ISLAM and the STATE in INDONESIA

Reproduced from *Islam and the State in Indonesia* by Bahtiar Effendy (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Individual articles are available at < http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg >



The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional research centre for scholars and other specialists concerned with modern Southeast Asia, particularly the many-faceted problems of stability and security, economic development, and political and social change.

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 has published over 1,000 books and scholarly journals, all pertaining to Southeast Asia.

ISLAM and the STATE in INDONESIA

Bahtiar Effendy



Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore

First published in Singapore in 2003 by Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Pasir Panjang Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg

Website: Website: http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

© 2003 Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the author and his interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publisher or its supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Effendy, Bahtiar.

Islam and the state in Indonesia / by Bahtiar Effendy.

- 1. Islam and state—Indonesia.
- 2. Islam and politics—Indonesia.
- 3. Indonesia—Politics and government—1966–1998.
- 4. Indonesia—Politics and government—1998—
- I. Title.

BP63 I5E271 2003 sls2003004726

ISBN 981-230-082-1 (soft cover) ISBN 981-230-083-X (hard cover)

Typeset by Stallion Press (S) Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Photoplates Pte Ltd

Dedicated to

Muchlis Ramli in Jakarta

Contents

Abbreviations	V111
Acknowledgements	xi
Chapter 1	
Introduction: The Problem of Political Relationship between Islam and the State	1
Chapter 2 Explaining the Uneasy Relationship: Political Antagonism between Islam and the State in Indonesia	13
Chapter 3 Emergence of the New Islamic Intellectualism: Three Schools of Thought	65
Chapter 4 Implications of the New Islamic Intellectualism: Ideas and Practices	102
Chapter 5 Beyond Parties and Parliament: Reassessing the Political Approach of Islam	124
Chapter 6 Reducing Hostility: The Accommodative Responses of the State	149
Chapter 7 Conclusion: Towards an Integrated Political Relationship between Islam and the State	193
Chapter 8 Political Islam in Post-Soeharto Indonesia: A Postscript	199
Bibliography	230
Index	258
About the Author	266

Abbreviations

Bappenas – Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Bazis – Badan Amil Zakat, Infak dan Sadagah

BMI – Bank Muamalat Indonesia

BPHN – Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional

BPPT – Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi

BPR – Bank Perkreditan Rakyat

BPUPKI – Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan

Indonesia

DPR – Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat

DPRGR – Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong
 FKASWJ – Forum Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah
 FKPI – Forum Komunikasi Pembangunan Indonesia

FOSKO – Forum Studi dan Komunikasi

FPI – Front Pembela Islam

GBHN – Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara GKBI – Gabungan Koperasi Batik Indonesia

Golkar – Golongan Karya

GPII – Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia

GUPPI – Gabungan Usaha Perbaikan Pendidikan Islam

HMI – Himpunan Mahasiswa IslamIAIN – Institut Agama Islam Negeri

ICMI – Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia
 ISDV – Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging

ITB – Institut Teknologi Bandung KHI – Kompilasi Hukum Islam

Kisdi – Komite Indonesia untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam

KNPI – Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia

Kopkamtib – Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban

KPSI – Komite Pelaksana Syariat Islam

KSOB – Kupon Sumbangan Olah Raga Berhadiah

LP3ES – Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan

Ekonomi dan Sosial

LSAF – Lembaga Studi Agama dan Filsafat LSM – Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat LSP – Lembaga Studi Pembangunan Masyumi Majlis Syura Muslimin Indonesia

MDI Majelis Dakwah Islamiyah

MI Muslimin Indonesia

MMI Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia MPR Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat

MPRS Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara

MШ Majelis Ulama Indonesia NII Negara Islam Indonesia **NIP** Nationale Indische Partii

NU Nahdlatul Ulama

P₃M Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat

PAN Partai Amanat Nasional Parmusi Partai Muslimin Indonesia **PBB** Partai Bulan Bintang

 Partai Demokrasi Indonesia PDI

PDI-P - Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan

PDU - Perserikatan Daulatul Ummah Perjuangan Semesta Alam Permesta Permi Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia

Persami Persatuan Sarjana Muslim Indonesia

Persis Persatuan Islam

Perti Persatuan Tarbiah Islam PII Pelajar Islam Indonesia PIR Partai Indonesia Raya

PK Partai Keadilan

PKB Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Partij der Kommunisten in Indie PKI

PKU - Partai Kebangkitan Umat

PMII Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia

PNI Partai Nasional Indonesia **PNU** - Partai Nahdlatul Ummah

PP Partai Persatuan

PPA Pusat Pengembangan Agribisnis PPII Partai Persatuan Islam Indonesia

PPKI Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia

PPP Partai Persatuan Pembangunan

PPPB - Persatuan Pegawai Pegadaian Bumiputera PPSK Pusat Pengkajian Strategi dan Kebijakan **PPSW** Pusat Pengembangan Sumberdaya Wanita PRRI - Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia

x ISLAM AND THE STATE

PSI – Partai Sosialis Indonesia

PSII – Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia PTDI – Pendidikan Tinggi Dakwah Islam

SDI – Sarekat Dagang Islam

SDSB – Sumbangan Dermawan Sosial Berhadiah

TII – Tentara Islam IndonesiaTNI – Tentara Nasional Indonesia

TSSB – Tanda Sumbangan Sosial Berhadiah

UII – Universitas Islam Indonesia

UUPA - Undang-Undang Peradilan Agama UUPN - Undang-Undang Pendidikan Nasional

YLKB – Yayasan Lembaga Kesadaran Berkonstitusi

Acknowledgements

This book grew out of my dissertation which I submitted to the Department of Political Science at the Ohio State University. Obviously, I am indebted to many individuals and institutions in finishing my study at the Ohio State University. First of all I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor R. William Liddle who not only convinced me to study political science, but also secured me a fellowship from Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) during my first year at Ohio State. My sincere thanks are also due to the Asia Foundation which had been so generous in offering me the grant (1989-94) which made my doctorate study at Ohio State possible. In this regard, several individuals deserve mentioning: John O. Sutter, Gordon Hein, Nancy Yuan, Marylin Grimstad, and Jon Summers.

The work of this dissertation, I must admit, was possible mostly because of the encouragement I received from my dissertation committee members: Professors R. William Liddle, Anthony Mughan, Stephen Dale, and Donald McCloud. They not only supervised the writing of the dissertation from the beginning, but also inspired my approach to the subject. But more importantly, in times of great agony and ordeal throughout the process of writing, they often became sources of support, intellectually as well as psychologically. To these individuals my appreciation is due. I would also like to thank Donald K. Emmerson, John O. Sutter, and Howard Federspiel, who commented on the proposal of the dissertation at the earlier stage.

My field research in Indonesia (July-September 1991) and the long process of writing would not have been possible without the help of many institutions and individuals. For this, I would like to take the opportunity to extend my gratitude to the Asia Foundation, MUCIA, Yayasan Amanah Umat, and the Department of Religion for their financial support which enabled me to conduct interviews with a number of intellectuals in Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, and Montreal as well as to finish the writing of this dissertation. More especially, I would like to express my appreciation to Nancy Yuan, William Flinn, Donald McCloud, Lukman Harun, Zarkowi Soejoeti, and Tarmizi Taher.

In Indonesia many individuals extended a helping hand to me. First, I would like to thank my principal sources who spared some time for me to

discuss the development of Indonesia's Islamic political intellectualism and activism. They included Abdurrahman Wahid, Nurcholish Madjid, M. Dawam Rahardjo, Adi Sasono, Munawir Syadzali, Hartono Mardjono, Ridwan Saidi, Sulastomo, M. Imaduddin Abdurrahim, Aswab Mahasin, Djohan Effendi, Deliar Noer, Lukman Harun, Endang Saifuddin Anshari, Yusuf Amir Feisal, Jalaluddin Rakhmat, Ichlasul Amal, M. Amien Rais, Kuntowijoyo, Yahya Muhaimin, A. Watik Pratiknya, Fuad Amsyari, Victor Tanja, Hajriyanto Y. Thohari, B.J. Habibie, and Aswar Hassan.

A number of friends have made my field research more convenient. Several of them deserve mentioning: Din Syamsuddin, Komaruddin Hidayat, Suud Achyar, Edy Soewono, Syafiq Mughny, Afan Gaffar, Mohtar Mas'oed, Bambang Cipto, M. Toha Hamim, A. Zaenuri, and Nurul Fajri.

For the completion of the dissertation, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to MUCIA who offered me a research associateship, a convenient office to work in, and technical support. For this, I would like to thank William Flinn, Donald McCloud, Mark Simpson, Patty Inman, and Andy Shulman. The last two individuals have been so kind to help me with the computing processes.

I would also like to express my gratitude to friends and colleagues who made our stay in Columbus for a little over six years more joyful. More particularly, I would like to thank the families of Liddle, Sonhaji, Budi Rahardjo, Hermawan Dipoyono, Machfudz, Mulya Siregar, Triono, Rosyiadi, Budi Yuwono, Takeshi Kohno, Rizal, and Blair.

In transforming this work into a publishable manuscript, the Asia Foundation, MUCIA, and the Liddles time and again, have been very helpful. Separately, they provided me a grant, space to work, and place to stay. All of this support enabled me to go to Columbus in 1999 to do the revision.

It is to my wife Fardiah and my three daughters, Nurul, Arina, and Atia, that my utmost appreciation is due. Their love, patience, and understanding have made my intellectual journeys possible.

I alone, however, shall bear the responsibility for any errors and imperfections in this study.