

## Research Article

# Communication of Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto: Father of the Indonesian Nation (1905-1934)

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**ORCID**Muhamad Bisri Mustofa: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4113-502X>**Abstract.**

This research embarks on a thorough exploration of communication Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto's role as a distinguished nationalist, revered as the Nation's teacher, and his monumental contributions to the Indonesian struggle for independence. The primary objectives of this study are: firstly, to unveil the intricacies of Tjokroaminoto's biography, unraveling pivotal events and milestones in his life, and secondly, to delve into the profound thoughts he held regarding Indonesian nationalism. Employing rigorous historical research methods, the study examines the nuances of Tjokroaminoto's thinking during his era, offering a unique perspective to understand the shaping of the societal ethos at that time. This research extends beyond a mere biographical account, aiming to illuminate the intricate interplay between Tjokroaminoto's life, ideologies, and the socio-political landscape, ultimately contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of his enduring legacy in the formation of Indonesian national identity.

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## 1. Introduction

Basically, nationalism is born in every nation, not just as a mere recognition or formality, far from that, the essence of nationalism must be applied in the life of the nation and homeland.[36] Let's look at the country of Indonesia today, in the era of globalization where progress in various fields is no longer unbearable, where human rights are highly upheld to the point that there are no longer the words colonialist and colonized, and ultimately each individual in the country has their own freedom in determining the direction and goals of the country.[37] without any pressure from other parties. Free nationalism expressed the word democracy as a foundation for this nation to become an independent nation free from colonialism. If we look more deeply, our nation has indeed been freed from foreign invaders who exploited the wealth of this country, there are no more wars that shed blood.[38] However, do we realize that currently our nation

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is being colonized by our own nation, colonized by the modern lifestyle, colonized by the progress of our era, we have only become a nation that has a consumerist nature, more proud of foreign products than domestic products.[39]

The question is, where is this nation's sense of nationalism, what is the true form of this nation's nationalism, and is it true that our country is becoming independent? Of course, this is a problem in itself for our nation, and this problem is also something interesting to discuss and convey to the public so that we are aware and understand the current condition of the Indonesian state.[40] Nationalism is an ideology that creates and maintains the sovereignty of a country that has shared goals or ideals for the national interest. In practice, Nationalism is seen as a movement that fights for or defends independence, prosperity or other interests of a nation. Adherents of Nationalism are called Nationalists. We often hear/come across the term National State, which means a state whose governmental authority covers and is recognized by all regions of the country. In essence, Nationalism arises from individual awareness of love for the homeland, the application of which varies depending on social conditions and circumstances. geographical.[41]

Nationalism consists of two words, namely Nation and Ism. Nation or nation, perhaps there is no universally agreed definition for this term. The different definitions are a result of the complexity of the material used to define the term. Ism is an understanding of something. So, Nationalism is an ideology of nationality, which has the orientation of loving, owning and protecting one's own nation.[1]

The Indonesian nation is a nation of warriors. As fighters, the Indonesian people have shown their tenacity in fighting all forms of colonialism. One of the reasons for the spirit of struggle inherited by the Indonesian nation's warriors was the spirit of nationalism. Love for the homeland, or better known as Nationalism, has become a doctrine which states that ethnic and political groups must be congruent (same and similar).[2]

More specifically and concretely, Nationalism states that the national state, which is identified with the national culture and committed to protecting it, is a natural political unit; It would be a mistake if a number of national communities were obliged to live outside the borders of the national state. Nationalism also does not like the presence of non-nationalist elements in large numbers within the territory of the national state. The principles of Nationalism are widely embraced and even taken for granted in the modern world. Political and national units are political units that present and express the will of the majority of a nation, protect its interests and ensure the survival of its culture.[2]

In 1882 Ernest Renan opened his opinion about the ideology of "nation". According to this poet, the "nation" is one life, a principle, which arises from two things: firstly, the

people had to live together in one history; secondly, the people must now have a will, a desire to live as one. It is not type (race), not language, not religion, not equality of needs, nor national boundaries that make a “nation”.[3] The nation is a unity formed from the unity that has been lived by the people,” through Nationalism which is a way of faith; a people’s realization that the people are one group, one nation.[5]

This sense of self-confidence is what gave Boedi Oetomo determination in his efforts to find Greater Java. It is this self-confidence that gave rise to the determination of the nationalist revolutionaries in their struggle to find the Great Indies or Independent Indonesia. Although nationalism essentially excludes all parties who do not share the desire to live as one with the people; even though Nationalism excludes all groups who do not feel like they are one group, one nation with the people; Even though nationality in its principles rejects all behavior that occurs not from the unity that has been carried out by the people, we must not forget that it is the people who made the movement of Islamism and the Marxist movement in our Indonesia, with the people who carried out the movement. Nationalism all have the desire to live as one; that they and the nationalists feel that they are one group of one nation; that all parties of our movement, whether Nationalists, Islamists, or Marxists, for hundreds of years have had the same fate of not being independent, we must not forget that this is what gives rise to that group feeling.[4]

Sartono Kartodirjo, concluded that Nationalism in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century was the most important result of Western rule in Asian countries in modern times. Nationalism as a historical phenomenon has developed as a response to political, economic and social conditions, especially those created by the colonial situation. Japan’s victory over Russia in 1905. The Young Turk Movement, the Chinese Revolution, and national movements in neighboring countries, such as India and the Philippines, had a major influence on the development of Nationalism. This increased awareness of Nationalism and caused the Indonesian people to regain their sense of self-worth.[5]

In the historical records of the Nationalist movement which ultimately gave birth to the desire to achieve independence, there are two types of movements, namely evolutionary movements and revolutionary movements. Evolutionaries use a cooperative approach while revolutionaries refuse to cooperate with the colonialists (non-cooperative), evolutionaries can be said to have a long-term orientation, while revolutionaries tend to be radical. Boedi Oetomo, which was founded by Wahidin Soedirohusodo, Tjipto Mangunkusumo, and Soetomo, is said to be an example of a moderate and evolutionary nationalist movement.[6]

Moreover, after Tjipto left BO, there was no longer any controversy within BO, but BO lost progressive power, so that its further development was dominated by the noble or

aristocratic groups. Thus, BO grew as a moderate and cooperative organization towards the Dutch, and evolutionary. This organization is a suitable forum for priyayi groups, both from the bureaucracy and professionals, especially the middle and lower levels.[6]

Meanwhile, radicalism, which is an expression of revolutionary nationalism, grew after 1916. Due to the influence of socialist and communist leaders and their political language which was full of Marxist-revolutionary terminology, the national struggle shifted towards extreme-revolutionary anti-colonialism and anti-capitalism. The Governor of the Dutch East Indies took harsh action against leaders including Sneevlit, Bergsman, Semaoen and Darsono.[6] In the next round the radical nationalist movement was represented by the political organization the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI). Sartono Kartodirjo illustrates the founding of the PNI as follows: after holding several meetings and discussions in March, April and May 1927, attended by, among others, Soekarno, Ishaq, Boediarto, Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, Tilaar, Soedjadi, it was finally decided to establish the PNI at the meeting, which was held on July 4 1927 in Bandung. From the PNI's articles of association it is clear that its political orientation is anti-colonialism and non-cooperation.[7] Nationalism is truly a person's love for their homeland, not merely arising from mere national arrogance. Nationalism must reject all kinds of narrow, exceptionalism. Nationalism is not a copy or imitation of Western Nationalism, but arises from a feeling of love for humans and humanity, nationalists who accept their sense of Nationalism as a revelation and implement that feeling as proof of avoiding smallness and narrowness because basically love for the land Water has a very broad meaning.

Many nationalists among us forget about the movement of Nationalism and Islamism in Indonesia, even though in essence the aim of Nationalism is a reflection of love for the homeland which at that time was under Western colonialism, more specifically against capitalism and Western Imperialism. There are also many of our nationalists who forget that it is Muslims who truly practice their Islam, whether they are Arabs or Indians, whether they are Egyptians or any other people, because they live in Indonesia they are also obliged to work for safety. Indonesia itself. Wherever a Muslim lives, no matter how far from the country of birth, in the new country he is still part of an Islamic society, rather than an Islamic unity.[8] Wherever a Muslim resides, that is where he must love and work for the needs of that country and its people.

This is Islamic Nationalism which always prioritizes a sense of nationality towards the places it visits.[6] The nationalism that developed in Indonesia is a form of Islamic nationalism that emerged from Islamic leaders in the archipelago.[9] In historical records, a non-cooperative attitude towards the colonialists always emerged from Islamic religious leaders, this was also the trigger for the rise of Nationalism within Indonesian society. It cannot be denied that Islam plays a very important role in efforts to foster an attitude

of love for the country. We (nationalists) should never forget the Muslims who played an important role in efforts to liberate Indonesia, he even called it Islamic Nationalism.

In its development, Nationalism always had figures who pioneered and invited people to have a sense of love for their homeland. One of them is Raden Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto or more often known as H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, he is a figure who is highly respected by his friends and opponents, Tjokroaminoto is the most appropriate figure to be used as a model for Indonesian Nationalism, he is able to synthesize Nationalism, Islamism, and Socialism so that the real form of Indonesian nationalism is Islamic socialism, namely Nationalism that takes social values from the Koran and applies them to life. Tjokro is also a national teacher who teaches us how to cultivate a sense of Nationalism, what true Nationalism is. He was the leader of the Sarikat Islam (SI) party which was originally Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) then changed its name in 1912 to SI.[8]

This name change led to the expansion of activities, he was not only active in the field of trade, but also in the fields of preaching, education, social and politics. With the birth of Sarekat Islam (SI), it was Islam that actually became the main pioneer in the national political movement.[9] The Islamic political movement in Indonesia has an anti-authoritarian democratic style. Viewed from the perspective of contemporary Indonesian history, (SI) has from an early age pioneered the upholding of the principle of shura in deciding all matters.[12] It was through this shura in 1912 that Marxist elements were exiled from the party, because they were seen as no longer representing the political aspirations of Islam as a whole.[11] Moreover, Marxism clearly defends the philosophy of historical materialism. The elements of Marxism were removed from SI through congress. As stated by Kahin in his writing "Nationalism and revolution in Indonesia" that; Islam has been used as an "ideological weapon" to fight against the colonialists. Therefore, it is not surprising that Islamic-based associations such as SDI (Sarekat Dagang Islam) 1905, as the first politically organized mass movement, are considered to be the origin of the growth of nationalism and radical attitudes.

This has caused them to have to face strong challenges from the Dutch colonial government and the priyayi, the Islamic nationalist movement which has attacked their interests and privileges.[13] Regarding Islam versus Nationalism, Islamic circles feel that it is inappropriate to confront or compare Nationalism with Islamic teachings. Islam is a religion (eternal), while Nationalism is an ideology (temporal). Tjokroaminoto stated; "Islam by one seventh hair does not hinder or impede the occurrence and progress of true Nationalism, but advances it. The nationalism promoted by Islam is not 'eng' Nationalism which is (narrow) and dangerous which demands Socialism based on Islam. Namely, socialism which wants mono-humanism (human unity) controlled

by one Almighty, Allah subhanahu wa Ta'ala, because (through) the laws that have been revealed to the messenger of the final prophet, Muhammad sallallaahu Alahi wa Sallam.”[14]

Regarding Tjokroaminoto, apart from being a demagogue, he is a great speaker and passionate, he is also clever at maintaining his position as chairman. Maintaining “balance” between those with differing opinions is a skill. Tjokroaminoto’s attitude may have been influenced by an atmosphere of desire to create unity, because since Soekarno emerged into the arena of political struggle there were immediately efforts to unite the existing movements. So his attitude seems to be to ensure that his leadership can be accepted in an environment of national unity.[15]

Because of this, researchers are interested in finding out more about who Tjokroaminoto is? And what is Tjokroaminoto’s style of thinking? Especially his thoughts regarding Nationalism. The nationalism that is often preached by homeland fighters is a reflection of their love for the motherland which is being colonized by Western colonialists. However, in essence, the application of the feeling of nationalism itself has many nuances, so that each warrior figure in the archipelago has their own characteristics in expressing their love for their homeland. Apart from that, researchers are also interested in examining the development of Tjokroaminoto’s thoughts in the concept of nationalism that he implemented. Tjokroaminoto, who is better known as his figure as an SI leader who has extraordinary charisma in front of friends and enemies, shows how extraordinary he is. However, apart from that, researchers see another figure from him, namely someone who instilled a sense of Nationalism in the people of the country so that he was able to raise enthusiasm to escape the shackles of colonialism, so it cannot be denied that he is the Father of Nationalism for us as Indonesian people. Moving on from the discussion above, it is interesting to study Tjokroaminoto’s actions as the father of the nation.

## 2. Methods

This research is related to the issue of nationalism that developed in the archipelago during the colonial period. Theoretically, this research is included in political history research, because basically political history is something that is very complex and important in understanding the condition of the country and its people. This research focuses more on the doctrinal aspect of nationalism, because basically the attitude of nationalism that developed in the archipelago was influenced by various aspects, including figureheads, so that figureheads had a very important role in creating an

attitude of nationalism among colonized communities. The research steps carried out by the author are heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography.

### 3. Results and Discussion

H.O.S Tjokroaminoto was born with the name Raden Mas Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, known as Haji Oemar Said (HOS) Tjokroaminoto. He was born in Bakur Madiun, East Java, on August 16 1883, the year the Krakatoa volcano erupted in Banten. This event is often described by Javanese people as saying that the volcanic eruption will cause many changes to the natural environment around it. This event was also later linked to the explosion of HOS Tjokroaminoto's demands against the Dutch colonial government when he was the leader of Sarekat Islam.[16] His grandfather, RM Adipati Tjokronegoro, was a regent in Ponorogo, East Java, while his father, Raden Mas Tjokroamiseno, was the Wedana of Kleco District, Madiun.

After performing the Hajj he abandoned his noble title and preferred to introduce himself by the name Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto or better known as H.O.S Tjokroaminoto. For him, the title 'Raden Mas' is a right that he can use, like other nobles, because in him flows the blood of a nobleman, a nobleman from Surakarta, the grandson of Susuhunan. Likewise, the title 'hajj' is a symbol of piety, a person's obedience in carrying out the teachings of the Islamic religion. For Tjokroaminoto it is not something strange because he is a descendant of the famous kyai, namely Kyai Bagoes Kesan Besari. A cleric who owned an Islamic boarding school in Tegal Sari Village, Ponorogo Regency, Madiun Residency, East Java who later married a daughter of Susuhunan II. With his marriage, he became part of the Surakarta Palace family.[23]

From his marriage to the daughter of Susuhunan, Kyai Bagoes Kesan Besari was blessed with a son, namely Raden Mas Adipati Tjokronegoro. In living his life, Tjokronegoro did not follow in his father's footsteps as a famous kyai or leader of an Islamic boarding school. Tjokronegoro worked in the civil service sector as a government employee. During his career, Tjokronegoro held important positions, including as regent in Ponorogo. Because of his services to the country, he was awarded the Ridder der Nederlansche Leeuw service star. Tjokronegoro was then blessed with a son named Raden Mas Tjokroamiseno. Tjokroamiseno followed in his father's footsteps by pursuing work as a civil service employee as well. Tjokroamiseno has also held important government positions, including as wedana in Kewedanan Kletjo, Madiun. Raden Mas Tjokroamiseno is the father of Tjokroaminoto.



### 3.1. H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's Thought Style

Tjokro is an Indonesian hero who has contributed a lot of his thoughts and ideas in efforts to liberate Indonesia. We need to know that it was Tjokro who awakened a sense of nationalism among the aspects of Indonesian society which at that time were experiencing colonialism, both physically, materially, mentally and logically (thoughts). The invaders came to the archipelago (Indonesia) with the intention of controlling the archipelago, starting from monopolizing trade until ultimately destroying and controlling the entire archipelago, they exploited our natural wealth and enslaved the indigenous people until finally they established their power in our archipelago.[22] The effect of all this is that the foundations of life that were built together by our predecessors are destroyed, the nation's mentality becomes weak, morality disappears without realizing it, our young generation is stupid with doctrines and ideologies that stunt the way of thinking, so that they are able to strengthen Their rule lasted for approximately 350 years.

Despite all that, our nation is starting to experience a turnaround and is gaining a glimmer of hope for the survival of this nation. It was Tjokroaminoto who made us realize how important a sense of nationalism is, he was the one who taught us how to maintain our self-respect in the face of colonialists, and apply a sense of nationalism into everyday life. Many of his thoughts have been expressed in articles, newspapers and magazines. In essence, Tjokro wanted to make the Indonesian people aware who were being colonized. Tjokroaminoto's own thoughts were very influential and were able to change little by little the mindset of the people of the archipelago, thoughts that were based on a very strong spiritual basis so that they were able to be conveyed clearly to the people of the archipelago.

In several of his writings in the mass media, Tjokroaminoto provides an overview for the Indonesian people about how to behave and think in order to achieve a revolution. However, a revolution can be created in the condition that people are able to understand and comprehend the conditions of their country. In essence, people are required to be intelligent. There are several points that Tjokro conveys in his writing: 1) People are aware of the mindset in association with life together; 2) People are able to understand that being aware of the social mindset makes a barrier for the steps of their intellectual journey; 3) From a mindset that develops and is understood by the people, so that it can make a rule or law in public life. Tjokroaminoto was also a figure of the Indonesian movement who gave birth to several variations of thought. This can be seen from the different patterns of thinking during the period of his life. Where when he was young,



his thoughts were thick with Nationalism. However, his views changed to Religious Socialism, followed by a tendency to understand Islam called Pan-Islamism.[23]

### 3.2. H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's Thought in 1905-1920

This period was a period when Tjokroaminoto was still young where emotions were still the basis for thinking, when he was young Tjokroaminoto was an adherent of Nationalism. Where in this phase he made Islam as a tool to realize the ideals of nationalism. This was motivated because the Indonesian people were miserable experiencing backwardness and ignorance caused by colonialism. So that with this spirit of nationalism, the majority of Muslim communities can unite and be free from the shackles of colonialism.[23] The subsequent development of Tjokro's thought changed a lot. Tjokro began to think of a synthesis between nationalism, Islam and socialism.

Where Nationalism is built on the basis of equality while Islam must be built on the substance of Socialism in Islam. Where humanity must be built on the basis of Islam because of the elements of freedom, equality and brotherhood. In terms of content, it draws a line between Islamic socialism and communism. Considering that Islamic socialism has a role in the realization of the power that comes from Allah.[24]

After discovering Islam, Tjokro started the concept of socialism by giving a new color to Islam, namely socialism extracted from the Koran. Where Islam is not only interpreted passively but also attracts people to fight for change. Therefore, Islam's steps as an awareness of power will not move away from the mere function of ritual practice. Tjokro considers Islam to be something that must be fought for and united as the basis of nationality that is built in the process towards Indonesia.[25] Furthermore, as evidence of the tendency to understand Islam as an ideology. Tjokro began to direct his thoughts to the political area. This can be seen from Tjokro's activeness as leader of the AI-Islam congress sponsored by modernists including KH. Agus Salim as well as Muhammadiyah and AI-Irsyad figures.[26] Apart from being active in the political area, Tjokro was also enthusiastic about the ideas of pan Islamism and responding to the issue of the caliphate launched by Ibnu Sa'ud. With this trend, pan Islamism became increasingly stronger in Tjokro's thinking and emerged during the Federation of Indonesian National Political Associations (PPPKI) Consensus. As time progressed, PSI, chaired by Tjokro, really wanted to emerge as a force that controlled PPPKI.[26] In fact, he also made increasingly loud speeches regarding the dichotomy of Islamic and secular nationalism. Because the meaning of Tjokro's Pan-Islamist movement implies a nationalism based on the spirit of unity in fate as Muslims.[26]

Islam greatly influenced Tjokroaminoto's thoughts and actions, where Islam was the guideline and combined with socialism. According to Tjokro, Islamic socialism is socialism that must be demanded and carried out by Muslims, and not other socialism, but socialism that is based solely on Islamic principles. For him, the ideals of socialism in Islam are no less than 13 centuries old and have nothing to do with European influence. The principles of Islamic socialism were known in Islamic society at the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Tjokroaminoto's strong ideological thinking regarding Islam, socialism, popular ideology with all its noble ideals for the nation has been continued by Soekarno and his friends.[27] One thing that is important for Tjokro is that he thinks reflectively as a response to the realities of his time. He discovered Islam as an ideology. Humaidi, a historical observer, tries to trace the factuality of the way of thinking of the Sarekat Islam (SI) Tjokroaminoto figure as the key to opening the veil of thought on how Islamic figures placed nationalism in an Indonesian context across sectarian and primordial boundaries. By studying the way Tjokro thought during his time, we can describe a structure of the soul of the era that was being formed - not formed.[24]

### 3.3. H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's thoughts in 1921-1922

This period was the period where Tjokro's mindset began to experience changes where Tjokro began to enter a mature age in thinking and acting so that this phase was a phase towards perfection of thinking. To what extent are Tjokro's main ideas about nationalism and Islam? What is interesting is how clearly there are two differences in Tjokro when interpreting and understanding nationalism and Islam. This change occurred when Tjokro was 40 years old, namely in 1922. There was a dichotomy in the thinking of young Tjokro before he was 40 years old and old Tjokro after 40 years, young Tjokro was enthusiastic, saw Islam as a tool to fight for nationalism, fight for national unity. Meanwhile, the old Tjokro began to think dichotomously, distinguishing between Islam and communism as separate entities in interpreting nationalism.[24]

When Tjokro was still young, the claim of Islamic tendencies as a tool can be seen from Tjokro's speech at the vargedering in Semarang, regarding the intention of establishing SI as a religious association: "For the reason of religion, we will try to uphold the dignity of our native people in a legitimate way. To catch up with the native people, Tjokroaminoto told the analogy of the wayang story of Subali and Sugriwa who were ready to die to get Cupu Manik Astragino. Of course, this analogy is a symbolic invitation, with a Javanese world view approach. Cupu is interpreted as a symbol of progress, Subali and Sugriwa refer to the native people who are willing to sacrifice for their

dreams. The significance of this presentation shows several things. First, Tjokro's level of understanding of Islam is not deep, it tends to be mediocre. He makes Islam only a claim to legitimacy, but he forgets to base his claim on what book, what verse. Second, there is a syncretic character in Tjokro's understanding of Islam. On the one hand, he takes religious justification, but on the other hand, he also relies on the wayang story, which in fact is a legacy of Hinduism-Javanese culture which left an impression on the understanding of the Abangan Islamic group.[28]

There were two things that marked a change in Tjokro so that since 1922 he thought more about Islam. First, from August 1921 to April 1922, Tjokro was in prison. Tjokro interpreted this condition as a symbolic process for reflection. There may also be another meaning that the age of 40 years in prison is sovereign for his existence as a leader of the movement, as is the case with the age of the Prophet Muhammad when he was appointed as a messenger of Allah SWT. Second, after leaving prison, he tried to return to CSI and attract followers from the workers.[29] This attempt failed! Of course, this further strengthens Tjokro's perspective that to build nationalism in a broad sense, it cannot be built from something general. Nationalism must be built on the basis of equality, and for this we need a differentiating element to cleanse it from other elements. Tjokro believes it is Islam.

### **3.4. H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's thoughts in 1923-1934**

This period was the period where Tjokroaminoto achieved perfection in thinking and acting. Tjokro's 'new' understanding of Islam is substantially visible in the brochure "Socialism in Islam". This brochure, apart from being Tjokro's thoughts, was also an opinion formation and an attempt to attract those who had been poisoned by communism to return to SI. The brochure contains several main things, namely humanity as the basic building block of Islam, peace, socialism and brotherhood. Islam is the same as socialism because of three things, namely the elements of freedom, equality and brotherhood. In terms of content, it seems that Tjokroaminoto wanted to draw boundaries between Islamic Socialism and communism. Because Islamic socialism relies on Allah for its power.[30] Furthermore, as evidence of the tendency to understand Islam as an ideology, it is also politically directed. From 1922 to 1924, Tjokro was even active as a leader of the AI-Islam congress sponsored by modernists (including Agus Salim and figures from Muhammadiyah and AI-Irsyad). Furthermore, Tjokro was also very enthusiastic in responding to the caliphate issue that was launched by Ibnu Saud. This resulted in him being suspected of having Wahhabi beliefs, which would later eliminate

the existence of four schools of thought that developed in Indonesia (especially in Java). Clearly, in this context the ideas of pan-Islamism were already prominent in Tjokro's thinking.[29]

In the end, pan-Islamist tendencies became stronger in Tjokro's thinking. When the PPPKI federation emerged, PSI, chaired by Tjokro, really wanted to emerge as the power that controlled it. In fact, he also made increasingly loud speeches regarding the dichotomy of Islamic and secular nationalism. Religious people must choose organizations that are based on religion, said Tjokro. The meaning of Tjokro's Pan-Islamist movement implies that at least what Tjokro envisioned was nationalism, a nationality based on the spirit of unity of fate. Islam and secularism, in this dichotomy, are recognized as elements that are fighting for nationalism. After discovering Islam, Tjokro gave Islam a new trend, namely socialism, which he tried to extract from the Qur'an. It seems that Tjokro was aware of the dangers of socialism and his 'sexiness' attracted many followers among movement activists.

If Islam is interpreted passively, not as an element that is 'sexy', attractive and fighting for change, then Islam will not move away from the function of mere ritual practice.[31] For Tjokro, Islam is something that must be fought for and united, as a national basis that is built in the process towards Indonesia. Apart from looking at Tjokro from an Indonesian context, typical Tjokro are types of people who change. He is identical to Al-Afghani, who is also a political figure of Pan-Islamism. Tjokro and Afghani also both failed in their struggle for Pan-Islamism. However, the importance of both is not in winning or losing. Both are important, because they create a momentum for change in thinking in Islam. Both of them also became the spirit of struggle for the interests of Political Islam.[27]

We can understand that Tjokro used Islam as a very solid foundation for building his political ideology. We know that the Qur'an is able to provide every answer to the problems faced by Muslims, so when Tjokro made Islam a basis for thinking, Tjokro was able to control the flow of politics so that in its development the results of Tjokroaminoto's political ideas were so strong that they were able to influencing the world of Indonesian politics.

The strong influence of religion so that it can provide answers to political problems, Tjokro expressed his ideas in a newspaper that he leads himself, namely "Fadjar Asia" to provide awareness or provide knowledge to the public that religion is able to provide solutions to all the political problems currently facing Indonesia. At a socialist congress on colonial countries, discussions were discussed about granting independence to the

Indonesian people, giving the people freedom in politics, developing the economy and establishing a government that would be fully led by the leadership of Bumii Putra. Spreker stated at the congress that the Dutch kingdom should guide the Indonesian people to defend and maintain independence. Then, Spreker added that the Dutch kingdom had to repair the damages that had been caused in the colony, because in essence no kingdom left the colony without correcting its mistakes.

Then Tjokroaminoto gave his opinion regarding the people of Indonesia who should defend independence. It is enough for the people of Indonesia to show themselves and with full awareness, and mirror the national movement based on Islam, not from other parties, but our own Islam that provides education and shows the paths to independence for Muslims themselves. To God we ask for guidance and for the example of our Prophet SAW, until the people of Indonesia are able to defend their independence with the foundation of the Islamic religion which must always be upheld.[34] In the struggle for independence, it cannot be separated from religion, because basically the Indonesian independence movement must rely on Allah SWT. In Islam, it is presented that Islam wants freedom for all mankind, freedom from slavery, freedom from all forms of political, social and economic slavery. In essence, the independence presented in the Qur'an is the equality of every layer of human beings without distinguishing their skin color, race and nationality.

Man becomes honorable, what distinguishes man's position in the eyes of Allah SWT is his piety. Islam does not limit all kinds of progress in the name of modernization, on the contrary, Islam mandates modernization, but it must still be based on the Islamic religion. It is clear that we can understand from the presentation above, that the pressure point of Tjokroaminoto's thinking is very thick with the nuances of Islam.[35] From every writing that he poured into the mass media at the time, it was not separated from the religious words that had indeed become the ideology of the SI movement that was driven by Tjokroaminoto. He believed that in order to gain independence from the colonialists, the independence movement must be based on the name of religion, namely Islam.

Tjokroaminoto has a firm belief that our country and nation will not achieve a just and prosperous life, a safe and peaceful social life, as long as social justice as long as Islamic teachings cannot be implemented or made into law in our country, even though it is independent.[27] It is proven now, even though our country and nation are independent and sovereign under the banner of the red and white, dozens of ordinary people have not experienced the pleasures and delights of life and their daily lives. People still suffer

from various kinds of hardship and poverty. Chaos arises everywhere. Robbery banging. It seems that kidnapping and murder cannot be overcome by the government.

### **3.5. Nationalist figures who were influenced by the thoughts of H.O.S Tjokroaminoto**

Tjokroaminoto was widely known as the teacher of national leaders. How could it not be, it was in his house that the nation's thinkers were born who were very influential during the pre-independence struggle for Indonesian independence. Several figures who grew up in his house and were directly influenced by his thoughts were Soekarno, Semaoen, Muso, Tan Malaka, Alimin, and Kartosoewirjo. All of them are potential leaders of various movement organizations in Indonesia. Tan Malaka was his student who first stated that he would not obey the Dutch and his death became a motivation for other fighters to eradicate Dutch colonialism.

The Impact of H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's Thoughts on the Indonesian Independence Movement. The impact of Tjokroaminoto's thoughts on the Indonesian independence movement is clearly visible from several facts which conclude how this figure played an important role in the creation of Indonesian independence. Indeed, it was not in the form of frontal resistance, joining in war or other movements that involved physical contact with the invaders, but there was something more extraordinary than that, namely thoughts and ideologies that were very difficult to destroy. Ideology or thought, if seen or understood in a cursory and basic way, is nothing for anyone to worry about. But who knew that this ideology or thought could turn into a weapon so dangerous that its existence could destroy a large country.[27]

Tjokroaminoto's idea of nationalism, which was based on socialism and Islamism, was able to have an extraordinary impact on the development of the thinking of nationalist figures and of course provided enlightenment for the Indonesian people at that time, regarding the direction of movement and goals of the independence movement itself. Even though there are still obstacles in its application by the community.

Carrying out socialism in a country where the people are not at all mentally mature will only damage the country and its society. It's not that the people will become free, but in such a situation, all the efforts, dreams and wealth of each person will be increasingly oppressed by this. And as a result, humanity will be damaged. Based on this problem, Tjokroaminoto said that Socialism would be able to rule the whole world, if the Pan Islamist movement could convey its meaning. Such conditions will come, if Islam can restore the strength and power that it once had in ancient times. True socialism requires

primary morals and also requires the existence of a strong bond of inner and outer unity, like an iron chain that connects and unites all the people which does not exist anywhere else and such a strong bond exists, but can only be found in Islam alone.[27]

So, if we examine the above thoughts further, in fact the spirit of Tjokroaminoto's struggle was to place Islam as a fundamental element to liberate the people from the tyranny of the Dutch colonial regime. Islamic socialism for him is the spirit of human liberation from system-driven impoverishment. He placed resistance to an unfair system as a prophetic mission as taught by the Prophet Muhammad.

#### 4. Conclusion

H.O.S Tjokroaminoto was born with the name Raden Mas Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, better known as Haji Oemar Said (HOS) Tjokroaminoto. He was born in Bakur Madiun, East Java, on August 16 1883. His grandfather, RM Adipati Tjokronegoro, was a regent in Ponorogo, East Java, while his father, Raden Mas Tjokroamiseno was Wedana of Kleco District, Madiun. After performing the Hajj he abandoned his noble title and preferred to introduce himself by the name Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto or better known as H.O.S Tjokroaminoto. At the age of twenty, Tjokroaminoto had completed his education at the Opleiding School Voor Inlandse Ambtenaren (OSVIA) civil service academy in Magelang, apart from that his father R.M Tjokroamiseno provided strict religious education from an early age in addition to Western education as was the norm for government officials at that time. Tjokroaminoto was betrothed to a nobleman's son, Raden Ajeng Soeharsikin, the daughter of a vice regent of Ponorogo named Raden Mas Mangoensomo. Raden Ajeng Soeharsikin, who later became Raden Ayu Tjokroaminoto, was known as a woman with very refined manners and good temperament.

When he was young, Tjokroaminoto was a follower of nationalism. In this phase he used Islam as a tool to realize the ideals of nationalism. This was motivated by the fact that the Indonesian people were suffering from backwardness and ignorance caused by colonialism. So that with this spirit of nationalism, the majority Muslim community can unite and be free from the shackles of colonialism. The subsequent development of Tjokro's thinking changed a lot. Tjokro began to think about the synthesis between Nationalism, Islam and socialism. Where Nationalism is built on the basis of equality while Islam must be built on the substance of Socialism in Islam. Where humanity must be built based on Islam because of the elements of freedom, equality and brotherhood. In terms of content, it provides boundaries between Islamic Socialism and communism.



Remembering that Islamic socialism has a role in realizing the power that comes from Allah. After discovering Islam, Tjokro started the concept of socialism by giving a new concept to Islam, namely socialism which was extracted from the Koran. Where Islam is not only interpreted passively but also attracts people to fight for change. Therefore, Islam's steps as an awareness of power will not move away from the mere function of ritual practice. Tjokro considers Islam to be something that must be fought for and united as the basis of nationality that is built in the process towards Indonesia.

Furthermore, as evidence of the tendency to understand Islam as an ideology. Tjokro began to direct his thoughts to the political area. This can be seen from Tjokro's activeness as leader of the AI-Islam congress sponsored by modernists including KH. Agus Salim as well as Muhammadiyah and Al-Irsyad figures. Tjokroaminoto is widely known as the teacher of national leaders. How could it not be, in his house many national thinkers were born who were very influential during the pre-independence struggle for Indonesian independence. Several figures who grew up in his house and were directly influenced by his thoughts were Soekarno, Muso, Tan Malaka, Alimin, and Kartosuwiryo. All of them are potential leaders of various movement organizations in Indonesia. The influence of Tjokroaminoto's thoughts was not only on his students, but many people from various groups were influenced and motivated to develop their sense of nationalism. Islam greatly influenced Tjokroaminoto's thoughts and actions, where Islam was the guideline and combined with socialism. According to Tjokro, Islamic socialism is socialism that must be demanded and carried out by Muslims, and not other socialism, but socialism that is based solely on Islamic principles. For him, the ideals of socialism in Islam are no less than 13 centuries old and have nothing to do with European influence. The principles of Islamic Socialism were known in Islamic society at the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

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