

From Struggling to Maintaining Power: Cokroaminoto's Maneuver in Political Crisis of Sarekat Islam in 1912-1921

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Abstract

Cokroaminoto is the eternal leader of Sarekat Islam. He succeeded in making Sarekat Islam into a big organization of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. However, in his political career in Sarekat Islam, he experienced many internal conflicts with other Sarekat Islam's member which were his opponent. In the conflict, there were conflict which formed several groups within Sarekat Islam. In this study, the researcher uses a historical research method including data collection, source criticism, data interpretation, and historical writing. This research aims to reveal the conflict of interest between Cokroaminoto and some Sarekat Islam's figures. The results show Cokroaminoto's role in Sarekat Islam. Furthermore, the internal conflict between Cokroaminoto and Goenawan-Samanhoedi to get member's attention and influence is also explained. Cokroaminoto expelled communists within Sarekat Islam for their political existence in the Dutch East Indies.

Keywords: Cokroaminoto, politics, Sarekat Islam

Abstrak

Cokroaminoto adalah pemimpin abadi Sarekat Islam. Ia berhasil membuat Sarekat Islam menjadi sebuah organisasi yang begitu besar yang terdiri dari umat Islam di Hindia Belanda. Namun, dalam karir politiknya dalam tubuh Sarekat Islam, Cokroaminoto banyak mengalami konflik internal dengan sesama anggota Sarekat Islam yang tidak sejalan dengan kebijakan-kebijakan Cokroaminoto. Dalam konflik tersebut, terjadi perpecahan yang pada akhirnya membentuk beberapa kubu dalam Sarekat Islam. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis menggunakan pendekatan metode penelitian sejarah yang meliputi pengumpulan data, kritik sumber, penafsiran, dan penulisan sejarah. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk mengungkap tentang konflik kepentingan antara Cokroaminoto dan beberapa tokoh dalam tubuh Sarekat Islam. Hasil penelitian ini berisi tentang peran Cokroaminoto dalam Sarekat Islam. Kemudian menjelaskan tentang konflik internal antara Cokroaminoto dengan kubu Goenawan-Samanhoedi untuk berebut pengaruh dalam Sarekat Islam. Cokroaminoto juga mendepak kaum Komunis dalam tubuh Sarekat Islam demi eksistensinya dalam dunia politik di Hindia Belanda.

Kata Kunci: Cokroaminoto, Politik, Sarekat Islam.

INTRODUCTION

Cokroaminoto started his political career in Sarekat Islam. He was introduced when Sarekat Islam's branch in Surabaya opened. For his intelligence and interest in Sarekat Islam, he was appointed as chairman of Sarekat Islam in Surabaya. During his leadership, he became a great politician. He was able to lead Sarekat Islam into a big organization. He moved people by forming awareness of national issues. By upholding the spirit of Islamic renewal, he was able to attract many Muslims to be his followers.¹

When Cokroaminoto joined Sarekat Islam, he changed the name of Sarekat Islam from Sarekat Dagang Islam for gaining a broader goal.² Under his leadership, he managed to gain a lot of supports from Muslim community in Java. He continues to make Srekat Islam as a national organization. In the end, he changed Sarekat Islam movement from economic to political sector.³

According to Deliar Noer, politics include all attitudes or activities related to someone's power for influencing, changing, or maintaining a kind of social order in society. As the political relationship include forms of power, control, and power, the influence is not limited to a country, but also other alliances such as social associations, religious organization, and others. In this study, the discussion of internal politics in Sarekat Islam was begun with the appointment of Cokroaminoto on Central Sarekat Islam congress in Yogyakarta in 1914. He was appointed to replace Samanhoedi who was considered incapable to lead Sarekat Islam which grew rapidly at that time. He was considered capable to become the Chairman of Central Sarekat Islam. Samanhoedi was dissatisfied as he was only given "Honorary Chair" without any authority. Cokroaminoto's appointment as the chairman of Central Sarekat Islam made Samanhoedi feel aggrieved. Samanhoedi and Raden Goenawan, then, formed a group called SI Batavia and became Cokroaminoto's opposition.⁴

Cokroaminoto's position as the chairman of CSI was disputed by communist infiltration in Sarekat Islam (SI). It became a threat as many SI figures were influenced by communist ideology by Henk Sneevliet. Then, SI was split into two sides, Sarekat Islam

¹ HOS Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Sosialisme*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Penggali dan Penghimpun Sejarah Indonesia, 1963) p. VI

² A. P. E. Korver, *Sarekat Islam Gerakan Ratu Adi?* (Jakarta: PT Grafitipers, 1985), p. 12

³ Takashi Shiraishi, *Zaman Bergerak Radikalisme Rakyat Di Jawa 1912-1926* (Jakarta: PT Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 2005), p. 94

⁴ Wido Aditya, *Pengaruh Polemik Djawi Hisworo Terhadap Kondisi Sarekat Islam*, (Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa, UNS). pp. 26-27

Merah (SI Merah) led by Semaoen in Semarang and Sarekat Islam Putih (SI Putih) led by Agus Salim in Yogyakarta. At first, Cokroaminoto arbitrated between the two sides and ended by siding with SI Putih in Yogyakarta.⁵ This paper aims to describe Cokroaminoto's work in internal political problems of Sarekat Islam. There, there was opposition sides with Cokroaminoto which interfered his supremacy as the chairman of SI. The discussion starts with his role when he joined SI and ended in 1921 when there was a regulation to expel the communist in SI.

METHODOLOGY

This article is written using four stages of historical research methods, including heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography.⁶

1. Heuristics

Heuristics is an activity of exploring, searching and collecting sources of issued issue. There are two types of sources, namely primary sources, and secondary sources.⁷ Searching sources was carried out by looking for related sources such as Cokroaminoto's biography and Sarekat Islam. Furthermore, other documents which gave an extra fact about Sarekat Islam were also needed.

The sources used here were documents stored in Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, Perpustakaan daerah Salatiga, and library of Fakultas Ushuluddin, Adab, dan Humaniora Institut Agama Islam Negeri Salatiga. The sources included SI archives, colonial archives, and related newspaper. Other sources such as articles, books, graduate theses, undergraduate theses, and journal were also used for expanding understanding towards the theories and concepts.

2. Source Criticism

The second stage was source criticism including internal and external criticism. While external criticism aims to achieve source authenticity, internal criticism intends to look for source credibility by investigating objects and documents to prove the historical facts authenticity. Here, collaboration was carried out for supporting sources. Furthermore, evidence comparison was also done.

⁵ Yasmis, *Sarekat Islam dalam Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1912-1927)*, (Jurnal Sejarah Lontar: Vol 6 No 1 Januari – Juni 2009). p. 28

⁶ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*, Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya, pp. 91-92

⁷ Sulasman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah* (Bandung: CV Pustaka Setia, 2014), pp. 93–96.

3. Interpretation

The third stage was interpretation. After the researcher got facts of collected sources, the data were combined and resulted a comprehensive interpretation or description. A qualitative analysis in analytical descriptive thinking was used in this study. Collected documents and literature study were analyzed and interpreted based on the cause and effects chronologically. Then, the data were linked to each other and result a historical accountable story.

4. Historiography

The last stage was historiography (writing). In writing a history, it is important to pay attention to its diachronic and synchronic nature. Therefore, besides it extends in time, history also expands in space. Historiography used in this article is narrative-descriptive.

DISCUSSION

Cokroaminoto's Political Role in Sarekat Islam

Hadji Oemar Said Cokroaminoto was an *ulema*, trader, politician, and national hero. He fought for Bumiputra people to get an equal right towards another foreigner. He was highly looked up to by his followers who are Nasionalis Islam side.⁸ His thoughts are strongly influenced by his family background and education. As an aristocratic *kyai* descent, he attended at Opleiding School Voor Indlansche Ambtenaren (OSVIA) in Magelang. That fact made him a very religious figure. As he learned some middle eastern figures' thoughts such as Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Sayyid Qutb, dan Muhammad Iqbal, he became a religious and revolutionary thinker. Besides, Islamic nuances within the organization he leads contributed to his thinking. Sarekat Islam and his friendship to other figures such as Haji Agus Salim, Natsir, and etc gave important points in his thoughts. Moreover, he also welcomed of thoughts from the West figures such as Karl Marx, Hegel, Angels, and etc.⁹

⁸ Raden Mas Oemar Said Cokroaminoto was born in Bakur, a quiet village on August 16, 1882, the year the Krakatoa volcano erupted in Banten. For Javanese people, mountain eruption caused many changes to the nature around it. This incident was later associated with the explosion of HOS Cokroaminoto's demands against the Dutch Colonial Government when he was the chairman of SI. He was born with the name Oemar Said. However, after he performed Hajj, he then introduced himself as Haji Oemar Said Cokroaminoto, or well-known as HOS Cokroaminoto. Amelz, *HOS COKROAMINOTO HIDUP DAN PERJUANGANNYA jilid I*, (Jakarta : Bulan Bintang, 1952) p. 50

⁹ Amelz, *HOS Cokroaminoto: Hidup dan Perjuangannya*, (Jakarta : Bulan Bintang), 1952. p. 20

Cokroaminoto's thoughts on Socialism were based on many verses of Al Qur'an. According to his belief, Al Qur'an is the main and the most source of reference for Muslims for providing life guidance as Islam is not only a doctrinal teaching. He added that Islam do not only set human-and-God relation, but also organize human-and-human relation. In addition, Islamic teachings also explain economic, social, and political issues. Islam is a religion that salvation for all human beings as Islam is a religion of peace and safety.¹⁰

Cokroaminoto was introduced to Sarekat Islam (SI)¹¹ when its branch in Surabaya was opened. There, for his intelligence and interest, he was appointed as the chairman. Under his leadership, SI became a large organization. He was able to attract many followers and mobilize them. Even so, he held a big *Vergadeering*¹² on January 26th, 1913 in Surabaya. As a chairman, he announced that SI had 80.000 members.¹³ However, according to Schippers, 64.000 members over the total number of SI followers were from Surakarta. At the first congress of SI in Surakarta, he was appointed as the vice chairman of CSI and the editor of *Oetoesan Hindia* newspaper.¹⁴ This was the period where SI was looking for its identity. After Cokroaminoto joined SI, he succeeded in expanding SI orientation to be engaged in social, economic, and political sectors in which initially engaged in economics only.¹⁵

Under Cokroaminoto's leadership, SI Surabaya was based on pure Islamic teachings ideology in accordance with his thoughts. This was a part of Islamic Nationalists sides for fighting for their nation based on the true and sincere practice of Islamic teachings. This

¹⁰ Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Sosialisme*. p. 45

¹¹ Sarekat Islam is one of the oldest organizations in the Dutch East Indies founded in late 1911 by Hadji Samanhoeidi, a batik entrepreneur in Lawean village, Solo. Originally called as Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI), this organization began as an association of middle-class Muslim traders. However, when the organization was led by Cokroaminoto, he changed the name SDI to Sarekat Islam for broader purposes. A. P. E. Korver, *Sarekat Islam Gerakan Ratu Adil?* (Jakarta: PT Grafitipers, 1985), p 12.

¹² *Vergadeering*, Public assembly.

¹³ There was a report showing the attendee (branches and joint members) including Semarang (1.027 members), Kudus (2.033 members), Malang (457 members), Sepanjang (258 members), Madiun, Ngawi, Ponorogo, Jombang (1.060 members), Parakan (3.769 members), Solo (6400 members), Bangil (164 members), Sidoarjo (217 members), Surabaya (6.000 members). Read more Tim Museum Kebangkitan Nasional, Djoko Marihandono, Harto Juwono, Yudha B Tangkilisan, *HOS Cokroaminoto Penyemai Pergerakan Kebangsaan dan Kemerdekaan*, (Museum Kebangkitan Nasional Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan). p. 8

¹⁴ Safrizal Rambee, *Sarekat Islam dan Pelopor Bangkitnya Nasionalisme Indonesia 1905-1942*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Kebangkitan Insan Cendekia, 2008) pp. 59-61

¹⁵ Previously, Sarekat Islami was called as Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI). Cokroaminoto changed the concept for its movement from economic concern to a national concern organization oriented to socio-political movements. It is based on the removal of "Dagang" from the name of the organization. This did not change the name only, but the orientation also from economics to politics. Hardi, *Mcnarik Pelajaran Dari Sejarah*, (Jakarta : CV. Haji Masagung, 1988).p. 125

means that elements of polytheism and palace custom were avoided as it was not in accordance with Islamic teachings. In Islam, a struggle means as Jihad.¹⁶

SI development under Cokroaminoto's leadership showed progress in several aspects in economic and political sector. Under his command as a chairman of SI Surabaya, he succeeded in establishing its position in some regions. He established some new SI branches in Central Java and East Java. Moreover, he succeeded in expanding SI network in Surabaya. He visited directly some regions and explains about SI to the members. He explained the meaning and the purpose of SI. Moreover, he also described the articles of association and movement of SI.¹⁷ Related to the opening of SI branches outside Java, he asked the members to be kind to the Dutch East Indies. He emphasized his request as there was a misunderstanding among SI members, even the SI management. This aimed to obtain a clear legal status. He attempted to obtain a legal entity status for gaining a legal recognition from the Dutch East Indies in order to expedite SI movements.¹⁸

At SI congress in Solo, he re-instilled values based on SI guidelines for its member for avoiding problems such as opposition occurred in various regional SI branches. At congress in Solo, he was assisted by Dr. Rinkes as the deputy advisor for Bumiputera affairs who assisted in drafting request for an audience with the Governor-General. On July 10th, 1993, Cokroaminoto, Dr Rinkes, Samanhoedi, Hadi Wijoyo, and Cokrosoedarmo were at Solo residents' house to find out SI legal entity's decision. At that time, SI got a rejection regarding to the legal entity. On June 30th, 1913, the Dutch East Indies finally made a decision regarding the Status of Sarekat Islam's Legal Entity. This decision rejected SI's request for recognition of its Law and Articles of Association, and refused to grant legal status as an association. Instead, the government showed the central leaders SI that they were ready to give legal recognition to the local SI which limited their activity on a certain area. Moreover, it was also shown that the government did not reject the central for cooperation and coordination among local SI.¹⁹

¹⁶ Deliar Noor, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996)

¹⁷ On September 14th, 1912, Cokroaminoto was assisted by Cokrosoedarmo and Mr Domering, the Dutch notary, who stated that SI Surabaya was a new legally formed association and separated from the old SI Surakarta.. Takashi Siraishi, *Zaman Bergerak, Radikalisme Rakyat Jawa 1912-1926*, (Jakarta : Putaka Utama Grafiti) p. 66

¹⁸ At that time, an organization that did not have a legal entity could be dissolved any time by the Resident, based on the Law 1854 (Articles III). *Ibid.*, Hlm 56

¹⁹ Takashi Siraishi, *Zaman Bergerak, Radikalisme Rakyat Jawa 1912-1926*, (Jakarta : Putaka Utama Grafiti) p.94

Although the government rejected the legal entity status, SI was reported to establish a trade organization with indigenous people entitled “Al-Islamiyah” which was active with an authorized capital of f-500.000. As a vice chairman of CSI at that time, Cokroaminoto travelled to promote Al Islamiyah asking for local organization to participate in Al-Islamiyah. From this trip, he obtained funds f-285.000 from several regions.²⁰

In the end of 1913, Cokroaminoto, accompanied by Dr. Rinkes²¹, continued to travel to remote areas for visiting the opening of branches in some areas such as Kediri, Blitar, Bondowoso, Jember, Banjarnegara, Pekalongan, and Pati. Moreover, he also went to Palembang to hold meeting to establish a new branch with Raden Gunawan in February 1914. On March 14th, 1914, SI sympathizers established a SI branch in Yogyakarta. In these years, he continued to visit congresses in various regions. He was elected as chairman of CSI at the second congress in Yogyakarta on April 19th-20th, 1914. He succeeded in replacing Samanhoedi and moving SI’s headquarters from Surakarta to Surabaya. In his era, he took cooperative steps with the Dutch East Indies and some Europeans. In 1915, SI had 50 branches in various regions. However, there was a dual membership in SI originating from the Indische Social-Democratische Vereniging (ISDV).²²

In 1915, SI held an annual congress in Surabaya. In this congress, several tendencies had emerged within SI which previously stated that this organization was stronger. There were some indications referring to various suspicions occurred in several local SI branches, especially in West Java, against CSI. Some put little faith in financial policies of the Centraal Committee. Therefore, in the annual congress, Cokroaminoto said that he strongly

²⁰ The funds were funded from some regions visited by Cokroaminoto such as East Java (f 150.000), Semarang and its surrounding area (f 12.000), West Java (f 30.000), Yogyakarta and its surrounding area (f 80.000), Solo and its surrounding area (f 13.500).). Tim Museum Kebangkitan Nasional, Djoko Marhandono, Harto Juwono, Yudha B Tangkilisan, *HOS Cokroaminoto Penyemai Pergerakan Kebangsaan dan Kemerdekaan*, Museum Kebangkitan Nasional Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. p . 21

²¹ Dr Rinkes is an advisor on Bumiputra affairs guided SI on the path chosen by the government replacing Dr Hazeu. He also assisted in preparing SI's Articles of Association and opening local Sarekat Islam branches. Cokroaminoto cooperated with him because he had a direct relationship with the Governor-General and could negotiate with the Resident. Cokroaminoto put this cooperation to good use. Takashi Shiraishi, *Radikalisme Rakyat Jawa 1912-1926*, (Jakarta : Putaka Utama Grafiti) pp. 96-98

²² ISDV is an organization that adheres to the ideology of Socialism founded by Henk Sneevliet. However, this organization later turned Communist and changed its name to the Perserikatan Komunis Hindia (PKH) on 23 May 1920, and changed its name to Partai Komunis Indonesia in 1924. Dari ISDV ke PKH (100 Tahun Pendirian Kepeloporan Revolusioner di Indonesia, Arah Juang : Kaum Muda (23 Mei 2010).

condemned the occurred secession. Therefore, he emphasized that SI should remain united where Islam as a unifying element of SI.²³

In 1914-1917, Cokroaminoto remained the chairman in SI. The next congress was in Bandung in 1916. Meanwhile, CSI submitted its own articles of association to the Dutch East Indies in 1915 and received legal recognition from the Governor-General Idenburg who was his last blessing towards SI. The SI congress in Bandung was the first CSI congress after obtaining legal recognition, so it was called as Kongres Nasional Pertama.²⁴

Conflict of Interest: Cokroaminoto-Abdoel Moeis versus Goenawan-Samanhoedi

Cokroaminoto's expertise made other members looked up to him. He was more successful in attracting members than Samanhoedi. He was able to manage SI Surabaya. In order to maintain his position and able to attract more members, he gave some positions to his people. Besides, he also took part directly in opening regional branches and attending *vergadering* invitations. The conflict between Cokroaminoto and Samanhoedi²⁵ was started since SI's congress in Yogyakarta in 1914. The conflict escalated. Cokroaminoto was the main candidate to replace Samanhoedi. He succeeded in replacing Samanhoedi and moving SI's center from Surakarta to Surabaya. Samanhoedi was only appointed as Honorary Chairperson which had no authority. This title was given as Hasan Djajaningrat's suggestion as an appreciation of Samanhoedi's work. Furthermore, SI members asked Samanhoedi to hand over his position to a more competent younger member. SI congress in Yogyakarta was attended by 147 delegates representing 81 SI branches from various regions from 440.000 members. In his plan to replace Samanhoedi's position, Cokroaminoto was assisted by Dr. Rinkes. In SI forum, he stated:

"Samanhoedi tidak memiliki semua persyaratan menjadi pemimpin yang baik. Ia tidak terdidik, menurut Islam maupun ukuran modern, berpikiran sempit mengenai segala hal diluar lingkungannya, tak punya kemampuan berbicara, keras kepala dan bertindak semaunya." Kemudian ia melanjutkan, *"Sebaliknya, Cokroaminoto*

²³ Yeti Setiawatu, Samsudin, *Gerakan Politik Sarekat Islam di Jawa tahun 1916-1921*, (Jurnal Ilmu sejarah: Historia Madania Vol 4) hlm). pp. 364-365.

²⁴ About congress in Surabaya and CSI congress in Bandung, see Sinar Djawa, 28 Juni 1915, 2 dan 3 Juli 1915; Van Der Wal, *De Opkomst van de Nationalistische Beweging*, pp. 492-496. Takashi. p. 100

²⁵ Haji Samanhudi was born in Laweyan, Surakarta, Central Java in 1868. He was a batik entrepreneur in Solo. His birth name was Wirjowikoro, while his first name was Sudano Nadi. He used the name Samanhudi after performing the pilgrimage. He was a rich man and had branches in several cities such as Solo, Bandung, Purwokerto, Surabaya, and Banyuwangi. <https://tirto.id/kiprah-haji-samanhudi-pedagang-batik-dan-perintis-sarekat-islam-f5EM>

*memiliki latar belakang yang baik, pikiran yang terbuka dan tidak dibatasi oleh pertimbangan-pertimbangan agama. Berpendidikan layak dan berpengetahuan, juga memiliki naluri politik yang layak dalam beberapa hal.*²⁶

Although Samanhoedi was smart and capable in working effectively, as a chairman of a big organization, he did not have organizational skills and deliver a good speech. Cokroaminoto was different. He had a good skill in giving speeches and charisma in his lead. His speeches were broad in knowledge and discourse. He often uplifted psycho-religious spirit of the society. He was able to leave a deep impression in people's heart and uplift overflowing spirit. Moreover, there are some people taught that Cokroaminoto was the Messiah or Ratu Adil in Java.²⁷

After he became a Chairman of CSI, he moved SI activity center from Surakarta to Surabaya. SI power which was initially centered in Surakarta shifted to Surabaya. This made Si experienced a setback in early 1915. This setback was followed by strained relationship between SI Surakarta and Keraton Kasunanan. At that time, Surakarta was also hit by bubonic plague. This weakened SI Surakarta's political power. Then, SI Surakarta began to lose its member and shifted the focus into social and religious activities. This religious activity was carried out by SI Surakarta for attracting members among farmers.²⁸

Since Cokroaminoto served as a chairman of CSI, Samanhoedi felt disadvantaged because he did not have any authority including finances which increase. He attempted to regain a position in SI. He collaborated with Raden Goenawan²⁹ to form SI Central which become Cokroaminoto's opponent. Although there were some SI branches followed Cokroaminoto, a split between Samanhoedi-Gonawan and Cokroaminoto-Abdul Moeis happened.³⁰ Raden Goenawan was the chairman of SI Batavia and the editor of Pantjaran

²⁶ Iswara N Aditya, *Taktik Cokro Menggulingkan Pertahana*, (Tirto id: Humaniora) 18 Februari 2017 .<https://tirto.id/taktik-tjokroaminoto-menggulingkan-petahana-cjiP>

²⁷ Ratu Adil is a mythology saying that there will come a leader who will be a savior, and bring justice and prosperity to his people.

²⁸Wido Aditya, *Pengaruh Polemik Djawi Hisworo Terhadap Kondisi Sarekat Islam*, (Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa, UNS). pp.24-25

²⁹ Raden Gunawan was Samanhudi's close friend who propagated SI in West Java and South Sumatra. He was born in Madiun in 1880. In early 1913, he succeeded in establishing branches of the Sarekat Islam in a number of areas on the outskirts of Batavia, including Bogor, Purwakarta, and Tengerang. He gained more prominence within SI after he became a chairman of SI Jakarta.

³⁰Wido Aditya, *Pengaruh Polemik Djawi Hisworo Terhadap Kondisi Sarekat Islam*, (Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa, UNS). pp. 26-27

Warta.³¹ He played role in carrying out propaganda at SI central dominantly by explaining SI and its objectives. He was Cokroaminoto's competitor in SI. He felt that he had a great service toward SI as he succeeded in bringing progress in SI development in West Java region. Furthermore, he also co-founded SI branches in Sumatra and Borneo, and managed the money he received. However, as deputy chairman, he felt that he did not have any authority of articles of association in CSI.³²

Goenawan and Cokroaminoto had a strong influence in central of SI. These figures competed for influence within SI. Although Cokroaminoto was the chairman, Goenawan's position should not be taken for granted for having a large followers and influence in West Java and Sumatra. In order to establish a opposition to Cokroaminoto, Goenawan used SI Sumatra's disapproval against Cokroaminoto as they did not get any position in the central of SI. He also used SI Surakarta which felt aggrieved over Cokroaminoto's existence as CSI chairman. Then, SI became two sides. Goenawan and Samanhoedi controlled most of West Java and Batavia region. Meanwhile, Cokroaminoto was supported by Soewardi, Abdul Moeis, Djajaningrat, and other members of SI in East Java. Samanhoedi got closer to Goenawan as he felt aggrieved by Cokroaminoto's appointment as the chairman. Meanwhile, Cokroaminoto actually experienced difficulties as there were many SI branches in Java experienced many financial problems.³³

Goenawan made a breakthrough during SI congress in 1915. He formed an alliance with Samanhoedi by inviting local SI Sumatra who did not get any position to Surakarta. In December 1915, Goenawan published a draft of articles of association of "CSI West Java and Sumatra", and conducted the first *Vergadeering* in January 1916. *Hoofdbestuur*³⁴ was established with Samanhudi as the chairman and Goenawan as Secretary/Treasurer. Samanhudi, as the administrator of SI West Java, and Goenawan had a counter power. However, Pantjara Warta as SI organ in which led by Goenawan as the chief editor never

³¹ Pantjara Warta was a newspaper whose shares were bought by Raden Goenawan and R. Notohadmodjo from Chinese. Initially, this newspaper belonged to N.V Seng Hoat, owned by the editor of Thio Tjian Pic. After being purchased by Raden Goenawan, this newspaper became a Muslim newspaper and the Underbow of SI Batavia. Adhityawan Soeharto, Kiprah R. Goenawan dan R. Notoadmodjo di Sarekat Islam (SI) Batavia tahun 1913, (Studi Wawasan Isam : 25 Oktober 2018)

³² Tim Museum Kebangkitan Nasional, Djoko Marihandono, Harto Juwono, Yudha B Tangkilisan, *HOS Cokroaminoto Penyemai Pergerakan Kebangsaan dan Kemerdekaan*, Museum Kebangkitan Nasional Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. P. 51

³³ Iswara N Raditya, *Tuduhan Korupsi dan Tamatnya Raden Goenawan dalam Sarekat Islam*, (Tirto Id: Humaniora).

³⁴ *Hoofdbestuur* is Dutch word which means *Pengurus Besar*.

published SI Baatavia's meeting. He sent a copy of the minutes of the meeting to Sinar Djawa, an SI organ in Semarang. In the minutes sent to Semarang, there were many things not mentioned. For example, there was a notification about SI Batavia and SI Serang as 2 over 3 branches which asked for the meeting. Those branches actually asked for a meeting for finding a solution for reconciling Goenawan and Cokroaminoto.³⁵

The movement initiated by Samanhoedi and Goenawan made a reaction over SI Central. Kaoem Moeda, as SI Bandung organ led by Abdoel Moeis reported that Goenawan committed an illegal act. The editor received a copy of Goenawan's letter saying that SI West Java held a general meeting attended by representatives from all branches of SI West Java. Abdoel Moeis opposed Goenawan with the excuses that Goenawan did not have any permission from Cokroaminoto as the chairman of CSI. Furthermore, when Goenawan continuously acted as leader, he broke SI unity.³⁶

In order to encounter Goenawan, Cokroaminoto took various ways by sending his people to West Java to reduce Goenawan's influence. He did two things by appointing Ardiwinata from Batavia as CSI treasurer to make it easier to take money from various SI branches in Sumatra. He did propaganda tours to Palembang and prevented the prosperous SI Palembang to join Goenawan's CSI. There were two sources of supports for Cokroaminoto. First, Goenawan was got an misappropriation issue of 60,000 guilders from SI money and labelled as *Satria Maling*. This encounter become a disaster for Goenawan as he, at that time, was considered as a leader of his followers. Moreover, this encounter was carried out by Tjipto who had proven his works towards his nation in the case Komite Boemipoetra.³⁷

The second support came from the Government by providing a legal recognition for Cokroaminoto's CSI. Therefore, it was proven that Goenawan's efforts failed. Although Benkeulen, Batavia local's SI, and Lampung originally joined Goenawan's CSI, they

³⁵ Tim Museum Kebangkitan Nasional, Djoko Marihandono, Harto Juwono, Yudha B Tangkilisan, *HOS Cokroaminoto Penyemai Pergerakan Kebangsaan dan Kemerdekaan*, Museum Kebangkitan Nasional Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. p. 55

³⁶ Abdul Moeis responded to Goenawan and Samanhudi's actions by writing in Kaoem Muda that Goenawan clearly wanted to be the head of SI as well as the treasurer. Therefore, he would not have to hand over the money that was still in the treasury of f 8,000 and there was a lot of money to the local administrators. Abdul Moeis thought it was just a lip-services as the central board was not informed. Meanwhile, Sinar Djawa as SI Semarang organ wrote that people like Goenawan, who illegally owned the Samirono Hotel (formerly owned by N.V Medan Priaji under the name Holet Medan Priaji) were not expected to become good leaders and cash managers. *Ibid.* pp 55-56.

³⁷ Takashi Siraishi, *Zaman Bergerak, Radikalisme Rakyat Jawa 1912-1926*, (Jakarta : Putaka Utama Grafiti) pp. 105-106

immediately withdrew themselves one by one. Finally, Cokroaminoto held a National Congress of CSI on June 1916 in Bandung as the opposition of SI West Java, and appointed Abdul Moeis, a Sumatran, as a Ondervoorzitter (the vice chairman). At the end of 1916, Goenawan stopped his efforts and was dismissed from SI Batavia. Goenawan's encounter towards Cokroaminoto which ended in his failure showed that SI's movement was under *Eenhofdbestuur* Cokroaminoto. It was shown by the failed attempts for establishing a CSI "West Java" and "Sumatra". Goenawan's encounter was based on balance changing in SI geographically that arose due to SI congestion in Java and SCI expansion in Sumatra. Meanwhile, the issues raised were money and power position between Cokroaminoto and Goenawan.³⁸

At the end of 1916, Goenawan's career in SI ended. He was fired and no longer gained his followers' loyalty although the issues of embezzlement were unclear without on trial. Then, he returned to managing Pantjara Warta newspaper. He moved, with Marco approaching SI Semarang. Although Cokroaminoto managed to oppose Goenawan, he was unable to attract followers and strengthen his position. Members' trust towards SI began to disappear. SI led to a vacuum. At the end of 1916, local SI Sumatra's establishment stopped. Moreover, funds from SI Sumatra were stopped to CSI. Although the membership continues to grow, there was no new idea from Cokroaminoto to move the society. He remained a knight under government's protection.³⁹

Sarekat Islam Merah and Sarekat Islam Putih: A Split in Sarekat Islam

SI split arose when communist infiltrated SI. It became a threat to Cokroaminoto as the chairman of CSI since there were many SI figures influenced by communist ideology by Henk Sneevliet. The communist-oriented SI based in Semarang was led by Semaoen⁴⁰ which was an opposition to SI Putih led by Agus Salim and Abdoel Moeis. At first, Cokroaminoto

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107

³⁹ Iswara N Raditya, *Tuduhan Korupsi dan Tamatnya Raden Goenawan dalam Sarekat Islam*, (Tirto Id : Humaniora).

⁴⁰ Semaoen was born in Mojokerto in 1899. He was the first native who became the first propagandist for the trade union. He was not a *Priayi* descent, but he received a western-style basic education. He became secretary at SI Afdeling Surabaya in 1914. In 1915, he met Sneevliet and became his student. Then, he became the chairman of SI Semarang in 1917.

was the airbriter of those two opposing sides. However, in the end, he took SI Putih sides which based on Yogyakarta.⁴¹

Semaoen and Darsono was SI figures who had different thought from Cokroaminoto. The existence of left-leaning SI was one of obstacles faced by Cokroaminoto in leading CSI. SI Semarang often criticizes Cokroaminoto who cooperates with the Dutch East Indies. His act considered making people miserable and benefiting to him and the Dutch East Indies. SI Merah (Semaoen and Darsono) often carried out revolutionary movements. Besides, Cokroaminoto and other SI Putih's figures (Agus Salim and Abdul Moeis) were more cooperative towards the Dutch East Indies. Moreover, Cokroaminoto used Islamism ideology, different Semaoen and Darsono who were communist.

At the second SI congress in 1917 in Jakarta, SI emphasized its goal of independence. However, the statement had not been clarified and gave impact on SI. The issue of *Volksraad* (People's Representative Council)⁴² was also mentioned. Cokroaminoto and CSI Supported the existence of *Volksraad*. Aside from gaining a place in politics in the Dutch East Indies, *Volksraad* was an arena to fight for people in terms of education, welfare, position, and bargaining power to gain sovereignty. Finally, SI had two positions in *Volksraad* including Cokroaminoto and Abdoel Moeis. However, SI's involvement in *Volksraad* had some troubles. On the other hand, Abdoel Moeis, Hasan Djajaningrat and other West Java CSI leader supported his involvement in *Volksraad* unconditionally. Hhowever, many SI leaders (especially in SI Semarang) did not approve of *Volksraad* SI existence such as Semaoen and other SI Semarang figures. Semaoen did not agree if SI sent its representatives to *Volksraad*. He began criticizing the Dutch East Indies. According to Semaoen, SI with its political basis must lead to its own system of government. He emphasized the resistance of colonialism and capitalism.⁴³

Semaoen and SI Semarang appearance further disturbed Cokroaminoto's leadership. Under Semaoen's control, SI Semarang succeeded in increasing the number of members and

⁴¹Henk Josephus Franciscus Marie Sneevliet was born in Rotterdam, the Netherlands on 13 May 1883. He was an active Dutch Communist in the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. He taught Communism to the younger generations within the Sarekat Islam who later became members of SI Merah based in Semarang such as Semaoen, Darsono, Alimin, and Musso.

⁴²*Volksraad* is a Dutch word which means "People's Council". It was a House of Representatives of the Dutch East Indies. This Council was formed on December 16, 1916 by the Dutch East Indies initiated by the Governor-General Van Limburg Stirum and the Minister for Dutch Colonial Affairs, Thomas Bastiaan Pleyte. id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volksraad

⁴³Yasmis, *Sarekat Islam dalam Pergerakan Nasional Indonesia (1912-1927)*, (Jurnal Sejarah Lontar : Vol 6 No 1 Januari – Juni 2009). p. 28

took actions harassing Cokroaminoto and CSI. Semaoen campaigned against *Indie Weerbaar*⁴⁴ and SI Participation on *Volksraad*. He also criticized Cokroaminoto's involvement and considered *Volksraad* as a "comedy". He considered Cokroaminoto as "a knight under government's protection". Furthermore, he continued to interfere Cokroaminoto's supremacy by leading strikes actions with younger activist. He and SI Semarang considered that Cokroaminoto and CSI did not side with society and were less radical against colonialism.⁴⁵

In 1920, the split within SI become more apparent. The conflict between Communists and Religion was heating up. A special congress held by Sneevliet and Semaoen attended by 40 members decided that ISDV had officially joined Kominterns (Communist Internationale) and changed association's name by Perserikatan Komunis Hindia ON May 23rd, 1920. That became the split factor. The situation got worse by Darsono's statement from Communists side expressing distrust of financial matters of Cokroaminoto's leadership. However, it turned out that the problem was done on the fifth congress on March 2th – 6th, 1921. On the congress, Darsono apologized to Cokroaminoto for his statement.⁴⁶

On the 5th Congress of SI on October 6th, 1921 in Surabaya, Agoes Salim and Abdul Moeis proposed that CSI leader implemented party discipline that SI members were prohibited to join other organizations.⁴⁷ This party discipline means purification or cleansing SI from Communism's influence. Semaoen, Darsono, and their friends did not want to leave the membership of Perserikatan Komunis Hindia. The disciplinary rule was a consideration of SI's members who joined communist group. That made they left SI under Cokroaminoto's leadership. Despite being dishonorably expelled, Darsono and their followers did not want to lose. After a month of SI congress in Madiun, they held a rival congress on March 1923 in Bandung with Semaoen's followers in a new SI branch, Sarekat Rakyat.

⁴⁴ Indie Weerbaar was a Bumiputra armed defense group (militia) during the Dutch Colonial period. The organizations were discussed in 1913 and 1917. This group was supported by organizations such as Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Islam through the mechanism of the congregation in the *Volksraad*. This militia was formed for defending the Dutch East Indies colony from possible threats after World War I. However, the idea of this militia was opposed by the colonial government and the indigenous people since it was considered as a shield for Dutch only.

⁴⁵ Muhammad Subarkah, *Pemberontakan PKI Madiun: Akar Konflik Islam VS Komunis*, (Republika : Khazanah) Rabu 17 Juni 2020 16:01 WIB.

⁴⁶ Yeti Setiawatu, Samsudin, *Gerakan Politik Sarikat Islam di Jawa tahun 1916-1921*, (Jurnal Ilmu sejarah: Historia Madania Vol 4) pp. 367-368

⁴⁷ Takashi siraisi, *Zaman Bergcrak, Radikalisme Rakyat Jawa 1912-1926*, (Jakarta : Putaka Utama Grafiti) p. 308

After the implementation of the rules, SI Putih led by Cokroaminoto, Abdul Muis, and H. Agus Salim focused on defense, development, and Muslim unity issues. Meanwhile, SI Merah led by Semaoen focused more on spreading communism. That was done for looking for cadres through a communist political course led by Tan Malaka.⁴⁸

Cokroaminoto joined with SI for 22 years. His health had declined since his return from Sulawesi in 1933. On August 30th – September 2nd, 1934, in Pare during PSII conference in East Java, he seemed sick. Not long after that, Anwar Cokroaminoto who lived in Jakarta got news of Cokroaminoto's condition who had weakened, He was paralyzed and bed-ridden. On *Senen Kliwon*, 10 Ramadhan 1353, December 17th, 1934, he passed away. He was buried in Kuntjem, Yogyakarta.

CONCLUSION

Based on research on Cokroaminoto's politic in SI in 1912-1921, the writer concludes several points. First, Cokroaminoto has a very important political role for SI. His efforts made SI become a large organization in the Dutch East Indies at that time. He was able to mobilize people with his Islamism spirit to defend Indigenous people's right. Furthermore, he also succeeded in turning SI's concern from economic into social economic and political. Second, the problem between Cokroaminoto-Abdul Moeis and Goenawan-Smanhoedi occurred since Cokroaminoto was appointed as the chairman. They fought for influence within SI to take advantage of SI at that time. Although Cokroaminoto won, this declined the enthusiasm and confidence of SI's members. Third, SI's internal conflict escalated after communist infiltrated SI. This interfered Cokroaminoto's political activities as SI Merah in Semarang, led by Semaoen, criticized Cokroaminoto's political policies. Furthermore, SI Merah also carried out activities that were not in line with Cokroaminoto. This made communist figures in SI kicked out.

⁴⁸ Yeti Setiawatu, Samsudin, *Gerakan Politik Sarekat Islam di Jawa tahun 1916-1921*, (Jurnal Ilmu sejarah: Historia Madania Vol 4) p. 370

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