

## ISLAM AND SOCIALISM IN INDONESIA: THE INFLUENCE OF HOS TJOKROAMINOTO'S THOUGHTS ON AGUS SALIM



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### Article History:

Submission: October 08, 2023  
Revised: November 30, 2023  
Accepted: December 20, 2023  
Published: December 30, 2023

**Keyword:** Islamic  
socialism, HOS  
Tjokroaminoto, Agus  
Salim

**Kata Kunci:** *Sosialisme,  
Islam, HOS Tjokroaminoto,  
Agus Salim*

### Abstract

This paper examines the intersection of Islam and socialism in Indonesia, focusing on the intellectual lineage from HOS Tjokroaminoto to Agus Salim. Both figures played pivotal roles in shaping Indonesia's political landscape during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Tjokroaminoto, a prominent Islamic scholar and nationalist leader, was instrumental in synthesizing Islamic principles with socialist ideals. His efforts sought to address socio-economic disparities and advocate for the rights of the common people. Agus Salim, a prominent diplomat and intellectual contemporary of Tjokroaminoto, was deeply influenced by the latter's thoughts on the harmonious integration of Islam and socialism. The type of research used is literature research, with data sources from the study of books related to Islamic socialism by Tjokroaminoto and Agus Salim. The research results show that there are three types of Tjokro's thoughts towards Agus Salim that are used as the outline of the Sarekat Islam movement: the first is the freedom of the people, the second is equality, and the third is love for the homeland and anti-capitalism. Leadership is an interpretation of its people, according to the leadership philosophy taught by Agus Salim to his political disciple Kasman Singodimedjo. Therefore, leaders must prioritize the people's interests above all else, or "leadership is suffering".

### Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji persinggungan Islam dan sosialisme di Indonesia, dengan fokus pada silsilah intelektual HOS Tjokroaminoto hingga Agus Salim. Kedua tokoh tersebut memainkan peran penting dalam membentuk lanskap politik Indonesia pada awal abad ke-20. Tjokroaminoto, seorang ulama Islam terkemuka dan pemimpin nasionalis, berperan penting dalam mensintesis prinsip-prinsip Islam dengan cita-cita sosialis. Upayanya berupaya mengatasi kesenjangan sosial-ekonomi dan mengadvokasi hak-hak masyarakat umum. Agus Salim, seorang diplomat terkemuka dan intelektual sezaman dengan Tjokroaminoto, sangat dipengaruhi oleh pemikiran Tjokroaminoto tentang integrasi harmonis antara Islam dan sosialisme. Jenis penelitian yang digunakan adalah penelitian kepustakaan, dengan sumber data dari kajian buku-buku terkait sosialisme Islam karya Tjokroaminoto dan Agus Salim. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tiga macam pemikiran Tjokro terhadap Agus Salim yang dijadikan garis besar gerakan Sarekat Islam, yaitu pertama kemerdekaan umat, kedua kesetaraan, dan ketiga cinta tanah air dan anti-kapitalisme. Kepemimpinan merupakan interpretasi rakyatnya, sesuai dengan filosofi kepemimpinan yang diajarkan Agus Salim kepada murid politiknya Kasman Singodimedjo. Oleh karena itu, pemimpin harus mengutamakan kepentingan rakyat di atas segalanya, atau "kepemimpinan adalah penderitaan".



## INTRODUCTION

History has recorded many vital events in the construction of civilization. In the 19th century, there was a huge transition in life in the Western world, one of which was a change in thinking. In the Pre–Renaissance West, there was a kind of church hegemony in the aspect of truth, which resulted in the death of the growth of thought. This reaped much resistance from ideological groups who managed to undermine the absolutism of the church's power at that time, so the tragedy was named the Century of Enlightenment (Saifullah, 2014). After that, the Western world experienced rapid intellectual growth that changed the world's lifestyle, which was also felt in Indonesia (Fikri, 2018; Wahyudin et al., 2019).

The Age of Enlightenment gave birth to a wide range of ideas in various groups, so it can be called a group ideology. Various ideologies were born then, resulting in friction between groups with different ideologies (Rosnawati et al., 2021; Taufik & Taufik, 2023). In Indonesia, before independence, there was also a diverse understanding of the nation's intellectual figures towards Western ideology, which triggered the formation of acting like the West because the Dutch colonized it. Ideology affects everyone's life; eventually, the concept of thinking and excessive fanaticism towards the ideology causes conflict. One of the factors that gave birth to ideology is the rapid development of the times; one of the ideologies in question is Socialism (Humaidi, 2016; Pribadi, 2023).

From its definition, Socialism is a state and economic teaching that seeks to make property, industry, and companies belong to the state. Socialism is predicted to be able to answer existing problems, where the previous concept of state gave birth to various kinds of life problems in society. This also triggered the birth of this socialist ideology because of the various pressures experienced by the community, especially those who worked as laborers at that time (Botman, 1995).

Filippo Buonarroti, Francois Babeuf, and Louis Auguste Blanqui are among the figures of the socialist movement that initially emerged in France; creating a concept of an ideal society system without being infiltrated by evil in the economy and politics is the goal of their ideological movement. The state is considered to have power as a means of creating welfare and prosperity in all levels of society, so at first, the ideology of socialism arose as a reaction attitude from a small group of people against the capitalist system and the development of industrial society. Socialism ideology, if understood, can be interpreted as a movement that demands the government to make society the orientation of the society (Eko, 2003).

The theory of Socialism developed rapidly in the mid–19th century. This development continued until the emergence of Karl Marx, the central figure of socialist thought in Germany. He further developed the idea of socialism, "Marxism," entirely known as scientific socialism; in this idea, he responded and threw various kinds of criticism to Utopian socialist thinkers whose thoughts were more oriented towards moral considerations. Karl Marx regarded materialism as the history of class struggle. There are oppressed groups and influential groups. By establishing various industries and free trade, the ruling group owns all the components of production that distinguish the modern capitalist production model. In the next stage, deterrence leads to continuous and ongoing strife, which allows the oppressed group to become revolutionary.

According to socialism theory, social justice can only be achieved through a fair economy that eliminates private ownership. Once the state owns all the wealth its people own, it is distributed equally to all the people without any sacrifice. In a socialist

economic system, the needs of the community are prioritized over the needs of individuals, and they are even willing to put aside their interests for the needs of all the people (Mulawarman, 2015, p. 163).

Socialism has both advantages and disadvantages. At present, socialism can hegemonize the power of society at large by prioritizing the common good. On the other hand, this ideology seeks to build a system of bounded communities because the government manages all ownership, such as property and individual assets. HOS Tjokroaminoto was one of the Indonesian figures who responded to these socialist ideas. He explained that the ideology of socialism and Western thought have similarities, namely, both want to control one country's natural resources (Engginer, 2010, p. 32).

Tjokroaminoto taught him about politics and befriended many national figures, including H. Agus Salim. H. Agus Salim was an essential figure from West Sumatra who was a warrior and took part with Tjokro in the agenda to free Indonesia from colonialism through the Sarekat Islam organization, where at that time, he held a strong position through his supporters, consisting of many warrior figures such as Abikusno Tjokrosuyoso, Soekarno, Kartosuwiryo, Hamka, Abdurrahman, Muso, and Alimin.

In the Sarekat Islam organization, Agus Salim is considered the second person after Tjokroaminoto, meaning he is the second central figure after HOS Tjokroaminoto. He met Tjokroaminoto in the Sarekat Islam organization. He discussed the ideas of Islamic reform with HOS Tjokroaminoto, including Tjokro's conception of Islam and socialism (Mahfud, n.d.): The foundation of Agus Salim's ideas regarding Islam and Socialism initially began with his first discussion meeting with HOS Tjokro. At that time, Agus was still 18 years old, but he already had discussion capital, where previously he had read Quack's book entitled *De Socialistenm*, which amounted to six volumes. At that time, Tjokroaminoto had transformed Islamic values into a socialistic form more easily understood by others.

According to Tjokroaminoto, Islamic belief in the form of socialism was an effective instrument in fighting the various forms of colonialism, feudalism and capitalism that the Dutch had created. Therefore, prior to the Islamic Congress held in Garut in 1922, the ideology of socialism based on Islam was propagated through newspapers produced by Sarekat Islam. Tjokro also actively conducted courses on his ideology, to the point where he released a book entitled "*Islam and Socialism*" in 1924 (*Sosialisme Islam Agus Salim*, n.d.).

Agus Salim worked with Tjokroaminoto in the Islamic Union to foster the spirit of the community to unite in approving the Islam-based socialism they initiated. Therefore, Karl Marx's ideology of socialism is completely different from the movement initiated by the two of them because Marx's ideology radically tries to voice socialism, in which there are class differences. The effort to foster the spirit of implementing people-oriented economic justice is the starting point of Islamic socialism. Sarekat Islam was also committed to developing the quality of work of Muslims, as the organization comprised the majority of Muslim merchants.

Agus Salim's Islamic socialism ideology is considered to have influenced his life so that he could fight to liberate Indonesia and lead it with all limitations. Agus Salim did not become a hedonistic foreign minister. His simplicity was not portrayed as a minister, as he did not differ from the appearance of other officials. Instead, he chose to affiliate with the people and mingle with them, ensuring that the strength built was not lost just because of a change in attitude, especially when Indonesia was on the rise. (Basri, n.d.)

The legacy of Tjokroaminoto's Islamic socialism thought to Agus Salim is very important to explain in this research because there are great values carried by these two

significant national figures in the process of Indonesian independence. This concept of thought cannot be denied as one of the foundations of the independence movement itself, starting from the body of Sarekat Islam, which gave birth to many significant national figures such as Soekarno, Sema'un, Kartosuwiryo, Abdul Moises, and others. Likewise, Hatta, also known as the father of the Indonesian economy, clearly stated that the basis of the economic building he offered departed from the idea of Islamic socialism intersected by Agus Salim (Hudiyanto, 2004).

Agus Salim has instilled strong Islamic values throughout his life and instilled a strong sense of brotherhood and concern for fellow children of the nation. Until his death, he remained an outstanding national figure. Agus Salim adhered to the same type of Islamic Socialism as the previous HOS Tjokroaminoto (*Sosialisme Islam Agus Salim*, n.d.).

Many studies related to Agus Salim have studied him, be it the issue of aqidah, struggle movement, ideology, and education (Kahfi, 2014; Setianingsih & Nurrohm, 2023; Wati, 2023). However, this paper is different because it is related to the construction of Islamic socialism thought, which became one of the references in his journey as a national figure. It is essential to explore further how Agus Salim's thoughts are related to Tjokroaminoto because these two figures have a reasonably active role in promoting the idea of Islamic socialism and instilling it into the minds of many national figures so that it becomes one of the values in building the idea of Indonesian independence.

## THE CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM IN ISLAM

Socialism is based on human self-confidence; it also instils the belief that the misery and poverty experienced by human beings can be overcome and eliminated. The oppression and poverty caused by the radical passion of the oppressors of the capitalist ruling class through its power over the citizens in the context of economics and politics, with which people eventually seek new ways to fight social issues without causing damage.

The attitude of cooperation and brotherhood in humanitarian issues is the definition of socialism, according to George Lansbury, the leader of the Labor Party. Nur Sayyid Kristeva describes socialist ideology as a group of people in which the workers control the means of production, design the economic system democratically, and participate in the global scope (Kristiva, 2010, p. 42). Social and economic systems are socialism of joint ownership of the means of production and the organization of work. Many things can be associated with the word "socialism" or "socialist", including ideologies, groups, political systems, economies, etc.

The term initially appeared in English and referred to the supporters of Robert Owen in 1827. As for France, the term was used in 1832 to refer to supporters of Saint-Simon's doctrine, then later used by Pierre Leroux and J. Regnaud. Different groups often use the term "socialism" in different circumstances. However, most people agree that it originated from the revolutions of industrial and agricultural workers in the 19th and 20th centuries, who stood around the principle of solidarity and fought for an egalitarian economic system, which they thought could help the many rather than the powerful few (Tobroni, 2016).

The Qur'an states that all human beings are brothers and come from a single entity, which is the basis of the ideology of Socialism. If everyone is considered a single entity, everyone should strive to ensure everyone's safety. In the Qur'an, it is also emphasized

that everyone should create peace on earth. It is also mentioned that God made humans in pairs and made humans into many groups and tribes in order to get to know each other and establish good relationships.

Prophet Muhammad said, "God has removed pride from the world." The reverence and fear of God make Arabs more noble than others. This shows that every human being is equal in the eyes of God, in the sense that no one should be honoured or more than God Himself because all humans come from one origin (Fauhatun, 2020).

God's revelation and the words above of the Messenger serve as a foundation that shows that all the descendants of Prophet Adam are one entity. If any one of them feels pain, then all of them will feel the same. Such is the standard of socialism in its incarnation of Islamic principles. The principle is outwardly in line with the definition of socialism in terms of substance.

## **BIOGRAPHY OF TJKROAMINOTO AND H. AGUS SALIM**

### **HOS Tjokroaminoto**

Tjokroaminoto was born on August 16, 1882; he was born in Madiun on the day of the eruption of Mount Krakatau, which is located in the Strait region. Oemar Said was his childhood name; he came from the family of Raden Mas Tjokroamiseno. Tegal Sari, Ponorogo was the village where his family came from. His grandfather, Raden Mas Adipati Tjokronegoro, was once the Regent of Ponorogo.

He is a figure who is quite well known for his critical nature to oppose bad habits in society. One of his characteristics and oppositional attitudes was considering the natives, Dutch, and officials equally. He wanted to see everyone, especially the Dutch, living in the same class. Tjokroaminoto boldly broke the native custom of bowing the head and sitting cross-legged when facing colonial officials. When he met government officials, he showed a different demeanour than the natives were used to until he was called the Gatotkaca of Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI).

In 1912, an SDI meeting was held in Surabaya, which resulted in an important decision, changing the name of Sarekat Dagang Islam to Sarekat Islam and subsequently changing the direction of the movement, which initially focused on the economic field, then oriented in the socio-political field. At the same meeting, H. Samanhudi handed over SI's leadership to Tjokroaminoto, accompanied by the thunderous cheers of the meeting participants as a form of welcome to Tjokro as a young leader.

This organization would later develop into a national movement under his leadership. Tjokro could formulate the goals of the Indonesian movement to choose its way of life. Initially, the organization was referred to as a "national congress", which also described the organization as a national movement. The SI movement's spread across the archipelago showed that the organization was of interest to many and that its leaders were consciously trying to spread nationalism (Tjokroaminoto, n.d., pp. 8–11).

### **Agus Salim**

*The Grand Old Man* is the nickname given to Agus Salim. He was one of Indonesia's freedom fighters from colonial rule. He was a member of Sarekat Islam during the struggle of the Indonesian freedom movement. Born in 1884 in Koto Gadang, Agam, West Sumatra. H Agus Salim is known as a figure with his expertise in diplomacy in the context of the struggle to gain Indonesian sovereignty in the global eyes, both before and after independence. The Indonesian government has rewarded him with the title of National Hero in 1961.



Agus Salim was the son of Soetan Mohamad Salim and his partner Siti Zainab. His father was a Chief Prosecutor at the Riau High Court. As a lucky person, he was enrolled in the ELS (Europeesche Lagere School) elementary school which was specifically for European children. After that, further education was provided at HBS (Hoogere Burgerschool) in Batavia. He graduated with the best honors there. After graduating, he pursued a career as a translator and also became a notary assistant in a mine in Indragiri. He traveled to Jeddah in 1906 to work as a Dutch Consul.

While in Jeddah, Agus Salim learned from Syeh Ahmad Khatib, his uncle. He then worked as a journalist in 1915, as Editor II at the Daily Neratja, before finally rising to become Chief Editor. He then married Zaenatun Nahar and had eight children. After becoming the head of the daily Hindia Baroe in Jakarta, he continued to work as a journalist. Subsequently, he served as Editor of Harian Moestika in Yogyakarta and founded the Advies en Informatie Bureau Penerangan Oemoem (AIPO) office. Eventually, he entered politics as a leader of Sarekat Islam (*Agus Salim*, n.d.).

Agus Salim began his career in politics by joining SI. In 1915, he followed HOS Tjokroaminoto and Abdul Muis. After both left the Volksraad as representatives of Sarekat Islam due to dissatisfaction with the Dutch government. Agus Salim took over their position and worked in the institution for four years (1921–1924). However, he found the struggle "from within" unprofitable and eventually left the Volksraad and concentrated on Sarekat Islam.

## THE MEETING OF TJOKROAMINOTO AND AGUS SALIM

The beginning of the introduction between Sarekat Islam and Agus Salim did not happen by chance. It is said that when he was communicating with his friend, a member of the colonial police, his friend requested Agus Salim to find out the chairman of Sarekat Islam Tjokroaminoto. One of the accusations made against Tjokro was that he would "sell Sarekat Islam to the Germans" for 150,000 guilders. The issue did not bother Agus Salim, as he believed that the problem was just a rumour. However, he still had to find out what Sarekat Islam was and who the "King of Java without a Crown" was. *"My investigation led me to discover more about Sarekat Islam, especially the leadership of Tjokroaminoto. This prompted me to participate in the movement"*. According to Agus Salim's account, quoted by Deliar Noer (1973: 111), "After that, I stopped having any contact with the police."

During his search, his friendship with Tjokroaminoto lasted for seven weeks. This intellectual figure from Minangkabau deeply admired Tjokro, who could lead and mobilize thousands of people, thus becoming a structured force. After Agus Salim's return to Batavia, the police were quite surprised that information regarding his search needed to be conveyed while he was in Surabaya. Agus Salim even refused reimbursement of his travel expenses. Haji Agus Salim seemed to have a free spirit. All the search trips he made satisfy his curiosity about the organization. The story he tells in "One Hundred Years of Haji Agus Salim" (1996: 59) is as follows: *"If it had not been for the Dutch, it might have been a long time before I heard and saw an association like this SI."*

The introduction between Tjokro and Agus Salim was the starting point for Agus Salim to begin a political struggle centred on the struggle for Indonesian independence. Agus Salim led the Sarekat Islam Party with his colleague Tjokroaminoto to fight against the Dutch.

## THE INFLUENCE OF HOS TJOKROAMINOTO'S CONCEPTION OF ISLAM AND SOCIALISM ON THE THOUGHT OF H. AGUS SALIM

Tjokroaminoto stated that the ideal of socialism had developed at least thirteen centuries since its birth and that this ideology could not have originated in Europe. Tjokro did not mean to say that the propaganda of socialism existed then, unlike today. On the contrary, it existed amid Islam before and after the time of the Prophet. Under Islamic rule, land was owned by the state and the state was organized in a socialist manner so that the people received the means of production that could produce goods. The Prophet also socialistically ruled his country (Tjokroaminoto, n.d.).

According to H. Agus Salim, there are constructive thoughts about the relationship between Islam and the West, and he believes that it is time for both to talk to each other and collaborate to overcome the various problems that arise in an increasingly complex society. A more detailed comparison shows that, in reality, several points of convergence can be seen from the results of the thoughts that Agus Salim has presented as well as thoughts that are controversial with other Islamic thinkers, such as in terms of provinces that conflict with Hasan Al – Banna and Hamka. There are also contradictions between his thoughts and Sayyid and Tan Malaka. Regarding independence, he has a different perspective from Tjokroaminoto, although a bit.

Through rationalization and comparison, Haji Agus Salim's thoughts are found to be relevant to the Indonesian context in the reform era. His different thoughts can be read consistently and clearly in thinking and acting. It is very important to implement foreign policy to fulfil national interests. (Bustomi, 2010) The national ideals that he based on the teachings of Islam to develop a nation based on Islam also had a major influence in the process of developing and reviving Islam in Indonesia. In addition, he participated in the formulation of the foundation of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila, especially the first principle, which emphasizes that Islamic teachings must be applied in the country of Indonesia. According to Haji Agus Salim, devotion to Allah SWT, or God Almighty, must be preceded by Islamic nationalism, as well as any teachings and doctrines that arise in the minds of humans (*Sosialisme Islam*, n.d.).

Because he was educated in the Netherlands (West) and mentored by his own uncle, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib, in Mecca, so he has a smart mind and deep Islamic knowledge. However, there are not many historical records about the thoughts and lectures of Haji Agus Salim, except for the works of historians who tell the story of his figure and thoughts.

As a Dutch Consul, he returned to Indonesia after Jeddah and then worked for a colonial company in Batavia. He then got married in his hometown. Shortly after his marriage, he requested additional post – wedding leave, but the company rejected his request. In the end, he decided to leave the company. Two years later, he built and managed the People's School (SR) in Koto Gadang. After that, he decided to return to Batavia, but he did not get the job he wanted there because he did not want to work for a Dutch company again (Salam, 1965, p. hlm. 43).

Agus Salim has been through a variety of models of life, from simple to fulfilling. Agus Salim has enough money as the son of the chief prosecutor in Riau, but he remains independent. In the middle of his life, after he failed to earn a scholarship to study as a doctor in the Netherlands, he decided to pursue a career at a Dutch consulate in Jeddah, where he set out to expand his knowledge by studying the East and the West in the context of Pan – Islamism. Then, when he returned from Jeddah to Indonesia, he was determined to oppose colonialism in Indonesia.

In 1919, precisely in November, marked an important moment of Agus Salim's political campaign. He was officially appointed as the Central Commissioner of the SI (CSI) at the time. Only that day, Salim appeared after four years of joining, considered a subordinate. Since Agus Salim joined the SI, Tjokro saw that Salim had an extraordinary potential to continue the spirit of the Islamic Sarekat, which was fighting for the liberation of Indonesia from colonialism (Shiraishi, 1997, p. 134).

After he was elected as Chief General of the Islamic Society to replace Tjokro, now his position is getting closer to the "King of Java Without a Crown". Subsequently, as an intelligent man, Salim could channel the thought of Tjokroaminoto so that it could be absorbed and understood more easily by the natives and the cadres affiliated with the Muslim Society. Next, after about twenty years of serving as a butterfly of the SI, which in its development is now known as the Indonesian Islamic Sarekat Party. (PSII). He was appointed President of Congress in 1935. Agus Salim argues that a friend of war was not returned when Tjokroaminoto came home earlier. Agus Salim's influence on the psychic body begins to deteriorate after the departure of his fellow fighters (Lapsus, 2013)

## THE INFLUENCE OF TJOKROAMINOTO'S ISLAMIC SOCIALISM THOUGHT ON THE LIFE OF H. AGUS SALIM

Muhammad Hatta is a good example of studying the concept of Islamic socialism in Tjokroaminoto. In his book of memoirs, Hatta talked to the figure of the Sarekat Islamic Party of Haji Agus Salim about the aspects of socialism in Islam. Agus Salim stated that Tjokro had begun reminding the Muslim community, particularly about the connection of Islam with socialism, Muhammad Hatta, with the help of Agus Salim. "*Haji Agus Salim reinforces my belief in socialism, which has begun to burst in my soul.*"

After fighting for national independence for many years until finally emerging as one of the leaders of the post-independence nation, the lifestyle and actions of Haji Agus Salim seem to show the life of basic Islamic socialism. It is so simple that it can be said that there is no national fighter who feels happier than Agus Salim. If you want to compare it to Hatta, he still has a house in Menteng. Meanwhile, I need a house. Even Salim, during his lifetime, remained a contractor until he died. His little house in the little hallway was still rented until Agus Salim, his resident, died in November 1954. Despite this, he has held many important positions, such as being a Foreign Minister (Menlu) during the revolution, a verified international diplomat, a council member and others.

Then, sometime after Salim's death, in memory of your father, his sons agreed to buy a contract house while his father was alive. During his lifetime, Agus Salim was constantly moving and moving; he frequently moved from the hallway to other locations in various cities. Agus Salim and his wife, Zainatun Nahar, lived in a dirty, dusty corner of the city, in a narrow settlement quite far from the main line. The couple lived somewhere in Jakarta, like in Jatinegara, Karet, Tanah Abang, and the Electric and Tuapekong hallways. It is their memories, especially when they lived in an electric corridor with memories that were not powered because of the hard economy, so they could not pay their bills.

Mr Mohammad Roem was one of Salim's disciples who followed in his footsteps as a diplomat and a fighter. He recalled the condition of the teacher's house, including the spaces in the house. The Salim family likes fried rice and buttered cheese, especially when they need more money and have other, more nutritious foods. There is also



Kasman Singodimedjo, who is also a disciple of Salim in politics; he is quite fascinated by his teacher's life. He remembers the sad expression of his teacher, "*Leiden is lijden*", that leadership suffers.

To reinforce Agus Salim's reasons for opposing Islamic socialism. He pointed out the same three attitudes that characterized Agus Salim's organization (the Islamic Union):

1. Indigenous independence

The rejection of Dutch discrimination against the natives and various prejudices against the natives must be erased. Agus Salim emphasized this strongly in formal and non-formal forums. SI cadres and the indigenous people at that time fought strongly for independence, which posed a threat to the Dutch colonialists. Agus Salim's big ideas passed down from Tjokroaminoto, became very popular with the Dutch government and sparked rebellions everywhere.

2. Degree equation

At that time, the Dutch had to respect the indigenous identity. The aim was to restore the good mood, dispel the people's belief that independence was just something exciting, and foster a strong desire to achieve it.

3. Love of country and anti-capitalism

Tjokro and Agus Salim always taught SI cadres the value of self-determination. This aimed to show that the country had to be fought for from the confines of the colonizers. In addition, the decline of society at that time led to social exploitation and enslavement for the benefit of the colonizers, who took state assets from the hands of the people because the actions of the capitalist groups at that time were very excessive.

Tjokro was clearly for equality, against capitalism, and in favour of true independence. At that time, Agus Salim provided similar solutions to Tjokroaminoto, which he conveyed at SI meetings, including *Zelfbeusture* (independence) and unity and brotherhood, which must exist among the natives (Korver, 1985, p. 122).

Agus Salim's thoughts above, which were part of the Islamic socialism that Tjokro understood, stayed with him until the end of his life. Agus Salim was able to help the nation get out of colonialism and became one of the central figures of the organization that Moh. Hatta idolized. Both figures of freedom fighters (Tjokro and Agus Salim) showed simplicity as a manifestation of their submission to the teachings of Islam, which eventually became their principle in living life. They did not lose their spirit to build a nation based on Islamic values and maintained the principles of equality and solid brotherhood because of their simple lifestyle.

## CONCLUSION

Tjokro was a well-known figure who was radical in his efforts to challenge the bad habits of the public. One of his characteristics and opposing attitudes is considering indigenous and Dutch people, even officials, as equal. H. Agus Salim is a national figure with strong principles based on rational Islam. How HOS Tjokroaminoto influenced his thinking can be seen from the characteristics of the Islamic Union that he built during his second leadership period after Tjokroaminoto. These traits included people's independence, equality, love of country, and anti-capitalism.

Both Tjokro and Salim showed simplicity as a form of loyalty to the teachings of Islam and made it a principle in life. They did not lose their passion for building an Islamic and Nationalist Indonesia and adhered to equality and the principle of solid brotherhood with a simple form of life.

H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto's conception of Islam and socialism provided a foundation for H. Agus Salim to develop his views, which included Islamic values and the spirit of socialism in the context of political and social struggles in Indonesia. This thinking reflects efforts to achieve social justice and community welfare by embracing Islamic values and the spirit of socialism in a balanced manner.

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