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**Submission date:** 09-Feb-2022 06:11PM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 1758426901

**File name:** JPPW\_-\_67.pdf (528.98K)

**Word count:** 8898

**Character count:** 47615

## ISLAMIC, REALITY AND INDONESIAN NATIONALISM CHALLENGES

(Role and **Tjokroaminoto** Challenges to build up Modern  
Nationalism in Indonesia through Islamic Sarekat at 20th Century)

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### Abstract

The beginning of the 20th century can be said as a miniature of the complexity problems on Indonesian Modern Nationalism. The indicators are the strength of foreign domination, the strength of bureaucratic feudalism, the plurality of thoughts and organizations that grow in society, the weak position of the people in general, both mentally, intellectually and economically. People expect the birth of a leader figure who acts as a "savior". This study attempts to describe how the role and challenges of Tjokroaminoto as a leader in establishing an Indonesian Modern Nationalism through Islam Sarekat (SI). Through the historical methodology and assisted by the approaches and concepts of religion, social and culture, it was discovered that by understanding the tawheed mind well, Tjokroaminoto was able to be an independent, enlightened, socially responsible person, and willingly bear a risk for a change good. His presence was missed by the people, and the people also held it with a great title. The noble mission of Tjokroaminoto as the leader who wanted to enlighten the people had to weaken and fade, because Islam Sarekat (SI) was infiltrated by the Communist mind, "*the wrong thought, but righteous*", brought by Semaun, his student and comrade. Tjokroaminoto must also be able to see his noble mission is weakened systematically, because it is unable to survive the hit of a virus called "Mind Communist".

**Keywords:** Islamic, Tjokroaminoto & Modern Indonesian Nationalism

### INTRODUCTION

#### Complexity Problem of Indonesian Nationalism in Globalization era.

The complexity of the problem of Indonesian Nationalism in the era of globalization is an accumulation of the complexity of the problem of Modern Indonesian Nationalism that grew in the early 20th century. This complexity urgently needs to be mapped to help us in understanding the problem as well as to find the right solution to solve the complexity so that Indonesian Nationalism remains intact and can provide a happy, prosperous and lasting life for all elements that take shelter in it.

The modern State of Indonesia is a country that is built on a multi-ethnic and ethnic nation, multi-religion and multi-ideological. In

addition, the state of Indonesia has abundant natural wealth, both at sea, on land, and contained in the bowels of the earth. Indonesia's geopolitical position is very important and strategic, making the Country of Indonesia a meeting place for various ethnicities and ethnicities. The presence of various ethnicities and ethnic groups also brings an identity in the form of religion and ideology. All of them carry out the process of "knowing each other" or "social interaction" with their respective cultural, religious and ideological structures in one container called the State of Indonesia. On the other hand, the pressure of foreign countries in an effort to achieve political and economic benefits further adds to the complexity of the problem of Indonesian Nationalism in the era of Globalization. The development of transportation technology and information and

communication technology further accelerates the flow of "getting to know each other" or "social interaction" that exists. The current "know each other" or "social interaction" is not only taking place in the real world, but the current actually runs very quickly through the virtual world. The Indonesian state is still lucky, because Indonesia still has an Islamic religion that is embraced by the majority of ethnicities and ethnic groups in the country of Indonesia. The mind of tawhid which is the mother of the Islamic mind is still able to control the social and cultural order of Indonesia so that the social and cultural order of Indonesia is still spared from social conflicts that are certainly very detrimental to Indonesian society. On the other hand, the Indonesian state is wrapped in economic problems, most of its people live in poverty and ignorance, its natural resources are controlled by foreign countries, its bureaucratic institutions are still filled by feudal culture, the equarian education curriculum that became the national education curriculum failed to give birth to tawhid-minded leaders. Whereas tawhid-minded leaders have been proven in history to be independent, independent, enlightening, have high social sensitivity, and are ready to take the risk of moving positive changes in a better social order.

Tjokroaminoto is one of the leaders born from the mind of tawhid. Tawhid awareness has been able to make Tjokroaminoto appear to be an independent leader, independent, enlightening, has high social sensitivity and is ready to accept risks as agents of change positively. That is a reflection of the figure of Tjokroaminoto who was able to think and act positively who lived in the early 20th century. The role and challenges faced by Tjokroaminoto in struggling to improve people's lives in the midst of the complexity of problems that existed in the early 20th century became important and meaningful to be studied and guided in order to be an inspiration for the birth of modern Indonesian leaders who are able to think and act positively in processing and organizing the complexity of the problems faced by the country and the Indonesian nation. So that individuals and all religious, social and cultural groups living in the country of Indonesia can enjoy a happier, prosperous and peaceful life together on a mind that promotes "a Sense of Justice and Humanity".

## METHOD

The main object of this study is to make a historical explanation of how the role and challenges faced by a Tjokroaminoto figure in building Modern Nationalism in Indonesia through Sarekat Islam (SI) in the early 20th century. The object of this study was further developed into the formulations of problems that synergize with each other to be answered in an effort to produce a historical explanation of the main problems discussed in this study.

1. What thoughts underlie the Netherlands applying the politics of secularization of Islam in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century?
2. What thoughts underlie Tjokroaminoto able to become a leader who is independent, independent, enlightening, has high social sensitivity, and is ready to accept the risk of struggle in an effort to improve people's lives?
3. What is the role and challenge that Tjokroaminoto must face as the leader of Sarekat Islam (SI) in improving people's lives in the midst of the strong dominance of the Dutch and priyayi, as well as the presence of communist thought in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century?

The method used in answering the above problems is the method of historical science assisted by religious, social and cultural approaches and concepts. The goal is to produce a more vivid and comprehensive explanation of history. (SartonoKartodirdjo, 2016. Kuntowijoyo, 2008). The study of mentality is an approach used in understanding the thoughts that live within a person and the social and cultural groups that existed in Indonesia in the early 20th century. In its operation, the study will use religious, social and cultural concepts as a reflection of the thoughts that live within a person and the religious, social and cultural groups that existed in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century. (SartonoKartodirdjo, 2016: 192-199. C. Behan McCullagh, 2010: 106-107. Peter Burke, 200: 136-140).

Each concept has its own meaning and perception. If the concept lives in the mind of a person or a group of people, then the concepts will affect their mind and they will be compelled to perform a series or series of actions that are in accordance with the concepts that are living in

their minds. The study will use several religious, social and cultural concepts. Civilizationally, the concepts used in this study are derived from two civilizations, namely Western civilization which is rooted in secular civilization and Islamic civilization that leads to tawhid civilization. The concepts in question are the concepts of sex, colonialism, capitalism, nationalism, communism, and tawhid.

The explanations for the concepts used in this study are as follows:

### 1. Secular Concepts

The secular concept is the parent concept of the Western system of thought. A secular concept is a concept of mind that separates expressly from world affairs. This secular concept began to develop in the 15th century. The secular concept was born as a result of the failure of Christianity which led to the teachings of the Trinity in guiding Europeans in achieving a happy, prosperous and lasting life. In the secular concept, religious affairs are the affairs of the human person, the affairs of the world are left to scientists who think with the power of reason, without involving religion once in the affairs of world science. (Darmawijaya, April 2011: 134-142).

The development of secular concepts in the political and economic fields has given birth to colonial and capitalist concepts. The colonial concept is the concept of the mind that gives birth to colonial behavior over fellow ethnicities and ethnic groups, while the capitalist concept is the concept of the mind that has given birth to colonial behavior over fellow humans by making capital (capital) as its main force.

### 2. Communist Concept

Communist is a concept of thought born of Kalr Marx's concern over the suffering of the people colonized by the capitalists through the power of capital. Communists were hostile to God and religion, because in accordance with Marx's observations in Europe in the 19th century, Christian leaders supported capitalists in colonizing the workers. After Kalr Marx deepened the icons of Christianity, Kalr Marx discovered an irrational concept of religion. Kalr Marx wrote in an article, "Soll sie in dem emen Landeglauben, dap  $3 \times 1 = 1$ ?" – "Can in a land of believers, that  $3 \times 1 = 1$ ". (O.Hassem, 2008: 59). The irrational teaching of Christianity was

recognized by Thomas Aquinas, the Medieval Christian philosopher. Thomas Aquinas said, "God is Three and One can only be understood by Belief and it is impossible for this to be demonstrated demonstratively by reason." (AdianHusaini, 2005: 49)

This reality is what led Kalr Marx to conclude that religion is something that is very damaging to human life. Religion has become a barrier to the birth of a just and human social, cultural, political and economic order. Religion has participated in perpetuating human colonization of fellow human beings. Marx finally issued a statement that was so enis on religion. "the religion of ovium of the people" – "religion is man's opium", marx's scathing statement on religion concluded based on the realiatas of the behavior of Christian leaders and the concept of Christianity in Europe in the 19th century.

The religion that was considered opium by Marx was Christianity. So this statement of Marx cannot be generalized to all religions, until we delve into the role and concept of religion in question in the reality of human history. Daniels L. Pals's statement in his book "The Seven Most Comprehensive Theories of Religion" confirms that the religion marx was referring to was Christianity. "*Therefore, when Marx explained religion as the opium of society and the refuge of the poor from alienation and oppression, it was actually the religion on which he had in mind,*" daniel L. pals said in explaining Marx's thoughts on religion. (Daniel L. Pals, -: 212).

When Marx issued such a scathing statement on religion, Marx himself had not had time to understand the teachings of Islam well. Marx was still focused on the study of his philosophy and the existence of Islam in Europe in the 19th century was scarce, due to the strength of Christian hegemony and free philosophers. Had Marx been able to understand the teachings of Islam well, Marx would have had a great chance of converting to Islam, as has happened to some famous Western scientists in recent times, such as Maurice Bucaille, a French surgeon, who converted to Islam after researching the mummy of Pharaoh in Egypt. After converting to Islam, Maurice Bucaille succeeded in producing quality scientific works that reflected the truth of Islam. "The Bible, the Qur'an and Science", "Where Did Man Come From? Between Science, the Bible and the Qur'an", and "Pharaoh in the Bible and the Qur'an" are maurice

bucaille's three divisions that reinforce Islam as a scientific religion. (Maurice Bucaille, 2007 & 2008. Muhammad Yusuf, 2010. Lukman Santoso Az, 2010).

In addition to Maurice Bucaille, there are still many Western scientists who finally admit that Islam is not man-made, but a rule handed down by Allah, God who has created this universe with all its contents, including man himself. Among them are Jeffrey Lang, American mathematician, Fidelma, American neurologist, Demitri Bolykov, Ukrainian physicist, etc. (Lukman Santoso Az, 2010: 27, 59 & 63)

If Marx had been steeped in the teachings of Islam and the historical reality of Islamic civilization, Marx would retract his statement. "the religion of ovium of the people" – "religion is human", "the religion is the best solution of the people" – "religion is the best solution for man" Religion is a basic human need. Religion is medicine for man. The more modern the human being, the more people will need religion. Why can it be so, because human reason is bound up with the "Law of Limitation". The "Law of Limitations" requires reason to obtain "proper guidance", so that the limitations of reason do not make humans become corrupted by it. The teachings of Islam that are based on the mind of tawhid are the right guide to the limitations of human reason. The mind of tawhid will guide the human mind to keep moving on a straight (normal) path. If the human mind is on a straight path (normal), then the behavior that is born will be normal. Reason becomes corrupted when it goes alone as free philosophers do in the Western world. Reason will also become corrupted if guided by improper religious teachings, as experienced by Westerners under the guidance of irrational Christian teachings. Reason can only be positive, if guided by the right religious teachings, namely a religion that is able to make positive sense more positive and a religion that is able to keep reason positive in the midst of existing problems.

In Islam Marx would find such a beautiful and scientific concept. Marx would find an explanation that the earth is God's creation. The earth was not created just like that. The earth was created, because someone created this earth, God. ***The earth was deliberately created by God to be enjoyed by man together, but man must enjoy it in a lawful way.*** If this "Halal"

method must be understood, developed and applied in regulating human behavior, it will in itself give birth to a just and human social, cultural, political and economic system. Marx would find a firm statement of God in surat al Ma'un, that Allah condemns conflict and violent behavior that causes others to become physically, psychologically and economically weak. God condemned them as "Liars of religion; Religious, but not considered religious." (Nur Kholid Ridwan, 2010. Yusuf Qardhawi, 2002).

### 3. Concept of Tawhid

The concept of Tawhid is a concept of thought that only the Islamic mind has. **LaaIlaahallallaah is the core of the concept of tawhid. The concept of tawhid contains three meanings** that synergize with each other. The three meanings are arububiyah meanings that God is God who created the universe with all its contents, including man himself. God as creator is called khalik, while the universe with all its contents as a result of God's creation is called a being. The second meaning is uluhiyah, which states that all of God's creatures must submit to the laws that God has set for each of the creatures that God has created. The third is the meaning of asmawa nature, which states, that God has perfect names and qualities that reflect the omnipotence of God himself as a God who is right to be worshipped by all his created beings. (Muhammad bin Jamil Zainu, 1998: 17-20).

Man is God's most perfect creature. Perfection is what makes man trusted by Allah as caliph (manager) on the face of the earth. Man's task as caliph is to build a positive civilization on the face of the earth by making Islamic sharia as a guide to his caliphate. If man as caliph is able to understand, develop and practice the Islamic sharia well, then humans have a great opportunity to succeed in realizing a positive civilization on earth. Historical reality shows that leaders who have good and true science of tawhid, then the leader will be able to build the people he leads into a better people. That is what has been proven by the Prophet Shalallahu'alaihi Wasallam, Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khattab, Umar bin Abdul Aziz, and including Tjokroaminoto who is the focus of the study in this article. The concept of tawhid is what is able to make Umar bin Abdul Aziz successfully build an ideal country in a short time, which is 2 1/2 years (30 months). The mind of tawhid is a scientific mind

that is easily understood by a healthy human being. This is what makes scientists who tend to think scientifically easily accept the concept of tawhid as a truth. (Darmawijaya, June 2016: 32-36; Ali Muhammad Ash Shallabi, 2010: 137-142).

#### 4. Concept of Nationalism

Nationalism is a concept born of Western civilization. The concept of nationalism is a jab at the concept of secularism in the social, cultural, political, and economic fields. The concept of nationalism was born as a form of self-liberation from an ethnicity and ethnicity that wants to be free from colonization from other ethnicities and ethnic groups. Through nationalism they want to achieve happiness, prosperity and mutual progress. Nationalism born from Western civilization is Selfish Nationalism that justifies colonial behavior over other nations and countries, as the Dutch did to the Indonesian nation that lasted for hundreds of years. Colonial behavior of one nation and another country makes other nations and countries rise to fight to defend themselves from the pressures of colonialism itself. Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-1892) and Otto Bouwer (1882-1939) were two Western scientists who studied nationalism, agreeing that the birth of the nationalism movement was driven by a sense of justice and a sense of humanity. (Leo the Great S, 2013: 97)

In the typical Islamic civilization, the talk of nationalism was discussed by the Quran about 1,400 years ago, long before Western scientists talked about nationalism. However, there is no Islamic scientist who explores it systematically so that the thoughts of Western scientists are much more advanced when compared to the nationalism that comes from Islamic teachings.

The Quran explains:

O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes that you may know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most Godwary of you. The creation of Allah is Knowing and Knowing." (Q.S. Al Hujurat: 13).

The above verse asserts that in the concept of Islam, the existence of various ethnicities and ethnicities is something natural as a result of the long journey of mankind as posterity of Adam and Eve, the first human beings on earth. The

concept of Islam explains again, that the existence of ethnic and ethnic groups that are so diverse is not a cause to develop colonial thoughts over fellow human beings. The Islamic concept asserts that the best man is the best human being of his mind. The man who has the best thought of tawhid is able to build nationalism by putting forward a "Sense of Justice and Humanity", two feelings that must be considered for the establishment of a strong and healthy nationalism. Humans who have a good mind of tawhid, let alone humans, ants will be safer living with him. Why could it be so, because as a mind-minded man, he realized that the ant is one of God's creatures worthy to live safely on this earth, insofar as it does not interfere with human life.

The Prophet said:

"Do not defecate in animal pits, in roads where passersby, in shelters, in water sources, in bathing places, under trees that are bearing fruit, or in water flowing towards people who are bathing or washing." (H.R. Muslim and Tirmidhi).

In another hadith, the Prophet said, "Let two deeds be avoided!". They said, "And these two acts, O Messenger of God?" He replied, ""People who defecate in the street where people cross or where they shelter (like under a tree)." (H.R. Muslim).

The message of the Prophet above is a clear proof of how positive the mind of tawhid is for the life of the human being. Human beings who have a good mind of tawhid will be a blessing to themselves and the surrounding environment, both socially, and ecologically.

#### DISCUSSION

##### Consistency and Conceptual Excellence of Islam in Answering Dutch Colonial Strategy in Indonesia.

Long before the 20th century, the consistency of Islam as a source of solution for indigenous peoples in responding to Dutch conflict and violence was recognized by Indonesian Islamic scholars. Simuh, in his book "*Islam and the Struggle of Javanese Culture*" said that Islam plays an important role in building movement and resistance to the conflict and violence behavior applied by the Dutch in Indonesia.

Deliar Noer, in his book *"Modern Islamic Movement in Indonesia"*, asserted that Islam has become the basis of Indonesian nationalism in the fight against the invaders. (Darmawijaya, 2006). Simuh and Deliar Noer's statement was also confirmed by Bernard van Vlekke, a Dutch **10**entist. Vlekke acknowledged that Islam did play an important role in building a movement of unity and resistance of the indigenous people in responding to the conflict and violence behavior applied by the Dutch in Indonesia, especially after the fall of the Sultanate of Banten and the Mataram Kesultananan to the Dutch. (Bernard H.M. Vlekke, 2008: 203).

The consistency of Islam as a source of inspiration for the natives has left the Netherlands confused and traumatized in an effort to preserve its colonial agenda and capitalism in Indonesia. The confusion and sense of Dutch trauma was solved by Snouck Hurgronje, a Dutch scientist who studied Islam at Leiden University. Snouck Hurgronje was a scientist who was heavily influenced by Leiden Modernists who considered that religion was just an ethical awareness that existed in every human being and saw that the Western world had superiority to the Eastern world. (Lathiful Khuluq, 2002: 12).

According to Snouck Hurgronje, Islam in Indonesia is difficult to paralyze with methods of conflict and violence. Islam in Indonesia must be paralyzed in a new way. The secularization of Islam is the best way to separate Islam from the natives. Establishing secular educational institutions is the best way to instill a secular mind for indigenous children. If the children of the natives already think secular, then Islam itself is separated from the indigenous people. If this agenda goes well, it will make it easier for the Netherlands to preserve its colonial and capitalist minds in Indonesia. The secularization politics of Snouck run by the Dutch did reap success. After the children of the natives were educated and fostered secularly by the Dutch, a new generation of Indonesians were born who thought secularly and then thought negatively of Islam. For example, the mind of Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo, an elder of Budi Utomo's organization is interesting to observe. Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo as a STOVIA alumni said:

*"Java, a major part of Dutch colonial rule in the Dutch East Indies, according to Wahidin*

*Sudirohusodo has suffered so many setbacks in the 16th century. Previously, the Javanese people have achieved remarkable progress, such as having been able to produce various masterpiece buildings that show the height of culture and technology in Hindu-Buddhist times. The might of the Javanese nation shown by the Majapahit kingdom, is also so respected that its territory stretches wide, covering the entire Archipelago. Tumasik (Singapore) and also the Malay Peninsula. After the Hindu-Buddhist era passed and the entry of Islam, the Javanese then "fell asleep" and continued to fall asleep in his "sleep" until the Dutch came and controlled the Javanese nation.* (Gamal Kamandoko, 2008: 33).

Negative thinking on Islam is a common feature of the Indonesian generation that was successfully educated by the Dutch through the secular educational institutions it founded. Snouck Hurgronje's strategy was successful in keeping indigenous minds away from Islam. This is what makes Snouck Hurgronje better known as the "architect of the embrace of Islam" in Indonesian history. (LathifulKhuluq, 2002: 12).

Snouck Hurgronje's secularization politics were not entirely successful. Islam as a concept of thought is also able to provide superior solutions to the indigenous people. This is a reflection of Islam conceptually being a true, perfect and complete religion. The conceptual advantage of Islam lies in the concept of tawhid which is the parent of the concept of Islamic teachings as a whole. (Usman Muhammad, 2016: 192, 223, 265, and 281-282).

This is what Tjokroaminoto experienced. Tjokroaminoto, which was built and secularized through the Dutch School, instead re-used Islam in attacking the concept of secularization designed by the Netherlands. Similarly experienced by H. Agus Salim, Kartosuwiryo and Mut. Natsir. They were the children of the natives who were educated secularly, but after they had a good study of Islam, they again used conceptual Islam in attacking the secular conceptual designed by the Dutch. They see secularism as a flawed concept. (Ahmad Khatib Al Minangkabawi, 2016. Deliar Noer, 1996: 123. Syafrizal Rambe, 2008: 79-80).

**Tjokroaminoto, "King without Crown"**

Who exactly is Tjokroaminoto, a human figure who earns social and cultural titles naturally, as fruit of his phenomenal charisma? Tjokroaminoto was born in Bakur, Madiun, August 16, 1882 to a priyayi family. His father was Raden Tjokroamiseno, who served as Wedana. In Tjokroaminoto still flows the blood of tawhid inherited by his great-grandfather named Kyai Bagoes Kesan Besari, a cleric who leads a boarding school in Tegal Sari, Ponorogo. SyafrizalRambe, 2008: 78).

Since childhood Tjokroaminoto is known as a child of strong character who does not easily give up. That's what makes him often change schools that eventually still successfully complete The People's School (SR). After that, Tjokroaminoto continued his studies at the Opleiding School van VoorInlandsche Ambtenaren (OSVIA) in 1902. Most of the students who studied at OSVIA were indigenous children who came from priyayi families and merchant families. Education at OSVIA lasted for 5 years using Dutch as its language of instruction. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 62). The secular education pursued by Tjokroaminoto greatly helped him in managing and developing the organization and in conveying his enlightenment ideas.

As an educated intellectual, Tjokroaminoto has a great opportunity to pursue a career as a Dutch civil servant. His career as a clerk in Kapatihan Ngawi had the opportunity to make Tjokroaminoto achieve a good position in the field of bureaucracy if he wanted to cooperate with the Dutch and priyayi. That's what his in-laws, Raden Mas Mangunkusumo, wanted as Deputy Regent of Ponorogo. Tawhid awareness has encouraged Tjokroaminoto to oppose the worship and squatting behavior maintained in the Dutch bureaucratic institutions. Feeling unable to survive in colonial and feudal culture, Tjokroaminoto declared himself out of his job as a scribe in Kapatihan Ngawi in 1905. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 62)

Tjokroaminoto's actions have invited the wrath of his in-laws, Raden Mas Mangunkusumo, who served as Deputy Regent of Ponorogo. His father-in-law wants Tjokroaminoto to pursue a career as a Dutch bureaucratic employee so that Tjokroaminoto can enjoy a decent life with his wife. Tjokroaminoto was about to be killed by his in-laws, but Tjokroaminoto remained unmoved. Tjokroaminoto better leave his career,

his in-laws, his pregnant wife, then work as a port porter in Semarang than to participate in maintaining colonial behavior in the form of worship and squatting over fellow humans. Tjokroaminoto willing to live a simple life in Surabaya in an effort to move and struggle to enlighten the indigenous people. (Team Tempo, 2011: 1, 56-57).

Social sensitivity can also be seen in the following cases. In May 1919, Mount Kelud erupted. A total of 5,515 people from 108 hamlets who died were victims of the eruption. At that time, Sukarno was 18 years old. Sukarno was studying at Hogere Burger School (HBS) in Surabaya. As a student, Sukarno lived in a boarding room managed by Tjokroaminoto. When Mount Kelud erupted, Sukarno was in Blitar. Tjokroaminoto was very anxious about the error of Sukarno, a student who was boarding at his house. Tjokroaminoto immediately moved towards Blitar. Tjokroaminoto takes a full day to arrive in Blitar. Tjokroaminoto drives his own car. After arriving in Blitar, Tjokroaminoto had to find an address on the sidelines of the threat of Kelud mountain lava. Finally, Tjokroaminoto managed to also find Sukarno's house. Tjokroaminotos ampai in Soekarno's house in a dirty state and full of mud. Tjokroaminoto saw Sukarno in a safe state and Sukarno immediately hunted and embraced him. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 89)

#### **The role of Tjokroaminoto to build up modern nationalism in Indonesia through Islam sarekat (SI)**

Tjokroaminoto began to play a large role in the national movement when he joined Sarekat Islam in May 1912. Tjokroaminoto's first role in Sarekat Islam (SI) was to urge the Netherlands to give national legal recognition of the existence of Sarekat Islam (SI). The Dutch became very anxious about the birth of Sarekat Islam (SI), something far removed from the Dutch mind. The Netherlands refuses to recognize Sarekat Islam (SI) nationally. Sarekat Islam (SI) is only recognized as a local organization. Tjokroaminoto fought continuously, although Sarekat Islam (SI) was not recognized nationally, but Tjokroaminoto continued to move nationally. Tjokroaminoto blocked the Sarekat Islam (SI) region into three, namely the west Java region, covering Sumatra, central Java, covering Kalimantan and East Java, covering Eastern Indonesia. All branches

of Sarekat Islam (SI) are under the supervision of the Central Manager in Surakarta, headed by Haji Samanhudi. (DeliarNoer, 1996: 118-119).

The figure of Tjokroaminoto became a tremendous attraction for the indigenous people to join Sarekat Islam (SI). In just six months, Sarekat Islam (SI) has gained many members. In order to build Sarekat Islam (SI) as a forum for joint movement, Tjokroaminoto also moved to have discussions with Edward Douwes Dekker, Soewardi and Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, figures of Indische Partij (IP). In addition, Tjokroaminoto was also diligent in making comments in general meetings and conducting negotiations with the ruler. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 121).

The way of inviting the masses is also improved. The masses who came in the rallies were released to sit anywhere and wearing any clothes, which was important to be polite. Princes, priyayi, merchants, even thugs, can come, without the need for a culture of squatting and worship. Tjokroaminoto proved that Sarekat Islam (SI) is an organization that reflects the human tawhid, namely free, independent humans again enlightening, away from the behavior that has the potential to harass and insult fellow humans. The results are extraordinary, Tjokroaminoto was able to develop Sarekat Islam (SI) quickly. The first general meeting of Sarekat Islam (SI) in Surabaya, January 26, 1913, Tjokroaminoto succeeded in bringing 15 branches of Sarekat Islam (SI), 13 branches among 80 thousand members. At the Sarekat Islam Congress (SI) in Solo, March 25, 1913, Tjokroaminoto managed to bring in 48 branches, of which represented 200 thousand members. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 121).

In 1914, Tjokroaminoto relinquished the title raden from him. Tjokroaminoto declared himself not a priyayi. Tjokroaminoto is a servant of God who is struggling to enlighten his brother who is equal and equal who is being colonized from two cultures, namely colonial and capitalist culture carried out by the Dutch, and feudal culture carried out by the priyayi. Here lies Tjokroaminoto's example as a mover. Tjokroaminoto was able to set an example through real behavior, that he was able to free himself from the cultural feudalism that had corrupted the indigenous people. Tjokroaminoto not only opposed the culture of feudalism, but

Tjokroaminoto was able to free himself from the feudal culture from himself. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 121).

The figure of Tjokroaminoto like that managed to bring Sarekat Islam (SI) a phenomenal mass organization in his time. In 1916, Tjokroaminoto succeeded in developing Sarekat Islam (SI) into a large mass organization with a total of 2.5 million members. Fantastic numbers at the time. That's what prompted Raden Soekemi to entrust his son, Soekarno to Tjokroaminoto. Soekemi advised Sukarno to study Tjokroaminoto. Raden Soekemi told Sukarno, "Tjokro is the political leader of the Javanese. He is the unsanctified king." Sukarno also studied at Tjokroaminoto. Sukarno stayed in Tjokroaminoto's boarding room. The boarding room was at the back. The room is so simple, only equipped with a bunk and a reot table. There are no windows or lights. While studying at Hogere Burger School (HBS) made in the Netherlands, Sukarno studied at Tjokroaminoto. Tjokroaminoto gave a lesson to Sukarno. It was there that Sukarno learned about the world. Sukarno said, "I sat near his feet and he gave me the books." Sukarno has since been immersed in what he calls the "world of thought". (Tim Tempo, 2011: 90-91).

In the eyes of the natives in general, Tjokroaminoto became a symbol of hope from their lives that were so depressed. They were suppressed by the Dutch and suppressed by the priyayi. Tjokroaminoto became an intermediary for the indigenous people in conveying all forms of distress and anxiety that they experienced as small people who were humiliated again harassed. Tjokroaminoto is believed to be the "Queen of Justice", the truth-carrying King who will lead the natives on their way to heaven. The natives, especially those who lived in the village huddled as he spoke, held his clothes and kissed his feet. (Safrizal Rambe, 2008: 75).

As the "Queen of Adil", Tjokroaminoto is believed by the native Javanese to be the "Savior", as in Jayabaya's prophecy. In Jayabaya's prophecy is mentioned will come a "Queen Of Justice" entitled "Prabu Heru Tjokro", which happens to be similar to the name Tjokroaminoto. The sacralization of Tjokroaminoto grew stronger in the midst of the native Javanese, when they learned that Tjokroaminoto had dreamed with the Prophet, who taught him several verses of the Quran. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 116). In addition to

phenomenal, Jayabaya's predictions and dream events experienced by Tjokroaminoto appear to be an organization and figure that is so sacred in the midst of the indigenous people who are still far from enlightened humans. It was the minds of the unenlightened natives that led them to make the Sarekat Islam (SI) membership card a "talisman" and believed Tjokroaminoto to be the "Queen of Justice" who would lead them in opposing the Dutch oppressive behavior.

The figure of Tjokroaminoto as a person who has the purity of tawhid, is not comfortable with the treatment of indigenous people like this. Actually, Tjokroaminoto could have enjoyed it all as a social pleasure. Nothing stopped him, because the ball was already in his hands. Awareness of tawhid is what makes Tjokroaminoto feel disturbed by the treatment of indigenous people like that. Such behavior is an irrational behavior born of ignorance and superstition. Tjokroaminoto feels that is precisely his noble task, which is to enlighten the natives from the ignorance and superstition that nested in the mind all this time. Tjokroaminoto does not want to achieve social pleasure above ignorance and superstition. Tawhid awareness has made Tjokroaminoto sincerely move and fight through Sarekat Islam (SI) to enlighten the indigenous people who live on ignorance and superstition in order to become a free, independent person again enlightening like himself. A free, independent person again enlightening can only be born from a strong person filled with the science of tawhid and supported by professional science.

At the First Sarekat Islam Congress (SI) in Bandung, on June 17-24, 1916, Tjokroaminoto enlightened members of Sarekat Islam (SI) so as not to dream of the coming "Queen of Justice". Tjokroaminoto confirms:

"Although our hearts are full of great hope and desire, we never dreamed of the coming of a Just Queen or other impossible circumstances." H. Agus Salim also asserted, that Tjokroaminoto refused to be positioned as *the messiah*. (SafrizalRambe, 2005: 82).

*After that Tjokroaminoto loudly said:*

*"It is not in place to regard this country as a place where people come with the intention of taking the results, and at this time it cannot be accounted for that its people, especially indigenous people, have no right to participate*

*in political matters, concerning their fate."* (Tim Tempo, 2011: 3)

As a lightener, Tjokroaminoto tried to make the house as the "House of Dialogue" of young men who wanted to enlighten him. Tjokroaminoto tried to explain his mind well in order to be accepted by the youth who were in his home. Tjokroaminoto tried to explain, that Islam is the only ideology that can make humans become independent, independent again enlightening, as has been exemplified by Tjokroaminoto. Tjokroaminoto didn't want to force others to come with his mind. Tan Malaka is a Communist activist. Although the sake of Tjokroaminoto still opened a wide door for Tan Malaka to enter the Islamic Sarekat (SI). "The door of Sarekat Islam (SI) is always open to you", said Tjokroaminoto to Tan Malaka when separated. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 132). Same with Semaun. Although Semaun has been expelled from Sarekat Islam (SI), but Tjokroaminoto still tries to open dialogue so that Semaun remains in a leadership with him. In order to give an understanding to Semaun who had been infiltrated by communist thoughts, wrong thoughts, but considered right, Tjokroaminoto also tried to write a book entitled "Islam and Socialism" in 1924. The essence of the explanation in the book is that Islam is an ideology that has a very high social sensitivity. The Prophet Shalallahu'alaihi Wasallam practiced for 1300 years before Karl Marx spoke about social justice in Europe. Tjokroaminoto hopes that this book can help Semaun et al to be able to return to make Islam as a common home in fighting against the behavior of dutch colonial and capitalists, as well as the feudal behavior of the priyayi in Indonesia. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 137-138).

Such are the ways used by Tjokroaminoto in building Sarekat Islam (SI) as an organization of Modern Nationalism in Indonesia in the early 20th century. "Guru of the Founders of the Nation", "Ratu Adil", "Messiah of the Land of Java", "King without Crown", and Gatot koconya Sarekat Islam" are great titles that reflect, that the figure of Tjokroaminoto is indeed a figure who is so phenomenal in the history of the modern movement in Indonesia at the beginning of the 20th century. For his phenomenal role, Tjokroaminoto managed to make Sarekat Islam (SI) a very large organization. The greatness of Sarekat Islam SI

under the leadership of Tjokroaminoto has made Dutch officials become very anxious and blame each other. Many Dutch officials were cynical of the Governor-General of Indeburg, because Indeburg had given official permission for the establishment of Sarekat Islam (SI). Dutch officials who were cynical on Sarekat Islam (SI) defected the term SI to "The Fault of Indeburg" (SI). (Safrizal Rambe, 2008: 77).

### **Tjokroaminoto's challenge in building modern nationalism in Indonesia through Sarekat Islam (SI)**

The figure of Tjokroaminoto as a leader of Sarekat Islam (SI) must face the complexity of the problems that are happening in the 20th century. Among them are the strong dominance of the Netherlands who want to preserve the colonial mind and capitalism in Indonesia, the strength of the dominance of priyayi who want to preserve the thought of feudalism, the condition of the mentality of the indigenous people who are still weak psychologically, intellectually and economically, and the existence of communist thoughts that enter in Indonesia.

The facts show that among the challenges that exist, the most severe faced by Tjokroaminoto is the challenge that comes from Communist teachings. The strong dominance of the Netherlands and the priyayi, as well as the weakness of the people, actually made the figure of Tjokroaminoto managed to become a phenomenal figure at the beginning of the 20th century. However, Tjokroaminoto slowly weakened when confronted with the Communist mind brought by Sneevliet.

The presence of Sneevliet in Indonesia in 1913 AD has changed the beautiful dream of Tjokroaminoto who wants to present a more just and human social, cultural and economic order to the people at that time. Sneevliet was deliberately looking for indigenous people who could be used as cadres to develop the communist mind in Indonesia. Sarekat Islam (SI) with such a large mass is an easy target for Sneevliet. Before glancing at Sarekat Islam (SI), Sneevliet always failed in gaining support for the indigenous people. Now Sneevliet is trying to infiltrate the Islamic Sarekat (SI). Semaun was the son of the natives who became the first arrow of Sneevliet in infiltrating the Islamic Sarekat (SI). Semaun became acquainted with

Sneevliet, when Semaun had studied for a year at Tjokroaminoto. (Safrizal Rambe, 2008: 111). Semaun is the son of a laborer who works in a railway company. Semaun joined Sarekat Islam (SI) in 1914 in Surabaya. Semaun studied Tjokroaminoto about political issues and became an orator. At that time, Semaun was only 14 years old. Semaun is interested in Tjokroaminoto, because Tjokroaminoto has high social sensitivity. (Tim Tempo, 2008: 98)

A year later, precisely 1915, Semaun studied at Sneevliet in Surabaya. Semaun began to be influenced by the Communist thought brought about by Sneevliet. After Semaun was influenced by the Communist thought brought by Sneevliet, Semaun began to oppose Tjokroaminoto. (Safrizal Rambe, 2008: 111). Semaun was increasingly attracted to the communist thought brought by Sneevliet. That's what prompted Semaun to move to Semarang in 1916. In Semarang, Semaun together with Sneevliet presented ISDV (Indische Sociale-Democratische Vereniging). Semaun increasingly admired the communist mind, but Semaun was less aware that in the communist mind there was a mind that was very dangerous to Islam, namely anti-God and religious thoughts. (Tim Tempo, 2008: 98-99). This is what makes Semaun become misunderstood by Tjokroaminoto who made Islam as the basis of his movement. Semaun didn't realize his mistake. Semaun was already increasingly dissolved with the communist thoughts transferred by Sneevliet. Semaun was more convinced of the communist Sneevliet than Tjokroaminoto the Islamic. Semaun also developed into an enemy of Tjokroaminoto in the true sense. But the enemy is in Tjokroaminoto's own circle which is difficult to explain easily, as easily as Tjokroaminoto in explaining the mistakes of the colonial, capitalist and priyayi minds. That difficulty lies in the revolutionary and unyielding concept of the communist mind to the "status quo". The revolutionary communist concept became a strong social and political attraction for Semaun. The beautiful dream of the presence of a communist society in Indonesia has made Semaun a revolutionary with Sneevliet. Tjokroaminoto must think hard how to straighten the mind of Semaun who has been mistaken in looking at Islam. Tjokroaminoto tried as wisely and wisely as possible in sitting the communist mind that had strengthened in

Semaun. On the other hand, Semaun was getting stronger with his Communist mind. Semaun attacked Tjokroaminoto just as fiercely when Semaun attacked the colonial government and foreign capitalists. (Tim Tempo, 2011: 200).

In March 1917, the communists under Lenin succeeded in revolution in Russia. The effects of the Russian Revolution made the Indonesian communists under Sneevliet more confident in their concept. Semaun's attack on Tjokroaminoto intensified. H. Agus Salim, a scholar and intellectual firmly stated, that the communist mind is a real threat to the Islamic Community (SI). The statement has been repeatedly stated by H. Agus Salim in addressing Semaun's behavior as the head of Sarekat Islam (SI) Semarang branch. (Safrizal Rambe, 2008: 141).

In August 1921, Tjokroaminoto was captured by the Dutch. While Tjokroaminoto was in prison, H. Agus Salim held a special session that took place on October 6-10, 1921 in Surabaya. The special session successfully took the decision, that Semaun was expelled from Sarekat Islam (SI). Semaun did not accept the decision and then established the People's Arekat (SR). (Safrizal Rambe, 2008: 144). After Tjokroaminoto got out of prison, Tjokroaminoto continued to try to understand the communist mind that was developing inside Semaun. Tjokroaminoto is very restless with the divisions that will occur, because it will be fatal for the movement against the invaders. Tjokroaminoto so emphasized a unity. Tjokroaminoto continues to try to correct Semaun's fallacy in looking at Islam. Tjokroaminoto struggled to write a book entitled "Islam and Socialist". Through the book, Tjokroaminoto wants to explain wisely and wisely to Semaun, that the teachings of Islam that are rooted in the teachings of tawhid are the true source of social justice for humans. Let's go back to life under the banner of Islam. Let us build a just and human social order by relying on the teachings of tawhid. If the teachings of tawhid can be developed properly, then by itself humans can give birth to a positive civilization on this earth, namely a civilization that is happy, prospering and advancing humans individually and socially, and more ecologically safer. Tjokroaminoto was increasingly helpless and Sarekat Islam (SI) weakened steadily until he

died in 1934. Deliar Noer, 1996: 153-170. Darmawijaya, 2014: 301-302).

## CONCLUSION

The 20th century is a miniature of the complexity of the problems of Modern Indonesian Nationalism that exist today. The complexity stems from the entry of thoughts developed by Western scientists into Indonesia, such as secularism, colonialism, capitalism, and communism. Those thoughts meet the thoughts that have long lived in Indonesian society. One of them is the Islamic mind. The Islamic mind is the mind of the majority of the Indonesian people. The teaching of tawhid which becomes the mother of mind of Islam is a simple teaching that is easily understood with good reason. The teaching of tawhid is the teaching that no God has the right to **g**rship, except God, the Lord who created the **heavens and the earth with all its contents**, including man himself. **In the teachings of tawhid**, man was deliberately created by Allah to be the caliph (leader) on the face of the earth. As a guide to leadership, Allah lowered the Islamic shari'ah. Man as caliph must understand, develop and practice this Islamic sharia in order to give birth to a just and human social and cultural order.

Tjokroaminoto is one of the indigenous Indonesians who was educated with Western science at the beginning of the 20th century. Tjokroaminoto was unsuccessfully influenced by Western science into a secular one. Tjokroaminoto managed to again see the superiority of the Islamic concept that is rooted in the teachings of tawhid. Tjokroaminoto's understanding of tawhid teachings has made him a great leader who is consistently positive in upholding a just and human social order through Sarekat Islam (SI). In his hands, Sarekat Islam (SI) managed to become the only container of the most influential and respected people's movement by the Dutch and priyayi. However, after Sneevliet brought the communist mind, "the wrong mind in matters of God and religion, yet considered right by his supporters", Tjokroaminoto was powerless to withstand the slow destruction of the Islamic Sarekat (SI).

The great destruction of Sarekat Islam (SI) was not caused by the Dutch colonials and the priyayi they wanted to fight, but the Islamic Sarekat (SI) was destroyed by Semaun,

Tjokroaminoto's student and comrade-in-arms who had been influenced by Sneevliet, a communist agent from the Netherlands. Since Semaun was successfully influenced by the communist mind, Tjokroaminoto's main task was no longer to enlighten the people in opposing the colonials, capitalists and priyayi, but Tjokroaminoto's mind and energy were depleted in an attempt to straighten the mind of Semaun who had been wrong in looking at Islam. Semaun was already dissolved with the mind of Kalr Marx, without any attempt to criticize him. Whereas conceptually, let alone Semaun, even Kalr Marx will accept Islam as an ideal concept of life.

The consequences of Semaun's mistake are fatal. Sarekat Islam (SI) was indeed broken into pieces, which could not be dammed by Tjokroaminoto, but Semaun himself still could not succeed in achieving what he wanted. The people still live suffering, the colonials, capitalists and priyayi still enjoy a special life. Communists still cannot live on the earth of Indonesia, because the Indonesian communists have been mistaken in looking at Islam. If the Indonesian communists want to correct the mistake, then the shadow of the future of the happier, more prosperous and more advanced Indonesian people is in sight.

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