

Indonesian
Muslim
Intelligentsia
and Power

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Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia and Power

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GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abangan</i>	Nominal(ly) Muslim, strongly influenced by Hindu-Buddhist and animist religious ideas
<i>Adat</i>	Local customs, the mores and behaviour of various cultural groups throughout Indonesia
<i>Algemeene Studieclub (ASC)</i>	General Study Club. The name of a study club of nationalist intellectuals, established in Bandung in 1926.
<i>AMS</i>	<i>Algemeene Middelbare School</i> [General Secondary School]. Upper Secondary School
<i>Ansor</i>	<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> (NU) organization for young men. See <i>NU</i>
<i>ASC</i>	See <i>Algemeene Studieclub</i>
<i>Azas tunggal</i>	Sole Foundation; it refers to <i>Pancasila</i> as the sole foundation of Indonesian socio-political organizations. See <i>Pancasila</i>
<i>BAIS</i>	<i>Badan Intelijen Strategis</i> (Strategic Intelligence Body)
<i>Bakin</i>	<i>Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara</i> [State Intelligence Coordinating Body]
<i>Bangsawan pikiran</i>	The nobility by intellect
<i>Bangsawan oesoel</i>	The nobility by birth; original aristocrat
<i>Bappenas</i>	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional</i> [National Development Planning Board]
<i>Bestuursacademie</i>	Administrative Academy
<i>Boemipoetera</i>	Literally son of the earth/island; native. Originally referring to a Muslim, later on gradually losing its religious character, and denoting just native
<i>BPK</i>	<i>Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan</i> (the Audit Board for State Finance)

<i>BU</i>	<i>Budi Utomo</i> [Glorious Endeavour]. An association of Javanese students and <i>priyayi</i> established in 1908. See <i>priyayi</i>
<i>Budi Utomo</i>	See BU
<i>Cendekiawan</i>	Intellectual/Intelligentsia
<i>CIDES</i>	Center for Information and Development Studies
<i>CGMI</i>	<i>Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> [The Unified Movement of Indonesian University Students]. An association of communist students
<i>CSIS</i>	Center for Strategic and International Studies
<i>Daidancho</i>	Battalion Commander of Peta. See <i>Peta</i>
<i>Dakwah</i>	Call or invitation; Islamic outreach or missionary endeavour
<i>DDII</i>	<i>Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Council of Islamic <i>Dakwah</i>]; see <i>dakwah</i>
<i>Dewan Mahasiswa</i>	Student Council
<i>DI/TII</i>	<i>Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia</i> [‘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
<i>DPA</i>	<i>Dewan Pertimbangan Agung</i> [Supreme Advisory Council]; the presidential advisory council
<i>DPR</i>	<i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat</i> . House of the People’s Representatives; Parliament
<i>Dokter-Djawa School</i>	Native Paramedical School
<i>Djama’ah Chairijah</i>	<i>Djama’ah al-Chairiah al-Talabiyyah al-Azhariah al-Djawah</i> [Welfare Association of the Indo-Malayan students in Egypt]
<i>Eerste Klasse School</i>	First Class Native (elementary) School
<i>ELS</i>	<i>Europeesche Lagere School</i> [European Primary School]
<i>Gemsos</i>	<i>Gerakan Mahasiswa Sosialis</i> [the Socialist University Student Movement]
<i>Germindo</i>	<i>Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> [Indonesian

	University Student Movement]. A student affiliate of <i>Partindo</i> . See <i>Partindo</i>
<i>Gestapu</i>	<i>Gerakan Tiga Puluh September</i> . 30 September movement of the PKI. See <i>PKI</i>
<i>GHS</i>	<i>Geneeskundige Hoogeschool</i> [Medical College]
<i>GMKI</i>	<i>Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia</i> [the Indonesian Christian University Student Movement]
<i>GMNI</i>	<i>Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Nationalist University Student Movement]. A student affiliate of PNI
<i>Golkar</i>	<i>Golongan Karya</i> [Functional Groups]. The political party of the New Order government
<i>Gotong-royong</i>	Mutual assistance
<i>GPII</i>	<i>Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia</i> [The Movement of Indonesian Islamic Youth]
<i>Hadji/Haji</i>	A Muslim who has undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>Hadj/hajj</i>	The pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>HBS</i>	<i>Hoogere Burger School</i> [Higher Civil School]. European Secondary School
<i>HIS</i>	<i>Hollandsch-Inlandsche School</i> [Dutch Native School]; Dutch speaking native (primary) school
<i>Hizbullah</i>	[Army of God]; the <i>Masjumi</i> youth front
<i>HMI</i>	<i>Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam</i> [Islamic University Students' Association]
<i>IAIN</i>	<i>Institut Agama Islam Negeri</i> [State Islamic Institute]; The state college of Islamic studies
<i>ICMI</i>	<i>Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia</i> [Association of Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia] established in 1990
<i>IMM</i>	<i>Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah</i> [Union of the <i>Muhammadiyah</i> University Students]
<i>Indonesische Studieclub (ISC)</i>	Indonesian Study Club. The name of a study club of nationalist intellectuals, established in Surabaya in 1924.
<i>IPB</i>	<i>Institut Pertanian Bogor</i> [Bogor Institute of Agriculture]

<i>IPNU</i>	<i>Ikatan Peladjar Nabdlatul Ulama</i> [Union of the NU Students]. See <i>NU</i>
<i>ISC</i>	See <i>Indonesische Studieclub</i>
<i>ISDV</i>	<i>Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging</i> [Indies Social Democratic Association], established in 1914 as an embryo of the PKI Young Islamic Community who had an ambition to rejuvenate the Indies society based on the ideology of Islamic reformism-modernism. See <i>Kaoem Moeda</i>
<i>Islamic Kaoem Moeda</i>	
<i>ITB</i>	<i>Institut Teknologi Bandung</i> [Bandung Institute of Technology]
<i>ITS</i>	<i>Institut Teknologi Surabaya</i> [Surabaya Institute of Technology]
<i>JIB</i>	<i>Jong Islamieten Bond</i> [Young Muslims' League]
<i>Kadi</i>	A judge of religious court
<i>KAMI</i>	<i>Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> [Indonesian University Students' Action Front]; established in 1965
<i>KAMMI</i>	<i>Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia</i> [United Front of Indonesian Islamic University Students], established in 1998
<i>Kaoem</i>	Group, community
<i>Kaoem Mardika</i>	Free People; People whose livelihood did not derive from service to the colonial government [Young Group] (Community). A collective entity of those who shared a common ambition to rejuvenate the Indies society along the <i>kemadjoean</i> line. See <i>kemadjoean</i>
<i>Kaoem Moeda</i>	[Old Group] (Community). Traditionalists or followers of (indigenous) conservative values
<i>Kaoem Toea</i>	<i>Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Peladjar Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Student Youths' Front], established in 1966
<i>KAPPI</i>	
<i>KASI</i>	<i>Kesatuan Aksi Sarjana Indonesia</i> [Indonesian University Graduates' Front]; established in 1966
<i>Kauman</i>	The district surrounding the principal mosque of Javanese town, usually occupied by <i>santri</i>

<i>Kemadjoean</i>	[Progress]. An ideal loftiness of one's social status encompassing many other things: Educational improvement, modernization (associated with Westernization), respectability, and success in life
<i>Kġai/kyai</i>	Title of respect for holy persons and sacred objects; widely used specifically (in Java) for Islamic teacher (of the traditionalist type).
<i>KKN</i>	<i>Korupsi, Kolusi, dan Nepotisme</i> [Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism]
<i>IKNIL</i>	<i>Koninklijk Netherlands Indisch Leger</i> [Royal Netherlands Indies Army]
<i>KNIP</i>	Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat [Central Indonesian National Committee]
<i>Kweekschool</i>	Teachers' Training School
<i>LDK</i>	<i>Lembaga Dakwah Kampus</i> [Campus Mosque Dakwah Body]; see <i>dakwah</i>
<i>LKIS</i>	<i>Lembaga Kebajikan Islam Samanhudi</i> [Samanhudi Institute for Islamic Benevolent Service]
<i>LDMI</i>	<i>Lembaga Dakwah Mahasiswa Islam</i> [Dakwah Institute of Islamic Students]; the HMI's <i>dakwah</i> body; see <i>dakwah</i>
<i>LMD</i>	<i>Latihan Mujahid Dakwah</i> [Training of the Dakwah Cadre]; see <i>dakwah</i>
<i>LP3ES</i>	<i>Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial</i> [The Social and Economic Research, Education, and Information Institute]
<i>LSM</i>	<i>Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat</i> [Self-Reliant Community Institution]; the Indonesian version of NGO. See <i>NGO</i>
<i>LSP</i>	<i>Lembaga Studi Pembangunan</i> [Institute of Development Studies]
<i>MA</i>	<i>Mahkamah Agung</i> [Supreme Court]
<i>Madrasah</i>	Literally Schoo. Modernised Islamic school offering both religious and general subjects
<i>Manipol</i>	<i>Manifesto Politik</i> . 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
<i>Masjumi</i>	<i>Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia</i> [Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims]
<i>MIAI</i>	<i>Madjlisul Islam A'laa Indonesia</i> [Supreme Islam Council of Indonesia]
<i>MMI</i>	<i>Majelis Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> [Indonesian University Student Assembly]
<i>MPR</i>	<i>Madjelis Permusjawaratan Rakjat</i> [People's Consultative Assembly]
<i>MPRS</i>	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Indonesia Sementara</i> [The Provisional People's Consultative Assembly]
<i>MUI</i>	<i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> [Council of Indonesian Islamic Scholars]
<i>MULO</i>	<i>Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs</i> [More Extended Elementary Education]; Lower Secondary School
<i>Muhammadiyah</i>	Reformist-modernist Islamic social and educational association
<i>Nasakom</i>	<i>Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunis</i> [Nationalism, Religion, and Communism]; A united front of proponents of Guided Democracy
<i>NIAS</i>	<i>Nederlandsch-Indische Artsenschool</i> [Netherlands Indian Doctors' School]
<i>NEI</i>	Netherlands East Indies
<i>NGO</i>	Non-Government Organization
<i>NKK</i>	<i>Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus</i> [Normalization of Campus Life]
<i>NICA</i>	Netherlands Indies Civil Administration
<i>NU</i>	<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> [Renaissance of the Religious Scholars]. A traditionalist Islamic association
<i>Orde Baru (Orba)</i>	[New Order]. The period of Suharto's government (1966–98)
<i>Orde Lama (Orla)</i>	[Old Order]. The period of Sukarno's Guided Democracy
<i>OSVIA</i>	<i>Opleidingsschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren</i> [Training School for Native Administration]

<i>Pagujuban Pasundan</i>	Sundanese Association
<i>PAN</i>	<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> [National Mandate Party]
<i>Pancasila</i>	[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
<i>Parkindo</i>	<i>Partai Kristen Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Christian/Protestant Party]
<i>Parmusi</i>	<i>Partai Muslimin Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Muslim Party]
<i>Partindo</i>	<i>Partai Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Party]. A nationalist political party, founded in 1931 and re-established in 1959
<i>PBB</i>	<i>Partai Bulan Bintang</i> [Crescent and Star Party]
<i>PDI</i>	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Democratic Party]
<i>PDI-P</i>	<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan</i> [Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle]
<i>Peranakan</i>	A locally born person of foreign extraction; Indonesian-born foreigner
<i>Pembangunan</i>	Development
<i>Penghulu</i>	In Minangkabau the head of family or <i>adat</i> 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
<i>Perhimi</i>	<i>Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> [Indonesian University Student Association]
<i>Persami</i>	<i>Persatuan Sardjana Muslim Indonesia</i> [Association of Indonesian Muslim Sardjana]. See <i>sardjanalsarjana</i>
<i>Perti</i>	<i>Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamijah</i> [Islamic Educational Association]; the West Sumatra-based traditionalist association

<i>Pesantren</i>	Traditional (boarding) Islamic school; place for religious instruction in Java. See <i>surau</i>
<i>Pesantren Lubur</i>	Advanced <i>Pesantren</i>
<i>Peta</i>	<i>Pembela Tanah Air</i> . Fatherland Defence Force (set up during the Japanese Occupation)
<i>PI</i>	<i>Perhimpunan Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Association]
<i>PII</i>	<i>Peladjar Islam Indonesia</i> [Union of Indonesian Islamic High School Students]
<i>PK</i>	<i>Partai Keadilan</i> [Justice Party]
<i>PKB</i>	<i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> [National Awakening Party]
<i>PKI</i>	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Communist Party]
<i>PMII</i>	<i>Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia</i> [Indonesian Islamic University Student Movement]; A union of NU university students
<i>PMKRI</i>	<i>Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik Indonesia</i> [Union of Indonesian Catholic University Students]
<i>PNI</i>	<i>Partai Nasional Indonesia</i> [Indonesian National Party]
<i>PPKI</i>	<i>Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia</i> [Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence]
<i>PPMI</i>	<i>Perserikatan Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> [The Federation of Indonesian University Student Organizations]
<i>PPP</i>	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> [United Development Party]
<i>PPPKI</i>	<i>Permufakatan Perhimpunan-Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia</i> [Federation of Political Organizations of Indonesian People]
<i>P3M</i>	<i>Perkumpulan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat</i> [Association for <i>Pesantren</i> and Community Development]
<i>Prijaji/Priyayi</i>	Javanese nobility; member of the Javanese official (administrative) class

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

<i>THS</i>	<i>Technische Hoogeschool</i> [College of Engineering]
<i>TNI</i>	<i>Tentara Nasional Indonesia</i> [Indonesian National Military]
<i>Tweede Klasse School</i>	Second Class Native (elementary) School
<i>UGM</i>	<i>Universitas Gadjah Mada</i> [Gadjah Mada State University]
<i>UI</i>	<i>Universitas Indonesia</i> [University of Indonesia]
<i>UII</i>	<i>Universitas Islam Indonesia</i> [Islamic University of Indonesia]
<i>Ulama</i>	Islamic scholars; in Indonesia, it specifically refers to scholars of religious knowledge
<i>Ummat/Ummah</i>	Islamic community
<i>USDEK</i>	<i>Undang-Undang Dasar 1945</i> [the 1945 Constitution], <i>Sosialisme Indonesia</i> [Indonesian socialism], <i>Demokrasi terpimpin</i> [guided democracy], <i>Ekonomi terpimpin</i> [guided economy], and <i>Kepribadian Indonesia</i> [Indonesian identity]. Sukarno's ideology of the 1960s.
<i>YLBHI</i>	<i>Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia</i> [Foundation of Indonesian Legal Aid Institutions]
<i>Weton(an)</i>	A method of teaching in <i>pesantren</i> in which students sit in a circle in front of the scholar working on various texts. The <i>kjai</i> 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*, *bangsawan 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.

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