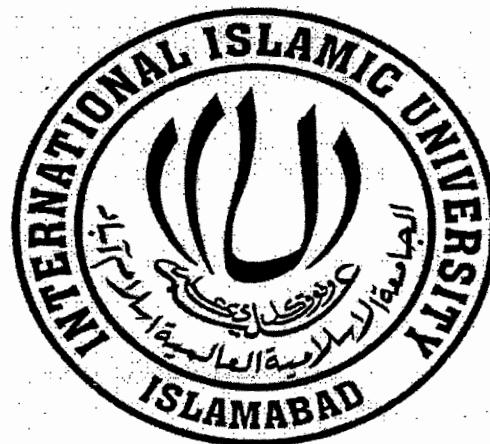


Intellectual debates between Secularism and Islam in Indonesia in post-Suharto era

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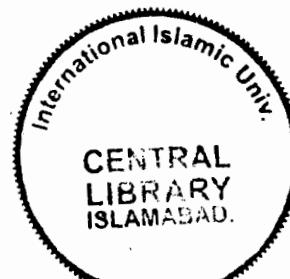
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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of
Sciences in Politics and International Relations

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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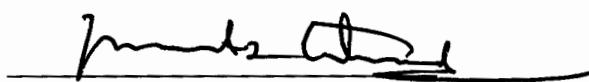
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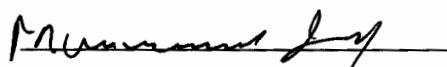
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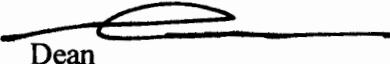


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ABSTRACT

The peaceful arrival of Islam in Indonesia has displayed itself in a variety of colors and shapes. However, the level of acceptance of this new religion, amid other ancient religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism of the indigenous community was different from island to island, from urban to rural and in coastal areas. Due to these existing multicultural temperaments of Java having a long traditional history of Hindu and Buddhist, certain areas like Aceh accepted Islam in its true form while other cities like Java absorbed Islam into its indigenous culture. The level of acceptance of Islam has also changed the character of indigenous citizens. Indonesians are divided into three main groups based on their level of association with Islam. *Santri* of the three has the greatest level of association with Islam, while *Abangan* has a nominal association, followed by *Priyayi* group known as the traders. Both *Santri* and *Abangan* play a significant role in understanding the social character of the Indonesian society.

Under the influence of reformation movements like Wahhabism, a reformatory movement the “Muhammadiyah” was established in 1912, but with a modernist approach. It was aimed at purifying Islam from the syncretic elements of other cultures. Traditionalists perceived such movement (Muhammadiyah) as a threat to religion system, which led to the creation of NU in 1926 to defend the four schools of Sunni jurisprudence and to ensure the integration of Islam in the local culture which is known as indigenization of Islam. Both of these organizations have been significantly important in the pre-independence and post-independence history of Indonesia. Independence history of Indonesia from the Dutch and Japanese on 17 August 1947 cannot be completed without both of these organizations.

Suharto and the post-Suharto era was a period of great awareness and consciousness for this country. The wave of awareness generated a chain of debates which led Indonesia to the shore of neo-modernist discourse. The later turned out to be a reaction to the failure of modernists providing any suitable solution to the needs of the Muslim community. Among the pioneers of this debate were scholars like Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid. These intellectuals are blamed for professing thoughts apparently influenced by Western ideas which therefore made their reformation effort more challenging.

Documented data shows and suggests that these scholars were actively concerned and representing their respective Muslim communities in particularly and the Indonesian community at large. Their concern for secularism, the role of Islam in modern Indonesia, synthesis of Islam and other cultures, demand for democracy and tolerance, all suggests how anxious they were in finding a solution to the above issues.

This study is significant to accentuate and explore the intellectual facet of the debates between Secularism and Islam in Indonesia, in-order to enlighten the reader with a pragmatic approach towards the political aspect of religion in third world countries.

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In the name of Almighty Allah, most gracious and merciful, who gave me the courage to carry out research on such an imperative theme; 'Intellectual debates between Secularism and Islam in Indonesia in post Suharto Era'. It is beyond doubt that without His mercy and guidance I would have never been able to accomplish this task successfully.

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Tatheer Zahra Sherazi

ABBREVIATIONS

HMI	Muslim Student organization(Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam)
ICMI	Muslim intellectuals Association(Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia)
IAIN	State institute of Islamic studies(Institut Agama Islam Negeri)
NU	Nahdhatul Ulama
PNI	Indonesian National Party(Partai Nasional Indonesia)
PKI	Indonesian Communist Party(Partai Komunis Indonesia)
V.O.C	The Dutch East India Company , Vesgheehnide Oast- Indeische Campagnie

GLOSSARY

Adat	Customary Law
Angkatan Muda	Youth Generation
Abangan	Nominal Muslims
Budi Utomo	High endeavor society
Demokrasi Terpimpin (Guided Democracy)	Limited democracy under Sukarno Regime
Devout	Deeply associated with Islam
Ijma	Consensus over certain interpretation
Ijtehad	To make individual interpretation
Kaum Muda	New group generation led kyais and guru
Kaum Tua	Old Generation influenced by reformists
Majlis Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Islam	The Council of Tarjih and the Development of Islamic Thought
Mu'tazilites	Rationalists who challenged traditionalists
Masyumi	First Islamic political party
Nasakom Regime	Based on Nationalism and communism

Pancasila	Ideology based on five principles
Paramadina	A foundation established by Cak Nur (Nurcholish Madjid)
Pesantren	Madrasah
Piagam Jakarta	Charter to Implement Shariah
Priyayi	Followers of 'Adat'
Sarekat Islam	First Islamic trading organization
Santri	Devout Muslim
Taqleed	To Follow the way of Sunnah and Khulfa e rashdeen
Volksraad	People's Council

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1. I-Introduction:

Historically, Indonesia's religious system is characterized by fluctuations. In the ancient period, religious practices were diversified and animistic.¹ Later, this animistic pattern was transformed into Hinduism due to a trade interaction with India. Consequently, Hinduism became the dominant religion in Indonesia. However, with the arrival of Muslim traders, initially from India and then from Saudi Arabia, the existing culture was profoundly influenced. With its mystic traits, Islam became attractive to the Indonesians against the existing religious patterns of animism and Hinduism.²

Islam was introduced in the 8th to 9th centuries by a peaceful interaction with traders from India indirectly and the Middle East directly. While it touched i

¹David D. Newsom, "Islam in Asia: ally or adversary?". *Islam in Asia: religion, politics and society*, ed. John Esposito, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

²James L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: the Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesia Islam* (California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1978), 16-19.

climax-in terms of number of followers in the 13th century and during the 16th century it became a major religion in the Archipelago. Since the Sufis and traders were instrumental in spreading Islam in South East Asia, the elements of mysticism and Sufism continued to exist in the Islamic culture in the region.

Like many other researchers, Benedict Anderson has observed the peaceful arrival of Islam and its proliferation in other culturally developed areas. Anderson states that “the penetration of Islam was more assimilative than revolutionaryIslam came to Java not on the heels of conquest but of trade”.³

As time passed and Islam spread , Hindu schools known as ‘Hindu Hermitages’ were converted into Muslim schools, *Pondok* and *Pesantren*, which formed the larger part of the public education system. This shift in the religious pattern divided the society into different factions with different approaches, later categorized into *Santri* and *Abangan*. *Santri* are considered as conservative Muslims while *Abangan* have syncretized patterns of Islam, a mixture of an Islamic and the local culture.⁴

Following the arrival of European colonial powers in the region, the patterns of the religion were influenced once more by Western cultures. During the Dutch rule, Islam was treated as a foreign import and this policy was displayed in the society through the institution of the Bureaucratic elite, which was mostly *Abangan* and *Priyayi* (traders). This trend led to the secularization of ideas and

³ Benedict Anderson, *Languages and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell university press, 1990), 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*,20.

resulted into conflicts with the Islamic elite.⁵ Along with this elitist approach, secularist scholars were appointed e.g. Hurgroneje.⁶ Later, in the Japanese period, there was direct interaction between the centre of Islam (Saudi Arabia) and Indonesia due to the developed transportation. Overall, the governmental policies of the colonial rules led to the dominant role of secular leaders in the establishment of the new state of postcolonial Indonesia.⁷ The interplay of different religions provoked the Muslims to undertake a movement of purification and reform from non Islamic practices in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁸ This was one of the significant reactions to meet the challenges of modernity.

The process of modernization in early the 17th century has brought many changes in socio-political conditions of the world. These changes not only led to create a mutual understanding among different societies but have also transformed the intellectual life of these societies. Following the World War-II, concepts like Nationalism and Nation-States were considered the product of Modernity and the result of human consciousness which led struggle for independence against colonials' powers. In regards to the post colonial Muslim world, three additional forces were deeply observed in Muslim intellectual life, Pan-Islamism and Secularism .While today Post-Islamism is a new intellectual response and social trend in Muslim societies. In this trend, Muslim societies have started to accept

⁵ Harry, Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising sun* (The Hague/Bandung: (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1958), 13-8.

⁶ Ibid., 20-9.

⁷ Robin Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute of South East Asian Studies, 2009), 27.

⁸ James L.Peacock, Opcit. 23.

such a version of modernity that is in conformity with its Islamic ethos. This response and trend has emerged due to the complex crisis of the idea and practice of creating an ideal Islamic state. Initially in Iran in the 1990s, this changing social and political trend emerged from the crisis of Islamists' experimentation to create an Islamic state⁹.

These forces of secularism and pan-Islamism divided the Muslim thought either towards secularism or Islamic religion. At the beginning of the twentieth century a distinct stream of Muslim intellectual's activities can be identified in the Muslim world:

1- Consciousness about Muslims conditions

2- The urge for revivalism and better status.

In the meantime, majority of the Muslim societies observed the wave of revivalism like the Wahhabi Movement founded by Abdul Wahhab (1703-1792) in Saudi Arabia- but in Indonesia the revivalism evolved around the organizations and the intellectuals punctuated by reflexive piety without any political support.¹⁰

As a first step in the evolution of current scholarship in Indonesia, two ideologically distinct organizations emerged with a reformation agenda called the Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama. Muhammadiyah had an aim to purify the society from the influences of other belief systems associated with Hinduism and Buddhism, while NU has same reformation aim but with a strong emphasis on the

⁹ Husnul Amin. *From Islamism to post-Islamism: A Study of a New Intellectual Discourse on Islam and Modernity in Pakistan* (The Hague: Institute of Social Sciences, 2010), 11-17.

¹⁰ S. Siddique, "Islam and Ideology in Southeast Asia", *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 4, no.2 (1987): 52-67 (accessed on August 20009).

preservation and glorification of the history of Indonesia. This preservative tendency characterized the synthesis of Islam with other religious beliefs. Both parties/organizations started their work with different approaches. NU began with a traditionalist approach by keeping alive cultural elements that highlighted Islam in Indonesia. Meanwhile the Muhammadiyah upheld the modernist approach geared at the purification of Indonesian society. Both organizations were intended to achieve a common and similar objective: Islamic revivalism. Independent intellectuals as a third group of this study includes intellectuals like Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman also made their contribution in dealing with the challenges of modernity and the role of Islam in the global world. The development of this independent scholarship (Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid with many others established a new intellectual discourse) is marked by the end of Sukarno's Old Order and Suharto's new Order policy in 1960. Though, Suharto's period was delineated with political failures, there was considerable economic development and relative economic security.¹¹ In this regard, he engaged some scholars who could become active tools in the achievement of economic development along with the continuity of previous policies of keeping Islamic parties out of active politics.¹² In this study therefore, the spotlight is on debates on the various matters regarding *Ijtihad*, tolerance, pluralism etc. Effort is geared at

¹¹ Robison and Goodman, *The New Rich in Asia* (London: Rutledge, 1995), 52-67.

¹² Abdullah Taufik, "The Formation of a New Paradigm? A Sketch on Contemporary Islamic Discourse" in *Towards a New paradigm: recent developments in Indonesian Islamic thought*, ed. Mark Woodward, 47-53 (Tempe: Arizona State University. 1996), 47-53.

probing into the nature and scope of these debates and their implication, not just for Indonesia but for the rest of the Muslim world also.

1. II – Statement of the Study:

Historically, what is today known as Indonesia was inhabited by the Malay people, who subsequently absorbed other people from Asian mainland and formed a diverse culture.¹³ Indonesia as a pluralist society is an embodiment of many civilizations with more than 200 distinctive cultural identities. However the multi-cultural multi-ethnic identities have sub-merged under a single Islamic identity. Under the wave of revivalist movements Muhammadiyah and NU started their work in 1912 and 1926 respectively. Later, further advancement in the intellectual discourse in Indonesia took place in the 1990s particularly at the end of the New Order because of great liberties, which were given to the media as well as to the individuals. Different intellectuals started to express their views to address the different issues confronted by the Indonesian society, which led to the development of a new intellectual discourse ‘Neo Modernism’. Meanwhile, the conservative school of thought like NU rejected the new stream with an accusation of being influenced by Western ideas. While the claim of these intellectuals was simply a response to the needs of the Indonesian society and wanted to prove the accommodative approach of Islam, which to them is not incompatible with the notion of modernity. Prominent scholars of this discourse were Nurcholish Madjid,

¹³ Donald Wilhelm, *Emerging Indonesia* (London: Cassel, 1980), 10.

Abdurrahman Wahid, Dojan Effendi, Haroon Nasution and many others. The contribution of Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid is significant as both displayed a synthesis of traditional and modern understanding of Islam.

The purpose of this study is to help the students and the scholars of politics and international relations to understand and identify the nature of the Indonesian debates, their scope and impact on the Indonesians in particular and on the whole Muslim community in general.

1. III-Theoretical Framework:

This research has employed the modernization and modernity theory as a way of comprehending the complex phenomenon of change from traditionalism to modernism across the Muslim societies. The process of modernization is generally linked with industrialization because technological advancements led to the emergence of a middle class with an independent thought and a sense of self-determination with the motive to carry out different activities for the betterment of the society.

Like many others, Jacques Warrensburg also holds the view of modernization as being a process of transformation. According to Warrensburg, modernization is a rational transformation of the nature of the society by the human

beings, adopting the methods of technological advancements. Thus, he suggests that modernization is a rational change in objective realities.¹⁴

Marshall Hodgson declared moderation, as a civilization with a number of processes which include the revolutionary growth of knowledge and science along with technological and industrial advancements¹⁵ and this process of transformation was so fundamental that it has also transformed the society.

It has changed the structure of the society by changing the mode of production, from the agricultural to the industrial mode displaying a social shift from the rural centers to the urban centers manifest.

Different Indonesian scholars have dealt with this notion of modernity according to its level of availability to their concerned field and their potent interest in their own fields.

Fatimah has made different elaborations of this notion, which are based on assumptions of many scholars:

- A revolutionary process, with a total change
- A complex process, with a change in thought
- A systematic process, in which different factors are inter-related.
- A phased process, because of shifting from one phase to other
- A progressive process i.e. it relates to progress of human beings.¹⁶

¹⁴ Jacques Warrensburg, "Some thoughts on modernity and modern Muslim thinking about Islam", *Islam and challenges of modernity, proceedings of the inaugural symposium on Islam and the Challenge of Modernity: Historical and Contemporary Context*, ed. Sharifah Shifa Al-Attas(Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC Publications, 1994), 317.

¹⁵ Marshall Hodgson, the *Venture of Islam* vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 176.

¹⁶ See also Habermas, Jürgen, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. Trans. Frederick G. Lawrence (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), 2.

These terms have different explanations; in the case of moderation in the Muslim world it dates back to the nineteenth century when different sorts of Western ideologies were introduced in the Muslim world like liberalism, rationalism, democratization, nationalism, pluralism, and secularism which were brought by the colonials.¹⁷ As these ideologies, especially the concept of modernity, were introduced by the colonizers, they were assumed to be foreign and were automatically linked with Christianity and the West .Hence, the ideologies were rejected.¹⁸

Concepts like “Modernity” and “Westernization” created a different mindset among the native Indonesians and the colonial master, so much as polarizing the society and which is opined by Fatimah that it took Indonesians three centuries in accepting these ideas of modernity and other theories from the West.¹⁹

1. IV- Hypothesis:

The success and acceptance of modernity in Indonesia by different organizations as well as by individuals is not due to Western influence rather is a direct response to address the needs of the Indonesian society to meet the challenges like technological, social developments and globalization of the contemporary modern age .

¹⁷ Siti Fatimah, *Modernism and the Contextualization of Islamic doctrines. The Reform of Indonesian Islam Proposed by Nurcholish Madjid* (Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies. McGill University, 1999),54.

¹⁸ Ibid., 54 -55.

¹⁹ Ibid., 55-56.

1. V- Research Questions:

The following questions would be dealt with in this research;

- What are the competing debates/discussions among Islamists, Secularists and Islamic modernists?
- The nature of Indonesian society with reference to the Islamic history in Indonesia?
- What types of organizations/ movements are working?
- What are the major schools of thought in Indonesia?
- What is response of people towards secularization?
- The role of culture in the debate between secularism and Islam?
- Whether the independent intellectuals are responsive to the needs of the Indonesians within an Islamic framework or are they responding to western world?

1. VI-The Significance of the study:

The most significant trait of this research lies in the status of the largest Muslim country with the great tradition of pluralism and diversity .This aims to seek a common ground of unity in diversity. On the one hand, Indonesia is the largest Muslim state while on the other hand its ruling party has a secular status. Further, the secular trends in different fields of life are increasing. This separation between religious matters and political matters is a significant trait of secularism. Thus, it is arguably to say that Indonesia is tailing towards secularism in view of its political structure.

Response to daily social matters by social organizations NU and Muhammadiyah and individual intellectuals Nurcholish Madjid have given a unique character to Indonesian society which has made it worthy to be studied by many other scholars.

This research provides not only a detailed Indonesian history with a particular emphasis on its politics but focuses on the historical background of the NU, Muhammadiyah and of Individual scholars Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman so that the process of development of their collective thought can be understood well. Furthermore, what are the lessons for the Muslim world in these debates through which other Muslim communities can cope with the contemporary challenges to restore their own identity as well as the image of Islam as a peaceful, pluralist, democratic religion?.

1. VII-Research Methodology:

Different research methods have been used in this study like description, analysis of available data and deduction method to conclude the outcomes. By the analysis of different documents including books, scholarly journals, reports, the impact of Indonesian intellectuals and organizations were consulted. In order to conduct this research following sources have been used extensively:

Libraries: Accessed varieties of books, newspapers articles, journal articles and multiple library resources have been used. Particularly material regarding the history of Indonesian Islam has been consulted through libraries.

Institutions: reports, analyses, projects, articles by individual intellectual affiliated with the institutions of different Islamic institutions have also been used especially the reports of the South East Asian Center in Singapore, Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, Centre of Islam in the Middle East, the International Institute of Islamic Thought, the International Centre for Islam and Pluralism.

Institutions like Paramadina Foundation, NU and Muhammadiyah's official websites have also been used. The material regarding the current theological discourse is mostly based on scholarly articles. An extensive use of material has been made by utilizing the technology-based tools like the internet.

Newspapers: Along with the above sources, newspapers have remained an important source of information regarding the topic. So an extensive use of newspapers has been made as a primary source in conducting this research along with secondary data in the form of books and journals articles.

1. VIII-Review of the Literature:

A good amount of literature is available dealing with the relation of Islam and modernity in Indonesia .Most of literature deals with the historical background of NU, Muhammadiyah and intellectuals in their individual capacity. There is lack of comparative analysis between modernist and rationalist groups. According to James L. Peacock the origin of these reformist organizations can be traced back to the last four hundred years. This trend has been a persistent phenomenon in all the

foremost religions of the world, different in nature but with the same purpose of purification.²⁰ Specifically, with reference to the Indonesian movements, there were many reasons analyzed by Abdu-l Mu'ti Ali, the impurity of religious life, the unavailability of adequate religious education, Christian missionaries' activities and the attitude of the intelligentsia.²¹

Regarding the individual intellectuals, their contribution towards modernity, globalization cannot be denied. But in the formation of this discourse, the role of the traditional background of these intellectuals, which was embedded in their work, cannot be ignored.

Howard M. Federspiel analyses Muhammadiyah which was established in 1912 as an orthodox organization with its emphasis on (Tauhid) (Akhlaq) and (Fiqh) specifically. Further, he analyses that in the reformist outlook it is different from other organizations because of its agenda for the purification of Islamic doctrines from Bid'ah (innovation) and Khurafat (superstition) which distorted the true essence of religion. In addition, this aspect became a critical one in the reform process.²² In the case of Legal reasoning, Nico J. G. Kaptein observes a major trend in which different opinions are analyzed and after reasoning the most suitable opinion, a response to the needs of circumstances is adopted. In this process of reasoning, the *Quran* and Hadith are used as major sources. Majlis Tarjih is responsible to respond to the issues at the request of the Muslims and these Fatwa's

²⁰James L. Peacock, Op.cit.45.

²¹Abdu-l Mu'ti Ali, *The Muhammadiyah Movement: A bibliographical Introduction*. (Montreal: McGill University, 1957).5

²²Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia" *Indonesia* 10, (Oct., 1970): 57-79 (accessed on April 2010).

are supported with Quranic verse or Hadith in Arabic while the Indonesian translations are delivered through weekly magazines such as 'Suara Muhammadiyah' 'the voice of Muhammadiyah'.²³

In the traditional organization, this trend is well observed by Nadirsyah Hosen who first goes on to describe this phenomena that the 'Muslim scholars from different schools and various disciplines of science could sit together to perform *Ijtehad* collectively.' And this can be the best way to respond to the problem faced by Muslims in the contemporary world.²⁴

Greg Baton affirms the differences of the modernist and traditionalist organizations that the basics of traditional Islam have been embroidered with Sufism, which has an open approach towards folk Islam. So Sufism is open to *Abangan* culture while the Modernists have rejected Sufi aspects of Islam and other practices of "taaziah" and "ziarah" -their focus is on "*Ijtehad*" rather than on "*Tagleed*".²⁵

According to Siti Fatimah, Nurcholish Madjid's ideas regarding modernity and secularization are not against the spirit of Islam, as his notion of secularization is just to de-sacralize things and particularly politics from religion. Further she analyses his views that Madjid has tried to reinterpret the concept of modernization

²³ Nico J. G. Kaptein. , "The Voice of the Ulamâ': Fatwas and Religious Authority in Indonesia Author" *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 49e, 125, *Authorities Religieuses en Islam* (Jan. - Mar., 2004).:115-130(accessed on February 2010).

²⁴ Nadirsyah Hosen, "Nahdatul Ulama and collective *Ijtehad*" *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, no. 1 (June, 2004), (accessed on September 2009).

²⁵ Greg Barton, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as intellectual ulama: the meeting of Islamic traditionalism and modernism in neo-modernist thought", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 8, no.3 (1997):324(accessed on July 2009)

rather than to redefine it. Further, for his major concern of the Indonesian society, Majid emphasizes the injunction of the *Quran* that the diversity of human languages and colors must be accepted as a positive reality.

Fatimah makes an argument that Nurcholish Madjid has divided the matters of life into two parts, the worldly and the spiritual. When he puts greater emphasis over the reinterpretation of the Islamic, he means a reinterpretation in worldly matters while in the case of spiritual matters he sticks to the traditional pattern of following the precedents.²⁶

Robin Bush's "Nahdatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia" covers a wide range of issues regarding the NU from its origin to its recent network. He elaborates that the development of the NU was an attempt by the Indonesian traditionalists to spread the teachings of *Mazhab* particularly the four *Mazhabs* of *Ahl e Sunnah Wa Jamiah* among the Indonesians which came under threat when King Saud came into power in Saudi Arabia under influence of Wahhabi movement to make Wahhabism as a state religion.²⁷

The same argument of Wahhabism , as a threat to traditional religion was felt by the Indonesian Muslims is also supported by Achmad Farichin Chumiady in his thesis 'The Jama'ah Nahdlatul Ulama ': Its rise and early developments 1926-1945'.²⁸

²⁶ Siti Fatimah, Opcit.60.

²⁷ Robin Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*. Opcit. 1-255.

²⁸ Achmad Farichin Chumiady, *the Jam'iah Nahdlatul Ulama': Its rise and early developments 1926-1945* (Montreal: McGill university, 1976).

Greg Barton's work on Indonesian intellectuals is a great source of understanding the work of intellectuals like Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid in particular while the discourse of 'neo modernism' as a whole. His articles, "The Emergence of Neo-Modernism; a Progressive, Liberal Movement of Islamic Thought in Indonesia: A Textual study examining the writings of Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib and Abdurrahman Wahid", "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual 'Ulamâ: The Meeting of Islamic Traditionalism and Modernism in Neo-Modernist Thought" , "Neo-Modernism: A Vital Synthesis of Traditionalist and Modernist Islamic Thought in Indonesia", Studia Islamika and many others are great sources of information in English regarding the current intellectual discourse.

Deliar Noer's "The Modernists Muslims Movements in Indonesia 1900-1942" is one of the significant books which describes the origin of the revivalist movements. It highlights how these Islamic movements have their origin in the Middle East under the influence of the thought of Muhammad Abdurrahman Wahid and contains a description of the Indonesian reformation movements and their nature.²⁹

Fauzan Saleh's "Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in the 20th century Indonesia. A Critical Survey"³⁰ is a thoughtful and informative analysis of the current theological discourse in Indonesia, which covers all these organizations and independent intellectuals as well. With reference to Nurcholish

²⁹ Deliar Noer, *the Modernists Muslims movements in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), 297.

³⁰ Fauzan Saleh, *Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in 20th Century Indonesia. A critical Survey* (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2001).1-358.

Madjid, he elaborates that he considered Islam as more than a religion. Further he says “Madjid’s interpretation can be seen as a simile: a person who manages to make a long forward leap, has to take several steps backward to start so that he can leap even further”.³¹

Fazul ur Rahman’s “Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition” is a significant one with its influence on the theological discourse in Indonesia. In this book he goes to argue to reinterpret the *Quran* according to the contemporary socio-political issues which is the main theme of Nurcholish Madjid’s thought.³²

Carool Kersten in his thesis; “Islam, Cultural Hybridity and Cosmopolitanism: New Muslim Intellectuals on Globalization” explains the role of Islam in the centre and periphery; particularly the increasing role of periphery in the development of Muslim discourses like in Indonesia.³³

Abdullah Saeed’s “*Ijtehad* and innovation in neo-modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia” is a good analysis on *Ijtehad* which is a core issue in debates among Muhammadiyah, the NU and independent intellectuals. Further, he analyses the caliber to exercise this job, which needs a higher scholarship to understand the real essence of the *Quran* and *Sunnah* to infer laws.³⁴

³¹ Ibid.

³² Fazal Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: transformation of an intellectual tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

³³ Carool Kerstin, “Islam, Cultural Hybridity and Cosmopolitanism: New Muslim Intellectuals on Globalization”, *Journal of International and Global Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009):1-25

³⁴ Abdullah Saeed, “*Ijtehad* and innovation in neo-modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia” (Melbourne: Department of Language Studies, the University of Melbourne, 1997), 279 -295.

Harry Benda's "The Crescent and the Rising sun" is also an informative account of the history, politics and the sociological developments of Indonesia. Harry Benda gives the description of different Dutch policies, which later on led to the secularization of Indonesian institutions and ideas. In response, it led to the establishment of religious as well social organizations with a reformatory agenda. Robert Hefner's books have extensive material on the Indonesian society, his "Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia" is a great work to help us to understand the socio-political conditions of the Indonesian society.³⁵

Although, Greg Barton, Greg Fealy, Robert Hefner and many others have done a lot of work on these organizations and scholars from different perspectives but this research has a different approach in the sense that it will deal with the combination of on-going debates over different issues to find out similarities and dissimilarities, and to try correlate the debates with needs of the Indonesian society.

1. IX-Organization of the Study:

After the introduction of the study in the first chapter, the second chapter covers the major competing concepts. The description of these concepts is significant to understand the whole research. Different concepts like modernization, modernity, secularism and synthesis has been discussed in general and Indonesian

³⁵ Robert Hefner's "Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia" (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. (2000), 1-311.

perception of these concepts in particular has been trashed out. Thus this chapter will act as a theoretical background of the study.

The third chapter will deal with the pre- independence historical settings of Indonesia, which starts from the ancient time covering the pre-colonial social, religious and political developments.

The Fourth chapter entails post-independence historical background of Indonesia; the significance of this description lies in its socio-political circumstance which led to the development of the traditionalist and modernist schools of thought which later generated the 'Neo modernist' intellectual discourse to become more responsive to socio-political issues of Indonesia.

The fifth chapter is all about the, revivalist movement and the need of reformation in general as well in particular with reference to Indonesia. It will also provide a description of the two most significant religio-social organizations, which are considered to be the most crucial in fulfilling the spiritual and religious needs of Indonesia through a vast network of their religious and social activities.

Chapter six will deal with the nature of the need and structure of the current intellectual discourse in Indonesia making its emphasis on two prominent intellectuals Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid, their early life, educational backgrounds and their work as a case study. Two intellectuals display the synthesis of educational background traditional as well as modern, which was obvious in the development of their thoughts, which is the base of the new

CHAPTER-2

CURRENT COMPETING INTELLECTUAL CONCEPTS: THE INDONESIAN PERSPECTIVE

2. I-Introduction:

This chapter shall look into certain contemporary debates revolving around modernity, secularism, and a synthesis of both. The first step in this direction will be looking at the general perspective of the current intellectual concepts then narrow it down to Indonesia context, tailored to enhance understanding of the development of neo-modernism intellectual discourse in Indonesia.

The purpose of the embellishment of these key concepts is to make a clear understanding of these concepts, which will provide help in the understanding of complex debates.

2. II-Modernity:

Modernity can take place in any part of this world including non-Muslim and Muslim societies, but it has always been assumed to be a threat to existing traditions. Because rational transformation makes an urge to reorient the personality and social living at the individual and social fronts which lead towards the reorientation of existing ideas, values, and traditions to meet the challenges of transformation.³⁶

With reference to religion, transformation might happen due to different reasons, the three significant are:

- 1) It can be undermined by some sudden or catastrophic event that might be a revolution.
- 2) The emergence of another religion with a strong influence can challenge the existing one like arrival of Islam in Indonesia
- 3) The process of modernization observed by the society itself, in the form of technological advancements which at the same time transform the social structure and ideals as well. This process also gives rise to different complexities, which motivates the intellectuals to reinterpret traditions by making their focus to return to the 'original sources' of religion or tradition.³⁷

In most Muslim societies, this view also resonates among intellectual, but on a common ground, Islam is argued to be in consonant with the voice of rationality,

³⁶ Jacques Warrensburg , Opcit. 317-319.

³⁷ Ibid, 321.

modernization and modernity. This trend is quite true for Muslim societies in general and Indonesia in particular.

2. III-Secularism: Elements, Essentials and Implications:

Secularism is one of the considered values of modernity and has seen attempts of intellectuals to dissect this concept. According to Charles Taylor, secularism has two meanings:

- The decline of religious belief and practices
- The retreat of religion from the public sphere

He justifies his position that the first notion provides a potential environment for secularization devoid of any challenge and consequently which pushes religion out of public sphere. Therefore the decline of religion and disappearance of religion from the public sphere automatically will have a declining reflection on personal faith. In the first case, there is much involvement of evolutionary science while in the other case the institutional changes are more involved. Secularization takes place when people feel they have alternative moral sources.³⁸

After a deep analysis of the ‘Secular Age’, James Murray goes on to say that “Secularism does not negate the existence of God, it just pushes God into the transcendent realm, which is to be considered supernatural, and therefore

³⁸Francisco Lombo de Leo& Bart Van Leewen, “Charles Taylor on Secularization Introduction and interview”, *Ethical perspectives 10*, no. 1(2003):78(accessed on February 2010).

‘unbelievable’. It pushes God into a realm outside the objective knowable scientific world, making it difficult for belief in God to have ultimate claim on our lives.”³⁹

Talal Asad gives a very simple and delicate description regarding secular society, that it is a modern construct which makes a distinction in a religion between public and private life.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Ajmal Ansari looks at secularism and its nuances in twofold: the first deals with secularism within Muslim community as a whole, while second probes deeper into the correlation of secularism in the larger Asian context. According to him, secularism deals with the state and society. In this framework of state and society, the individual is given more importance and autonomy, and within its sphere, no one can exercise its authority not even in the name of religion, thus the freedom of man is much safeguarded.⁴¹

Further, he goes on the same tack and says that independent opinion should be respected as a basic right and persuasion should not be made to change other’s opinion if it should be made then it must be based on reason, logic and the same is the message of humanity.⁴²

Naquib Al-Attas and many others hold the view that the extent to which secularism has changed and continuously influencing the Western society cannot be true for Islam. But the problems arising out of secularism are not due to secularism

³⁹James Murray, “Synopsis of Charles Taylor’s, ‘A Secular Age’ ” *Belknap Harvard* (2007):1 (accessed on January 2010)

⁴⁰Talal Asad, “Thinking about secularism and law in Egypt” (Leiden: ISIM, 2001)(ISIM papers, 2), 1.(accessed on May 2010)

⁴¹ N. Jamal Ansari, *Opcit.* 948.

⁴² *Ibid.*

considered as an evolutionary process of man's consciousness, which takes its journey from the 'infantile' to 'mature' states.⁴⁸

Most of the time, secularism and secularization are taken in similar meanings, while actually they have a lot of differences in their true spirit. 'Secularization' means a continuous process in which ideas are changed from time to time through an evolutionary process in its relation with history while 'secularism' provides a set of certain values and certain agendas like a religion with a great significance for man.⁴⁹ In this regard, Herberg puts his perspective that "we may indeed define a secularized culture as a culture in which the conventional religion is no longer the operative religion ..."⁵⁰. While Greetz considers Secularization as a "secularization of thought", an outcome of science. Further, Greetz makes an analysis of Muslim societies that Muslim societies were not able to accept it truly; rather they generated anti-secularizing movements, which showed their inability to walk with the Western societies.⁵¹ Thus, secularization in a general context can be taken as privatization of religion, by making ethics personal and not making religion a public order.⁵²

⁴⁸Ibid., 109,119.

⁴⁹Al-Attas, Op.cit. 17, 18.

⁵⁰ Will Herberg, "Religion in a Secularized Society", *Review of Religious Research* spring (1962): 148.

⁵¹ Geertz C., *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968), 88.

⁵²Erich Kolig , "Modernization without secularization civil pluralism, democratization and re islamization in Indonesia", *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 3, 2 (December, 2001): 17-41(accessed on May 2010)

2. IV-Secularism and Islam:

One noteworthy point regarding Islam is its basic sources based on rational approaches. The *Quran*, which is the first primary source, carries clear messages of rationality to ponder upon and universality of thought demanding universal appraisal and utility. At the same time, Islam has some unconditional dogmas like 'Monotheism', which prevents Islam to be a rational religion overtly, based on all the assumption of rationality.⁵³

In Islamic history, the Muslim thinkers who supported the rational side of Islam and provoked the supporters of unconditioned beliefs were known as 'Mu'tazilites'. As time passed by, the Muslim societies became polarized among those who strongly supported reason, and those who were fanatical to tradition or unconditioned dogmas. This however does not speak of the whole reality; instead there were those who supported the marriage and balance of reason and unconditioned dogmas for dealing with all worldly matters as an acceptance basic doctrines.⁵⁴

2. V-Secularism in the Muslim world:

The term secularism has been taken with a great suspicion in the Muslim world and at the same time accorded complex and different interpretations. Whether secularism is the demand of the contemporary Muslim societies or not, is

⁵³ Mustafa, Ceric, *Roots of synthetic theology in Islam, a study of the theology of Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), 1995), 13.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

not a new debate, rather it has its history since the abolishment of the Caliphate in 1924.⁵⁵ In this regard, Muslim political thinker Ali Abdul al-Raziq in his book, Islam Wa Ushul al Hukma (Islam and the Fundamentals of Government) opined that the Prophet has ordained Islamic principles strictly for religious or spiritual matters while in case of worldly matters, the power is delegated to human beings to frame their laws according to contemporary needs, and thus he separated religious and worldly matters, especially the administrative matters.⁵⁶

2. VI-Religious Synthesis:

With the different interpretations, L.F. Brakel looks at the religious synthesis from a historical and restricted perspective as the blending of religions dating back to classical antiquity. Supporting his view with historical evidence that “Alexander who had made different efforts to unite different religions into one cult and same was the case with Roman Empire where one could speak of an endless number of religions, or of one religion with a great many cults.”⁵⁷ Further, Brakel has quoted a renowned Indonesian scholar H. Kraemer who has made a comparison of different religions that the primary concern of all the religions is to treat the human being as the part of nature and to enable them with a purpose of self-

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ali Noer Zaman, “Is secularism a choice?” *Common Ground News Service*, 23 October, 2007 (accessed on May 2010).

⁵⁷ Brakel, L. F. “Islam and local traditions: Syncretic ideas and practices”, *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 92 (2004):6 (accessed on November 2009).

realization.⁵⁸ Hidding further discusses this debate; he discusses the difference between 'naturalistic' and 'prophetic' religions, he describes that "human beings can experience themselves either as part of nature or in opposition to it'. In the first case, the perspective is monistic. In monism, existence is seen as cyclical; man originates from God and returns to God. Further, in the monistic worldview everything progresses in a cyclical manner and man can, to some extent, influence his own fate through rituals. Finally, the monistic worldview emphasizes group solidarity. The other one is dualistic. By contrast, in the dualistic/monotheistic religions, there is no 'We, but only I-you-He. Between Man and his Creator, a deep gulf cannot be bridged, not even through mysticism. In relation to God, who creates the world from nothing instead of letting it emanate, man is at best a servant. However, both points of view are in agreement with human nature , at times man can be more inclined either to the one or to the other. According to the monistic worldview man is completely exposed to the whims of a personal power existing outside the world while dualism emphasizes individual freedom.⁵⁹

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2. VII-Synthesis of Indonesian Culture:

Regarding Indonesian unique culture, it is said that it is the counter thesis of Huntington's thesis of the 'Clash of Civilization', which states the reasons for different conflicts as lying in historical and cultural differences. Indonesia has absorbed different cultures so successfully, which have given birth to synthesis of

⁵⁸ Ibid.6-7.

⁵⁹ ibid.,7.

cultures. Same phenomenon was observed by Clifford Greetz for Islam, generally in Indonesia and particularly in Java as ‘dynamic, adaptable, receptive and pragmatic religion that moves slowly.’⁶⁰ In the earlier times, this process of synthesis was carried out smoothly by teachers and by different cultural puppets shows. First, Ramayana and Mahabharata were the sources of giving lessons which were later replaced by the Islamic teachings of the ‘nine saints’ known as ‘Wali Songo’, derived from Java Language.

Thus, Indonesian culture went through the process of integration, absorption and assimilation that led to uniqueness in the form of the synthesis of cultures. Many traditions of old civilizations still exist, Javanese drama Arjunavivaha, or The Marriage of Arjuna, is based on the Hindu legends imported from India. The discussion of Indonesian synthesis is quite unique when it comes to Islam, as Brakel puts that arrival of Islam went through a peaceful and gradual process.⁶¹ This process however took a relatively longer time before being absorbed into the political realm and Islam itself becoming a political force.⁶²

Broadly speaking, the cultural influence that shaped the culture and civilization of Indonesia has three layers. The first layer revolves around ‘Indonesian indigenous culture’ with the elements of spirits; the second layer goes with ‘Indian influence’ characterized by the Hindu culture. The third layer obviously symbolizes the ‘Muslim culture’ essence of which became noticeable

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ ibid

⁶² ibid

⁶² Ibid.,8.

since the 13th to 14th centuries. Its characteristics were opposite from Hinduism because of its concept of monotheism and democratic values in form of the concept of 'equality before God'.⁶³

Islam took its development initially in the coastal areas of Sumatra and Kalimantan along with Madura and South Celebes which generated a conflict between the Islamic rules/teachings and the existing common law.

For this process of synthesis Sultan Agung of Mataram kingdom (1613-1646), can be considered as a significant name in the absorption of Islamic culture in other customary laws like in the case of introducing the Islamic lunar calendar, Hindu Shaka-era was maintained. Among other examples the fasting of Ramadan is also known as Wulan Puasa or Pasa which is the representation of the Hindu fasting of cremation, Upawasa, the month of Sha'ban is also celebrated as the month to visit the graves. This is also known as Nyadran which is derived from Sanskrit which reminds of the festival of the dead of the ancient times. The term *Santri* which has become a standard to describe religious students is also derived from Sanskrit *Shastri* which means the "Doctors of Holy Doctrine"⁶⁴

Along with this, there are many other fields, in which such sort of synthesis process can be seen from social rituals to purify the dead souls to religious high goals. For the same reasons, different reformist organizations emerged to purify Islam from all such un-Islamic impurities. Generally speaking, it can be said that the un-Islamic rituals are the part of Islamic aspect of life while on the other hand

⁶³ ibid

⁶⁴ Ibid.,10-12

some scholars like L. F. Brakel says that Islam is the partial part of their Javanese traditions and cultures.⁶⁵

The acceptance of Islam within Java was completely different from the situation prevalent outside Java as most of Javanese did not want to declare themselves as a part of the Islamic community irrespective of their attachment with Islam.⁶⁶ Keeping in view such pattern of their religious attachment, Javanese were divided into different classes. The people with a strong belief and attachment with the Islam and Islamic community were known as 'Santri' while the nominal Muslims were called ' Abangan .' ⁶⁷ Before the 19th century, there was no clear dividing line between the orthodox and nominal Muslims.⁶⁸

Centuries of Islamic existence were later followed by the influence of the European culture on the existing culture of Indonesia down from the 16th century. The advent of the new culture led to the emergence of a modern culture with its increasing influence initially on education, and was later championed as ethical awareness.⁶⁹

The modern culture with its secular impact started to influence Indonesian intellectuals with modern European values like individual liberty as compared to the traditional culture of collectivity. However not all welcomed the new trend, it obviously received a cold reception and strong reaction from certain elite group,

⁶⁵ Ibid., 10-14.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁷ Paul J. Carnegie, "Political Islam and Democratic Change in Indonesia", Op cit. 3.

⁶⁸ "Islam and Modernity", *Key Issues and Debates*, ed. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Armando Salvatore and Martin Van Bruinessn (Edinburgh: Edinburg university press, 2009), 148.

⁶⁹ S.Takdir Alisjahbana, *Indonesia: social and cultural revolution* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966), 1.

demanding Indonesia to return to the original source which could help find solutions to looming problems and to avoid anarchic and confused characteristics of modern culture. The elite saw value in the classical Hindu period that had great contribution to intellectual and artistic achievements and the perfect code of life brought by the advent of Islam to Indonesia.⁷⁰

In the modern form of synthesis, Muhammadiyah can be taken as a good account because it is proliferating true religious beliefs but at the same time is promoting modern values and shares the Protestant, European, and American work ethics.

2. VIII- CONCLUSION:

Islamic and Secular practices in Indonesia

Presently, in Indonesia, there are three schools of thought on 'Islam's relation with politics'. First group has a strong belief that Islam and politics cannot be separated as both are interlinked. According to other school of thought Islam is a code of life, it does not only regulate religious affairs but also political affairs of the state. Third school of thought asserts that religion and politics are completely separate things, as both have to deal with different aspects of life. Religion is a personal choice and it has to provide people with social ethics to achieve high morals in the society; and

⁷⁰Ibid, p 127.

religion has nothing to do with politics. While the third school of thought holds that Islam and politics both overlap each other so cannot be separated or distinguished.⁷¹

Through the analysis of these concepts, it has been concluded that there are different trends among different groups of society. Taufik Abdullah, an eminent Indonesian scholar writes that “Indonesia”, “modernity” and “Islam” are the three words that capture the dynamics of the contemporary Islamic discourse.⁷² Majority of Indonesians has pragmatic approach towards secularism which is similar to approach of Milton J. Yinger’ that secularism is neither anti-religion nor a substitute for religion but another aspect of human life. The religious and the secular aspects of life come on front, not by the traditions but by the situation in which human beings exist.⁷³ An Indonesian puts his view regarding synthesis that “As a people, we are very receptive to new ideas... We are open minded, and do not reject new ideas through fear or lack of under-standing. Rather, they are examined and tested and those concepts which are acceptable to us become a part of our traditions and life.”⁷⁴

Thus, Indonesia provides a good example of creative synthesis of different cultures. This can be a trendsetter attitude in the future history of the worlds.⁷⁵ To understand the history, there is need to look into complex historical pattern of

⁷¹ Ali Noer Zaman, “Clash or synthesis of civilizations?”. Opcit.

⁷² Abdullah Taufik, “The formation of a new paradigm: a sketch on Contemporary Islamic discourse”, Opcit. 67.

⁷³ J. Milton Yinger, “Pluralism, Religion, and Secularism”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 6, no. 1 (spring, 1967): 17-28(accessed on September 2009).

⁷⁴ “Resolving the Russian-American Deadlock”, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 324, (Jul., 1959):66-74(accessed on June 2010).

⁷⁵ Ali Noer Zaman, “Clash or synthesis of civilizations?”. Opcit.

Indonesia which gives a rich account of the diverse theological and political vicissitudes of the country which date back to centuries. The history provides a huge opportunity and makes it less tedious to comprehend the intellectual and theological past and present of Indonesia and more importantly contemporary theological and intellectual discourse.

CHAPTER -3

HISTORICAL SETTINGS OF INDONESIA: PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

3. I-Introduction:

To understand the contemporary Indonesian socio-political, cultural and economic temperament, it is necessary to have a detailed view of the Indonesian history. Indonesia has witnessed many vicissitudes all through its history that have a great impact on the island's cultural, linguistic, and literary developments. Between the 3rd to the 13th centuries, this whole region, especially Indonesia, was under the domination of the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms. Later, the Muslim traders from China and India spread their influence. The arrival of the Muslims on the archipelago also left a momentous cultural impact.

Indonesia continued to be receptive to foreigners of all kinds. The advancement in navigational technology and experience could not be disconnected

from the waves of people visiting the Islands. The arrival of the Europeans, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British which started around the 16th century followed the Muslims arrival.⁷⁶ Quite interestingly, the high culture of Brahmanism inspired the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms on the Islands and thus resulted to the conversion of the kings to Hinduism.

Although, geographically mainland China was close to Indonesia but the Indian culture had been more predominant, on the island as compared to the Chinese influence. The Hindus and Buddhist missionaries were successful in the propagation of their religions across the island. Malcolm Coldwell also supported the assertion that the success of the missionary work played an important role and continued to be a part of Indonesia's character and history.⁷⁷ It is on this backdrop that Indian culture has been a significant integral of the cultural life of most Indonesians. Characteristically, Indonesian history is replete with the ability to synthesize different ingredients of culture, accepting the new culture without discarding the old, absorbing and blending rather than substituting.⁷⁸

Politically, many of the autonomous states on the archipelago saw waves of the rise and fall for many centuries, but Sumatra and Java have always been the two greatest empires.

⁷⁶ Harry J. Benda , "Indonesian Islam Under the Japanese Occupation, 1942-45", *Pacific Affairs* 28, no. 4 (Dec. 1955):351-352(accessed on May 2010).

⁷⁷ Malcolm Caldwell, *Indonesia* (London: Oxford university press, 1968), 33.

⁷⁸Drs.Ukatjandrasasmita, *The Arrival and Expansion of Islam in Indonesia relating to S.E.A by: Seminar on Islam in South East Asia*, (Jakarta: Dialog, 1982), 15.

3. II- Srivijaya Empire:

Srivijaya, a great Buddhist empire and the centre of Buddhist learning, located in Sumatra had a great history between the 7th to the 13th centuries. It survived for about 600 years because of being a great maritime and trading point. The form of Buddhism accepted in Indonesia was Mahayana; its emphasis was on good work and the building of temples and monuments.⁷⁹

The location of this empire at the doorway of the Strait of Malacca and other straits made it a great trading point. Palembang was considered as the first capital of this empire. The trade factor was significantly instrumental in establishing the empire but at the same time made it more vulnerable. Civil wars and events along the sea routes disrupted the peace of the empire. In 1002, a raid was launched on Palembang, Jambi, and Aceh from the Coromandel Coast of India to suppress piracy. Srivijaya took it as an attack over its sovereignty. After many conflicts, peace was restored by 1090. By the 12th century, the empire began to decline, owing to the rising states in other islands especially in Java. In 1292, when Marco Polo visited the island from India on his way to China, he referred to the island kingdom with the name of 'Malayur'. According to Marco Polo, Srivijaya later disintegrated into eight Sumatran kingdoms.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *A short History of Indonesia* (Cassel: Cassel Australia, 1968), 35.

3. III-Majapahit Empire:

Soon after the decline Srivijaya in 1292, a Java based Majapahit Empire came into existence. This empire was a fusion between the Buddhist and Hindu traditions. The last ruler was Kertanegara who unified Indonesia while Gaja Mada was the first and successful prime minister of the empire. This empire existed for the next one hundred years, while a state with the same name existed till the 16th century.

As the Hindu, Budhhist empires co-existed, two forces with a profound impact struck the archipelago. These forces were of course Islam and the European penetration initially at the elite level gradually. Due to emergence of Islam as a force, Indonesian history observed a shifting of religious as well as political power from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam.⁸¹

Empires obviously have their rising and declining moments, so it was with the Majaphat Empire. This wave of decline was due to the emerging trading units in the surroundings of the empire. Further, the advent of Islamic values was also one of the reasons of the decline of the empire.

⁸¹Donald Wilhelm, *Emerging Indonesia*, Opcit. 31-51.

Islam presented the importance of the individuals and their relationship with God and the community of people in which all are equal, contrary to the Hindu-Buddhist worship fashioned by the priests on behalf of the people.

3. IV-Arrival of Islam:

The decline of Majapahit paved a path for the emergence of principalities along the North coast of the Malacca Strait, a development that restored trade relations with the rest of Asia.

The advent of Islam in the region remained a very significant phenomenon because of the different theories concerning its arrival, acceptance and impact. The arrival of Islam to the island started from the 7th century and continued till the 12th century. This was the same period when Malacca got the status of an important sea route. From the first century onward the local navigational experience and great trade urged them to facilitate the interaction of the people with other traders, as in trade contacts with the Muslim traders.

How and why their arrival of the traders took place and how and why Indonesians accepted Islam is explained by different theories. In general, there is a common theory that the indigenous people in the coastal areas accepted Islam due to their contact/interaction with the Muslim traders.⁸² At the same time, these traders intermarried locally and adopted the local culture in the coastal areas and then penetrated into the interior parts of the islands from 7th to 12 centuries. The

⁸²M.C.Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1300* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), 3.

Sufis, whose cleanliness, simplicity and kindness, also played an important role and humble lifestyle attracted the indigenous people to embrace Islam and further spread Islam in the region. Thus, the spread of Islam by Sufis is also a common view that “Islam proliferated by members of Sufi brotherhood, a group in Islam, tolerant to “Adat”.⁸³

Thus, the role of trade was more paramount particularly during the rivalry between the Muslim and Portuguese traders, as they later attempted to consolidate trade routes for example in Goa in India, Malacca in Southeast Asia, and Macao near China to monopolize the trade of the spice land.

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia also has its geographical and chronological dimensions⁸⁴ and for this purpose, the authentic sources for this are the tombstones found in different part of the islands and the travelogues of travelers detailing the periodic presence of Islam in different part of the region.

Islam spread all over the archipelago excluding Bali, which had a highly developed Hindu culture and traditions. Bali did not only reject Islam but also showed resentment towards it. Islam not only replaced the old structure of traditions and religion but also blended with the already existing system. Thus, according to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Indonesia, which was mainly a Hindu-faith dominated country, became a Muslim majority country.⁸⁵

⁸³C.Greertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964), 182-183.

⁸⁴N.A.Baloch, *Advent of Islam in Indonesia* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Islamabad, 1980), 3.

⁸⁵*The Development of Islam in Indonesia*, Opcit. 29.

European arrival was also the result of trade rivalry. Apart from, the religious conflicts, trade rivalry was a significant factor in the moves for the colonizers to exploit resources and to find a market for their own goods. The social impact of the Europeans is also very controversial because of the variations in the historical accounts.

According to the Malay annals, the first Portuguese attack on Malacca was unsuccessful but consistent attempts made them successful. International trade made Malacca a great seaport till the 17th century blockade by the Dutch colonials. The Portuguese's next step was to establish a monopoly over the spice lands of Indonesia without intermediaries.

In Asia, the Portuguese established the first base in Hormuz and Socotra and later in Goa. The basic purpose was to dominate the seaborne trade of Asia by occupying the main routes. The Portuguese's advanced technology was very instrumental as a pathfinder for trade routes outside the region to discover markets.

The establishment of the Portuguese fort and hegemony in the island was a landmark, which prompted other European powers towards the rich island. Consequently, the Portuguese started witnessing the arrival and challenge of the English and Dutch who themselves were trade adventurers. The Portuguese tried to conceal the navigational details in Asia but certain Dutchmen in the services described and disclosed the details.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ M.C.Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300*, Op cit. 26.

It was the English challenge that came first through the establishment of the East India Company while after two years the Dutch also established their own. Soon the Dutch company overwhelmed the English company, launched a great attack on the Portuguese in 1641, and captured Malacca.⁸⁹

The Dutch in their early voyages made their focus on the northern part of Java, and by 1619 they had a headquarter at Batavia (Jakarta) because they were prepared to do war as well as trade. So, on the basis of the same principles, attacks were made on Portuguese's ships. Further, different agreements were also made with the surrounding states.⁹⁰

In Indonesia, many competitive companies were united in V.O.C (Vesgheehnide Oost- Indeische Campagnie). With the combination of their financial and military capabilities especially after the V.O.C, they became strong in handling trade issues and fight against private traders. In the 17th century, V.O.C established its control in Sunda Kelapa (an island famous as a heaven for spice) or Jakarta⁹¹. The companies had the first formal connections through a treaty with Ambon, in order to gain more access to the spice lands. The treaty and formal relations gave them an edge and benefit over the weaknesses of their predecessors. Soon, they started to establish trade connections and factories to halt the English influence. As they started to exploit the Indonesian wealth, it contributed a lot during the next two centuries to the progress of the Netherlands. Sumatra and

⁸⁹Ibid., see also J.Kennedy, *History of Malaya*, Opcit. 39.

⁹⁰J.kennedy, *History of Malaya*, 39.

⁹¹ Old name of Jakarta was Sunda kelapa, then it was rename as Batavia by the colonial power, when the Indonesian took over Jakarta it rename as Jayakarta then Jakarta, as the capital of Indonesia.

Kalimantan were providing raw materials in response to the demand of European industries.⁹² At the same time in the middle of the 17th century, central Javanese Kingdoms and Mataram tried to halt the new comers but V.O.C was fast in establishing strong alliance with these kingdoms, a process that helped to monopolize the trade in the region.

The kingdom of Mataram was established in 1677, which was a land-based power under Senopati who looked for the restoration of Majapahit glories and unity of Java. An important and significant thing about the Mataram kingdom was its Muslim ruler. This kingdom saw its heights under Sultan Agung. In 1627, Mataram launched an attack on the newly established port of Batavia but the technological advancements of the Dutch forced them to return. Mataram's rulers focus was not only on administrative matters but also on intellectual matters.⁹³

In 1677, Mataram being a trading empire, asked the Dutch for aid to handle the neighboring states' rebellion. In return, the Dutch rulers protected their demand by entering into a treaty with the kingdom and received territories as well as trading privileges. The strong presence of the Dutch enabled many vassal states to seek protection against the Atjehnese like Padang, the West coast port for the Minangkabau. Batak tribes also made treaties with the Dutch from the North.⁹⁴

⁹² Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *A Short History of Indonesia*, Opcit. 70.

⁹³ Ibid., 91-93.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 105.

This policy to enter into agreements and taking the rights of trade made the Dutch to control the whole of Java till the end of the 17th century and the archipelago as the Dutch East Indies.⁹⁵

The V.O.C became involved in local politics that gave it a role of not only an economic player but also a political player. They of course benefited from the unpopularity and weaknesses of the Portuguese, who aspired to become a land-based colonial power. The Dutch control of the island was due to their naval supremacy. They had lighter ships with heavily armed capability, well trained sailors and were superior in financial matters as well as superior in management, wealth and business to the Portuguese.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Indonesian archipelago may be classified into three categories:

- Eastern Indonesia, with the Dutch influence.
- Sumatra and Kalimantan, with hardly any Western penetration
- Java, with a Western penetration.

Batavia was the centre of the Dutch trading empire that also played the role of a city-state in holding the administrative matters and further extensions. West Java was under the direct control of the Dutch because of being near Batavia while the central kingdoms were made protectorates.

In the mid of the 18th century, the V.O.C trading empire started decaying because of the growing competition from the British and from other European and Asian merchants. Therefore, this competition from the private traders and the

⁹⁵Donald Wilhelm, *Emerging Indonesia*, Op cit. 12.

smuggling activities of the V.O.C's employers, which was stemming from low salaries, further exacerbated the problem. Such things were fully realized but the directors in the Netherlands were unable to control it because of a two years' gap between supply and demand. There was always a two-year gap between the sent and received instructions. With the passage of time the Eastern trade shifted from spices to other commodities, silk, coffee, copper, sugar. As their profit went into loss, they began to act as merchant princes by the process of taxation.⁹⁶

The decline of Batavia as the centre of the empire was over dependence on taxation for its finances and customs. Meanwhile, smuggling, private trade and more significantly on increase in trading rivals, were also responsible. The company had enough power over the administration and economy this led to maladministration, mismanagement and corruption. At the same time, the methods of exploitation of resources annoyed the locals.

From the 19th century onwards the Dutch proclaimed that as Indonesia is providing financial needs to the Dutch so it is their responsibility to take care of the Indies interests.⁹⁷ Deventer wrote in his book "A Debt of Honor" that it was the need of the time to promote the moral and material welfare of the Indies by considering the reports about their decreasing health.

⁹⁶ L.H.Palmier, *Indonesia* (London: Tharnes and Hudson, 1965), 51.see also Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *A Short History of Indonesia*, Opcit. 100-101.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*,12.

Two significant interests were shown to fulfill the needs of the Indies by two different groups. One of them was a humanitarian concern and the other was financial, like raising the purchasing power of the people of Indonesia.⁹⁸

3. VI-The Dutch Policies towards Indonesian:

Different policies like irrigation, immigration and education were to be introduced, to satisfy the needs of the Indonesians. Some were rapidly implemented e.g. irrigation to make land available for cultivation. Immigration, transmigration took place from over-populated areas especially from Java to under-populated outer islands particularly the East coast of Sumatra. This policy of immigration was highly supported as it provided labor in labor deficient areas. Then the demand of communication increased to bring their productions to market. Health facilities were increased to increase their welfare. Palm matting as roofs material was discouraged because plague-carrying rats used to nest in such roofs. They were encouraged to replace palm roofs with tiles by exerting some pressure.⁹⁹

The Dutch emphasized on Industrialization to import fewer goods and to develop the local market. They also established high educational facilities for the Dutch children, and the Christian Indonesians. The Regent of Demak, during the 1860s employed a Dutch for his son then the Raja of Djapara (Jepara) allowed his

⁹⁸Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *A Short History of Indonesia*, 139-140.

⁹⁹L.H.Palmier, *Indonesia*, Op.cit. 79, 80.

In fact the education was only for Dutches children and those privilege local people, like landlords but not for the local people, therefore colonial power could not fill the gap between the local landlords and common people. And this gap was filled by the movement of Islamic traders, therefore Islam was shortly accepted by the common people.

daughters to attend the school opposite to their Palace. His second daughter Kartini,¹⁰⁰ within six years of education in the school, realized the pre-schooling situation and named it an imprisonment. Her letters were collected and published that showed a lot about the real life of Java. She criticized certain customs, polygamy and the Dutch policies in a very polite manner that she loves Hollanders because Indonesians have gained a lot of things from them but still there are some others, among them who dislike Indonesians because of their superior education and culture.¹⁰¹

The Dutch educational system also reinforced their policy of 'Divide and Rule' that emphasized to divide the society into different classes, through the mode of their educational treatment. The main emphasis of their western education was;

- 1) The spread of Western enlightenment.
- 2) To counter pan-Islamic especially reformist movements.
- 3) To fill up the posts of lower administration especially the clerical jobs.

However, the reaction of this western education was quite interesting and eye-opening. The few Indonesian who became educated started realizing the prevailing inequalities between the Western society and the Indies society.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ She considered as the first Indonesian women who initiated emancipation for women in Indonesia, a mother of emancipation which we celebrate every 21 April as Hari Kartini or Kartini day. She was one of the daughter of Raja Jepara, therefore she got the primary education, even then she wasn't be able to continue her high school as her brother due to culture. And after her marriage she started educating common women to get rid of the old custom, especially discrimination against women in the educational field.

¹⁰¹ Kartini, *Letters of Javanese Princes* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1964), 41.

¹⁰² Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *A short History of Indonesia*, Opcit. 113.

All these activities were carried out in the name of an 'ethical policy'. This was introduced to pay 'the debt of honor' meaning to pay the debt of the homeland but not at the expense of the motherland (otherwise it would be against the colonial traditions).

The Dutch tried to put together all the constituting units of the Indonesian society Chinese, Europeans, and Arabs. The Chinese and the Arabs were 2% of total population while the Europeans were the quarter of Chinese population. The Chinese presence was around North Sumatra to Kalimantan from the Singapore. They were acting as intermediaries between the local planters as well as peasants and the European market for its sale.

The Indonesian outer islands were less populated except Java which was over populated. There were 90% villagers, 8% urbanized population while 2% consisted of the elite class.¹⁰³ Clifford Greertz in his 'Religion of Java' has classified the Indonesians into three groups. The first group was *Prijayi*, or the aristocracy, associated with 'Adat'. The second was *Santri*, strongly associated with Islam than with Adat. The third was *Abangan*, termed as nominal Muslims.¹⁰⁴

This division is very important for the political aspirations of Indonesia, as it has provided a cultural pendant to philosophical ideology that has the ultimate role in creating unity.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *Opcit*. 138-164.

¹⁰⁴ C. Greertz, *The Religion of Java*, *Opcit*. 5-6.

¹⁰⁵ G. W. J. Drewes, "Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism", ed. G. E. von Grinebaum, *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 286.

3. VII-Struggle of Indonesians:

The Indonesian Nationalism was also a part of the series of a worldwide ongoing movement on Nationalism as the Indonesians were gaining awareness from the nationalist movements throughout the world. In the case of Indonesia, Islam played a great role in raising nationalist feelings.¹⁰⁶

The modernist and Reformist movements in Egypt and Turkey against the Western intrusion also inspired the Indonesian nationalist movement. Further, this nationalist movement was encouraged under the 'Paris Peace Treaty' to secure the right of self-determination. The nobility did not support the nationalist movement because they wanted to maintain their privileged position under the umbrella of colonial rule while the middle class was very small and predominantly urban, the administrative community of clerks or jobs of that sort. Therefore, the leadership was from the West wing of the middle class who refused to work for the government. The villagers who were exploited by the Europeans and the Chinese intermediaries supported this leadership.¹⁰⁷

The resentment against the Dutch arose during the introduction of the ethical policy in which the villagers were treated like children in dealing with their education, agriculture and social status.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Vincent J. H. Houben, "Islam: Enduring Myths and Changing Realities", *Southeast Asia and Islam: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 588, (July 2003):149-170 (accessed on December 2009).

¹⁰⁷ Leslie Palmier, *Indonesia*, Op.cit. 169-174.

¹⁰⁸ Victor Purcell, *South East Asia since 1800* (London: Cambridge university press, 1965), 141.

In this regard, Islam played a key role against colonialism ‘Sarekat Dagang Islam’ (Islamic traders association) was the first organization in 1906, initially its emphasis was not against the Dutch but to protect the traders in Batik against the Chinese exploitation.¹⁰⁹ Later, it became active in promoting economic support, intellectual activity and the true teachings of Islam. After this, a series of Congresses made a demand for self-government in the form of Union with the Netherlands. While the first Nationalist platform was ‘Budi Utomo’ (High endeavor society) in 1908, a cultural organization active in establishing schools at the national bases inspired by the Indian poet Rabindra Nath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. Later in 1918, it started to take part in political activities.

Later, the students unions established study clubs one of which was the famous ‘Bandung Institute’ led by Sukarno. Sukarno also formed the ‘Indonesian National Party’ in 1927. He borrowed the concept of ‘Self Government’ from ‘Sarekat Islam’. The Dutch suppressed Sarekat Islam’ and its leadership was exiled. After that time, the intellectuals and students who had studied in the Netherlands led the movement of self-government.¹¹⁰ After this, there was a little bit of improvement in the relations between Indonesians and Dutch rulers during the economic crisis of 1928-1932. Because, the Dutch rulers were trying to eliminate the reasons of resentment by introducing revolutionary policies for Indonesians.¹¹¹ In 1916 on public demand, ‘The Volksraad’ (People’s Council) was setup to seek

¹⁰⁹ *The development of Islam in Indonesia*, Opcit. 31.

¹¹⁰ Victor Purcell, *South and East Asia since 1800*, Opcit. 141.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 143-144.

autonomy, to have consultative rights in certain matters of budget and Military duty etc. but not an independent government under the Netherlands with no legislative rights.¹¹²

3. VIII-Japanese Occupation:

At the end of the First World War (1914-18), Japan was confident enough with its economical developments in the interests of home country. Therefore, after the Second World War, Japan extended its relations with the Indies. In 1920, it supplied 30 % commodities as the import to Indonesia while in 1930 the exports from Indonesia were 5%. During the Second World War (1939-45), the Japanese sent a trade mission to Batavia to get concessions in oil access but the Dutch response was very hard. At that time Japan was the ally of the Triple Alliance with the Axis powers (Italy, Germany). In 1940 Japan sent another mission that was also unsuccessful. This forced Japan to attack the opposition alliance. After which a surprise attack was launched on the American fleet at Pearl Harbor. On the following day, the Netherlands declared a war against Japan. The Japanese landed for the first time in January 1942 to access the oil resources. After eight days of the Japanese landing, the Dutch commander-in-Chief surrendered in the name of the Allied Forces. The Indonesians because of having an Asian affiliation welcomed the Japanese. Further, they were already benefiting from the cheap goods of Japan.

¹¹²Leslie Palmier, *Indonesia*, Opcit. 94-95.

The Japanese occupation affected the different social circles of the society in different manners. The Dutch anti-sentiments made the Japanese to collaborate with nationalists like Sukarno and Hatta. At the same time, the Japanese made certain arrangements to block the Indonesian educated youth movement striving for the nationalist cause, ‘Angkatan Muda’ (Youth Generation) .They also set a propaganda system interestingly, an instrument, which was used for the Indonesian ends. By 1940, the Japanese started to realize that the war was turning against them while the nationalists were also observing the changing scenario. At the same time, the Japanese were leaving a room for the Indonesians to negotiate and in 1944; Premier Koiso of Japan made a promise for the independence of Indonesia. In the mid of 1945, a sixty two member investigative body was made for the preparation of independence. In June 1945, Sukarno in his debate outlined the ‘five basic principles’ for the Indonesians which is still considered a ‘state philosophy’ with principles of Nationalism, Internationalism, Government by consent, Social justice and Belief in God Almighty.¹¹³

On the 11th of August, the day after the Japanese surrender, the terms of the Indonesian nationalists were accepted and the Indonesians were promised independence on 24th August. A week after the Japanese surrender to the Allies on the 17th August 1945, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed declaration for independence.¹¹⁴

¹¹³Tarmizi tahr “Changing the image of Islam and Muslim world: Indonesian exercises”, *Studia Islamika* 3, no.2 (1996):16.

¹¹⁴Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *A Short History of Indonesia*, Opcit. 204-219.

There were many organizations from 1900 to 1945, which worked as a part of the nationalist movement on different fronts including the cultural, religious, social, economic and political fronts.

In practice, Islam has always been treated by the traditionalists as well as by the Modernist Muslim intellectuals as a power which can't be separated from the political aspect of human life as it provides guidance to deal with all the aspects of life. Rashid Rida by Aziz has mentioned the same thing "That Islam is no fully in being so long as there does exist a strong and independent Muslim state is able to put into operation the laws of Islam".¹¹⁵

At the time of the movement for independence, there was a great debate between the different factions of life on the role of Islamic laws and the Idea of an Islamic state.

3. IX-Pancasila:

For further development, a committee was established in Djakarta on the 29th of April with '62 members' that held its first session in May 29, 1945. In its different sessions, Pancasila was decided as the state philosophy.¹¹⁶

- Belief in the One and Only God
- A just and civilized humanity
- The unity of Indonesia
- Democracy

¹¹⁵G.E.Von, Grunbaum, *Modern Islam* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 207.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

- Social justice for the Indonesian people.¹¹⁷

This discussion regarding the “Pancasila as constitution preamble” is mentioned in Yamin’s ‘Naskah’ which is quoted numerous times in B.J.Boland’s ‘Struggle of Islam’.

Among the main questions addressed in these sessions, three were more significant.

- The structure of the state
- The relation of the state and religion
- Republic or monarchy?

At that time Mr. Hatta, Sukarno and Supomo were representing the secular nationalist group with an aim to run the functions of the state separately from religion. According to them, political matters should be dealt with separately due to the geographical situation, and being part of the ‘greater East Asian prosperity sphere’ along with variations, interpreting the Shariah. While being a part of a ‘larger sphere of the Muslim world’ would be problematic for minorities in Indonesia. Therefore, in their view the concept of a “national integrity state” was more important.¹¹⁸

Sukarno held the view of Islam as a “Deen” to run the affairs of personal life not of the politics and the state.¹¹⁹ The speech of Sukarno also depicted the same view that there should be a choice of hard work for both the Muslims and other minorities, which would bring them up in parliament. Therefore, the struggle

¹¹⁷ Sigeo Nishimura, “The Development of pancasila moral education in Indonesia” *South East Asian Studies* 33, no.3 (December 1995):303(accessed on July 2009).

¹¹⁸ Muhammad Yamin, ‘Naskah persiapan Undang-undang Dasar 1945” 3 vol., Dajakarta, 143-396.cited in J.B.Boland.

¹¹⁹ J.B.Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982), 8.

for the Muslims of getting a number of seats in parliament would enable them to legislate the state laws, which would be a fair thing.¹²⁰

In June 1945, the advisory council met in Jakarta and a leader of the “62 committee” arranged to end the conflict between the secular nationalist and Islamic leaders in the form of a document to become the preamble of the constitution named as the “Jakarta Charter”.¹²¹

3. X- Jakarta Charter:

The nine signatories of the ‘Jakarta Character’ were Sukarno and Hatta A.A Maramis, Abikusno Tjobarsujoso, Abdul Kahar Muzakkair, H.Agus Salim, Achmad Subardgo and Wahid Hasjim.¹²²

The most crucial sentence in the Djakarta Character was that the “state was founded on the belief in one God with the obligation for adherents of Islam to practice Islamic Law”. Presently, this sentence is known as “The Seven Words”. Later, this line was criticized by both the wings especially by the secular wing as a threat, which can generate fanaticism; Hussein D Jarajadi criticized it while Wahid Hasjim favored it.

Later, in a constitution committee under the leadership of the Sukarno, an article on religion was mentioned and reframed, “The state shall guarantee freedom

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Harry Benda J., *The crescent and the Rising sun* (Bandung: The Hague, 1958), 189.

for every inhabitant to adhere to whatever religion he wants and to worship according to its own religion".¹²³

Wahid Hasjim took it turning from the previous article of religion and further added that the president should be a Muslim and the state religion should be Islam. Moreover, Agus Salim, Sukiman, Djadiningsrat and Wongsonegro also rejected this. However, this article was justified as a compromise containing both elements: preamble and this article. In the sessions of July 1945, the demand of the president to be a Muslim was accepted as a specification from the patriots like Latuhaarhary and Maramis, who were not Muslims.¹²⁴ Thus, with certain compromises a new Indonesia state came into being which was neither a heterodox nor a secular state, maintaining religion as a private matter.

3. XI-Conclusion:

Pre-independence history provides us the structure of society with old as well as new patterns of rule existed within state. I have analyzed how empires with a variety of culture witnessed ups and downs. And how Islam came and made its interaction with indigenous cultures which is known as indigenization of Islam. After the arrival of Islam, Europeans came and a wave of modernity took over the Indonesian community. Later under the wave of consciousness and nationalism Indonesians started their struggle against colonials to get an independent state.

¹²³ J.B. Boland, *the Struggle of Islam in modern Indonesia*, Opcit. 33.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER -4

POST-INDEPENDENCE HISTORICAL SETTINGS OF INDONESIA:

Political and Religious Environment after Independence

4. I-Introduction:

Soon after the establishment of an independent state, the newborn country faced acute problems at the social and economic fronts and especially at the political front. At that same time, the Army appeared with the role of the guardian of all National institutions. Moreover, the 1955 elections could not provide the solution of the problems as no party got the majority vote necessary to formulate a government. After that, democracy was replaced by 'Guided Democracy' and Martial law³ was imposed that minimized the role of the political parties. In this form of democracy the president was not responsible to the parliament.⁴

³ It was not exactly Martial Law, but commonly it is called New Order, the 32 years of Suharto era

⁴ Nawaz .B. Mody, *Indonesia under Suharto* (New Dehli: Sterling , 1987), 1-3.

4. II-Indonesian State: Internal threats, challenges, Strategies and Prospects in early Period:

Under this concept of a “Guided Democracy”, the authority was given to government officials, Sukarno’s partners and army officers to make decisions about what a citizen should think. The number of citizens who were to participate in national council was increased to 300, which replaced the elected members of the parliament of 1955. Sukarno’s concept of democracy was based on the inclusion of all the citizens including women, workers and peasant within a single government.¹²⁷ About this type of democracy, he himself says ‘something which is guided but is still a democracy’.¹²⁸

Sukarno broke diplomatic relations with the British and Malaysia in 1963 and withdrew from the U.N over the conflict of Britain’s dependency of Borneo, which was designated to Malaysia instead to Indonesia.¹²⁹

At the same time, many problems were faced by the new born country. The significant problems were colonial heritage/or the inheritance of the political state, the middle class with the capability to hold the government was very little. There were many other socio-economic issues, layered under the Dutch political system.

The increase in population was also a significant element. Besides this, transmigration also increased as mentioned by M.C Ricklefs that in 1930, 3.8% the

¹²⁷ Bill Guerin, “Indonesia’s guided democracy”, *Asia Times*, August 1, 2001.see also” Indonesia: the first fifty years”, The *Emergence of modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, Opcit. 432.

¹²⁸ Brian May, the *Indonesia Tragedy* (London,: Rutledge& Kegan Paul, 1966) , 78.

¹²⁹Ibid., 33.

population was urbanized while between 1945 and 1955 Jakarta's population was doubled to 1.8 million which in turn doubled in 1961.¹³⁰

An important and positive element of the same period was the priority given to education under an effort to establish schools. Between 1953 to 1960 number of schools increased from 1.7 to 2.5 million. This educational activity became a helpful tool in achieving two purposes:

- The increase in the literacy rate
- The establishment of a national language and mass media.¹³¹

With the increase of population and transmigration, the need for jobs also increased but the economy, especially the local industry under the Dutch was totally distorted and damaged .This generated a great unemployment ratio. The exports also slowed .These exports mainly consisted of rubber and oil. However, oil consumption increased at the domestic level but the government's infrastructure discouraged its export. Before and after independence the significant myth was that Independence will bring better opportunities along with many benefits as compared to colonial rule but it could not bring prosperity.¹³²

Sukarno reminded the new generations about their great role in the world. In this regard, the first Ministry of Religious Affairs was established to gain support from the Islamists. The "Belief in God" was shifted from the fifth to one. In Pancasila, there was a clear announcement that Indonesia would be based on

¹³⁰ M.C.Ricklefs, *A history of Modern Indonesia since c.1300*, Opcit. 238.

¹³¹ M.C.Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300*, Opcit. 238.

¹³² "Indonesia: The First Fifty Years", *The Emergence of Modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, Opcit. 431-432.

Islamic principles with the status of an Islamic state. The Nationalist struggle gave rise to many political parties like Socialist Party (PSI) by the Jakarta-based intellectuals, Masyumi, PNI and many others¹³³

Masyumi was representative of Muslims interests; it was a loose coalition of Muslims with two different approaches, the Modernists and Islamists. The Modernists later split in 1952 under the leadership of Sukiman and Muhammad Natsir who formulated his own political party. The indigenous Muslims, mainly the scholars and teachers, formulated this party. However, it never put forward the idea of an Islamic state.¹³⁴

PNI (Indonesian National Party) was the second largest, based in the bureaucracy and supported by the *Abangan* Muslims as well as Christians in the outer Islands and in Bali as well. The first parliament was structured in 1950 on Multi-party domestic basis with 232 members while cabinet was considered responsible to a unicameral system.¹³⁵

The first government was a coalition of Masyumi and PNI by Natsir, which was succeeded by Sukiman Wirjosanedi. During the same time, the security issues were also rising, especially the rebellion in South Sulawesi. Such domestic issues and other issues at the International level like the agreement with the US over the defense, declared the government to be a failure.

¹³³Paul J. Carnegie, "Political Islam and Democratic Change in Indonesia", *Asian social sciences* 4, no.11 (2008):3(accessed on June 2010).

¹³⁴"Indonesia: The First Fifty Years", The *Emergence of Modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, Opcit. 431-432.

¹³⁵ Tri Ratnawati and Syamsuddin Haris, "Political Parties in Indonesia from the 1950s to 2004: An Overview", *CRISE working paper* no. 61 (December 2008):4

In 1953, there was an atmosphere of bitterness between Sukarno and Masyumi over the question of secular law or Islamic law. However, it was clearly declared by Sukarno that the national law would be secular.¹³⁶

It is analyzed by different scholars that indeed the purpose of Sukarno was neither to establish a secular state, at the same time nor an Islamic state but a state based on a secular agenda with the religious ideology of Pancasila with the first pillar of 'Oneness of God'.¹³⁷

In March 1960, another issue emerged relating to religion. A reactionary movement was also responding to this issue in the form of the reformist movement to purify the Islamic faith. Another aspect of this issue was conversion to Christianity especially in the East and Central Java. The reasons were lying in political distrust because of the status of the Christians and the continuous presence of priests. A social reaction against such religious activity was also seen in 1967 in Makassar, Java and Sumatra in the form of religious violence and Christians-Muslim riots.¹³⁸

During October 1965 the "Guided Democracy" was about to collapse when Suharto took command of the army by accepting the order of Sukarno but with the condition of having the full authority for the restoration of order and security.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ G.McT.Kahin, *Major Governments of Asia (Ithaca)* cornel university press, 1958), 540.see also Leslie Palmier, *Indonesia and the Dutch* (London: institute of race relations, oxford university press, 1962), 156.

¹³⁷ Anthony H.Jhons, "Indonesia: Islam and Cultural Pluralism", *Islam in Asia: Religion, politics society*, ed.Jhon Esposito (New York, oxford university press, 1987), 210.

¹³⁸ M.C.Ricklefs, *A history of Modern Indonesia since c.1300*, Opcit. 280-294.

¹³⁹ Indonesia Republic, *President Order of 11 March 1966 to General Suharto*, no. 2 (Jakarta,: Department of information, 1966), 24(accessed on March 2010)

PKI was clearly blamed by the Army for the 30th September coup, which motivated the anti-communist youth to kill PKI members. Many religious organizations like Muhammadiyah proclaimed it a Holy war to kill and finish PKI and its members.

4. III- Indonesian state; External threats, challenges, Strategies and Prospects:

During Sukarno's period, the 'cold war' phenomenon prevailed as an external context while the internal context was the growing population and economic crisis. This was the result of the nationalization of different industries and businesses. Strained political and economical relations with the West prevented the West to make investments and to do trade with Indonesia and more reliance on the communist countries like the USSR and China. Later, as poverty increased among the Indonesians as Sukarno found enemies within state and abroad. Within the state, the Chinese were considered to be the enemies. Consequently, they were treated harshly at each front of life. In the 1950s, 1960s, thousands of Chinese left Indonesia, some due to the measures taken against them while others were excited by the new China of Mao.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ "Indonesia: the First Fifty Years", The *Emergence of Modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, Op.cit. 433.

4. IV-September 30th movement and Suharto's rule:

The coup d'état in 1967, 30 September, which encircled Java and Bali with massive killings, was brought about in the name of the 'Sparkling Government'. Under this coup, the army leaders were apprehended and most of them were killed and discarded.¹⁴¹

General Suharto crushed this coup and the blame was put on the Communist party with the involvement of Sukarno, who was detained in his home until his death in 1970.¹⁴²

There are different perceptions about September 30th movement, but the most eminent is the 'council of generals' as was mentioned by Nawaz B Mody. A raid was carried out by the Army officers against the council of generals supported by the CIA. After this, 200 trials were held with the purpose to show the involvement of the PKI and which was revealed in a report named the "white paper". These trials were held by 'Mahnilub' (extra ordinary Military Tribunal by Suharto in December 1965).¹⁴³ According to this paper, the recruitment of progressive officers was carried out by 'Biro Chusus' (The Secret Bureau) under Sjam to support the PSI whose purpose was 'Nasakom Regime'. Another paper was also published named the 'Cornell Paper' with the idea of a coup as an "Internal Affair of the Army".

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³Nawaz .B. Mody, *Indonesia under Suharto*, Opcit. 8-11.

The 'Wertheim Thesis' is also an important document which reveals that Suharto himself was the main character behind the 30th September movement who used PKI .The 'Wertheim thesis' is based on the events told by Suharto to an American ,Brackrman.¹⁴⁴

Besides the internal groups, which were striving for power, international players were also active in the power tussle, like China, the USSR and the US. Especially, the US was very active in encouraging the army to come to power covertly and overtly .This has been analyzed by Nawaz B. Mody ¹⁴⁵and revealed in other publications pertaining to the New Order.¹⁴⁶Important US interests in Indonesia were to counter communism along with gaining access to natural resources.

In March 1966, Suharto was given complete authority to take all necessary steps to ensure security.¹⁴⁷After capturing power in 1967, he kept many things in a status-quo especially the form of government to strengthen his own rule.¹⁴⁸

Suharto transformed the status of the Golkar Party with the army support and by engaging anti communist sentiments. Other parties were considered divisive and un-Indonesian. Until 1990, only Golkar was allowed to work and open branches in towns and villages. He also encouraged parties with Muslim agendas.

¹⁴⁴Brackrman, Arnold. C. *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia* (New York: Norton N., 1969), 100.See also Wertheim .W.F, "Suharto and Untung coup-the missing link", *Journal of contemporary Asia* I, no. Winter (1970):53.

¹⁴⁵Nawaz .B. Mody, *Indonesia under Suharto*, Opcit. 50.

¹⁴⁶John Henry, *the United States and New Order in Indonesia*, thesis (Washington: American university, Washington, 1969), 197.

¹⁴⁷ Nawaz .B. Mody, *Indonesia under Suharto*, Opcit. 105-108.

¹⁴⁸“Indonesia: The First Fifty years”, *The Emergence of modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, Opcit. 436.

In this case, the United Development Party was granted a political status.¹⁴⁹ It was already paired with the Democratic Party having nationalist and Christian elements. The government also approved its leaders and those who refused to join this were sent to jail. Suharto imposed his rule by strengthening the army; in this case, he employed the army at every field of life.¹⁵⁰ At the same time 3 party system was introduced during Suharto era or known as New Order, Golkar , PDI/Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesia Democratic Party) ,PPP Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party).

These army men and others men supported by the Army established their monopoly over the companies and other sources of investment, import and export. At the same time, alternate sources of power including NGO s, labor unions, and Islamic charity groups were banned.¹⁵¹

While in dealing with the international community in political and economic matters, good ties were established and renewed with the West.¹⁵² With the encouragement of investment, many industries underwent a boom. With the increase and establishment of cement, plastic and textile industries, transmigration also increased. The Madurese migration to Dayak to work in industries was responsible for wiping out the rain forest. The Javanese and Balinese migrated to

¹⁴⁹ Because earlier PPP, partai persatuan pembangunan, had commonly Islamic basis.

¹⁵⁰ Achmad Munjid, "Militant and Liberal Islam: The Unwanted Twin Children of Modernization - Indonesia, a Case Study" Paper Presented at AMSS 34th Annual Conference "Muslims and Islam in the Chaotic Modern World: elations of Muslims among Themselves and with Others", (September 30 October 2, 2005)7-8(accessed on June 2010).

See also "Indonesia: the first fifty years" .In The *Emergence of Modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, Opcit. 436.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 437.

¹⁵²Ibid.

Sulawesi and Irian Timor to work in rice fields and to work in offices. This transmigration changed the demographics of the regions, introducing new cultural and religious varieties. In the meantime, there was also an atmosphere of struggle and competition between the locals and migrants controlling economics. This conflict further grew which led to ethnic violence.¹⁵³

With the growing trends in economy and modernity, certain organizations with an Islamic orientation initiated their programs for Islamic teachings, which focused on secularism vs modernity and Islam. Its quick outcomes were increased Islamic symbols, mosque, and training institute. This Islamic trend was very vivid at the social front with an increased number of Islamic values.¹⁵⁴

On the 6th March 1990, Suharto announced an association based on Muslim intellectuals (ICMI), it was a very bold step in the New Order in favor of the Muslims, which replaced the army-webbed grip of Suharto in 1997. This association emerged from the conception of five students from Universitas Brawijaya in Malang, East Java.

According to analysts, this Islamic card was used to meet ground realities and was used against the rivals in the military and pro-democratic circles who were a threat to his rule. This association was criticized by many progressive minded

¹⁵³Chris Manning, "The Political Economy of Reform: Labour after Suharto", ed. Michele Ford and Keith Foulcher, *Indonesian studies: working papers*, no.6 (august 2009):2-4.
Ibid.

¹⁵⁴Achmad Munjid, "Militant and Liberal Islam: The Unwanted Twin Children of Modernization - Indonesia, a Case Study" Paper Presented at AMSS 34th Annual Conference "Muslims and Islam in the Chaotic Modern World: elations of Muslims among Themselves and with Others", (September 30 – October 2, 2005):16(accessed on June 2010).see also "Indonesia: the first fifty years", the *emergence of modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, 437.

intellectuals like Abdurrahman Wahid.¹⁵⁵ Further, Habibie's mounting eminence in national politics posed new troubles for ICMI independents because of his attitude towards ICMI as a 'Suharto's Buddy'.¹⁵⁶

After the realization of the whole scenario of unwillingness to support Suharto, it showed its decline because the only way to flourish was to support the existing rule of Suharto. During that time, growing concerns for democracy were also very significant. This major trend led to the step down of Suharto because the call for stepping down of Suharto was the aim of all social activists including the intellectuals like Amien Rais, Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid who focused on peaceful reformation "Reformasi Damai".¹⁵⁷

In May 1998, overwhelming repercussions of economic crisis forced Suharto to resign in favor of Mr. Habibie the vice president. He lifted bans on the public and gave the freedom of expression.¹⁵⁸ Thus, they found the right of expression to speak against the exploitations done in Suharto's period. They fought against their competitors who turned thousands of Indonesians into refugees.¹⁵⁹ The New Order government has been considered as the most significant in the development of the neo-modernist intellectual discourse as it provided an atmosphere, which was taken favorably in the growth of the new intellectual discourse.

¹⁵⁵ Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam. Muslims and democratization in Indonesia* (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2000), 129.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 232.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 208.

¹⁵⁸ "Indonesia: The First Fifty Years", *The Emergence of Modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G. Owen, Op.cit. 440.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 431-440.

4. V-Conclusion:

Post-independence era in historical settings of Indonesia is very significant because Indonesia was a heart of troubles from internal as well as external point of view. Immediately after the independence, military began to play the role of a guardian by manipulating history. The army claimed to save the nation from colonials and in future, from enemies and external threats. Sukarno made different attempts to balance the role of the army by increasing mass organizations. His concept of a “Guided democracy” was also aimed to boost ties with communist countries as nationalism was based on race aimed to crush colonialism.¹⁶⁰ After independence different settlements were made internally to integrate all the fractions of society. In this regard the Islamic card was also used to satisfy the demands of a majority of Indonesians .At last, Pancasila was adopted as a state ideology and as a compromise among different groups.

¹⁶⁰“Indonesia: The First Fifty Years”, *The Emergence of Modern South East Asia*, ed. Norman G.Owen, Op.cit. 432.

CHAPTER-5

REFORM MOVEMENTS:

CASE STUDY OF A. MUHAMMDIYAH

AND

B.NAHDHATUL-ULAMA

5. I-Introduction:

The role of religio-social organizations is very significant in the development of a new intellectual discourse. Besides, providing support in the development of the new intellectual discourse, these organizations are major sources of fulfilling the religious as well as the social needs of the Indonesian society. The existence of Islam is unique and fascinating in Indonesia. Understanding this uniqueness thoroughly is fine but very complicated due to Indonesia's geographical, social and cultural composition. Nieumen Nuijzi has

rightly said “to discuss the position of Islam in contemporary Indonesia involves the entire Indonesian situation”¹⁶¹

Thus the understanding of the whole situation encompasses a lot of things and approximately all the fields of life including historical accounts, social composition regarding classes and theoretical discourses, because all are interlinked especially in the case of Indonesia.

In the case of understanding Islam, its developments and its relation with the growing trends of modernity, there is a need to understand the composition of the society and its development. It is rightly said by Gibbs, “It is not to the masses but to the leaders that we must look if we are to judge of the present tendencies in religious thought”.¹⁶²

Whereas other scholars have the view that Indonesia is a state with a peripheral status, however scholars like Greg Barton does not share such peripheral view of Indonesia, instead Indonesia to him stands out distinctive, having a majority Muslim population around 87.88% and the quality of ‘Muslim thought’ at the elite and public level adds to such distinction.¹⁶³

Traditional local schools, which are known as Pondok or Pesantren, played an important role in the transmission of Islamic knowledge with teachers known as

¹⁶¹ C.A.O Van Nieuwennuijze, “Islam and national self realization in Indonesia in Bulletin the information, due centre pure I, Etnde Des problems due monde musulman”, Fasc. VII (1958):80.

¹⁶² H.A.R Gibb, *Whither Islam? A Survey of Modern Movements in the Moslem World* (London: Routledge, 2000), 372.

¹⁶³ Greg Barton, “Indonesia’s Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as intellectual ulama: the meeting of Islamic traditionalism and modernism in neo-modernist thought” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 8, no.3 (1997):323.

Guru or Kyai who have their own significance and uniqueness from other Madrasas, from the rest of the Muslim world.¹⁶⁴

This means, religion itself relates and deals with the people and the society. J.B Boland holds that in understanding this phenomenon, there is a need to understand the theological as well as the sociological accounts.

The developments of the nineteenth century made the region open to the rest of the world in transmission and the transportation of ideas. Indonesians who studied in Middle Eastern countries as well as other Muslim scholars made specific engagements with the region which later was reflected in formation of different sort of reforms, nationalist and Pan-Islamic movements some of which are still vibrant.¹⁶⁵ In the twentieth century, in Indonesia this type of movement was the ‘Kaum Tua’ or the “old group” by their Kyais and Guru while on the other hand, there emerged the ‘Kaum Muda’ or “new group”, influenced by the reformists of the 18th century such as Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab in the Arabia and later by the ideas of the peripatetic activist-intellectuals like al-Afghani, Abduh and Rashid Rida,sir Syed Ahmad khan.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ “The Pesantren in Historical Perspective”, *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia*, eds. Abdullah, Taufik, and Sharon Siddique (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986):80-107.

¹⁶⁵ Carool Kerstin, *Indonesia’s cosmopolitan Muslim and the mediation of cultural Islam* (London: Kings College , Center for Middle East and Islamic Studies, 2009), 4.

<http://www.usna.edu/MiddleEast/AME/Papers/Kersten%20USNA%20Conf%20Oct%202009.pdf>.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Francis, Laffan *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 171. See also William R. Roff, “The Malayo- Muslim World of Singapore at the Close of the Nineteenth Century”. *Journal of Asian Studies* 24 no.1 (1964):75-90.

5. II- Analytical outlook of Movements in Indonesia

5. II.i-Reformation Movements:

The reformist movements have their history since the last four hundred years. This process of reformation continued throughout history, in all the religions of the world including Christianity and Islam, different in nature but with the same purpose of purification.¹⁶⁷

In this regard, the 'Protestant Movement' was very significant with an emphasis on cleansing of the world of magic and stressing on the direct relation between Man and God. While in the case of Islam, the reform movements can be traced back to the eighteen century with the Wahhabi Movement founded by Abdul Wahhab (1703-1792) which was reinforced by other intellectuals of 19th century like Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), Rashid Rida (1865-1935), Muhammad Abduh (1879-1905) and Jamal udin Afghani (1838-1897).¹⁶⁸ This reformation movement aimed to reject the claim of the Medieval Ulamas whose emphasis was on the *Quran* and *Sunnah* as a solitary authority and 'Taqleed' as another significant component of it. This reform movement made its greater emphasis on 'Ijtihad' i.e. the independent judgment rather than 'Taqleed' (to follow the earlier legal interpretation).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ James L. Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, Op cit. 4-5.

¹⁶⁸ Gioro Eliraz, "the Islamic reformist movement in the Malay Indonesian world in the first four decades of the 20th century: insight gained from a comparative look at Egypt", *studia islamika* 9, no.2 (2002):52-53.

¹⁶⁹ Carool Kersten, "Cultural hybridity New Muslim intellectuals and the study of Islam", paper presented on 25 April 2008 (accessed on March 2010).

This had a resemblance with the Protestants Movement because of its emphasis on scripturalism, the approach towards the direct sources of guidance rather than towards the hierarchy of officials.¹⁷⁰

5. II.ii-Types of Movements:

There were many types of movements like political, secessionist, social and cultural, based upon different agendas but they had the same purpose i.e. to change the status quo. In case of reformative movements these movements were fretful to change the existing system of religions.¹⁷¹

Fazal Rahman has investigated the following significant movements in the last two centuries.

- 1) The 'revivalist movements' at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the nineteenth century like Wahabia movement in Saudi Arabia.
- 2) The 'Modernist movements' like the movement initiated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
- 3) The 'Neo-revivalist' movements with modern but reactionary approaches based on rationality and *Ijtehad*.¹⁷²

With the reference of religion and its performance, Beyer has done a good job. Beyer has divided the religious performance into two versions the one is liberal while the other is conservative.

¹⁷⁰ James L.peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, Opcit. 4-5.

¹⁷¹ James L.Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, Opcit. 8.

¹⁷² Fazalur Rahman, "Islam; past influences and present challenges", ed. Alford T.Welch, Cachia pierre *Islam; challenges and opportunities* (Edignburg: Edenburg university press, 1979)315-330.

According to him, both of these divisions have different approaches: the liberal has a respect for the individual choice, for religion and tolerance for plurality. Liberals also consider it as a guideline in the solution of social problems. While on the other hand, the conservative version emphasizes on holism rather than on pluralism. They give more importance to the authority of one tradition as the only source of authenticity. According to the conservative version, the law should implement these norms.¹⁷³ The Modernists/Reformists in Indonesia displayed themselves in the Indonesian society in 1912 by the establishment of Muhammadiyah by K.H.Ahmad Dahlan while NU emerged, as a traditionalist movement as a response in threat to their beliefs and system of *Mazhab* in 1926. To understand the significance of these organizations an analysis has been made in this way.

5. III- A. Muhammadiyah

5. II.i-Establishment of Muhammadiyah:

In the period of the early 20th century, Indonesia had two types of groups, followers and adherents of orthodox Islam, followers and the proponents of Islam combined with beliefs of Western science and modernity. The second group was championed by very few middle class.¹⁷⁴ One of its proponents was Ahmad Dahlan

¹⁷³ Beyer Peter, *Religion and Globalization* (London: Sage Publication Ltd, 1994), 70-71, 79-93.
See also Svensson Jonas, "Women's Human Rights and Islam: A study of Three Attempts at Accommodation", *Lund Studies In history Of Religion* 12, Lund (2000):24-25.

¹⁷⁴ G.MCT.kahin, *Nationalism and revolution in Indonesia*, Opcit. 63.

who laid the foundation of Muhammadiyah in 1912 in Yogyakarta as a reformist movement with a clear focus to purify the religious beliefs and to educate the people, mainly the renewal of Indonesian Islam. Ahmad Dahlan was influenced by Muhammad Abdurrahman's thought of *Ijtihad* and independent will. There were many factors, which led to its establishment; many were grounded in the Indonesian society itself.

Some of those factors have been analyzed by Abdu'l Mukti Ali ranging from the impurity of religious life, the unavailability of adequate religious education, the Christian missionaries, activities and the attitude of the intelligentsia.¹⁷⁵ According to Harry Benda, the purpose behind the establishment of Muhammadiyah mainly was to confront Christianization.¹⁷⁶ Although Muhammadiyah had a mission against the Christian missionaries, it had also adopted the policy of tolerance and pluralism towards Christianity and the people of other religions. This movement became very significant in 1922 after receiving many adherents of 'Sarekat Islam',¹⁷⁷

Since its establishment, its area of focus is socio-religious reformation, therefore refusing to transform itself into a political party or entered in politics just like the larger social organization NU. Although, Muhammadiyah has no clear

See also Leslie H. Palmier, "Modern Islam in Indonesia: Muhammadiyah after independence," *Pacific Affairs* 27, no.3 (1954):255.

¹⁷⁵ Abdu'l Mu'ti Ali, *The Muhammadiyah Movement: A bibliographical Introduction* (Montreal, McGill University, 1957), 21-22.

See also Alfian, *Muhammadiyah, the Political Behaviour of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1989), 16-17, 143.

¹⁷⁶ Muhammad Ali, "Muhammadiyah still lags behind in global education development," *The Jakarta Post*, 7 April, 2005.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

assertion of attachments with a specific jurisprudence of *Ahle Sunnah wal Jamaah*, but it existed in the pale of *Ahle Sunnah wal Jamaah*, because of its beliefs and different treatises which were written in response to the accusation of not belonging to *Ahle Sunnah wal Jamaah*.¹⁷⁸ Interestingly Muhammadiyah leaders claim that it is a non- sectarian movement. Mughni justifies this claim that the Indonesian community can't be classified on the Middle Ages' pattern as time has changed. In addition, this trend has allowed the individuals to decide the school of thought to be followed according to their own needs. The only way for this selection is to refer them towards the original sources of jurisprudence, which are mainly *Quran* and *Hadith*.¹⁷⁹

In this way, Muhammadiyah is striving to bring the society towards the original sources of jurisprudence to purify the Islamic beliefs. This purification process, *Tajdeed* is not aimed that Islamic teachings have become defective but the Muslims have been deviated from the true teachings of Islam due to a lack of understanding, a lack of proper guidance, and the influence of local culture.¹⁸⁰ Further Islam is not incompatible with modernity instead their compatibility is indicated by their sense of development and humanity.¹⁸¹ Health service can be

¹⁷⁸ Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, 75.

¹⁷⁹ Mughni, Syafiq A. "Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah dan Posisi Teologi Muhammadiyah," in *Muhammadiyah Kini & Esok*, ed. M. Din Syamsuddin (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1990), 259-279. cited in Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*.

¹⁸⁰ Jainuri, Achmad. "Landasan Teologis Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam." *Ulumul Qur'an* 6, no. 3 (1995):38-48 cited in Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

divided at three levels, community health house, maternity and pediatric clinic (or mother and child health house), and hospitals.¹⁸²

Muhammadiyah has been committed to the goal of health, education, economy and care for orphans. This societal empowerment is believed to be so engulfing that Muhammadiyah could not divert attention towards politics. Even in the 1999 elections when the 48 political parties were registered, Muhammadiyah had had an opportunity to enter into politics, but its members in the annual meeting in 1998 rejected the option to enter into politics. Rather such opportunity was opted as the personal decision of every individual. Thus, Muhammadiyah became a true socio-religious organization, which is totally committed to community-based activities, to develop and empower the community.¹⁸³ The philosophy of this movement could be traced back to the Middle East as it shares ideological leaning of reformation with orthodox organization that originated in the Middle East. But in reality, Muhammadiyah distinguishes itself as a modern organization committed to developing economy, education, and social wellbeing of the people. Thus, it wears the status of a modernist organization which is not merely propagating conservative ideas but equally responding to contemporary challenges and the needs of the Indonesian society.¹⁸⁴

Being a civil organization, it valued the principles of accountability, transparency, the right to choose leadership in an organizational set up for the

¹⁸² Muhammad Fuad, Islam, "modernity and Muhammadiyah's educational Programmeme", *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 5 no.3 (2006): 400 -414(accessed on May 2010).

¹⁸⁴ Gjoro Eliraz, "The Islamic reformist movement in the Malay Indonesian world in the first four decades of the 20th century: insight gained from a comparative look at Egypt", *Opcit.* 57

5. III.iii-Social activities:

Muhammadiyah has the status of a social-religious organization with a vast network of schools. Muhammadiyah has more than 15,000 schools at the primary as well as secondary level 200 higher educational institutions with one million students and these education programs are self-funded by the organization.¹⁸⁹ It has its own curriculum comprising of religious and national education known as the institutional curriculum.¹⁹⁰ Muhammadiyah's social organizational tendency works for all Indonesians irrespective of religion, creed and caste.

5. III.iv-Generational Conflict

Recently there is a conflict within the Muhammadiyah because of the differences between the old and younger generation can be categorized into the young-Salafists and young-progressive. The older young generation maintains the old ideas and management styles, which are in a conflict with the present young generation. These differences are not only at the managerial level but also evident at the theological level. The pioneers of Muhammadiyah consider religion according to the Indonesian society embedded with social activities and give it the importance of being a source of salvation. While the young generation has two factions; Salafi and progressive, both having a different look towards Islam.

¹⁸⁹ Sudibyo Markus, "Education and Multiculturalism. A Muhammadiyah Case Study" University of West Sydney, 3 September 2007.

http://www.uws.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/38607/Dr_Sudibyo_Markus_Paper.pdf

¹⁹⁰ Interview with abdul-mukti-muhammadiya, Muhammadiyah Studies, February, 2010.

<http://muhammadiyahstudies.blogspot.com/2010/02/discussion-with-abdul-mukti.html>

According to the Salafists, religion is an easy set of norms as a personal faith and has more proclivities towards a transnational view of religion as an individualist matter. On the other end is the progressive group having an elitist tendency because of its engagements in the intellectual debates and likings for *Ijtehad* in solving outstanding issues. In the case of future leadership selection, it is usually issue oriented and based on societal trends like elite versus the masses, society versus individual, and knowledge versus faith.¹⁹¹

5. IV.i-B. Nahdhatul Ulama:

The earlier traditionalists were not interested to keep good relations with the Dutch due to the inclination of the Dutch rulers towards Islam as a religion.¹⁹² But the Dutch supported the development of Islam and used it to achieve their goals. The emergence of Muhammadiyah was taken as a threat by the traditionalists; therefore, the traditionalists established NU in 1926.¹⁹³

The NU was established by the Ulama with Pesantren orientation in 1926 to promote Islam according to the four Sunni schools of thought, hence bearing a significant historical background being the guardian of teachings of the four schools of Islamic law, the Hanafites, Malikite, Shafite, and Hanbalite. Fuzan Saleh is one of those scholars that have given an elaborate history of this group. According to

¹⁹¹ Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Generational conflict in Muhammadiyah", Opinion, *The Jakarta Post*, 21 February, 2010.

¹⁹² Nakamura, Mitsuo, "Muhammadiyah as an urban movement", *Opcit*. 129–137.

¹⁹³ Fuad, Muhammad Islam, "modernity and Muhammadiyah's educational Programme", *Opcit*. 400 - 414.

Saleh, the development of the NU and its initial constitution was geared at rendering education on the platform of the four Sunni jurisprudential schools.¹⁹⁴ Choirul Anam sees the developments of the NU in the context of the necessity to proliferate Islam, an engagement that became characterized with great saints famously known as the Nine Saints spreading Islam via different approaches. In this regard, Anam identified the strategies of two types of saints. One who propagated pure Islam and made a great emphasis on Islam, free of any sort of heresy like Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri while others like Sunan Kalijaga who adopted a different approach of tolerance towards local culture to seek the attraction of the people having affiliation with a strong local culture. According to Anam, same approach of Kalijaga was adopted by NU with the view of security and the spread of Islam along with keeping alive the traditions.¹⁹⁵ Accordingly, with an approach that such type of tolerance can be used to spread Islam, NU was established in response to reformist movement especially characterized as Wahhabi movement.¹⁹⁶

Achmad Farichin Chumaidi was of the view that NU came to existence as a response to the development elsewhere in Saudi Arabia on one hand and as custodian of the four Sunni schools of thought. In 1925, King Saud came into power that made Wahhabism as a state religion that was taken as a threat by the Indonesian traditionalist.¹⁹⁷ Chumaidi supported this claim by elaborating the

¹⁹⁴ Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 68.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 68-69.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Robin Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, Opcit. 34.

statement made by K.H. Masykur on the withdrawal of NU from the only Muslim party Masyumi in 1952, "The organization of NU was created in reaction to the emergence of the movements whose desire was to abolish the *Mazhab* School in Indonesia as well as in Hijaz where Saud wrested the power."¹⁹⁸ The same argument is supported by Sidney Jones which is mentioned by Fuzan Suleh that NU creation was intended as a standard to oppose Abdu's influence.¹⁹⁹

It is interesting that for the Saudi King and his Ulama ally there was a threat to the apparently pristine Islam and therefore preserving that true Islam needed a strict rule, which eventually brought to life the establishment of the Hijaz Committee in 1926, for guaranteeing the practicing of Islam according to the Wahhabi style and in conjunction with King Saud.

It was same threat factor that propelled the creation of NU with the aim of preserving the traditional Islam that coalesces with local culture and adherence to the Sunni four schools of thought.²⁰⁰ So it is important for the followers of NU to follow one of four *Mazhab*s of *Ahl e Sunnah wai Jamaah* like Hanafites, Malikite, Shafite, and Hanbalite and also adopt the concept of *Taqleed*.²⁰¹

According to other scholars like Suprapto, there were two factors behind the establishment of the NU: one was religious while the other was social²⁰². Anam has

¹⁹⁸ Achmad Farichin Chumiady, *the Jam'iah Nahdlatul Ulama': Its rise and early developments 1926-1945*(Montreal, McGill university, 1976), 35-41.

¹⁹⁹ Sidney Jones, "the Contraction and expansion of the 'umat' and the role of Nahdatul Ulama in Indonesia", *Indonesia* 38(October 1984):9.

²⁰⁰ Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Op cit. 74.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Robin, Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, 36. Op cit.

also supported the role of these factors. According to Anam the NU was formulated to make a communication among Ulama of four *Mazhabs* of *Ahle Sunnah wal Jamaah*, and to promote Islam based on four *Mazhabs* with an aim to attend the needs of poor.²⁰³

Robin Bush adds that initially the NU's intention was not political but religious and social.²⁰⁴ In the 1930s, the conflict between traditionalists and the modernists was minimized. The reasons for such were narrated by Benda and Robin.²⁰⁵ According to them, the divide did not escalate due to the decreasing influence of the Wahhabi movement on one hand and the opposition to the emerging secular nationalist and other splitter group.²⁰⁶ Surprisingly, this organization emerged as a reaction to Wahhabism and managed to be an ally of non Muslims and stood as a nationalist organization.²⁰⁷

5. IV.ii-Organizational hierarchy:

The authority of the organization lies in the central board (Syuriah), which is chaired by the Director General while day-to-day matters are handled by the executive that is responsible to central board. As a traditionalist and Ulama based

²⁰³Mitsuo Nakamura, "The radical traditionalism of Nahdtul Ulama of Indonesia" South East Asian Studies 19,no.2(September 1981):190.see also Robin, Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, Op cit. 37.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Harry Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*, 51-3-76.

²⁰⁶Robin, Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, Op cit. 41.see also Harry Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*, 51-3-76.

²⁰⁷Justus M. van der Kroef, "The Role of Islam in Indonesian Nationalism and Politics," *The Western Political Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (Mar., 1958):53-54.

organization, it has contributed a lot in the developments of Ministry of Religious affairs and the Institute of Higher Islamic Education (IAIN).²⁰⁸ As the NU is a socio-religious organization, so it has different objectives at the social level along with religious ambitions.²⁰⁹

The aims of the NU as a socio-religious organization:

- To propagate Islam with an approach of unity in diversity.
- To conduct education with the purpose of enabling people to accommodate in the modern world along with Islamic ideals.
- The attempt to increase the people's prosperity by enhancing their culture which is not against Islamic teachings.
- To focus more on the growth of people's economy and make efforts to distribute the developments of economy.
- To make efforts to formulate a broader society with the utility of its services.²¹⁰

5. IV.iii-New Order and NU:

As time passed by, the NU got a new look with the emergence of the third generation, who were neither politicians nor Ulama but consisted of professionals and intellectuals.²¹¹ In the 1970s, this third generation demanded to withdraw from politics and returned to its original 1926 social and religious orientation.²¹² An organization, which was initially considered a traditional organization, underwent

²⁰⁸ Martin van Bruinessen, "Indonesia's ulama and politics: caught between legitimizing the status quo and searching for alternatives", *Prisma the Indonesian Indicator*, no. 49 (1990):52.

²⁰⁹ NU. Online, Jakarta (NU official portal), www.nu.or.id.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Robin Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, Op.cit. 89.

²¹² *Ibid.*,77.

certain changes during the New Order, particularly under the chair of Abdurrahman Wahid who led it to change its position from a traditionalist to a moderate organization, which started to strive for democracy and a civil society.

Among the significant changes was the acceptance of Pancasila and its relation with Islam and state. The acceptance of Pancasila in 1983 was a response to the contemporary challenges of the time. In this regard, Pancasila is believed not to be against the teachings of Islam as its first principle is '*Tauhid*' 'Oneness of Allah' NU nonetheless was the first organization to accept Pancasila as the sole ideology of the state. In fact the contribution and changes brought forth by Abdurrahman reveals potential to contribute in liberal reforms within Indonesia.²¹³

5. IV.iv-Social activities of NU:

Thus, we can say, irrespective of different conflicts with its co-organization Muhammadiyah, the NU is playing the role of a civil society and is engaged in bringing harmony, pluralism, tolerance and a cultural Islam that was declared by the acceptance of Pancasila as a state ideology with 330 branches, 6,000 Pondok/Pesantrens and 21,000 schools.

²¹³ Greg Barton, Andree Feillard, 'Nahdlatul Ulama, Abdurrahman Wahid and reformation: What does NU's November 1997 National Gathering Tell us?,' *Studia Islamika VI*, no.1(1999):30-31.

5. V-Conclusion:

Relation between Muhammadiyah and NU

Scholars have talked at length on the organizational structure and composition of NU and Muhammadiyah. The structure and the whole organization of the NU is based on the charisma of individual intellectuals, while Muhammadiyah has a true organizational structure²¹⁴

NU has a grass root advantage over Muhammadiyah, since its creation grass-root level approach of civil Islamic schools has been one of its distinctions. The depth of NU at the grass root is established by the extent to which it has penetrated most of the villages, which cannot be said Muhammadiyah having just 4000 sub-branches in remote areas out of 80.000 villages.²¹⁵ Such rural achievement could impair Muhammadiyah accomplishing its 2025 vision.

There is no clear distinction between the traditionalists and the modernists but they have little difference regarding *Taqleed* (blind following of tradition) and *Ijtehad* (to interpret laws individually). So a consensus is developing day by day over the synthesis of both, and this is represented by these two organizations in their acceptance and inclusion of Pancasila in their curricula. This Islamic curriculum facilitates the emergence of a new middle class and responds to the

²¹⁴ Fuad Muhammad, "Islam, modernity and Muhammadiyah's educational Programme", Opcit. 400-414.

²¹⁵ Sudibyo Markus, "Education and Multiculturalism. A Muhammadiyah Case Study". Opcit.

growing economic development.²¹⁶ Regarding the implementation of Shariah, both of these organizations have more or less the same stance of not establishing Indonesia as an Islamic state.

Syafii Ma'arif a well-known Indonesian scholar pointed out areas of similarities shared by NU and Muhammadiyah. Ma'arif focused on their acceptance of Pancasila, ideologically standing on same page, both engaging in intellectual debates and socio-economic issues confronting contemporary Indonesian society, sharing almost equal position on Christian-Muslims relation. The absence of ideological conflict and acceptance of Pancasila and the 1945 constitution since independence makes them bed fellows.²¹⁷

Greg Barton has analyzed that both of these organizations that approximately all of modernists are linked with the Muhammadiyah while all of traditionalists are linked with the NU .Both have a difference in their approach in interpretation of the *Quran*, *Ijtehad*, *Taqleed* and Sufi practice.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ William Liddle, "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (Aug., 1996):613-634(Accessed on 12 February 2010).

²¹⁷ A. Hasani, "Ideology is dead in politics," *The Jakarta Post*, 25 May, 2002, Yogyakarta.

²¹⁸ Greg Barton, "Abdurrahman Wahid – Muslim Democrat, Indonesian President", *University of NSW Press*, Sydney (2002):54-55.

CHAPTER -6

INDEPENDET SCHOLARSHIP:

CASE STUDY OF NURCHOLISH MADJID

AND

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID

6. I-Introduction:

The emergence of independent scholarship owes so much with the shift in vision and orientation, as the intellectuals are credited as hybrid of traditional Islam and Western knowledge.⁵ The role of independent intellectuals is very significant in the theological history of Indonesia, particularly the emergence of a new intellectual discourse at the end of the 1960s which played a significant role in shaping today's Indonesia.

⁵Dadi Darmadi "IAIN intellectual discourse in Indonesia" *Ditperta*is
<http://www.ditperta.net/artikel/dadi01.asp> (accessed on December 2009)

In-order to comprehend analytical appraisal of the subject matter this chapter is divided into the following Two Parts:

PART I: EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT SCHOLARSHIP

PART II: BIOGRAPHIES OF INTELLECTUALS

PART I

6. I –Emergence of Independent Scholarship:

The wave of Islamic revivalism in Indonesia started developing in the late 1960s to the middle of the 1990s with the emergence of a significant chain of intellectuals such as: Nurcholish Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, Djohan Effendi and Ahmad Wahib²²⁰. Amien Rais is also identified as one of its contributors by Greg Barton which is also illustrated by Malcolm Cone²²¹. This movement or wave of moderation was a response to modernity and the needs of the modern age. It is sometime referred, under the ‘Egyptian influence’ due to Muhammad Abdurrahman’s thought. Hooker was however of the opinion that the intellectual discourse was creative rather than responsive.²²² Barton share parallel view that the new intellectual movement was significant because of its bold and confident thought dissimilar to the apologetic stances of earlier and older scholars.²²³

The modern intellectuals focused their energies to respond to the intellectual needs of time and the call for an Islamic solution for different problems. This call

²²⁰ Malcolm Cone, “Neo Modern Islam in Suharto Indonesian”, *and New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 4, 2 (2002): 52-67.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² M. B. Hooker, “Indonesian Islam: Social Change through Contemporary Fatawa”, reviewed by Timothy P. Daniels, 1-310 (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003).

²²³ G. Barton, “The Emergence of Neo-Modernism; a Progressive, Liberal Movement of Islamic Thought in Indonesia”, *Opcit.* 12.

was in the form of reinterpretation and reconstruction of different Islamic traditions for need of times.²²⁴ This responsive phenomenon has also been discussed by John Esposito.²²⁵ The supporters of the 'new modernists thought' were mostly the recipients of the fruit of economic growth in the New Order. It is analyzed by Kull that the freedom of expression and propaganda provided in the favor for political Islam in Suharto's period worked in favor of the developments of the ideas of Neo modernism. But this only reason cannot be given credit. According to Barton it was the "sincere theological response by Islamic intellectuals to the changing social environment in Indonesia, and a product of their educational and other experiences."²²⁶ For an analysis of the development of this intellectual discourse, it can be studied in two contexts internal and external.

Internally, the period of Suharto is very significant in the development of intellectual discourse known as "Neo-modernism" by Barton²²⁷ and others, because of the efforts of the religious Ministry that brought different scholars with liberal, pluralistic and humanist approaches from abroad. Barton also identified a phenomenon termed as modernists' prejudice, which has generated three things because of its impact on the understanding of the Indonesian society.

- A view of resented Islam
- A misreading *Abangan* culture

²²⁴ Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Op cit. 49.

²²⁵ John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito, eds., *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University, 1982), 3.

²²⁶ G. Barton, "The Emergence of Neo-Modernism; a Progressive, Liberal Movement of Islamic Thought in Indonesia: A Textual study Examining the writings of Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib and Abdurrahman Wahid 1968-1980", *Studia Islamika* 2, no, 3(1995),12.

²²⁷ Ibid., 54.

- Traditional Islam is compromised and syncretic²²⁸

The modernist failed in the Old Order of Sukarno as well as in the New Order of Suharto as their old party was banned and one new party ‘Parmusi’ remained unable to get any momentum or to operate in the New Order. Modern intellectuals also suffered a total rejection of the traditionalists’ scholarship and because of it; they were cut off from traditional educational school system “Pesantren”. This led to failure in producing the Islamic scholars.²²⁹

This Movement is also criticized for being opportunistic because it was facilitated by the New Order Regime but actually it was not so as certain forces of the New Order regime nurtured Islam in such a way which represented itself in the form of this movement.²³⁰ Commenting on the new breed of intellectuals, Kamal Hassan notes that Nurcholish Madjid was ‘accommodationist’ because of his approach of reinterpreting Islamic doctrine to meeting need of the time. His Islamic ideas were taken as accommodative with the secular ideas of the New Order.²³¹ Despite many controversial terms, the approaches of this school of thought were not a threat to Suharto regime or against the Islamic politics instead went in favor of Suharto. That could inform why the proponents of this school of thought are also

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid., 325.

²³⁰ G.Barton, ‘Neo-Modernism: Vital Synthesis of Traditionalist and Modernist Islamic Thought in Indonesia’, *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 3 (1995):8.

²³¹ Muhammad Kamal Hassan, *Muslim Response to ‘New Order’ Modernization in Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur:Dewan bahasa dan pustaka,1982),189.see also Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 242.

known to have legitimize the Suharto's regime²³² because they have a strong idea that low politicization of Islam has undermined the high ideals of Islam.²³³

The development of the new intellectual discourse was due to different events at the domestic and international fronts of the Muslim societies at the core and periphery of Islam. Some of these events were the Iranian revolution, the USSR invasion of Afghanistan, the Arab-Israel conflict and political and economic leverages exerted by the Gulf countries.²³⁴ But the level of this revival was different in different countries.²³⁵

In this regard, Abdullah Saeed has described different characteristics of intellectuals with reference to Indonesia's Islamic renewal and 'neo modernism'.

- The synthesis background in form of traditional and modern scholarship
- They lack dogmatism and Madhhab,
- They have a strong urge on need of '*Ijtehad*' and a new methodology of '*Ijtehad*' for the solution of problems of Muslim societies.
- Further they have a strong belief that development at the moral, political, social, and technological and the economic fronts must be reflected in the Islamic law.²³⁶

The same phenomenon is described by Sjadjali that Islam is not like the other religions but it is a set of moral values and principles for a human being to

²³² G.Barton, "Neo-Modernism: Vital Synthesis of Traditionalist and Modernist Islamic Thought in Indonesia", *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 3 (1995):8.

²³³ Robert Hefner, "Civil Islam Muslims and democratization in Indonesia", Op.cit. 114.

²³⁴ Hussin Mutalib, "Islamic Revivalism in ASEAN States: Political Implications", Op.cit. 877-891.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Abdullah Saeed, *Ijtehad and innovation in neo-modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia*, Op.cit. 279.

live in a community. These rules and moral values which are mentioned in the *Quran* can be interpreted, according to the needs of circumstances and time.²³⁷

According to the Ann kull, the Modern School of Thought had certain conjectures; they put forward the proposal of '*ijtehad*', emphasizing on the individual status in Islam, adopted a universal approach to cope with the needs of modern societies within the historical and cultural sources of *Quran* and *Sunnah*.²³⁸ Islam can be better practiced and could have long lasting impression by responding to the needs of society in transition and the modern trends.²³⁹ The purity or originality of belief is more important than its superficial features. Muslims must be tolerant towards the followers of other faiths because the same thing is the teaching of Islam blended with the fact that nobody knows the real Will of God.²⁴⁰

Particularly for Indonesian society, the neo modernists subscribe to having Pancasila as a great slogan towards a successful pluralistic society.²⁴¹ They made an emphasis on the separation of religious matter from the state and politics with a controversial slogan, Islam Yes, Islamic political party No.

According to Carool Kersten, in the development of this new discourse of neo modernism/progressive intellectualism, two things were very significant: one was the state-run higher Islamic education and the second was rethinking of the role

²³⁷ Sjadjali M., "Islam and Government System: Teachings, history and reflections" *IVIS*, (1991):162.

²³⁸ Uhlin Anders. *Democracy and Diffusion* (Team Offset, Malmö, 1995), 135.

²³⁹ G.Barton Greg, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual 'Ulamā'", *Opcit.* 66.

²⁴⁰ G.Barton Greg, "The Emergence of Neo-Modernism; a, Progressive, Liberal, Movement of Islamic Thought in Indonesia", *Opcit.* 421.

²⁴¹ Madjid Nurcholish, *Islam Kemodernan dan Keindonesian* (Jakarta, Mizan, 1987):205.cited in Ann Kull, "Modern Interpretation of Islamic History in the Indonesian Context: The Case of Nurcholish Madjid, *Opcit.*, also Siti Fatimah and Fauzan Suleh. *Opcit.*

of Islam in the contemporary Muslim societies.²⁴² Besides the development of the educational setup, another factor in the origin of this intellectual discourse was the first generation of the intellectual of post-colonial period.²⁴³ Many students with a classical background and with higher education established an association with a modernistic approach HMI (Association of Muslim Students).²⁴⁴ The concept of 'Renewal ideas' was presented initially at the platform of H.M.I so new ideas were taken as the ideas of the new generation, symbolizing a polarization of ideas between new and old generation. The renewal of ideas became a representation and voice of the young generation, in words of Utomo Danaandjaja, "we are fed up with wrestling endlessly with problems that are never solved. We want something new, something fresh, and a short cut to break the vicious circle that has no beginning and no end."²⁴⁵ This new trend is further identified with Paramadina foundation. Originally it was a renewal of the Islamic thought movement under Fazal-Rehman's neo-modernism, a reform movement championing modern ideas with youth as its vanguard.²⁴⁶ This name was also adopted to declare themselves as different from the earlier trend, dissimilar with earlier discourses, against narrow

²⁴² Carool Kersten, "Islam, Cultural Hybridity and Cosmopolitanism: New Muslim Intellectuals on Globalization", Opcit. 93

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ G.Barton, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual 'Ulamâ', Opcit. 238.

²⁴⁵ M.K. Hassan, *Muslim responses to new world...*, Opcit. 90.

See also Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 242.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

persons who had a great courage to tell Suharto to resign in the greater favor of nation.

With the realization of the status of Islam and the problems of Muslims in the modern age, he interpreted a moderate notion of Islam. Further, Madjid explained, there was no conflicting point, over the ideas of Islam and nationalism particularly in the case of Indonesia as Muslim rulers were instrumental in negotiating with the colonialists for independence and were able to bring unity to the whole archipelago through trade and using Malay as a lingua franca.²⁵¹

6. III.i-Brought up:

Nurcholish Madjid was born on 17 March 1939 and brought up in the Eastern part of Java with a traditional background as he was raised in the very traditional Pesantren system.²⁵² Madjid got his primary education from al-Madrasahal-Ibtidi'iyyahal-Wataniyyah in Mojoanyar where he learned Islamic knowledge of al-Qur'an, al-Hadith, fiqh, Aqida and Arabic language. After that he attended Pesantren Darul Ulum at Rejoso,²⁵³ where he got the knowledge of Islamic sciences Al-Hadith (tradition of the Prophet), Ilm al-ka'am (theology), Ilm al

²⁵¹Martin Van Bruinessen, "Muslim intellectuals: Nurcholish Madjid; Indonesia Muslim intellectual", *Islam, review* 17, spring (2006).

²⁵² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 5. And his *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 65-69.

²⁵³Novianto, "Neo-Modernism Islam Indonesia: Studi Tentang Gagasan-Gagasan Pembahaman Pemikiran Islam Nurcholish Madjid," (Jakarta: Under graduate thesis at I.A.I.N. Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 1993), 16.

Muntaq (logic), Ilm al-akhlaq (ethics), Tasawwuf (mysticism) and Usul-al Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence).

In 1955, the first general elections in Indonesia were not only significant for Indonesia politics but had a profound impact on Madjid's life. Because at that time politics was influencing all aspects of life and the most significant event in this regard was disintegration of the Masyumi party from the NU. This had a great impact on the students of Pesantren, the most significant was for Madjid because his father Abu Thahir who was one of the great Ulama of the NU. Abu Thahir was in a great difficulty, whether to join the NU or Masyumi and finally Abu Thahir decided to choose Masyumi to support in the elections. There were many reasons to support the Masyumi besides his independent decision.²⁵⁴

At the same time, Kiyai Ashari issued a fatwa that Masyumi was the only valid Muslim political party and, therefore, all Muslims should vote for it²⁵⁵. This political situation was very critical for Madjid who was studying in Pesantren Rejoso of the NU, coupled with the label he earned from his classmates at the Pesantren as a "stray Masyumi child" or "anak Masyumi kesasar."²⁵⁶ Abu Thahir told him the reasons to stay with Masyumi and told him that his decision to support Masyumi was a political while religiously he was still the follower of the NU with all his commitments.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Siti Fathimah, *Modernism and the contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit. 16.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Nurcholish Madjid, "An Interview" by Budhi Munawar Rachman, Elza Peldi Thahir, and Wahyuni M. Nafis(30, 1994):8.cited in Siti Fathimah, *Modernism and the contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 9.

Madjid's life was also touched by attending Kulliyat al Mu'allimin al-Islamiyyah, a Pesantren at Gontor in east Java. At the new institute Madjid received the knowledge of modern Islamic values and thought, along with expertise in Arabic and English language. In its religious orientation, this Pesantren was secular because in contrast with other Pesantren, music and sports were allowed and the students were allowed trousers.²⁵⁸ Due to such traits, this Pesantren was accused of being a "Pesantren bid'ah".²⁵⁹

So such type of education enabled him with great qualities of leadership which were at the time considered inherited because his father was one of the renowned leaders of the NU. But later, Madjid's individual thought proved his own capabilities.²⁶⁰

Thus influence of Fazal ur Rahaman and the role of Pesantrens of Rejoso and Gontor were all landmarks that shaped Madjid's intellectual development and his neo modernist discourse.²⁶¹ Gontor remains one of those Indonesian institutes teaching western values, its alumni have been playing important role in various debates on Islam, democracy, pluralism and human rights.²⁶²

²⁵⁸Ibid., see also G.Barton, "Neo-Modernism: A Vital Synthesis of Traditionalist and Modernist Islamic Thought in Indonesia.", Opcit. 67.

²⁵⁹Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of Muslim Modernist Organization under the Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada Press, 1989), 126-128. See also Boland, BJ. *The Struggle of Islam in modern Indonesia*, Opcit. 122 and Siti Fatimah also

²⁶⁰Lance Castels, "Notes on the Islamic school Gontor", *Indonesia* Jakarta, April.36,39,40

²⁶¹Ibid.

²⁶²Martin Van Bruinessen, "Muslim intellectuals: Nurcholish Madjid; Indonesia Muslim intellectual", *Islam, Review* 17, spring (2006).

6. III.ii- Student Leader:

After getting education from the Pesantren and later at the IAIN, Nurcholish Madjid realized the aggravation of the intellectuals and their political strategies which exploited Islam; he concluded that change would be brought by a new generation of intellectuals. Thus he changed his track with an independent approach towards modernity

The state institute of Islamic studies (I.A.I.N) Syarif Hidayatullah played an important role in the development of Nurcholish's independent scholarship. At this institution, Islamic history and literature were his subjects to study, he did his undergraduate thesis on the topic "*Quran*: Arab in its wording, universal in its meanings". At this institution, Madjid was very active in debates on socio-political, cultural and religious issues.²⁶³ After that, in 1962, Madjid joined the largest student organization H.M.I. 'Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam' (Muslim Student organization).

His popularity in Indonesia boomed when as a student at I.A.I.N, he became the president of the student organization in 1967 because he was the first president with the Islamic background, previous presidents were known with non Islamic and secular background.²⁶⁴ According to Greg he was the first influential leader and was considered as a 'Young Nishter' because of his Islamic activism and part of the new generation having political charisma.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Steinbrink Karel, "Nurcholish Madjid and Inclusive Islamic Faith in Indonesia" in *Muslims and Christians Europe, Breaking News Grounds: Essays in Ground of Jon slomp* ed. Gé Speelman, Kampen: Kok, (1993):31.

²⁶⁴ Siti Fathimah, *Modernism and the contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit. 24.

²⁶⁵ G.Barton, "New Modernism: A vital synthesis of traditionalists and modernist Islamic Thought in Indonesia", Opcit. 13.

According to Madjid, this organization was considered as a new hope for the Masyumi leaders but this was not an easy task because the establishment of H.M.I itself was a conflict between the new generation and the old generation with the difference in their ideas particularly in idea of 'Islamic state'.²⁶⁶ There was high hope for Islam during the New Order, an atmosphere that prompted Madjid to consider a new political party later known as Parmusi. Such idea did not go down well with the Masyumi leadership; therefore Permusi was subsequently banned by the New Order and tagged as Fundamentalist.²⁶⁷ This had a profound impact on Madjid's thinking regarding political parties.²⁶⁸ His real career as a neo-modernist started after joining IAIN as a teacher. Indonesian society became more directly familiar with Madjid's views in 1984 upon completion of his Ph.D. Later, Madjid established his own foundation, the Paramadina foundation in 1986. Through this foundation Madjid and his supporters initiated a programme of the renewal of thoughts with its main focus on the middle class of Indonesia and especially the *Abangan*, who in turn will influence the elite group of the society towards an Islamic way.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Madjid, "The Issue of Modernization among Muslims in Indonesia: from a Participant's Point of View" In *Readings on Islam in south East Asia*, eds. Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, Yasmin Hussain (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 381.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

See also Madjid, "Islam in Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities", *Islam in the Contemporary*, ed. Cyriac K. Pullapilly (Notre Dame, Indiana: Cross Roads Books, 1980), 345. See also Yusrilhza Mahendra, "Combining Activism and Intellectualism: the Biography of Mohammad Natsir (1908-1993)" *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 1(1995):103-104.

²⁶⁸ Siti Fathimah, *Modernism and Contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Op cit. 28.

²⁶⁹ Robert Hefner, "Islam, state and civil society: ICMI and struggle for Indonesian Middle class. Indonesia, no.56 (1993):16.

Currently, Paramadina foundation runs a training centre, a school and a university based on the pattern of the 'city state' of Medina located in Saudi Arabia. Its method of training in seminar and workshop form is different from the traditionalist's method. In this method, rational argumentation is favored over lectures and normative argumentation. The Modern dress code is also allowed for women and to attend Paramadina is considered as fashionable and a symbol of social status. The nine founders of Paramadina foundation belong to that generation which played a great role to weaken Sukarno's rule as many were prominent intellectuals.²⁷⁰

Madjid after realizing the political conditions of the Indonesian society became disappointed in the role of political parties. He held the view that these Islamic political parties have no Islamic basics and therefore, he made his emphasis that the Muslims should develop themselves culturally so that Islam may play its role ethically.²⁷¹

6. III.iii-Higher Education/Influences:

After his student leadership era, he proceeded for further studies in the U.S. in the 1970s. His postgraduate studies at Chicago University and supervision under Fazlur Rahman, particularly the latter's approach of contextualized understanding

²⁷⁰ Andi Faisal Bakti, "Nurcholish Madjid and the Paramadina Foundation", Opcit.

²⁷¹ Andi Faisal Bakti, "Nurcholish Madjid and the Paramadina Foundation", *IIAS News letter no. 34* (July 2004).

of the Islamic teachings were inspiration to Madjid.²⁷² The revolutionary changes in Madjid were not done by Muslims alone, Madjid's mingling and engagement with non Muslim scholars like Leonard Binder refined his thought around 1976-1984, before returning to Indonesia.²⁷³

6. III.iv- Return to IAIN:

While during the same time, Indonesian society was faced with the phenomenon of Islamic renewal despite the political turmoil across the Muslim world. Upon returning home, Madjid became a champion of 'Renewal Thinking' as a way of bringing about transformation. According to Hefner, in Indonesia "there was retreat of Islamic political parties, combined with a "great leap forward in the social and intellectual vitality of the community."²⁷⁴ This was because of the increase in the socio-economic index due to oil money which provoked the religious minister of that time Munawir Sjadjali (1925-2004) to call for the re-actualization agenda²⁷⁵.

At the same time the emergence of the urban middle class brought new Islamic resurgence in civil society.²⁷⁶ In the 1980s, the new intellectual generation,

²⁷²Carool Kersten, "Islam, Cultural Hybridity and Cosmopolitanism: New Muslim Intellectuals on Globalization", Opcit. 96.

²⁷³ Ibid. see also G.Barton, "indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual..", Opcit. 29-81

²⁷⁴ Hefner, Robert W. "Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia" *In Islam in an era of nation-states: politics and religious renewal in Muslim*, ed.Hefner and Horvatich (1997):86.see also Carool Kersten, "Islam, Cultural Hybridity and Cosmopolitanism: New Muslim Intellectuals on Globalization", Opcit. 96.

²⁷⁵ M. Sjadjali, "Islam and Government System: Teachings, history and reflections", Opcit. 52-67.

²⁷⁶ Hefner, Robert W. "Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia", Opcit. 90-2.

educated from abroad either from the Middle Eastern institutions or the Western institutions was based in IAIN in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. After returning Nurcholish Madjid joined the same institution.²⁷⁷

6. IV- Abdurrahman Wahid:

This intellectual discourse was not the sole creation of Nurchholish Madjid but was shared by many others particularly by Abdurrahman Wahid.²⁷⁸ Both share certain similarities especially the need to review the spirituality of the modern Muslims religious life and reforming Muslim educational system.²⁷⁹

6. IV.i- Biography:

Abdurrahman has the status of an intellectual, Sufi, saint and a politician with a long historical background of leadership. As a politician he faced many problems because of his independent behavior which led him to be deposed from his office of president.²⁸⁰

Abdurrahman Wahid was born in a Kiai family Jombang in 1940; his grandfather was Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari and was one of the founders of the Nahdhatul Ulama (NU). From 1953 to 1957, he attended Junior Economic High School.

²⁷⁷ M .Woodward, "Indonesia, Islam and the Prospects for Democracy." *SAIS Review* 21, no.2 (2001):29-48.

²⁷⁸Greg Barton, "Indonesia's Difficult Transition and President Abdurrahman Wahid," *Global Change, Peace & Security* 13, no.3 (2001): 273 - 281.

²⁷⁹Hefner, Robert W. "Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia", *Opcit.* 86.

See also Carool Kersten, "Islam, Cultural Hybridity and Cosmopolitanism: New Muslim Intellectuals on Globalization", *Opcit.* 96.

²⁸⁰ "The Leadership of President Wahid", *Southeast Asian Affairs* (2001):1-75.

After that, from 1957 to 1959, he attended another Pesantren Tegalrejo at Magelang where he proved himself a very good student and completed his study in half the time of the total duration. Before going for higher education, from 1957 to 1963 he taught at Muiallimat Bahrul Madrasah at Pesantren Tambak Beras, Jombang and studied at the same time in Pesantren Krupyak in Yogyakarta.²⁸¹ From 1963 to 1966, he went to Cairo for higher education later in 1966 he went to Bagdad for studying Arabic literature. Here he found an intellectual atmosphere that stimulated his thoughts regarding compatibility of modernity and Islam.

6. IV.ii- Early Intellectual Engagements:

During his stay in Cairo, he started to spend his time in the American University Library along with his engagements in seminars and discussions. There he developed a love for soccer, the French cinema²⁸². After higher education he returned to Indonesia in 1971 . From 1972 to 1974 he was the Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Hasyim Asy'ari University in Jombang. During the same years he was in continuous interaction with Nurcholish Madjid on different platforms of discussion.

As a teacher in different Pesantrens, he demonstrated his progressive and liberal ideas in the form of the criticism on traditional interpretation of Islamic sources of law, the relation between state and society, religion and the nature of

²⁸¹ Greg Barton, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as intellectual ulama," *Opcit.* 337.

²⁸² *Ibid.* 337.

government. His focus, like his colleagues, was the same, regarding the legal interpretations of the Islamic sources that the Muslims should adopt broader approach of interpretation to avoid the stagnation of Islamic thought.

After serving in different institutions he became one of the executives of NU in 1984 and emerged as a part of the reformist movement.²⁸³ His leadership was controversial but in NU it was vibrant. NU leadership also wanted to keep him but the political situation of Indonesia led him to be toppled from leadership.²⁸⁴

6. IV.iii- Significant achievements:

A very significant achievement of Abdurrahman is the reformation process in NU and the transformation of the structure of the Indonesian society with his unique style, sometimes in an outspoken way while at other times in a very delicate way.²⁸⁵ In 1982 after the 'quit coup' in which Idham Chalid was convinced to resign over health issues, the organization got divided into two groups, one was known as 'Cipete group' while other was known as 'Situbondo group'. During the same time, 'Munas' (National Consultation) was reorganized which has been considered to be the first point of reformation. After that, many reforms were made by the council which was later known as 'Majlis 24' council of 24, which was based on the young Muslim activists and intellectuals. The most significant was 'Return to Khittah of

²⁸³ Abdullah Saeed, "Ijtihad and innovation in neo-modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia", Op.cit. 280.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Greg Barton, *Abdurrahman Wahid: Muslim Democrat, Indonesian president* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002): 414, reviewed by Steven Drakely, *Pacific Affairs* 77, and no.1 (spring 2004).

1926": meaning returning towards the initial charter of NU when it was established.

A further 'return to 1926 charter' means three things;

1) The NU would focus on its initial agenda of being a socio-educational organization. As it was considered as more beneficial for the society, for pluralism on the basics of pragmatism to not participate in politics. Because sectarianism was becoming a great problem for Indonesian who always proud themselves as people of diversity of religions and cultures.²⁸⁶

2) The real leadership would be based on the Ulama
3) It would focus on the social, educational development of its members.

While the other reform was regarding the acknowledgement of the Pancasila (state ideology) that it was compatible with Islam. The third significant decision was that the NU officials would not be allowed to be members of any political party. In 1984, meeting of the National Congress held at Situbondo to make an assessment of the 'Munas' one year achievements, the elections of new executive Board held and out of 24 members of council 11 were elected. In the same meeting Wahid was elected as a chairman.²⁸⁷

In late 1990, Abdurrahman as well as the NU faced pressure from public because of decision to support the Suharto regime for the next five years. But later, in resistance to public pressure Abdurrahman held a view to celebrate its sixty-six anniversary to show their loyalty for the Pancasila, in the form of a rally of two

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 46.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 340.

million people in Jakarta. But several hundred people gathered in the form of the rally which made Abdurrahman disappointed.²⁸⁸

6. IV.iv- Intellectual Work:

Abdurrahman has more speeches than his own written work in form of books and articles. Much of the work written on Abdurrahman Wahid lacks the combination of his political ideas and his ideas regarding Islam. His personality and way of communicating is complex than any of his other contemporaries. Some of his notions are more critical especially his visits to Israel and then the suggestion to accept Israel and to have diplomatic relations with it.²⁸⁹ While the refusal to join ICMI by considering it an association to fulfill political aspirations in the name of Islam, he was critical that true spirit of democracy must not be hindered.²⁹⁰ Mujiburrahman identified Islamic universalism, cosmopolitanism and contextualization of Islam as the three central Islamic ideals which can be considered most significant and central to Wahid's thought. In the concept of universal Islam, Abdurrahman argues that Islamic principles are based on universality principles which are the core beliefs of Islam, Tauhid. Islamic law or fiqh and ethics and notions regarding human rights, equality before law: all show

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 338-342.

²⁸⁹ "Dur's Israeli Visit Affair", in *Dokumentasi Ktiping tenlang Muktamar Nahdlatul Ulama 2*(1994), (Jakarta, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1995), 71-82.

²⁹⁰ Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s* (Sydney: Westview Press, 1994), 188.

Islamic concerns towards a human's well being.²⁹¹ Abdurrahman further argues that these goals cannot be achieved without the realization of contemporary challenges and circumstances that can only be met by having an interaction and the absorption of the cosmopolitan nature of the world in combination with other existing cultural forces.²⁹²

This is important because Abdurrahman's profound influence over the NU and the direction of the Islamic thought in Indonesia, and therefore the direction of the Indonesian society, may well prove to be his most important achievement.²⁹³

His role was more than a neo-modernist because his emphasis was not only theological solution, but also on a theological development to meet the challenges of the contemporary world. His activities also played a pivotal role as a practitioner in Indonesian history.²⁹⁴

Wahid once supported the regime of Suharto, even though the latter policy of making student organization (HMI) get support from civilians failed and perhaps Suharto was more concerned in achieving a crude political economy rather than his concern in ideology of tolerance as was Wahid.²⁹⁵ Abdurrahman Wahid puts an emphasis on increasing interfaith dialogue, to seek commonalities rather than

²⁹¹ Douglas Ramage, *E. politics in Indonesia: democracy, Islam and ideology of tolerance*, (New York: Rutledge, 1995), 45.

²⁹² Mujiburrahman, "Islam and politics in Indonesia: political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid," *Islam and Christian Relations* 10,no.3(1999):342

²⁹³ Greg Barton, "Wahid Abdurrahman: Muslim Democrat, Indonesian President, Opcit. 414.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

talking about differences as this is desired for the long run integration of the Indonesian community.²⁹⁶

6. V- Conclusion:

It has been analyzed that the most important thing which is considered to be a great success of Nurcholish Madjid is the existence of his movement even after his death, as his view stimulated Muslim youth for a rational thinking.²⁹⁷ Madjid's theological as well as political ideas nevertheless generated great criticism and most of the time this criticism revolves around his status as an Indonesian and as a Muslim. He was subsequently charged with deviation from the teachings of the *Quran* and *Sunnah*.²⁹⁸ There are some other scholars who made great criticism on neo-modernists that this wave is at an extremely reasoning position. Fazalur Rahman has also been criticized that he has no foundation in the traditional Islamic thought.²⁹⁹

Abdurrahman's achievements are great contribution to religious, intellectual and political fronts; effort that received the acknowledgement of Anas Urbaningruma,³⁰⁰ the renowned politician, who made a tribute to Wahid as 'an

²⁹⁶ Darul Aqsha,Dick van der Meij,Johan Hendrik Meuleman ,*Islam in Indonesia: A survey of events and Developments from 1988 to March 1993* (Jakarta: Seri INIS.XXVI,1995),324-325.

²⁹⁷ Martin Van Bruinessen, "Muslim intellectuals: Nurcholish Madjid; Indonesia Muslim intellectual," *Opcit*. 22-23.

²⁹⁸ Robert W. Hefner , "Islam, State, and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class" ,*Indonesia 56* (Oct., 1993):1-35

²⁹⁹ John R. Bowen, "Qurân, Justice, Gender: Internal Debates in Indonesian Islamic Jurisprudence", *History of Religions 38*, no. 1, Islam and Law (Aug., 1998):66. (Accessed on January 2010).

³⁰⁰ Currently, he serve as chairman PD (Democrats Party) the largest winning party in the last 2 term of elections. Previously he was the chairman of HMI.

excellent example of a beautiful and peaceful marriage between Islam, Indonesia and modernity.³⁰¹ According to Hefner alluding to Douglas's great contribution of documenting the thought of Abdurrahman Wahid and his thinking towards secular nationalism 'Wahid stands unique as he was able to bring together the thought of traditional socio-religious organization and secular nationalism'.³⁰²

³⁰¹ "Abdurrahman Wahid: Islamic cleric who as president of Indonesia championed secularism and minority rights," *independent*, Wednesday, 6 January 2010 (accessed on May 2010). <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/abdurrahman-wahid-islamic-cleric-who-as-president-of-indonesia-championed-secularism-and-minority-rights-1858751.html>

³⁰² Douglas E. Ramage, "Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance," reviewed by Robert W. Hefner, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 58, no. 1 (Feb., 1999). 271-272.(accessed on May 2010).

CHAPTER -7

COMPETING INTELLECTUAL DEBATES

7. I-Introduction:

The development of the Islamic Reformation process was greatly influenced by different publications, provided a platform to different intellectuals to respond over different theological phenomena's and to present their outlooks. Furthermore, the outlook of these Muslim intellectuals led to counter arguments/outlooks, thus debates and discussions over a variety of theological notions were considered an important feature of the intellectual discourse in the 20th century.

In Indonesian earlier theological discourse, the issues which emerged as the topics of debate were *Ijtehad* (individual interpretation), *the Attributes of God* (Sifat-Sifat Tuhan), *Taqleed* (to follow the tradition), and the *visiting of graveyards* (Ziarah of Qaboor).⁶

⁶ Deliar Noer, Opcit. 53.

The reformist organizations played a significant role in the development of intellectual discourse by fragmenting the role of the religious authority, which was monopolized by the Ulama. This led towards 'civic pluralism' in the words of Jajat Burhanudin 'a civil society'.³⁰⁴

Thus in the Indonesian case, the unique composition of the society is going to debate over the issues of the status of Shariah, the status of the proponents of Islam and the status of the intellectuals. In this regard, response of organizations and independent intellectuals has been presented in the following section over variety of notions.

7. II- Socio-Political Role of Islam:

7. II-(a)-Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah sees Islam as a source of incentive and guidance towards the achievement of universal principles so that a human being can be able to live according to the will of God.

Mukti Ali, a great intellectual of Muhammadiyah addresses this issue on the part of the Muslims that too develop Islam as a practical formula for all the solutions of the different problems of modernity, it is necessary to acquire an expertise in the scientific as well as Islamic knowledge.³⁰⁵ According to him, the

³⁰⁴ Jajat Burhanudin, "The fragmentation of religious authority: Islamic Print Media in early 20th Century Indonesia", *Studia Islamakia* 11, no.1 (2004):53-54.

³⁰⁵ Muhammad Fuad, "Islam, modernity and Muhammadiyah's educational Programme", 408.

Muslim intellectuals are neither expert in the Islamic knowledge nor in the Western knowledge.

7.II-(b)-Nahdatul Ulama

It was formulated to promote Islam according to the four schools of thought of Sunni Islam. Therefore, it has a significant historical background, being a guardian of the teachings of the four schools of Islamic law, the Hanafites, Malikite, Shafite, and Hanbalite. In its understanding of Islam, the NU has been considered as a rigid and traditionalist organization but there is a process of gradual change in its views regarding Islam.

7.II-(c)-Nurcholish Madjid

Madjid perceives Islam more than a religion, so his ideas have a broad concept of Islam along with different accommodative approaches of tolerance, pluralism etc. to move with the contemporary world. Islam has the potential to deal with the different developments of industrialization and the emerging ideologies like modernization, secularization, and nationalism.³⁰⁶ According to Madjid this overwhelming focus on the nature of 'Ibadah' and the disputes over 'Furu'iyyah' and 'Fiqh-oriented' are becoming the reasons for reducing the actual role of Islam to "Religious Symbolism". This term has stuck the Ulama in these debates that they have gone far away from real essence of Islam.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 248.

³⁰⁷Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit. 98.

In the case of Indonesia, he says that the earlier movements were more concerned with interpretation regarding 'Fiqh'; in other words more focused on 'ibada' and 'verbal kalam'.³⁰⁸ Madjid proposes that such an image of Islam cannot be interpreted which is beyond the boundaries of Fiqh and Shariah. His interpretations are misperceived most of the time, and he is said to have deviated from the Shariah.

According to him, Fiqh or Shariah is the core of Islamic teachings and formulate the basis of Islamic teaching so they cannot be ignored because it would lead to an imperfect faith in Islam.³⁰⁹ Further, Fiqh cannot be implemented or understood without a proper interpretation of Fiqh according to the basic sources of Fiqh, which are the *Quran* and *Sunnah*.³¹⁰ Thus, his notion of religion is not based on rigid and tough rules but the 'holiest system' in which no differentiation has been made between the 'esoteric' and 'exoteric' aspects of life for a prosperous society with a universal message of commanding good and forbidding bad.³¹¹

Regarding the final truth or final authority, he says that no human can attain final truth but his ultimate efforts would be to find the solutions of the ongoing challenges of the present day world.³¹²

³⁰⁸ Dwi S. atmaja, *Defenders of reason in Islam* (oxford: one world, 1997), 147.

³⁰⁹ Nurcholish Madjid, *Relation between iman and ibada in Islam: Doktrin dan peradaban*, 57-71 and 246-347.cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit. 100.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam: Doktrin dan Peradaban*, Opcit. 567-571.cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit. 101.

³¹² Madjid Nurcholish, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism", in *Studia Islamika 1*, no.1 (1994):40, 80.

7.II-(d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

To explain the status and the need of Islam, Wahid gives the notion of 'dinamisasi' as an expression of a flexible and adaptive Islam. The 'Dinamisasi' is very essential for Islam which enables it to be updated and to always be responsive. Thus, with the adaptation of this quality, the Islamic society would become equally responsive to the Muslims and non-Muslims alike.³¹³ Therefore, he goes on to favor a plural Islam. According to Barton, Abdurrahman Wahid's Islam, by definition, is dynamic, cosmopolitic, fundamentally tolerant and egalitarian.³¹⁴

7. III-Modernity and its compatibility with Islam:

7. III. (a)-Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah's agenda to establish modern Madrasas and the introduction of two types of curricula to meet the needs of time has a clear view to walk along modernity. At the same time, it also shows Muhammadiyah's urge to remain a religious as well as a modern organization.³¹⁵ Muhammadiyah is a social organization, which holds a strong belief that to uplift the lives of the community members it is necessary to adopt the new advancements of science and technology.

³¹³ Greg Barton, "neo-Modernism: A vital synthesis of traditionalist and modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia", 58.

³¹⁴ Achmad Munjid, "Militant and Liberal Islam: The Unwanted Twin Children of Modernization - Indonesia, a Case Study" Paper Presented at AMSS 34th Annual Conference "Muslims and Islam in the Chaotic Modern World: elations of Muslims among Themselves and with Others", September 30 – October 2, 2005 ,12

³¹⁵ Muhammad Fuad, "Islam, modernity and Muhammadiyah's educational Programme", 407.

However, it has the belief that this modernity should be combined with the Islamic values.³¹⁶

7. III. (b)-Nahdhatul Ulama

The approach of the NU to not take part in politics, accommodation and conservation of the local culture in response to fulfilling the needs of modernity shows its clear tilt towards modernity.

7. III. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

Further, Nurcholish Madjid gives his explanation about modernity and Westernization that this is just a theory as modernization was initiated by the West, it is considered Western. He holds a strong view that it is not the place of initiation which is important but the necessity and historical process along with human achievements which are important.³¹⁷ He argued that modernization in itself contains the elements of nation building which involve three important things i.e. pragmatism, rationalization, and secularization.³¹⁸

Madjid considers modernization similar to rationalization because rationalization is a process of thinking with argumentation and reasoning. In his own words, Modernization means thinking and working along with God's Law, which he understands to be the natural law.³¹⁹ According to him, this process of

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Madjid, *Islam Doktrin Peradaban. Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang masalah Keimanaan Kimanusiandan kemodernan* (Jakarta: Paramadina. 1992), 452.cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*.

³¹⁸ Nurcholish Madjid, "The Issue of Modernization among Muslims in Indonesia: From a Participant's Point of View," in *what is Modern Indonesian Culture?*, ed.Gloria Davis (Ohio: Southeast Asia Series, no. 52, Center for International Studies, Ohio State University, 1979), 144.

³¹⁹ Zainul Fuad, "Religious pluralism in Indonesia, Muslim-Christian discourse", Opcit. 114

rationalization and modernization should be started by the rejection of the traditional values and the acceptance of the scientific method. Thus, he proposes a process of liberation and liberalization of traditional thinking not of the adaptation of the Western values but based on the West oriented rational thinking.

7. III. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Two themes are very significant in Wahid's work: one is regarding the understanding of ideals of Islam while the other is the use of the Islamic potential which is in the form of recent intellectual growth, to respond to the needs of the contemporary world and the challenges of modernity. In this regard he himself defines both these concepts under the word 'Dynaminization'. The 'Dynaminization' covers two processes one is revitalization of the available positive values and the other is the replacement of values towards perfection. Thus, this word means 'change to make improvements'.³²⁰

Wahid discusses the short comings of modernism, that an appreciation of reason and scientific knowledge is also believed to enable the Muslims who have been in backward conditions for so long, to regain their material moral superiority. This frenzied attitude, which is not supported by a firm traditional doctrine and equipped with scientific knowledge finally results in an apologetism.

³²⁰ Greg Barton, "neo-Modernism: A vital synthesis of traditionalist and modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia", Opcit. 51.

7. IV-Secularism and its compatibility within Muslim Society:

7. IV. (a)-Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah as a modernist organization most of the time is blamed for more inclination towards secularism because of the secular curricula in its schools and its approach of pluralism. Further, Muhammadiyah has been declared as an organization which was secular even before the establishment of the secular organizations, even when secularism was considered a taboo by traditionalists.³²¹

7. IV. (b)-Nahdhatul Ulama

Nahdhatul Ulama has a conservative point of view on different issues but by accepting the Pancasila, it has proved itself as a moderate organization. After a period of reformation brought about by Wahid, organization has seen a 'return to its 1926 charter'. According to which it has only the status of the social organization and not a political organization. Thus, it affirms the separated relation between religion and politics.

7. IV. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

Madjid supports secularization, 'in actual sense this is a 'de-sacralization' of the basic Islamic belief '*Tauheed*' which is an unconditional submission to the 'Oneness of Allah'. Madjid asserts, "Islam itself, if examined truthfully was begun with a process of secularization. Indeed the principle of '*Tauheed*' represents the

³²¹ "Muhammadiyah's century", Editorial, *the Jakarta Post*, 7 June, 2010.

starting point for a much larger secularization.”³²² Further, he asserts ‘Islam also paves a path towards rationality, reason and knowledge’.³²³ Madjid explains this type of secularization as an active process of secularizing the values and practices which are already secular in nature.³²⁴ Secularization gains the concrete meanings when it achieves de-secularization in all matters but except the spiritual matters.³²⁵ According to him, things, which are treated as sacred, are only a human creation. Thus, he makes a distinction between the divine laws and the human laws.³²⁶

His viewpoint on secularism was so strong that his ideas were taken as blasphemous because they offended many people, due to their stance regarding inter-religious marriages.³²⁷

7. IV. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Regarding secularism William Liddle has made a great comment on Abdurrahman Wahid which reflects his stance towards secularism. In William’s words “Abdurrahman is perhaps the most 'secular' contemporary Indonesian Islamic leader, in the sense that he aspires to a future democratic Indonesia without a religion-based party system”.³²⁸

³²² Robert W. Hefner, “Islam, State, and Civil Society”, Opcit. 1-35.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*, Opcit. 18.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Zainul Fuad, *religious pluralism in Indonesia, Muslim-Christian Discourse* (Hamburg: Ph.D Dissertation, 2007), 110.

³²⁷ Luthfi Assyaukanie, “Fatwa and Violence in Indonesia”, *Journal of Religion and Society* 11 (2009):13

³²⁸ R. William Liddle, “Islam and politics in late new order”, presented at the Conference on Religion and Society in Southeast Asia, May 29-30 1995, Jakarta.

7. V- Ijtehad:

In Islamic law, in general, *Ijtehad* means ‘interpretation’ while in particular ‘Islamic legal reasoning by individual or by a single ‘alim’’ and is considered a very significant source of law after *Quran* and *Sunnah*.

In the case of collective *Ijtehad*, if an ‘alim’ has expertise in Islamic knowledge then he can exercise *Ijtehad* along with other jurists who are experts in other areas, thus *Ijtehad* is not as difficult as was considered in previous time.³²⁹ According to Abdullah Saeed *Classical Ijtehad* can be defined as

“The process as well as the mechanism, by which the revealed law, as in the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*, may be interpreted, developed and kept alive in line with the intellectual, political, economic, legal, technological and moral developments of society.”³³⁰

Further, there are different conditions under which *Ijtehad* can be exercised and most of the time it is carried out under the consideration when a clear law does not exist in the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. In this regard, Saeed puts some conditions:

- When there is the existence of law in the Shariah but still their meanings are vague and authenticity is in doubt.

³²⁹ Nadirsyah Hosen, “Nahdataul ulama and collective ijtehad”, *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, 1 (June, 2004): 5-26.

³³⁰ Abdullah Saeed, “*Ijtehad* and innovation in neo-modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia”, Opcit. 281.

- In the case, meanings are clear but the authenticity is not certain and vice versa, along with no evidence.³³¹

Further, there are different conditions or requirements, which are considered necessary like the skills to infer, knowledge of rules and conditions along with expertise in the relevant knowledge. While in the modern times, this institution has become a formal, legalist and literalistic institute.³³²

Barton explains this most studied phenomenon that *Ijtehad* is a mental exercise that is based on reliable sources of *Quran* and Hadith to find a solution of issues which are not clearly explained in basic sources of Islamic law.³³³

V.I-(a)- Collective *Ijtehad*

On *Ijtehad* different suggestion have been made, one of them is given by Nadirsyah Hosen that ‘Muslim scholars from different schools and various disciplines of science could sit together to perform *Ijtehad* collectively.’ And this can be the best way to respond the problem faced by Muslims in contemporary world’.³³⁴

This concept of collective *Ijtehad* was strongly recommended by Majma’ al-Buhus al-Islamiyah in Cairo. ‘Mu’tamar has decided that the Qur’an and the *Sunnah* are the main sources of Islamic law, and performing *Ijtehad* is the right of every jurist who fulfills the requirements in the field of *Ijtehad*.³³⁵

³³¹Ibid., 282.

³³²Ibid.,281.

³³³ Greg Barton, “Islam, Pancasila and the Middle Path of *Tawassuth*: The Thought of Achmad Siddiq” *Ulama, Traditionalist Islam and Modernity in Indonesia* ,eds. Barton and Fealy, (Monash: Monash Asia Institute, 1996), 122.

³³⁴Nadirsyah Hosen, “Nahdataul ulama and collective ijtehad”, 5-26.

³³⁵Ibid.,5-26.

7. V. (b)-Muhammadiyah

Regarding legal interpretation, the things, which are considered ‘bidah’ from Muhammadiyah’s point of view, are a vital part of Islamic jurisprudence among the traditionalists. Regarding *Taqleed*, Muhammadiyah has the belief that it is a ‘bidah’ because it gives a greater status to jurisprudential codes than to scriptures. Therefore, the Muslims should not follow them blindly, on the other hand traditionalists have justified their position that these codes are also inferred from these scriptures.

The Friday sermon, in the vernacular language was considered as a ‘bi’nah’, because worship rituals are supposed to be performed in the Arabic language. It was also accepted by other orthodox Muslim groups and traditionalists that it can be delivered in the vernacular.

Majlis Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Islam (The Council of Tarjih and the Development of Islamic Thinking) is responsible for responding to different questions regarding the contemporary world. The Legal methodology of Muhammadiyah is ‘legal reasoning’ in which different opinions are analyzed and after reasoning, the most suitable opinion is adopted. In this process of reasoning, the *Quran* and Hadith are used as major sources. Majlis Tarjih, which is responsible to address the issues at the request of the Muslims, also publishes these ‘Fatwas’.

Then, the Indonesian translation is also made which is delivered through weekly magazines 'Suara Muhammadiyah' 'the voice of Muhammadiyah'.³³⁶

7. V. (c)-Nahtul Ulama

To meet the challenges of the contemporary world, the process of reformation also occurred among the traditionalist groups. Because under this process of transformation traditionalists rejected different notions which were earlier rejected by the Muhammadiyah. Thus, the level of contradiction between both of them became narrowed.

In Indonesian case, *Ijtehad* particularly the *Ijtehad Jama'i* is in practice since 1926 due to the collective endeavor of the NU. In this regard, a meeting is held by the NU, which is attended by the Ulama with different backgrounds with an expertise in different fields. Different issues have been discussed and then a Fatwa is issued on the part of the NU.³³⁷

The notion of *Ijtehad* within the NU has also been a source of good and bad relations with other contemporary parties, as is the case of relations between the Masyumi and the NU. Because Majelis syuro of Masyumi at one of its congresses made a statement that Masyumi respects the religion but it not consider safeguarding of four *Mazhab*s as an essential aim of their struggle. Therefore, the issue of *Tqalid* and *Ijtehad* was one of the main reasons, which led to the split of the

³³⁶Nico J. G. Kaptein, "The Voice of the Ulamâ': Fatwas and Religious Authority in Indonesia", *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 49 Année, no. 125(Jan. - Mar., 2004):115-130.

³³⁷Nadirsyah Hosen, "Nahdataul ulama and collective ijtehad", Opcit. 5-26.

NU and Masyumi.³³⁸ This is analyzed by Remy Madinier and Andree Feillard as the first split among the traditionalists and reformists under the Old Order which was later repeated by the ICMI under the New Order representing the phenomenon of 'minority with a majority mentality'.³³⁹

The NU is criticized to fall in *Taqleed* by other modernist reformatory organization but the position of its scholars, like the earlier scholars, is the same, which shows its tilt towards *Ijtehad* and not towards *Taqleed*.

In practice in the NU, issues are picked on a hierarchy basis not on argumentation and social benefit along with the compulsion to follow one of four *Mazhab*s of the *Ahl e Sunnah* schools of thought. Thus the Ulama, who have an expertise in other areas, become secondary players in this process of *collective Ijtehad*. Further, old fatwa's are revised with the same authenticity from time to time. While the method of revision of the fatwa's is considered a positive thing because of the accommodative position of the fatwa's according to the needs of time. From 1926 to 1998, the NU has issued more than four hundred fatwa's, which are considered to be a great contribution from the NU towards the needs of the Indonesian community.

In the method to infer legal issues, the NU follows the method of *Taqleed*, which is represented by the traditional 'Fiqh' authorities. Different efforts have been made to broaden the scope of the legal discourse, furthermore, the vitality of

³³⁸ Remy Madinier and Andree Feillard, "At the sources of Indonesian political Islam's failure: The split between the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Masyumi in Retrospect", *Studia Islamika VI*, no.2 (1999):15.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*,32.

‘*collective Ijtehad*’ is also perceived by the NU that can be taken as a return from their ‘Traditionalist Approach ‘of *Taqleed*.³⁴⁰

Thus, the NU has a position of being both a follower of *Ijtehad* as well as of *Taqleed*. Nadirsyah Hosen has also analyzed the reality that theoretically, the NU stands in a position somewhere between *Ijtehad* and *Taqleed* and believes that the gate of *Ijtehad* is still open in a limited fashion. However, in practice, the NU considers itself as ‘Muqallid (a person who performs *Taqleed*)’.³⁴¹

In differentiating its position from others, Endang Turmudi holds that ‘it is strongly believed that the things which are not performed by the Holy Prophet are bid'a. This philosophy is based on this doctrine according to which “each heresy is going astray, and those going astray would go to hell” (“qullu bid'a zolala, wa qullu zolala fi al-nar”).³⁴² While the NU has divided this concept of Bid'a into types, that is bid'a hasana and bid'a sayyi'a means good and bad. In addition, this division of the bid'a is based on the concept of ‘harmony’. This concept of harmony makes its emphasis on this principle ‘al-Muhafada bil-qadim al-salih wa'l-akhdhu bi'l-jadidal-'aslah’ means “nurturing the existing culture as long as it is good or can be colored by Islam, and adopting the new better one”. According to Turmudi this assumption is based on the order of *Quran* and Hadith as well.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Nico J. G. Kaptein, “The Voice of the Ulamâ: Fatwas and Religious Authority in Indonesia”, 115-130.

³⁴¹ Nadirsyah Hosen, “Nahdataul ulama and collective ijtehad”, Opcit. 5-26.

³⁴² Mr. Endang Turmudi, “The Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia”, Manila, Feb 04, 2009.

³⁴³ Mr. Endang Turmudi, “The Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia”, Manila, Feb 04, 2009.

7. V. (d)-Nurcholish Madjid

In his approach of reconstruction of the Islamic doctrines, he puts a great focus on the methodology of *Ijtihad* and the reinterpretation of the basic sources of Islamic doctrines.³⁴⁴ Moreover, the methods, which are used by the traditionalists as well as by the modernists, are insufficient to fulfill this purpose because these led to the exterior understanding of *Quran* and *Sunnah*.³⁴⁵

At the same time, he suggests an alternative methodology to develop the institution of *Ijtihad* and the reinterpretation of the *Quran*, which is known as 'contextual' or 'a substantial method'.³⁴⁶ According to this approach, during the interpretation of the basic doctrines of Islam, the focus should be made on interpretation in the context of time and space and in this regard the focus should be made on the historical context i.e. *Asbab e Nazul* and *Sha'an e Nazul*.³⁴⁷ According to Madjid, *Asbab e Nazul* is very significant as it is always composed of "a concept, a theory or khabar on the existence of the occasions of certain revelations to the Prophet Muhammad, either in the form of a single verse (iya), two or more continuous verses (iyit), or even a chapter (Sura).³⁴⁸ Thus, the understanding of such *Asbab e Nazul* enables someone to develop the literal and exact meaning of some

³⁴⁴ Madjid, "Fazlur Rahman dan Rekonstruksi Etika Al-*Quran* and Rahman "Islam and modernity", Cited in Siti Fatimah, cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit.

106.

³⁴⁵ Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, 597. cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*.

³⁴⁶ Madjid, "Konsep, *Asbab al Nuzul*", 4-41. see also Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, 597. cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*.

³⁴⁷ ibid., 35. See also Rahman, *Approaches to Islam in Religious studies: A review: Approaches to Islam in Religious studies*, ed. Richard Martin, (Tucson: university of Arizona press, 1985), 198.

³⁴⁸ Madjid "Konsep, *Asbab al Nuzul*", 38 cited in Siti Fatimah, *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit..

verse (iyya) in its original context whether it has a specific meaning in relevance with account or has universal meanings. The historical background is very significant because further basic principles can be inferred from the contextual/historical background.³⁴⁹ In his approach, he goes after Caliph Umar that the universality of the *Quran* is not in the literal meanings of the *Quran* rather in the substantial meanings of the *Quran*. Therefore, to understand and take Islam as more than a religion and its message as a universal message with universal values, it is necessary to understand the substantial meanings of the *Quran* and *Sunnah* as the basic source of the Islamic doctrine.³⁵⁰

Regarding the principle of individual interpretation, there is a need to have a full understanding of the cultural and social needs of that society. And to have understanding of cultural and social needs, some knowledge of sociology and anthropology is also required. In this way, Madjid has paved a path for the necessity of using different modern sciences of the contemporary age to understand the substantial meanings of the *Quran*.³⁵¹

About this combination of the new and old methods, Rahman has declared a 'double movement'. The philosophy of this double movement has been fully analyzed by Fatimah. According to her, one movement can be declared from the present situation to the period of the revelation of the *Quran*, which would enable the interpreter to interpret keeping along the historical context of any verse. While

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 108

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Madjid.Islam,*Doktrin dan Peradaban*, 492-508.cited in cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrine*, Opcit.

the second movement, from the time of the *Quran* to the present situation, which would enable the interpreter to interpret according to the contemporary socio-economic and cultural circumstances in the light of the historical context.³⁵²

Therefore, the main emphasis of this new Islamic discourse was the ‘theory of *Ijtehad*’ and the reinterpretation of the *Quran* and *Sunnah* which can also be considered as the influence of Rahman which claims Indonesia as a centre of a new Islamic discourse.³⁵³

7. V. (e)-Abdurrahman Wahid

It is said that he was not interested in this subject; rather he used a very different Indonesian word ‘dinamisasi’ which means the dynamic nature of something. Actually, he used this word to reinterpret the teachings of Islam to respond the needs of society.³⁵⁴

Like his counterparts, he was much concerned with the changes of modernity which Islam could adopt. He was unlike the other Ulama who were hesitant to accept the changes which modernity can bring.³⁵⁵

³⁵² Fazal Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: transformation of an intellectual tradition*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 20.

³⁵³ Robert Cribb and Colin Brown, *Modern Indonesia: A History since 1945* (New York: Longman Group Limited, 1995), 159.

³⁵⁴ Greg Barton, “neo-Modernism: A vital synthesis of traditionalist and modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia”, *Opcit.* 50.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 46-48.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

7. VI-Religious Tolerance:

Religious tolerance means to have feelings of respect for other religions. This word is derived from a Latin word 'tolerare' that implies 'to bear or endure'.³⁵⁶

7. VI. (a)-Muhammadiyah

In an interview with the rector of Muhammadiyah University Malang, Muadjir Effendy said that the followers of the Muhammadiyah and other minorities should not upset about the organization's stance. The Muhammadiyah is still not in the favor of different extremist organizations like Islamic Defenders Front which is involved in extremist activities against minorities. Because nobody has the right to impose his views on others.³⁵⁷ The Refugee Review Tribunal, Australia, which has quoted the statements made by members of Muhammadiyah;

- The Ahmadiyah Sect should be tolerated
- The Indonesian society and state cannot be referred as a secular society and state as both are engaged in religious activities.
- Indonesia cannot be called a secular country because the government itself is engaged in religious matters through the Ministry of Religious Matters.
- The Christians cannot be called 'Kafirs'
- Different groups like Liberal Islamic Network and other liberal groups should also be tolerated.

³⁵⁶Zainul Fuad, *religious pluralism in Indonesia, Muslim-Christian Discourse*, Opcit. 100.

³⁵⁷"Christians need to not to be concerned by Muhammadiyah Rector", *The Jakarta post*, 15 March, 2006.(accessed on May 2010)

<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2006/03/15/christians-need-not-be-concerned-muhammadiyah-rector.html>

In the case of showing intolerance in the name of Islam, the people must be punished.³⁵⁸ At the same time both Muhammadiyah and the NU are criticized as both of these organizations have failed to 'Promote Pluralism' at the grass root level because of not teaching enough material on pluralism especially in Pesantrens. It is said that the practice of pluralism is discouraged by teachers.³⁵⁹

7. VI. (b)-Nahdatul Ulama

The NU was established to defend the four schools of thoughts as well as to conserve the ancient culture and civilization of Indonesia. Thus, the NU in its formulation has the voice of pluralism and tolerance, which is strengthened by its routine practices.

Another significant development in the case of social development can be taken in the promotion of the concept of '*Rahmat Ul Alamaim*'. Thus to tolerate and respect the other human beings is considered a minimal requirement. This stance by the NU shows its universal approach of tolerance and pluralism.

7. VI. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

According to Madjid, to create the feelings of tolerance, different strategies can be used but the most crucial is religion. Therefore, there is always a need to

³⁵⁸ "Refugee Review Tribunal", *PRT research Response: Indonesia* (21 January, 2009):3-11.
<http://www.mrt-rrt.gov.au/>

³⁵⁹ Nurrohman, "NU, Muhammadiyah have failed to promote pluralism at grassroots"
The Jakarta Post, 9 December 2008.
<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/12/09/nu-muhammadiyah-have-failed-promote-pluralism-grassroots.html> –2008,

create fundamental principles on the basis of religion to create harmony in the society through inter-faith dialogue.³⁶⁰

In the justification of his notion of pluralism and tolerance, he elaborates different commentaries to sort out the relationship between Islam and other religions. The first thing which he considers, is the definition of the word 'Islam' itself, the literal meaning of this word is a "submission to God" which is relevant to the word 'Din' which also means "submission". Moreover, this principle of 'Submission to God' is the essence of all God's revelations which have the same message of the 'submission'. In this above definition of 'Islam', other religions can also be considered as Islam and their believers as Muslims.³⁶¹ For the specification of the religion Islam, Madjid approaches to the categorization of Ibne Tammiya that the meanings of Islam can be divided into 'universal Islam' and 'particular Islam'. In this case, 'universal Islam' would consist of the principles of 'submission to God' and more specifically the principle of Tawhid means submission of the self to the One Reality. With reference to other religions, this principle can be found in all religions 'to believe in the Oneness of God' and to give one's self in His submission.³⁶² Further Madjid and Ibn e Taymiyya hold a strong belief that all religions have the same fundamental and essential characteristics, with a concept of

³⁶⁰ Madjid, "Dialog Agama-agama dalam Perspektif Universalisme al-Islam," in *Passing Over: Melintasi Batas Agama*, eds. Hidayat and Ahmad Gaus, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama and Paramadina, 1998), 6.

³⁶¹ Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, 427-428. cited in Siti Fatimah, *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit. 123.

³⁶² Ibid, 440, 442.

universality in it, with no difference between the believers of different religions like the Muslims, Jews, and Christians.³⁶³

Madjid's notion is supported by Yusuf Ali's argument, which is based on this verse.Q.42:13. "God's religion is the same in essence, whether given for example, to Noah, Abraham, Moses, or Jesus, or to our holy Prophet. The source of unity is the revelation from God."³⁶⁴

As human beings live in different places with their distinctive social, economic and cultural conditions so this concept of the 'universal Islam' can be interpreted according to their contemporary conditions which leads to the 'Particular Islam'Q.5:48.³⁶⁵ Due to the differences of place and time, God has sent different Messengers with the same message to different parts of world according to the demands of every time and bestowed them with Sharia and Mihaj ie 'Law' and 'way of life'.³⁶⁶ Thus the message of 'universal Islam' can be interpreted 'particular Islam,' giving legitimacy to all religions of the world along with Islam. In the case of the 'pluralistic society' of Indonesia, Nurcholish goes on to say that "Indonesia is a laboratory for developing modern religious tolerance and pluralism".³⁶⁷

³⁶³Ibid.125

³⁶⁴ Madjid. *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradahan*, 498-499. See also Yusuf Ali' *The Holy Qur'an*, 1308. Cited in cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.,437. cited in Siti Fatimah,*Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*.

³⁶⁶ Madjid, "Beberapa Renungan" *Ulumul Qur'an* 4. no. 1(1993):4-25. cited in Zainul Fuad, "Religious pluralism in Indonesia, Muslim-Christian discourse",see also Madjid, "Search of Islamic Roots for Modern Pluralism,", 89-116.

also Woodward, "Talking across Paradigms,"11.

³⁶⁷ Madjid Nurcholish, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism", Opcit. 76.see also Ann Kull, "Modern Interpretation of Islamic History in the Indonesian Context. The Case of Nurcholish Madjid", Opcit. 5.

7. VI. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Wahid has acknowledged the status of Islam as a religion of compassion, fairness and justice. According to him, this value of justice gives Islam a standard criterion in which all are equal in the eyes of Allah by elaborating the demands of the universal concept of tolerance and equality. According to Wahid, “the essence of Islam is tolerance, for you, your religion; for me, my religion.”³⁶⁸

7. VII-Democracy:

Democracy is a type of government, which empowers the people but recent debates between the locals and the aliens, gives a sectarian color to democracy. In the case of the establishment of the plural society, democracy can also flourish smoothly.³⁶⁹

7. VII. (a)-Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah is the second largest religio-social organization, but it has never believed to engage in politics directly but it believes in democratic politics and indirectly works to strengthen it. The primary and secondary education institutions are a significant source to give awareness and to create a civil society with strong democratic values. Muhammadiyah believes to work as a loyal critic of the government to perform its responsibilities.³⁷⁰ Further, the followers of

³⁶⁸ Abdurrahman Wahid, “Right Islam vs. Wrong Islam” in *Current trends in Islamist theology*, ed. Hillel Fradkin, Husain Haqqani, Eric Brown (Washington: Hudson institute, 2006), 5-10.

³⁶⁹ Abdurrahman Wahid, “Islam, Pluralism and Democracy”, trans., Mark Woodward (Jakarta, LP3ES, 2007):6-13.

³⁷⁰ “Muhammadiyah’s century”, Editorial, *The Jakarta Post*, June 2010.

Muhammadiyah are allowed to join any of the political organizations.³⁷¹ The present president of Muhammadiyah, Syamsuddin has said, "Islam is a force for democratic reform, good governance, and conflict resolution in Indonesia."³⁷²

7. VII. (b)-Nahdatul Ulama

The NU also has its commitment to accommodate their religious discourse, to respond to the social needs and to perform the role of civil organization. So the emphasis is made to accommodate the values of democracy on the basis of 'Civil manners' again with the aim to achieve a common good at the domestic as well as at the international level.

With the status of a religio-social society, the NU is always in a complex situation in its response towards contemporary needs according to teachings of Islam. To meet these requirements, a political party National 'Awaking Party' PKB was made which also took part in the 1999 elections.

7. VII. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

To make clear, the concept of democracy, Madjid gives his view in this way that democracy is based in the principle of consultation/Musyawarah. This term means to give a signal, indication that what is good or what is bad. Human beings are always in need of some consultations from each other due to their inherited weakness. Same principle of the consultation has been mentioned in the *Quran* "It

³⁷¹ Muhammad Fuad, "Civil society in Indonesia: the potential and limits of Muhammadiyah", 10(accessed on May, 2010.

³⁷² Angilee Shah, "Indonesia, Democracy, and Playboy", *Center for Southeast Asian Studies*, 12 June 2005(accessed on April 2010)

is because of God's mercy, that you Muhammad has to be kind-hearted towards them (your followers).... and consult them in (all) matters" Alu 'Imrân/3:159.³⁷³

7. VII. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Popularly known as Gus Dur, Mr. Wahid raised a democratic voice in the chaos of 1998, along with his different colleagues for the interest of people. But when Mr. Suharto resigned then Mr. Wahid emerged as a compromised president, who is still considered to be a strong figure who has worked a lot for the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia.³⁷⁴

Gus Dur declares democracy within the framework of Islamic values by adjusting it within the Pancasila.³⁷⁵ Further, the Islamic principles in general are not incompatible to democracy especially the Islamic principles of al-hurriyya (freedom), al-adala (justice) and shura (consultation.).³⁷⁶

Thus, Abdurrahman justified democracy for Indonesia, because the formation of an Islamic state would be problematic for the non-Muslim minorities. He also justified democracy on the basis of Islam's nature as a 'cosmopolitan civilization' which has its significance in the absorption of different elements of other civilization and culture.

³⁷³ Madjid Nurcholish, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan: Membangun Tradisi dan Visi Baru Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta, Paramadina, 1995) 195. cited in Ann Kull, "Modern Interpretation of Islamic History in the Indonesian Context. The Case of Nurcholish Madjid", *Opcit*.

³⁷⁴ Montlake Simon, "Abdurrahman Wahid: Former Indonesia president was a key democratic voice", *The Christian Science Monitor* (12, 30, 2009).

³⁷⁵ "Gus Dur's interview", *Prisma* no. 5 (Jakarta, LP3ES, 1995): 66-69.

³⁷⁶ Abdurrahman Wahid, "Sosialisasi Nilai-nilai Demokrasi" [Socialization of democratic values] in *Agama, Demokrasi dan Transformasi Sosial*, ed. M. Masyhur Amin (Yogyakarta; LKPSM NU, 1989), 89-103. cited in mujiburrahman, *Islam and politics in Indonesia: The political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid*,

other traditions. The Muslims have been commanded by God to respect the People of the Book, and reminded that they share the same belief and the same God.³⁷⁹ Same is addressed in *Quran*, “O humankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not you may despise each other). Verily the most honored of you in the sight of God is (he who is) the most righteous of you”.³⁸⁰ This verse has a significant message regarding many things including the one common origin of humankind.

Ethnic composition is not based on status rather this diversity is to know each other; the best in the sight of God is the best in moral conduct. Thus, this diversity is not for status and would not be judged by social status, blood and color, rather the criteria is of good conduct i.e. the level of spirituality matters. Thus, the *Quran* as a firm reality recognizes pluralism³⁸¹

7. VIII. (a)-Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah has given assurance to the Christian and other deviated sects of Muslims that there is no need to be concerned about the goals of Muhammadiyah as it has an attitude of tolerance and pluralism.

To sort out the problem of the existence of different sects, a committee was established which later concluded that the reason for such a sect is ignorance, the

³⁷⁹ ‘The curse of the infidel’, *The Guardian*, 20 June 2002.

³⁸⁰ *Quran Pak* Chapter 49, verse 13.

³⁸¹ Osman Bakar , “Islam and pluralism, Inter-civilizational dialogue; theory and practice in Islam” in *Islam and civil society in south east Asia*, ed. Mitsuo Nakamura, Sharron Sadiqqi and Omar Farouk Bajunaid (Singapore: institute of south east Asian studies, 2001), 164.

dominance of particular individuals and political factors. Different series of activities were carried out to make such sects the true believers of Islam.³⁸²

At the educational front, it has its schools with a Christian curriculum approved by the Christian Education Authority. It is taught by Christians based on the 'National Education System act' with the basic theology of tolerance and pluralism of Muhammadiyah.³⁸³ Muhammadiyah's approach to accommodate the new trends in the syllabus was also critiqued by Nurcholish Madjid who is considered to be the most significant proponent of pluralism and tolerance. According to Madjid, the gradual elimination of Arabic script with its replacement with Roman alphabets would ultimately widen the gap between the organization and the Muslim world. Thus, Muhammadiyah was blamed for promoting secularism unconsciously in the name of reforms.³⁸⁴

7. VIII. (b)-Nahdhatul Ulama

The ambitions of Pluralism and Tolerance are as old as the NU itself. According to the NU, five are the basic principles for common good, which are also mentioned in 'Khittah 26'.

- The protection and observance of religious consciousness
- The protection of life
- The protection of thought and opinion

³⁸²Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia" *Indonesia, Southeast Asia Program Publications at Cornell University* 10 (Oct., 1970): 57-79

³⁸³"Interview with-abdul-mukti-muhammadiya", *Berkeley centre*, For Religion, peace and world Affairs.georgetown University, February 17, 2010(accessed on February 2010).

(<http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/interviews/discussion-with-abdul-mukti-muhammadiya>)

³⁸⁴Darul Aqsha,Dick van der Meij,Johan Hendrik Meuleman, Opcit. 222.

- The protection of property
- The right of marriage and reproduction rights

Therefore, these rights are the concept of the 'common good' in Shariah which are also the demand of the neo-modernists³⁸⁵

Further, many edicts were issued by the 'Council of Ulama' against the proponents of liberal Islam on the grounds that their teachings are against the Islamic teachings. A claim is also made that these liberals are supported by activities of evangelists. These edicts, most of the times give rise to the Christian-Muslim violence. The NU and Muhammadiyah have warned that such edicts may encourage radical minded groups, which can hinder the development of the Indonesian society as a 'plural civil society'.³⁸⁶

The network of the Pesantren educational institutions is one of the significant developments, within the NU, which have become a basic unit of Islamic learning. Before the introduction of western or modern education by the Dutch, the Pesantren was the only network to fulfill the needs of the Indonesian society. There are thousands of Pesantrens, established by this organization with traditional, modern and secular subjects.³⁸⁷ Presently, these Pesantren are a great source of socialization of the Indonesian society with an aim of the transmission of Islamic beliefs and values.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Muhammad Fajrul Falaak, "Nahdatal ulama and civil society in Indonesia", *Islam and civil society in South East Asia*, Opcit. 33-40.

³⁸⁶ Kalinga Seneviratne, "Indonesia: Fatwas by clerics spur debate on Islam", *Analysis*, Jakarta, Aug 24, 2005. (IPS) (END/IPS/AP/IP/CR/DV/KS/RDR/05)(accessed on May 2010).

³⁸⁷ Mr. Endang Turmudi, "The Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia", Opcit.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

Under Wahid's leadership, the NU became active because different organizations and activist groups emerged like the 'Association for the Development of Pesantren and society' P3M. Along with these activist groups, a contextualized approach towards 'Fiqh', the regeneration of Pesantren at the grass root level, the rethinking and reinterpretation of different philosophies and theories changed the course of Pesantren community towards a developed civil society with a developed intellectual discourse. Thus, civil society itself began to speak for the ordinary Indonesians and for the concepts of Islam and pluralism within Islam.³⁸⁹ In relation with the state, the civil society was an independent body, autonomous from the state and the external functioning as a watchdog³⁹⁰.

Three elements are always considered as consistent parts of notion of civil society;

- The autonomy vis- a-vis state
- An opposition to political Islam
- The necessity to promote pluralism and tolerance³⁹¹

The recent liberal reforms within the NU are not against the basics of its original principles as it has an open door for new changes to accommodate with the changing circumstances of modern ages. The advocates of pluralism consider it to be a great success, and a model organization for political, social and religious

³⁸⁹Robin Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, Opcit. 89.

³⁹⁰ibid.

³⁹¹Ibid.m, 90.

organizations, which is working for promoting pluralism and tolerance within Indonesia.³⁹²

7. VIII. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

Madjid justified the status of the non-Muslims not only of the Jews and Christians but also of the Hindus and Buddhists taking them as 'Ahl e Kitab' by justifying their submission to God.³⁹³ As is analyzed by Liddle that the Muslims, Christians and Jews all are the part of the religion of Abraham, these all are the attitudes of submission to God.³⁹⁴

Madjid argues on Pluralism that it is a significant criterion for the salvation of human beings. Further, he strengthens this argument through the *Quran*. God has made a check and balance mechanism among the fellow men in order to preserve the stability of the earth and this constitutes one of God's profuse generosities for the people (Q., 2:251)³⁹⁵ Madjid also confirms this idea with the Qur'anic verses 2:62:105 "Those who believe (in the Qur'an), those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), and the Sabaeans and the Christians, any who believe in Allah and the Last Day, and work righteousness,- on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve",³⁹⁶

³⁹² Ahmad Junaidi, "Nahdlatul Ulama, PSSI and democracy", *The Jakarta Post*, Opinion, 10 March, 2010.

³⁹³ Martin Van Bruinessen, "Muslim intellectuals: Nurcholish Madjid; Indonesia Muslim intellectual", *Opcit*. 22-23.

³⁹⁴ R. William Liddle, *leadership and culture in Indonesians politics*, *Opcit*. 270.

Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, 270.

³⁹⁵ Nurcholish Madjid, *Cendikiawan dan Religiusitas Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Tabloid Tekad and Paramadina Press, 1999), 63. cited in Zainul Fuad, *religious pluralism in Indonesia, Christian-muslim Relartions*, *Opcit*.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 123.

So keeping in view Madjid's own notions of pluralism and his justification from the *Quran*, it becomes very clear that he proposes a common platform for different communities. It can also be concluded by his quotation from the *Quranic* verse 3:64: "Say: O followers of earlier revelations! Come into the tenet which we and you hold in common: that we shall worship none but God, and that we shall not ascribe divinity to aught beside Him, and that we shall not take human beings for our lords beside God".³⁹⁷ The proliferation of Pluralism in an Islamic society is not a new phenomenon, this practice was earlier adopted by the Prophet in the "constitution of Medina" in which the Prophet was the head of the state, responsible for the rights of the whole Ummah comprising of different groups.³⁹⁸ Tolerance was also practiced by the 'Aelia Charter', made by Hazrat Umar the second caliph with prohibition of destroying churches and allowances for Christian for religious purposes.

Further, Madjid emphasizes the injunctions of the *Quran* and that the diversity of human languages and colors must be accepted as a positive reality. Madjid holds the view that the source of all religion is the same, so, in the same way, Islam within its approach is the same everywhere but its practice can differ from community to community due to variations in culture. In short, in Liddle's word which Fuzan quoted "Islam remains a universal religion, but its practice must

³⁹⁷ Madjid, *Islam Doktrin dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992), 184.cited by Fuzan saleh,siti Fatimah,ann kull,zainaul Faud, Opcit.

³⁹⁸ Adolph Wismar, *A study in Tolerance as Practiced by Muhammad and His Immediate Successors* (New York: Columbia university press 1927), 18-80.See also Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. See also W.Montgomery Rubin, "the constitution of Media: some Notes", *Studia Islamika* .62 (1985):5-23.

be culture-specified".³⁹⁹ Thus, because of this affirmation from the *Quran* and *Sunnah*, Madjid concludes that these affirmations from the *Quran* and *Sunnah* are very significant as they are establishing the foundation of universality of these concepts and Fuzan Suleh considers this point.⁴⁰⁰ For this definition, Madjid's critics hold the view that in the *Quran*, it is clearly declared that Islam is the only true religion.⁴⁰¹

7. VIII. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Abdurrahman Wahid was a great supporter of pluralism and suggested *pancasila* as an ideal formula to be adopted as a sole ideology in the Indonesian context.⁴⁰² During Suharto's period, his support for the minorities was so great that he was declared heretic by his co-religious clerics and other religious organizations.⁴⁰³ The Wahid Institute whose motto is "Seeding Plural and Peaceful Islam" was established for this specific purpose of seeding and spreading pluralism.⁴⁰⁴

According to Abdurrahman Wahid, 'Islam should play a role of guarantor of human dignity through a proper agenda by ensuring the physical safety of individual citizens, their right to protect their family and descendants, the safety of

³⁹⁹ R.William Liddle, *leadership and culture in Indonesians politics* (Sydney: Asian Allen & Unwin, 1996),74.

⁴⁰⁰ Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 269.

⁴⁰¹ Siti Fatimah, *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic*, Opcit. 129-130.

⁴⁰² Zainul Fuad, *religious pluralism in Indonesia, Muslim-Christian Discourse*, Opcit. 136.

⁴⁰³ "My Name is Abdurrahman Wahid" paper presented by R.William Liddle, Ohio University on 21 june 1999(accessed on May 2010).

<http://www.psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/rwliddle/papers/>

⁴⁰⁴ Simonton Al Qurtuby, "Seeding Peace on the Earth Abdurrahman Wahid's Movements on Peace and Nonviolence", *Peneliti independent, tinggal* di Harrisonburg USA (2003), (accessed on December 2009). www.wahidinstitute.org.

their property, and fairness in their profession. This would lead to social well being'.⁴⁰⁵

7. IX-Cultural Islam:

Hefner analyses the unique form of Islam in Indonesia as a' civil Islam' which is generated 'by denying the wisdom of a monolithic "Islamic" and further accepting the principles of democracy, pluralism, and such forces in the society which can counter/check the state powers by engaging state to work for state and society.⁴⁰⁶

Nader A. Hashemi affirms the analysis of Hefner that the creation of the new discourse was as a result of rejection of classical jurisprudence by the independent intellectuals who incorporated the knowledge of Western social sciences with the classical Islam keeping in view the true *Quranic* knowledge.⁴⁰⁷ The same view is presented by Clifford in his book 'Islam observed religious development in Morocco and Indonesia' that the fundamentalists are finding compatibility between the values of Islam and modernity, between democracy,

⁴⁰⁵ Abdurrahman Wahid, "Islam, Nonviolence, and National Transformation", ed. Glenn D. Paige, Chaiwat Satha-Anand, Sarah Gilliat, *Islam and non-violence* (Hawai'i: Center for Global Nonviolence, 2001), 56.

⁴⁰⁶ Nader A. Hashemi, "Review: Inching Towards Democracy: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World", *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (Jun., 2003): 563-578.

See also Robert W Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Op cit. 12-13.

⁴⁰⁷ I. M. Lewis, "Man", and *New Series* 4, no. 3 (Sep., 1969): 472-473.

"Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland", <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2798148>.

secularism and texts of the *Quran* as they have made different anticipations of the *Quranic* verses.⁴⁰⁸

7. IX. (a)-Muhammadiyah

Further, Muhammadiyah's viewpoint, regarding revelation and reason is unique. This has a great impact on the distinction of public life and private life. Thus along with these two pillars, Muhammadiyah has directed itself towards the achievement of democracy, open-mindedness, tolerance and pluralism as social ideals. Islam in Indonesia is a source of cultural motivation because of the different ethnic and cultural groups to enhance a social reform and not a political one. In the enhancement of this social reform, Muhammadiyah and the NU are playing a very significant role in their positive response to social needs.

7. IX. (b)-Nahdatul Ulama

The bases of cultural Islam lie in the Pancasila, which were accepted by reformist organizations later. Eliraz has a difference of opinion over the role of these organizations, although these reformative organizations came with the agenda of purification and interpretation (*Ijtehad*) but they did not respond to socio-political issues.⁴⁰⁹

Moreover, these organizations, with the ambition of political Islam faced challenges by the colonials who made efforts to restrict them and allow the practice of cultural Islam. Eliraz explains, these movement have paved a path towards

⁴⁰⁸ Greets Clifford, *Islam observed religious development in Morocco and Indonesia*, xii, Opcit. 136.

⁴⁰⁹ Giora Eliraz, *Islam in Indonesia: Modernism, Radicalism, and the Middle East Dimension* (Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), 142. reviewed by Muhammad Ali, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 22, no.3 (2001):136-139.

7. IX. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

His view of the contextualization of Islam depends on the interdependent relations between Islam and culture. In his view, both have an inseparable relation. Islam is a revealed set of principles, norms while culture is man's own creation to survive in social circumstances but the religious sanctity cannot prevent its norms to be displayed into culture.⁴¹⁵

Regarding cultural Islam Abdurrahman suggested the replacement of 'Aslaam o Alakuim' with Indonesian words Selamat Pagi or Selamat Malam. Abdurrahman believed in inter-faith dialogue to create harmony and peace between Muslims and non-Muslims.⁴¹⁶

For the role of cultural Islam, he elaborates the role of the nine saints, a further representation of Javanese architecture into Islamic buildings and vice versa is a unique display of Indonesian culture.

7. X- Synthesis:

The peaceful spread of Islam allowed it to accommodate within the local culture. Due to this, the synthesis of Islamic culture emerged in the form of a mixture between Hindu and Buddhist culture. Moreover, to remove such elements of local culture, different reform movements were established.

⁴¹⁵ Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pribumisasi", Op.cit. 81. cited in Abdurrahman Wahid, "Islam, Pluralism and Democracy".... Op.cit. 6-12. For details, see Hamzah & Anam (Eds), *Gus Dur Diadili*, 35-36.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

In addition to Indonesia being far away from centre of Islam, another significant factor is the weak status of Islam due to its mixing with the local cultures of areas.⁴¹⁷

Muslims are of two types in Indonesia *Santri* and the *Abangan* , *Abangan* are nominal Muslims while the *Devout* are orthodox Muslims either followers of Muhammadiyah or the NU. Endang Turmudi who is one of prominent NU leaders says that *Abangan* Muslim are those who do not follow any organization or are not affiliated with any organization so they are floating is a very interesting statement.⁴¹⁸

7. X. (a)-Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah opposes the effects of syncretism. It also opposes Sufi practices.⁴¹⁹ In its treatment with *Abangan* Muslims or nominal Muslims Muhammadiyah is more concerned with the purity of beliefs rather than the synthesis of beliefs and gives a huge portion to Islamic values. In this regard, it has a clear view that the remnants of the Buddhist and Hindu civilization are not a part of the Islamic culture.⁴²⁰ Furthermore, Muhammadiyah holds a firm belief that certain groups within the Indonesian society, who support syncretic views on religion, are not a part of Islamic community .Its early phase is of a mystical order

⁴¹⁷Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 262.

⁴¹⁸ Endang Turmudi “*The Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia*”, Opcit.

⁴¹⁹ “PRT research response, Indonesia”, *Refugee Review Tribunal*, Opcit.

⁴²⁰Howard M. Federspiel, “The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia”, Opcit. 57-79.

At the same time, Muhammadiyah writers also condemned ‘bid’ah’ the “prompting of the dead” (Talqin), in which the deceased is given one last lesson on the fundamentals of Islam. Furthermore, the voicing of intention for prayer is also considered a ‘bid’ah’. It is justified that it was never practiced in the whole lifetime of the Holy Prophet. The ‘meal ritual’ after the death of a Muslim is also considered ‘Churafat’ as it was practiced in the animism period of the Indonesian archipelago.⁴²¹

7. X. (b)-Nahdatul Ulama

The distinctive nature of Islam, along with the elements of Buddhism-Hinduism remained since the 19th century but later these were challenged by different organizations or organized fractions of the society. The main challenge was faced by the arrival of orthodox elements of Islam from Saudi Arabia which changed the existing nature (with mysticism/sycrenticism) of Islam in Indonesia.⁴²² The reaction against this challenge came from the traditionalists in the form of the formulation of the NU. Therefore, the formulation of the NU itself was to safeguard this synthesizing nature of Islam.

7. X. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

According to Ibne Tammiyah the ‘*Quran* has been sent to protect the message in already sent books’ so in his ideas regarding syntheses, Madjid took inspiration from Ibn e Tammiyah and made a comparison of the Medina charter and Pancasila and declared it a social ideology to achieve the goal of a pluralistic

⁴²¹Ibid.

⁴²² Leslie H. Palmier, “The Muhammadiyah after Independence”, Op.cit. 255-263.

society equipped with modern techniques. Further Madjid mentions all the religions originated from the same entity, from the same God so all religions have similarities and differences according to the confrontations and strains of the time⁴²³ So all religions like Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism have their own Holy books with the same message by the Same Entity but they have strayed from their original teachings. ⁴²⁴

7. X. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Abdurrahman does not hold the belief of total change but believes in gradual change to adjust to the modernity and the needs of people. Gus Dur tries to moderate between a totally secular state and theocracy.⁴²⁵ For Abdurrahman, to accommodate the local culture in Islam is better for national growth rather than to negate it because to negate such a rich culture will hinder progress.⁴²⁶ His approach of synthesis, of the traditional and modern values is not to undermine the values of Islam but is an effort to incorporate the basic principles of Islam with universal values.⁴²⁷

⁴²³Malcolm Cone, "New Modernism in Suharto's Indonesia", Opcit. 52-67.see also Ann Kull, "Modern Interpretation of Islamic History in the Indonesian Context. The Case of Nurcholish" paper presented at The fifth Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern studies The Middle East: Interpreting the past Lund, 25-28 October 2001.

⁴²⁴Ibid.,

⁴²⁵G.Barton, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as intellectual ulama ...", 348.

⁴²⁶Achmad Munjid, "Militant and Liberal Islam...". Opcit. 10.

⁴²⁷Rochmat Saefur, "Abdurrahman Wahid on Reformulating the Theology of Islamic Democracy to Counter Secularism in Modern Era" *Institute of International Relations and Area Studies* 4, Ritsumeikan University(2006):125.

7. XI- Politics and Islam:

7. XI. (a)-Muhammadiyah

In this case, Muhammadiyah holds a belief that Islamic teachings should be taken as national identity and one should strive for the national identity. The state should have a neutral role; the same as the role that would be played by the Pancasila as a whole while a religious ministry would be responsible for facilitating the Indonesian community to practice their religion. The state should be responsible to formulate national laws and policies and there is no need of religious laws for the national principles.

Muhammadiyah held the belief that Islam should be a fundamental part of the state policies. It also rejected the customary laws to be part of the state which were presented by the traditionalists.

For the establishment of an Islamic state the Islamic community is very essential because as soon as this community grows, the Islamic state would automatically follow. Only the scriptures can achieve such community, which, would be responsible to regulate the commands and prohibitions of God. Hence, a “Right guided community” would be achieved.

On the question of Islam and the state, Muhammadiyah's stance is stated by Shafi'i Marif in these words “The response of Muhammadiyah itself ‘firmly

identified with Indonesia and the Indonesian state . . . even though that state is not primarily guided by orthodox Muslim themes'.⁴²⁸

7. XI. (b)-Nahdatul Ulama

Indonesian state politics is linked with another phenomenon known as Islam and the role of Shariah. Moreover, these issues are still debatable because of the status of Islam and the nature of the Indonesian society.⁴²⁹ In the case of participation in politics, the NU has a very clear stance that Islam has not made a separation between religion and politics so the Ulama of the NU also consider it as the two sides of a coin.⁴³⁰

According to Endang Turmudi, the call of Islam is not so enthusiastic in Indonesia as was in the initial period of independence in the 1940s and the 1950s.⁴³¹ After that, the NU's tilt from politics was shifted towards individual's personal choice. The same policy of Marginalization was kept in practice in the New Order .In the 1971 election, the coalition of the four religious parties contested the elections with the name 'United Development Party' (PPP).⁴³² In 1990s when the people were encouraged to organize political parties, the NU's religious scholars were of the view to participate in politics but Wahid warned that it would undermine the organization's social status as well.⁴³³

⁴²⁸Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Mr. Endang Turmudi "The Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia" Opcit.

⁴³⁰Ibid.

⁴³¹Ibid.

⁴³²Ibid.

⁴³³M. Mietzner, "Nationalism and Islamic Politics: Political Islam in the Post-Suharto Era, *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, eds. A. Budiman, B. Hatley and D. Kingsbury (Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1999), 173-200.

According to Turmudi, this change from marginalization to the support for the formation of the Muslims' intellectual association brought about a change at two levels, the level of the Muslim intellectuals or middle class and the grass root level. However, later the NU started to work with the notion of free political affiliation and accepted the Pancasila as their organizational ideology. This led to the breakup of the traditional and conceptual link between religion and politics. Thus there was seen a significant trend towards secular political parties with a change in the traditional pattern of politics.

Further, this change in stance was also due to the change in conditions in politics, the unavailability of a political party and other such events. Thus, Turmudi has justified the position of the NU in politics. Further, he has maintained the position that the Ulama must have a pragmatic approach with a dynamic attitude, and not an opportunistic one⁴³⁴.

Pancasila was adopted by the NU under pressure to make relations better, between the state and the organization, which was justified on rational grounds. According to Saddiq's argument that Islam was a religion while the Pancasila was a political ideology, therefore both can coexist.⁴³⁵ At the same time, Wahid also held a similar view; "We can't afford to counter Pancasila what we can save, we do, I say to the Kiais, 'Do not sink with the ship'"⁴³⁶.

⁴³⁴Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Greg Barton, "Islam, Pancasila and the Middle Path of *Tawassuth*..", Opcit. 122.

⁴³⁶ Fiellard Andree, *NU via-via Negara Pencarian Isi, Bentuk Dan* (Yogyarta: LkiS,1999):237 cited in Robin Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, Opcit.

The NU approach of not taking part in politics suggests its religious position to work only for the well being of the people rather than to have a conflict with others.⁴³⁷ In fact, both of them are involved in the 'high politics of morality, ethics and piety rather than 'low politics'.⁴³⁸

7. XI. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

Madjid's stance towards Islam and politics can be well understood by his most analyzed and criticized slogan of "Islam yes, Islamic party no". He realized the existing political situation and concluded that political parties with an Islamic orientation are not responding to the needs of the Indonesians but pursuing their own interests. Further, Islam should not be restricted just to politics or political matters, it is one aspect of life and the Muslims can fulfill this one aspect of life by adopting Islam with its cultural approach, which can be more responsive to the needs of the Indonesian Muslims. Madjid's concept is fully analyzed by Fuzan that "Madjid's interpretation can be seen as a simile: a person who manages to make a long forward leap, has to take several steps backward to start so that he can leap even further".⁴³⁹

In addition, Madjid justifies this argument that when there would be no Islamic political party then Islam would be observed with its historical context along with its cultural approach. This would become a source of national unity.

⁴³⁷ Mitsuo Nakamura, "the radical traditionalism of Nahdlatul Ulama of Indonesia", *South East Asian Studies* 19, no.2 (September 1981):201.

⁴³⁸ Azyumardi Azra, "Indonesian Islam ,Mainstream Muslims and Politics", Paper presented at Taiwanese and Indonesian Islamic Leaders Exchange Project The Asia Foundation in Taiwan Taipei, October 26-31, 2006,2.

⁴³⁹ Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 251.

Thus Madjid gives an approach of substantial Islam which does not confine Islam to a certain “symbolism”⁴⁴⁰.

Madjid's ideas regarding politics and political parties are usually considered as the antithesis of the concept that Islam, without its militant character and without power is incomplete so Islam and politics cannot be separated. The political circumstances in Indonesia, and the approach of the political parties later, made the Indonesians realize that politics and Islam are two separate things. Thus, approach of cultural Islam began to spread to make the role of Islam stronger in the lives of the Indonesian Muslims and to minimize the ongoing dissension between Islam and the state. This had been a major reason for the lessening of the image of Islam⁴⁴¹.

7. XI. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

During a seminar on “religion and the problem of leadership” held on 17 to 23 September 1990, Abdurrahman Wahid stated, that Prophet Muhammad's (P.B.U.H.) Statement, ‘religion is politics’, can be taken in the view of political tact, the attitude, the political culture and not the political power. Here Abdurrahman makes a very significant development in the separation of religion and politics, that in Arabic two different words have been used for religious scholars and rulers which are ‘Ulama’ and ‘Ommara’. This suggests that both have different functions to do. Religious leadership can have a control over the political leadership by holding a social control with other forces like scientists, and other representatives

⁴⁴⁰Ibid.,252-3.

⁴⁴¹Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the state: The transformation of Islamic political ideas and practices in Indonesia* (Ohio: Ph.D.Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1884), 47-49.see also Fauzan Saleh, *Modern trends in Islamic theological discourse in 20th century Indonesia*, Opcit. 256.

from other factions of life like Art and culture to live a prosperous life in the contemporary world according to Islamic injunctions.⁴⁴²

7. XII- Indonesia as an Islamic state:

The ‘Seven words’ became the hot topic of the debate “With the obligation to implement the Shariah for adherents of Islam.” Different groups interpreted it in a different manner, the Muslims interpreted it as the state’s responsibility to implement Shariah but the non-Muslims interpreted it, as an implementation of personal religion as a state responsibility.⁴⁴³

There are three models of ‘Muslim strategy’, which formulate a relationship between Islam and the secular state based on different strategies. The ‘Confrontative strategy’, which makes its emphasis on the establishment of a state based on ‘Islamic Shariah’. In ‘facultative strategy’, the relation between Islam and state are discussed. The ‘Integrative strategy’ is all about ‘the efforts to implement ‘Shariah’ not at the state level but at the substantive level’.⁴⁴⁴ These strategies have their application in different countries. The first strategy is practiced in Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the second in Malaysia and the third in Indonesia.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² Darul Aqsha, Dick van der Meij, Johan Hendrik Meuleman, *Islam in Indonesia: A survey of events and Developments from 1988 to March 1993*, Opcit. 321.

⁴⁴³ Robin Bush, *Nahdatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*, Opcit. 54.

⁴⁴⁴ Mujiburrahman, “Islam and politics in Indonesia: the political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid”, Opcit. 344.

⁴⁴⁵ *ibid*

7. XII. (a)-Muhammadiyah

For the support of the establishment of an 'Islamic state', Syafii Marif discusses that he has left this idea after doing his P.hD in Islamic studies from the Chicago University, and now he is a firm believer in inter-faith dialogue.⁴⁴⁶

Regarding the implementation of Shariah in Aceh, he expresses his views "this is only the simplification of Shariah in a strict manner which was interpreted by ancient Ulama which should be reinterpreted according to needs and demands of time as this is always open to change. It is hard to develop a Muslim society without suspicion because of their experiences of colonization. Only a strong hope for an anti-violent, tolerant and pluralistic society cans be done."⁴⁴⁷ Syamsuddin has claimed that Indonesia is 'neither a secular nor a religious state', he says further "I don't think the idea of an Islamic state will happen in Indonesia, at least in this century".⁴⁴⁸

7. XII. (b)-Nahtdul Ulama

In this regard N. Hosen makes an analysis of the views by Hasyim Muzadi (senior member of the NU) that implication of Shariah is not a realist in Indonesia so Indonesians should go for universal values .Islam is based on universal values so Muslims can achieve their status to be pious even without a formal Islamic constitution.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ A. Hasani, "Ideology is dead' in politics", Opcit.

⁴⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Shah, "Indonesia, Democracy, and Playboy", address of M. Din Syamsuddin at UCLA international institute, 5 December, 2006.

⁴⁴⁹ Nadrayh. Hosen, "Religion and the Indonesian Constitution: A Recent Debate", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36, no.3 (October 2005):426.

7. XII. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

According to Fealy, Madjid's notion of 'Islam yes, Islamic party No, was a clear rejection of the Islamic faith that Islam and politics cannot be separated. In other words, his notion of Islam was not political but a notion based on universality, plurality, tolerance and cultural Islam. However, it generated great criticism.

Nurcholish Madjid's notions of Islam and Islamic doctrines were considered to be controversial. He argued that there was no concept of an Islamic state in Islam. He argued that Western democracy was not in contradiction with the teachings of Islam because of Islamic universal principals. Therefore, this democracy was capable of being accommodated in the Muslim societies by implementing the Islamic values.⁴⁵⁰

7. XII. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Regarding the relation of the state and religion, he was of the view that religion is very personal to everyone, so it should not be linked with political matters particularly in Indonesia, which has great cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. The state should not impose any religious teachings and should pay respect to minorities, to achieve the purpose of national integration. He was very outspoken in the favor of democracy and even left the membership of HMI in 1992 and established a Democracy Forum (Forum Demokrasi) along with likeminded

⁴⁵⁰ Martin van Bruinessen, "Divergent paths from Gontor: Muslim educational reform and the travails of pluralism in Indonesia", Opcit. 196-198.

people to counter the ongoing tendencies of sectarianism and primordial tendencies.⁴⁵¹

The platform of 'Partai Kebangkitan Bagnsa' National Awakening Party gave him the status of a charisma, which led him towards the post of presidency despite his blindness. However, his presidency was unsuccessful because of the first democratic experiment with many controversies regarding corruption. Consequently he was impeached in July 2001 by the 'People's Consultative Assembly'.⁴⁵²

During his rule, he had a strong emphasis on the formulation of a secular state based on the notion of the tolerance.⁴⁵³ This aspect of his policies was also appreciated by the Vatican that Abdurrahman is a man who pushes for ethnic-religious harmony and for democracy ... a blessing to his country".⁴⁵⁴

Thus, Abdurrahman's argument based on the NU decision made in 1935 to support the Dutch against the Japanese aggression (because the Dutch had given a guarantee to Muslims to practice their religion) has given an impression to deal with the teachings of Islam according to circumstances, contemporary needs and history as well. In his view, Islamic law or Fiqh was not a something which was static.

⁴⁵¹ Nicolas Teguh Budi harjunto, *Islam and liberalism in contemporary Indonesia: the political ideas of Jernigan Islam liberal* (Ohio: unpublished thesis. College of Arts and Sciences, Ohio university, 2003), 54-55.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ "Islam and state will remain separate", *Straits Times*, 7 November, 1999.

⁴⁵⁴ Anthony L. Smith , "Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Abdurrahman Wahid: Radical or Status Quo State?", *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 22, 3, (2000):498.

Further, he pointed out certain weaknesses of the Islamic law that were analyzed by Mujiburrahman.⁴⁵⁵

To overcome the issue of the different weaknesses of the interpreters of Islamic law, Abdurrahman makes a recommendation that 'Islamic Fiqh' should be reinterpreted on basics of 'humanistic judgments'. Mujiburrahman questions whether the reinterpretation of Shariah implies a reinterpretation of the state itself. The answer is no, as Abdurrahman does not suggest the notion for the establishment of an Islamic state, rather he recommends a democratic state in which the ideals of Shariah would be practiced through a political force. In other words, he suggests the imposition of a reinterpretation of Islamic Shariah which should not be, in conflict with the contemporary circumstances i.e. Pancasila.

7. XIII- Pancasila:

7. XIII. (a)-Muhammadiyah

The acceptance of the Pancasila and the rejection of hard line Muslim agendas alleged that Muhammadiyah and the NU are no more Muslim organizations. Nadirsyah Hosen has quoted Shafi' Marif which has shown the clear stance of the Muhammadiyah 'I believe that many people within our (NU and Muhammadiyah) community will condemn our stance, but I have warned them that we must be committed to promoting unity, which was declared by our founding

⁴⁵⁵ Mujiburrahman, "Islam and politics in Indonesia: The political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid", *Opcit.* 346.

fathers.⁴⁵⁶ Muhammadiyah's network of schools is also responsible to promote this state ideology.⁴⁵⁷

7. XIII. (b)-Nahdatul Ulama

Nahdatul Ulama is the first socio-religious organization, which has accepted Pancasila as a sole national ideology. Particularly in the time of Abdurrahman Wahid, his constant emphasis was on the pluralistic character of the NU and to support Pancasila to promote Islam.⁴⁵⁸

7. XIII. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

In the Indonesian context, Madjid seeks the Pancasila as a common platform because its first principle fully serves the demand of the monotheists so it can be accepted widely for two reasons:

- 1) Its values are according to the teachings of Islam
- 2) The agreement of different communities on this ideology can generate national unity and integration. Further, he compares it with the 'Constitution of Medina'.⁴⁵⁹

Religious pluralism is one of the main agendas of the organization, which are led by Madjid's followers like the Paramedina Foundation and the ICIP that are in continuous effort to create religious harmony.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁶ Nadirsyah Hosen, "Religion and the Indonesian Constitution: A Recent Debate", *Opcit.* 424. Mujiburrahman, "Islam and politics in Indonesia: the political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid", *Opcit.* 344.

⁴⁵⁷ Muhammad Fuad, "Civil society in Indonesia: the potential and limits of Muhammadiyah", *Opcit.* 2.

⁴⁵⁸ Paul J. Carnegie, "The Politics of Indonesia's Islamic Identification", *Dialogue* 4, no. 1(2006):4.

⁴⁵⁹ Zainul Fuad, *Religious Pluralism in Indonesia, Muslim-Christian Discourse*, *Opcit.* 118-132.

7. XIII. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

Wahid emphasizes on the acceptance of the Pancasila as the sole platform to ensure equal fundamental and citizenship rights to all the Indonesians. It can only be possible to declare all the citizens equal in the eyes of the constitution, irrespective of their ethnicity, religion and culture. Wahid speaks about the Pancasila, that it is way of life and not a mere ideology. It provides us unifying force to be nation.⁴⁶¹

He says 'Without Pancasila we will cease to be a state'.⁴⁶² Therefore, it can be said that Abdurrahman is in favor of the separation of religion and politics. Mujiburrahman also observes this phenomenon that Gus Dur advocates the separation between politics and religion in a way that Pancasila favors all the atheist religions because it has 'Belief in one God' its first principle.⁴⁶³

1. XIV-Interpretation of Quran:

"The Qur'an is but a written text between two covers. It does not talk, but rather the People speak through it" (Ali⁻ b. Abi⁻ Ta⁻lib, d. 40/661). This statement

⁴⁶⁰ Luthfi Assyaukanie, "Fatwa and Violence in Indonesia", *Journal of Religion and Society 11*, (2009):11.

⁴⁶¹ Zainul Fuad, religious pluralism in Indonesia, Muslim-Christian Discourse, Opcit. 110. Abdurrahman Wahid, <http://www.rmaf.org.ph/Awardees/name.htm>.

⁴⁶² Ramage, Douglas E, *Politics in Indonesia: democracy, Islam, and the ideology of tolerance* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 35.see also Mujiburrahman, *Islam and politics in Indonesia: The political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid*.

⁴⁶³Ibid.45

can be taken as an excellent example to interpret the *Quran* according to the needs of the contemporary world.⁴⁶⁴

7. XIV. (a)-Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah holds the view to interpret the teachings of the scriptures according to the contemporary needs. This approach makes the chances of 'Bidah' and 'Churafat' minimum, which would lead to genuine teachings of *Quran*.⁴⁶⁵

7. XIV. (b)-Nahdatul Ulama

The most significant quality of this organization is number of its members from the rural areas and this is one of the reasons, for which it is called 'Traditionalistic'. In its religious practices, it is concerned with the interpretation of the *Quran* and Hadith made by the earlier Ulama as an authority with enough knowledge. At the same time, other sources of knowledge are also mentioned like the Ijma and the Qiyas, but these are also in agreement with earlier Ulama.⁴⁶⁶

7. XIV. (c)-Nurcholish Madjid

The approach of the reinterpretation of the literal meaning of the basic sources of the *Quran* and *Sunnah* was adopted in the 1970s, because of the stagnant role of the Islamic organizations in the 1950s and the 1960s.

In his approach, he took a stance to discourage the formal-legalistic and scripturalistic understanding of Islam and put a great emphasis on the general,

⁴⁶⁴ Sirry, Mun'im, "Compete with One Another in Good Works", "Exegesis of Qur'an Verse 5.48 and Contemporary Muslim Discourses on Religious Pluralism", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 20, no. 4 (2009) :423- 438.

⁴⁶⁵ Howard M. Federspiel, "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia", *Opcit*. 57-79.

⁴⁶⁶ Mr. Endang Turmudi, "The Nahdlatul Ulama and Islam in Indonesia", *Opcit*.

ethical spiritual and contextual understanding of the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. The Purpose of this approach was to equip the Muslims to face the challenges of the contemporary world with the universality of the Islamic values.⁴⁶⁷ According to Madjid, the New Order has provided a great opportunity to adopt this new method of understanding Islam which is *Ijtihad*, which helped in the emergence of a new Islamic discourse that is known as ‘Neo-Modernism’.⁴⁶⁸

Madjid has made a very significant approach through the ‘contextualization and substantialization method’ in the reinterpretation of the *Quran* from different aspects. One of these aspects, which is very significant, is about the public interest (Maslaha) and purpose of Shariah (al maqsid al shariyyah). Moreover, this aspect of his approach accomplishes the needs of the society for its development and betterment by fulfilling the Islamic doctrines.⁴⁶⁹

In Madjid’s context-based approach, the element, which is very significant, is the historical context along with these maslaha and al-maqaṣid al-sha’riyya. The historical context plays a very significant role as different principles can be inferred from these historical accounts to accommodate the contemporary socio-cultural circumstances. In this regard, Madjid quotes an example, which is about the avoidance of marriages of Muslim males with the females of ‘Ahl e Kitab’.

⁴⁶⁷ Mark wood wards, “Madjid’s role in this aspect in Nurcholish Madjid”, ed. Jhon Esposito, (The Oxford encyclopedia of modern Islamic world (New York: Oxford University press, 1995), 254-255.

⁴⁶⁸ Greg Barton, “Neo-Modernism: A vital synthesis of traditionalist and modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia”, Opcit. 65.see also Madjid, “The Formation of a New Paradigm”, Opcit. 47-88.see also Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit. 102.

⁴⁶⁹Ibid.

This was done against the injunctions of the *Quran* but it was in the greater benefit of Muslim women of that time because it was felt that Muslim women, whose number was the greater at the time, would remain unmarried if the Muslim men were freely allowed to marry the women of the Ahl e Kitab.⁴⁷⁰ Madjid adopted the same approach when he gave the slogan “Islam yes” but “Islamic party, no” and this slogan was based on the firm grounds of analysis of political circumstances of Indonesia.⁴⁷¹

Many scholars have analyzed Madjid’s approach of contextualization; in this regard, Bowen analyzed that according to Madjid, the *Quranic* statements can be categorized into two types; one, can be considered as eternal truths while others, as historically specific rules. In addition, this second kind of rules has a rationale in their revelation.⁴⁷² This concept of *Masalah* (public interest) and *Ijtehad* in the historical context has close links in the form of *illa* (reason).

According to Fatimah, ‘Madjid’s conclusion as is mentioned by him, is based upon the famous rule of the *Quran* that the existence of law depends on the existence of ‘illa /reason’ .With reference to example, this can be mentioned that

⁴⁷⁰ Madjid, “Konsep Asbab al-Nuzul, Relevansinya Bagi Pandangan Historisis Segi-Segi Tertentu Ajaran Keagamaan”, 33. see also *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, 391-409 cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit.

⁴⁷¹ Madjid, *Islam, Agama Kemanusiaan*, 13. “dem, Islam di Indonesia dan Potensinya Sebagai Sumber Substansi Ideologi dan Etos Nasional” in *Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Islam dalam Sejarah*, ed.Munawar-Racbman,568-581.cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*.Ibid.

⁴⁷² Bowen, “*Quran, Justice, Gender*”, 60.see also Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*. Ibid.118.

the remaining of Muslim women was the ‘illa’ and when there was no such ‘illa’ then there would be no more such law to not to marry with Ahl e Kitab women.⁴⁷³

7. XIV. (d)-Abdurrahman Wahid

In interpretation, he also holds the same view like Nurcholish Madjid that the *Quran* was not revealed in the Indonesian context, to resolve the issues of Indonesia. Therefore, there is a need to interpret the *Quran* and other sources of law within its historical context.⁴⁷⁴

7. XV-Conclusion:

I have analyzed 13 different debates on democracy, Islam, politics and Islam, secularism, Pancasila and such other significant phenomenon’s and came to know the stance of both organizations and independent scholars. Both organizations more or less have similar view points over all the issues with few differences, while among intellectuals Nurcholish has a greater inclination towards modernity than Abdurrahman Wahid does.

Regarding the significant notions of secularism independent scholarship and organizations, both hold the view of separation between politics and religion. According to them there is always an open door for individual interpretation. Over the times, many developments have taken place within organizations such as NU

⁴⁷³ Madjid, “Kansep Asbab al-Nuzul”, 34.cited in Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit.

⁴⁷⁴ Rochmat Saefur, “Abdurrahman Wahid on Reformulating the Theology of Islamic Democracy to Counter Secularism in Modern Era”, *Institute of International Relations and Area Studies* 4, Ritsumeikan University (2006):125.

which has changed its stance from *Tagleed* to 'collective Ijtehad', but still all factions within Indonesian society have a great urge for *Ijtehad* to meet demands of Modernity. Thus these debates lead us to know the status of Indonesia as a Muslim country from the Indonesians point of view that it would remain a Muslim state but not an Islamic one.

CHAPTER-8

CONCLUSION: Analysis

Geographically, Indonesia is divided and separated by seas, rivers, mountain ranges, and other geographical factors, and this geographical location has added a color to the variety of cultural development. Due to geographical reasons, Indonesia does not have the same culture in all its areas and this fact has been represented by more than 250 dialectics prevalent in the country. A variety of cultures and civilizations overlapped each other which gave birth to synthesis of civilizations. After strong influence of Buddhist and Hindu empires, Islam arrived and started influencing the existing cultures and absorbing some of their indigenous elements.

Centuries of Islamic existence were later followed by the influence of the European culture. The modern culture with its secular impact started to instigate Indonesian intellectuals with modern European values like individual liberty as compared to the traditional culture of collectivity.

1. The most important response of the Indonesian society to modernity and its challenges was in the form of the reformist movements, which began between the 19th and 20th centuries. "Muhammadiyah" and "NU" emerged as the two significant organizations with reformation agenda, though ideologically dissimilar on certain issues. Muhammadiyah had an aim to purify the society from the influences of other belief systems associated with Hinduism and Buddhism, but NU though with same reformation aim strongly believed in the preservation of the glorious history of Indonesia. This preservation tendency was characterized by the synthesis of Islam with other religious beliefs. It was known as a traditionalist reformist movement. The traditional and preservatist propensity of NU does not necessarily prevent it from commanding the respect of Indonesians, in fact its membership has deep root within the government and commanded the respect of younger generation intellectuals for its accommodationist stance. The same could be said of Muhammadiyah though still obstinate on reformation yet having soft inclination for Sufism. The transformations within the two organizations and their present status could of course delineate the picture of two different poles, nonetheless maintains the status of a moderate organizations.⁴⁷⁵ This status is also certified by the affiliation of Indonesians to either of the two organizations.

2. Having a detailed glance of the reformist movements across the Muslim world and in Indonesia particularly the most important challenge was answering the questions of contemporary issues and the challenges of modernity. Meanwhile, in

⁴⁷⁵ Barry Deskar, *Islam and Society in South East Asia after September 11*, (Singapore: Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies, 2002), 3.

Indonesia this challenge happens to fall on the shoulders of Muhammadiyah and NU characterized as modernist and traditional respectively, along with independent intellectuals, all geared at advancement of knowledge within an Islamic framework. The rationale of their effort nevertheless is in arguing against the general view that Islam and modernity are not compatible. Besides, these two organizations and independent intellectuals, there were other liberal networks (organizations and individuals) contributing to the whole debate of religion reinterpretation and exposition over the teachings of the *Quran* and Hadith. In such a diversified society like Indonesia, the tendency of having confrontation cannot be averted. Greg Fealy identified the nature of such disagreements. Indonesian radical Muslims were not comfortable and negatively responded to the modernist and neo-modernist Paramadina foundation scholars' view of interfaith marriages. The latter is considered against the teachings of Islam.⁴⁷⁶ In the same way, when Ulil Abshar Abdallah in Kompas (2002) gave a statement 'there is nothing like law of God', the Council of the Indonesian Ulama charged Ulil with blasphemy.⁴⁷⁷ Madjid was not exempted from the charges of blasphemy, because of his attitude towards reconstruction of Islamic thought within a secular environment. Despite all hurdles, Madjid remains unshaken for his ambition to creating a society in the light of the first 'Muslim city state' in Madina with different characteristics of tolerance,

⁴⁷⁶Ali Noer Zaman, "Indonesia: Is secularism a choice?", Opcit.

⁴⁷⁷"Recent liberal Islam controversies". *Inside Indonesia*, No 87, Jul-Sep, 2006, (accessed on May 2010).

<http://www.insideindonesia.org/edition-87/a-conservative-turn>

pluralism and democracy.⁴⁷⁸ Madjid was a devout Muslim who had strong feelings of pluralism and tolerance, in other words a devout Muslim equipped with modern as well as traditional knowledge. His accommodative principle does not cease him from challenging view he believes are un-Islamic as in the reaction to the portrayal of the Prophet by Monitor magazine.⁴⁷⁹

3. Nevertheless, Indonesia has also witnessed the display of secularist thought since the time of independence.⁴⁸⁰ In the post independence, secularists like Sukarno and Hatta pulled their strength to declare Indonesia as a secular state, but their efforts were met with an extreme reaction by Kartosuwiryo and his followers from the 1940s to the 1960s. The latter counter attack was in the form of violent attempt to make Indonesia as an Islamic state 'Darul Islam'. This Islamization trend got representation by political aspirations under the banner of Masyumi.⁴⁸¹ After Sukarno, Suharto's New Order also promoted this concept of modernization and the adoption of Pancasila as a state ideology in response to the 'voices for Islam'.⁴⁸² Due to the adoption of the Pancasila, certain people love to call it secular but in fact Indonesia is neither a secular nor a theocratic state.⁴⁸³ Therefore, in the present case, the acceptance of the Pancasila is highly in demand, which fulfills the demand of

⁴⁷⁸ Andi Faisal Bakti , "Nurcholish Madjid and the Paramadina Foundation".

⁴⁷⁹ Martin Van Bruinessen, "Muslim intellectuals: Nurcholish Madjid; Indonesia Muslim intellectual", Opcit.15.

⁴⁸⁰ Abdurrahman Wahid, "Indonesia's Mild Secularism" *SAIS Review* 21, no.2 (Summer-Fall 2001):25-28.

⁴⁸¹ R. E. Elson, "Nationalism, Islam, secularism and the state in contemporary Indonesia", *Journal of International Affairs*, (2010):329.

⁴⁸² Ali Noer Zaman, "Is secularism a choice?", Opcit.

⁴⁸³ Azyumardi Azra, "Indonesian Islam, Mainstream Muslims and Politics" Paper presented at Taiwanese and Indonesian Islamic Leaders Exchange Project The Asia Foundation in Taiwan Taipei, October 26-31, 2006, 2.

the Muslims and the non-Muslims as well. Many scholars have analyzed that the 'Pancasila state' is secular as well as a non-secular state at the same time; Mujiburrahman quotes an argument by N. Driyarkara, "Pancasila state is secular because it has no promotion of any religion; it is non secular as well because it has no opposition for any religion".⁴⁸⁴ The Protestant theologian Immanuel Tanja also shares the view that Indonesia is not an Islamic state, because the giant organizations like Muhammadiyah and NU and the others are not going to establish an Islamic state as it has not been critical aspect of their goals. Therefore, if Muhammadiyah and NU are not for that it is "impossible to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia". Thus, the dynamic trend of Indonesian Islam should be understood as the development of the values shared by all fractions of the Indonesian society, rather than the establishment of an Islamic state. It can further be said that such trend is an efforts to remove religious labels, and to promote national integration. In the sense, religion in Indonesia is emerging with new ambitions of unity, tolerance and pluralism.⁴⁸⁵ This approach for similarity has been supported by intellectuals of these organizations, according to Syafii Mar'if, NU and Muhammadiyah both shares the same feeling for Pancasila. Moreover, both parties are working together on different fronts. In the contemporary Indonesian society, ideological conflicts are rooted in social and economic interests even though conflict like Christian-Muslims fracas gets portrays as ideological. The fact

⁴⁸⁴ Mujiburrahman, *Feeling threatened, Muslim Christian relations Indonesia's new order* (Leiden & Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 121.

⁴⁸⁵ Darul Aqsha, et al, *Islam in Indonesia: A survey of events and Developments from 1988 to March 1993*, (Jakarta: Seri INIS XXVI, 1995), 478.

of the matter is that Indonesia has experience minimal or no ideological, in view of the fact that virtually all groups representing the society have a common association and attachment to the ideology of Pancasila since independence and the creation of the 1945 constitution.⁴⁸⁶ Muhammadiyah's former chairperson defends his support for pluralism, tolerance, inter-religious dialogue that "do not be so quick to judge young activists as secular just because they have different ideas regarding democracy, pluralism and human rights".⁴⁸⁷ Another vital angle of this island society is that religious organizations try to categorize and place adequate limit to their understanding of secularism and what are religious precepts as in the decisions made by God, which implies the orders of God by making categorization what is Mubah, Makruh, Halal, and Haraam.⁴⁸⁸

4.Modernists like Muhammadiyah and independent intellectuals like Nurcholish Madjid have made their emphasis over *Ijtehad* due to many reasons. One of them is stagnation of legal interpretation in form of *Taqleed*. As is the case in many Muslim societies, *Taqleed* was accepted because *Ijtehad* was considered as limited to certain matters of law, while other matters were considered to be the jurisdiction of *Taqleed*. Nurcholish Madjid argues what was the essence of *Taqleed*, he answered that it has not substance; instead it has been stickiness to the outdated matters, which led to the stagnation in the Islamic theology and jurisprudential. In

⁴⁸⁶ A. Hasani, "Ideology is dead' in politics", Opcit.

⁴⁸⁷ The Jakarta Post, "Muhammadiyah on quest for wisdom to face new century," Special report, March 7, 2010

⁴⁸⁸ M. B. Hooker, *Indonesian Islam: Social Change through Contemporary Fatwa*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003)1-310 pages, reviewed by Timothy P. Daniels, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 24,no.1 (June,2005)

practice, *Ijtihad* is more than a methodology for thought that allows Muslims to participate in intellectual jihad, to generate ideas on basics of previous theology, rationality for the presentation of a new identity for Muslim. By adopting this methodology, the Muslim world can be equipped with the tool of responding to the contemporary challenges.⁴⁸⁹ Siti Fatimah elucidates on the principle of *Ijtihad* as analyzed by Jalaluddin Rahmat. According to the latter, *Ijtihad* “emphasizing over substantial meaning of *Quran* rather on literal meaning of *Quran* which was earlier practiced by Umayyad and Abbasids and even before this by caliph Umar to support his own political agendas”.⁴⁹⁰

5. Aside from the intellectual debates, there are equally radical trends in Indonesian Islam known as Militant Islam in the form of different jihadi organization and ‘Jihadi Lashkars’. The matter of fact is that these groups also represent another form of response to modernity and the challenge of the immediate society. According to Khamami Zada, there are two factors that led to the emergence of these militant groups in Indonesia: the first is inability of government to resolve the problems faced by Indonesians on all aspects of life. Secondly, the unfair policies of the West especially the American policies towards the developing countries also account for their radicalization.⁴⁹¹ Subsequently, the complex pattern

⁴⁸⁹ Shaykh Taha Jabir Al-Alwani, “Issues in Contemporary Thought,” (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought IIIT, 2005),123.

⁴⁹⁰ “IP finjauan Kritis atas Sejarah Fiqh: Dari Fiqh al-Khulafa' al-Rasyidin Hingga Madzhab Liberalism” in *Kontekstualisasi Doctrin Islam dalam Sejarah*, ed. Munawar-Rachman, 251-310. Siti Fatimah. *Modernism and contextualization of Islamic doctrines*, Opcit.

⁴⁹¹ K. Zada, *Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Ormas-ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002), 20.cited in Ahmad Ali Nurdin , islam and state:a study of the libral Islamic network in Indonesia ,*New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 7, 2 (December, 2005):23.

of world system supporting survival of the fittest paradigm and the ongoing conflicts between the East and the West is believed to be strong factor. But more importantly, disparity of development, inequality in global wealth, corrupt leaders and support of these leaders for Western hegemony adds to the misperception and mistrust of the West. But the core of the issue is that radicalism appears not to be powerful enough to solve the challenges facing Indonesia, thus the critical role of the NU and Muhammadiyah becomes indispensable in bringing about a reform in Indonesia through a peaceful platform.⁴⁹² Indonesian Muslims are counted among the most pious and moderate in the Muslim world, this has been analyzed in a survey by Pew (2008) that 80% Indonesians offer their five time prayers while 59% in Egypt, 46 percent in Pakistan, and 34 percent in Turkey. If the observance of daily prayer suggests piety then such survey is an indication of the level of piety among Indonesia in comparison to other Muslim societies.⁴⁹³

6. Despite the mantra for pluralism and tolerance, both NU and Muhammadiyah never escaped criticism. It is argued that both organizations have failed to promote pluralism at the grass root level because followers of these organizations either do not exhibit the larger picture of pluralism or tolerance in their given vicinities. According to the survey of PPIM 75% of Pesantren leaders have encouraged destroying churches built without official permission, while 86% are not willing to build churches in the Muslim majority areas and 85% are not

⁴⁹²ibid.

⁴⁹³ "Pious but Moderate: Back in his boyhood home of Indonesia, Obama will find a conservative state that has fought off radical Islam", *Newsweek*. March 12, 2010.

comfortable in living with deviant Muslim sects like Aehmadiyah. Quite shocking 81% of the Pesantrens are followers of NU. Jajat Burhanudin, director of PPIM further adds to the survey that these heavy weight organizations have not been able to live to expectation in promoting pluralism at grass root level.⁴⁹⁴ Islam has been a major public player in Indonesia and even when the Ministry of Religious Affairs came to being, it never transformed Indonesia into a religious oriented state, instead the state has always maintain a midway between secularism and religiosity and accommodating minorities into the process of national development.⁴⁹⁵

7. In the case of practice of democracy in Indonesia as a Muslim state, the 'view of compatibility' of democracy with Islam has been testified because Islam played a significant role during independence struggle and the creation of modern Indonesia where democracy can be put on test. After independence, the Indonesian political elite decided to run the state not on a theocratic pattern but on the basis of humanitarian, patriotic and religious values in the context of Indonesian ethnic and geographical composition. So to overcome all the ethnic, cultural and geographical differences Pancasila was adopted as a state ideology not as a religion. To look into the relation between Islam and democracy, there are divergent views. Some hold a view that democracy is not compatible with Islam while others believe the principles of consultations, justice; accountability on which the first Islamic city state of Medina was established is clear pointer that Islam and modern democracy

⁴⁹⁴ Nurrohman, "NU, Muhammadiyah have failed to promote pluralism at grassroots", *opcit*.

⁴⁹⁵ R. E. Elson., 338-339.

bear same features. The status of Islam in Indonesia is 'peoples' movement' but most of the time it has been exploited by authorities to achieve their own goals.⁴⁹⁶

8. Conclusively, the rejection of Islam as the sole political force and the acceptance of the Pancasila as state consensus ideology does not suggest the failure of creating an Islamic state according to the likings of some, instead the state has accorded ample privilege to Islam within the mainstream society but not to turn the state Islamic.⁴⁹⁷ In this regard, Nurcholish Madjid has taken his argument from Muslim political thinker Ali Abdul al-Raziq who has written in his book, *Islam Wa Ushul al Hukma* (Islam and the Fundamentals of Government) that the Prophet has ordained Islamic principles strictly for religious or spiritual matters while in case of worldly matters, the power is delegated to human beings to frame their laws according to contemporary needs, and thus he separated religious and worldly matters, especially the administrative matters.⁴⁹⁸ By the deep analysis, it becomes clearer that the nature of debates ongoing in Indonesia are neither leading Indonesia towards a pure Islamic or a secular country but a hybrid of both, and as respond to the contemporary needs of the society in this global village.⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore, a great number of followers of Abdurrahman Wahid and Nurcholish Madjid suggest that thoughts of these two independent intellectuals are not in a vacuum, not for the elite class but as response to social needs. Similarly, it is undisputable that NU and

⁴⁹⁶ Wahid, Abdurrahman, "Indonesia's Mild Secularism", *SAIS Review* 21, no.2 (Summer-Fall 2001): 25-28.

⁴⁹⁷ Paul Bayliss, "Islam in Indonesia: Could Indonesia Become an Islamic state", *suite101*, January 13, 2008. (accessed on October 2009)

http://indonesia.suite101.com/article.cfm/islam_in_indonesiaJan 13, 2008?

⁴⁹⁸ Ali Noer Zaman, "Is secularism a choice?" *opcit.*

⁴⁹⁹ Tarmizi Tahrif., 20-21.

Muhammadiyah are two indispensable organizations that have reshaped the socio-economic, cultural and religious thinking of the country largely, and the strength of their followings is a pointer of their influence. More importantly, the ventures of both organizations delineate an intelligent response to challenges facing Indonesian society within a global environment and far from being the result of influence from the West or from the Muslim world.

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