaminoto believed that Indonesians should have rights to govern their own state. He proposed his ideas of self-government in the first National Congress of Sarekat Islam in 1916.<sup>53</sup> Self-government, according to Tjokroaminoto, implied rule over the Indies by its own population, irrespective of race, color of skin or

religion. The right of self-government was a vital question for the Indies, because if it was not fulfilled, the Indies would undoubtedly fall to outside attackers. In order to be able to acquire self-government, the natives should be well trained for that purpose.<sup>54</sup> Self-government would only be perfect when the people's representative stood close to the government like in the Netherlands, where the 'Staten Generaal' represented the Dutch people. People's representation means a gathering of persons who really act in the interests of the country. The constitution leaves no room for disputes between the King (Queen) and the 'Staten Generaal'.

For Tjokroaminoto, self-government was no longer a distant mirage, but something real and attainable. To implement this idea, however, Indonesians had to go through a long process because it would not come immediately but would happen within a measurable distance of time. He also believed that Indonesians would not easily gain their political rights and that was why he was motivated to strive to obtain it. He added, "we must always take into account the conditions in which we find ourselves. Therefore, when we do not feel mature enough for self-government, we must have patience and wait until we obtain the ability, for when we obtain our freedom at an inconvenient time, such would ruin our country."<sup>55</sup>

Tjokroaminoto maintained that both the Indonesian people and the Dutch government had to take part in the actualization of self-government. The former had to be well prepared so that they would be able to govern their own state and the latter had to be willing to stand in equality with the Indonesian people. His consideration that self-government could not be created without any preparation was reasonable because Indonesia at that time was still under colonialism and only a small number of the people were well educated. The idea of self-government could only be implemented when the Dutch had the political will to acknowledge that Indonesians had political rights. The Dutch also had to eliminate the assumption that Indonesians should always be in a subordinate position.

However, when it was judged after four years that the cooperation method of Sarekat Islam toward the Dutch was not successful, Sarekat Islam leaders argued that the method had to be changed. At the second National Congress on October 1917, together with other Sarekat Islam leaders, Tjokroaminoto's political attitude became more aggressive and the emphasis was placed on political and economic questions. Although he still spoke of his desire to live along-

side the Dutch and draw closer the bonds between “our Queen” and the “Children of the land,” voices were raised in bitter condemnation of the administration’s policy. Tjokroaminoto’s public support of autonomy stood in marked contrast to this position of cooperation.

The 1917 congress marked the culmination of Tjokroaminoto’s efforts in developing the S.I. into an independent minded, political and economic-oriented peoples’ movements. This was indicated by the acceptance of Islam as the basis of the Sarekat Islam movement, the condemnation of capitalism and the demand for political rights for the people.

The political character of the S.I., which reflected Tjokroaminoto’s ideas, was officially formulated in a Declaration of Principle and an Action Program. Both were approved by its second National Congress in 1917. The Declaration of Principles expressed the party’s belief in Islam as “the preacher of democratic ideas” as well as the “religion par excellence for the spiritual education of the people”. The party regarded the intellectual as well as the moral development of the individual as essential for the proper functioning of civil rights. The state or government should not interfere in religious matters and should treat all religions on an equal basis. The party demanded the increased participation of the people in politics in order to achieve ‘self-government’. It rejected racial domination and demanded from the government equal protection of the rights and freedoms of all citizens ‘with powerful assistance for the weak and the needy...’ The Sarekat Islam ‘lights sinful capitalism which is the origin of the present deteriorating economic condition of the largest part of the Indonesian population’. Finally the Declaration expressed the party’s willingness to cooperate with all organizations and persons who agreed with its principles.<sup>56</sup>

As mentioned in the Declaration of Principles and the Action Program, Tjokroaminoto vigorously attacked capitalism and supported autonomy. He wanted to fight ‘sinful capitalism’ - in other words, “the colonial capitalism which exploited Indonesia for the benefit of foreign countries.”<sup>57</sup> Foreign capitalism, according to Tjokroaminoto, was different from Muslim capitalism. This statement was basically a compromise made on behalf of Muslim merchants, who were fearful that they would be included in Tjokroaminoto’s definition of sinful capitalism, and the radical socialists who declared that ‘Capitalism is always sinful, even Muslim and that class war must also be

carried out against Muslim capitalists, to free the oppressed classes, indifferent of which religion the capitalists followed. B.M.H. Vlekke notes that:

This is the first time that a Marxist slogan was introduced into the speeches of the Sarekat Islam Congress, but its true Marxian character was curiously modified by local interpretation. 'Sinful capitalism' is, from a Marxist point of view, of course, a contradiction in terms, for it leaves open the possibility of righteous capitalism, which does not find a place in the Marx's theories. Tjokroaminoto was asked to explain when capitalism is sinful and his reply was, "Foreign capitalism is always sinful." In this succinct statement the identity of the struggle for social and political aims was perfectly expressed.<sup>58</sup>

On this occasion, the idea of attacking capitalism was also stated by Semaun, a leftist, and by Moeis, an Islamist. Semaun demanded a quicker pace toward social democracy and Moeis proclaimed the ideal of "Indies for the Indonesians".

### **Tjokroaminoto's Ideas on Islam**

The strong influence of communist groups on the Sarekat Islam forced the group leaders to reconsider the role of Islam in that organization.<sup>59</sup> This later marked a revolutionary change concerning the progress of Sarekat Islam movement. Tjokroaminoto and other Sarekat Islam leaders believed that 'independence on the basis of Islam alone is capable of releasing all the people any form of slavery'.<sup>60</sup>

From an historical perspective, the importance of Islam to the majority of the Sarekat Islam could be seen since its establishment. Tjokroaminoto argued that Islam was an important element for Sarekat Islam, which would bind people together. He mentioned this at a meeting held in Semarang in 1914:

First of all, I would like to explain what the name "Sarekat Islam" means. In short, Sarekat Islam means "association of people whose religion is Islam." This is not an ordinary association, but an extra-ordinary one, bound by the religion of Islam. The Natives have already established a number of associations with lofty purposes, but not one of them could become permanent and large. But once the Sarekat Islam emerged, thousands of people became members, bound by the rope of the religion of Islam. That is why the Sarekat Islam has become an extraordinary association.<sup>61</sup>

The process of development of the S.I. from the founding of the party up to the convening of its congress in Surabaya in 1918, showed that Islam had steadily grown in prominence for the party, commensurate with the challenges that had faced it from within and without. Within the ranks of the Sarekat Islam, for example, a sharp conflict had been going on between the socialist-oriented and the Islam-oriented group. This conflict marked the beginning of a definite split between the red Sarekat Islam (the communist group) and the white Sarekat Islam (the Muslim *santris*) and showed the growing importance of Islam in the party. Numerous other challenges were also presented from outside the party by secular nationalist groups.

However, in the 1920s and 1930s, the role of Islam in the Sarekat Islam became more complex. International changes deeply affected the political life of Indonesia. The revolution in Russia in 1917<sup>62</sup>, coincided with the optimism in the Islamic world raised by the Caliphate movement,<sup>63</sup> gave new hope to both groups in the S.I., the communist as well as the religious groups. These events also made both sides aware of their own characteristics and their particular ideological orientations. As a result of this process the relationship between Central Sarekat Islam, dominated by "Muslims", and its Semarang branch, controlled by leftists, deteriorated and eventually ruptured.

Another influential factor was the emergence of "secular nationalism" on Java in the mid 1920s. The establishment of study-clubs in Surabaya and Bandung gave way to the recruitment of intellectuals, who were more inclined to a nationalism based on secularism than on Islam. These new groups organized themselves into the Indonesia National Party, with Soekarno as the key leader. This proved to be a great challenge to the S.I..

The role of Islam in Sarekat Islam could not be separated from the efforts made by two of the party's leaders, Hadji Agus Salim<sup>64</sup> and Tjokroaminoto. It is no exaggeration to say that compared to Tjokroaminoto, who understood Islam from non-Arabic sources, mainly in English, Salim had a better understanding of Islam.<sup>65</sup> This was evident in many places where Salim gave ideas and supporting evidence to Tjokroaminoto's ideas on Islam, for example Tjokroaminoto's writing on Islam and socialism.<sup>66</sup> This comparison shows that the Islamic foundation of the Sarekat Islam movement was not merely a result of Tjokroaminoto's efforts but also due to



the collective efforts of the group's leaders. Nevertheless Tjokroaminoto's ideas on Islam did contribute to the Sarekat Islam movement.

The varying roles of Islam in Tjokroaminoto's ideas were generally related to Islam as an ideology.<sup>67</sup> This ideology had three features: 1) Separation between Islam and politics, 2) Nationalism, 3) Pan-Islamism and 4) the concept of the *Ummah*. Let us deal with each of these matters in turn.

### Islam and Politics

The idea of the separation between religion and politics appeared when conflict between the socialist and religious group in the Sarekat Islam emerged. In this conflict, the socialist groups argued that Islam should be separated from politics since Islam was only concerned with private matters. On the other hand, Tjokroaminoto, who represented the religious group in the S.I., strongly disagreed with the opinion. He maintained that Islam regulated not merely spiritual matters but also politics, the economy as well as social affairs. He also argued that in Islam there was no separation between religion and politics, as was indicated in the time of the Prophet.

It is important to mention here that this idea originally emerged with the *Djawi Hisworo* affair of January 1918. This resulted in a wide range of reactions from Muslims that later on, led to the establishment of "The Lord Prophet and Apostle Muhammad's Army Committee".<sup>68</sup> What was most significant about this affair and the establishment of the committee was the fact that it served as an illustration of the feelings of the Muslims in Indonesia about their religion. It also served as an indication of the power of Islam as a binding force among its adherents, in spite of the different ways in which Islam was practiced. This committee was also an indication of the importance to modern Indonesia of the crucial problem concerning the relationship between politics and religion. The establishment of this committee should also be understood in light of the fact that at that time, the pressure from both socialist groups and missionaries compelled the Sarekat Islam leaders to devote new attention to the Islamic aspect of Sarekat Islam.<sup>69</sup> Through this momentum, Tjokroaminoto criticized the Dutch government that subsidized missionary work and demanded like subsidies for Islamic educational institutions. He pointed out that:

The Islamic religion in the Dutch East Indies used to be presented as the source of all evil mishaps, notably the disturbances in Cilegon, the resistance at Gedangan and, at first, also the uprising in Jambi. And in contrast with this abuse of the Muslim faith, the Christian belief has been benefited in every way by the government; the Christian missionaries are paid with tax-money, which has been brought in by the Muslim believers, while the Christian mission-run schools received subsidies from the government.<sup>70</sup>

The idea of the separation between religion and politics once again came up when the socialist group in Sarekat Islam put forth their own critical evaluation of the religious foundation of the party movement. The socialist group of the S.I., under the leadership of Semaun, however, was not opposed to the development of Islamic religion, but they wished to situate and define the role of Islam as a religion that was only spiritual - not political - in character. To Semaun and his followers the religious question is a private one of faith, i.e., a 'personal affair'.<sup>71</sup> By placing religion in the personal realm, Islam was situated in the Western religious that separated religion from politics.

In 1919, the socialists became increasingly aggressive and the struggle between the socialist and religious groups in the party became increasingly intense. The debate later moved from the practical level to the ideological level - religion and ideology had become the central issue. This conflict worsened, particularly when Alimin Prawirodirjo<sup>72</sup> published an article entitled *Louteren Wij Ons* (Are We Purifying Ourselves).

In the article, Alimin openly criticized the Sarekat Islam. He argued that the most serious problem in the party was the lack of contact between the intellectual and religious circles.<sup>73</sup> He also believed that religion should be placed in the realm of one's personal life. It is a personal question, a private matter and has no connection with politics. In general he maintained the separation of religion and the state.<sup>74</sup>

Another attack was also launched by the Indië League. It was evident in the thought of Douwes Dekker. Basically, Dekker was of the opinion that religion was the "narrow road" of unity; it even tended to break up unity. In its final development, he explicitly rejected the role of religion in the movement. A genuine movement, according to him, could not be based on religion, but must be religiously pluralistic.<sup>75</sup> He expressed a view that became the dominant trend in the successful nationalist endeavors of the 1940's

and later into the republic. It stood in stark opposition to the policies of Muslim groups which wanted a strong Islamic identification.

The conflicts between socialist and religious groups in Sarekat Islam became worse, particularly when *Perserikatan Komunis Hindia* (Communist Association of the Indies) was established in 1920. This marked the beginning of a definite split in the S.I. that reached its full magnitude during the subsequent congress, which took place in Yogyakarta from March 2 to 6, 1921. The main question posed to the S.I. leadership at the time was what the attitude it should adopt towards the Communist group, as a split seemed unavoidable. In the congress, the plan to institute a consolidated, regulated party response towards the PKI was discussed and in this respect Tjokroaminoto, Moeis and Salim emerged as the people who opposed the Semarang group. In 1921 Salim had planned a proposal to reorganize the Central body for three reasons:

1. The Sarekat Islam would not have developed very well if it were not under a leadership devoted only to its success, exclusive of other organizations. This meant to Tjokroaminoto and others that party discipline could enhance the success of the organization but preventing members from having conflicting membership in other, rival organizations.
2. Religion must become the "key stone" of the body's activities. Islam was the unifying force and all of the ideals of socialism were already included in Islam.
3. The PKI was a member organization of the Dutch Communist Party. It was thus a tool of Dutch colonialism and as such, did not have any true interest in Asian socialism. Sarekat Islam must become genuinely Indonesian, genuinely Islamic, and genuinely Communist.<sup>76</sup>

In justifying the discipline measures, Tjokroaminoto said that he did not think it proper that the S.I., which, thanks to its principles, had grown into a great, earnest and spotless association, would lose to another association, "that would be disobedience toward God".<sup>77</sup> Arguing that Islam was the sole foundation of the party movement, Tjokroaminoto felt he had no alternative, "it is appropriate that Sarekat Islam uses what has been granted by Allah, namely making Islam the only genuine foundation"<sup>78</sup>

The different ideas on the relationship between Islam and politics held by Communist and religious groups in Sarekat Islam forced the S.I. leaders to propose new interpretations. In his speech entitled "*Socialisme yang berdasar Islam*" (Socialism based on Islam) in 1922<sup>79</sup>, Tjokroaminoto argued that Islam created happiness not only for Muslims, but also for all human beings. Islam was not merely a personal matter. It therefore did not merely regulate the relationship between man and God, but also between human beings themselves.<sup>80</sup> He denied the words of people who said that Islam should not be engaged in addressing political, social, and economic issues.<sup>81</sup> Basing his arguments on Islamic history during the life of the Prophet, Tjokroaminoto argued that Islam could deal with socio-political matters, as had the Prophet at Medina. The Islamic state at Medina, from the start, took on a political character when Muhammad, besides his function as prophet, served as a political leader for the new community as well. It is a clear example, according to Tjokroaminoto, that Islam did regulate political matters.<sup>82</sup>

Both Tjokroaminoto and Salim rejected the idea of the separation between religion and politics. They argued that Islam must be acknowledged as the basis of politics, and for Islam, there is no recognition of the separation of the state from religion. Tjokroaminoto stated: "there are no Muslims who are only taking care of *ukhrawi* (eschatological matters) without taking care of their every day matters in life. This is even evident in Islamic history where the Prophet Muhammad was a religious as well as a political leader."<sup>83</sup> Such ideas were backed by Salim, who argued that Sarekat Islam was the first movement of the people of Indonesia that opposed the erroneous ideas "separation of Church and State". There is no doctrine in Islam, he added, that states that religious affairs must be separated from political affairs.<sup>84</sup>

Tjokroaminoto also criticized the arguments for such a separation as he believed that Islam addresses all aspects of life, including the social, economic and cultural. At the S.I. congress in Yogyakarta in 1925, he proposed his program of *tanzîm* (program of reform), i.e. the reform of social, economic and cultural life in accordance with Islamic principles.<sup>85</sup> The proposals for *tanzîm* were later formulated in his book, *Islam dan Socialisme*, which have already been mentioned. In addition, The conflict between communist and religious groups in the S.I. finally ended by formalizing the party discipline at the Madi-

un Congress in 1923. Tjokroaminoto seems to have made himself the master of this turbulent last congress of the S.I., which finally brought about the following decisions:

- 1) Confirmation of the party-discipline toward the PKI;
- 2) Non-cooperation with the Dutch colonial government;
- 3) Transformation of the S.I. movement into "Partai Sarekat Islam" (Sarekat Islam Party), abbreviated P.S.I;
- 4) Renewing the *bay'at*, the oath-precept as a pledge of allegiance.<sup>86</sup>

After the Madiun Congress, the Communist group was officially expelled from the P.S.I. But those who were expelled refused to accept the expulsion and continued to use the name. According popular designations were assigned to the two groups the *Sarekat Islam Putih* (the white Sarekat Islam), represented the religious groups in the party, and *Sarekat Islam Merah* (Red Sarekat Islam) represented the Communist groups.<sup>87</sup> It was a breach that never was healed.

### Islam and Nationalism

Secular nationalist also questioned and attacked the connection between Islam and politics from a different approach from the socialist. Here national identity and ethnic pride were the motivating factors. With regard to this criticism, Tjokroaminoto strongly maintained that nationalism had to be based on Islam since in this religion no distinction were made between races, regions and social status. He believed that Islamic nationalism could create a united Muslim community in Indonesia, and questioned whether simple "nationalism" could do the same.

The debate on nationalism began in the 1920's particularly when the Sarekat Islam gave strong emphasis to the religious foundation for its movement. Previously, this debate did exist, but was muted due to the dominant position of the Muslims within the S.I. which was major independence movement. To this point Islam had been projected as an ideal binding Indonesian together, without much thinking about the substance of the Islam being used.

The conflict was pointedly raised by some graduates of modern and western-style schools who were impressed with "the West's technical progress, its ideal of personal liberty and by socialist concepts of economic justice then under considerable discussion in European schools".<sup>88</sup> These students tended to argue that religion, particular-

ly Islam, was not able to deal with problems in modern times.<sup>89</sup> The number of Muslims “emancipated” from their own religion through Dutch training and education had multiplied.<sup>90</sup> The members of this group apparently did not become members of the S.I., like their predecessors who also studied in Dutch schools.<sup>91</sup> Islam’s status as the natural symbol of national feeling had deteriorated. The S.I. was apparently no longer the symbol of the native people, particularly when it was related with colonialism.<sup>92</sup> As a result, the Muslims lost their monopoly in formulating the foundation of the struggle.<sup>93</sup>

This was not merely the result of western education, but also the consequence of the “ideologization” pursued by Muslims. Taufik Abdullah argued that ideologization seemed to have created new phenomena. First, it established Islam as the foundation of national and inter-ethnic political solidarity. Second, as a result of this process, cultural polarization occurred in which *santri* (devoted Muslims) and *abangan* (nominal Muslims) were clearly identified.<sup>94</sup> This polarization, he added, could also be viewed as the result of Islamization, which led to the polarization of socio-political orientation and commitment.<sup>95</sup>

In defining and formulating the national ideology in this period, religious and secular groups, which may also be called *santri* and *abangan* groups, seem to have opposed one another. Debates occurred between the two groups on what the foundation of this ideology was going to be. The *santri*, unsurprisingly, proposed Islam as an ideology, while the *abangan* saw Islam as a foreign teaching imported into Javanese culture and they propagated nationalism as if Islam ran counter to it. This group was later on recognized as a nationalist group not committed to Islam; it even sometimes appeared to be an anti-Islamic group.<sup>96</sup> The group held that Islam was tied to the past and was incapable of dealing with modern issues.<sup>97</sup>

According to the secular nationalists, national unity was an end in itself and stood above other factors. They proposed what Gajah Mada and others of the Hindu-Buddhist period had done, that is, unified the archipelago under a single political, economic and cultural authority. Muslims were suspect of this approach regarding it as an attempt to reinstitute Hinduism.<sup>98</sup> Soekarno, one of the nationalist leaders stressing the love of the country, said that the fatherland is “*sangat indah dan memiliki kekayaan alam yang melimpah dari Ibu Indonesia*” (very beautiful and has great and rich natural



resources which fall abundantly from Mother Indonesia). He maintained that Mother Indonesia gave birth to heroic people, like Gajah Mada and other leaders from the Hindu period. To create and maintain unity, he stressed the importance of love for the fatherland, the sincere preparedness to serve and devote oneself to Mother Indonesia, and the willingness to set aside narrow party interests.<sup>99</sup>

In addition, Soekarno believed that his idea of nationalism was not the same as Western nationalism. It did not come out of the pride of a nation. The nationalism was a tolerant one, which grew out of knowledge of the world and history. He said, adding that: "... it is not 'jingo-nationalism' or chauvinism, it is not a copy of or an imitation of the nationalism of the West. Our nationalism is one which accept its life as an inspiration and realizes its ideals as a service".<sup>100</sup> He also argued that due to its tolerant attitude the nationalism gave broadness and the wideness of space which gave room for others who need it. The nationalism was Eastern nationalism, which was a competitive nationalism striving only after its own needs and which was similar to commercial nationalism based on terms of loss and profits.<sup>101</sup>

According to Soekarno, this Eastern nationalism had inspired various Asian leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi of India, Mustafa Kamil of Egypt and Sun Yat Sen of China, made 'us a tool of God' and caused 'us to live in the Spirit. He also maintained that with this kind of nationalism, it would be assumed that Indonesia and its people was part of Asia and the Asian people, and part of the world and the world population. Indonesians did not consider as the servants only of their fatherland but also that of Asia, all suppressed people and the world.<sup>102</sup>

These different conceptions of Islam and nationalism forced Islamic group leaders to clarify their concepts. In *Bandera Islam*, Tjok-roaminoto explained the meaning of nationalism in Islam as practiced by the S.I. He held that Islam did not in the least hamper or obstruct the creation and the course of real nationalism, but in fact promotes it. Islamic nationalism, according to him, was not narrow nationalism and was not dangerous to others, as was often assumed. Islamic nationalism, he added, led to Islamic socialism, i.e. socialism which creates mono-humanism (the unity of mankind) controlled by the Supreme Being, Allah, through the laws which had been revealed to his Apostle, the last of the Prophet, Muhammad.<sup>103</sup> In *Islam dan*

*Socialisme*, Tjokroaminoto also stated: “*Kebangsaan* (nationalism) is based on Islamic socialism since this socialism will overstep limitations such as races, languages, regions and states. Wherever Muslims live, they are still part of the united Muslim community and they have to work to meet the needs of their society as well that of Islam.”

<sup>104</sup> It is Islamic nationalism, he believed, that would create solidarity, freedom and equality among Muslims.<sup>105</sup>

Tjokroaminoto also questioned the ideas of nationalism proposed by the secular groups. “Should we leave the Islamic principles and change to or just follow other concepts? Islam contains complete teachings which regulate all aspects of life including politics, social and economy. Why, therefore, adopt other products when we have complete Islamic doctrines?”<sup>106</sup> He again argued that Islamic nationalism would prevent Indonesians from falling into schisms, which would result in increased feelings of regionalism, thus in turn, encouraging, for example, the Javanese to develop their own nationalism, Ambonese to develop their own nationalism and so on, throughout the islands. If this happened, he continued, Indonesia would break into small parts and it would be difficult to preserve its unity. It was therefore Islam, which had deep roots in Indonesia, which promoted Islamic nationalism based on the law of God and which united Indonesians regardless of their cultural background.<sup>107</sup>

Tjokroaminoto’s views were similar, but not identical, to the views of other Muslim thinkers of the time. Another Sarekat Islam leader, Salim, put forth his own ideas on Islamic nationalism. In a polemic with Soekarno, Salim argued that the love for the country is a nonsense slogan, which encouraged worshipping and idolizing one’s nationality. He also pointed to the dangers dormant in nationalism, describing a number of misdeeds that nationalists were prone to commit.<sup>108</sup> The PSI, however, did not abandon or ignore the love of country, but continued to regard it as an important principle. The PSI saw it rather as “emphasizing the fate and the situation of our people, putting them in priority rather than nationality. Love of country should be in favor of justice as it is fixed by God, meaning that it does not exceed the faith of God.”<sup>109</sup>

When the differences over national ideology arose, both Islamic nationalist groups who were committed to the structural orientation, and those who adhered to a cultural approach, worked together, in

opposition to the secular nationalists. This could be seen in Ahmad Hassan and Muhammad Natsir's ideas<sup>110</sup> on Islam and nationalism. A. Hassan criticized the views of the secular nationalists, labeling them '*assabiya* (tribal or sectarian), a sentiment suspect in Islamic law.'<sup>111</sup>

### Tjokroaminoto and Pan-Islamism

Tjokroaminoto's ideas on Pan-Islamism were motivated by his inspiration of creating a united world Muslim community, as existed in the lifetime of the Prophet and his Companions. He argued that it was of vital importance that the Islamic world must have a recognized leader.

As previously mentioned, in the 1920s strong communist influence in Sarekat Islam prompted Muslim leaders to reemphasize Islam as the basis of their movement. International changes also, to some extent, affected the political life of Indonesia. Those changes centered on the national assembly of Turkey in its abolition of 'Abd al-Majîd's Caliphate in March 1924, and the subsequent call by the Azhar '*ulamâ*' for an international congress in Cairo to elect a new caliph the following year. These events and the conquest of the Hijaz by Ibn Sa'ûd in the same year briefly caused feverish activity in Indonesia.

The intensification of interest in Pan-Islam was largely due to the efforts of the leadership of Sarekat Islam. After flirting with the left in the 1920s, Tjokroaminoto and Salim hoped to gain a double advantage by reuniting the Muslim groups behind the P.S.I. banner and by counter-balancing the secular nationalists.<sup>112</sup> Their interpretation of Islamic unity meant not only the unity of Indonesian Muslim but also solidarity with the struggle of Muslims elsewhere. It was this attitude that made them responsive to the question of the caliphate. The first and most ambitious program installed by the Islamic Union was the establishment of a series of al-Islam Congresses representing various Muslim groups.<sup>113</sup>

In 1922, the Sarekat Islam leaders invited representatives of all Muslim organizations to the first al-Islam Congress held in Cirebon, West Java. The Sarekat Islam itself, Muhammadiyah and al-Irshad were the major organizations taking part. Traditionalist Muslims, who were as yet unorganized, were represented by a number of individually invited '*ulamâ*' such as Haji Abdul Wahab Chasbullah of Surabaya and Kyai Asnawi of Kudus.<sup>114</sup> Altogether nine of these al-Islam Congress were to be held by the Sarekat Islam in co-

operation with the Muhammadiyah and other Islamic organizations.<sup>115</sup>

The al-Islam Congress took place in the period of the abolition of the caliphate and the search for alternatives.<sup>116</sup> The Ottoman empire had crumbled, while the power of its ruler, the Sultan of Turkey, who had been considered caliph of all Muslims, had been contested by Turkish nationalists under Mustafa Kemal. In 1922 the Turkish Grand National Assembly abolished the Sultanate and Turkey became a republic, but the same year the Assembly created a caliph ('Abd al-Majîd) without temporal power.<sup>117</sup> This had an impact on the Muslims of Indonesian. The al-Islam Congress in 1922, held by a Sarekat Islam Congress in 1923, voiced its support for a new caliph on the grounds that he would foster the international solidarity of Muslims. In 1924 however, the Assembly in Turkey abolished the caliphate altogether,<sup>118</sup> leaving Indonesian Muslims in a quandary about the S.I.tuation.

This caused confusion in the Muslim world, which began to ponder the establishment of a new caliph. The Muslim community in Indonesia were not only interested in this problem but also considered it their duty to assist in resolving it. Salim argued the need for a caliph for the Muslim world. At a meeting in May 1924, just over two months after the abolition of the Caliphate by Turkey's National Assembly and Sarîf Husayn's proclamation of himself as Caliph, Salim pointed out that relation among the Muslims of Turkey, Egypt, the Yemen and the Hijaz had broken down. In Ankara, the Caliph had been deposed, he continued, and neither the new Caliph Husayn, nor any new Caliph in Istanbul could be ours. "Only the Caliph of the entire Muslim world can be ours," he added.<sup>119</sup>

The active roles of Indonesian Muslims concerning the caliphate matter was shown particularly when Egypt planned to hold a caliphate congress in March 1924. In response to this plan, Indonesian Muslims decided whether a delegation should be sent and what position should adopt.<sup>120</sup> Different opinions emerged concerning this matter.

At a special meeting in Surabaya<sup>121</sup>, Tjokroaminoto discussed the need for Muslims to have a Caliph. He argued that Muslims all over the world had to have a leader explicitly recognized as the worldly as well as spiritual head of all Muslims. However, Tjokroaminoto argued that to the Muslims of Indonesia, who lived

under another government, the caliphate was only relevant in dealing with religious matters, not with politics.<sup>122</sup> While this may have seemed like Tjokroaminoto was arguing for the separation of church and state, this was not so, for the separation here was not by choice, but by circumstance and that under ideal conditions the caliphate would provide leadership in both areas. In any event Tjokroaminoto believed firmly that the caliphate was still a vital institution to Muslims, even to those in Indonesia, and should be preserved.

A different opinion, expressed at the meeting, was that of Haji Fakhruddin, a Muhammadiyah leader from Yogyakarta. While Tjokroaminoto and others wished to take decisions on the delegation to Cairo at once, Fakhruddin "proposed setting up a caliphate committee to take care of this and other international Muslim affairs".<sup>123</sup> He argued that Indonesian Muslims had to play an active role in the great issues confronting the world of Islam and to establish closer ties with another Muslim community elsewhere.<sup>124</sup>

Tjokroaminoto and Fakhruddin differed on who could become a caliph. Tjokroaminoto supported the caliphate in Turkey, but thought it was too early to judge "what the aims of Mustafa Kemal's secularization were".<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, Fakhruddin maintained that the caliph should have his seat in Mecca, because that city belongs to all Muslims and is free of non-Muslim powers.<sup>126</sup>

The 1924 meeting resulted in the establishment of a caliphate committee, all from the Surabaya area.<sup>127</sup> The third al-Islam Congress in October 1924 decided *inter alia* to send a delegation to the Cairo conference, which consisted of Surjopranoto of Partai Sarekat Islam, Haji Fakhruddin of Muhammadiyah and K.H.A. Wahab Hasbullah of traditionalist.<sup>128</sup> The Cairo conference, however, was postponed without a definite date being set.

Early in 1925, Ibn Sa'ûd announced his intention to hold a gathering in Mecca. In Indonesia, this invitation was discussed in the fourth and fifth al-Islam Congresses in 1925 and 1926.<sup>129</sup> Salim, who played an important role, showed great enthusiasm for Ibn Sa'ûd. He charged that the Sarif Husayn had robbed pilgrims during his period of control over Mecca, and expressed his belief that Ibn Sa'ûd wished the holy land to be brought under the control of all Muslims.<sup>130</sup>

Salim's great enthusiasm for Ibn Sa'ûd, however, sowed the seeds of discord in the Congress, since *Wahhabis* rule in Mecca threatened the religious beliefs and practices of many traditionalist Muslims.<sup>131</sup> The frictions became more apparent when the congress, particularly

modernists, responded unfavorably to Abdul Wahab's proposals. This caused Abdul Wahab and traditionalist member of the congress to withdraw from the caliphate committee and take the initiative by holding meetings of prominent traditionalist leaders.<sup>132</sup>

The 1926 Congress elected another delegation, consisting of Tjokroaminoto and Mas Mansur of Muhammadiyah, who would attend the Mecca congress, and perhaps also the Cairo congress.<sup>133</sup> In discussion at the Indonesian meeting, Tjokroaminoto mentioned rumors of machinations to have the Cairo congress elect King Fu'ad as the caliph. In response, he announced that "if such a thing should occur then, so long as I am a representative of Dutch India, I will never give my consent to the proposal, which would be in conflict with the Koran".<sup>134</sup> In the end, the delegation only attended the Mecca congress.<sup>135</sup>

After the Mecca Congress, Tjokroaminoto and Mas Mansur presented a detailed report on the conference to the sixth al-Islam Congress held in Surabaya in 1926. Significantly the Meccan Congress did not name a caliph which was put off to the future, although an Islamic world conference was created to deal with common Muslim problem throughout the Muslim world. In this regard the al-Islam Congress made a decision to change the Caliphate Committee to *Mu'tamar al-'Âlam al-Islâmî far' al-Hindiyyâ al-Sharqiyyah* (the East the Indies Branch of the Islamic World Conference).<sup>136</sup>

However, the Pan-Islam movement, as promoted by the PSI, ended in failure. On one level Muslims were not successful in forging an effective organization on the international level. On the national level there was a lack of consensus among Indonesian groups themselves that showed the splits, mentioned earlier among conservative Muslims, Muhammadiyah, secular nationalists and communists.<sup>137</sup>

### Building *Ummah* for Indonesian Muslim

Tjokroaminoto's ideas on the *Ummah* was his aspiration for creating united Muslim community in Indonesia. In *Tafsir Program Asas Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia*, he discusses in detail the building of the *Ummah* he favored. He argued that the basic requirement to build an *Ummah* was unity and freedom.<sup>138</sup> This unity, according to him, must be based on Islam because Islam is 'Allah's religion', the most perfect regulation granted by God to mankind to achieve happiness in this world and bless in the hereafter. Unity in the Muslim community can be achieved through complete submission to the commands



of God and the Prophet in one's individual life as well as in the life of the community.<sup>139</sup>

With regard to freedom, Tjokroaminoto pointed out that building of the *Ummah* could not be established if Muslims did not have national freedom (*Nationaal Vrijheid*). National freedom, according to him, was 'holding the power in our own country'. He stated that complete national freedom is a condition for the full realization of Islamic ideals, assuming that power is in the hands of Muslims.<sup>140</sup> In this connection, he referred to the creation of the state in Medina by the Prophet as well as the preparedness of the early Muslims to 'fully participate in a war for the protection of religion'.<sup>141</sup> He also expressed the view that 'international imperialism' and 'international capitalism' would undoubtedly end in failure and this would, in turn, accelerate the arrival of national independence.<sup>142</sup> By referring to the concept of Islamic government as practiced by the Prophet, Tjokroaminoto pointed out that the concept of the Muslim *Ummah* in Indonesia had to be based on three important elements; politics, the economy and equality before law.

In politics, the type of government that should be employed to build the Muslim *Ummah*, according to Tjokroaminoto, was a 'democratic government',<sup>143</sup> in which a representative body was to be equipped with rights and duties based on Islamic democratic principles. The laws issued in this body had to be promulgated and administered with the people's participation. Elections were considered an absolute requirement, while referendum and people's initiatives would also be recognized.<sup>144</sup> This type of democratic government, however, was not considered similar to the democracy in many western countries of that time, where the government was controlled by only one part of the property owning class. In an Islamic state, the government is "controlled by all the people or *Ummah* who are all subject to the only law... of God". The *Qur'an* and *Hadith* constitute the basis on which all laws and regulation should be founded.<sup>145</sup>

Tjokroaminoto also mentioned that the system in which people are involved in such a body is parallel to democracy in Islam since *musyawarah* (counseling) is a way of solving problems. To support this, he quoted the Qur'anic verse 42:38. According to Tjokroaminoto, *musyawarah* in Islam was practiced by both the Prophet Muhammad and the first four Caliphs. The command that created a state based on *musyawarah* was sent to Mecca, where the Muslim population was small and where they lived under oppression and injustice.



It indicated that although Muslims were under those conditions, it was important to create an organization to discuss people's rights and needs.<sup>146</sup>

In the field of economics, Tjokroaminoto encouraged individual initiative in the economic field as long as it did not harm others. Referring his discussion on *zakat* in *Islam dan Socialisme*, Tjokroaminoto again argued that *zakat* should be encouraged and big enterprises should be in the hands of the state.<sup>147</sup> *Swadeshi* (self-help) was also considered as another means to this end.<sup>148</sup>

In addition, with respect to equality before the law, Tjokroaminoto argued that in the construction of the Muslim *Ummah*, it rejected inequality in the law,<sup>149</sup> recognized the equality of all Muslims,<sup>150</sup> and the equality of husband and wife.<sup>151</sup> He also demanded that the needy and poor receive better protection under the law.

Providing a more specific explanation, Tjokroaminoto pointed out that there must be a regulation that had to be applied to the Muslim *Ummah* in Indonesia. As a request from the P.S.I. branches, Tjokroaminoto was charged to make a "General Regulation for the Muslim Community". This task was accomplished on February 4, 1934. The purpose of making this "General Regulation" was to build what he called "a United Muslim Community" or Muslim *Ummah* in Indonesia which, as one unit, would also become a member of the unit of the Muslim world community.<sup>152</sup>

The "General Regulation" contains directive principles for the construction of the Muslim *Ummah* in Indonesia. It consists of twenty chapters and one concluding chapter. Chapter I to VII contain guiding principles illustrated with Qur'anic verses. These are outlined below: (I) General Guide for the Muslim Socialist; based on the Qur'an XLIX; (II) The Aims and Purpose of Worldly Life; based on the Qur'an 3: 13 and 17:19-20; (III) A Guide for Noble Behavior: based on Qur'an 3: 34; (IV) A Guide for Justice and Objectivity; based on Qur'an 4:135 (V) Guide for the Correct Speech; based on Qur'an 61: 2-3; (VI) Guide for Good Conduct in the Broadest Sense; based on Qur'an 4: 36; (VII) Guide for Treaties and Witness; based on Qur'an 2:282.

Chapter VIII to XX contains guide for every individual Muslim, namely: (VIII) Guide for True Belief and Islam; (IX) Guide for Muslim Unity; (X) Guide for Electing Leaders and Following the Leadership; (XI) Guide for Seeking the Right Path; (XII) Guide for Exercising Worship; (XIII) Guide for [the Right] View of Life; (XIV)

Guide for the Proper Treatment of the Family; (XV) Guide for Marriage Relations; (XVI) Guide for the Treatment and Care of Orphans; (XVII) Guide for Giving Noble examples to others; (XVIII) Guide of Advantages of Social Economy; (XIX) Guide for the Enjoining of the Right and Prohibiting the Wrong; (XX) Guide for Giving Preferences to the Needs of the Society above that of the Individual.<sup>153</sup>

With the concept of the *Ummah*, it seems that Tjokroaminoto completed his ideas on Islam and politics. It was apparent when he discussed the unity of the Muslim Community, freedom, concept of state and government, economy and equality before the laws. In this concept, his ideas on Islam as an ideology were also clearly stated. Tjokroaminoto argued that Indonesian Muslims, though they were large in number, would not be a Muslim *Ummah* if they did not have a purpose to their life and did not live as one soul; the Islamic soul.

The General Regulation was later presented in the Twentieth Congress of PSII in May 1934.<sup>154</sup> The regulations, however, outwardly did not effect the further development of the party. Although attention to Islamic affairs did not decrease, the party could no longer claim to represent the largest part of the Indonesian Muslim community. Consequently, the regulation formulated by Tjokroaminoto also did not influence its reception by other Muslims.

Finally, Tjokroaminoto's ideas on Islam and politics reflect the political condition of twentieth century Indonesia and point to the fact that he was clearly one of the important leaders of his time in the struggle against the Dutch.

## Endnotes

1. J. Th. Petrus Blumberger, "Sarekat Islam". in *Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsch-Indië. (ENI)* Vol. III (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1918), 696.
2. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto Hidup dan Perjuangannya* (H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto His Life and His Struggle) (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1952), 68.
3. Donald Eugene Smith, ed., *Religion, Politics, and Social Change in the Third World* (New York: The Free Press, 1971), 109. See also Robert van Neil, "From Netherlands East the Indies to Republic of Indonesia 1900-1945", in *The Development of Indonesian Society From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, Harry Aveling, ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 126.
4. In 1882, when the volcano of Krakatau erupted, there was a belief among Javanese people that anyone born at this time would have special powers.
5. *Raden Mas* or *Raden* is a title for a Javanese aristocratic man, as *Raden Ayu* for a woman.
6. A *Kyai* is one whose knowledge of Islam surpasses that of the ordinary man, he usually devote himself to teaching. The word *kyai* is usually used in Java. In Sumatra it is well known called *syekh*.
7. Gonggong Anhar, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1985), 5.
8. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto Hidup dan Perjuangannya* (H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto His Life and Struggle), vol. I (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1952), 50.
9. See Bernhard Dahm, *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1971), 18.
10. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 50.
11. Christian Snouck Hurgronje was a prominent civil servant who held the position of Adviseur voor Inslansche Zaken (Advisor for Native Affairs) to the Dutch government from 1889 to 1906. His activities and writings reflect the changing policy of the Dutch government towards Islam in Indonesia. C. Snouck Hurgronje advised the Dutch government to grant complete freedom of religious worship. On social questions, the government had to respect existing national institutions while offering the opportunity of a "desirable" evolution in the Dutch government which had to make efforts to promote this evolution. In matters relating to politics, the government had to suppress all kinds of pan-Islamic ideas, which aimed at inviting foreign powers to manipulate relations between the Dutch government and its Eastern subjects. Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 12-5. See also Benda, *Crescent*, and 23-4; H.J. Benda, "Christian Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundation of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," in *Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia: Collected Articles of Harry J. Benda* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1972). Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Atlanta, GA, 1993), 87-91.
12. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 51
13. Tjokroaminoto once even became a coolie in Semarang. This was an unusual culture for *priyayi* family to acquire, but Tjokroaminoto did not care about this social status. For this reason, Tjokroaminoto's father-in-law, who was also a *priyayi*, did not like him and even asked his daughter to divorce Tjokroaminoto, but she refused to do so. Anhar, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, 16.

14. Deliar Noer. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973), 108.
15. Rinkes, as cited in *ibid.*
16. When Sukarno studied in Surabaya, he stayed in the home of Tjokroaminoto. There were also some students staying in Tjokroaminoto's house, such as Muso, Alimin, Kartowisatro, Abikoensno and others. In the house Tjokroaminoto was often discussing political movements with the students. Sukarno himself acknowledged that Tjokroaminoto was his teacher in politics. He was also interested in Tjokroaminoto's broad-minded ideas on Islam. He stated, "Tjokroaminoto taught me what he was, not what he knew nor what I should be. A person with creativity and high ideals, a fighter who loved his country, Tjok (Tjokroaminoto) is my idol. I was his student". Cindy Adams, *Sukarno An Autobiography as told to Cindy Adams* (New York: The Hobbs-Merrill Company, 1965), 38. See also Soebagiyo Ilham Notodijoyo, *Harsono Tjokroaminoto Mengikuti Jejak Perjuangan Sang Ayah* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1985), 7-11. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 11 and 53.
17. J. Th. Petrus Blumberger, "Sarekat Islam". in *Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsch-Indië. (ENI) Vol. III* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1918), 370.
18. The *Setia Oesaha* was a limited-liability company in Surabaya, founded by native Muslim merchants together with Arab traders. It was founded after the Chinese market strike in February – when street fighting between Chinese, on the one hand, and Javanese and Arabs, on the other, repeatedly took place. Arab and Javanese merchants no longer wanted to place commercial advertisements in Chinese newspapers. Instead, they planned to publish their own newspaper and to set up a medical clinic for Muslims. To this end the *Setia Oesaha* was founded under the leadership of Hasan Ali Soerati. Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 52.
19. *De Express* was a Dutch-language newspaper established by the Indische Partij (IP). The IP was the first political party in the Indies that appealed to "the Indies for the Indies", the independence of the Indies from the Netherlands. The driving force behind its establishment was E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, an Eurasian journalist who presided over *De Express* in 1912. *Ibid.*, 58.
20. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 51 and Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 52-4.
21. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 27.
22. H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Sosialisme* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1924). H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, *Tarikh Agama Islam, Pemandangan atas Kehidupan dan Perjuangan Nabi Muhammad S.A.W.* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1955). H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, *Tafsir Program Asas dan Program Tandhim Partai Sjarikat Islam Indonesia PSH* (Djakarta: Badan Pekerja Partai Sjarikat Islam Indonesia, 1952). H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, "Reglement Umum Bagi Ummat Islam", in Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. II, 87-142. The writer only found the original copy of this work in Amelz's work volume 2.
23. Solichin Salam, *Peranan dan Jasa H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto dalam Pergerakan Nasional* (Jakarta, Seminar Nasional, 1991, unpublished), pp. 4-6, as quoted by M. Masyhur Amin. *HOS Tjokroaminoto: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran dan Perjuangannya* (Yogyakarta: Cokroaminoto University Press, 1995), 30.

24. Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1902). Syed Ameer Ali was a noted Indian writer, who had some impact in Western circles.
25. Khwaja Kamaluddin, *The Ideal Prophet* (India: The Basheer Muslim Library, 1925).
26. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. II, 80.
27. Sarekat Islam was the successor to the Sarekat Dagang Islam (The Muslim Trade Association), founded in 1911 by Hadji Samanhoedi, a *batik* trader in Solo, Central Java. The Sarekat Dagang Islam was originally a Muslim commercial organization formed to oppose Chinese competition in the *batik* industry. The association organized anti-Chinese boycotts and propaganda but such actions led the government to ban it. Hadji Samanhoedi subsequently turned to Hadji Omar Said Tjokroaminoto for help in rebuilding the association<sup>28</sup>, this time encompassing broader goals and strengthen. See Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun, Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (New York: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1958), 42-3. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 79-85.
29. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, 94.
30. Howard M. Federspiel, "Democracy as a Theme in Indonesian Muslim Thinking" (paper presented at the Research Seminar Series on Islam and Democracy, McGill University, Montreal, March 10, 1992).
31. This action bore many important implications because through it, although it was only a commercial and social organization, the Dutch government had to acknowledge the rights of the people in the S.I. It is also one of the reasons why the S.I. membership increased dramatically during the early stages of its development.
32. H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara A History of Indonesia* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1959), 350.
33. Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 77. However, it is difficult to obtain an exact number for that membership because of contradictory figures and a lack of concrete evidence on the percentage of active followers. In 1913, the Indonesian press reported that the membership of the SI was more than 300,000 in Java. "Press Overzicht," *Kolonial Tijdschrift*, II: 2 (1913), 1206 as quoted by Fred Robert Von der Mehden, "Islam and the Rise of Nationalism in Indonesia" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1957), 97. In 1914, the *Locomotief* stated that the Union had 76 division and 366,913 members. "De centrale S.I. Oppericht en Schakeeringen in de Sarekat Islam," *Indische Gids*, XXXVI: 2 (1914), 1004. In 1915, *Oetoesan Hindia* stated that it had 600,000 members. "Pers Overzicht," *Kolonial Tijdschrift*, IV: 2 (1915), 664 as cited in *ibid.*, 97. Blumberger even declared that at the first National Congress in 1916, the SI already had 80 divisions and 360,000 members. J.P. Blumberger, "Sarekat Islam," in *ENI*, 697.
34. Tjokroaminoto promoted his own ideas on socialism, which was formulated in his book titled *Islam dan Socialisme* (Islam and socialism). In this book he stated that socialism was not merely a system of *stelsel* (system) for the economy but that it contained a way of life as well. He stated further that the socialism that should be followed by Muslims was an Islamic socialism that was based on Islamic doctrines and aimed at reaching happiness in this world and the hereafter. He claimed that Islamic socialism was both earlier and better than the socialism described by Marx, in both theory and practice, because it had been applied by the

- Prophet Muhammad and his companions during their lifetimes. In another of the book Tjokroaminoto also discusses the exploitation of one person by another. Exploitation, in his view, was at the heart of capitalism. One of the solutions to the problems created by capitalism, he emphasized, was by distributing wealth through the institution of *zakat* (Alms). *Zakat* itself would then have an additional social meaning since through this equality and solidarity would emerge among Muslims. Equality in this sense meant that there would be no accumulation of excess wealth by certain people in society. Solidarity meant that mutual assistance would emerge among Muslims. Tjokroaminoto also argued that what the Prophet Muhammad had desired was a socialist society under the law of God. He wanted to introduce this meaning of socialism, because many Indonesian people did not understand much about the whole "socialism" taking place in the SI at that time. He hoped to show SI members that the socialism proposed by Scmaun and other socialists was not at all Islamic and that they should not support it. Tjokroaminoto often said that "*Wie, goed Mohammedaan is, is van zelf socialist en wij zijn Mohammedanen, dus zijn wij socialisten*" (whoever is a good Muslim automatically is a socialist [and furthermore he arrives at a conclusion saying] We are Muslim, thus we are socialist)". See Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 138.
35. Padjadjaran, April 29, 1921, in *Inlandsche Persoverzichten* (IPO) (1921), No. 21 400f, as quoted by Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle*, 19.
  36. Fred R. Von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 157-8.
  37. Von der Mehden, "Islam and the Rise of Nationalism", 98.
  38. See Korver, *Sarekat Islam*, 59.
  39. *Ibid.*, 48-9.
  40. *Sarekat Islam Congress (Ie Nationaal Congres) 17-24 Juni 1916 te Bandung* (Djakarta: Landsdrukkerij, 1916), 11-12.
  41. This committee was originally initiated by Dutch businessmen who feared that the spread of World War I to Indonesia would ruin their position and capital. The committee sought the support of the people to press its demands for Indonesia's own defense capability and invited Indonesian organizations, including the Sarekat Islam, Boedi Oetomo and the Prinsenvond (Union of Princes), to participate. Noer, *Modernist Muslim Movement*, 118-9.
  42. S.I. Van der Wal, *De opkomst van de staatkundige beweging in Nederlands Indie, Een Bromeenpublicatie* (Werk doer: Groningen, 1967) 469 and 479, as quoted by Korver, *Sarekat Islam*, 60.
  43. The cooperative attitude of the Sarekat Islam was also indicated by the SI leaders, which are evident in many phenomena. The SI congresses often listened to the *Wilhelmus* (the Dutch national anthem), flew the Dutch flag and gave honor to the Queen and the Dutch government. See Korver, *Sarekat Islam*, 63.
  44. Blumberger, "Sarekat Islam", in *ENI*, 695.
  45. *Ibid.*
  46. *Sinar Djarwa*, 18 March 1914.
  47. Dahm, *History of Indonesia*, 45.
  48. It could be said that Idenburg's attitude toward Sarekat Islam had been open-minded and sympathetic and this gave an opportunity to the organization to survive. He held an opinion that the SI was the expression of the native population's aspiration for better economic and living standards.



49. Blumberger, "Sarekat Islam", in *ENI*, 695.
50. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 111.
51. *Oetoesan Hindia*, 7 March 1912.
52. For the *Djawa Dwipa* movement, see Benedict R. Anderson, "Sembah-Sumpah: The Politics of Language and Javanese Culture." Paper submitted for the Conference on Multilingualism in Modern Indonesia, Aug. 1981.
53. Amelz, *I.I.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 114.
54. The use of 'National' in its congress indicated the political character of the association. While the first and second meetings were only called 'congresses', the meeting held in Bandung was called 'national' congress. This did not merely indicate the spread of the party over the whole country and that the congress were thus participated in by delegates from all over the country, but also reflected a conscious attempt by the leaders to spread and uphold the idea of nationalism, of which Islam was regarded as the most important basis.
55. At a special meeting in Bandung in 1916, Tjokroaminoto argued that Indonesian society was far too rural and traditional and that it needed modernization and change. Education, according to him, was a very important tool to eliminate this backwardness and improve the economic condition of people. For this purpose Tjokroaminoto and other leaders of the S.I. asked the Dutch government to change the curriculum in the school villages. The curriculum he suggested included the subjects of agriculture and other practical skills designed to enhance life in the villages and to make the village appear as a logical place to live and work. See Korver, *Sarekat Islam*, 104. His ideas on education may be seen in detail in his article *Moeslim Nationaal Onderwijs* (National-Educational System for Muslims). In this article, Tjokroaminoto states that education was able to create "real nationalist Muslims". In more detail, Tjokroaminoto mentioned that subjects taught in schools should aim to create; a) a spirit of independence and democracy, b) courage and honest, c) loyalty to Islam. To gain the goals of education, therefore, some of those requirements had to be applied. Those included educational systems including both secular and religious knowledge, because both are needed in building a *natie* (state). See Amelz, *I.I.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 166-71.
56. Amelz, *I.I.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 120.
57. *Neratja*, 25 October 1917.
58. W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition* (W. van Hoeve: Den Haag, 1956), 216.
59. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, 355.
60. The Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (Indonesian Social Democratic Association or ISDV) in 1914.<sup>61</sup> wanted to propagate its socialist ideas among the Indonesians. As a result, the ISDV succeeded in infiltrating the S.I. This success was partly realized because its program was similar to that of Sarekat Islam, in that both organizations were opposed to capitalism. They emphasized similarities between Communism and Islam and down-played Communism's anti-religious elements. Its importance lay in the fact that several important members of the I.S.D.V. were also members of the Sarekat Islam. In fact, it was their radicalism that pushed Sarekat Islam more to the left. Semaun and Darsono, both Marxist leaders, were the two chief advocates of a more revolutionary approach by the Sarekat Islam. The influence of Communism in the Sarekat Islam later on pushed the organization into two factions, Red and White Sarekat



- Islam. See Zainu'ddin, *A Short History*, 188. See also Ruth T. McVey, "Early Indonesian Communism," in *Born in Fire The Indonesian Struggle for Independence*, ed. Colin Wild and Peter Carey (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988), 22. Vlekke, Bernard H.M. *Nusantara, A History of Indonesia*. (Bruxelles: Les Editions A. Manteau, S.A., 1953), p. 357.
62. *Neratja*, 30 March 1921. Regarding the Islamic base of the Sarekat Islam movement, some scholars argued that Islam did not have an important role in the Sarekat Islam. Snouck Hurgronje believed that Sarekat Islam was not a religious organization and Islam in this association, according to Hurgronje, was only a symbol that differentiated Indonesians from other races. See Korver, *Sarekat Islam*, 65. Takashi argued that Tjokroaminoto uses Islam only as a tool to mobilize Muslims, as indicated in *Djawi Hisworo* case. See Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 106. On the other hand, Von der Mehden criticized the arguments and mentions that '...it would be a serious error to believe that the Islamic pretensions of the former elite [of Sarekat Islam] had been forgotten completely...' See Von der Mehden, "Islam and the Rise of Nationalism", 111. Korver also criticized the arguments and believed that the role of Islam in the SI is not only a symbol. In the Basic Principles of this organization, it stated that only an eighteen year-old Muslim can be accepted as a member of the Sarekat Islam and this is also valid for non-Indonesian Muslims. He also mentioned that the establishment of *Al-Islam* magazine had as a function to discuss Islamic matters in this organization. It was also indicated that religious activities in village mosques were increased in number after people became members of Sarekat Islam. See Korver, *Sarekat Islam*, 66-7.
  63. *Sinar Jawa*, 18 March 1914.
  64. Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), 29.
  65. T. H. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads Indigenous Churches, European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java 1812-1936* (Leiden: De Zijl Bedrijven, 1991), 226.
  66. Deliar Noer has even argued that it was above all Salim, a Sumatran who was well read in western ideas and knew a great deal about Islam from its basic sources, who gave an Islamic stamp to the political character of Sarekat Islam. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 298. There was no doubt that Salim also played an important role in the party. Of particular note were his efforts in expelling the communist group from the party and his moves to make Islam the basis of the SI.
  67. Noer mentioned that the Dutch trained youth in general who joined the Muslim modernist derived their knowledge of Islam mainly from secondary sources because of their ignorant of Arabic. In addition to books on Islam written in Dutch and other European languages, as well as in Indonesian writings, they also received information on Islam from lectures by people like Salim, Hassan and Natsir. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 298 and 310.
  68. Federspiel mentioned that Islam and Socialism was more than Tjokroaminoto's views and actually reflected the thinking of a group of Muslim thinkers of the age, particularly that of Haji Agus Salim. Howard M. Federspiel, "Democracy as a Theme in Indonesian Muslim Thinking"
  69. Kuntowijoyo, an Indonesian historian, argues that from the early twentieth century Islam has developed from myth to ideology. He believed that Sarekat Islam was one of the pioneers in the second phase due to the fact that in the early

- years of the twentieth century this organization developed its movement based on Islam. For more details of this arguments, see Kuntowijoyo, *Dinamika Internal Umat Islam Indonesia* (The Internal Dynamic of Indonesian Muslims) (Jakarta: LSIP, 1993), 29.
70. The journal *Djawi Hisworo* (Javanese of the King) which published from 1906 through 1919 in Surakarta published an article by a certain Djojodikoro, which some considered an insult to the Prophet Muhammad. In the article the author wrote, among other things, that "The Lord Prophet and Apostle had drunk gin and smoked opium." In the explanation he gave afterwards the chief editor, Martodarsono, insisted that what the author meant by "the Lord Prophet and Apostle" was not the Prophet Muhammad. The incident touched off a big controversy within the Sarekat Islam, with demands for protest and calls for action coming from various directions. Tjokroaminoto, for his part, organized a big rally attended by about 4,000 people in Surabaya. Letters of protests were sent to the Sunan of Solo, the native king who was acknowledged by many Javanese Muslims as having authority in religious affairs, and to the Governor General, over the article. A protest campaign developed, its target at first being limited to *Djawi Hisworo* but later on extended to include the Christian mission and Christianity in general. The party won sympathy and support from the Arab section of the population. With a view to institutionalizing the support from the *santris*, Tjokroaminoto set up "The Lord Prophet and Apostle Muhammad's Army Committee" (Komite Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad), whose task was to defend Islam against insults by people. The goals of the committee were to 'seek unity physically and spiritually among all Muslims especially those living in Indonesia', and 'to guard and protect the honor of Islam, the honor of the Prophet... and the honor of the Muslims. See *Neratja*, 13 February 1918.
  71. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 199.
  72. xKolonial Tijdschrift (1918) as cited by Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 200. Explaining the fact that the Committee was beginning to launch its attack on Christian missionaries, Abdul Moeis declared that the establishment of the committee was not only in response to the *Djawi Hisworo* affair but also to the policies that subsidized schools, a timely problem in light of the acute shortage of education in many places that consequently caused turbulence in the Muslim world.
  73. Th. Blumberger, *The Communistche Beweging in Netherlandsch-Indie* (Harlem: Tjeen Willink, 1928), 38.
  74. Alimin was a member of Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Islam, and later became a member of ISDV and became the chair of its Batavia Branch. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 230.
  75. *Ibid.*, 230.
  76. *Ibid.*, 231.
  77. *Ibid.*
  78. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*, 100.
  79. Blumberger, "Sarekat Islam", in *ENI*, 378.
  80. When the conflict between Communist and Islamist groups was at its peak and despite his efforts, compromises between the two groups failed, Tjokroaminoto was confronted with a decisive choice. Which group should he choose? His choice subsequently fell on Islam. When Tjokroaminoto was released from prison, he swore an *sumpah pocong* (an oath to Islam) for his supporters. This was a

most effective way of insuring his commitment to his Islamic choice. Amelz recounts the decisive story of the "pocong oath" in the life of Tjokroaminoto. In this ritual he wore the shroud for Muslim burial and swore that he would faithfully defend Islam. With this "pocong oath," his relations with the Communist groups were broken off completely: he never had to disavow his commitment to Islam or more precisely, Islamic ideology. This was the point of no return. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 122.

81. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 138.
82. Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, 77. See also Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 129.
83. A melz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 131.
84. Tjokroaminoto, *Tafsir Program Asas*, 24.
85. *Ibid.*, 74.
86. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads*, 237.
87. A.K. Pringgogidgo, *Sejarah Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1994), 43.
88. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 132-33.
89. Since this time, the Communist groups launched their attacks against Sarekat Islam. In its congress in March 1923, the Communist group, under the banner of PKI, strongly reacted to the Madiun Congress. In every place where the P.S.I. established its branches, the Communist group also founded the Red the SI, which was named Sarekat Rakyat, in order to emulate the white SI as well as to gather the Sarekat Islam members to join the Communist group. *Ibid.*, 133.
90. Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asian Program, 1970), 85.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 247.
93. For example, Suwardi Surjaningrat and A. Moeis were affiliated with the SI in Bandung in 1913, as is pointed out by Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 247. See also M. Dawam Rahardjo, *Intelektual Intelegensia dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa: Risalah Cendekiawan Muslim* (Jakarta: Mizan, 1993), 46-7.
94. Taufik Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1991), 237.
95. Several factors created this estrangement: the emergence of the concept of the Indies nationalism in 1922 which ran counter to the early dominant idea of identifying nationalism with Islam; the contest for leadership led to differences between the members of various parties; ideology, which, partly as a response to the challenge of communism and party due to a maturing of its leadership, had crystallized by the 1920's. The exercise of disciplinary measures in 1921 against their parties added to this estrangement. See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 247.
96. The term of *santri* and *abangan* is especially used in Java. These terms are actually used to distinguish one's particular type of devotion to Islam. The *santri* or so-called *putiban* were devoted Muslims, usually trained in religious schools, who live in quarters close to the mosque, called *kauman*. Religious officials in Java were almost all recruited from their group. The *abangan* were nominally Muslims, who did not care much about religious practices and rituals and confined these usually to those connected with the most important stages in life: child-

- birth, marriage and death. On these occasions they felt the need for Islam and would thus call on the people from *putihan* group to perform the ceremonies concerned. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 19. Within the context of nationalism and Islam, the secular nationalist groups could be said belong to the *abangan* group and the Muslim nationalist group to the *putihan*.
97. Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 237. It could be recalled that in 1910s, the struggle between Islam and nationalism had been reflected in the question of the *Djawi Hisworo* affair, which produced the Committee for Javanese nationalism. The establishment of *Tentara Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad* produced among those who adhere to Javanism the *Comite voor het Javaansch Nationalisme* (Committee for Javanese Nationalism) which, although agreeing with the condemnation of the *Djawi Hisworo* article, expressed 'regret that it has created a big movement like the *Tentara Nabi Muhammad* and the circulation of the *Djawi Hisworo* is small'. The Committee revealed its Javanese character by accusing the *Tentara Nabi Muhammad* of an attempt to 'prevent all Javanese from holding Javanist and other beliefs above Islam'. It also accused the movement of having a foreign origin, i.e. of coming from the Arabs, and pointed out that 'politics and religion should be separated. See *Neratja*, 23 February 1918.
  98. Independence, according to their views, had to be achieved on the basis of Indonesian nationalism alone and Indonesians could not wait for help from an "airplane from Moscow or Caliph from Istanbul". George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (New York: Ithaca, 1952), 91. See also Abdullah, *Sejarah Ummat Islam*, 237-8.
  99. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform*, 85.
  100. In fact, it is not so much that they wanted reawaken Hinduism, only to show that there had been earlier models of Indonesia lying in the past; see Bung Karno (Sukarno), "Mencapai Indonesia Merdeka" (n.p.: Bandung, March 1933), 1-45.
  101. *Fadjar Asia*, August 18, 20, 1928.
  102. *Ibid.*
  103. *Ibid.*
  104. *Ibid.*
  105. *Bandera Islam*, 26 February 1925.
  106. Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, 94-5.
  107. *Ibid.*, 33-8.
  108. Tjokroaminoto, "Cultuur dan 'Adat Islam" (Culture and Tradition in Islam), in Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. II, 67.
  109. *Ibid.*, 70-1.
  110. Dahm, *Sukarno and the Struggle*, 175.
  111. *Ibid.*, 175.
  112. According to Natsir, Islam creates a brotherhood among the people who are on the same level and who are experiencing the same fate in a unified country. If "nationality" was proposed to be the foundation of national reformation, the necessary conditions could not be fulfilled. Islam, indeed, is more suitable and compatible to be the foundation of unity than the nationality proposed by the nationalist secularists. See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 260-1.
  113. A. Hassan, a *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) leader, identified nationalism or *kebangsaan*, with *'assabiyya*, i.e. zealous tribal partisanship which was prevalent before the unification of Arabs under Islam, especially during the *jahiliyya* period, and

- which caused disorder in the Arab world. Referring to two traditions of the Prophet on *'assabiyya*, those of Abu Dawud (d. 888) and of Muslim (d. 875), respectively, A. Hassan expressed the view that to set up a *kebangsaan* organization, or to invite and persuade people to join the *kebangsaan* party is forbidden by Islam. See Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Islamic Reform*, 90.
114. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun*, 53. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East Indies and the Caliphate Question," *Studia Islamika*, vol. II, no. 3 (1995): 125.
  115. Von der Mehden mentions that Sarekat Islam attempted to introduce the idea of Pan-Islam on three fronts through "a rallying of Indonesian people in Islam-wide religious congresses, the establishment of divisions of global Islamic organization and involvement in the Caliphate question." Von der Mehden, "Islam and the Rise of Nationalism", 180.
  116. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 136. A few years later, these *ulamâ'* and a number of associates were to establish the association of traditionalist Muslims, *Nahdhatul ulamâ'* (Renaissance of '*ulamâ'*') in 1926.
  117. Von der Mehden mentions that Sarekat Islam attempted to introduce the idea of Pan-Islam on three fronts through "a rallying of Indonesian people in Islam-wide religious congresses, the establishment of divisions of global Islamic organization and involvement in the Caliphate question." Von der Mehden, "Islam and the Rise of Nationalism", 180.
  118. See Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies", *Studia Islamika*, 126.
  119. Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 78-9.
  120. Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies," *Studia Islamika*, 126.
  121. *Ibid.*, 127.
  122. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 222.
  123. Around mid-1924, several Arab personalities and associations in Batavia and Surabaya received invitations to the caliphate congress in Cairo. Some of them approached Tjokroaminoto and proposed sending a delegation. Tjokroaminoto's reaction was initially hesitant and at the SI congress in August, he just mentioned the invitation. Then on October 4 and 5, leaders of the SI, Muhammadiyah and Al-Irshad called a special meeting in Surabaya to discuss whether a delegation should be sent and what position it should adopt. Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies," *Studia Islamika*, 129.
  124. R.A. Kern collection, KITLV, Leiden, H 797 no. 316, as quoted by van Bruinessen. *Ibid.*
  125. *Ibid.*, 129.
  126. *Ibid.*
  127. *Ibid.*, 130.
  128. *Ibid.*, 130.
  129. The committee was chaired by Wondoamiseno of Partai Sarekat Islam and K.H.A. Wahab Hasbullah as vice-chairman. *Bandera Islam*, 16 October 1924.
  130. Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies," *Studia Islamika*, 130.
  131. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 223.
  132. Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies," *Studia Islamika*, 130.
  133. On behalf of the traditionalists, K.H.A. Abdul Wahab submitted proposals to the effect that traditional religious practices, such as the erection of the tombs,

- on graves, the reading of certain prayers, and the teaching of *mazhâhib* (schools of Islamic Law), must be respected by the new Arab King in his state, including Mecca and Medina. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 223.
134. Wahab gathered the traditionalist 'ulamâ' of Central and East Java in a *Komite Hijaz* (the Hijaz Committee), to discuss the situation in Hijaz and the strategy necessary to plead the interest of traditionalist Islam with Ibn Sa'ûd. They wished to send their own delegation to Mecca, but not to do this in the name of the al-Islam Congress. At a meeting in Surabaya in 1926, the Hijaz Committee decided to reconstitute itself as a permanent organization, choosing the name of *Nabdlatul 'Ulama'* (abbreviated to NU). Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies," *Studia Islamika*, 131 and Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 223.
  135. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 223. See Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies," *Studia Islamika*, 133 and Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 172.
  136. Kramer, *Islam Assembled*, 95-6. There might be three reasons why Tjokroaminoto was unwilling to elect King Fu'ad as a caliph. First, it might be probably because the Egyptians would consider Indonesian delegations "no more than flies" and looked down upon Indonesian people. The second reason might be because of Agus Salim's great enthusiasm for Ibn Sa'ûd, which influenced Tjokroaminoto's considerations. Van Bruinessen also mentions that Tjokroaminoto would not take part in legitimating King Fu'ad whom he called "that imperialist stooge". Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies", *Studia Islamika*, 129-33. There might be three reasons why Tjokroaminoto was unwilling to elect King Fu'ad as a caliph. First, it might be probably because the Egyptians would consider Indonesian delegations no more than flies and looked down upon Indonesian people. The second reason might be because of Agus Salim's great enthusiasm for Ibn Sa'ûd, which influenced Tjokroaminoto's considerations. Van Bruinessen also mentions that Tjokroaminoto would not take part in legitimating King Fu'ad whom he called "that imperialists stooge". Van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East the Indies", *Studia Islamika*, 129-33.
  137. The appearance of an Indonesian delegation, however, did not impress the other participants. Kramer mentioned the report of chief of the Egyptian delegation, Zawahiri, saying that Tjokroaminoto and Mas Mansur were weak in every respect. They were likened to grasping, drowning persons, hoping to find something to support them, able to move neither hand nor tongue. They spoke little and avoided all commitment. *Ibid.*, 109-10.
  138. Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. I, 173. See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 136-7 and Pringgodigdo, *Sejarah Pergerakan*, 43.
  139. For a good account of these factors, see Von der Mehden, "Islam and the Rise of Nationalism", 188-92.
  140. Q. III: 102. Tjokroaminoto, *Tafsir Program Asas*, 28-29.
  141. Q XXIV: 55. *Ibid.*, 26.
  142. *Ibid.*, 4.
  143. *Ibid.*, 14, 22. Tjokroaminoto, in another book, *Tarich Agama Islam: Riwayat dan Pemandangan atas Kehidupan Nabi Muhammad dan Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad SAW*, elaborated in detail the development of Islam during the period of Prophet.
  144. *Ibid.*, 17.

145. Q 27:38. *Ibid.*, 24.
146. *Ibid.*, 25.
147. *Ibid.*, 27.
148. *Ibid.*, 31-32.
149. Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, 19, 30-1.
150. Tjokroaminoto, *Tafsir Program Asas*, 42.
151. Q XLIX-13. *Ibid.*, 57-58.
152. Q XVI-97. *Ibid.*, 59.
153. Q II-228. *Ibid.*, 75-76.
154. Tjokroaminoto, "Reglement Umum Bagi Ummat Islam", in Amelz, *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto*, vol. II, 80.
155. Tjokroaminoto, "Reglement Umum", in *Ibid.*, 81-85.
156. This congress was the last congress attended by Tjokroaminoto. He passed away in December 17, 1934.

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