

TJOKROAMINOTO'S INTEGRATION OF ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES AND SOCIALIST IDEALS: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract: *This article aims to discuss Tjokroaminoto's thoughts on the discourse of Islam and socialism. The method used is the Historical method, which includes four stages, namely, heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The main source used is Tjokroaminoto's own book, entitled "Islam and Socialism" published in 1924, then interpreted with other supporting sources. The result of this research is that Tjokro wrote the book Islam and Socialism in order to attract members to the big house of Sarekat Islam which accommodates all ideas. In this book, Tjokro appreciates Western socialist thought and combines it with the values of socialism in Islam. Tjokro argues that Islamic socialism can be realized based on obedience to God, fulfilling social and moral obligations to all humans regardless of status. The Prophet Muhammad as a messenger to the universe is a clear example. The Prophet Muhammad himself never practiced coercion in spreading socialism, did not engage in class warfare or call for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Prophet reformed from the ground up by changing the nature and morals of his people.*

Keywords: *Islam, Socialism, Tjokroaminoto*

INTRODUCTION

Social inequality is a perennial issue where the unequal distribution of wealth leads to distinct social stratifications. These stratifications often manifest as the affluent (bourgeoisie) and the impoverished (proletariat). If left unchecked, such

disparities can engender social instability and resentment, potentially culminating in conflicts between these classes.

The English and French revolutions in the 18th century marked a pivotal shift in economic theories, transitioning from classical Capitalism to a more modern understanding of capital. This shift was characterized by the advent of machinery in production, which significantly increased productivity. While one might expect this mechanization to benefit society at large, in reality, the profits accrued primarily to capitalists and political elites. These groups, who controlled markets, industries, and production means, established labor regulations not for societal welfare but for personal gain. Such regulations permitted child and adult labor, imposed minimal wages, lacked labor contracts, and demanded excessively long working hours. Consequently, workers endured dire conditions, including substandard housing, inadequate clothing, malnutrition, and lack of education.

In the mid-19th century, socialist theories gained momentum, culminating in the influential ideas of Karl Marx. Marx introduced the concept of scientific socialism, later known as Marxism, critiquing the morally driven utopian socialists of his time. Marx posited that capitalism inherently exploits workers, reducing them to a state of virtual slavery while benefiting the capitalist class, which includes government and executive sectors. He predicted capitalism's downfall, driven by declining profits and rising class consciousness. This would lead the proletariat to overthrow the existing system, establishing socialism, where private ownership is abolished, and individuals are compensated based on their contributions.¹

HOS Tjokroaminoto, an influential Indonesian intellectual, played a pivotal role in fostering national unity and independence. Born in Bakur village on August 16, 1882, Tjokroaminoto fought against Dutch colonial oppression and was later honored as a national hero. He embodied both the intellectual spirit of a kyai (Islamic scholar) and the nobility of a priyayi (Javanese aristocrat). These dual influences significantly shaped his future endeavors. Recognized as a mentor by Soekarno, Indonesia's first

¹ Eko Supriyadi, *Sosialisme Islam Pemikiran Ali Syariati*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2003), 8-9.

president, Tjokroaminoto was also referred to by Dutch colonizers as "De Ongekronnde Koning Von Java" (the uncrowned king of Java).²

Tjokroaminoto is renowned for his integration of Islamic principles with socialist values, creating a unique synthesis grounded in the Quran and Hadith. This article aims to explore Tjokroaminoto's contributions to the discourse on Islam and socialism, specifically examining his role and thoughts in this context. Additionally, the article will present the social, political, and economic conditions of the Dutch East Indies that facilitated the emergence of this discourse, highlighting Tjokroaminoto's significant influence in the Indonesian national movement.

METHOD

Heuristic Stage

In this initial stage, the primary source utilized is H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto's seminal work, "Islam and Socialism," published in 1924. This text has been selected for its pivotal role in Indonesian socio-political thought and its ongoing relevance, evidenced by multiple reprints and updates by various Indonesian publishers. Despite changes in orthography over time, the core content has remained unchanged, ensuring the integrity of the original ideas.

Tjokroaminoto's book itself, since 1924 until now, has been reprinted and updated several times by publishers in Indonesia. Although the spelling has changed with the times, the substance of the content has not changed.

² Soebagjo, *Harsono Tjokroaminoto Mengikuti Jejak Sang Ayah*, (Jakarta: Gunung Agung 1985), 1.



(Published by Bulan Bintang, 1954)



(Published by Lembaga Penggali dan Penghimpun Sedjarah Revolusi Indonesia dan Endang dan Pemuda, 1963)

According to Kevin W. Fogg, this book was allegedly inspired by the 1912 book *Islam and Socialism* by Mushir Hosein Kidwai, an intellectual with links to Pan Islamism.³

³ Kevin W. Fogg, *Indonesian Islamic Socialism and Its South Asian Roots*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).



(Kidwai, London: 1912)

“This was the case for one particular South Asian thinker: Mushir Hosein Kidwai, who was influential for his thoughts on Islam and socialism. A work that Kidwai published in London came to influence the leading Indonesian nationalist H. O.S. Tjokroaminoto, whose work on Islamic socialism had a strong influence on Indonesian Islamic organizations and political life for the remainder of the century. The means by which Tjokroaminoto came to study Kidwai's work are particularly interesting, and speak to the influence of yet another South Asian Islamic movement, the Ahmadiyya, on Indonesia's intellectual development.” (Mohammed, 2006).

Critique Stage

This stage involves a rigorous evaluation of the primary source, supplemented by a range of secondary sources to assess the accuracy, authenticity, and biases inherent in Tjokroaminoto's work. This includes an examination of contemporary responses and subsequent scholarly analyses that contextualize the book within both its historical and modern frameworks.

Interpretation Stage

In interpreting Tjokroaminoto's text, we consider the broader intellectual currents of the period, particularly the influence of South Asian Islamic thought. Kevin W. Fogg suggests that Tjokroaminoto's work may have been inspired by Mushir Hosein Kidwai's 1912 publication, "Islam and Socialism," which links Pan-Islamism

to socialist principles. This comparative analysis helps to uncover the transnational intellectual exchanges that shaped Tjokroaminoto's perspectives.

Historiography Stage

Finally, the historiographical stage involves synthesizing the findings from the previous stages to construct a coherent narrative. This includes tracing the impact of Tjokroaminoto's ideas on Indonesian Islamic organizations and political movements throughout the 20th century. According to Mohammed (2006), Tjokroaminoto's engagement with Kidwai's work highlights the significant role of the Ahmadiyya movement in facilitating intellectual development in Indonesia.

DISCUSSION

Biography of Tjokroaminoto

Raden Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto was born in Bungkur Village, Madiun, East Java, Indonesia on August 16, 1882. He was born into a respectable family, as his lineage was of noble and clerical blood. His great-grandfather Kyai Bagus Kasan Besari was a charismatic cleric who owned and managed the Tegal Sari boarding school in Ponogoro. And matched by the son of Paku Buwono III, this marriage made Kyai Bagus Kasan Besari part of the Surakarta Palace family. His grandfather Tjokronegoro was the Regent of Ponorogo. While his father Tjokroaminoto was a raden who worked as Pangre Praja with the rank of Wedana in the Kleco area, Madiun.

Tjokro received his primary education in Madiun at a Dutch school. He continued his education at the Opleiding School Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren (OSVIA), a school for native employees, in Magelang, Central Java, graduating in 1902. At OSVIA, whose education lasted for 5 years, the language of instruction was Dutch. After graduating from OSVIA for three years, 1902-1905, Tjokro became a clerk to the patih in Ngawi, East Java, then a patih, an official in the civil service. He married Suharsikin, the daughter of the Patih of Ponorogo, in 1905. He then moved to Surabaya and worked for a private company. While working, Tjokro still found time to attend a secondary school in the afternoon, the Burgerlijke Avond School. Apart from being a private employee, Tjokro's house also received boarders managed by his

wife. Among his boarders was Soekarno-Bung Karno, the first President of Indonesia-when he was at HBS.⁴

From the very beginning of his time at OSVIA, Tjokroaminoto showed a passion for reading books, magazines, newspapers and other scholarly works. Even in the field of Javanese arts, such as dance and gamelan, he could be said to be very proficient. Tjokroaminoto also mastered the Dutch language, which at that time was used as a formal language of communication. Tjokroaminoto also studied societal books such as Islam, Socialism, Communication, and other books.⁵

Tjokroaminoto's character is described below by Amelz: Tjokroaminoto had a quiet disposition, on the face he showed hardness, a special character, hard on himself, not easily defeated by a bluff, this trait is not surprising, if you remember that in his youth he was a fighter even though his daily life was not separated from the ordinary environment of society, but his face showed a noble face.⁶ Tjokro was a famous leader, but also a devout worshipper, and it is impossible to describe his personality, even down to the way he dressed, which showed his national characteristics, while many of his friends used Western characteristics, but he still used authentic Javanese clothes. And it is these clothes that he always wears whenever and wherever he can without being inferior.⁷

Among Tjokroaminoto's intellectual works, both in the form of books and in other forms, are the following: *Tarikh Agama Islam* (1963). This book was published by the excavation and compilation of the History of the Indonesian Revolution, Jakarta, 1963. This book is written based on literature including: *The Spirit Of Islam*, by Amir Ali, and *The Ideal of Prophet, Islam and Socialism* (1924). This book is Tjokroaminoto's Magnum Opus, written in Mataram in November 1924, and published by Bulan Bintang publishing house in Jakarta, General Reglament for Muslims (1934).

⁴ Herry Mohammad, dkk. *Tokoh-tokoh Islam yang Berpengaruh Abad-20*. (Jakarta:Gema Insan Press, 2006).

⁵ Y.B. Sudarmanto, *Jejak-jejak Pahlawan*, (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2007), 91.

⁶ Anhar Gonggong, *H.O.S Tjokroaminoto*, (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2010), 10.

⁷ Masyhur Amin, *Saham HOS Tjokroaminoto dalam kebangunan Nasional di Indonesia*, (t.kt: Nur Cahaya, 1980), 27.

This work was completed on February 4, 1934, and endorsed by the PSII congress in Banjarnegara on May 20-26, 1934, which discussed the calm of Akhlaq, Aqidah, Marriage, Economics, Amar Ma'ruf Nahiy Munkar and struggle, Islamic Culture and Customs (1933) Tafsir program and Azaz Tandim (1965).

In addition, Tjokro was also active in Al Islam (1916). This magazine was published by the Sarekat Islam center in Solo led by Tjokroaminoto, it mainly published religious writings, Bendera Islam (1924-1927). A bi-weekly magazine published by the main figures of Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam in Yogyakarta. Led by Tjokroaminoto, the magazine aimed to defend the nation and homeland based on Islam,. Bintang Islam (1923-1926). This bi-weekly magazine was published by the main figures of Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam led by Tjokroaminoto, its content discusses events at home and abroad that need to be considered by Muslims in Indonesia, Fadjar Asia (1927-1930). This news magazine was published by Sarekat Islam leaders led by Tjokroaminoto and contained the views of the Sarekat Islam party, and Oetoesan Belanda. This was an Islamic daily newspaper published by Tjokroaminoto that aimed to develop the aspirations of Sarekat Islam members.⁸

Tjokaminoto as the Nation's Teacher

In the period of 1916, when Surabaya was a growing port and trading city. That year Soekarno, who was around 15 years old, began his education at the Hogere Burger School (HBS) secondary school in Surabaya. Meanwhile Bonnie explains, "Kartosuwiryo came to Peneleh in 1926 when Tjokro Haji. Musso probably just dropped by. The house was a jujugan house, considering Surabaya was a cosmopolitan city, there was a Jewish Synagogue there."

Tjokro and his wife established a boarding house. The boarding house tenants were generally students of elite secondary schools such as Hogare Burger School (HBS), Meer Uitgebrid Lager Onderwijnz (MULO), and Middelbare Technish School (MTS). One of the famous HBS students who stayed at the boarding house was

⁸ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Politik Modern Islam di Indonesia tahun 1900-1942*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1980), 25-26.

Sukarno. He rented a boarding room in the house since 1915. The proceeds from the boarding house certainly helped the livelihood of the Tjokro family whose children were still young. In addition, the young men who lived at the Tjokro boarding house also included Semaun and Kartosuwiryo, who would later take different directions.⁹

The year 1919 was a gray period for the family of Sarekat Islam Chairman Tjokroaminoto due to the death of Suharsikin, his wife and mother of Siti Oetari. Tjokroaminoto's concern for the fate of his children further disturbed him. Oetari, who was the third of four children, was still 16 years old. In that condition, based on Bung Karno's story to Cindy Adams, an unnamed Tjokroaminoto brother suggested Soekarno marry Oetari to ease Tjokroaminoto's burden. Soekarno agreed. Sure enough, when Soekarno conveyed his intention to propose to Oetari, Tjokroaminoto's face began to smile and stated that he agreed.

Tjokro was also a gifted orator, described by P.P Dahler in a speech as follows: "He was of admirable stature, worked hard and tirelessly, had a beautiful and heavy voice easily heard by thousands of people who seemed to be glued to his lips when he made a speech with fluency and earnest conviction." Similarly, Wondoamiseno once described Tjokroaminoto: "When he speaks, there is not much agitation, his speech is straightforward, firm and precise, his reasons contain true arguments that are difficult to refute and usually contain an authoritative spirit that ignites those who listen to him so that their hearts burn, for the enemy to submit because it is precise and correct."¹⁰

Tjokro and Sarekat Islam

Bonnie Triana explains, "What happens if Tjokro doesn't stop being an *amtenaar*? He would have been at least regent. He then committed class suicide." Bonnie also said that Sarekat Islam became big, and the Governor of the Dutch East Indies was Inderburg. "What Muslims joined Sarekat Islam? It turns out that Tjokro can unite both *Abangan* and *Putihan* Islam. Because Tjokro has an eclectic mind. He

⁹ Petrik Matanasi, *Soekarno dan Rumah Kos Tjokro yang Legendaris* <https://tirto.id/sukarno-dan-rumah-kos-tjokro-yang-legendaris-dFID>. Diakses 2 Januari 2023.

¹⁰ Masyhur Amin, *Saham HOS Tjokroaminoto dalam Kebangunan Nasional di Indonesia*, (t.kt.: Nur Cahaya, 1980).

is a person who can take the good things in all things. He could associate with leftist thinking and any group. Henk Sneevlit (a Dutch leftist) became a member of Sarekat Islam in 1916 at the first congress."¹¹

Sarekat Islam began as Sarekat Dagang Islam. SDI was the first organization born in Indonesia. This organization was founded by Haji Samanhudi in Surakarta on October 16, 1905, with the intention of opposing the entry of foreign traders who wanted to control the people's economy.⁶ Samanhudhi was a fairly successful trader and at a young age he had already received the title Haji. The existence of SDI is not only about trade matters but also politics and da'wah. He realized that there were not many cadres who could lead towards these ideals, not to mention the matter of courage. Faced with this problem Haji. Samanhudi looked for a way out by meeting local SDI members in Surabaya, there Samanhudi met H.O.S Tjokromaninoto who was a well-known figure as a capable and wise man, all his words were able to bind his members.¹²

In the subsequent development of Tjokro's thought, not much changed. When he made speeches about Islam, these were largely aimed at symbolizing national unity. For example, Tjokro argued that the solidarity of the sons of the earth was built in the name of Islam, and people were told that all SI members were brothers, regardless of age, rank and status. At the 1917 CSI Congress in Batavia, in view of Semaun's radical challenge. Tjokro even boldly said:

"What we want is: equality, regardless of religious differences. The CSI wants to elevate the equality of all races in the Indies to such an extent that it reaches (the stage of) self-government. The CSI is against capitalism. The CSI will not tolerate the domination of man over man. The CSI will cooperate with anyone who is willing to work for this cause."¹³

The emergence of the SI coincided with these complex developments, and its existence was also a reflection of the crystallization of various expectations among the natives. For the common people, Sarekat Islam soon became a vehicle for expressing their grievances and anger against the colonial order. Anti-Chinese riots were often

¹¹ Tempo Media: *Membedah Pemikiran HOS Tjokroaminoto, Islam, Politik, dan Negara*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A01O3IX9rNA> 26 Oktober 2019. Diakses 26 Oktober 2023

¹² Akhmad Taufik, et.al. *Sejarah Pemikiran dan Tokoh Modernisme Islam* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005).

¹³ Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak: Radikalisme Rakyat di Jawa 1912-1926* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama, 1997).

initiated by SI, although not on its behalf. In the ensuing social chaos, the SI easily became an organization that was widely followed by the disaffected bumiputera. In addition, SI branches spread throughout the archipelago.¹⁴

Under Tjokro's leadership, the SI was no longer what it had been. The SI's remarkable expansion in the first half of 1913 was essentially based on solidarity among the bumiputera expressed through newspapers and *vargadering*, which was further sharpened by a militant, convincing and passionate voice.¹⁵

Tjokro and the Discourse of Islam and Socialism

The occurrence of the socialist-marxist Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 further strengthened the reasons for Semaun and his camp (called SI Merah) to move on the principles of marxism—basing their movement on materialism and class struggle instead of Islam. According to them, religion did not provide a broad base for political action and was insufficient as a foundation for struggle. According to Semaun, a Muslim could be a capitalist or a socialist (Rizkiyansyah, 2017).

SI Merah often spread its influence among the SI. Of course, this was opposed by many SI leaders who wanted religion as the basis of their struggle. One of the SI figures who opposed the central SI was Agus Salim. According to him, with the Koran everything is answered. Another main figure of SI Merah was Haji Misbach, a preacher from SI Surakarta. His hatred for capitalism that exploited the people and his disappointment with the SI and Muhammadiyah on several issues drew him closer to communism. According to him, a true Muslim must be a communist and vice versa, a communist who still hates Islam is not a true communist or has not understood the nature of communism.

Bonnie explained that after Afdeling B, Tjokro went to prison in 1921. While in prison, SI was taken by Agus Salim, who practiced party discipline. Each SI member may not branch out or double up with another organization's identity. As a result, SI's

¹⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*. (Bandung: Mizan, 2002).

¹⁵ Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak*, 1997.

membership decreased. Tjokro wrote *Islam and Socialism* in order to attract members to the big house of Sarekat Islam, which accommodated all ideas.

At the Al-Islam Congress in Cirebon, October 31-November 2, 1922, he was also appointed chairman of the congress. The importance of this congress, as Agus Salim said, was to "encourage the unity of all groups of Muslims in the Indies or Muslims throughout the world and to help each other" and saw Kemal Attaturk as an exemplary leader who worked for Islamic unity (read, Pan Islamism). As an SI leader, he then carried out propaganda at local SI meetings. In his speeches he already dichotomized between Islam and communism. For him, the SI was based on Islam, and because the communists were Atheists (godless), communism was incompatible with the SI.¹⁶

The introduction to this book first explains the origin of the word socialism. It comes from Latin "socius", Dutch "maker", Malay "friend", Javanese "kita", Arabic "sahabat". It goes on to explain the various meanings of socialism, and draws a common line, namely that all theories of socialism have the intention of improving the fate of the poorest and most numerous groups of people. Tjokro quotes many Western books to explain socialism, such as books by Professor Quack, Karl Marx, Troelstra, Friedrich Engels, and others. Tjokro emphasized that the ideals of socialism already exist in Islam, which was brought by Prophet Muhammad 13 centuries ago. For example, the prohibition of usury in Islam, which Karl Marx also called "eating profit" or *meewaarde*. "For us Muslims," said Tjokro, "there is no socialism or any other kind of ism that is better, more beautiful and smoother than socialism based on Islam."

It then goes on to explain socialism in Islam. "*Kaanan nasu ummatan wahidah*" Tjokro used this verse to show that Islam contains the value of socialism, the value of togetherness. He also quoted a hadith about the equality of Arabs and non-Arabs. In addition, Tjokro outlines the socialistic religious injunctions and maps them into three points: freedom, brotherhood and equality. Tjokro gave the example that Islam embraces all kinds of people.

¹⁶ Ruth Mc. Vey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).

In the second chapter, entitled Social Life in Islamic Society. It describes the life of the Arabs, which was largely ignorant - killing girls, no rules for proper marriage and divorce, slavery, and the control of property without humanity. Tjokro quotes from *The Miracle of Muhammad*, Luzac and Co, London. Furthermore, from the book *Ethic of the Great Religions*, it is explained that the Arabs adhered to various religions, and a Guru or Messiah was sent who would improve human life. Tjokro emphasized, "Islamism, is the basis and source of true socialism, to bring about the salvation of this world and the salvation of the hereafter for all humanity."

Meanwhile, the Prophet Muhammad was sent to be *rahmatan lil alamin*. All creatures in the universe. Tjokro quotes the verse "wa ma arsalnaka illa rahmatan lil alamin", then he quotes the hadith of the Prophet when forgiving the events of Fathul Makkah and the Prophet's speech during the farewell pilgrimage: faith, brotherhood, being kind to wives and women, as well as being kind to slaves. Furthermore, more narrowed down, namely Islamic socialism in the household. Marriage is an agreement to live together and fulfill each other's rights and obligations. But marriage is not to take away the freedom of the two individuals. Tjokro writes how Islam gives freedom to the wife who was previously only like a prisoner or object, for example, the power to acquire wealth and make agreements for herself. Here Tjokro describes an Islam that does not objectify women. Tjokro also talks about Islamic verses and messages about equality. This chapter also outlines Islamic prohibitions that show the value of socialism, such as the prohibition of usury, accumulation of wealth, and the command to deliberate.

Tjokro describes some of the Prophet's companions who were socialists, i.e. living simply and populist lives. They were the respected caliphs; Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, Ali, and the warlords; Khalid bin Walid and Abu Ubaidah. He also gave examples of Socialism Based on Islam. The Prophet Muhammad himself was a model of simplicity, and his descendants did not even receive inheritance or zakat. Tjokro points out that the Prophet Muhammad owned land but the land was not given to Fatimah, but was left for the benefit of the community. The chapter also concludes by stating that the honor of a Muslim is seen from his labor.

Islam does not only aim at materialism, the crude passions inherent in human beings. This life aims at the worship of Allah, “*wa maa kholaqtul jinna wal insa illa liya'budun*”. Religion is a sense of right and wrong, a sense that perfects humanity. Humans should love other humans, imitating God's loving nature. In this regard Tjokro quotes the Qur'an surah Al- Baqarah, “It is not that turning your face towards the east and the west is a virtue, but it is believing in Allah, the next day, the angels, the books, the prophets and giving away one's beloved possessions to one's relatives, orphans, the poor, travelers (who need help) and those who beg; and (freeing) slaves, and establishing prayer, and paying the zakat; and those who keep their word when they make a promise, and those who are patient in adversity, in suffering, and in war. They are the true believers; and they are the pious.”

Tjokro explained that, in general, the Sarekat Islam Association aims to eliminate the misguided thoughts about Islam, and promote life according to the way of Islam and increase good deeds, devotion to God among the native people, maintain the love between fellow Muslims who are not due to their own fault and have not deliberately fallen into distress, and provide help to those who are not due to their own fault and have not deliberately fallen into distress.¹⁷

Takashi Shiraishi commented, “Tjokro was the leader of a movement that emerged before World War I, while socialism as well as bolshevism or communism only became popular after the war. So, if Tjokro talked about socialism, it was because this ideology was dazzling the world. On the other hand, it was also his way of appearing progressive without necessarily siding with communism. It must be understood that the book was written in the early 1920s, when the conflict between Sarekat Islam and SI Merah escalated. To be honest, I don't remember much of what he wrote in Islam and Socialism, I wasn't particularly impressed. I don't think it was as interesting as Misbach's Islam and Communism or Semaon's Hikayat Kadiroen.”

¹⁷ Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Sosialisme* (Bandung: Sega Arsy, 2008).

The End of Tjokro's Life

“His body is a little thin, but his eyes shine. His moustache curled upwards. His body was erect and his demeanor graceful. So, even though he no longer cared about the title *raden mas* that was edited in front of his name, his entry into the assembly still carried greatness and honor.” These are Hamka's words about the impression he got when he studied with Tjokro. Hamka said he deliberately falsified his age from 17 to 18 in order to join Sarekat Islam. The problem was that only SI members could attend courses twice a week.

Tjokro came to Yogyakarta after the SI Congress in Solo in 1913. There is no clear record of why Tjokro chose to stay in Yogyakarta. Yet as A.P.E Kaorver wrote in his book, *Sarekat Islam, The Movement of the Queen of Justice?* SI did not have many members in Yogyakarta. Perhaps Muhammadiyah and Boedi Oetomo were already there. But Ismail, who now teaches the history of Tjokro's thought at Cokroaminoto University in Yogyakarta, suspects that Tjokro wanted to mobilize support to counter the moves of Alimin, Darsono and Semoaoen in Semarang, who wanted to mobilize the SI. It was in Yogyakarta that Tjokro recruited Abdoel Moeis, Agoes Salim and Ahmad Dahlan who later became SI administrators.

Chronic kidney and ulcer disease finally took Tjokro's life on December 17, 1934. Tjokro breathed his last in the lap of Resoramli, who was waiting for him with Jumarin, a PSII cadre who was originally from Padang, and Rostinah, his second wife. He was then buried in the Kuncen public cemetery, Pakuncen Village, Wirobrajan District, Yogyakarta City.¹⁸

CONCLUSION

The study investigates the ideological shifts within Sarekat Islam (SI) during the early 20th century, focusing on the influence of socialist-Marxist principles following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The findings reveal that Semaun and his faction,

¹⁸ Soebagjo, *Harsono Tjokroaminoto Mengikuti Jejak Sang Ayah*, (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1985).

known as Sarekat Islam Merah, increasingly adopted Marxist ideologies, emphasizing materialism and class struggle over Islamic principles. This shift led to significant internal conflict, especially after the imprisonment of Tjokroaminoto in 1921, which resulted in Agus Salim enforcing stricter party discipline and subsequently reducing SI's membership.

Tjokroaminoto's seminal work, *Islam and Socialism*, aimed to reconcile Islamic values with socialist ideals, advocating for a moral and spiritual approach to socialism rather than class warfare. He argued that true socialism aligns with Islamic teachings when it emphasizes moral integrity and obedience to God, contrasting sharply with Western socialism's often coercive methods. The study underscores the unique intersection of Islamic and socialist thought within SI, highlighting Tjokroaminoto's contributions to political discourse in Indonesia. These findings have broader implications for understanding the adaptation of global ideologies within local contexts and the role of religion in political movements.

Future research should explore the long-term impact of these ideological shifts on SI's evolution and the broader political landscape in Indonesia. Additionally, comparative studies could provide deeper insights into how other movements have integrated or resisted similar ideological influences. By contextualizing the historical narrative within the broader scope of ideological development, this study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between religion and politics in early 20th century Indonesia.

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