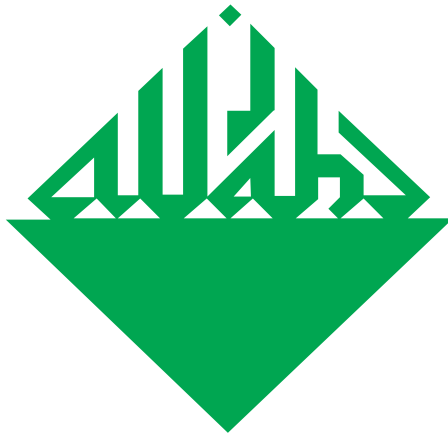


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Volume 19, Number 2, 2012



ISLAM AND MODERN SCHOOL EDUCATION
IN JOURNAL *PENGASUH*:
REVIEW OF THE *KAUM MUDA - KAUM TUA* DICHOTOMY

Hiroko Kushimoto

‘TIES THAT WOULD DIVIDE’:
EXPLAINING THE NU’S EXIT FROM MASYUMI IN 1952

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FROM KITAB MALAY TO LITERARY INDONESIAN:
A CASE STUDY IN SEMANTIC CHANGE

Peter G. Riddell

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Book Review

The End of Innocence?

Dick van der Meij

Andrée Feillard and Rémy Madinier, *The End of Innocence? Indonesian Islam and the Temptations of Radicalism*. Singapore: NUS Press and IRASEC 2011, ISBN 978-9971-69-512-5

Abstract: *The book discussed here is a successful attempt and provides a much more convincing multi-level description and understanding of the topic than has been the case so far. It looks at the combined political, cultural, historical and theological factors at play and explains that the heart of the matter is not Islam or Islamic religiosity per se but rather political structures and societal innovations within a framework of uncertain legal and global circumstances. The acute awareness of all players of the pivotal role of Islam in power games is acutely laid bare and the often unbelievable opportunist stance of all players dissected in gruesome detail. More research is however needed to provide more insight into the financial and organizational levels of the issue in the near future.*

Keywords: Indonesian Islam, radicalism, social and religious change, Islamic politics, Islamic Indonesian history.

Abstrak: *Buku ini berhasil memberikan penjelasan dan pemahaman yang lebih meyakinkan tentang topik radikalisme yang dibahasnya daripada pembahasan-pembahasan yang ada. Buku ini melihat pada kombinasi faktor-faktor politik, budaya, sejarah, dan teologi dan menjelaskan bahwa inti dari persoalannya bukanlah Islam atau keberagaman Islam semata, tapi juga struktur-struktur politik dan perubahan-perubahan masyarakat dalam bingkai situasi global dan hukum yang tak pasti. Kesadaran semua aktor yang terlibat tentang peran penting Islam dalam permainan kekuasaan diletakkan secara telanjang, dan sikap oportunis mereka dibedah secara detail. Meski demikian, dibutuhkan penelitian lebih lanjut untuk dapat memberikan pandangan yang lebih mendalam atas level organisasional dan finansial dari isu radikalisme yang dibahas dalam buku ini.*

Kata kunci: Islam Indonesia, radikalisme, perubahan sosial dan agama, politik Islam, sejarah Indonesia Islam.

الخلاصة: نجح هذا الكتاب في تقديم تفسير وفهم أكثر إقناعاً مما عليه المناقشات الحالية حول موضوع التطرف الذي تناوله، هذا الكتاب يلقي الضوء على المزيج من العوامل السياسية والثقافية والتاريخية واللاهوتية وبيان أن المشكلة الرئيسية ليست هي الإسلام أو التدين بالإسلام فحسب وإنما تكمن المشكلة أيضاً في الهياكل السياسية والتغيرات الاجتماعية في إطار الأوضاع العالمية والقانونية المتأرجحة، إن الوعي بدور الإسلام الهام لدى جميع من تورطوا في لعبة السلطة قد تم الكشف عنه بشكل سافر، وكان موقفهم الانتهازي قد تم تشریحها بشكل مفصل، ومع ذلك فإن الحاجة مازالت ملحة إلى مزيد من البحوث للتمكن من تقديم نظرة أكثر عمقا على المستوى التنظيمي والمالي عن قضية التطرف التي تناولها هذا الكتاب.

الكلمات الاسترشادية: الإسلام في اندونيسيا، التطرف، التغيرات الاجتماعية والدينية، السياسة الإسلامية، تاريخ اندونيسيا الإسلامية.

One of the dangers in social sciences seems to be that subjects are being studied out of the overall context and seen in sometimes naive simplicity. The idea that a certain social phenomenon may have multiple causes at various different levels all at the same time may be overlooked and the human factor downplayed. Also, subjects seem often insufficiently demarcated, elements of study unsatisfactorily defined and scopes not clearly enough stated. 'Islam in Indonesia', for instance, may be a nice topic for a journalist but not for a social scientist. The country is too big and Islam too varied.

This is not a problem as long as scholarship remains in its well protected ivory tower and tries to look at things in a true academic way among scholars who know and trust each other. However, things become more difficult when policy makers and journalists consider the outcomes of scholarly efforts to understanding as guides to learn the truth. Then we see that ideas scholars develop come to have a life all of their own outside the scholarly domain where they belong. There is no such thing as the 'truth' in scholarship and a proper scholar will not try to look for it. However, other groups in society have a desperate desire to discover the 'truth' and subsequently act upon this and cannot or will not understand that the views scholars present are their *views* of the truth but not the truth itself.

A nice example of this is Clifford Geertz' divide between *priyayi*, *santri* and *abangan* in the Javanese Islamic context in his *Religion of Java* (1960). He used this division to understand what he saw in the small central Javanese town he studied. He did not intend to present this divide within Javanese Islamic society as the truth. This would be impossible as life would be unbearable in Javanese society for members of each of these groups. However, in Indonesia it has turned into all but the gospel truth and for many Indonesian and other scholars of Islam these divisions no longer present scholarly categories but rather categories that really exist.

Books on Indonesian Islam abound and many of them try their utmost to present an understanding of the position of Islam in Indonesia and the advent of radicalism, fundamentalism up to religiously inspired violence and acts of terrorism in that country. Despite their large numbers, only a tiny few contribute to our understanding of what is happening with Islam in Indonesia. Indonesian scholarship, and also

that of Indonesian Islam, is often full (sometimes too full) of information and detail but fails to present a meaningful synthesis or conclusion. *The End of Innocence?* written by Andrée Feillard and Rémy Madinier is a rare exception. It looks at Islam in Indonesia over the last half century in a comprehensive and novel way. It does not pretend to have answers to all our questions and is brave enough to present questions of its own which are crucial to our understanding. In scholarship, questions are perhaps even more important than answers and the questions this book addresses are fundamental indeed.

The book is an updated translation of the French version of 2006 and is divided into five chapters with an Introduction. Chapter One is entitled 'History of Islam in Indonesia: Between Acculturation and Rigour'; Chapter Two 'An Archipelago Adrift: Radical Islam and Opportunities amidst Chaos (1996-2004)'; Chapter Three is 'The Islamist Cluster: Organisation and Functioning'; Chapter Four 'Blackmail with the Sacred: The Ideology of Radical Islam' and the final Chapter Five has the title 'Religious Revival or Intolerance? The Hold of Radicalism on Indonesian Society'. The book ends in the usual Conclusion, Bibliography, Biographies, Glossary and Index.

From the very beginning, on page one of the Introduction, the book makes the crucial observation that previous observers on Islamic radicalism saw Islam as far too uniform than it in fact was or is. In Feillard and Madinier's view, Islam is not a singularly expressed religion all over the world, but like any other religions, it is subject to particularistic interpretations pertinent to time and place. I have some reservations with this, however. I think that Islam as religion is the same everywhere but the way it is interpreted and expressed is not. The basic texts of the Quran and Sunnah are the same all over the globe, but the histories and social circumstances in which these texts have been and are interpreted and explained, as well as used, have differed, especially in the past. In modern times, starting with mass transportation and mass communication, the trend of a uniform Islam is now perhaps far stronger than ever before and local and temporal differences are diminishing at a startling speed in favor of a uniform Islamic experience. In this context, the use of email, Facebook etc, cellular telephones and Blackberries cannot be underestimated.

A very important observation is made on page 9 where the authors state that syncretism does not necessarily exclude radicalism. This is

worth exploring in more detail as it may be a widespread idea that syncretism would lead to something necessarily peaceful, whereas the case of the history of the Java War (1825-1830) and Prince Diponegoro's role in it clearly shows the opposite.

The book endeavors to look at Indonesian Islam in a fresh way, and it succeeds. It locates developments in and around Islam in the country in relation to economic and especially political developments. It does so first of all by looking at the roots of our views on Islam in Indonesia. It addresses the crucial question whether Islam in Indonesia was, or indeed, is or has ever been moderate and whether Indonesian Islam was ever innocent. I have always been puzzled by the idea that Indonesian Islam was supposed to be innocent. Islam is a religion and cannot be accused of anything. Muslims are people and thus open to all wonders and failures of human life. If we look at the mass killings perpetrated by Muslims in the aftermath of the abortive coup in 1965 I wonder how scholars could and can maintain that Muslims are innocent. Some are, others are not. I thus wonder if the word 'innocence' in the title of the book should not be more properly understood as the innocence of the (Western) scholars who study this complex phenomenon rather than Indonesian Islam itself. Perhaps we should think of a combination of both.

The authors note that 'radical manifestations of Indonesian Islam did not emerge with Independence' (p. 3). Of course they are absolutely right and one of the reasons that may have led to the current notion of a predominant moderate Indonesian Islam with radical fringes, despite an overwhelming number of facts to the contrary, is that many writings in Dutch, both written by the Dutch outsiders as well as Indonesian insiders, are no longer read and the information, also on 'radical' movements in the past is therefore no longer noticed. The following, for example, is a quote from the book: *Sarekat Islam Lokal* published by the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia in 1975 (p. 145):

Al joelende en schreeuwende, van tijd tot tijd een mohammedaansch gebed uitgillende, aangevoerd en opgehitst door S.I. leden, schreeuwende: "Ajo. Ajo. Wong Islam madjoe madjoe. Omahe dibongkar. Pateni wong tjina. Ajo. Ajo. Sadoeloer Islam". Intusschen aangegroeid tot 1500 à 2000 man, allen gewapend met de boven reeds genoemde wapens, bezette de bende in min of meer compact massa's de wegen van C. naar A. en E. De winkels werden opengebrosen, de goederen op straat geslingerd en daar door de buitenstaanders vernield, onder aanvoering van o.m. den vice-voorzitter der S.I. Hadji Moefti,

het welk werd opgemerkt door den Patih en zijn hoofdopasser Soekarman; in mijn nabijheid echter deed hij alsof (hij) de menschen kalmeren wilde.'

"Screaming and yelling, occasionally screeching a Mohammadan prayer, lead and incited by S.I. (Sarekat Islam) adherents, yelling 'Come, Come. Muslims come to the fore. Demolish their houses. Kill the Chinese. Come. Come. Islamic Brothers'. Meanwhile, grown to 1500 to 2000 men, all armed with the weapons mentioned above, the crowd, in compact masses, occupied the roads from C. to A. and E. Shops were burgled and the goods flung onto the street to be wrecked there by the crowds under the leadership of among others, the vice-president of the S.I. Haji Mufti which the Patih and his head patrolman Sukarman noticed; however, in my presence he pretended to want to calm down the crowds." (Kudus, October 1918).

I present this quote in full to show that also long before the Second World War religious and other social unrest organised and instigated by particular Muslim groups existed and there are many other examples. Accidentally, the quote might easily have been taken from the *Jakarta Post* from 1996 describing the situation in Situbondo at the time (p. 51 in the book), or when the Ahmadiyah was attacked and adherents murdered in Serang in 2011.

The book is replete with pertinent remarks about the issues it tackles which leave no room for questioning. One such is on page 3 where the authors write: '... the story of radical Muslims is above all a story of men and women'. It might seem a blunt and superfluous remark, but this really sums up the rest of the book. Radical Muslims are humans and fall into every imaginable trap of the human condition: opportunism, power games, distrust, jealousy, spite, imagination, cowardice, heroism and so on.

The description of the history of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago is by necessity short and thus somewhat fragmented but it gives us some interesting issues to ponder about. One is that the spread of Islam in the area was not a one way journey. It was not a kind of pure Islam 'moving from the centre in the Arab world towards the periphery in the Archipelago where it would be broken down by contact with Hindu-Buddhist culture.' (p. 3). It points to the emergence and subsequent failure of 'a democratic Muslim current' and the importance of this phenomenon in the subsequent development of Indonesian Islam. The chapter also delves into the early relationship of Islam and secularism and the application of Islamic law in this predominant Muslim country.

The most important observation in this chapter is that the Islamic policy of the New Order regime was 'dictated not so much by religious consideration (...) as it was by personal interests and the demands of an increasingly personalised rule, giving rise to an attitude towards Indonesian Islam that can be characterised as overwhelmingly opportunist and necessarily fluctuating' (p. 25).

Opportunism

The authors state that the Indonesian authorities and other groups high up the social ladder often use and misuse Islamic organizations for their own interests. The book gives ample examples of sometimes shocking opportunism on the side of the Indonesian authorities, the army and the government alike but also of Islamic groups. Some radical groups were even established by the police or the army who subsequently allowed the organizations to run wild as long as they stayed on their own turf. High-ranking military officers were rumored to have funded the Laskar Jihad activities in Ambon (p. 159). It would have been interesting if the authors could have found a pattern that could explain in more detail how this opportunism worked and still works. We all remember the surprise and disgust that flared up when the Jakarta authorities some years ago visited the Front Pembela Islam to congratulate it on its birthday, or Vice-President Hamzah Haz receiving Ja'far Umar Thalib after having been released from prison after having been convicted for substituting Indonesian state law with the *sharī'ah* causing a militia member to be stoned to death for illicit sexual relations (p. 164). The relationship between the institutions people claim to work for or represent and their personal interests should also be scrutinized in this context. Does a General act in his capacity of General of the Army, in his capacity of pious Muslim, his own personal secular interests, or a combination of all? More important still, I feel that this opportunism is possible because the divides between the power blocks in Indonesia (government, army, ulama) has never been clearly established (purposefully) and continuously overlap in differing patterns and that this not only facilitates opportunism but even makes it a crucial constituting part of the power constellation. This would perhaps have been too much in view of this volume but, in light of these author's astonishing knowledge and expertise, it would make a fascinating next volume.

This second volume might also pay more in-depth attention to the following. Many conflicts seem to have been instigated by ‘provocateurs’ (e.g. p. 86, 160). This is, of course, a very interesting point and it would have been fascinating to learn more of these ‘provocateurs’ which the book unfortunately does not address. Who are they? Who employs them? Are they strangers to the people they want to provoke and if yes, how do they work? How do they gain the confidence of the people in such a way that they succeed in inciting hatred and violence so easily? More interesting still, why are the Indonesian so-called moderate Muslims so easily provoked that they so readily resort to violence – which is not very moderate-like – and at very short notice? Isn’t it about time a mass-psychologist looked into the issue to try to make sense of this particular part of the problem?

Talking about psychology: something that might be looked into more closely is the internal conflicts of Muslims who are against terrorism and violence but basically agree with the fundamental tenets of the organizations that perpetrate violent acts. Every Muslim is supposed to be against vile acts and immorality so in this respect they cannot possibly disagree with, for instance, Front Pembela Islam. However, apparently they lack the resources or the will to act against the means of operations of this and other organizations.

Sometimes I have difficulty accepting the truth of some remarks. For instance, on p. 44 where the authors note that the editor of the Tabloid *Monitor* (Arswendo Atmowiloto who they curiously enough do not mention by name) was imprisoned in the 1990s because he featured the Prophet Muhammad in a poll. As I remember it, initially, the point of contention was not that the Prophet was in the poll, but that he lost to Aswendo himself which was seen as a grave insult. That Aswendo himself could not help how people voted was passed over.

The fact that Indonesian Muslims and their leaders have other issues on their minds apart from Islam is explained with some very poignant examples. For instance, after the 1965 abortive coup hundreds of thousands of Communists and proclaimed Communists were slaughtered, by (among others) Nahdlatul Ulama youth. It transpired that, as stated in the book, some Javanese ulama were major landowners who played a leading role in the battle against agrarian land reforms proposed by the Communists. These ulama sometimes ‘lent their backing to the massacres’ (p. 26) and it would seem not

difficult to guess why. This may be construed as a glaring example of opportunism on the side of Indonesian Muslim elite. The book gives many more examples some of which may be worth mentioning here and looking into in more depth which I hope the authors will be willing to do. The book mentions 'personal quarrels' causing the breakdown of the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (p. 30). On page 39 they continue by stating the relationship between the BAKIN (Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara, State Intelligence Coordinating Agency) and Darul Islam which 'seemed to be one of mutual expedience, with each organisation trying to use the other to serve its own aims.' Habibi did not create ICMI out of piety but to obtain the 'political leverage' he lacked (p. 46). A wonderful example is found on pp. 101-102 describing the 1999 issue of *Media Dakwah* which described all the reasons not to vote for Megawati Soekarnoputri as president, 'she was "pro-communist, she was the daughter of Soekarno, she did not fight for the people, she had dictatorial, militarist-fascist tendencies, she was in fact anti-Reformasi and also anti-Islam. Less than two years later, Megawati acceded to the presidency with the assent of this same group.'

Looking at all these examples one gets the impression that Islamic parties, Islamic leaders and Islamists do not fight for Islam at all but use Islam as a tool in their personal power games. Perhaps that may explain in large part why Indonesian Muslims are usually loath to vote for Islamic parties.

It would seem that this opportunism is also responsible for the radical Islamic movement's 'multitude of organisations often characterised by sectarianism and headed by leaders with a remarkable propensity to split up' (p. 173). The large number of organisations and their often localised character is indeed remarkable and in this light, the coherence displayed by the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama is worth studying.

I fear that the authors do not escape some of the innocence they claim to battle. In their description of the Moluccan conflict of 2000, the authors write that the situation in the Moluccas was aggravated by the 'inability of the security apparatus to take the measure of the conflict and contain it.' (p. 158) I have difficulty to believe this. The Indonesian army was never short of measures to contain whatever it wished to contain and I therefore think the word 'inability' is inappropriate. Perhaps 'unwillingness' would have been more to the

point. The same might lie behind their remark: ‘Conspicuous piety became the new standard for social promotion, in government as well as in media circles.’ (p. 43). I think the remark might have started with: conspicuous displays of piety!

Some issues are unfortunately rather lacking in the book. It pays, for instance, precious little attention to the sources, ways of disbursement and distribution and other aspects of the funding of all the organisational and practical aspects of Islamic-inspired violence. Another point may be the relationship between parallel currents of streamlining Islam and the overall policies of streamlining Indonesian society and the government’s policies of doing away with or conversely, revitalizing the many different cultures and their ways of expression in this large and multiethnic country. Perhaps the situation is actually quite simple. For many Indonesians, ‘true’ or ‘pure’ Islam is the only fixed point in a life driven by economic, political, social, and cultural uncertainties.

The short biographies of the main personalities involved in radical Islam at the end of the book are very useful and the idea of putting these biographies in this kind of books should become standard.

Conclusion

The book shows in remarkable detail the different ideas, notions, ways of expression, use and misuse of Islam in Indonesia leading to radicalism and extremism. The roots of the problem have been largely but not entirely laid bare. More is to be looked into before a more complete picture emerges. Of course the 273 pages of the book are not enough to tell this whole story but the framework surely has now been provided.

The book is an important addition to the literature of Indonesian Islam and its varied developments. It presents a detailed picture of events, their backgrounds and the main players enacting them. It presents new ideas and puts much of the literature written on the subject in perspective.

Dick van der Meij, *Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC), Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta.*

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رئيس التحرير:

أزيوماردي أزا

المحررون:

سيف المجاني

جمهاري

جاجات برهان الدين

عمان فتح الرحمن

فؤاد جبلي

علي منحنف

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مساعد هيئة التحرير:

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ميليسا كروش

مراجعة اللغة العربية:

نورصمد

تصميم الغلاف:

س. برنكا

ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN: 0215-0492) هي مجلة دورية يصدرها مركز البحوث الإسلامية

والإجتماعية (PPIM) جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا (STT/DEPPEN NO 129/DITJEN/PPG/)

1976/STT)، وترتكز للدراسات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا خاصة وآسيا جانوبي شرقي إجمالا. تقبل هذه المجلة على إرسال مقالات
المتفنيين والباحثين التي تتعلق بمنهج المجلة. والمقالات المنشورة على صفحات هذه المجلة لا تعبر عن هيئة التحرير أو أي جمعية التي تتعلق
بها. لكنها مرتبطة ومنسوبة إلى آراء الكاتبين. والمقالات المحتوية في هذه المجلة قد استعرضتها هيئة التحرير. وهذه المجلة قد أقرها وزارة
التعليم والثقافة أنها مجلة علمية (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 56/DIKTI/ Kep/2012).

ستوديا اسراميا

سثوديا اسراميا

مجة إنلونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة التاسعة عشر، العدد ٢، ٢٠١٢



اختلاف الطبيعة العلمية الإسلامية بين مناطق
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لجاءه الوسطى في القرن ١٥-١٧ الميلادي
ايسماواتي

مخطوطة *Butuhaning Manুষya Mungguhing Sarak*:
معارية الإسلام في المناطق الداخلية بجاوه
آغوس إيسوانتو
