Indonesian Muslim
Intelligentsia and Power
The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional research centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute’s research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued almost 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.
Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia and Power

Yudi Latif

INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES
Singapore
# CONTENTS

| List of Figures | viii |
| List of Tables | ix |
| Glossary and Abbreviations | x |
| Foreword | xxi |
| Acknowledgements | xxiii |

**Chapter 1 Introduction**  
Foundations of Analysis  1  
Previous Studies of the Indonesian (Muslim) Intelligentsia and Intellectuals  4  
Alternative Approach, Aim and Methodology  27  
A Note on the Spelling  32  

**Chapter 2 The Formation of the Intelligentsia**  
The Western Educational Roots of the Modern (Muslim) Intelligentsia  56  
The Islamic Educational Roots of the Muslim ‘Clerical’ Intelligentsia  66  
Discursive Practices and the Making of Collective Identity  84  
The Invention of the Modern Indies Public Sphere  92  
The Islamic *Kaoem Moeda* and the Transformation of the Public Sphere  104  
Power Games: Consolidation and Contestation  111  
Conclusion  128  

**Chapter 3 Making Indonesia, Making Intellectual Political Traditions**  
The Advancement and Disruption of the Secular Schools  155  
The Advancement of Islamic Schools  161  
Discursive Practices and the Making of a Historical Bloc  168  
The Fractured Public Sphere and the Making of Intellectual Political Traditions  182  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 4</th>
<th>Intelligentsia as the Political Elite of the New Nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equal Access to (Secular) Public Education</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Education and the Expansion of Islamic Universities</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive Practices and the Public Sphere of the Newly Independent Nation</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Games: Consolidation and Contestation</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rise and Fall of Political Islam</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Transmission of Muslim Intellectual Political Traditions</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 5</th>
<th>The New Order's Repressive-Developmentalism and the Islamic Intellectual Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mass Education and the Devaluation of the Intelligentsia</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive Practices and the Public Sphere:</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernization and Repression</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Impasse of Political Islam</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Responses of the Second Generation of Muslim Intelligentsia</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Responses of the Third Generation of Muslim Intelligentsia</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Responses of the Fourth Generation of Muslim Intelligentsia</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Games: Consolidation and Contestation</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 6</th>
<th>The Rise and Decline of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia (ICMI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Profile of the Late Twentieth Century:</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boom Time of Muslim Sarjana</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive Practices and the Public Sphere</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Efforts to Unite Muslim Intellectuals</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rise of ICMI</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Games: Consolidation and Contestation</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents

The Decline of ICMI 451
Conclusion 458

Chapter 7 Conclusion 466
The Continuity in Historical Development of Muslim Intelligentsia 470
Discontinuity in the Historical Development of
   Muslim Intelligentsia 478
Postscript 484

Bibliography 487

Index 517

About the Author 545
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Model of an Interactive Approach 35

Figure 7.1 A Schema of the Genealogy of Muslim Intelligentsia 472
LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Native Enrolments in the Vernacular and European School Systems, 1900–10 63

Table 3.1 Native Enrolments in the Vernacular and European School Systems, 1910–20 156

Table 3.2 Intellectual Political Traditions, their Cultural and Economic Bases and Political Orientations 197

Table 4.1 Religious Education in State (Secular) Schools 1955–56 260

Table 6.1 The Undergraduate Educational (UE) Attainment by Religion of the Indonesian Population in the Age Group of 24–29 Years 420

Table 6.2 Articles on Intellectuals in Jakarta-Based Newspapers, 1990–99 439

Table 6.3 Survey of Religious Affiliation of Parents and Children of ICMI Members 443

Table 6.4 Educational Background of Registered ICMI Members in 1997 444
Abangan
Nominal(ly) Muslim, strongly influenced by Hindu-Buddhist and animist religious ideas

Adat
Local customs, the mores and behaviour of various cultural groups throughout Indonesia

Algemeene Studieclub (ASC)
General Study Club. The name of a study club of nationalist intellectuals, established in Bandung in 1926.

AMS

Ansor
Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization for young men. See NU

ASC
See Algemeene Studieclub

Azas tunggal
Sole Foundation; it refers to Pancasila as the sole foundation of Indonesian socio-political organizations. See Pancasila

BAIS
Badan Intelijen Strategis (Strategic Intelligence Body)

Bakin
Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara [State Intelligence Coordinating Body]

Bangsawan pikiran
The nobility by intellect

Bangsawan oesoel
The nobility by birth; original aristocrat

Bappenas
Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional [National Development Planning Board]

Bestuursacademie
Administrative Academy

Boemipoetera
Literally son of the earth/island; native. Originally referring to a Muslim, later on gradually losing its religious character, and denoting just native

BPK
Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (the Audit Board for State Finance)
Glossary and Abbreviations

**BU**
*Budi Utomo* [Glorious Endeavour]. An association of Javanese students and *priyayi* established in 1908. See *priyayi*

**Budi Utomo**
See BU

**Cendekiawan**
Intellectual/Intelligentsia

**CIDES**
Center for Information and Development Studies

**CGMI**
*Concentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia* [The Unified Movement of Indonesian University Students]. An association of communist students

**CSIS**
Center for Strategic and International Studies

**Daidancho**
Battalion Commander of Peta. See *Peta*

**Dakwah**
Call or invitation; Islamic outreach or missionary endeavour

**DDII**
*Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* [Indonesian Council of Islamic Dakwah]; see *dakwah*

**Dewan Mahasiswa**
Student Council

**DI/TII**
*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* [‘House of Islam/Islamic Army of Indonesia]. The name of an Indonesian political movement which, in 1948, declared the idea of transforming Indonesia into an Islamic state

**DPA**
*Dewan Pertimbangan Agung* [Supreme Advisory Council]; the presidential advisory council

**DPR**
*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*. House of the People’s Representatives; Parliament

**Dokter-Djawa School**
Native Paramedical School

**Djama’ah Chairijah**
*Djama’ah al-Chairiah al-Talabiyah al-Azhariyah al-Djawah* [Welfare Association of the Indo-Malayan students in Egypt]

**Eerste Klasse School**
First Class Native (elementary) School

**ELS**
*Europeesche Lagere School* [European Primary School]

**Gemsos**
*Gerakan Mahasiswa Sosialis* [the Socialist University Student Movement]

**Germindo**
*Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia* [Indonesian
University Student Movement. A student affiliate of Partindo. See Partindo

Gestapu
Gerakan Tiga Puluh September. 30 September movement of the PKI. See PKI

GHS
Geneeskundige Hoogeschool [Medical College]

GMKI
Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia [the Indonesian Christian University Student Movement]

GMNI
Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia [Indonesian Nationalist University Student Movement]. A student affiliate of PNI

Golkar
Golongan Karya [Functional Groups]. The political party of the New Order government

Gotong-royong
Mutual assistance

GPII
Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia [The Movement of Indonesian Islamic Youth]

Hadj/Haji
A Muslim who has undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca

Hadj/hajj
The pilgrimage to Mecca

HBS
Hoogere Burger School [Higher Civil School]. European Secondary School

HIS
Hollandsch-Inlandsche School [Dutch Native School]; Dutch speaking native (primary) school

Hizbullah
[Army of God]; the Masjumi youth front

HMI
Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam [Islamic University Students’ Association]

IAIN
Institut Agama Islam Negeri [State Islamic Institute]; The state college of Islamic studies

ICMI
Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia [Association of Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia] established in 1990

IMM
Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah [Union of the Muhammadiyah University Students]

Indonesische Studieclub (ISC)
Indonesian Study Club. The name of a study club of nationalist intellectuals, established in Surabaya in 1924.

IPB
Institut Pertanian Bogor [Bogor Institute of Agriculture]
IPNU  Ikatan Peladjar Nahdlatul Ulama [Union of the NU Students]. See NU
ISC  See Indonesische Studieclub
ISDV  Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging [Indies Social Democratic Association], established in 1914 as an embryo of the PKI
Islamic Kaoem Moeda  Young Islamic Community who had an ambition to rejuvenate the Indies society based on the ideology of Islamic reformism-modernism. See Kaoem Moeda
ITB  Instituut Teknologi Bandung [Bandung Institute of Technology]
ITS  Instituut Teknologi Surabaya [Surabaya Institute of Technology]
JIB  Jong Islamieten Bond [Young Muslims’ League]
Kadi  A judge of religious court
KAMI  Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia [Indonesian University Students’ Action Front]; established in 1965
KAMMI  Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia [United Front of Indonesian Islamic University Students], established in 1998
Kaoem  Group, community
Kaoem Mardika  Free People; People whose livelihood did not derive from service to the colonial government
Kaoem Moeda  [Young Group] (Community). A collective entity of those who shared a common ambition to rejuvenate the Indies society along the kemadjoean line. See kemadjoean
Kaoem Toea  [Old Group] (Community). Traditionalists or followers of (indigenous) conservative values
KAPPI  Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia [Indonesian Student Youths’ Front], established in 1966
KASI  Kesatuan Aksi Sarjana Indonesia [Indonesian University Graduates’ Front]; established in 1966
Kauman  The district surrounding the principal mosque of Javanese town, usually occupied by santri
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kemadjoan</strong></td>
<td>[Progress]. An ideal loftiness of one's social status encompassing many other things: Educational improvement, modernization (associated with Westernization), respectability, and success in life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kjailkyai</strong></td>
<td>Title of respect for holy persons and sacred objects; widely used specifically (in Java) for Islamic teacher (of the traditionalist type).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KKN</strong></td>
<td><em>Korupsi, Kolusi, dan Nepotisme</em> [Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IKNIL</strong></td>
<td><em>Koninklijk Netherlands Indisch Leger</em> [Royal Netherlands Indies Army]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KNIP</strong></td>
<td>Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat [Central Indonesian National Committee]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kweekschool</strong></td>
<td>Teachers’ Training School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LDK</strong></td>
<td><em>Lembaga Dakwah Kampus</em> [Campus Mosque Dakwah Body]; see <em>dakwah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LKIS</strong></td>
<td><em>Lembaga Kebajikan Islam Samanhudi</em> [Samanhudi Institute for Islamic Benevolent Service]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LDMI</strong></td>
<td><em>Lembaga Dakwah Mahasiswa Islam</em> [Dakwah Institute of Islamic Students]; the HMI’s <em>dakwah</em> body; see <em>dakwah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LMD</strong></td>
<td><em>Latihan Mujahid Dakwah</em> [Training of the Dakwah Cadre]; see <em>dakwah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LP3ES</strong></td>
<td><em>Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial</em> [The Social and Economic Research, Education, and Information Institute]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LSM</strong></td>
<td><em>Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat</em> [Self-Reliant Community Institution]; the Indonesian version of NGO. See <em>NGO</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LSP</strong></td>
<td><em>Lembaga Studi Pembangunan</em> [Institute of Development Studies]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MA</strong></td>
<td><em>Mahkamah Agung</em> [Supreme Court]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Madrasah</strong></td>
<td>Literally School. Modernised Islamic school offering both religious and general subjects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Manipol** | *Manifesto Politik*. Political Manifesto, the ideology for Guided Democracy, introduced
by Sukarno on 17 August 1959; it called for the revival of the spirit of the 1945 Revolution

**Masjumi**
*Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia* [Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims]

**MIAI**
*Madjlisul Islam Alaa Indonesia* [Supreme Islam Council of Indonesia]

**MMI**
*Majelis Mahasiswa Indonesia* [Indonesian University Student Assembly]

**MPR**
*Madjelis Persmujawaratan Rakjat* [People’s Consultative Assembly]

**MPRS**
*Majelis Permusyawaratan Indonesia Sementara* [The Provisional People’s Consultative Assembly]

**MUI**
*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* [Council of Indonesian Islamic Scholars]

**MULO**
*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* [More Extended Elementary Education]; Lower Secondary School

**Muhammadiyah**
Reformist-modernist Islamic social and educational association

**Nasakom**
*Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunis* [Nationalism, Religion, and Communism]; A united front of proponents of Guided Democracy

**NIAS**
*Nederlandsch-Indische Artsenschool* [Netherlands Indian Doctors’ School]

**NEI**
Netherlands East Indies

**NGO**
Non-Government Organization

**NKK**
*Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus* [Normalization of Campus Life]

**NICA**
Netherlands Indies Civil Administration

**NU**
*Nahdlatul Ulama* [Renaissance of the Religious Scholars]. A traditionalist Islamic association

**Orde Baru (Orba)**
[New Order]. The period of Suharto’s government (1966–98)

**Orde Lama (Orla)**
[Old Order]. The period of Sukarno’s Guided Democracy

**OSVIA**
*Opleidingschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren* [Training School for Native Administration]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary and Abbreviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Paguuban Pasundan**  Sundanese Association  
**PAN**  Partai Amanat Nasional [National Mandate Party]  
**Pancasila**  [Five Pillars]. The national philosophy of the Republic of Indonesia, consisting of five principles: belief in the One God; a just and civilised humanity; a united Indonesia; popular rule through policies formed after representative consensus; and social justice for the whole Indonesian population  
**Parkindo**  Partai Kristen Indonesia [Indonesian Christian/Protestant Party]  
**Parmusi**  Partai Muslimin Indonesia [Indonesian Muslim Party]  
**Partindo**  Partai Indonesia [Indonesian Party]. A nationalist political party, founded in 1931 and re-established in 1959  
**PBB**  Partai Bulan Bintang [Crescent and Star Party]  
**PDI**  Partai Demokrasi Indonesia [Indonesian Democratic Party]  
**PDI-P**  Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan [Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle]  
**Peranakan**  A locally born person of foreign extraction; Indonesian-born foreigner  
**Pembangunan**  Development  
**Penghulu**  In Minangkabau the head of family or adat chief  
In Java a person in charge of a major mosque  During the Dutch colonial period, it was a title of a religious official supported by stipend from the Dutch government  
**Perhimi**  Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia [Indonesian University Student Association]  
**Persami**  Persatuan Sardjana Muslim Indonesia [Association of Indonesian Muslim Sardjana]. See sardjana/sarjana  
**Perti**  Persatuan Tarbijah Islamiah [Islamic Educational Association]; the West Sumatra-based traditionalist association
Pesantren  
Traditional (boarding) Islamic school; place for religious instruction in Java. See surau

Pesantren Luhur  
Advanced Pesantren

Peta  
Pembela Tanah Air. Fatherland Defence Force (set up during the Japanese Occupation)

PI  
Perhimpunan Indonesia [Indonesian Association]

PII  
Peladjar Islam Indonesia [Union of Indonesian Islamic High School Students]

PK  
Partai Keadilan [Justice Party]

PKB  
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa [National Awakening Party]

PKI  
Partai Komunis Indonesia [Indonesian Communist Party]

PMII  
Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia [Indonesian Islamic University Student Movement]; A union of NU university students

PMKRI  
Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik Indonesia [Union of Indonesian Catholic University Students]

PNI  
Partai Nasional Indonesia [Indonesian National Party]

PPKI  
Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia [Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence]

PPMI  
Perserikatan Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia [The Federation of Indonesian University Student Organizations]

PPP  
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan [United Development Party]

PPPKI  
Permufakatan Perhimpunan-Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia [Federation of Political Organizations of Indonesian People]

P3M  
Perkumpulan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat [Association for Pesantren and Community Development]

Prijaji/Priyayi  
Javanese nobility; member of the Javanese official (administrative) class
PSI Partai Sosialis Indonesia. Indonesian Socialist Party
PSII Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia [Indonesian Islamic Union Party]. See SI
Reformasi [Reform]; generally meaning political liberalization and economic transparency. Also used to refer to the period following Suharto’s fall
Repelita Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun [Five-Year Development Plan]
RHS Rechtshoogeschool [College of Law]
RUSI The Republic of the United States of Indonesia
Santri Student, pupil (of the pesantren or religious school in Java); also member of the devout Islamic community
Sardjana/sarjana Degree holders or scholars
Sarekat Dagang Islam See SDI
Sarekat Islam See SI
SDI Sarekat Dagang Islam [Islamic Commercial Association]
Sekolah [School]. The (modern) schools following the Western educational system
SI Sarekat Islam [Islamic Union]; A proto-nationalist association with Islamic colour, established in 1912
SIS Studenten Islam Studieclub [Muslim Students’ Study Club]
Sorogan A method of teaching in pesantren based on individual-centred learning in which a student [santri] sits in front of a religious scholar [kjari] to read a religious text
STI Sekolah Tinggi Islam [Advanced Islamic School]
STOVIA School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen [Training School for Native Doctors]
Surau Traditional Islamic school or place for religious instruction in Central Sumatra: equivalent of Javanese pesantren.
Glossary and Abbreviations

**THS**  
*Technische Hoogeschool* [College of Engineering]

**TNI**  
*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* [Indonesian National Military]

**Tweede Klasse School**  
Second Class Native (elementary) School

**UGM**  
*Universitas Gadjah Mada* [Gadjah Mada State University]

**UI**  
*Universitas Indonesia* [University of Indonesia]

**UII**  
*Universitas Islam Indonesia* [Islamic University of Indonesia]

**Ulama**  
Islamic scholars; in Indonesia, it specifically refers to scholars of religious knowledge

**Ummah**  
Islamic community

**USDEK**  
*Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* [the 1945 Constitution], *Sosialisme Indonesia* [Indonesian socialism], *Demokrasi terpimpin* [guided democracy], *Ekonomi terpimpin* [guided economy], and *Kepribadian Indonesia* [Indonesian identity]. Sukarno's ideology of the 1960s.

**YLBHI**  
*Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia* [Foundation of Indonesian Legal Aid Institutions]

**Weton(an)**  
A method of teaching in pesantren in which students sit in a circle in front of the scholar working on various texts. The *kjai* calls on various students to recite and clarify what they are reading.
FOREWORD

Yudi Latif’s *Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia and Power* is a study of great scope and importance. There is no comparable study of its kind in the extensive literature on Indonesia. Given its considerable scope and its critical historical argument, it is a book that should be essential reading for an understanding of Indonesian society and its current political development.

As a fundamental sociological inquiry, this book defines and discovers its subject. Its focus is on Indonesia’s Muslim “intelligentsia” and its argument is that this “stratum” of society — barely recognized as such by other writers — has provided the critical Islamic discourse within the public sphere that enabled Muslims to define themselves and give direction to the Indonesian nation. This offers a new perception of Indonesia’s history and it gives credit both to the centrality of ideas and to the role of those key historical figures in Indonesia who fostered this on-going intellectual discourse.

As a work of intellectual history, this book begins in the nineteenth century, setting out the colonial context within which individual Muslim intellectuals sought to obtain an education and create a place for themselves in colonial society. It then carries on into and through the twentieth century with the emergence of an “intelligentsia” and its varied struggle to gain recognition and political authority. As such, the book charts a succession of generations whose popular designations, in each period, give a sense of the historical embeddedness of their intellectual horizons. From *kaum moeda*, *bangawan pikiran*, and *pemoeda peladjar* to *sarjana* and *cendiakawan*, successive generations of Indonesian Muslims have struggled both to take their place in a national setting and to engage with issues of significance for the Muslim world as a whole.

It is particularly pertinent to recognize that this book is itself an engagement with the discourse that it examines. Like those he studies, Dr Latif is an engaged intellectual. The critical analytic concepts that inform this book are drawn from a variety of intellectual sources. Thus, for example, Dr Latif draws upon the ideas of Mannheim, Gramsci, Foucault, and
Habermas — to name a few of his sources of inspiration. He refashions and refocuses these ideas for his own analytic purposes and presents a coherent perception of the nation’s past that complements classic studies of Indonesia by such writers as Benda, Feith, Legge or McVey.

Now is an appropriate time to reconsider Muslim intellectual discourse in Indonesia and to recognize how much it has always been linked to a wider global discourse. By considering the foundations of this public discourse and by tracing its development through the twentieth century to the present-day, this book provides a pivot for continuing discussions on the role of Islam in the twenty-first century. More than just a summary of the past, this book is a starting point for considering the future.

Professor James J. Fox
Professor of Anthropology
The Australian National University
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The history of this book is the history of human compassion and mutual understanding. That the book originated from my Ph.D. thesis at the Australian National University, its presence in the “republic of letters” (respublica litteraria) would have been impossible without the support and contribution of many people and a number of institutions.

I owe a lasting debt of gratitude to my lecturers at the Faculty of Asian Studies and the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (RSPAS) of the Australian National University (ANU) who generously provided counsel and encouragement. Specifically, I have to mention my supervisors, Professor Virginia Hooker, Professor James J. Fox, and Dr Greg Fealy who have always been ready to help solve my academic and non-academic problems. They also have welcomed my critical views even if these views were in contradiction to their intellectual preferences. During the writing of the thesis, Professor Hooker also gave me the opportunity to develop a new course called “Reading the Indonesian Media” for students of Indonesian Studies, which helped broaden my understanding of the importance of the media in the historical development of the Indonesian intelligentsia.

I am also grateful to Dr Ann Kumar at the Centre for Asian Societies and Histories of the ANU and Professor John D. Legge at the History Department of Monash University who were helpful in reading most parts of the thesis. Their corrections on some points of historical matters and their suggestions on the organizational structure of the thesis were very valuable. In addition, Dr Gail Craswell at the Academic Skills and Learning Centre of the ANU and Achdiat Kartamihardja deserve my gratitude for their valuable assistance respectively in English writing and in Dutch translation.

The writing of the thesis would have been impossible without the generous financial support I received from the Australian National University and the Australian Government, specifically the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs. Both institutions awarded me an International...
Postgraduate Research Scholarship that enabled me to attend a doctoral programme at the ANU. While studying at the ANU, I was also awarded a grant by the Australia-Indonesian Institute to conduct research on Islam and Democracy in Indonesia. The research on this issue provided valuable inputs for the writing of this thesis.

I should also like to express my appreciation to the ANU library and the National Library of Australia in Canberra. Their rich collections on Indonesian and Islamic studies have greatly contributed to the enrichment of my knowledge. My access to these collections was made possible by the fine cooperation extended to me by their staff, who relentlessly assisted my incessant requests for literature and other information.

Credit should also be given to the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and the Paramadina University in Jakarta, two research institutions that I am affiliated with, for supporting my overseas study. Special appreciation has to be given to my senior colleagues in both institutions, especially Djoko Pitono, Lukman Hakim, Erman Aminullah, Taufik Abdullah, Mochtar Pabottingi, Dewi Fortuna Anwar, (the late) Nurcholish Madjid and Utomo Dananjaya, for their untiring encouragement and assistance.

I would like to thank the administrative staff of the Faculty of Asian Studies, the RSPAS, and the International Education Office of the ANU, especially to Andrea Haese, Ludmila Mangos, Vera Joveska, Pamela Wesley-Smith, Heather Mann and Ann Bell for assisting me to deal with logistic difficulties and bureaucratic mechanisms.

I would like also to express thanks to my colleagues in Canberra, Edward Chunk, Ros Matthews, Matthew Byrne, Ben Materne, Amanda Scott, Amrih Widodo and Indonesian students in Canberra, for warm friendship and exchanging ideas. Their presence surrounding me helped create a stimulating multi-cultural environment, which made my life in Canberra much more meaningful than just pursuing an academic title. In parallel, my colleagues in Indonesia, especially Idi Subandy Ibrahim, Ida Ayu Mustika Dewi, Tatat Rahmita Utami, Yudhie Haryono, Abdul Hamid, Yon Hotman, Indah Dachlan, Arief Haryadi and Ray Rangkuti deserve my appreciation for their assistance and stimulation.

More than anyone else, my parents, wife (Linda Natalia Rahma) and children (Matahari Kesadaran, Cerlang Gemintang and Bening Aura Qalby) may lay claim to my lasting gratitude. Their continuous prayers and support have been a genuine consolation which reinforced my spirit to keep walking along the path of knowledge. My family has also borne the agony of writing this book. May God bless you all!
Last but not least, my gratitude should be given to ISEAS, especially to its energetic Managing Editor, Triena Ong, for taking the initiative to publish this book. Hopefully, this effort brings value to the enlightenment of human beings.