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Proletarian Islam in the Dutch East Indies: Haji Misbach's Thoughts and Social Justice Discourse in Sarekat Islam Surakarta

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Abstract

Objective: This study aims to analyze Haji Misbach's thoughts in building an Islamic-based social justice discourse and its role in the dynamics of the Surakarta Islamic Sarekat movement in the Dutch East Indies period. The main focus of this study is how Misbach formulated the idea of "proletarian Islam" as a form of resistance to colonial oppression and socio-economic inequality. **Theoretical framework:** which is used to combine social movement theory, especially the concept of framing and mobilization, with Antonio Gramsci's hegemonic approach to read ideological resistance to colonial domination. **Literature review:** shows that studies of Sarekat Islam tend to place major figures such as HOS Tjokroaminoto and Agus Salim at the center of the narrative, while Haji Misbach is more often positioned as a marginal or controversial figure due to his proximity to the leftist movement. Previous studies have also not reviewed in depth the construction of Misbach's thinking on Islamic social justice in the context of the struggle of the small working class. **Methods:** This study uses a qualitative-historical method with a critical library research approach through the analysis of primary documents such as Misbach's writings, archives of the Islamic Sarekat movement, contemporary newspapers, and colonial documents, which are then analyzed using historical discourse analysis techniques. **Results:** The research shows that Haji Misbach developed the concept of Islam as a liberation ideology that placed workers and peasants as the main subjects of the struggle, as well as criticized the movement elite who were considered too compromising towards the colonial system. Misbach also produced a framing of struggle that combined Islamic identity with class solidarity, thus

giving birth to a model of Islamic movements oriented towards socio-economic transformation. **Implications:** This study reinforces the understanding that Indonesia's Islamic thought tradition has, since its inception, had a social justice orientation and structural critique of colonial capitalism, making it relevant to contemporary Islamic political discourse. **Novelty:** this research lies in the attempt to reconstruct Haji Misbach's thought as a representation of "proletarian Islam" that not only functions as a historical phenomenon, but also as an embryo of progressive Islamic ideas in the Indonesian nationalist movement.

Keywords: haji misbach, sarekat islam surakarta, social justice, social movement, dutch east indies.

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian national movement in the early 20th century was an important phase in the process of forming national consciousness as well as the socio-political transformation of the indigenous people under the colonial rule of the Dutch East Indies. In this phase, various modern organizations emerged that became a forum for articulating the aspirations of the people, ranging from cultural and educational organizations to political and economic organizations. One of the organizations that has a great influence and is a milestone in the revival of the political Islamic movement in Indonesia is Sarekat Islam (SI). This organization was initially born out of the economic interests of the people, especially as a response to the dominance of non-indigenous traders and the injustice of the colonial economy. However, the development of Sarekat Islam then went beyond that initial goal, making it the first mass organization that was able to gather the social power of the people at large based on Islamic identity as the glue of solidarity [1].

Sarekat Islam not only plays a role as a socio-economic organization, but also becomes an important political force in articulating resistance to colonialism. In the course of its history, SI appeared as a movement that united the aspirations of Muslims, workers, small traders, and peasant groups, so that it functioned as a socio-political space that brought together various class interests in indigenous communities. The context of Dutch East Indies colonialism at that time showed sharp social inequality, especially due to the capitalistic economic system implemented by the colonial government through the exploitation of natural resources, tax policies, trade monopolies, and unequal access to education and economic opportunities. In such conditions, Sarekat Islam developed into a symbol of the people's resistance against colonial domination, as well as an ideological battleground between various groups with different political orientations [2].

In mainstream historiography, Sarekat Islam is often studied through major figures such as HOS Tjokroaminoto, Agus Salim, Abdul Muis, and Samanhudi. These figures are generally placed as the main representation in the national historical narrative. However, the dominant attention to central figures often gives rise to a historiographical tendency that excludes the role of local figures who actually have an important contribution in shaping the dynamics of movements at the regional level. In fact, Sarekat Islam, as a mass organization, is highly dependent on local branches that are the center of people's mobilization. One of the branches that has quite strong ideological dynamics is Sarekat Islam Surakarta. Surakarta at that time was an area with very intense socio-political activity, where labor movements, peasant groups, and urban Islamic communities developed rapidly, thus becoming a strategic space for the birth of movement figures oriented towards radical social change [3].

One of the figures that emerged from the context of Sarekat Islam Surakarta was Haji Misbach, an activist who had a different pattern of thought and movement than the SI figures in general. Haji Misbach is known as a firm figure in defending the small people and consistently criticizing the colonial socio-economic structure. He views colonialism as not only a form of political colonialism but also a system of economic oppression that creates structural poverty. Therefore, according to Misbach, the struggle against colonialism must be

accompanied by the struggle to build social justice for indigenous peoples. This view made Misbach a figure who was often seen as controversial because he showed an ideological closeness to the discourse of socialism. Even in several colonial sources, he was often labeled as "radical Islam" or "leftist Islam" due to his involvement in popular movements close to left-wing organizations [4].

In certain studies, Haji Misbach is often dubbed a figure of "proletarian Islam", a term that describes Misbach's efforts to integrate Islamic values with the consciousness of the working class and peasants. This concept is interesting because it shows that Islam in the context of the Indonesian national movement not only functions as a symbol of religious identity or moral legitimacy, but also as an ideological framework that is able to articulate criticism of social injustice. In Misbach's thought, Islam should not be understood solely as a ritual teaching, but rather as a social ethics that promotes liberation from oppression. In other words, proletarian Islam can be read as a form of Islamic praxis that favors the oppressed, making the poor not just an object of mercy, but the main subject of social change [5].

The phenomenon of proletarian Islamic thought carried by Haji Misbach is important because it shows the existence of ideological dialectics in the Surakarta Islamic Sarekat Islam, which does not stand as a homogeneous organization, but rather as an arena for discourse battles between moderate groups who prefer the path of political diplomacy and radical groups that emphasize more mass movements and social revolutions. In this context, Haji Misbach became a representative of a group that demanded that Sarekat Islam be firmer in defending workers and farmers, as well as rejecting compromises that were considered to weaken the people's struggle. This difference in orientation then affected the internal dynamics of Sarekat Islam, which led to the fragmentation of the movement, including the emergence of conflicts between Sarekat Islam Putih and Sarekat Islam Merah [6].

However, in existing academic studies, Haji Misbach is often only positioned as a fringe figure or discussed only in the context of the internal conflict of Sarekat Islam. Many studies have focused more on the history of the split between the SI and the relationship between Sarekat Islam and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), so that attention to aspects of Misbach's own thought has become less profound. In fact, the study of Misbach's ideas can make a great contribution to understanding the historical roots of social justice discourse in the Indonesian Islamic thought tradition. This study gap is important to fill, especially since the debate on Islamic relations and social justice is still a relevant issue in contemporary Indonesian political and social life [7].

In the context of the development of Islamic politics in modern Indonesia, the debate on the role of Islam in building a just social order is still ongoing. On the one hand, Islam is often understood as a symbolic identity, while on the other hand, there are efforts to revive Islam as a social movement that fights for the welfare of the people. Haji Misbach's thought can be an entrance to understand that the idea of Islam oriented towards social justice is not a new phenomenon, but has had historical roots since colonial times. Thus, this research not only contributes to the study of the history of national movements but is also relevant to the discourse of contemporary Islamic thought, especially in building a more progressive and defense-oriented Islamic paradigm for marginalized groups [8].

Based on this background, this study seeks to analyze Haji Misbach's thoughts and the social justice discourse that he built in Sarekat Islam Surakarta during the Dutch East Indies period. The focus of the research is on how Misbach constructed Islam as a liberation ideology that favors the small people, as well as how his thinking influenced the mass mobilization strategy in the Sarekat Islam movement in Surakarta. This research will also examine how Misbach's position in the internal dynamics of Sarekat Islam, as well as how the idea of proletarian Islam can be understood as a form of social criticism of colonialism and capitalism [9].

To examine these issues, this study uses the framework of social movement theory, especially the concept of framing, resource mobilization, and the process of forming collective identity. This framework is used to see how Misbach constructs a narrative of struggle that combines Islamic identity with class solidarity. In addition, this study also uses Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony to read how colonialism established dominance not only through military and political power, but also through ideological control and economic structures. Through this approach, Haji Misbach's thinking can be understood as a form of counter-hegemony or ideological resistance to the colonial system that oppresses the people [10].

This research was carried out through a qualitative-historical method with a library research approach supported by document analysis. Primary data in this study includes Haji Misbach's writings in contemporary print media, Sarekat Islam archives, colonial newspapers, and Dutch East Indies government documents containing records of movement activities. Secondary data were obtained from books, journals, and previous research that discussed Sarekat Islam, colonial social movements, and the dynamics of political Islam in Indonesia. The analysis technique used is the analysis of historical discourse to reveal the ideological meaning in the texts and activities of the movements carried out by Misbach [11].

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of Sarekat Islam (SI) as one of the largest movement organizations during the colonial period of the Dutch East Indies has become a fairly dominant theme in Indonesian national historiography. Sarekat Islam is often understood as the first modern organization capable of building a broad mass base by integrating Islamic identity as a symbol of socio-political solidarity. In the development of research, SI is generally studied through the perspective of political history, social history, as well as the study of Islam and nationalism [12].

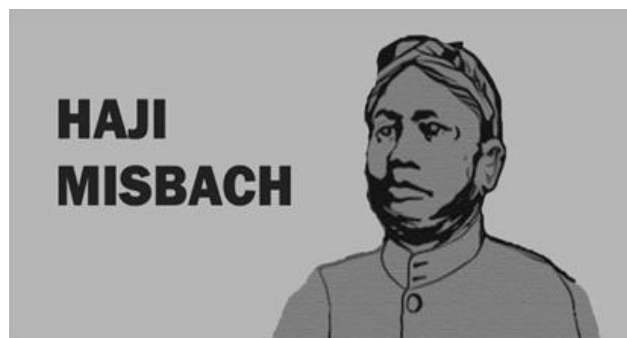


Figure 1. Haji Misbach is a Muslim but a Communist

<https://www.malutnetwork.com/biografi/pr-2632399453/haji-misbach-islam-tapi-komunis>

However, in much of the literature, the focus of discussion of Sarekat Islam is more often directed to major figures at the central level, such as HOS Tjokroaminoto, Agus Salim, and Abdul Muis, as well as the dynamics of Sarekat Islam as a national organization, while local branches with distinctive ideological characteristics often receive less in-depth attention. This makes the study of Sarekat Islam Surakarta and local figures such as Haji Misbach in a relatively marginal position in academic discourse [13].

A General Study of Sarekat Islam in Indonesian Historiography

Classical literature on Sarekat Islam generally places SI as an organization that became the catalyst for the rise of modern nationalism in Indonesia. Several authors assert that the SI evolved from an economic organization of Muslim merchants to a socio-political movement that had widespread influence. Such studies tend to emphasize the transformation of the SI as a mass organization and its role in shaping the political consciousness of the people. In this

Table 1. Proletarian Islam in the Dutch East Indies: Hajj Misbach's Thoughts and Social Justice Discourse in Sarekat Islam Surakarta

Focus of Literature Review	Key Findings of the Literature	Literature Limitations (Research Gap)	Relevance to this research
A general study of Sarekat Islam (SI) in Indonesian historiography	SI is seen as a large mass organization that combines Islam, economics, and politics in fighting colonialism	The study tends to be macro, centered on the SI at the national level, and the central figures	This study expands on the study by highlighting SI Surakarta and local figures (Haji Misbach)
The transformation of SI from an economic organization to a political movement	SI grew from a trade movement to a powerful people's political organization.	Lack of discussion of internal ideological dynamics at the regional branch level	This research emphasizes the ideological dynamics of SI Surakarta as the cradle of proletarian Islam.
SI Fragmentation (White SI vs Red SI)	The split of the SI occurred due to differences in political orientation, the entry of socialism/communism, and the conflict of struggle strategies	The study focuses more on organizational conflicts, rather than the analysis of the thoughts of local figures.	This study places Misbach as the main subject, not just part of the conflict.
A study of SI Surakarta as the center of the left movement	Surakarta is understood as a strategic area of the people's movement because of the strong base of workers and peasants	The study is still descriptive and has not focused on the construction of Islamic ideology as a tool of resistance	This research explores proletarian Islam as the ideology of Surakarta social movements
A study of Hajj Misbach as a leftist Islamic figure	Misbach is known as an SI activist close to the leftist movement and a defender of labor and the poor	Often labeled as controversial and only discussed as a marginal or biographical figure	This study systematically reconstructs Misbach's thinking in the discourse of social justice
Islamic studies and social justice in Indonesian history	Islam is seen as a teaching that encourages social concern and the welfare of the ummah	Literature studies more important figures (Dahlan, Hasyim Asy'ari, Natsir, Hamka), not "proletarian Islam" figures	This research enriches the study by presenting Misbach as an example of early progressive Islam
Islamic Studies as a liberation movement in the colonial context	Islam is often the moral basis for fighting colonial injustice and building the solidarity of the ummah	Studies have not focused on the integration of Islam with the consciousness of the working class and peasants	This research affirms proletarian Islam as a synthesis of Islam + class struggle
Theory of social movements in political Islamic studies	The theory of framing, resource mobilization, and collective identity effectively explains mass movements	The theoretical approach of social movements is rarely applied in the study of local Sarekat Islam	This study uses framing theory to read Misbach's mobilization strategy
Gramsci's concept of hegemony in colonial studies	Colonialism works through the dominance of ideology, economics, and social legitimacy.	SI studies are generally still historical-conventional, not much using Gramsci's hegemony.	This study analyzes Misbach as a counter-hegemony to colonialism.
Research gap (overall Research gap)	Haji Misbach is mentioned in the literature, but has not been studied as an Islamic thinker of social justice in depth.	The focus of the literature is still dominant on the central figure and the SI conflict, not on Misbach's proletarian Islamic thought.	This research offers novelty by making Misbach the main focus and using modern theories.

Studies that deal with Misbach generally discuss him in the context of Sarekat Islam's relationship with the communist movement, as well as his role in the mobilization of workers and the poor in Surakarta. Some researchers consider that Misbach is a figure who uses Islam as a tool of legitimacy for socio-economic struggle, to raise people's consciousness to fight

against colonial oppression. However, some literature tends to view Misbach only as a figure who "deviates" from the main line of Sarekat Islam or as a controversial political actor [19].

In addition, studies of Misbach are also often biographical or historical narratives that only describe his life journey and activities. This approach does not fully provide room for an in-depth exploration of Misbach's construction of Islam and social justice, and how he constructs the proletarian Islamic discourse as a systematic ideological framework [20].

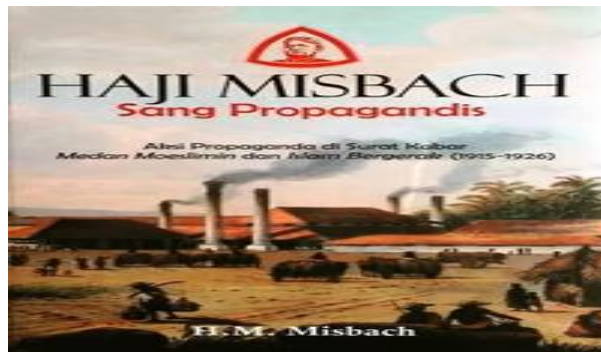
Studies on Islam and Social Justice in Indonesian History

The theme of Islam and social justice has become an important concern in the study of Indonesian Islamic thought. Several studies show that Islam in Indonesia is not only developing as a ritual teaching, but also as a social force that demands changes in the structure of society. Studies of the thoughts of figures such as Ahmad Dahlan, Hasyim Asy'ari, Natsir, and Hamka often emphasize that Islam has a strong social dimension in building a just and prosperous society [21].

However, literature on Islam and social justice generally focuses more on modern Islamic reformers or figures of large organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Meanwhile, Islamic thought oriented towards the struggle of the working class and peasants during the colonial period was still rarely studied systematically. In fact, historical experience shows that Islam is often used as a basis for moral legitimacy to counter colonial economic exploitation [22]. In this context, Haji Misbach became an important figure because his thinking showed an Islamic style that was very close to the social justice agenda and criticism of colonial capitalism. Thus, the study of Misbach can broaden the understanding of the variety of Islamic thought in Indonesia, especially those oriented towards the defense of the proletariat [23].

Theoretical Studies on Islam and Social Movements

In the study of modern social science, social movement theory is often used to explain how a group builds mass mobilization, forms a collective identity, and develops a strategy of resistance to dominant power. In the context of political Islam, the theory of social movements has been used to explain the phenomenon of the rise of modern Islam and the resistance to colonialism. The concepts of framing, resource mobilization, and political opportunity structure are often used to see how Islamic movements build narratives of struggle and take advantage of political opportunities [24]. However, the application of social movement theory to Sarekat Islam and local figures such as Haji Misbach is still relatively limited. Most research on SI is more oriented towards conventional political history approaches that emphasize the chronology of events. As a result, the ideological aspects and construction of the discourse of struggle are less explored through the analysis of modern social theory [25].



Gambar 3. Haji Misbach the Propagandist

<https://www.goodreads.com/id/book/show/31370914-haji-misbach-sang-propagandis>

In addition to the theory of social movements, Gramsci's concept of hegemony is also relevant in reading Islamic movements under colonialism. Hegemony explains how dominance is not only built through repressive power, but also through control of ideology, culture, and economic structure. In this case, Haji Misbach's thought can be understood as a form of counter-hegemony, namely, ideological resistance that seeks to dismantle colonial legitimacy and build people's consciousness to demand social justice [26].

Research Gap

Based on the mapping of the literature above, it can be concluded that the study of Sarekat Islam has developed widely, but still has limitations in several aspects. First, studies of Sarekat Islam still tend to focus on the narrative of central figures and the dynamics of national organizations, while local figures such as Haji Misbach have not received proportionate attention. Second, the discussion of Misbach in literature more often appears as part of the conflict between the White SI and the Red SI or its association with the left movement, rather than as an in-depth study of his ideological thinking and construction. Third, the study of Islam and social justice is more directed at modern Islamic figures of the 20th century who are oriented towards educational reform or theological reform, while Islamic thought oriented towards class struggle in the colonial context has not been widely explored [27].



Figure 4. Left Muhammad

<https://market.uad.ac.id/product/muhammadiyah-kiri>

Therefore, this research offers a scientific contribution by placing Haji Misbach as the main subject of the study, especially in discussing the construction of the discourse of "proletarian Islam" as a form of Islamic thought that favors workers and peasants. This research also expands the approach by using Gramsci's theory of social movements and hegemony to read Misbach's activities not only as historical phenomena, but also as a process of ideological formation and social mobilization [28].

Research Positions in Literature

This research is positioned as an effort to fill the gap in the study of Islamic thought and social justice in Sarekat Islam Surakarta through the figure of Haji Misbach. Unlike previous research that emphasized the internal conflict of Sarekat Islam or the relationship between SI and communism, this study focuses more on the construction of Misbach's thinking on Islam as an ideology of social liberation. Thus, this research not only contributes to the historiography of Sarekat Islam but also to the development of the study of Islamic political thought in Indonesia, especially in the progressive Islamic tradition oriented towards social justice [29].

Table 2. Proletarian Islam in the Dutch East Indies: Hajj Misbach's Thoughts and Social Justice Discourse in Sarekat Islam Surakarta

Author	Study Focus	Key Findings	Limitations (Research Gap)	Position of this research
Sartono Kartodirdjo	People's social movements in Indonesian history	The people's movement emerged as a response to colonial inequality and economic exploitation.	Not studying Sarekat Islam Surakarta and Misbach figures specifically	This research places Misbach as an actor of local social movements in a colonial context
Takashi Shiraishi	Islam and political radicalism during the movement	SI became a forum for mass mobilization; There is an ideological battle between Islam and socialism	Focus more on national dynamics and macro ideological conflicts	This study narrows down the study of SI Surakarta and the construction of Misbach's thought
Deliar Noer	Indonesia's modern Islamic movement	Modern Islam has become the motor of the political revival of the ummah and nationalism.	Local figures like Misbach are not the main focus.	This research expands the study of modern Islam through the figure of Misbach as the Islam of social justice.
George McTurnan Kahin	Indonesian nationalism and revolution	The national movement was influenced by colonial conditions and the resistance of mass organizations.	It does not discuss in detail SI Surakarta and the dimensions of Islamic thought of social justice.	This research adds the dimension of proletarian Islam in the context of nationalism.
Harry J. Benda	Islam and colonial socio-political changes	Islam played an important role in the social change of colonial society	It does not discuss the integration of Islam with the consciousness of the proletariat class	This research fills the gap by examining proletarian Islam as a synthesis of Islam and class
Clifford Geertz	The social structure of Javanese society and Islamic expressions	Javanese Islam has social variations; The role of the elite and the people influences the movement	The analysis is more anthropological, not focused on Misbach's activism	This research uses the Javanese social context to read Misbach's position as a folk figure
Robert van Niel	The rise of indigenous elites and modern organizations	Modern organizations give birth to educated elites as leaders of the movement	Lack of highlighting grassroots figures and farmer-worker movements	This research highlights local figures and the proletarian base as the center of the movement
Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara	The role of Islam in Indonesia's national history	Islam contributed greatly to the struggle against colonialism	Studies tend to be normative and make less use of modern social theory	This research strengthens the analysis with framing theory and hegemony
Taufik Abdullah	Islam and the formation of socio-political consciousness	Islam becomes an instrument for the formation of social solidarity and political identity	Not delving into Misbach as a producer of social justice discourse	This research focuses on Misbach as a producer of proletarian Islamic ideology
Onghokham	Colonial power structures and local elites	Colonialism survived through the collaboration of indigenous elites and social control.	Not commenting on Sarekat Islam as a form of counter-hegemony	This research places Misbach as an ideological opposition to colonialism
Antonio Gramsci	Hegemony and counter-hegemony theories	Dominance is built through ideology and cultural legitimacy	Not directly discussing Islam or SI	This study uses Gramsci's hegemony to analyze colonialism and Misbach's discourse.
Snow & Benford	Framing theory in social movements	Framing builds a collective identity and mobilizes the masses	Not examining the case of Indonesian colonial Islam	This study applies framing to explain the mobilization strategy of SI Surakarta
McCarthy & Zald	Resource mobilization theory	Social movements are successful if they can organize resources	Not specifically studying colonial Islamic movements	This study adapts mobilization theory to read Misbach's movements

		and networks.		
Various authors	White SI vs Red SI Conflict	SI experienced fragmentation due to differences in ideological orientation	Misbach is only considered a part of the conflict, not a thinker	This research elevates Misbach as an Islamic thinker of social justice
Contemporary studies	Islam and social justice	Islam can be the basis of social ethics and progressive movements	The focus of the study is more post-independence, not the colonial era	This research confirms that progressive Islam has emerged since colonialism through Misbach

Through this approach, this research is expected to show that the proletarian Islamic discourse built by Haji Misbach is part of the complex dynamics of Islamic thought in the colonial period, as well as the initial foundation for the idea of Islam that places social justice at the core of the struggle of the ummah [30].

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative-historical research design to examine Haji Misbach's thought and its role in shaping the discourse of social justice within Sarekat Islam Surakarta during the Dutch East Indies period. The qualitative approach is chosen to enable an in-depth interpretation of ideas, narratives, and ideological constructions embedded in historical texts, while the historical method allows for contextualizing Misbach's thought within the socio-political conditions of colonial society.

The research primarily relies on a critical library research approach, focusing on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include Haji Misbach's writings, archival materials from the Sarekat Islam movement, contemporary newspapers, and relevant colonial administrative documents. These sources are selected to capture both the internal dynamics of the movement and the broader colonial context that shaped Misbach's intellectual and political position. Secondary sources consist of scholarly works on Sarekat Islam, Indonesian nationalism, Islamic political thought, and colonial history, which are used to support contextual analysis and historiographical positioning.

Data collection is conducted through systematic documentation and source criticism, including external criticism to verify the authenticity of documents and internal criticism to assess their credibility, bias, and historical significance. This process ensures the reliability and validity of the historical data used in the study.

The analytical method applied is historical discourse analysis. This approach is used to examine how Misbach constructed the concept of "proletarian Islam" through language, symbols, and arguments, and how these discourses functioned as tools of social mobilization and ideological resistance. The analysis is further guided by social movement theory—particularly the concepts of framing and mobilization—to understand how Islamic identity was articulated in relation to class consciousness. In addition, Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony is employed to interpret Misbach's ideas as a form of counter-hegemonic practice aimed at challenging colonial domination at ideological, cultural, and structural levels.

Through this methodological framework, the study seeks to reconstruct Misbach's thought systematically, while also situating it within broader debates on social justice, Islamic movements, and anti-colonial resistance in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of historical data tracing, Sarekat Islam Surakarta developed in a complex socio-political context, characterized by colonial economic inequality, sharp social stratification, and increasing political awareness of indigenous people. Surakarta, as one of the cultural and economic centers in Central Java, is a strategic area in the development of movement organizations, especially because the structure of society is clearly divided

between elite groups of priyayi, traders, and small people consisting of workers and farmers [31].

The results of the study show that SI Surakarta has a more populist character than other branches, because its mass base is dominated by small groups of people. This raises the demand that Sarekat Islam does not stop at the economic agenda of traders, but becomes a more radical political movement in defending the interests of workers and farmers. This situation became the starting point for the emergence of figures such as Haji Misbach, who brought a firmer orientation of social struggle [32].

The Socio-Political Context of Sarekat Islam Surakarta in the Dutch East Indies Period

The colonial government of the Dutch East Indies at that time implemented a capitalistic economic system that gave great profits to European businessmen and certain intermediary groups, while the indigenous people experienced exploitation through taxes, forced labor, and low wages. This condition gave birth to social tensions that became fertile ground for the emergence of the people's resistance movement. In this context, Sarekat Islam Surakarta did not only function as a religious or economic organization, but also developed into a forum for mass mobilization that voiced social injustice and colonial oppression [33].

Haji Misbach's Activism Profile and His Ideological Position in Sarekat Islam

Haji Misbach emerged as a prominent figure in Sarekat Islam Surakarta because of his courage to openly criticize colonialism and build a people's movement based on class consciousness. In contrast to other SI figures who tend to emphasize diplomacy strategies and formal organization, Misbach shows a tendency to prioritize mass action and social propaganda. Based on the analysis of documents and historical narratives, Misbach was not only active in the organization of Sarekat Islam, but also used the print media and public space to spread the idea of resistance. His activism shows that Misbach is a figure who understands the importance of discourse production in political struggles. He built the opinion that colonialism was the main source of poverty of the people and that Islam should be the moral basis for resisting such systems of oppression [34].

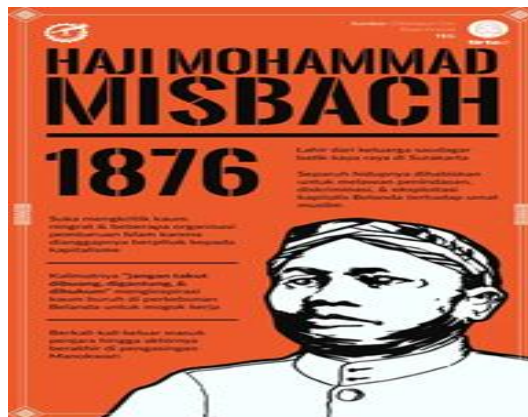


Figure 5. Revolutionary Haji Misbach

<https://tirto.id/haji-misbach-haji-revolusioner-yang-memadukan-islam-komunisme-dw2b>

In Sarekat Islam, Misbach's position can be categorized as a figure who is on the ideological spectrum of the "Islamic left". He developed the view that Islam is not contrary to the struggle for socialism, because both carry the values of justice and equality. This perspective often makes him confront more moderate or pragmatic Sarekat Islam groups. Thus, Misbach became a symbol of resistance to colonial domination as well as an internal

criticism of the Sarekat Islam elite, who were considered less responsive to the suffering of the small people [35].

The Construction of the Concept of "Proletarian Islam" in Hajj Misbach's Thought

The results of the study show that the concept of "proletarian Islam" in Haji Misbach's thought was born as a response to the colonial socio-economic reality that oppressed the people. Misbach views that Islam should not be understood only as ritual and spiritual teachings, but rather as a value system that demands social liberation. In this case, he positioned workers and peasants as the group closest to the teachings of Islam because they were the most oppressed, in accordance with the spirit of Islam that defends the poor. The concept of proletarian Islam in thought [36].

Haji Misbach can be explained through three main characters. First, Islam is understood as a liberation ideology that demands economic justice and the elimination of exploitation. Second, Islam is used as a moral basis to build social solidarity between the poor, so that a collective identity is formed that can resist colonial domination. Third, proletarian Islam encourages the political consciousness of the people to be oriented not only towards individual piety, but also social piety manifested through the struggle against injustice [37].

Proletarian Islam as a Framing Strategy in Mass Mobilization

From the perspective of social movement theory, the results of the study found that the proletarian Islam developed by Misbach functions as an effective framing strategy. Framing is a process of forming a collective meaning that can arouse political awareness and mobilize the masses. Misbach frames colonialism as a common enemy that not only deprives the nation of independence but also creates structural poverty. With this framing, Misbach succeeded in making Islam a symbol of struggle that is not limited to religious identity, but rather as a social force that encourages class solidarity [38].



Figure 6. Haji Misbach is a Communist Hajj

<https://www.kompasiana.com/aslamanandarizal/552dffa06ea83499168b4567/haji-misbach-sang-haji-merah>

The framing of proletarian Islam also allowed Misbach to bridge the differences between the Islamic movement and the left movement. He emphasized that the struggle of workers and peasants is in line with Islamic teachings on the defense of the weak. In this way, Misbach was able to expand the support base of Sarekat Islam Surakarta to include groups that previously did not have a strong political consciousness. This shows that Misbach is not only an ideological activist but also has an effective political communication strategy in building mass movements [39].

Resistance to Colonial Hegemony: An Analysis of Gramsci's Perspective

When viewed through Gramsci's theory of hegemony, Dutch East Indies colonialism not only controlled the people through military and administrative power, but also through economic control and ideological legitimacy. Colonialism created a social system that placed the natives as a subordinate group, while at the same time building a structure of consciousness that made the people accept injustice as normal. In this context, Haji Misbach's thought can be understood as a form of counter-hegemony or resistance to colonial ideological domination. Misbach dismantled colonial legitimacy by asserting that the colonial economic system was a form of tyranny that was contrary to Islamic values. He also criticized the indigenous elite group that cooperated with the colonials as part of a hegemony structure that extended the oppression of the people [40].

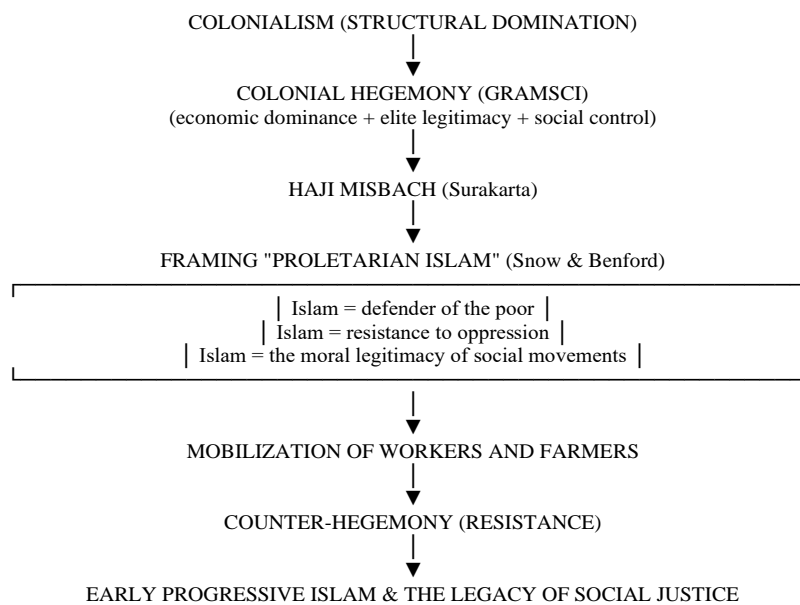


Figure 7. Theoretical Analysis

The chart explains that Haji Misbach's thoughts and movements in Sarekat Islam Surakarta were born from the socio-political conditions of the Dutch East Indies, which were full of inequality. In the Input (Context) section, the chart shows that colonialism created economic exploitation, colonial capitalism, and socio-political discrimination that caused indigenous peoples—especially workers and peasants—to experience structural poverty and oppression [41].

Furthermore, in the Process section, the chart illustrates how this condition gives birth to an awareness of social crisis, namely the awareness that the suffering of the people is not just fate, but the result of the colonial system. In that situation, Haji Misbach emerged as an important actor in Sarekat Islam Surakarta who not only acted as an activist but also built a discourse of struggle. He then formed the concept of "Proletarian Islam", which is an understanding of Islam that emphasizes the value of social justice, the defense of the mustadh'afin, and criticism of colonial capitalism [42].

The next process is the movement strategy. The chart shows that Misbach used framing to transform Islam into a tool of social mobilization. Islam is used to build the collective identity of the oppressed people and strengthen solidarity between workers and peasants. However, in the process, internal conflicts arose in Sarekat Islam, as some of the SI elites were moderate and compromising, while Misbach was in a radical current that emphasized the people's struggle more intensely [43].

In the Output section, the chart emphasizes that from this process several important results were born, such as the formation of an Islamic discourse oriented towards social justice, the increase of the people's movement in Surakarta, and the strengthening of the Surakarta Islamic Sarekat as a base for farmer mobilization. Misbach's thinking also gave rise to a form of ideological resistance to colonialism, so that it can be understood as a symbol of early progressive Islam in Indonesia [44].

Finally, in the Outcome section, the chart shows that Haji Misbach's thinking resulted in counter-hegemony (resistance to the domination of colonial ideology) as described in Gramsci's theory. Misbach fought colonialism not only through political action, but also through a war of ideologies and ideas. The historical impact was the birth of a progressive Islamic embryo that emphasized social piety and economic justice. In addition, the chart also shows that the idea of proletarian Islam is still relevant in the modern context because it can be used as a framework for thinking in dealing with social inequality, structural poverty, and economic domination that still occur today [45].

CONCLUSION

This study shows that Haji Misbach's thought within Sarekat Islam Surakarta represents a key expression of "proletarian Islam" in the Indonesian national movement, where Islam is understood as an ideology of social liberation rather than merely a ritual doctrine. In the colonial context of the Dutch East Indies, marked by exploitation, inequality, and capitalist domination, Misbach argued that poverty was not fate but the result of oppressive structures. Grounded in the values of justice ('adl), equality (musawah), and the defense of the oppressed (mustadh'afin), he positioned workers and peasants as central agents of struggle while promoting cross-class solidarity. The study finds that proletarian Islam functioned as an effective framing strategy by linking Islamic identity with class consciousness, making Islam both a tool of mass mobilization and a source of moral legitimacy against colonial rule. From a Gramscian perspective, Misbach's ideas reflect a form of counter-hegemony aimed at challenging colonial power at political, cultural, and economic levels. However, his radical stance also generated internal tensions within Sarekat Islam, as more moderate elites favored compromise, leading to the marginalization of his ideas in both the movement and national historiography. Overall, this study highlights Sarekat Islam as an arena of ideological contestation between moderate and radical currents. It also demonstrates the continued relevance of Misbach's thought for contemporary Indonesia, particularly in addressing inequality and structural poverty, and positions it as an early foundation for a progressive Islamic paradigm centered on social justice and the defense of marginalized groups.

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Author Contribution

Faiz Fii Diin and Muhammad Yamin Arif are the sole authors of this research and contributed fully to all stages of the study. The author developed the research concept, conducted data collection through library research, analyzed relevant literature, and interpreted the findings. The writing, revision, and finalization of the manuscript were

entirely completed by the author. The author also ensured the originality, accuracy, and integrity of the work. All aspects of this article reflect the author's independent academic responsibility and scholarly commitment.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest related to the publication of this research. This study was conducted independently without any financial funding, sponsorship, or external influence that could affect the research process or its outcomes. The authors confirm that all findings and interpretations are presented objectively and transparently. Institutional affiliation has not influenced the content of this work. The authors uphold academic integrity and ethical standards throughout the research and publication process.

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