



Communication Style in Media Struggle, Misbach Communication Style in Early 20th Century

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Abstract

The mass media was used as an advocacy and struggle tool in the early 20th century in the Dutch East Indies colony. One figure at that time was Haji Misbach (1876-1926) who used the *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak* media to convey thoughts, advocate citizens, to attack political opponents. What is known from Misbach is that he is an Islamic figure with the title of hajj, but he is one of the communist figures. He combines Islam and communism. The communication style used by Misbach, according to Stuart Hall's theory, is a low context that is the direct delivery of the target or purpose of communication. Whereas the Indies community at that time and Asia in general used a high context communication style that was full of ado, not directly to the problem.

Keywords: Misbach; Communication Style; Islamic Communism

1. Background

Haji Misbach was born in 1876 in Solo, Indonesia, at a time when the Dutch East Indies region was not very well known during the movement at the beginning of the 20th century. He is not as famous as H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, Samanhudi, Sukarno, Tan Malaka, Semaun, Alimin, and so on. But for researchers the development of communism, Misbach is quite interesting because he introduced a discourse about communism combined with Islamic teachings. He is known as a communist but also a devout moslem.

Yet the fact is that Islam and communism are often understood as two conflicting entities. Communism is on the left side and Islam as a religion on the right side. The Islamic group simplifies that communism is anti-religious, atheist, who does not believe in God. Karl Marx believes that God is the result of human creation. According to Marx, religion is the complaint of an oppressed society, a heart from a heartless world, a soul from a soulless state. Therefore, he called religion is the opium of the people.

Because Misbach introduced the concept of Islamic communism, the question often arises about whether Misbach is a communist or a moslem? Syamsul Bakri (2015) mentions both of them. For Misbach, Islam and communism have in common that is equally defending the weak and against capitalism and colonialism, in the context of the Indonesian movement, which was opposed by the Dutch colonial government.

At that time, it could be said that communists were the most violent in the face of Dutch colonialism. Because of this, many groups including students and kiai were interested in joining communism as a way to fight colonialism. They considered that other organizations and parties were soft. They were involved in various leftist organizations such as Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), Moeallimin, Sarikat Rakyat (SR), Sarikat Islam (SI) Merah, to labor and peasant associations affiliated with leftist organizations.

Misbach-style Communism does not pivot to the international organization Comintern (Communist International). In fact both are contradictory. The Comintern considers Misbach dangerous because it does not comply with the principles of communism. While for orthodox moslem, Misbah thought is considered to deviate from the teachings of Islam. Usually, communism is considered to not believe in God. However, Misbach-style Islamic communism is not an anti-God movement (Bakri, 2015). Islamic Communism is a strategy of resistance to colonialism. He used the knife of communism analysis which was considered the most appropriate to deal with colonialism and capitalism. Therefore, Islamic communism is a genre in communism, which is a religiously oriented left movement. Misbach came to be known as the Red Hajj as well as the Communist Moslem.

As an activist of the national movement, Misbach also used mass media as a tool for struggle. He published the newspaper *Medan Moeslimin* which was published in 1915. He also led the newspaper *Islam Bergerak* which was founded in 1917. Through the mass media, he stirred up a spirit of resistance against capitalism and criticized the Dutch colonial government.

In *Medan Moeslimin*, he wrote that communists who wanted to eliminate Islam were not real communists. Conversely, moslem who disagree with communism are not yet eligible to be called true moslem. Misbach chose Indonesian communists as an organ of struggle because he considered the organization formed by Sneevliet firmly against colonialism. Colonialism oppressed the weak and communists defended the weak (Pringgodigdo, 1960). In *Tjatetan Singkat Tentang Kawan Misbach di Sinar Hindia* (July 4, 1924) it was stated: "Kawan Misbach laloe mentjari perhoeboengan dengan PKI. Tidak lama lagi ia mendapat kejakinan, bahwa partai ini sadjalah jang soenggoeh-soenggoeh bekerdja oentoek ra'jat dan bener-bener revoloeionair".

Islamic teachings developed by Misbach are modern in style. He has a lot of orientation on the propaganda model developed by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan from Yogyakarta who founded Muhammadiyah on November 18, 1912. Dahlan often went to Solo to preach and trade batik. Misbach invited Dahlan to take the Islamic course. The Islamic course then became an association called the Sidik Amanah Tableg Vatonah (SATV) on July 10, 1918.

Misbach is known as an activist for various organizations. He has been involved in the journalist organization Inlandsche Journalisten Bond (IJB) since 1914. The IJB which was founded by Mas Marco Kartodikromo was a forum for radical journalists and critical of the colonial government (Bakri, 2015). Misbach studied journalism from Marco. Until finally Misbach published *Medan Moeslimin* which was founded in 1915 and *Islam Bergerak* in 1918.

He is also active in Sarikat Islam (SI). Although SI was established in Solo, Misbach was not very active in SI. When Tjokroaminoto became the Chairman of Central Islamic Association (CSI), Misbach

became active in SI. In 1918, Tjokroaminoto formed the Kandjeng Nabi Muhammad (TKNM) Army in response to *Djawi Hisworo Magazine*, which insulted the Prophet Muhammad. *Djawi Hisworo* contained articles describing the Prophet Muhammad who liked to drink liquor and opium. Muslims are angry with the writings. Tjokroaminoto formed TKNM in Surabaya and raised funds to hold a demonstration. In Solo, Misbach became a propagandist of the TKNM Subcommittee and mobilized moslems in a vergadering or rally on February 20, 1918 in Sriwedari which was claimed to have been attended by 20,000 people.

Misbah was also active in Insulinde, which is known as a radical organization driven by many Indo-Dutch people and indigenous scholars. Insulinde is a continuation of Indische Partij (IP) founded by E.F.E. Doewes Dekker (Setiabudi), Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, and Soewardi Soerjaningrat (Ki Hajar Dewantara). Afterwards, Tjipto who lives in Solo founded Insulinde Solo. Insulindo classified as a radical organization, had worked closely with Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (ISDV), which was driven by the communist figure Sneevliet although the alliance finally broke up (McVey, 2009). ISDV is an embryo of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

Misbach is also active in the Farmers 'Workers' Association (PKBT) which is supported by Insulinde and SI Semarang or SI Merah. He organized farmers and laborers in the area of Java. The main thing is when he is active in SI Merah. This SI Merah then metamorphosed into Sarikat Rakyat (SR). Misbach was also involved in the organization of railroad workers (VSTP).

Through various organizations, he organized farmers, laborers, and other community groups. His way to do this is by accompanying the workers and peasants as well as being propagandists in public meetings or vergadering. Because of being a speaker in a number of vergadering, he was charged with inciting the people to fight the Dutch. Misbach was arrested on 7 May 1919 on charges of orchestrating a peasant strike (*Islam Bergerak*, 10 May 1919) but was released by the court on 22 October 1919 (*Islam Bergerak*, 1 November 1919). He was again charged with incitement and became the mastermind behind the strike on May 16, 1920. The court sentenced him guilty and Misbach was imprisoned in Pekalongan and then released on 21 August 1922 (*Islam Bergerak*, 1 September 1922).

He is increasingly active in organizing the people, especially laborers and farmers. In fact, this organization sometimes leads to radical actions (Bakri, 2015). On October 20, 1923, he was arrested by the police. Actually there is no article that can ensnare him. Because Misbach was considered to often create chaos, the Dutch East Indies government decided to dump him in Manokwari, Papua, so that it was far from activities that were hostile to the government. It was at Manokwari that Misbach died.

2. Problems

In addition to organizing the masses through various socio-political organizations, Misbach uses mass media. Through the magazine that he manages, he conveys the idea of Islamic communism. *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak* were used as a tool to spread resistance to colonialism and to spread the idea of Islamic communism. He acted as editor in chief. Even when Misbach was in prison, he still wrote.

Interestingly, he made the mass media a tool of struggle. Through writing, Misbach expressed his opinion about the awareness to free himself from colonialism to criticize those who disagree with the model and the way he did. This research highlights how the communication style of Haji Misbach through mass media?

3. Approach and Research Methods

Misbach uses mass media namely *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak* as a tool of struggle. Through these two media, he campaigned for Islamic communism. He writes about resistance to oppression in provocative language. He uses harsh words towards those who are his enemies. Though the words are not in accordance with the culture of Solo and Eastern culture in general. Because of this, Misbach's style of communication is examined with a cultural communication approach. The theory used is cultural communication developed by Stuart Hall. In addition, Misbach's communication style was analyzed using Kenneth Burke's dramatic theory of drama. Misbach's behavior in communicating the idea of Islamic communism was part of the drama of life.

4. Discussion

a. Press and Nationalism Awareness

The mass media is an effective tool for current movement figures to move public awareness. At that time, only emerged among the indigenous awareness of Indonesian-ness (Adam, 2003). They realized they were controlled by foreigners. They realized that they could break away from Dutch colonialism. This awareness was encouraged by the mass media which educated the natives about the rights of the people being violated.

Initially the mass media was controlled by the Dutch. The publisher and editor are Dutch. Then the mass media is used for trade purposes. In this case, the Chinese take on the role. Chinese mass media emerged following the Dutch-language mass media. While indigenous mass media emerged after the scattering of Dutch and Chinese mass media.

Indigenous awareness to publish mass media is in line with access to education for indigenous peoples, especially *prijajis*. The opening of schools for indigenous people by the Netherlands related to ethical politics. The leader of the liberals in the Netherlands C. Th. Van Deventer in an article titled *Utang Budi* (Een Eereschuld) states that the Netherlands has a debt obligation to the people of the Dutch East Indies 832 million guilders. For almost two centuries, the Dutch enjoyed natural resources sent to from the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, the Kingdom of the Netherlands is obliged to pay the debt of gratitude in the form of policies that protect indigenous rights and develop morals and materiality (Adam, 2003: 153).

Starting with *prijajis*, access to education is then followed by efforts to use mass media as a means of exchanging information and knowledge. the access to education and information is not only accepted by *prijajis* but also by ordinary citizens.

From there, emerged awareness of Indonesian-ness. Ben Anderson called it nationalism awareness. Whereas Sartono Kartodirdjo (1993) mentioned that there was a symbiotic relationship between the indigenous press and the national movement, between the two interdependent and reinforcing. When ordinary people are stupid and do not get access to information, the press is like a candle that illuminates, opening access to information outside themselves. Even then the press builds awareness to oppose oppression, injustice, and of course anti-colonialism (Kartodirdjo, 1993).

Many national movement figures cum journalists and mass media publishers. The mass media is an organ to support the struggle and foment nationalism. One of the factors that became a booster or a spirit

of nationalism was the existence of a printing press which was initially controlled by the Dutch, then developed into the Chinese community, and then could be accessed by the Indonesian people. This is related to the development of mass media in the Dutch East Indies. In general, the division is a press published by the Dutch, then a press published by Indo people or Dutch descendants, then a press managed by citizens of East Asian descent such as Chinese, and finally is a press that is purely managed by native people (Adam, 2003 and Surjomihardjo, 2002). This publication covers two things namely capital and the editorial part.

In terms of language use, the press is divided into three, who speak Dutch, Chinese and Malay. The Malay-language press targets readers who speak Malay. The Malay-language press is also divided into three categories, namely Malay-language publications published by Chinese with a target audience of Chinese as well. Then the Malay language newspaper published by the Chinese but the target audience was native or native inhabitants. Third is the press whose readers are both groups (Surjomihardjo, 2002).

The first Malay-language press, according to Dowwes Dekker, was *Bintang Soerabaja* (1861) with the most Chinese readers. Its contents were against the colonial government. While the pure Malay press was managed and published by the bumiputera was *Medan Prijaji* (1907) with the editor in chief R.M. Tirta Adi Suryo (TAS).

The Bumiputera community, who were then familiar with the oral tradition, began to recognize the written tradition. Initially, literacy activities became an elite monopoly and a part of the santri (especially for Arabic). With the ethical policy of the Dutch colonial government, the number of educated (literate) natives increased. With the invention of the printing press invented by Gutenberg in the 1450s which was then brought to the Dutch East Indies, literacy awareness increased and the awareness of nationalism expanded. This awareness arose after the newspaper delivered its message to the wider community (Haryanto, in the introduction of Adam, 2003).

From there comes the awareness of modern national consciousness or modern national consciousness (Adam, 2003). The people are aware of themselves, their position with the Dutch and others, and strive to improve the quality of life for the better in various fields including politics. The press is one vehicle for the movement to raise awareness. This is related to the function of the press as a means of information about the condition of the people and countries colonized by the Dutch.

The same was true of Haji Misbach, a movement figure from Solo. He published a number of print media. Two of them are *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak*. What's interesting about Misbach is that he made the two media to introduce and campaign for Islam and communism. In fact, he married both of them in the concept of Islamic communism. Through this concept, Misbach educated the natives about the awareness that they had been oppressed by the authorities. He invited moslem readers to guide Islam. Good moslem, according to Misbach, must defend the oppressed and fight the oppressors.

b. Tool of Struggle

We know the press in the early twentieth century as a struggle press. There are other terms, from the vanguard press to advocacy journalism. Many press theories discuss the idealism carried by the press. In addition, press theories more often allude to neutrality, objectivity, impartiality, and even independence. The practice of these principles certainly differs from time to time. Neutral means not taking sides. News is called neutral if it is impartial, balanced. In the context of journalism, neutrality is related to facts, how to treat facts. Neutrality means revealing facts as a whole, not adding and not reducing and conveying them accurately (Mursito, 2003).

Neutrality is also related to objectivity. This objectivity is a core concept for reviewing the quality of news information. The characteristic is the release and neutrality of the object of coverage, avoiding involvement, and relevant and intact (McQuail, 2001). However, neutrality is often understood as impartial (impartial) only, even though there needs to be a comprehensive delivery of information. Instead, the press is demanded to side with the public interest. This is related to the role of the press as the voice of people who are unable to speak (voice of the voiceless).

Therefore, the term that is now often used is independence. Independent does not mean that it is always objective. Independent can be siding. However, the partisanship was not influenced by the authorities, pressure from investors, or other parties. The press decides to take sides without any outside influence but is influenced by conscience and alignments with the public interest. For example, the press is in favor of the oppressed because they must be defended by the media. Because of this, the term press struggle and advocacy journalism emerged. Advocacy journalism is a journalistic activity that defends or rejects something expressly that expresses the interests of groups outside the circle of power. Such a model ignores the objectivity that has been shared by some journalists. Journalists become active translators and represent weak groups in dealing with strong group spokespersons (Janowitz, 1975). This advocacy journalism is at odds with the gatekeeper journalism principle which prioritizes the principle of objectivity, neutrality, in news coverage.

This model of journalism was based on reporting by social organizations and political parties. Through advocacy journalism, community organizations seek to raise awareness, generate public debate, influence public opinion and key decision makers, and promote policy and program changes around specific issues (Waisbord, in Karin Wahl-Jorgensen & Thomas Hanitzsch, 2009). Advocacy journalism is often referred to as propaganda journalism.

Referring to the principles in the world of journalism, what Misbach did using Medan Moeslimin and Islam Moves to campaign for the idea of Islamic communism is a symbol of resistance to the injustice of the colonial government. Therefore, Misbach's journalism style is an advocacy journalism.

c. Misbach Communication Style

Misbach was a unique figure at that time. A Hajj but also a communist. At that time, the PKI had the support of many people. The criticisms are very hard both through lectures and in writing. He has a distinctive communication style: loud and full of criticism. In fact he uses several dictions which are classified as radical.

Communication style (style communication) is used to describe the characteristics or uniqueness in communication. Everyone has a different style of communication with others. The style of conveying ideas, thoughts, information, and expressing emotions, is very dependent on one's skills. This communication skill implies being at the highest level. People use a special style of communication that has to do with personality. (Liliweri, 2011: 308). This communication style describes meta messages that contextualize verbal messages being recognized and interpreted (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988 in Liliweri, 2011: 309). What distinguishes one person from another in communication is a verbal message such as language, tone, and voice.

In a cultural context, this style of communication is very much influenced by the culture that develops in society. Intercultural communication involves people or groups who have different cultural perceptions and symbol systems (Samovar, et.al 2010: 12). Culture has a close relationship with communication. Hall instead calls culture is communication and communication is culture (Hall, 1977: 14). Culture is not possible to develop and spread without communication.

In the context of cultural communication, Hall (1976) plots high and low context communication into groups. Context is the information about an event, which cannot be avoided related to the meaning of the event (Samovar, 2010: 256). High context communication is communication where most of the information is known to that person, and only a few are shared as part of the message. While low context communication occurs if the amount of information is greater than that delivered.

High context communication takes place in a society that does not require information as it is. The information conveyed does not have to be verbal. In traditional society, this type of communication takes place. They are usually homogeneous societies. Sometimes people who fall into this category communicate indirectly. Because the communication uses special symbols, it may be that the information it gets is not exhaustive. There must be the same understanding in order to get the same meaning from a message. Examples of people who communicate in high contexts are China, Indonesia, Indian America, Latin America, Japan, Arabic, Africa-America, and Korea.

Whereas low context communication is the opposite. North American and European communities communicate in a way to the point, directly, not explicitly. In societies that fall into this category, verbal messages are more important than nonverbal. In the Japanese context, for example, people there with verbal language are not chosen to increase understanding with others and they tend to use nonverbal language. The Japanese emphasize how things are said rather than what they say.

Communication style that is classified in the high context communication style includes communication by way of delivery including: implicit, not straightforward, indirect, hidden message, specific voice intonation and adjusted hand movements, more friendly, and tolerant of culture. While those who fall into the category of low context communication styles are explicit, assertive, straightforward, direct and forthright delivery (Hall, 1976: 91).

d. Indonesian Communication Styles

Looking at the stratification of the communication styles of a number of nations in Asia and Europe-America, Asian nations tend to use high context communication styles. Meanwhile, Europeans and Americans, although in different degrees, are in the category of a nation that communicates in a low context. In this case, there is no relationship that communicates with high context has higher or better strata and vice versa.

Indonesians communicate in an indirect or convoluted way. Usually, they use proverbs, small talk, and long prologues before addressing the subject matter. With such delivery, the highlighted aspect is nonverbal rather than verbal. This method of delivery is intended so that people are not considered too rude or too ambitious. When a parent offers to marry someone, a girl in Indonesia tends to not want to answer expressly reject or accept. If you accept, he does not answer, tends to be silent, or answers indirectly, for example by stating the parents' decision. This way of communication actually means that he accepts someone's proposal. If he refuses, he does not immediately declare rejection. There are various modes to refuse from starting the reason being concentrated study or work, to other reasons. He avoids rejecting it directly. Direct rejection gives the impression of being rude, disrespecting others.

For such communication, it is necessary to be able to interpret what is actually the desire in question. Verbal language is not enough to explain something. Non-verbal language such as gestures, the implicit messages contained in a message are sometimes more important than something seen in verbal language.

The phenomenon of the Indonesian language is almost similar to Eastern people in general, namely the denial of reality by conveying an unreal reason, using euphemism or language refinement, using vague language that is multi-interpreted, and circling around (Nurkamto, 2001).

Although Indonesia consists of many tribes with different communication styles, the Indonesian people are categorized as Easterners. Communication styles are different but compared to Westerners, Indonesian communication style is classified as high-context. When expressing their intentions, people do not immediately say what they want but turn around, make small talk, use figures of speech, and then get to the point. This is also related to the manners that apply in society.

Likewise when expressing criticism, in Eastern society, criticism is conveyed subtly, using figures of speech, so that the person being criticized is not angry or offended. It is different from Westerners who express their criticisms straightforwardly straight to the point of the conversation.

Ting-Toomee sees low and high context communication styles in dealing with a conflict. People in the low context category tend to view conflicts openly, without needing to be covered up. Whereas in high context societies, conflict tends to be covered up, not discussed openly because it considers conflict to be negative.

What about Indonesian people who criticize indirectly, figuratively, indirectly, and even tend to experience euphemism? There are a number of things why Easterners experience this. This communication style is related to culture. One of the reasons why Easterners can communicate in a straightforward (low context) style is their encounter with other cultures or outside. The encounter with other cultures can be in the form of interactions with people outside the group, can also get references from books, films, and new ideas that are different from other groups.

Likewise the leaders of the movement who often expressed criticism of the injustice of the Dutch East Indies government, they were not the same as ordinary citizens. Their background mostly received Western education both by the Dutch and abroad. The ethical policy that was carried out by the Dutch which was originally to get educated personnel, indirectly had an impact on the emergence of awareness of nationalism.

Likewise with Misbach Hajj. What is Haj Misbach's communication style? Not many writings that explain the figure of Haji Misbach including journalists' writings at that time both in *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak* and other media. He was a Javanese who had never been abroad except to the Holy Land of Mecca and Medina (Saudi Arabia). At that time, not many people traveled for the Hajj except for people who were quite wealthy. However, the writings written by Haji Misbach in *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak* can illustrate how Misbach's character and his communication style are.

Although Javanese and Indonesians generally use the style of high context communication that is polite, full of pretense, small talk, Misbach does not follow what is prevailing in society. This can be understood by looking at the social political context at that time. The ruling Dutch colonial government. Economic access is controlled by European and East Asian entrepreneurs (Arab and Chinese descendants). While most people are in poor condition. They become farmers and laborers.

In such conditions, criticism of the authorities cannot be carried out with conventional models that use high context. As written by Darsono, the SI Merah Semarang figure, that people are in a state of ignorance, so brave articles (hantam kromo) are needed to make them aware. The brave article is different from the logical and scientific nature that is not understood by ordinary people (Soe Hok Gie, 1999: 26). The writings will make the mass movements increasingly militant. The refined style, hyperbole, euphemism, was not suitable at that time. The people are in a state of distress so that direct writing and

speech is needed, not convoluted alias to the point. This is also influenced by which groups launch criticism. Because the priajais are generally not classified as middle to upper social classes, have the privilege of mastering economic and political access, so they are not much involved in the popular movement. Only a small proportion of priajais entered the world of movement. While some of the priajai figures come from lowly priajais. People who have access to education are mostly priyayi. Whereas most people only enjoy the Ongko Loro school.

Because of this, Misbach wrote using the hantam kromo style of communication (low context). He criticized the Dutch colonial government, Muslims who were considered hypocritical, and figures who were not at his level. In *Sroean Kita* article (*Islam Bergerak*, December 15, 1918), he criticized Muslims who did not carry out religious orders. They are rich moslem but do not carry out religious orders, do not like to share their property for the benefit of Islam. He also criticized moslems who are good at religion but do not want to share their knowledge with others even though the community is in ignorance. In fact, smart people sometimes use their intelligence to cheat and suck others.

What concerns Misbach is that there is a relationship between the behavior of moslems who do not carry out religious orders will make people easily oppressed. If moslems are selfish, ignorant and do not care about the fate of others, then moslems will be more stupid and easily deceived, blood-sucking by the enemy. Such a person, according to Misbach is not a believer or a good moslem. In fact, he often uses the word hypocrite to attack Muslims who do not carry out religious orders, who do not care about the fate of other moslems. He is very straightforward, straightforward, direct, in criticizing moslems who instead suck in other ignorant moslems.

In writing in *Medan Moeslimin* No. 7 of 1922 titled *Assalamu'alaikum waruh matu'Lohi wa-baro katuh*, Misbach said that people will be saved in the world and the hereafter if humans follow the path of truth, fairness, independent thinking, dare to sacrifice their thoughts, feelings, possessions, deeds, even lives for others. Moreover, the leaders of the people must have the courage to convey their thoughts through writing, vergadering or public meetings based on the verses of the Alquran. However, if the Alquran verse is only used as an exhibition, not practiced, then they are worthy of being called a hypocrite.

Misbach explained in more detail the definition of a believer. What Misbach conveyed illustrates that a believer must fight for independence and humanity, and once again, fight backbiting. Believers here are not quite related to worship but also relationships with others and in the context of nationality. For Misbach, the characteristics of a true believer are:

First, educating students or other people with lessons in freedom and human rights, fearing Almighty God, and living together or having good interactions with others. *Second*, to fight backbiting and the backbiters, then using some of his property to fight backbiting. Slander or backbiting according to Misbach is making trouble and hurting others, causing harm, doing unjust, chaos, to seizing property. Conversely, if the believer has feelings of fear, fawning, and supporting slanderers, then he is more accurately called a hypocrite (*Mukmin dan Munafek? In Islam Bergerak*, December 10, 1922).

Many times Misbach uses the term hypocrite. Against hypocrites, Misbach did not hesitate to fight them by using the word kick. Kicking according to the *Big Indonesian Dictionary* means kicking, kicking using the feet, expelling, firing, or pushing hard. The word "kicking" is used in a negative context, urging people in a violent or polite manner.

"*Awas Saudara awas! Jikalau ada saorang yang mengaku atau menyebut dirinya saorang mukmin dan Islam, terutama pemimpinnya, tetapi misi ada yang bersifat munafik, jangan sampai kaget, mesti akan menerima tendangan dari saya.*" (Sroean Kita, *Islam Bergerak*, 15 Desember 1918).

It means: "*Watch out, brother! If there is someone who claims to call himself a believer and Islam, especially the leader, but there is a hypocritical mission, do not be surprised, must receive a kick from me.*"

Misbach's communication style which strongly criticizes moslems who do not carry out religious orders and fight backbiting by using the term hypocrisy, kicking, destroying, is a way of communication to the reader which is referred to as a chromo hit without direct defense. The method was considered relevant to the current conditions. In the context of communication style, Misbach uses low context communication.

Because of his criticism of the colonial government and foreign businessmen, Misbach was imprisoned several times by the police. Accused of inciting the people against the Dutch, Misbach was arrested on May 7, 1919. He was accused of orchestrating a peasant strike (*Islam Bergerak*, May 10, 1919). By the court, he was released on October 22, 1919 (*Islam Bergerak*, November 1, 1919). The arrest did not deter Misbach. He still stands as a speaker at public meetings and advocates for farmers and workers. As a result, he was again accused of incitement and became the mastermind behind the strike on May 16, 1920. He was convicted by the Court and had to go to prison in Pekalongan. On August 21, 1922, Misbach was free from punishment (*Islam Bergerak*, September 1, 1922).

He is increasingly active in organizing the people, especially laborers and farmers. In fact, this organization sometimes leads to radical actions (Bakri, 2015). The Dutch East Indies government accused Misbach of leading strikes in the towns and villages of the Solo residents. The violence accompanied the strikes such as arson, bombing and sabotage of the railroad tracks. In fact, Misbach was accused of establishing a robber association in the village of Plupuh afdeeling Sragen (*Medan Moeslimin* No. 7, 1925). On October 20, 1923, he was arrested and exiled to Manokwari, Papua.

Of people who plunged into prison, Misbach called him a sycophant. He demonized, regarded the enemy as a demon. While he is the opposite of Satan. According to Kenneth Burke, Misbach blamed the opposing party, which reported the case so he was charged with inciting to establish a robber group in Plupuh. There is a term that Misbach uses for people who report themselves as "sycophant", "coward", "human demon", "poisoner", "fake". While the actions of those who plunged into the case, Misbach called him vultures and hell. The name he mentioned was Wedono Semarang Socatio, then Assistant Wedono Solo Wirisoepomo, and the Doerat Moko Hardjosoemarto Solo. "These three people I feel obliged to make the title of human devil ..." (*Medan Moeslimin* No. 7, 1925).

The devil or the word devil is always associated with evil, something bad, and a sinner. Demonstrations often coincide with dehumanization. If demonization is interpreted as an equalization or considers others as demons, dehumanization considers other people as not human or under human. Dehumanization is also related to political, religious, social, cultural, and physiological views.

When dehumanization and demonization are carried out by certain parties, at the same time he does glorification. Glorification is to consider oneself or group sacred (Djelantik, 2003). He and his group call themselves true believers of Islam. Mention of true moslems is glorification of themselves and their groups. Thus demonization-dehumanization and glorification take place simultaneously.

Through writing, Misbach spread threats to political opponents. With the wrap of Islam, he demonstrated the opposing party by calling it a hypocrite. Because too often he refers to himself as a believer or a true moslem and refers to a group that opposes the hypocritical group, the two terms eventually become characteristic in the writings of Misbach. Against the political opponents of the writers, Islamic leaders, government officials who are considered hypocritical, Misbach did not hesitate to kick him. All of that aims at mankind to save the world and the hereafter, to be on the path of the goodness of truth, and justice, to be free in mind, and dare to sacrifice in behavior, mind, property, and life as well (*Medan Moeslimin* No. 7 1922).

In other writings, he still threatens his opponent with the word "destroy" addressed to the opponent.

"Barang kali cukup ini lebih dahulu seruan kita pada t.t pembaca, terutama pula untuk pembantu kita, bagaimanakah haluan kita tersebut di atas, harep mengerti sendiri! Siapa yang merampas agama Islam, itulah yang wajib kita binasakan (Perhaps this is enough before our call to the reader, especially also for our servants, how is our course mentioned above, harep understand yourself! Who seizes the religion of Islam, that is what we must destroy)."

Writing that expressly discusses the believers and hypocrites contained in the December 10, 1922 edition of the *Islam Bergerak* entitled *Mukmin and Munafek?*. According to Misbach, the words and behavior of a believer is in accordance with what God commands as a letter in the Alquran.

"Hai sekalian orang mukmin, masuklah igama Islam, indahkanlah semua perintah Tuhan, jangan menurut jalannya syetan karena syetan itu sudah terang musuhmu (O believers, enter the religion of Islam, heed all the commandments of God, do not obey the path of satan because satan is already your enemy)."

If someone behaves contrary to the Alquran, it is called a hypocrite. That's what distinguishes from a believer. For believers, it is not enough to do good (*amar makruf*) only. The obligation of moslems is to carry out worship such as prayer and fasting, but also against slander. As explained in this chapter before, slander or backbiting is not just untrue news but also chaos, confiscation of property, and acts of harm to others. Fighting slander, according to Misbach, is more severe than just doing good (*amar makruf*). Therefore, a moslem must also fight backbiting both at the expense of his property, body and life.

"Perangilah adanya fitnah sehingga sampai habis (tidak ada fitnah) (Mukmin dan Munafek? (Fight the slander so that it runs out [there is no slander]) (Mukmin dan Munafek?, Islam Bergerak, December 10, 1922).

Why does Misbach repeatedly call on Muslims to fight backbiting. The slander Misbach meant was referring to the Dutch colonial authorities and capitalism. The Indies government controlled people's lands, occupied, enforced rules, suppressed freedom, was a real form of defamation. Peasants and laborers are oppressed. Movement figures who defend the people either advocating directly or through writing are jailed on charges of incitement. In this case, Misbach actually invited the people through *Medan Moeslimin* and *Islam Bergerak* to fight the Dutch.

Likewise, capitalism supported by the colonial government, Dutch businessmen opened up plantations, industry, transportation, and so on. The people are made laborers with low wages. Whereas

farmers, their land is rented at low prices. This is where Misbach is not enough to be a caller through the mass media. He is not merely theoretical, but also practical.

Conclusion

Texts in printed media such as *Islam Bergerak* and *Medan Moeslimin* which became the media for spreading the idea of Islamic communism as well as other written sources about the actions of Haji Misbach are rich materials for this communication study. With the approach of Kenneth Burke's dramatic drama theory and cultural communication from Stuart Hall, Misbach's communication style became an interesting study. The conclusions of this study are as follows:

First, the mass media is quite relevant to be used as a tool of struggle. Haji Misbach uses the Medan Moeslimin newspaper and Islam Bergerak to convey ideas about equality, justice, improving quality of life and so on. The media is a tool for public propaganda and advocacy.

Second, in communicating, Misbach uses language styles that are different from what develops in the community. When writing, Misbach uses language as it is (Javanese: *blaka sutha*), strikes manners, straightforward people, even when criticizing using harsh words, straight to the point. This is different from the culture of Javanese or Eastern people who communicate in a circling language style, not directly to the main issue. According to Stuart Hall, Misbach's communication style is classified as low context communication. Whereas Indonesian or Eastern communication style in general is high context communication. The model developed by Misbach, although different from the culture of the general population, is suitable for conditions where the community is in a state of oppression. Misbach believed that it would be easy enough to arouse the spirit of community resistance with bombastic language, loud, and striking manners (Javanese: *hantam krama*).

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