

Pan-Islamism and Response to the Collapse of Ottoman Turks in the Dutch East Indies in 1924

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Abstract: This article was written against the backdrop of the position of the Ottoman Turks, which historically had a significant influence on Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. The Muslims of the Dutch East Indies saw that the Ottoman Turks were their political and spiritual representatives. Thus, this article aims to find out the background and response of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies when the Ottoman Empire was overthrown and replaced with the Republic of Turks. This article used historical research methods with stages in heuristics, criticism/verification, interpretation, and historiography. The data is used as primary data taken from various contemporary mass media reports and secondary data. From the results of the analysis, it is known that the collapse of the Ottoman Turks on 3 March 1924 was responded to by the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies with efforts to revitalize the caliphate through efforts to carry out congresses/meetings, the formation of committees/special agencies and the publication of mass media. The changing image of Turks in the eyes of the Muslim population of the Dutch East Indies eventually contributed to the emergence of new discourses, especially regarding the relationship between Islam and the state in the context of searching for the format of an independent state for Indonesia in the future. This discourse has yet to end in Indonesia and is still experiencing dynamics.

Abstrak: Artikel ini ditulis dengan latar belakang posisi Turki Utsmani yang secara historis memiliki pengaruh signifikan terhadap umat Islam di Hindia Belanda. Umat Islam Hindia Belanda melihat bahwa Turki Usmani adalah perwakilan politik dan spiritual mereka. Maka dari itu, artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui latar belakang dan respon umat Islam Hindia Belanda ketika Kesultanan Utsmaniyah digulingkan dan diganti dengan Republik Turki. Artikel ini menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah dengan tahapan heuristik, kritik/verifikasi, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Data yang digunakan sebagai data primer diambil dari berbagai pemberitaan media massa kontemporer dan data sekunder. Dari hasil analisis diketahui bahwa runtuhnya Turki Utsmani pada tanggal 3 Maret 1924 ditanggapi oleh umat Islam Hindia Belanda dengan upaya merevitalisasi khilafah melalui upaya melakukan kongres/pertemuan, pembentukan panitia/badan khusus dan publikasi media massa. Berubahnya citra orang Turki di mata penduduk Muslim Hindia Belanda akhirnya turut melahirkan wacana baru, khususnya mengenai hubungan Islam dan negara dalam rangka pencarian format negara merdeka bagi Indonesia di Indonesia. masa depan. Wacana ini belum berakhir di Indonesia dan masih mengalami dinamika.

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INTRODUCTION

After the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 AD, Islamic leadership was continued by the caliphs. The word caliphate or *Khilafah* in Arabic grammar is a form of a verbal noun that requires an active subject or actor called the *caliph*. The word *Khilafah* thus refers to a series of actions carried out by a person, i.e., someone who is called a *caliph*. Therefore, there can be no caliphate without a caliph. The *caliphate*

means the replacement of predecessors, both individually and in groups. Technically, the *Khilafah* is an Islamic governing body based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. The *Khilafah* is a medium for enforcing the *deen* (religion) and advancing *sharia*. The word *caliph* comes from the root word *khalifa* (kh-lf), which means to replace, follow, or come later. Further see (Sudrajat, 2011, pp. 2-4). Also, there are still different conceptions of the (technical) form of government that occurred after the *khulafaurra-syidin*. (Can see, Maududi, 2007).

Under the leadership of the caliphs, Islam (as a religion) began to spread more widely. Recorded until the 8th century AD, the influence of Islam has spread throughout the Middle East, Africa, North, and Spain (Hitti, 2006, pp. 258-268). Then during the Umayyad dynasty, Islam's influence grew in the archipelago (Tjandrasasmita, 2000, p. 32). The interaction of the archipelago with the Middle East region is estimated to have entered the 7th century AD (Muzakir, 2010, p. 161). At first, the interaction was more in economic and trade relations, which were limited to the search for spices and other needed commodities (Putuhena, 2007, pp. 83-95). However, when the Middle East region was under the caliphate's rule, these relations expanded into relations of political-religious and intellectual.

In the context of its relationship with the Archipelago, at the beginning of the 16th century AD, the Ottoman Turks had established diplomatic relations, especially with the Aceh sultanate and also several other sultanates such as the Jambi sultanate, especially political ties with the provision of military assistance (Hasjmy, 1983, pp. 97-119). This diplomatic relationship, in the end, further strengthened the relationship between the Ottoman Turks and the Archipelago at that time which was not limited to military issues. The long historical narrative between the Ottoman Turks and the Archipelago continued until the early 20th century AD when the people of the archipelago began to realize their national identity as the Indonesian nation. The National ideas in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) at that time were also motivated by the conditions of the Ottoman Turks, especially the Young Turk movement, which was considered to have inspired the national struggle of the Indonesian nation (Pringgodigdo, 1950, pp. 7-8). Young Turk itself is a counter-government movement/opposition to the government of Abdul Hamid II as the last Turkish sultan. This movement opposes Abdul Hamid's absolutism practice and counters Pan-Islamic ideology with Pan-Turkish ideology (Abdurrahman *et al.*, 2012, pp. 150-155).

The Turk's caliphate was then overthrown on 3 March, 1924. The event of the collapse of the Ottoman Turks immediately became news that spread and shocked the Islamic world. This condition is inseparable from Pan-Islamic understanding, which at that time influenced many Muslims in various parts of the world, including in the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, when this news reached the Dutch East Indies, many Muslims responded and fought for it to be upright again (Suminto, 1985, pp. 80-83).

Several literature studies have reviewed the relationship between the Ottoman Turks and the Dutch East Indies. The first is from Husnul Aqib Suminto in his book *Political Islam of the Dutch East Indies: Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken*. This book explains the relationship between Pan-Islam and the position of the caliph. It was also described in the book about the response and concern of the Dutch East Indies government over the influence of Pan-Islamic ideas pioneered by the Ottoman Turks in the Dutch East Indies so that the Dutch East Indies government made a political policy of separating political and religious affairs and culminating in a policy of establishing the Office of Religion/Ministry of Religion in the Dutch East Indies. Second, Deliar Noer, in his book *Modern Islamic Movement in Indonesia 1901-1942*, describes the dynamics of Muslims in the year 1901-1942's. This book also explains the background of the Dutch East Indies Muslims - who were gathered in various Islamic organizations - on the national ideas of their time, one of which was the *Sarekat Islam* which could be said to have had a central role in responding to the collapse of the Ottoman Turks. Third, the writings of Martin van Bruinessen in the journal *Studia Islamika* Vol. 2, No. 3, 1995, whose report was entitled *Muslim of The Dutch East Indies and The Caliphate Question*. It describes the struggle (enforcement) of the caliphate in the Dutch East Indies in the 1920s. The explanation starts from the history of the relationship between the Ottoman Turks and Muslims in Indonesia. It continues with the response of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies when the Ottoman Empire was overthrown. This article explains how the chronology of the caliphate struggled until then the problem of this caliphate disappeared in the Dutch East Indies.

The sources above are pieces of the story the researchers will tell in this article. Most importantly, especially the work of Martin van Bruinessen, where Martin's writing has become a reasonably large piece of building this article. However, this

article differs from the reports of Martin van Bruinessenas well as other similar works. This article is a further elaboration, especially from Martin's writing which only highlights how Muslims responded to the collapse of the Ottoman Turks and is limited to what happened during the congress of *al-Islam and sich*. This article adds further discussion about why the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies responded to the fall of the Ottoman Turks and also the response forms that were directly related to the events of the fall of the Ottoman Turks. Thus, this article aims to reveal the background of the relationship between the Dutch East Indies and the Ottoman Turks and discusses the response of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies when the Ottoman Turks collapsed in 1924.

METHOD

The writing of this article uses the historical method. The historical process consists of four stages: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The first stage in the historical method is heuristics. Heuristics is the stage of searching and finding sources through literature study. The primary sources are news from several newspapers published in 1924-1930. In particular, this article uses the *Bandera Islam* newspaper published in 1924, which reported a lot about the response made by the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies about efforts to revitalize the caliphate. Researchers also use contemporary newspapers, such as *Neratja*, *Indies Baroe*, and *Fadjar Asia*, as primary sources. These current newspapers are a collection of old newspapers owned by the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, the primary source on the Ottoman Empire is a book written by Lord Eversley entitled *The Turkish Empire: Its Growth and Decay*. This book was published in 1917 and can be classified as a primary source on the Ottomans; in 1917, the Ottomans were still standing as an independent political entity, written in contemporary times.

The second stage, namely the stage of criticism, consists of two kinds: external and internal. In this stage, the collected sources are tested to obtain accurate sources. Criticism is carried out externally and internally. External criticism aims to test the source's authenticity, including investigating the source's form, age, time, and all things related to the authenticity of the source. Meanwhile, internal criticism aims to critically and accurately examine the contents of the source and whether it can be trusted. Third stage namely interpretation. This stage is in the performance process after the data has been

collected and critiqued so that it can produce a description. Interpretation is made analytically and synthetically (Kuntowijoyo, 2005). Various data and information about the dynamics of the Dutch East Indies Muslims in responding to the collapse of the Ottoman Turks are described and described to be analyzed and put together and then assembled into a unified whole (Herlina, 2008). The last stage is historiography, which is a Step presentation of the results of interpretation to become historical writing.

PAN ISLAM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES: THE RELATIONSHIP OF OTTOMAN TURKS AND MOESLEM OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The relationship between the Ottoman Turks and the Archipelago has long been started since the 16th century AD, as stated in the introduction to this paper. The relationship between the Ottoman Turks and the Archipelago was further strengthened by the increasingly rapid development of the Islamic revival and renewal discourse, which in this case, was in the form of Pan-Islamic ideas. Thus, the Pan-Islamic idea was the common thread between the Ottoman Turks and the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the 20th century AD.

Pan-Islam itself is broadly defined as solidarity among Muslims. The pilgrimage and the caliphate are two means to strengthen the solidarity among Muslims worldwide (Arief, Abdullah, Syu'bi, & Nosa, 2005, p. 255). Pan-Islam terminology can be understood from three meanings. First, the general opposition to Western colonialism was based on Islam and Muslims in each colony. Second, the tools used by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II (ruled 1876-1909 AD) to maintain and develop the influence of the Ottoman Turks over the Islamic world. Third, efforts to revive the caliphate system after the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924 (Ministry of Religion, 1993, p. 79-80).

Pan-Islam entered the Dutch East Indies through the Hajj, education, and mass media channels (Formichi, 2012, p. 64). The Hajj channel became a channel that contributed significantly to the entry and development of Pan-Islamic discourse in the Dutch East Indies. In its development, Pan-Islamic discourse by the pilgrimage channel at the end of the 19th century AD became increasingly strategic after the Suez Canal (1869) opening, which further facilitated Arab relations with the Middle East and the archipelago. The opening of the Suez Canal as a transportation route can streamline the travel time of the pilgrims to allow for more effec-

tive direct contact between the Muslims in the Dutch East Indies and the other Islamic in the world, including Arab countries. Since then, the number of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies who went on the pilgrimage has increased. Since then, the number of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies who went on the pilgrimage has increased. This was deepened by the culture of the indigenous pilgrims in Mecca to deepen their Islamic knowledge, and in the end, they also came into contact with Pan-Islamic ideas. Likewise, Arab immigrants who came to the Dutch East Indies increased. They generally departed from Hadramaut, Yemen, both as traders and preachers. In addition to selling their wares in the Dutch East Indies, they spread Pan-Islamic ideas, especially among their descendants (Arabs) who had already come to the Dutch East Indies. The position of the Arabs was so crucial that, in several cases, the hostility of the indigenous Muslims of the Dutch East Indies to the colonial government occurred because of the strict supervision policy against the Arabs in the Dutch East Indies. *Jam'iat Khaer*, an organization mainly consisting of Arabs living in the Dutch East Indies, even had close ties to the Ottoman Turks. Even Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who lived in Istanbul, had also sent his envoy, Ahmed Amin Bey, at the request of the association to investigate the situation of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. As a result, the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies then imposed a ban on Arabs from visiting certain areas. See, (Suminto, 1985, p 92-96; Noer, 1982: 68-73).

In the Dutch East Indies, the Pan-Islamic idea was interpreted more as an effort to reform Islam. Pan-Islam in the Dutch East Indies was then articulated at the individual and group levels. At the individual level, the Pan-Islam that developed in the Dutch East Indies was considered an effort to resist the arbitrariness of the colonial government. In this context, articulating the activities carried out by each individual will significantly depend on the individual's abilities. Among the activities carried out at the individual level was providing material support for the interests of Pan-Islamic propaganda in the Dutch East Indies. At the level of the Pan-Islamic group, it is more interpreted as an effort to reform Islam. Thus, in this context, Pan-Islam established various large and small Islamic organizations. The hustle and bustle of Islamic reform that developed in the Middle East in the 19-20 century AD over time also spread to the Dutch East Indies, where at that time, the spirit of the national movement was also emerging. The impact of the renewal was received both directly (through the pilgrimage

and student exchange) and indirectly (through the mass media). The leaders of the Islamic movement began to realize the organization's formation as a form of (new) struggle against Dutch imperialism.

Pan-Islam in the Dutch East Indies was then identified at first with the presence of Arabs in the Dutch East Indies. The position of the Arabs in the Dutch East Indies became an essential position for the spread of Pan-Islamic ideas in the Dutch East Indies. At the individual level, many Arabs in the Dutch East Indies were wealthy, and with their wealth, they supported those who propagated Pan-Islam. At the group level, they formed the *Jami'at Khair* association. *Jami'at Khair* was founded in 1901 without obtaining an establishment permit from the Dutch colonial government. However, the leaders of this association have relations with countries such as Egypt and (especially) Turks so that they can still exist even under certain conditions (Putuhena, 2007, p. 367-369). The existence of *Jam'iat Khair* was then followed by the emergence of the *Al-Irsyad* organization. These two Islamic organizations can at least be called the movers of the Islamic world, which first appeared in Indonesia or Dutch East Indies as a result of the articulation of Pan-Islam. The important position of *Jam'iat Khair* is that it was they who started the organization in a modern form in Islamic society (with articles of association, registered membership lists, and periodical meetings) and who founded schools in ways that were at least modern (curriculum, classrooms and the use of benches, blackboards and so on).

In subsequent developments, Pan-Islam not only inspired the formation of the unity of the Bumiputera and the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies but also strengthened the ideological basis of Islam in forming a national Islamic unity. At this stage, the spirit of the Pan-Islamic movement increasingly seemed to be an essential part of the national struggle, especially the struggle carried out by *Sarekat Islam* (SI). The relationship between the Pan-Islamic spirit and the *Sarekat Islam* (SI) formation has been seen since SI's establishment. This is evidenced by the SI figures who made contact with Turks, and *Sarekat Islam* became the leading organization that made Pan-Islam about the Ottoman Turks a political discourse (Korver, 1985, p. 68).

The second channel is the mass media. This path accelerated the entry of the idea of the Islamic renewal movement from the Middle East to the Dutch East Indies. Its distribution is through newspapers, magazines, books, brochures, and other

print media. One of the most influential magazines in transferring Pan-Islamic discourse throughout the Islamic world, including the Dutch East Indies at that time, was *Al-'Urwatul Wutsqa* magazine. This magazine was published by Jamaluddin Al-Afgani and Muhammad Abduh, who was exiled in Paris. Although *al-'Urwatul Wutsqa* magazine was short-lived -only had 18 publications published-but its influence has received wide attention on various continents (Pasha, 2003, p. 49). Not only in Islamic countries but also in the western world and European figures receive special attention from this magazine. This is because, in addition to calling for the unity of Muslims in *jihad* against Western colonies, it also dissects various doctrines of colonialism over their colonies in the Islamic world. In addition to the magazine *al-'Urwatul Wutsqa*, which supported the flow of the Islamic renewal movement into the Dutch East Indies, the magazines *al-Jawaib* and *al-Ihsan* from Istanbul, Turks (Atjeh, 1970, pp. 103-104). Then *al-Janna*, *Lisanul Hal*, *Samaratul Funun* from Beirut, and *al-Wathan* from Cairo (Karimi, 2012, pp. 62-67).

As a channel of information/communication transmission, the mass media carry out packaging and propagating messages. In packaging messages, the media can choose the facts to be included or discarded into the news text. Furthermore, the media can choose certain symbols or labels to describe an event in making news. These two things will ultimately determine the image formed in the public's minds regarding an event. So, in the context of Pan-Islamic transmission, all media propagate themselves to make their image look better in the eyes of most of the public and create a tendency to spread lousy information to their opponents.

The third channel occurred in the field of education, primarily through youth exchanges, especially youths from the Dutch East Indies who studied in Cairo (Egypt) and Istanbul (Turks). In this context, a shared identification thread between Pan-Islam is identical to the Ottoman Turks. This was especially true during the reign of Sultan Hamid II. He deliberately offered scholarships for Dutch East Indies students to attend higher education in Turks at Sultan's expense. Like a tit-for-tat, Dutch East Indies students who had difficulty obtaining higher education quickly took advantage of the opportunity at that time. So, in the 1880s, Dutch East Indies youth flocked to attend higher education in Istanbul and Cairo. Meanwhile, in Hadramaut then, many Dutch East Indies youths had studied there, especially youths of Arab descent from Batavia, Surabaya, and Sukabumi. Although

the place of study is far from the center of the Islamic renewal movement in Egypt and Istanbul, it is easier for them to get information that opens their horizons (think forward) about Islam so that the ideas of renewal and the Pan-Islamic spirit are obtained from readings while studying at the university. There they could easily apply when they returned to the Dutch East Indies (Chowdhury, 2011, pp. 246-254).

In its later development, Pan-Islam by the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies was still (always) associated with the existence of the Ottoman Turks (caliphate) in general. Pan-Islam can provide a broad influence as a source of inspiration and a symbol of loyalty that encourages the struggle to create ummah solidarity when a crisis occurs. So, it became natural when the Ottoman Caliphate was overthrown, and ideas and efforts emerged to establish a new caliphate. In this case, Muslims in the Dutch East Indies were not only interested in this issue; they even felt obliged to discuss and resolve it (Noer, 1982, p. 242). Again, this view cannot be separated from the identical concept of Pan-Islam and Khilafah.

RESPONSE TO THE COLLAPSE OF OTTOMAN TURKS

In the spirit of their time, the Dutch East Indies' Muslims responded to the Ottoman Turks' collapse with movement efforts, both as initiators and facilitators in the context of the national movement. At this time, they are accustomed to responding to a problem by using steps such as forming committees, holding congresses and meetings, and providing educational facilities to fight for their aspirations.

Their struggle was further refined by the massive effort to publish newspapers which became the organ of their organization. These efforts were carried out by involving many parties. In practice, the Dutch East Indies colonial government tightly controlled the implementation of various meetings, congresses, and media publishing efforts. Even so, this still did not dampen the spirit of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies. At this point, the various efforts and responses of the movement have permanently moved within the framework of a Western political-style organization. This includes holding a congress, associations, and the like to gather and disseminate votes. Likewise, the activities of the Dutch East Indies Muslim movement also cannot be separated from the framework of this struggle. The colonial party itself could only control -by sending a delegation of observers/observers- and

could not prohibit holding these meetings for various reasons (Laffan, 2003, pp. 212-213).

In the context of responding to the collapse of the Ottoman Turks, these efforts were also taken by the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies as a form of their response. *The Muslims of the Dutch East Indies showed the first response to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire* by holding several series of open *al-Islam* Congresses. The open implementation of the congress itself is a tangible manifestation of the response of Muslims to the problems that befell them. This also indicates the spirit of wanting to unite attitudes and goals in agreed ways and the desire to sit down together and turn various problems into common problems to find solutions. In addition, the use of *al-Islam* as the name accompanying the congress can be understood as an effort to make the congress an inclusive forum. This is important considering that various organizations emerged with their backgrounds and goals during the national movement. Using the correct name and momentum can be one of the pulls in uniting various organizations with one common goal.

Among several series of congress of *al-Islam*, the third congress *al-Islam* is a congress specifically held to discuss the issue of the caliphate. The third *al-Islam* congress (also known as the Extraordinary *al-Islam* Congress) was then held on 24-26 December 1924 in Surabaya with a single agenda, namely discussing the issue of the caliphate. This extraordinary *al-Islam* congress turned out to be able to attract the interest of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies in several areas that were not the base cities of the movement.

The congress was attended by scholars and 68 Islamic organizations representing central and branch leaders. There were approximately 600 people from all over Java attending this congress. There were also small envoys from Southeast Kalimantan (partially) as the only envoys who came from outside the island of Java. Three decisions resulted from this congress. First, being involved in the struggle for the caliphate is obligatory. Second, it was agreed that branches of the Khilafah Committee would continue to be established throughout the Dutch East Indies (Bruinessen, 1995, p. 123-125). Moreover, finally, it was decided to send three delegates as representatives of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies to the Cairo Congress with six agreed mandates. The three delegates were Surjopranoto from *Sarekat Islam*, H. Fakhrudin from Muhammadiyah, and K.H.A Wahab Hasbullah from traditional circles (*Bandera Islam*, 1 January, 1925). Before the names of the three delegates were released,

there were suggestions for the names of people who would become delegates, such as, among others, 1). M. Sajuty Loebies in Samarinda (Borneo); 2). K. Hadji Mas Mansoer *Adviseur* C. Sarekat Islam Surabaya; 3). O.S. Tjokroaminoto, the first leader of the *al-Islam* Indies congress; 4). K. Hadji A. Salim, the second leader of the congress of (*al-Islam* Indies; 5). R.M. Soerjopranoto *Commissaris* C. Sarekat Islam Jogjakarta (*Bandera Islam*, December 11, 1924).

Congress also discussed the issue of required costs. A defunct committee, *the Army of Kandjeng Nabi Muhammad* (TKNM), which several years earlier had received much support from wealthy Arabs, handed over the remaining 3100 guilders to the Khilafah Committee. Additional funds from *al-Irsyad* amounted to 500 guilders. Other additional funds also came from congress participants who collected more or less 444 guilders. Another outcome of the congress is the delegation's mandate to Cairo. After some discussion, this mandate prepared by the Khilafah Committee was adopted by Congress without significant changes. The mandate contained proposals to modernize the caliphate, be representative, and be elected. The main points of the mandate are as follows: (1) To form a Khilafah Council that exercises power. Moreover, the obligations of the caliph are based on the laws of the Qur'an and Hadith; (2) The Head of the Assembly regulates, maintains, and strives for its implementation Council decisions; (3) The Assembly elects the head of the Assembly based on the Shari'ah, which he approved in the caliphate deliberation. The election was announced in order to gain recognition from all Muslims in the world; (4) The Khilafah Council seeks equality of understanding and regulations for all cases of Islamic law; (5) The Khilafah Assembly should be in Mecca; (6) The costs for the Assembly of the Khilafah together need to be found; (7) In agreement with other Muslims on this matter. (*Bandera Islam*, January 1, 1925).

The second response is the establishment of the Khilafah Committee. The Khilafah Committee is a forum for the struggle to revitalize the caliphate institution for the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies. The establishment of the Khilafah Committee then took place quickly and spread widely and was responded to with great enthusiasm by Muslims in various regions (*Bandera Islam*, 11 December 11, 1924, and 15 January, 1925). This indicates that the Dutch East Indies Muslims, in responding to the caliphate problem, have reached a practical-technical level and also proves that the caliphate

problem is a problem that deserves extraordinary attention (Akhmad, 1989, pp. 168-169).

The establishment of the Khilafah Committee shows that the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies have well understood the legal-formal-organizational aspects of the implementation of a congress. Establishing the Khilafah Committee also marks the neat and orderly implementation of the congress, which shows the level of maturity of the Dutch East Indies Muslims in organizing. This also shows that at that time, they had succeeded in formulating a new concept in fighting for the caliphate institution and showed their seriousness towards efforts to revitalize it.

The establishment of the *Khilafah Committee*, compared with previous efforts to promote Islamic unity, can be said to be a reformulation of the collective insight of the Ummah in Islamic political life. This Islamic political insight became more concrete after the Islamic press began to increase their propaganda to explain the importance of the position of the caliphate for Islam and Muslims. By propagating the importance of the caliphate, the people were stimulated to more firmly state their position. As stated by Egyptian scholars, it was stated that the interests of the caliphate were to uphold and elevate the power of the religion of Islam and its people, as well as to unite, unite and gather the ropes that bind Muslims together (*Bandera Islam*, 16 October, 1924).

In a subsequent development, the *Khilafah Committee* formed branches as a forum for struggle in the regions. The Central Khilafah Committee (Central Committee *Chilafat*) has the following management structure:

Chairman: Wondo Soedirjo (leader of local SI)

Deputy Chairperson: KH Abdul Wahab (leader of the Afkar Tasywirul institution)

Secretary: AM Sangadji and SB Balimerti (member of CSI)

Treasurer: Sech M. Aboed Alamoedi (treasurer of al-Irsyad)

Member: Said Idroes Al masjhoer (editor of Arab magazine), KH. Mas Mansur (leader of Muhammadiyah Surabaya), H. Hassan Gipo, Mansoer Janani (teacher at Arabic school), H. Noerscham, H. Abdullah Hakim, H. Abdulmannan, H. Brahim, Oerip Njamploengan, R.Achmad, H. Machsoedi, Saleh bin Achmad, Oemar Hoobis, and H. Bahri. (*Bandera Islam*, 30 October, 1924; Bruinessen, 1995: 123-124).

The third response is mass media publishing, which is newspaper publishing. Publishing mass media is something that (usually) comes in a package with the congress/meeting. At that time, news-

paper publishing was usual for (Islamic) movement organizations. Movement organizations and newspapers are like conjoined twins. The two coexist symbiotically. Newspapers are an effective way for movement organizations to socialize their movement's intentions to the people because newspapers are massive, continuous, and intensive. Therefore, prominent figures of movement groups pay great attention to the mass media. Along with the magnitude of their incredible attention, it is unsurprising that many newspapers appeared then. By publishing newspapers independently, they will be more flexible, organized, and directed when expressing their aspirations (Gani, tt, p. 39-40).

Not only as a distributor of ideas and ideas, but mass media publishing is also carried out to respond to a discourse, both supporting and against the discourse to cause polemics. Regarding the broad Pan-Islamic discourse - closely related to the caliphate-there have been many Islamic mass media in the Dutch East Indies, which became the mouthpiece for its development. Among them were several Islamic mass media in the Dutch East Indies who were known to be vocal in voicing Pan-Islam, namely, *al-Munir*, *Oetoesan Hindia*, *al-Islam*, *Neratja*, *Bintang Islam*, *Pembela Islam*, *Doenia Islam* to the *Tentara Islam*. These various newspapers are (more) managed by reformers, especially popular newspapers involving Tjokroaminoto or Agus Salim (Rizkiyansyah, 2014). However, all of these newspapers were first published before 1924, so it can be said that they were not published as a direct response to the collapse of the Ottoman Turks. Thus, in the context of the collapse of the Ottoman Turks, the *Bandera Islam newspaper* can be called a newspaper that emerged in response to the collapse of the Ottoman Turks.

Published by the *Islamic Bandera Committee Djogjakarta*, which consists of members of the Yogyakarta Islamic Sarekat. This newspaper was managed by leaders of Sarekat Islam, such as Tjokroaminoto (mainly), Agus Salim, and Sjahbuddin Latif. It was first published with a pilot edition on 5 September, 1924, while the first was published on 2 October, 1924. Each time it was published four pages. Initially published every Thursday and, in subsequent developments, published every Monday and Thursday. In addition, *Bandera Islam* also has a wide circulation. The jargon "this organ is available to the pan-Islamism movement" confirms *Bandera Islam's* position as a newspaper that carries Pan-Islam as its ideology even though *Bandera Islam* did not appear simultaneously as the fall of the Ottoman Turks.

In its later development, *Bandera Islam* can also be said to be a mass media for Dutch East Indie Muslims to obtain information about the dynamics of Muslims to revitalize the caliphate after the collapse of the Ottoman Turks, at least in the period 1924-1926. *Bandera Islam* newspaper has become an indigenous Islamic newspaper concerned with reporting efforts on all matters related to Pan-Islam.

Another newspaper that can be said to be concerned with the Pan-Islamic agenda after the collapse of Turks is *Fadjar Asia*. This concern still has something to do with the dual role of Tjokroaminoto and Agus Salim. The two of them later published *Bandera Islam* and *Fadjar Asia* as a medium that was born after the collapse of Turks and continued to carry Pan-Islam until this discourse was finally abandoned.

With the slogan "Islamic information newspaper about religion, adab, and politics," *Fadjar Asia* was published as a continuation of *Bandera Islam* which stopped publishing due to the financial crisis because many customers and agents had not or may not have paid their "obligations." Agus Salim and Tjokroaminoto again pioneered publishing *Fadjar Asia* after obtaining additional capital from Ibn Sa'ud after the second congress in Mecca. The possibility of publishing *Fadjar Asia* was opened when Agus Salim returned from Mecca in 1927 after attending the second al-Islam congress in Mecca. At that time, the king of Saudi Arabia was impressed to hear Agus Salim's ideals to awaken the Indonesian people so that later they could free themselves and their homeland from the clutches of the invaders. The king then agreed to donate some money, which Agus Salim used to publish a newspaper. This business is carried out with Tjokroaminoto and a colleague with solid capital (Prayogi & Darutama, 2022).

After *Fadjar Asia*'s publication stopped, the Islamic press's life was still lively. Mass media, newspapers, and magazines that carry the spirit of Islam, whether initiated by specific individuals or Islamic organizations, are still emerging. Nevertheless, the mass media that made Pan-Islam related to the discourse of the caliphate and the collapse of the Ottoman Turks no longer existed after the publication of *Fadjar Asia* stopped. Finally, the Islamic mass media in the Dutch East Indies also abandoned the caliphate issue.

THE IMAGE CHANGES OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

The fall of the Ottoman Turks in 1924 gave rise to various dynamics in the Dutch East Indies. At first,

the issue of the collapse of the caliphate became a common issue that could unite groups – especially Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. However, in subsequent developments, the fall of the Ottoman Turks caused divisions among the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies. This schism between Muslims was generally motivated by the tug-of-war of interest in responding to the fall of the Ottoman Turks.

The Ottoman Turks in the 15th century AD to 16 AD were initially imaged as a mystical entity in the eyes of the population (Muslims) in the Southeast Asian region. This image then changed along with the expanding influence of the Ottoman Turks, especially after the entry of the economic and political influence of the Ottoman Turks in the Malay region (Reid, 2005). In subsequent developments, the relationship between the Ottoman Turks and especially the Dutch East Indies was mainly focused on the role of Turks in helping Muslim communities in several areas in the Dutch East Indies against foreign colonialism, starting from Portuguese to Dutch colonialism, which continued until the position of the Ottoman Turks began to waver, both theological and political. This is evidenced by the establishment of Turkish consulates in Singapore and Batavia, which aimed to be a bridge between Turks and Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Although later, at its peak, the position of the caliphate in Ottoman Turks towards the 20th century AD was then only understood as a religious authority (Islam) for the people of Southeast Asia.

The existence of Ottoman Turkish consulates in Singapore and Batavia proves that the Turkish caliphate is a protective Hajj journey (only) for Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. In this context, before Sultan Abdul Hamid II launched the Pan-Islamic idea, the Ottoman Turks for Muslims in Southeast Asia, including the Dutch East Indies, were more visible only as an authority in the religious field, which only took care of the affairs of the Hajj as a ritual worship considering that the Ottoman Turks directly could consider not to have had a hand in the struggle for independence of the people of the Dutch East Indies as a nation.

After the abolition of the caliphate, the pros and cons began to emerge in society. For the people of the Dutch East Indies who supported them, they began to image Turks as a symbol of reform, progress, and modernity. For those who refuse, rejecting the secularization plan becomes the pressure point. The meeting point of the two is in the figure of Mustafa Kemal, who carries out his secularization agenda in Turks. With the implementation of the reform agenda (secularization) in Turks, such as

the prohibition of Islamic symbols, such as the veil, the use of Roman letters, and the conversion of the Hagia Sofia as a museum, the Dutch East Indies community supported by starting to call Turks "New Turks." The mention of the term New Turks is mainly carried out by secular (Islamic) and Islamic-Communist groups, although with slight differences, where the Islamic-Communist groups see that what is new in Turks is only its physical culture (Rasheed, Kersten, Shterin, 2015, p. 102). The nationalist group imaged Turks -with the position of caliph - with an incomplete image. Response to Turks' collapse The Ottomans became something that could not be avoided for political momentum for the Nationalists, considering the majority of Muslims in the Dutch East Indies at that time. So, in the context of the movement, the secular-Nationalists - who still (Islam and) believe in God - see the collapse of the Ottoman Turks as more of a momentum to cooperate with Islamic groups (reformers and traditionalists) in order to fight against the Communist-Atheist discourse (Laffan, 2003, p. 214). On the other hand, Islamic (reform) groups who have realized Mustafa Kemal's secularization program have begun to show a firm attitude of rejection. The Islamists who oppose this call Mustafa Kemal and all those associated with him use the term "Kemalist." They saw that Mustafa Kemal had gone mad for power. Strong criticism of Mustafa Kemal's secularization policies dominated in the 1940s (Rasheed, Kersten, Shterin, 2015, p. 102).

If in 1924-1929, the dynamics of Turks were widely followed by the people of the Dutch East Indies, then in 1930, things that were more detailed about Turks were not as widely followed as before. The discourse on secularization policies gradually began to diminish. In this year, Turks began to be imaged as a modern, independent country and towards becoming an industrial country and a country that values women's emancipation. Turks' progress is imaged as the opposite of the progress of Western countries or other European countries (Rasheed, Kersten, Shterin, 2015, p. 100-101). This is reasonable considering that in the 1930s, the secular-Nationalist discourse had strengthened, so Turks' image this year came more from the nationalist group.

Thus, the fall of the Ottoman Turks indirectly provided awareness for Muslims in the Dutch East Indies about the relationship between religion and the state. This awareness also helps to determine the political identity of Muslims as the majority. In its development, the relationship between the state and

religion in Indonesia reflects efforts to continue to seek compromises or a middle ground between various ideological interests. *Pancasila* (the five basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia) was finally accepted as a compromise between the nationalist-religious circles, who wanted Islam as the basis of the state, and the secular nationalists. There, Indonesia is "known" as "not a theocratic state, nor a secular state." This article is then able to elaborate on some contemporary research concerning the dynamics of thinking about the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia, particularly with the caliph discourse -which means the transnational idea- which emerged after the reformation where in various releases regarding this matter, there are directions that seem to as if to say that transnational ideas are dangerous and have no historical roots in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

In this article, several conclusions can be drawn. *First*, the theological and political relations between the Ottoman Turks and the Indonesian Archipelago have long been since the 16th century AD. Still, they continued until the early 20th century AD. *Second*, the interest of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies in the early 20th century AD was strengthened by the entry and development of Pan-Islamic ideas that entered through the Hajj, education, and mass media channels. *Third*, with the entry and development of Pan-Islam, the Dutch East Indies' Muslims saw the caliphate's position in Turks as an essential position to be maintained. This was shown when news of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire spread; the Dutch East Indies Muslims immediately responded with efforts to revitalize the caliphate. *Fourth*, the revitalization efforts were shown by the implementation of various activities in the spirit of the era, namely, the implementation of the al-Islam Congress, the establishment of the Khilafah Committee, and the publication of mass media as a mouthpiece for Pan-Islamic propaganda: *Fifth*, the shift in Turks' image. Turks were previously imagined as a country that made Islam the basis of the state. However, after the collapse of the Ottoman Turks and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, Turks are imaged as a country that is even more advanced after separating Islam in its political life. This then also gave rise to a discourse on the position of Islam in state political life among the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies after the fall of the Ottoman Turks. This discourse on the relationship between religion and the state in the Dutch East Indies also gave rise to differences in the politi-

cal views of the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies, who were at least fragmented into traditionalist, reformist, and secularist groups as their political identity.

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