

# Beyond Marxist Materialism: H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's Islamic Socialism and Its Maqāṣidī Foundations

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**Abstract:** The development of Islamic legal-political thought in Indonesia has been focused on post-independence Islamic thinkers, leaving a significant academic gap in exploring pre-independence intellectual figures such as Haji Oemar Said (H.O.S) Tjokroaminoto. His perspective on socialism—distinct from Western Marxist materialism—provides an early model of Islamic socialism rooted in maqāṣid syarīʿah principles. Tjokro also introduced three aphorisms as a private effort to encourage Muslim be perfect, namely: setinggi-tinggi ilmu, semurni-murni tauhid, dan sepintar-pintar siasat. This article aims to critically revisit Tjokroaminoto's thoughts on socialism through a legal-historical method, focusing on his seminal work *Islam dan Sosialism*, supported by *Tafsir Program dan Tandhim Syarikat Islam* and *Reglement Ummat Islam*. Primary sources are analyzed using historical, conceptual, and comparative approaches framed within maqāṣid syarīʿah theory. The findings reveal that Tjokroaminoto conceptualized socialism as inherently Islamic, emphasizing justice, equality, fraternity, and moral responsibility—not through class struggle but through collective ethical obligation grounded in tawḥīd and communal welfare. He redefined socialism as spiritual-ethical governance aligned with prophetic values, such as zakat, ukhuwah (brotherhood), and strategic intelligence (siyasah). These views form what may be considered a proto-model of Islamic governance in response to colonial capitalism. The study implies that contemporary Islamic legal-political thought in Indonesia must not neglect foundational nationalist-Islamic ideas that anticipated maqāṣid-based governance and social justice long before postcolonial discourses.

**Keywords:** Islamic Socialism, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, Maqāṣid syarīʿah, Indonesian Islamic Thought

**Abstrak:** Perkembangan pemikiran hukum-politik Islam di Indonesia seringkali berfokus pada para pemikir Islam pasca-kemerdekaan, sehingga menyisakan kesenjangan akademis yang signifikan dalam

mengeksplorasi tokoh-tokoh intelektual pra-kemerdekaan seperti Haji Oemar Said (H.O.S) Tjokroaminoto. Perspektifnya tentang sosialisme—yang berbeda dari materialisme Marxis Barat—memberikan model awal sosialisme Islam yang berakar pada prinsip-prinsip maqāṣid syarī'ah. Tjokro juga memperkenalkan tiga kata mutiara sebagai upaya pribadi untuk mendorong umat Islam menjadi sempurna, yaitu: ilmu setinggi-tinggi, semurni-murni tauhid, dan sepintar-pintar siasat. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk meninjau kembali secara kritis pemikiran Tjokroaminoto tentang sosialisme melalui metode sejarah hukum, dengan fokus pada karya pemikirannya, Islam dan Sosialisme, yang didukung oleh Tafsir Program dan Tandhim Syarikat Islam dan Reglement Ummat Islam. Sumber-sumber primer dianalisis menggunakan pendekatan historis, konseptual, dan komparatif yang dibingkai dalam teori maqāṣid syarī'ah. Temuan penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa Tjokroaminoto mengonseptualisasikan sosialisme sebagai sesuatu yang inheren Islami, menekankan keadilan, kesetaraan, persaudaraan, dan tanggung jawab moral—bukan melalui perjuangan kelas, melainkan melalui kewajiban etis kolektif yang berlandaskan tauhid dan kesejahteraan komunal. Ia mendefinisikan ulang sosialisme sebagai tata kelola spiritual-etika yang selaras dengan nilai-nilai profetik, seperti zakat, ukhuwah (persaudaraan), dan kecerdasan strategis (siyasah). Pandangan-pandangan ini membentuk apa yang dapat dianggap sebagai proto-model tata kelola Islam dalam menanggapi kapitalisme kolonial. Studi ini menyiratkan bahwa pemikiran hukum-politik Islam kontemporer di Indonesia tidak boleh mengabaikan gagasan-gagasan nasionalis-Islam fundamentalis yang mengantisipasi tata kelola berbasis maqāṣid dan keadilan sosial jauh sebelum wacana pascakolonial muncul.

**Kata kunci:** Sosialisme Islam, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, Maqāṣid syarī'ah, Pemikiran Islam Indonesia.

## Introduction

The values of sharia have been implemented in all aspects of Indonesian life, such as social customs and state legislation. Islamic law recognized as fiqh also took place.<sup>1</sup> The clear boundaries between state and religion have been eroded to such an extent.<sup>2</sup> Islamic scholars and religious officials have also worked together to enforce it in order to

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<sup>1</sup> M. Nur Kholis Al Amin, “Kompilasi Hukum Islam Sebagai Fikih Indonesia,” *Ulumuiddin: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 3, no. 2 (2013): 1–11.

<sup>2</sup> Cipto Sembodo, “Dari Khilafah Ke Nation-States: Transformasi Hukum Islam Era Modern,” *Ulumuiddin: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 6, no. 2 (2016): 136–50.

form a community that is aware of the rules, sensitive to diversity and remains in faith. Thus, Islamic law has adapted to change, and is able to provide answers to various new local problems.<sup>3</sup> This reflects the continued importance of engaging with Islamic legal principles in addressing socio-political issues in the Indonesian context, including the relevance of early reformist discourses such as Islamic socialism, which offer alternative visions of justice, equality, and governance.

The paradigm of the relationship between Indonesian Islamic law and various aspects of *fiqh* and Middle Eastern *fiqh* *ushul* has become increasingly evident in Indonesia since the beginning of the era of the modern Indonesian movement. This can be marked by several changes that have emerged against colonialism based on capitalism. The prominent form is the change in the pattern of the struggle for independence oriented towards the establishment of national community organizations and the intensive use of mass media along with the physical military resistance that emerged first. However, academic attention to local conceptualizations of Islamic objectives (*maqāṣid syari'ah*) in this early period—particularly in relation to H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto—remains limited. His work, which synthesizes socialist ideals with Islamic values, is often overlooked in favor of post-independence or middle eastern discourses. This represents a significant academic gap that this article seeks to address.

Until now, various theories of Islamic law have been developed by Indonesian sharia experts. Among them are Hazairin who pioneered the Indonesian school of thought, Hasbie Ash-Shiddiqie with Indonesian *fiqh* which was later emphasized by other Islamic thinkers such as Harun Nasution that Islam must be studied from various aspects so that Islam is not known as a narrow religion, Kuntowijoyo with the theory of Islamic reactualization, Munawir Sjadzali also emphasized the importance of actualizing the values of Islamic teachings. Unlike these post-independence scholars, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto's contributions predate national formation and reflect a unique combination of religious and social ideals. Therefore, this article aims to answer the following research question: how can H.O.S.

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<sup>3</sup> M. Nur Kholis Al Amin, "Perkawinan Campuran Dalam Kajian Perkembangan Hukum: Antara Perkawinan Beda Agama Dan Perkawinan Beda Kewarganegaraan Di Indonesia," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 9, no. 2 (July 31, 2017): 211–20.

Tjokroaminoto's thought on islamic socialism be understood through the framework of *maqāṣid syarī'ah*? The novelty of this study lies in its effort to synthesize his social justice ideals with islamic legal objectives in a colonial context, which is rarely done in previous literature.

However, this article will not explain the paradigm patterns of the figures above, but this article will try to raise the thoughts of a national figure who is also known as a "national teacher" who moved before the era of independence in the early 20th century, namely H.O.S Tjokroaminoto. His monumental opinion in 1924 was the relationship between socialism and Islam, where Islam is not only understood as a religion that has no relationship with other aspects. Therefore, this article tries to explain the relationship of the theory of "socialism" to Islam along with H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's (HOS) views on the correlation between the two, namely between socialism and Islam. His views were then seen from the perspective of Maqashid Syariah which is the main application of Islamic law. Given that some individuals stated that Islam is not capable of advancing politics, social, and economics. There are even statements that *maqāṣid syarī'ah* has nothing to do with politics, social, and economics, as reflected in the secularist view.<sup>4</sup>

To analyze these concerns, this study adopts a legal-historical approach, which focuses on the intellectual evolution and social context of Tjokroaminoto's work. This legal history research is an effort to identify the stages of development of Islamic law in Indonesia by narrowing the scope. This narrowing is marked by specialization in examining Tjokroaminoto's ideas on socialism through his major works, which serve as primary data. This is complemented by conceptual, analytical, and comparative methods to explore the compatibility of his socialist views with *maqāṣid syarī'ah*. The most monumental work used is Islam dan Socialisme, along with two other essential texts for the Syarikat Islam movement: Tafsir Program dan Tandhim and Reglement of Muslims. This study thus investigates the historical trajectory, doctrinal formulation, and present-day relevance of his Islamic socialist thinking through a maqāṣid-based framework.

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<sup>4</sup> M. Nur Kholis Al Amin, "Mohammed Abid Jābirī, Reformasi Hukum Islam Dan Pembaruan Pengetahuan," *Uluṁuddīn : Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 9, no. 2 (February 2020): 133–52, <https://doi.org/10.47200/ulumuddin.v9i2.323>.

## Socialism and Islamic Socialism at Glance

At the beginning of the 19th century, the condition of workers in Western Europe was very sad. The progress of the capitalist industry that was market-oriented had advanced rapidly. The drastic changes turned out to create social conditions that were detrimental to workers and marginalized groups who were excluded from the market. Low wages, long working hours, women and children who were misused as cheap labor, dangerous and unhealthy factory conditions.<sup>5</sup>

The adverse effects of capitalism across Europe sparked resistance from socialist thinkers, led by Karl Marx. Socialism emerged as a new ideological force during the industrial revolution, rooted in the protest movements against capitalist exploitation. As a political philosophy, it emerged by breaking away from the capitalist economic system that supported the creed of liberalism. 19th century capitalism was gross exploitation and unlimited competition. The dissatisfaction and social upheaval that arose were reflected in the schools of utopian socialism and Marxism.<sup>6</sup>

The early emergence of 19th century socialism was called utopian socialism, namely, socialism that was based on the view of humanity (humanitarianism) and believed in the nature of human perfection. Adherents of this ideology aspire to create a socialist society peacefully without violence or revolution.<sup>7</sup> So, basically the ideology of socialism in the "West" was born based on a humanitarian view, but because of the reality at that time there was social inequality between the bourgeoisie and the workers, Karl Marx as one of the figures of socialism criticized the economic and social conditions around him, so he argued that society cannot be fixed by patchwork but must be done in a radical way by breaking down its joints. So with such a situation, Marx came up with the theory of scientific socialism to distinguish it

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<sup>5</sup> F. Setiawan Santoso, "Reformasi Ekonomi Berbasis Bagi Hasil Belajar Dari Sistem Ekonomi Sosialis," *Muqtasid: Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Perbankan Syariah* 2, no. 2 (2011): 193, <https://doi.org/10.18326/muqtasid.v2i2.193-207>.

<sup>6</sup> Al Makin, "Haji Omar Said Tjokroaminoto: Islam and Socialism," in *Religious Dynamic Under The Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism. Numen Book Series Vol. 154.*, vol. 122, 1966, 2017, 249–64.

<sup>7</sup> Nasruddin Anshoriy dan Agus Hendratno, *HOS Tjokroaminoto; Pelopor Pejuang, Guru Bangsa dan Penggerak Sarikat Islam*, Yogyakarta: Ilmu Giri, 2015, hlm. 37-38.

from utopian socialism which is more idealistic.<sup>8</sup> Thus, Western socialism initially developed from a moral and humanitarian perspective. However, due to the widening social inequality between the bourgeoisie and the working class, Karl Marx offered a more radical critique. He argued that society could not be improved through gradual reforms but required a fundamental structural overhaul. Marx's theory of scientific socialism emerged as a response to the idealism of utopian socialism.

Furthermore, in its development scientific socialism is more commonly known as Marxism, namely a theory with important variations on scientific socialism which is based on the economic, social, and political principles of Karl Marx, in addition to this Marxism ideology assumes that matter is a fundamental thing in this life. In this scientific socialism teaching, it is believed that all human history is heading towards a certain economic state, namely "communism", where private property will be replaced by common property. Only in that state will human happiness be achieved. The development of human history will take place absolutely unavoidably. In other words, class struggle is absolutely carried out to achieve a communist society.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it can be concluded that socialism which began with a theory of humanity shifted to a movement to realize material satisfaction.

Scientific socialism, later widely known as Marxism, emphasized materialism as the foundation of all human relations. Marxism posited that all human history is directed toward an inevitable economic endpoint—communism—where private ownership would be abolished in favor of collective property. Human happiness, according to this framework, would be fully realized only in such a classless society, achievable through unavoidable class struggle. Thus, socialism, which initially began as a theory grounded in humanism, evolved into a revolutionary movement aimed at material fulfillment.

Islamic socialism, however, offers a distinct departure from this materialist foundation. Across the Muslim world, several thinkers have advanced Islamic socialist thought to align with moral and spiritual teachings. Figures like Ali Shariati in Iran and Muhammad Iqbal in

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<sup>8</sup> Septian Teguh Wijiyanto and Ajat Sudrajat, "Tjokroaminoto: Sosialisme Islam," *Bihari: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Ilmu Sejarah* 2, no. 1 (September 2019): 1–12.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad Syadali, *Filsafat Umum*, (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2004), hlm. 136.

South Asia, for example, have argued for a socialism grounded in Qur'anic values—emphasizing justice ('adl), social welfare, and collective responsibility—without the atheistic or revolutionary aspects of Marxism. Similarly, leaders in Arab socialism, such as Jamal Abdel Nasser, attempted to adapt socialist principles into national Islamic frameworks, although often within secular state-building projects

### **H.O.S Tjokroaminoto's Thought on Islamic Socialism**

Socialism, in general academic usage, is defined as "a political and economic theory advocating public ownership and management of the basic means of production, distribution, and trade exchange," with multiple interpretations depending on its application. H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, however, offered a culturally and religiously grounded interpretation. He explained that "socialism" derives from the Latin *socius*, which translates into "maker" in Dutch, "friend" in English, "konco" in Javanese, and *ṣaḥābat* in Arabic. Accordingly, socialism, in his view, implies pleasant association, companionship, or mutual cooperation—*musāḥabah* or *mu'āsharah*. For Tjokroaminoto, socialism is the antithesis of individualism, which elevates individual interests above collective welfare. So, basically socialism prioritizes the "understanding" of friendship or friendship as a binding element in social life together (*maatschappij*). Therefore, the understanding of "socialism" is contrary to the understanding of "individualism", which only prioritizes the interests of "individuals".<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, socialism demands a way of life of "one for all, and all for one", which is a way of life that shows that each individual bears responsibility for the actions of one another, while individualism prioritizes the idea of "everyone for himself".<sup>11</sup>

According to Tjokroaminoto, socialism comprises two main dimensions: (1) socialism as a doctrine or theory of social order, and (2) socialism as a movement seeking to implement such an order. He acknowledged that what the public often associates with socialism—especially revolutionary forms like communism—is only one subset of

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<sup>10</sup> Kevin W. Fogg, "Indonesian Islamic Socialism and Its South Asian Roots," *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 6 (2019): 1736–61, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X17000646>.

<sup>11</sup> H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1950), hlm. 9.

the broader concept. Socialism as a lesson is defined as an idea or theory about regulating social life collectively (*een bepaalde maatschappij inrichting*), while socialism as a movement is a form of collective action aimed at achieving specific structures or regulations in social life together, often expressed through associations or socialist movement known by the public as the “communism” movement and socialism is the most important part of “communism”.<sup>12</sup>

Socialism advocates for expansive government intervention in the economic sector and the collective control of the means of production—down to the smallest units (collectivism). Communism is a form of socialism as revolutionary socialism that requires radical change, different from evolutionary socialism that makes changes peacefully.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, H.O.S emphasized that socialism is not actually the teachings pioneered by socialists or Marxism, but socialism has been introduced by the Prophet Muhammad with principles that are far different from European-style socialism, especially the principles of Islamic socialism are very contrary to Industrial socialism. Socialism in the time of the Prophet emphasized the advancement of morals for the people, namely a socialism that states that the State controls all wealth in its country based on the law of Allah SWT, not based on man-made laws or representatives of the people who sit in parliament. This is also reflected in the obligation to pay zakat for the rich for the needs of the poor.<sup>14</sup>

Islamic teachings emphasize the importance of brotherhood in one container, and Q.S al-Hujurat (14): 13 which provides the understanding that humans were created male and female and into tribes and nations. For HOS, these verses indicate that Islam teaches true socialism (namely socialism the Islamic way, not the Western way). Furthermore, Tjokroaminoto emphasized the meaning of the word Islam into four types:

*First*, Islam - according to the main word Aslama - then the meaning is according to Allah and to his messenger, and to the government established by Muslims. *Second*, Islam - according to the

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<sup>12</sup> Lihat dalam H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme...*

<sup>13</sup> Nasruddin Anshoriy dan Agus Hendratno, *HOS Tjokroaminoto; Pelopor Pejuang Guru Bangsa dan Penggerak Sarikat Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Ilmu Giri, 2015), hlm. 42.

<sup>14</sup> Lihat dalam H.O.S Tjokroaminoto, *Islam dan Socialisme*, hlm. 14-20.

main word *salima* - means safe. Strictly speaking, if someone seriously carries out the commandments of the Islamic religion, then he will obtain safety in this world and the hereafter, because Muslims must have a safe character, this is in accordance with the words of the Prophet Muhammad SAW *Afdhalu al-mukminina islaman man salima al-muslimuna min lisanihi wa yadibi*, meaning that the main Muslims in practicing the Islamic religion are those who have a safe character, who save all Muslims with their mouth and hands. *Third*, Islam—according to the main words of *Salmi*—which has the meaning of harmony, that is, people who practice Islam must be in harmony. *Fourth*, Islam—according to the main word *sulami*—means stairs, namely steps or levels to reach the nobility of this world and the hereafter. If a Muslim truly practices his religion, he will reach a high level like the Khulafaur Rashidun.<sup>15</sup>

#### 1. The religious commands were based of the socialism

According to Tjokroaminoto, the socialist religious command is not just a theory, but must be practiced by every living Muslim in Indonesia. This is like the religious command that requires Muslims to establish Friday prayers every week in congregation, even twice a year for all Muslims (who are not prevented) to perform the Eid prayer in congregation, more than that, Islam requires its followers (for those who are able) to perform the Hajj pilgrimage once in their lifetime. From the religious commands that encourage its followers, Islam has a way or teaching that for all Muslims, both rich and poor, low or high in rank (social status), countries, places, nations, and different tribes gather together without regard to differences, especially in the implementation of the Hajj pilgrimage, all are the same. Thus, Islam has taught brotherhood and equality among fellow Muslims, and this for Cokroaminoto is called one of the values of Islamic socialism.<sup>16</sup>

#### 2. Generosity in the Islamic way

Tjokroaminoto is known as a figure who was persistent in fighting for the independence of the Dutch East Indies (read: Indonesia) through his efforts and thoughts also by funding Sarekat Islam Party. In addition to being a national fighter, Tjokroaminoto is also a thinker of

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

renewal in religious thought, this is as he interprets the verses of the Qur'an not based on conventional interpretations, but with interpretations that provide satisfaction for educated Indonesian youth. Therefore, for Tjokroaminoto, charity in Islam is a portrait of socialism whose types are divided into two categories, namely charity that depends on the giver and charity that is required in Islam, namely zakat. Thus, generosity as a portrait of socialist teachings in Islam encourages fellow Muslims to: 1). Build a sense of willingness to sacrifice oneself and prioritize public needs over oneself, 2). Share wealth equally in the Islamic world, meaning that with the pillars of Islam in the form of zakat, the poor will get a share of that wealth, 3). Guide people's feelings so that they do not consider poverty as a disgrace.

### 3. Islamic Brotherhood

Islam is truly a democratic religion and has established many democratic laws for its adherents. Islam determines the "brotherhood" that must be carried out among Muslims in any country, whether red or yellow, white or black, rich or poor. Islamic brotherhood is very beautiful and beautiful in nature. Islam has eliminated differences caused by differences in nation, race, tribe, skin color, and Islam has even eliminated slavery.

### 4. Several elements of socialism (freedom, equality, and brotherhood)

Cokro emphasized that in the ideology of "socialism" there are three important elements, namely: freedom (*vrijheid-liberty*), equality (*gelijkheid-equality*) and brotherhood (*broederschap-fraternity*). These three elements in Islam are the rules that are the majority and are used as a bond of community life by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. For Tjokro, what is meant by freedom is that every Muslim should not be afraid of anyone, but must only fear Allah SWT. While the similarity is that for fellow Muslims always consider themselves in one part, namely in social life does not differentiate degrees and also various things that create class differences (social) because between one Muslim and another Muslim are parts that strengthen each other, and brotherhood as an important element in Islamic socialism as explained above, in addition to that in Islamic teachings emphasize the prohibition for Muslims to oppress one another, and also must not neglect to help each other, and are not allowed to insult each other. Thus, it can be said that

brotherhood in Islam is the most perfect brotherhood.<sup>17</sup>

Tjokroaminoto also interpreted Islamic rituals through the lens of socialism. Religious practices like Friday prayer, Eid congregations, and Hajj were, in his view, designed to cultivate social unity and equality. These gatherings place all Muslims—rich or poor, of any race or status—on equal footing, reinforcing values of egalitarianism and solidarity. Thus, Islam inherently teaches equality and fraternity—central pillars of Islamic socialism.

Moreover, he categorized Islamic generosity into two forms: voluntary charity (*ṣadaqah*) and obligatory almsgiving (*zakāt*). These practices foster social solidarity by: (1) building selflessness and prioritizing public needs, (2) promoting wealth distribution within the ummah, and (3) guiding attitudes toward poverty with compassion rather than judgment. He stressed that Islamic socialism promotes brotherhood across nations, races, and economic classes—dismissing distinctions based on ethnicity or social rank.

Finally, Tjokroaminoto emphasized three foundational elements of Islamic socialism: freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Freedom means fearing no one but God. Equality requires social cohesion and mutual support without class barriers. Brotherhood demands that Muslims refrain from oppressing, mocking, or ignoring one another. Thus, in Tjokroaminoto's view, Islamic socialism represents the purest form of social cohesion based on divine law and prophetic teachings.

### **The Maqāṣid Syarī'ah Aspect on H.O.S Tjokroaminoto Islamic Socialism**

Islamic law, as a divine system, regulates human behavior through a set of moral and legal objectives, collectively known as *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* (the higher purposes of Islamic law). These objectives not only govern acts of worship (*ibādāt*) but also social transactions (*mu'āmalāt*), encompassing politics, economics, and public welfare.<sup>18</sup> Islam, as a "guide to life" teaches its followers to become progressive people in various systems, because in Islam there

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-33.

<sup>18</sup> Harun Nasution, *Islam ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya*, (Jakarta: UI Press, 1985), hlm. 10.

is at least a complete and perfect life system, including spiritual, moral, political, economic and social sub-systems.<sup>19</sup> This is also in line with Tjokro's view, that to achieve the perfect Muslim, he provided an educational model as above, and gave birth to the following pearls of wisdom: "as high as knowledge, as pure as monotheism, as clever as strategy".

In general, the principles of Islam are the rules of the human life system which aim to regulate human life in this world and the hereafter. Because basically human life in behavior is bound by the laws of Allah SWT, and this cannot be separated from the norms or rules set by Allah SWT.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the basic goal of Islam when analyzed using Tjokro's three pearls of wisdom against the five subsystems in Islam can be concluded as follows: that from the spiritual and moral aspects it can refer to the purest monotheism. This is in line with The main purpose of religion is to serve the One God and behave according to the morals that have been instilled by the sharia, while in the political, economic and social subsystems there is also a tug of war with other subsystems, even the educational aspect. Therefore, Tjokro emphasized with his words as high as knowledge and as clever as strategy. Thus, from Tjokro's three pearls of wisdom—as high as knowledge, as pure as monotheism, as clever as strategy—the Objectives of Islam for Muslim society in facing life are formulated. in this world and in the hereafter.

From this maxim, the objectives of Islam—viewed through a *maqāṣid*-based framework—can be aligned with five subsystems: (1) spirituality and morality relate to monotheism (*tawḥīd*), (2) education and intellect relate to knowledge, and (3) socio-political and economic strategies relate to practical wisdom. Thus, Tjokroaminoto's educational and political reform reflects a structured Islamic worldview oriented toward individual excellence and collective progress.

Islam as a religious law has rules for its adherents, which are

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<sup>19</sup> M. Nur Kholis Al Amin, "Kompilasi Hukum Islam Sebagai Fikih Indonesia", dalam *Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman ULUMUDDIN*, Volume 3, Nomor 2, Juni 2013, hlm.1.

<sup>20</sup> M. Nur Kholis Al Amin, "Teori Pertingkatan Norma dalam Hukum Islam dan Contoh Penerapannya dalam Ijtihad", *Jurnal Studi Islam MUKADDIMAH*, Volume 21, No. 1 Tahun 2015, hlm. 24.

then introduced with the concept of maqasid sharia and extend to the realm of fiqh.<sup>21</sup> This fiqh contains branches of understanding that are globally classified into two major concepts, namely worship and muamalah which have clearly implemented maqashid sharia.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, it is certain that through this fiqh, religion has the character to regulate human life in various subsystems of Muslim life in order to realize the goals of Islam. One of the roles of Islam which has a comprehensive character is also inseparable from the concepts of socialism (ala Islam) which was later realized by Tjokroaminoto through his thoughts that socialism is an idea that is inseparable from the concept of Islam, which in its development is better known as religious socialism.

Religious socialism, both as a term and as an idea, is not something completely new, especially in Indonesia.<sup>23</sup> A deeper dimension of religious socialism is the strengthening of the moral basis of the ideals of society. The implementation of these ideals is not only because of the urge to live a happier life in the world, but also in a more eternal life in the hereafter. So it can be concluded that socialism (Islamic style) is one way to realize the goal of Man as a perfect Muslim.

*Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, as outlined by scholars such as al-Ghazālī<sup>24</sup> and al-Shāṭibī,<sup>25</sup> prioritize the preservation of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property. Tjokroaminoto's model of Islamic socialism corresponds with these priorities. His emphasis on zakat, fraternity, justice, and collective responsibility reflects Islam's commitment to protecting life and property while nurturing communal harmony

Tjokroaminoto's integration of socialism and maqāṣid demonstrates how Islamic principles can drive social transformation

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<sup>21</sup> Absori et al., "Transformation Of Maqashid Al-Syariah (An Overview of the Development of Islamic Law in Indonesia)," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 11, no. 1 (July 3, 2016): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v11i1.854>.

<sup>22</sup> Mazen Hashem, *Maqasid Al-Shari'ah: A Civilizational Perspective* (Herndon: IIIT, 2023).

<sup>23</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), hlm. 105.

<sup>24</sup> Abdurrahman Misno (ed), *Panorama Maqashid Syari'ah*, (Bandung: Media Sains Indonesia, 2020), hlm. 38-41.

<sup>25</sup> Abdurrahman Misno (ed), *Panorama Maqashid Syari'ah....54-57*.

without abandoning religious foundations. His model challenges secularist claims that Islamic law lacks relevance in politics or economics. Instead, he advocates a *maqāṣid*-based socialism rooted in divine law, not human ideologies. The purpose of socialism, for him, is not merely material satisfaction but achieving a just and God-conscious society.

H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto formulated the core principles of his socio-political struggle through a well-known trilogy: “Setinggi-tinggi ilmu, semurni-murni tauhid, sepintar-pintar siasat” (the highest level of knowledge, the purest monotheism, the most strategic political intelligence). These were not merely slogans, but a conceptual framework that served as the ideological foundation of Syarikat Islam’s vision of Islamic socialism and social justice.

The Purest Monotheism (Semurni-murni Tauhid), Spiritual and moral dimensions of Tjokroaminoto’s struggle were anchored in the purity of monotheism (*tawḥīd*). For him, *tawḥīd* was not limited to a theological assertion but functioned as an ideological stance against all forms of oppression—colonialism, capitalism, and social stratification. It affirms the equal value of all human beings under God, reinforcing Islamic values of egalitarianism and brotherhood. This corresponds directly to the *maqāṣid* objective of preserving religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*).

The Highest Level of Knowledge (Setinggi-tinggi Ilmu), For Tjokroaminoto, knowledge was the cornerstone of an emancipatory Islamic society. Education was not merely a tool for personal advancement, but a means to liberate the ummah from colonial oppression and ignorance. Within the *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* framework, the preservation of intellect (*ḥifẓ al-‘aql*) is a fundamental objective. Thus, Tjokro’s emphasis on education reflects an Islamic commitment to intellectual empowerment and societal transformation.

The most strategic political intelligence (Sepintar-pintar Siasat), Tjokroaminoto underscored the necessity of intelligent strategy in socio-political engagement. Siasat (tactics) was not merely political maneuvering, but the ability to critically assess social realities and formulate effective responses. In the *maqāṣid* context, this dimension relates to the preservation of life (*ḥifẓ al-naḥs*), wealth (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), and the pursuit of public interest (*maṣlaḥah ‘āmmah*) through strategic reasoning and collective responsibility.

This trilogy embodies the holistic structure of Tjokroaminoto's Islamic socialism—aimed at cultivating ideal human beings who are intellectually enlightened, spiritually grounded, and strategically capable. The three pillars align with the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* paradigm, which emphasizes not only legal conformity but also a balance of spirituality, intellect, and just socio-political order.

Thus, the Syarikat Islam trilogy served not merely as an internal ideological guideline but as a synthesis of Islamic teachings and practical reform. It functioned as a comprehensive framework for building a just, ethical, and God-conscious society.

Furthermore, Nurcholish Madjid emphasized the importance of socialism because basically socialism is based on the principles of the Islamic religion which are in accordance with the soul and spirit of the Indonesian people, among the principles—which include religious concepts regarding nature (world outlook, weltanschauung, cosmology), regarding humans (human outlook) and regarding economic objects—are:

1. The entire universe and its contents belong to God, God is the absolute owner of everything that exists.
2. Economic objects belong to God (by themselves), which are then entrusted to humans (wealth as a mandate)
3. The recipient of the mandate must treat these objects according to the "will" of the Giver of the Trust (God), namely that it should be "donated" according to "the way of Allah".
4. The opportunity for humans to obtain the honor of Allah's mandate (namely, accumulating wealth) must be obtained in a clean and honest (halal) way.
5. Halal wealth must be cleaned every year with zakat.
6. The recipient of the wealth mandate does not have the right to use (for himself) the wealth as he pleases, but must be considered in such a way that it does not offend the general sense of justice (not stingy and wasteful, but is between the two).
7. The poor have definite rights in the wealth of the rich.
8. In certain circumstances, the poor have the right to "seize" their rights from the rich, if the latter party denies.

9. The highest crime against humanity is the accumulation of personal wealth without giving it a social function.
10. The most evil way to obtain wealth is “usury” or “exploitation de l’homme par l’homme”.
11. Humans will not obtain virtue before socializing the wealth they love.<sup>26</sup>

From the series of discussions, it can be said that according to Tjokro's thinking, socialism is not actually a pure idea that equates joint ownership "without responsibility" or the principle of ownership driven by Karl Marx or according to the Western view, but socialism is one part of the principles of Islam to realize the prosperity of the people that has been taught by the Prophet in the order of community life.

Each component of the trilogy not only reflects a distinct aspect of Islamic personal and social development, but also corresponds to specific objectives within the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* framework. For instance, the emphasis on monotheism (*tauhīd*) supports the preservation of faith (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), establishing a theological foundation for moral integrity and resistance to oppression. Meanwhile, the cultivation of knowledge (*‘ilm*) aligns with the protection of intellect (*ḥifẓ al-‘aql*), empowering individuals to think critically, act ethically, and challenge unjust structures. The third component, strategic political intelligence (*siasat*), reflects the dynamic and contextual application of wisdom, which connects with the goals of safeguarding life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), property (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), and broader societal welfare (*maṣlaḥah ‘ammah*). Together, the trilogy forms a comprehensive ethical-political framework that emphasizes both inner piety and outward reform. It highlights Tjokroaminoto's vision of an ideal Muslim who is not only spiritually devout but also intellectually sharp and politically astute—capable of transforming society in line with divine values. In this way, Tjokro's synthesis of Islamic ethics and activism mirrors a prophetic model of leadership deeply rooted in classical Islamic jurisprudence yet profoundly modern in application.

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 110-111.

## Conclusion

Since long before the establishment of the Indonesian state, Islamic knowledge had already been integrated into the cultural and religious fabric of the Nusantara, beginning with the early arrival of Islam. Therefore, the various forms of anti-colonial struggle in the archipelago cannot be separated from Islamic values—particularly those aligned with *maqāṣid al-shari‘ah*, such as religious freedom, justice, equality, solidarity, unity, and generosity. One of the figures who inspired other fighter figures about *maqāṣid al-shari‘ah* in fighting for the independence of the Dutch East Indies (read: Indonesia) was H.O.S Tjokroaminoto through his thoughts and social movements that started from the Islamic Trade Union organization to the Islamic Union. Through his leadership in organizations such as the Islamic Trade Union (Syarikat Dagang Islam) and later Syarikat Islam, he articulated a vision of "Islamic socialism"—a concept he also described as religious socialism. One of his most prominent thoughts was introduced with the term "socialism in Islam" or which was later also known as religious socialism/ Islamic socialism.

Tjokroaminoto's model of socialism did not follow Western or Marxist paradigms. Instead, he proposed a form of socialism deeply rooted in Islamic teachings and the moral vision of *maqāṣid al-shari‘ah*, aiming to realize an ideal human society based on faith, justice, and communal welfare. He firmly rejected materialist and class-struggle frameworks, emphasizing that the core principles of Islamic socialism—brotherhood, equality, and freedom—were directly derived from the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). To cultivate what he called the "perfect Muslim," Tjokroaminoto formulated a threefold principle (trilogy) as a framework for individual and societal development: "the purest monotheism, The highest level of knowledge and the most strategic political intelligence" (*semurni-murni tauhid, setinggi-tinggi ilmu, sepintar-pintar siasat*). These principles reflect a holistic vision that integrates spiritual, intellectual, and strategic dimensions of Islamic life.

In today's Indonesia, where ideological polarization, economic disparity, and religious discourse continue to shape the public sphere, revisiting Tjokroaminoto's Islamic socialism offers a compelling paradigm. His approach integrates timeless Islamic values with practical strategies for societal transformation, suggesting that faith-based political engagement need not abandon rationality, justice, or

inclusivity. Tjokro's model stands as an alternative to both rigid fundamentalism and secular populism, offering instead a maqāṣid-oriented middle path. This reaffirms his legacy not merely as a nationalist leader but as a transformative thinker whose ideas remain relevant in addressing the challenges of pluralism, democracy, and moral decline. Thus, further research is encouraged to explore the broader implications of his thought in shaping Islamic legal philosophy, educational reform, and political ethics in the modern Muslim world.

The novelty of this article lies in its repositioning of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto as a pioneering thinker of Islamic socialism who preceded post-independence Islamic political thought in Indonesia. Unlike most previous studies that focus on Middle Eastern influences or postcolonial developments, this study uniquely frames Tjokroaminoto's ideas within the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* paradigm, thus filling a significant gap in the legal-historical discourse of Indonesian Islam. However, one limitation of this article is its reliance on interpretive and conceptual analysis without incorporating extensive archival or ethnographic data, which could have further enriched the empirical foundation of the study. Moreover, while the article emphasizes Tjokroaminoto's ideological legacy, it could benefit from a more critical engagement with the practical challenges and contradictions faced by the Syarikat Islam movement during his leadership.

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