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Muslim Intellectuals in Southeast Asia

Abstraksi: *Sejak satu dasawarsa yang lalu, masyarakat Muslim Asia Tenggara telah mengalami serangkaian perubahan luar biasa yang sebagian besar—kalau bukan semuanya—diakibatkan oleh pengaruh modernisasi. Perubahan itu, paling tidak, dapat diamati melalui pesatnya laju pertumbuhan ekonomi, tingginya angka partisipasi pendidikan, dan memudarnya secara perlahan berbagai struktur dan formasi sosial tradisional di kalangan masyarakat Muslim di negara-negara kawasan ini. Dalam batas tertentu, perkembangan ini mendorong terbentuknya pola kehidupan dan formasi masyarakat Muslim yang baru pula. Dalam masyarakat-masyarakat Muslim inilah muncul segolongan kelas sosial yang terdidik, setia pada ajaran Islam, dan berorientasi pada nilai-nilai kehidupan modern. Mereka biasa disebut: intelektual Muslim.*

Suatu pola mulai kelihatan—seperti yang dicoba tulisan berikut ini—di mana seorang dapat memetakan secara pendahuluan mengenai peran sosial-politik dan keagamaan dari intelektual Muslim di Asia Tenggara.

Intelektual Muslim di kawasan ini secara umum dapat dibagi menjadi dua kategori. Pertama adalah golongan intelektual agama yang sampai sekarang tetap berkembang di luar orbit sistem pendidikan Barat, atau sedikit sekali memasuki sistem itu. Golongan ini umumnya diwakili oleh para ulama tradisional. Kedua, golongan cendekiawan yang sedikit banyak telah jauh menempuh jalur pembaratan (baca: modernization), dengan latar belakang pendidikan dan sosial yang sepenuhnya pengaruh modern-Barat. Kelompok pertama makin lama makin berkurang jumlahnya dan—tanpa mengabaikan posisi mereka—semakin kecil pengaruhnya dalam kehidupan sosial dan politik. Sedangkan golongan yang kedua semakin banyak dan, bahkan, menunjukkan peran semakin penting dalam memberi arah kehidupan sosial, politik dan keagamaan bagi

masyarakatnya.

Peranan sosial-politik ini sebenarnya merupakan fenomena yang relatif baru, karena intelektual Muslim tersebut merupakan hasil pendidikan secara Barat selama pertengahan abad 20 ini. Tetapi, meskipun mereka terlatih secara Barat, dan karena itu dalam beberapa hal lebih dekat dengan cita-cita sosial masyarakat Barat-Modern, ada juga perbedaan yang cukup mendasar antara intelektual Muslim Asia Tenggara dengan yang dikenal di Barat-modern. Pertama-tama, ciri-ciri kaum intelektual Muslim di kawasan ini bukan hanya sekedar membaca dan menulis (literacy), melainkan adanya perjuangan proses menuju modernisasi.

Di samping tugas-tugas tradisional yang seringkali diidentikkan dengan kaum intelektual, seperti pengajaran dan penelitian, kaum intelektual di Asia Tenggara juga menjalankan tugas yang secara tepat digambarkan oleh Arnold Toynbee sebagai "pengubah manusia" (human transformer). Kaum intelektual Muslim itu, seperti yang ditunjukkan dalam tulisan ini, mempelajari kemajuan yang dicapai oleh peradaban asing, Barat. Sedemikian jauh sehingga masyarakat mereka, melalui perantaraan pengetahuan mereka, dapat mengejar dan memasuki kehidupan yang tidak lagi puas dengan tradisi setempat. Pada tingkat inilah, intelektual Muslim Asia Tenggara menempati posisi terdepan dalam membangun wacana kehidupan modern, seperti demokrasi, penghargaan terhadap Hak-hak sipil dan kesetaraan gender laki-laki dan perempuan. Uniknyanya proses penyemaian ide-ide itu tidak jarang dibungkus dengan idiom-idiom kultural yang berasal dari khazanah pemikiran Islam.

Lembaga-lembaga pendidikan dan keagamaan, universitas, dan media massa, merupakan wahana yang seringkali digunakan untuk mensosialisasikan ide-ide modernisasi. Di beberapa negara, misalnya Indonesia dan Malaysia, jurnal ilmiah menempati posisi strategis, mengingat kemampuannya menyampaikan gagasan-gagasan intelektual secara utuh dan meyakinkan. Namun demikian, gagasan-gagasan yang terdapat dalam jurnal itu seringkali merupakan gagasan yang "terpencil" dalam masyarakat Muslim umumnya. Hal itu sebagian besar adalah karena masih bergantungnya pada tradisi lisan, dan terbatasnya tradisi menulis di kalangan masyarakat Muslim di kawasan ini.

Sebuah temuan yang mungkin perlu dicatat di sini adalah bahwa, dalam konteks negara-negara Asia Tenggara, intelektual Muslim di Indonesia jauh mempunyai tradisi peran sosial-politik yang lebih tua dibanding negara-negara lain. Hal ini barangkali berkaitan dengan fakta, bahwa Muslim Indonesia lebih dahulu mengalami pergolakan-pergolakan ideologis dan politis yang diakibatkan oleh kolonisasi Barat.

Muslim Intellectuals in Southeast Asia

خلاصة: لقد شهد المجتمعات الاسلامية منذ عقد مضى سلسلة من التغيرات المتميزة معظمها أن لم يكن كلها كان أثرا من آثار التحديث. ومن الامكان ملاحظة هذه التغيرات على الأقل فى من خلال التقدم الاقتصادي وزيادة عدد المشتركين فى عملية التربية والتعليم وتقلص عدد من المؤسسات والتشكيلات الاجتماعية التقليدية لدى المجتمعات فى هذه المنطقة. وهذا التطور إلى حد ما قد أدى إلى تكوين منهج جديد للحياة وتشكيلة اجتماعية جديدة أيضا. وفى هذه المجتمعات بالذات نشأ طائفة تتمتع بتربية أفضل وملتزمة بالتعاليم الاسلامية مع ما تملكه من اتجاهات نحو التحديث. ويطلق على هذه الطائفة أحيانا المثقفون المسلمون.

لقد برز المنهج - كما حاولت هذه المقالة إلقاء الضوء عليه - حيث يمكن للمرء أن ينظر إليه من خلال الدور الاجتماعي والسياسي الذي لعبه هؤلاء المثقفين فى جنوب شرقى آسيا. وفى وسعنا تقسيمهم إلى طائفتين: أولاهما العلماء المسلمون الذى بقوا على مسيرتهم خارج نظام

التعليم الغربي أو كان أقل القليل منهم من يدخلون في إطار ذلك النظام. ويمتلهم عموماً علماء السنة. وثانيتها المثقفون الذين أخذوا بقسط وافر من أسلوب الحياة العصرية مع خلفية تربوية واجتماعية متأثرة كلية بالغرب الحديث؛ ويتقلص على مرور الزمان عدد الطائفة الأولى ويتناقص نفوذهم - بدون التقليل من دورهم - في الحياة الاجتماعية والسياسية، بينما يتزايد عدد الطائفة الثانية بل يظهرون دوراً أهم في توجيه الحياة الاجتماعية والسياسية والدينية في المجتمع.

ويعد هذا الدور السياسي ظاهرة جديدة نسبياً، لأن هؤلاء المثقفين كانوا نتيجة التربية على النظام الغربي ومع ذلك فإنهم وإن كانوا يمارسون حياتهم على الطريقة الغربية في كثير من الجوانب ولذلك فهم أقرب إلى الغرب منه إلى الشرق إلا أن هناك فرقا بينهم وبين المثقفين الغربيين. ويتميزون أولاً بأنهم ليسوا مثقفين اطلعا وكتابة وتأليفا إنما هم يشتركون في المسيرة نحو التحديث.

وبالإضافة إلى الأوصاف اللازمة تقليدياً للمثقفين مثل التدريس والبحوث فإن المثقفين في جنوب شرقي آسيا يقومون بعمل أطلق عليه آرنولد توينبي (Arnold Toynbee) بحق اسم "محول البشرية" (human transformer) فهم - كما تكشف هذه المقالة النقاب عنه - يدرسون التقدم الذي وصلت إليه الحضارة الأجنبية، حتى تمكنوا بعلمهم من توجيه مجتمعهم إلى مواكبة التقدم الحضاري والدخول في حياة لم يعودوا يرضون فيها بالتقاليد المحلية. وفي هذه المرحلة بالذات يحتل المثقفون المسلمون بجنوب شرقي آسيا مكان الصدارة من أجل بناء حياة قائمة على معايشة العصر مثل الديموقراطية

واحترام حقوق الانسان والمساواة بين الرجل والمرأة؛ والعجب أن الأفكار التي يقومون ببلورتهم تصطبغ في كثير من الأحيان بسمات ثقافية صادرة من التراث الاسلامي.

وكانت المؤسسات التعليمية والدينية والجامعات ووسائل الاعلام هي الوسائل التي يستغلونها كثيرا في نشر الأفكار التجديدية. وفي بعض الدول مثل اندونيسيا وماليزيا تحتل الحوليات والمجلات العلمية المكانة الاستراتيجية نظرا لما تمتعت به من خصائص تمكنها من نشر الأفكار العلمية بشكل واف ومقنع أيضا. ومع ذلك فلا يندر أن تأتي الأفكار التي تحملها هذه الحوليات "معزولة" عن المجتمع الاسلامي عموما، ويرجع معظم الأسباب في هذا إلى كون المجتمع في المنطقة مازال معتمدا على الوسائل الخطابية ويعانى من قلة الاهتمام بالتأليف.

والنتيجة التي تجدر ملاحظتها هنا هي أنه بالمقارنة مع دول أخرى بجنوب شرقي آسيا ربما كان بروز الدور الاجتماعي والسياسي للمثقفين المسلمين باندونيسيا أقدم، وقد يكون لذلك علاقة بهذه الحقيقة وهي أن الصراع الايديولوجي والسياسي مع الاستعمار الغربي كان أسبق في المجتمع الاسلامي باندونونيسيا.

Direction and Purpose.

Intellectual groups have always been important in Islamic societies and Muslim communities in Southeast Asia have been no exception. This study posits that there are four primary Muslim intellectual groups functioning in the six Muslim communities of the region. It will concentrate on a description of these four groups, discuss their spheres of activity, and analyze their reaction to several important political and cultural factors extant in the Southeast Asian region.

In this essay the term "intellectual" is used to define individuals, or, occasionally, small groups of people, who formulate generalizations and concepts about the underlying values or direction of effort of an association, society, nation or of humanity in general. For this paper the description provided by Shils will be used; he offers the following:

Intellectuals are ... persons ... who employ in their communication and expression ... symbols of general scope and abstract reference concerning man, society, nature and the cosmos (Shils 1968: VII, 399).

It is sometimes easy to confuse the "intellectual" with the "policy maker" or the "leader," who often speak and write authoritatively. While the intellectual's function may sometimes be included in the roles and work of these other personalities, it remains fundamentally different. Both policy making and leadership functions have other ingredients, notably the political mobilization of small or large groups for the support of a nation, cause or group. Consequently, the utterances and the writings of these other people are intended to speak to political problems and to direct affairs in particular ways to achieve desired results. An intellectual may want certain outcomes, but is usually not concerned with political mobilization skills and speaks personally or, at best, on behalf of a small group of intellectuals. The work of an intellectual is intended to give insight into the society itself, establish propriety with assembled knowledge for its use, mostly through education of the young, and provide guidelines and options for elite groups holding the leadership and/or policy making function (Weinstein 1990: 113-8; Eisenstadt 198-: 161-2).

In this essay intellectuals are identified with the production of materials that serve to prompt society in certain directions and provide the rationale for that undertaking. The realm of that material is concerned with the preservation, continuity and progress of the

Muslim communities of the geographical unit known as Southeast Asia. On one extreme intellectual activity deals with the production of materials outlining basic religious lessons and other matters of traditional importance. Francisco (1988: 195-225) in his work on the southern Philippines lists the following areas of concern for Muslim scholars: sermons (*khutbah*), scriptural exegesis, explicatory statements about belief and practice of religion, prayers and songs. Brunei writers identify the concern of standard Muslim scholarship as the production of primers, genealogical lines (of rulers and Sufi practitioners), sermons and advice to the community (*fatwās*) (Salim 1992: 52-7; Juned 1992: 129). On the other extreme, intellectual activity may deal with the generation of thought about the nature and ends of society. Federspiel (1992: v), in his work on contemporary Indonesia, focuses on the role of intellectuals in the construction of national development policy, interpretations of Muslim history, modernization of the institutions of Islam and reforming Muslim education. The editors of *Prisma* (1985: 3), in their own study of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals, saw the field of activity as harmonizing Islamic lessons and values with the trends and norms of the contemporary world, such as popular government institutions, human rights, and the role of science and economic progress. Alongside these descriptions and analyses there are a host of other matters concerned with Islam, the Muslim community and the political units in Southeast Asia, with which Muslim intellectuals would be interested.

Southeast Asian Muslims live in a common zone, consisting of the peninsular area from Singapore, through Western Malaysia, to the six southern-most provinces of Thailand and throughout insular Southeast Asia in Indonesia, insular Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and the southwest Philippine provinces. In this contiguous area the people are overwhelmingly Malay in race, culture and language. Where other peoples exist—as the Thai, the Indians and the Chinese—the incidence of identification with Islam drops sharply. Not all Malay groups are Muslim either—such as the Balinese (Hindu), some Javanese (Buddhist), Filipinos and East Timorese (Catholic), and some Batak and Sulawesi groups (Protestants). Still the Malay-Muslim region of Southeast Asia is distinct and the parts, despite national boundaries, together constitute a common Muslim zone. The area described is in common usage by scholars dealing with the study of Islam in Southeast Asia. With caveats, Hooker (1983: 160-215) and de Graaf (1980: 123-139) used it in their studies of Southeast Asian Muslims and the

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore also subscribed to this identification of location in its Islamic publications series (Farouk, 1988, 5-6). The term "Muslim Zone" or "Zone" will be used as a common identifier throughout the remainder of this essay.

But, if a common zone does exist, it is not always operating in the consciousness of Muslims living in Southeast Asia. More than any other factor this lack of common identity is due to the rise of the nation-state in the twentieth century, which has determined another set of boundaries that carve the Zone into pieces and make national cultural norms and civic values important to the peoples in each state. Muslim populations live and function within those national societies and their intellectuals, for the most part, observe those boundaries as well, formulating their concepts and constructs for their impact on the nation-states in which they live. What cross-national thinking about the entire zone exists is limited and aimed at basic levels of cooperation, such as conferences of various groups of Muslim activists and the coordination of intergovernmental work by departments of religion on technical matters. In general, Muslim matters relating to the entire Zone are not important in the thinking of the intellectual groups with which this paper deals; individuals and groups relate rather to the individual states in which they reside.

Conceptual Remarks regarding Muslim Intellectual Groups

It is possible to differentiate among four groupings of Muslims intellectuals active in the Zone at the present time: religious scholars, revivalists, academicians and societal thinkers. These groupings are not all-inclusive and other specialized groups most certainly exist, such as journalists and mystics. Further, the people in these groupings are all concerned with Islamic matters, but usually not with the wider matters of culture in their own countries. Consequently, other intellectual groups outside these groupings do exist, and in some cases, are recognized as carrying more prestige and influence. Finally the four chosen groupings are not mutually exclusive, since some individuals could be classified in more than one grouping. The purpose here is not to set up some rigid hierarchy or classification, but to try to study the range of effort and general direction of Muslim intellectuals by identifying clusters of people engaged in similar activity.

Religious scholars (ulamâ')

Religious scholars are often located in traditional Muslim schools (*pesantren, pondok, dayah*), reformed Muslim schools (*madrasah*) or are attached to other Islamic institutions, such as mosques, special councils and Muslim associations. They have a long history in Southeast Asia of serving as the local leaders of Islam and they continue to enjoy much respect in rural areas and in less affluent sections of cities. They are learned in general Islamic lore, ranging from knowledge of classical texts to homilies and tales connected with Islamic piety. Where mysticism is popular they may be specialists on knowledge of saints and important teachers (*syekh, Ar. shaykh*). Religious scholars are products of the traditional Muslim schools, and have usually completed a study period abroad in the Middle East, at Mecca, Cairo, Baghdad or elsewhere. They often use the title of *kiai, syekh and ustaz*. Some of them are Qur'ân reciters (*qâri*) and/or memorizers of the Qur'ân (*hâfiz*); almost without exception they have been on the pilgrimage and use the title of *al-hajj* or *haji*. They teach formally and informally to youth and lay people in schools, mosques, and on special occasions, such as the Birthday of the Prophet or after supererogatory prayers during Ramadan. They are retainers of the general pool of accepted Islamic teachings and labor diligently in perpetuating that great tradition.

Intellectually the languages of the religious scholars are Arabic and Malay/ Indonesian. Each scholar is learned in some special field, such as Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Qur'ânic exegesis (*tafsir*), mystical studies (*tasawwuf*) or Qur'ân recitation (*qir'at*). An important part of this specialization is mastery of the major texts, preserved in Arabic, written originally during the Classical and Middle periods of Islamic history, which contain the basic teachings of that area of knowledge. Emphasis is on knowing one's specialization well and being able to explain the arguments, the concepts, the special vocabulary and, in some cases, the hidden messages of the writings. Some knowledge is considered so precious that it is passed on orally only to special students of the scholar. Scholarship centers on expansion or further explanation of the accepted texts, although some groups make special efforts to provide that information in new texts designed for the interested public. Their scholarship rarely ventures into the realm of speculative thinking. Research concerning contemporary political, economic and social problems is also not usually undertaken by this group.

Religious scholars as a societal group have shown themselves to be aware of community, particularly that with other scholars, and have formed several important associations in the countries of Southeast Asia to promote common interests. The Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia (Wahid 1986: 175-186), the Persatuan Guru-Guru Uğama Singapura (Mendaki 1992), and the Kamilol Islam Society in the Philippines (Man 1990: 123) are examples of such unions. Those associations have been intensely political at times, have always emphasized the importance of traditional religious learning and often have applied the principles of their religious learning to contemporary political, social and moral problems. While somewhat reclusive in their dedication to teaching and religious learning, they have not been unaware of the social and political currents around them and have undertaken social ministry and cooperation with government to address societal problems. Where there have been insurgent Muslim movements some individuals have joined those causes, but usually they remain on the side of established national authority, even when that government is controlled by non-Muslims.

There is now a rich bibliography of works on religious scholars in Southeast Asia. Matheson's (1988) survey of Pattani literature, Van Bruinessen's (1990; 1992) analyses of a collection of Arabic-language and Arabic-script materials throughout the Zone, Yunus's (1957) description of Sumatran and Javanese scholars, the descriptions of religious scholars elsewhere by Pitsuwan (1985), Rahman (1993), Mastura (1984), and Dhofier (1982), along with the personal observations of participants like Zuhri (1977), give us much material. Moreover, the recent encyclopedias on Islam published in Indonesia (Nasution, 1992, Encyc 1994), give us further examples of individual teachers in their historical contexts.

Three personalities were considered for the role of archetype that would lend perception to this category of intellectuals. Sirajuddin Abbas (1972: 1978) from Minangkabau, prepared a sizable guide on behavior that is widely used throughout most of the Zone. Ahmad Sonhadji Mohammad from Singapore, prepared a commentary of the Qur'an and numerous primers for use in Singapore Muslim schools and mosques. Haji Mohammad Zain bin Haji Serudin (1985; 1992) from Brunei has been a playwright and poet in addition to preparing numerous books for schools on the basic beliefs of Islam. The three represent different trends and their works appeal to different audiences. Mohammad was chosen as the archetype.

Ahmad Sonhadji Mohammad was originally from Indonesia but as a boy he moved with his family to Singapore and was educated at the Madrasah Al-Junied Al-Islamiah, where he eventually became a member of the teaching staff. He has served in various posts for religious scholars in the Islamic Council of Singapore, including the office of mufti. He also spent four years in Brunei working at a religious school. His written works include basic primers for school children and lay Muslims and he has otherwise written extensively on basic Islamic doctrine and practice (Mohammad 1983; 1986). For much of his career he concentrated on a translation of the Qur'ân into Malay with accompanying commentary (*tafsîr*). This major scholarly work became the basis of a series of radio broadcasts, first in Singapore and later in Malaysia (Mohammad 1988). The commentary was very much in the mainstream of traditional commentary preparation, which is ahistorical and explains the context of verses in the timing of their revelation, the conditions that existed at revelation and the comments of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions about the verses. His explanations drew on the classical materials of exegesis developed in the early centuries of Islam and transmitted by commentators in the Islamic Middle Period of Islamic history; he also cited the works of several twentieth century Egyptian commentators. Following tradition, Mohammad's commentary did not discuss the Qur'ânic verses in relationship to contemporary conditions or issues, and unlike the well-known Indonesian scholar Hamka (1982), for example, there was no reference to the world of Southeast Asia. Mohammad's studies, particularly the commentary, have been important among lay Muslims in Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei and have been transposed into *jawi* script, which is still widely used as a religious language in a wide sector of the Zone (Mohammad 1976). In general he appeals to those who are Modernists in their doctrinal preference as opposed to the Traditionalists who prefer Sirajuddin Abbas.

The religious scholars have the most status, influence and group coherence in Indonesia and Malaysia. This is a result of strong institutions, i.e. the *pesantren*, *pondok* and *madrasah*, supporting them historically in those areas and the slowness of national governments in absorbing their schools into the national education system, although the process is underway in both countries. As this absorption proceeds, religious scholars seem likely to lose much of their importance. The leading intellectuals among this scholars' group remain correspondingly important. In Brunei and the Philippines religious

scholar groups have increased in importance over the past quarter of a century by events related to intensification of Islam in those countries. In Brunei the government brought in scholars from Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia to expand and improve religious-based education as part of the state aim to promote Islam as a principal ingredient of national ideology (Serudin 1985, 47-8). In the Philippines Muslim governments and associations from South Asia and the Middle East have given assistance in upgrading the religious teachers in that country (Noble 1983, 45). In both countries intellectuals in this group, as opposed to teachers, are only now emerging and are quite scarce. In Singapore and Thailand government action in creating national education systems has significantly undermined the religious scholars. In Singapore a modest system of private *madrasahs* and government support for certain traditional Islamic functions have helped to keep some intellectuals active in this category (Warita 1994: 12,14-5; Al-Jufri 1984: iii). The case is less advantageous for those in Thailand, except in the capital where some conceptual work on exegesis of Qur'an and Hadith are taking place using the Thai language as a medium of scholarship and publication (Federspiel 1991: 160-1). Still the southern Thai experience is rich historically in locally-generated materials in *jarwi* script that represent an important tradition among the Muslims of southern Thailand and the northeastern states of Malaysia (Matheson 1988).

Producers of revivalist literature

Revivalist writers are the intellectual backbone of the modern revivalist (*dakwah*) movement which has affected the life styles and belief patterns of large numbers of Muslims throughout the Zone over the past two decades. Important members of this group are associated with educational institutions, publishing endeavors, and revivalist propagation centers. Some are associated with traditional boarding schools (*pesantren*, *pondok*, *dayah*), some with Islamic universities and others with reformed Muslim schools (*madrasah*) and secondary teaching institutions. This reflects the diversity of the revivalist movement itself which is not focused on any single sector, but on the society as a whole. Consequently recruitment comes from a very diverse population. The educational backgrounds of revivalist writers are equally diverse, but usually they have been trained in religious schools at some point in their lives. Some have been to the Middle East for study and most have been on the pilgrimage.

Producers of revivalist literature write and speak in Malay/Indonesian or variants of it. While they have a general knowledge of Islamic sciences and appreciate the principal writers of the Islamic tradition, they are not specialists in the way that religious scholars (*ulama*) are. Rather, they concentrate on general learning materials and on inspirational literature for the use of children and adult lay Muslims. To that end they draw on Arabic sources, usually from the popular literature of Islamic writings in the Middle East, particularly Egypt and Iran. Much of their effort focuses on translations from Arabic and, in other cases, they prepare their own tracts, materials and books, which also draw heavily on Arabic literature of the same genre. In the southern Philippines such materials are apt to be drawn from Pakistani materials written in English. Such writings are intended to deepen the faith of Muslims and provide the inspirational literature for that purpose. Their writing sometimes ventures into the social, economic and political realms, but the efforts are usually forays,— to oppose specific beliefs or actions they regard as contrary to Islamic teaching. The scientific hypotheses of evolution and the “Big Bang” theory of the universe are examples of such targets. This group is sensitive to perceived slights against Islam and some writers spend considerable time in apologia and polemic to counter such perceived slights.

Some scholarly research has been undertaken on the revivalists of Southeast Asia, although the work on the actual literature is not strongly developed. Federspiel (1993; 1994) has provided descriptions of a wide number of these activists in Indonesia and Liddle (1994) has analyzed a particular group, also in Indonesia. Nagata (1984), Chandra (1987) and Anwar (1987) describe the teaching (*tabligh*) movements in Malaysia, while Pitsuwan (1985: 247-251) has some remarks about efforts in Thailand. An M. A. thesis at the University of the Philippines outlined efforts in the 1980's in the Lake Lanao region to strengthen religious ideals among the population there (Federspiel 1994: 123) and Fe Susan Go has collected some examples of this revivalist literature (Mich 1994). Centers of translation and distribution exist throughout the Zone, with two prominent production and distribution centers located at Brunei and Malaysia (Federspiel, 1994, 106-8).

In reviewing the intellectuals for this group it was apparent that the best choices were not simply activists as might be expected, but rather those whose writings are strongly revivalist in content and argument. As would be expected from scholars, their material is more

fully drawn and the arguments more clearly made than most revivalist activists would make it. Syahminan Zaini (1986, 1989) is an academic scholar from East Java, who has written a number of character-improvement books with Islamic renewal as the motivational tool. The editors of *Al-Muslimun* magazine (1954 —), also from East Java, publish a journal dedicated to improving the lives of Muslims through careful observance of scripture (Federspiel 1984). Amran Kasimin of Malaysia publishes guidelines for Muslims in a newspaper column and analytical studies of Malaysian society. Again there is a great difference among the individual approaches in this pool. Kasimin has been chosen as the archetype for this category.

Amran Kasimin is a product of religious schools in Johore, the National University of Malaysia, and the University of Aberdeen. His career has been a mixture of staff positions at religious schools, government agencies and at the National University of Malaysia. His early writings explained the contemporary obligations of Islam for lay Muslims at a very elemental level (Kasimin 1993(2): 153-6). Later, he wrote a regular newspaper column in which he answered questions sent in by readers for advice on various matters of belief and practice (Kasimin 1993(1)). His answers stressed values taken from Qur'ân and Hadîth, but, from time to time, he also mentioned the names of famous Muslim scholars from historical Islam who have dealt with those issues. Unlike his Indonesian contemporary, Zaini, who places himself in the midst of the contemporary world, Kasimin is ahistorical and aspatial in his comments, speaking about an ideal Islamic behavior without regard to time and place. On the other hand, he has also published studies in which he examines the social institutions of Malaysia for their relevance to Islamic teachings. In one study (1993 (2)), for example, he took issue with the popular Malay belief in spirits and placed them in juxtaposition to the beliefs asserted by the Qur'ân. In a second study (1993 (2)) he examined marriage practice in Malaysia and argued that much of the practice should be replaced as contrary to Islamic prescriptions, full of Hindu references, and needlessly extravagant. His works are aimed at several strata of society and are circulated primarily in Malaysia and Singapore.

Extensive revivalist activity is apparent throughout the Zone, although it seems to have had its greatest impact on Malaysia. Revivalist materials, however, are frequently formulated elsewhere, often in the Middle East, South Asia and even North America and Europe. Much of the work that intellectuals among the revivalists in the Zone

undertake focuses on translation and editorial work connected with making foreign copy suitable for local use. Still, some intellectuals concerned with producing their own materials suitable to local populations do exist. Indonesia has an appreciable number of people functioning in this role, while the numbers decline appreciably in Malaysia, Singapore and southern Thailand, and is weak in Brunei and the southern Philippines.

Academic scholars

Academic scholars are associated with institutions of higher education, usually in an Islamic studies program, although some are found in the humanities and, occasionally, in the social sciences, sciences and technical disciplines. Some have come through the national elementary and secondary schools and others have come through the reformed religious school (*madrasah*) system, while a few others have Islamic boarding school education as part of their backgrounds. Usually they have their undergraduate training at the schools where they later become staff members and some have advanced degrees, usually from institutions in the region. A small number have studied abroad in Europe, Japan, Australia or North America. They use degree titles before their name, such as Dr or Drs., and degree initials after their names and, sometimes, academic titles, such as Professor. They teach specialized subjects in university programs dealing with Islam, which employs texts written by contemporary authors and they use contemporary teaching and examination methods.

The primary language of the academic scholar is Malay/Indonesian, except in the Philippines and Singapore where English is used and in southern Thailand, where Thai may be used. They often have research capabilities in Arabic and English, although the degree to which they have mastered these research languages varies a great deal. Some carry on personal or group research projects on particular issues of Islam that they find interesting or for which they receive financial support, often from government agencies seeking information about local religious practices or customary (*adat*) behavior. Research techniques vary, but usually the work is straight-forward, descriptive, limited in scope, and seldom employs research methodologies. Those who studied abroad often show more willingness to use research techniques they have gained overseas. Results are usually published in typewritten reports and in journals promoted by the universities where they work. A very few publish in region-wide

journals or book series which have an international audience. Most often the research is done as part of the promotion process, for extra pay or for special seminars promoted by a university, a governmental unit or an Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). These academic scholars do not have a long history as a profession, only to the beginnings of the national university systems, about the 1970's. Many scholars have identified with Muslim associations and alumni groups that seek to promote Muslim values and social welfare among Muslims in the countries of the region. Since large numbers teach in government universities, they also are responsive to government policies and goals.

The importance of Muslim academic scholars in the Muslim Zone of Southeast Asia is most clearly seen in the publications of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, especially the anthologies assembled by Siddique (Ibrahim 1985, Abdullah 1986; Ahmat 1987), although the entire Islamic series is also apropos. The *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, published at the University of Singapore, provides another major intellectual outlet for the Zone (ISEAS 1962 —). Certain other publishers are important as well. The *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* in Brunei is a primary outlet for studies by Brunei academics. The *Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* (JMBRAS) is important for Malaysian scholars in particular. University presses are important, such as the Universitas Gadjah Mada Press in Indonesia, the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Press, the Universiti Malaya Press and the National University of Singapore Press, which all include works by Muslim scholars in their production schedules. In Indonesia Rajawali Press and Mizan Press publish academic writings among their much broader publishing schedules of Islamic materials. Among journals of importance we have the recent cart of the IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah called *Studia Islamika* (1994 —), which aims at an international audience. *Islamika* (1985 —) is also the name of a journal issued by the Universiti Malaya, which publishes the writings of academic scholars in that country. In the Philippines two irregular published journals, *Ayat Az-Zaman*. (1987 —) in Manila and *The Mindanao Journal* (1971-) in Mindanao, contain the efforts of Philippine academics concerned with Islam and cultural studies of the Bangsa Muslim peoples. The Muhammadiyah University at Malang publishes an anthology series called *Al-Islam*, (1992 —) which has good circulation.

The archetype for this classification was quite difficult to select

since there are so many who represent the field. Still, the three in the pool are each outstanding for their own particular work. Muhammad Mukhtari Lubis (1983) of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia is a prolific scholar on Islamic literature, one of a limited number in the Zone. Sharon Siddique (1980, 1987, 1992) of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, centers on Singapore and Brunei as her research areas, but has been editor of several books dealing with Islam in the wider Muslim Zone. Harun Nasution of Indonesia was instrumental in rationalizing the use of "reason" for Muslim scholars in the contemporary era. He was ultimately the choice for archetype.

Harun Nasution was a professor of graduate studies at the IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah in Jakarta and widely recognized in Indonesian Muslim scholarly circles as the leading proponent for raising the quality and standards of Islamic learning in Indonesia. He had a rich education, starting in an Islamic basic school in Indonesia, attended Islamic and secular universities in Egypt and finished with a Ph.D. at McGill University in Canada. He had a career as a diplomat and then as an academic. For many years he taught graduate courses in several different universities by using air flights to visit various sites. Early in his career he challenged conventional thinking among Indonesian scholars by elevating the role of reason as a tool of modern Muslims in confronting the problems of the contemporary world (Nasution 1982, 1983). This brought him into debate with several leading Indonesian Muslim scholars of the time, but in this view he found support from youth leaders and a prestigious Minister of Religion. His more recent research efforts have focused on the creation of a single-volume Encyclopedia of Islam (Nasution 1992) for Indonesian Muslims, which provides definitions of common Islamic terms, personalities and events useful for the context of Islam in Indonesia. He was also the editor of several collections of writings about Islam in contemporary Indonesia (Nasution 1985, 1990). Although he was less well known in other Southeast Asian nations, his constant travel throughout Indonesia and the popularity of some of his writings gave him wide credence among young and middle-aged Muslim academic scholars throughout the country. He remained extremely active in teaching and administration up until his passing in September of 1998.

The creation of academic institutions have been a hallmark of all the countries in Southeast Asia associated with the Muslim Zone and this has led to the formation of a large class of academic intellectuals

concerned with Islam. In Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines state systems of higher education exist so that Muslim educators can be generally trained and enough staff members have been sent abroad to consistently upgrade the entire education system. Muslim academic intellectuals are emerging from these national efforts and have increasingly undertaken the research, writing and conceptualization that marks such positions. In Thailand and Singapore recruitment of Muslims for university posts has not been successful enough to bring into being large numbers of Muslim academic intellectuals, although very good scholars do exist and have published research works in local languages and in English. Brunei lags since its higher education system is very young and it has yet to provide very much beyond scattered individuals who are frequently coopted by government departments. Throughout the Zone this academic research and publication is embryonic of the effort needed for universities to become the centers of research and learning about Islam necessary for developed nations and societies, but it is developing fairly rapidly.

Muslim societal intellectuals

Societal intellectuals are found at major cities and special religious centers throughout the Zone and are a part of a wider national intellectual group in nearly every country of the region. In Indonesia the Muslim intellectuals exhibit a lack of interest in literature and art forms arising from pre-Islamic cultures, such as the shadow puppet (*wayang*) theater and dance of Central Java. In Malaysia the national intellectual group is more concerned about art forms, especially literature, in the Western tradition and Muslim societal thinkers are only tangentially interested in that field. In Brunei, with only an emerging intellectual group, there seems to some congruence among intellectuals, although there may be some division among Islamic and Brunei custom specialists. In Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines the national cultures express systems alien to Muslim interests and the Muslim intellectuals form separate, autonomous groups not much in contact with the dominant intellectual life of those cultures (Majlis 1990).

Muslim societal intellectuals throughout the Zone concentrate on problems of Muslim identity and national policies as they affect the Muslims of the countries in which they exist. Most come from families with strong Islamic identification and early training in Islamic values was a part of their background. They are usually products of

the national school systems with an emphasis on "modern education" and have degree work in the leading national universities of their own countries, usually in the Humanities and the Social Sciences. Some have been abroad for specialized study or advanced degrees, usually in Europe and North America. They make a special effort in their training to become familiar with the traditional literature of Islam, but usually concentrate their efforts on key writers, such as Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) and Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328), who they find express views and attitudes compatible with their own activist view of the contemporary world, as well as the works of the Neo-Modernists, such as Fazlur Rahman (d. 1990), Faruqi (d. 1986) and Nasr (b. 1930), who have written about Islam from a Western setting. A few have had some study opportunities in the Middle East. Most go on the pilgrimage, but at a later time in life than the religious scholars or the revivalists and regard it as fulfillment of a personal religious obligation, not as a center point for their professional work.

The languages of societal intellectuals are English and, except in Thailand and the Philippines, Malay-Indonesian. In Thailand the Thai language is an important cultural medium and in the Philippines local languages are useful. Knowledge and use of Arabic varies; it is seen as useful and spiritually important, but not the language of first choice. These intellectuals work at a variety of jobs that allow expression of their intellectual talents—university positions, journalism, private and government research, and independent positions of influence. They speak publicly, attend seminars and publish frequent articles and books as a means of disseminating their views. When they work for the government or non-governmental organizations they contribute by writing "think papers" and "position papers." They center their intellectual activity on the topics of Islam's relationship with "development," "national identity," "modernization" and other topics. They seek to find audiences in the public, among wider groups of intellectuals, and in the government.

The societal intellectuals command considerable respect among government elites in all countries and there are attempts to open dialogues with them or to bring them into government employment. While some intellectuals feel comfortable in government jobs, especially in the Philippines and Brunei, most prefer working outside government or, at least on the periphery, in the government universities. These intellectuals act as single personalities. there is little group mobilization, although they frequently interact with one another in

their own countries. Usually they openly or tacitly accept governmental authority and policies.

Some studies exist which analyze, inter alia, the writings and influence of societal intellectuals in Indonesia. Ali (1986), Boland (1982), Federspiel (1992), and Hassan (1980) have all commented on them in their studies over the past twenty years. The writings of these intellectuals themselves is found in anthologies assembled after particular conferences. Among them are important collections by Rais (1986), Rahardjo (1985), and Hasan (1987). Two journals, *Panji Masyarakat* (1984 —) and *Ulumul Qur'an* (1990—), have also paid particular attention to Islamic scholarship at this level of concern. In Singapore the anthologies of Ariff (1990, 1991(1), 1991(2)) at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies on structural matters affecting the Muslim communities throughout the Zone are important contributions. In Malaysia a series of lectures and symposia at new institutions devoted to societal matters have published some collections of papers and special studies, such as the Institute of Islamic Understanding (Ghazali 1993) and the Institute for Policy Research (Baharuddin 1993). In the Philippines the journal *Solidarity* (1950 —) occasionally devotes an issue to Muslim matters with articles written by leading theoreticians. In Brunei and Singapore, where such matters have been coopted by government, special studies have been made by particular boards, agencies and panels. (Mendaki 1982, 1983. Brunei 1988, Breeklinn 1992)

The number of people in the Zone belonging to this category of Muslim intellectuals was higher than might be expected, and the choice of three people for an archetype was difficult. Michael Mastura of the Philippines has published papers, articles and books dealing with reforming the institutions of the Philippine Muslim community. Amien Rais (1986i, 1987; 1992), an academic and Muslim association activist of Indonesia, has held workshops and published extensively on the productive political and social role Muslims could play in Indonesian national life. Chandra Muzaffar (1985, 1986; 1987; 1993), an academic and “think tank” member, has pondered a wide number of problems that beset Islam internationally, regionally and in Malaysia. Mastura was chosen as the archetype for this group.

Michael Mastura is a Muslim activist educated in a Catholic university in Mindanao. His career has centered on government boards, commissions and special positions, using them as a forum for his deliberations on the proper development of a Muslim community within

the Philippine nation. Currently he is the head of the (Muslim) Amanah Bank of the Philippines. Mastura's intellectual work began with a study of the historical Maguindanao Sultanate (Mastura 1979) and the particular social institutions that were present in it. He tracked those institutions into contemporary society of the region and found them different from the usual Philippine institutions operating nearby. In other writings (1983; 1984; 1988), mostly made as policy papers, he outlined Muslim institutions as they functioned in the Philippines, such as education and jurisprudence, and discussed how those institutions might be developed in ways that would strengthen the fabric of the Muslim community and be compatible with the aims of the Philippine nation. These two factors—Islam and nation—undergird nearly all of his writings. He has been clear in all his policy pieces that whatever failures of Muslim-Christian communication have occurred in the past and whatever misunderstandings exist between the government of the Philippines and the Bangsa Muslim people, that positive steps can be taken to overcome those impediments. Consequently, he is committed to the politics of accommodation, seeing calls for Muslim separatism from the Philippines as a symptom rather than a solution to Muslim complaints about treatment in the Philippine nation. His work is confined mostly to the Philippines, although he has some reputation in other parts of the Zone, particularly for his work at the Amanah Bank.

Muslim societal intellectuals are most prominent in Indonesia where they have existed for nearly a quarter of a century and have steadily matured in their manner of addressing national problems and issues relating to the Muslim community. In this regard the formative work by Nurcholish Madjid, Dawam Rahardjo and their compatriots constitutes an outstanding contribution to the growth of Muslim intellectualism in the Zone (Ali 1986; Hassan 1982). The founding of the Indonesian Intellectuals Association (ICMI) by the government is an effort to mobilize the growing talent in the country for government policy (Ramage 1995). In Malaysia the number has been appreciably smaller than in Indonesia and they have not been as influential with either the community or the government as in Indonesia. However, there are indications that new intellectual organizations are coming into being that, fueled by the very good system of Malaysian higher education, may produce societal intellectuals of high caliber. In Singapore the first manifesto of the Muslim Professionals' Association, written by a consultant, indicates that such

intellectuals have not yet arisen, but that concern with the concepts and approaches are already at hand (National 1990). In the Philippines there have been societal intellectuals concerned with the progress of the community and relations with the nation for many years, despite the insurgency perpetuated by some Muslim activists in the South (Gowing 1974). Brunei is attempting to produce the work generally provided by such intellectuals by generating it from within the state apparatus and with the aid of foreign consultants (Brecklinn 1992). The rise of such a group in southern Thailand does not yet seem to be in the offing, although there are prospects for one or more groups in Bangkok to emerge in that capacity.

Reaction of Intellectuals to Common Trends affecting Southeast Asian Islam.

Having identified four specific groups of intellectuals it may prove useful to show how they relate to a number of common trends that contribute to overall conditions of life and existence in the Muslim Zone. The factors were selected by the writer from his own observations during residence and travel in Southeast Asia and long study of the Zone.

Factor 1. There is a recognition of the importance of a historical Muslim community in which certain doctrines, practices, modes of operation and expectations developed and were integrated into a particular *weltanschauung* for the community at large. In key matters Southeast Asian Muslims, with rare exceptions, belong to the Sunni sect, adhere to Shāfi'ī outlook in matters of religious behavior and, when mysticism was fashionable, belonged to orders (*tarekat*) generally found elsewhere in the Sunni Muslim world. A rich folk Islam developed as well, with local saints and shrines, but constructed on a basis similar to that of other Sunni Muslim countries. Arabic has been a language of importance religiously and has influenced the development of other languages, particularly Malay/Indonesian, the primary regional language spoken by large numbers of Southeast Asian Muslims. The Southeast Asian Muslim community has been subject to the same waves of reforms and reaction that have affected other Sunni areas, such as the popularity of pantheistic mysticism of the seventeenth century, the fundamentalism of the Wahhabi movement in the early nineteenth century, the reforming mysticism of the Naqshabandiyyah Order in the late nineteenth century, the arrival of Modernist Muslim thinking in the early twentieth century and

the influence of the revivalist movement in the late twentieth century. In general, Southeast Asian Islam has close identity with a larger Sunni Muslim community and the trends that occur in that larger community (Abdullah, 1993, 35-58. Johns 1955, 6-20; Ellen 1983, 50-70; van Bruinessen 1994, 233-5). Having outlined the major similarities, it must also be stated that the process of Islamization was never very thorough and while there were important pockets of devoted and pious Muslims, a large section of society throughout the Zone accepted Islam only in part and took its beliefs and practices only in pieces and often continued to use other religious and folk systems at the same time. Contemporary Muslim awareness is toward recognition of the complete set of beliefs and practices and away from the partial-acceptance approach. (Benda 1958: 9-31; Casino 1974: 165-181; Winstedt 1951: 81-101)

The work of all four intellectual groups outlined above is set clearly within the context of that Islamic *weltanschauung* and the work of all scholars finds it to be of utmost importance. The religious scholars are heavily influenced by the *weltanschauung* and make special efforts to preserve it as a normative guideline in the lives of believers. Abbas showed this identification with his frequent reference to the well-known scholars of Islam and the teachings regarding proper Muslim behavior that they enunciate, (Federspiel 1995). Revivalists attempt to further this *weltanschauung* in society at large, viewing it as the paramount feature of righteous Muslim living; in general they are oblivious of other societal factors in their attempts to Islamicize society. For example, the editors of *AI-Muslimun* constantly iterate the importance of observing the teachings of Muslim scriptures in all phases of the pious Muslims life. (Federspiel 1984, 61-2) Academic scholars are interested in the study of the historical and anthropological development of the *weltanschauung* in the Muslim world in general and in the Southeast Asian environment in particular, sometimes using Western-developed techniques and analytical systems to evaluate them. Lubis does this in his study of two early poets in Islam who contributed much of the folk literature used for praising the Prophet Muhammad on his birthday and at other special occasions in the Muslim calendar. Its subject is strictly Islamic in content, while the analysis is typical of the field of comparative literature developed in Western scholarship. (Lubis 1983) Societal scholars are interested in extracting the principles of the *weltanschauung* for restructuring local societies and Muslim communities for a more contemporary

look, compatible with the technological societies that are the leaders in today's world. Still, even much of the religious system of Islam remains important and functional in their schemes. Rais shows this combination of old and new in his remarks about the lessons available to contemporary Muslim governments from the structure and operation of the early Muslim community immediately following the death of the Prophet Muhammad. He finds that period of Muslim history especially rich in combining religious and political factors for the good of the Muslim community. (Federspiel 1992, 36) In sum, all four intellectual groups reflect this first factor; it is clearly what makes them "Muslim" intellectuals.

Factor 2. The influence of the West has been strong on the Muslim Zone. With the possible exception of the Muslim provinces of Southern Thailand, all parts of the Zone were under colonial control, although the time under that control varied, the impact of the control differed and the release dates were different as well (Farouk 1988, 16-18. Bastin 1968; Pluvier 1974). Colonial rule introduced different economic forms than existed previously, particularly the plantation system, modern mining projects, and monopoly systems (Allen 1962, 15-48). After independence all of the nations of the Zone became part of the Western economic system operating on its Western European-North American-Japanese axis. National aspirations prompted plans for economic development and this was done in line with guidelines furnished by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and, sometimes, groups of Western economic investor nation (Southeast Asian Affairs 1985-1994). Western influence is also apparent in the public education systems of Southeast Asian nations. Those systems reflect subject matter and teaching methods developed in the West, even though local nationalisms have placed that learning within local contexts and value systems (Ahmat 1987; Singh 1986: 109-114). In particular, Southeast Asian university systems have reflected Western concepts of knowledge, using the same subject and discipline definitions as those developed in the West and employing teaching materials and approaches of the same variety. Finally, Western influence has had a profound influence on the development of governments, particularly the concept of active government planning and developing economies in line with national development strategies and goals. Bureaucracies, reflecting Western approaches to management, have been built to carry out development strategies and undertake the building of economic infrastructure, i.e., banks,

transportation facilities and communication networks (Robison, 1986: 105-130; Young, 1980: 199-207; Cleary 1994: 59-75). They also put in place pilot and/or turnkey projects and mobilize and train personnel to do these new economic tasks. Beyond the economic function, Western concepts of governmental relationship with the citizenry has been important as well, although the use has varied widely throughout the Zone. To compare two examples: Singapore has been quite adept in using a variation of the parliamentary system, adapted to its own society, while Brunei has resisted such Western importations for the redevelopment of its historical sultanate.

Reactions to the Western institutions, procedures and cultural norms by the four Muslim intellectual groups has varied considerably. Religious scholars, despite often being victims of Westernization, are not altogether unsympathetic with the gains in material advancement that Westernization offers, even while lamenting an underlying lack of morals and values they perceive Westernism as causing. Serudin illustrates this trend in his remarks on a "modernized" curriculum for Brunei students, which would include lessons on important Islamic and Brunei moral teachings as a hedge against adverse Western values. Still, much of Western education would be used as well. (Serudin 1992, 66-7) Revivalists show greater reaction to the West, regarding its influence as too pervasive and as encapsulating an anti-Islamic value system that must be halted with the reactivation of Islamic values and mobilization of Muslim societies. Western economic, political and societal values and institutions are viewed as inadequate and corrupting in the face of timeless Islamic culture. This is quite clearly expressed in the case of Zaini who finds situational ethics the root cause of unhappiness among people who espouse modern living. Clearly, in his view, loss of moral direction can be overcome by a return to Islamic values and an Islamic life style (Zaini 1986, 32). Academic and societal intellectuals regard the West with mixed emotions. On one hand they recognize the advantages that the Western intellectual tradition has in promoting modern technological culture and they like being the inheritors of that system in their own countries. On the other hand they regard European and North American cultural predominance in the world to be skewed, self-serving and at odds with their own nationalistic feelings. Also they regard some Western teachings to be at odds with their own views and beliefs regarding the prophetic message of Islam. Still there is a heavy identification with Western outlooks and these two groups

seek accommodation between West and Islam as a solution to their intellectual dilemma of identification. Chandra epitomizes this outlook with his statements about relationships between Muslims and the West. Striking a theme often used by Muslim intellectuals, he sees Islam, with its "well-developed" normative values, providing a model useful in building international concepts of human rights and economic equality (Chandra 1993, 72-7).

Factor 3. Indigenous cultures within the region have maintained their own identity in the face of heavy outside influence over the span of history and continue to constitute an important point of identification for societies of the Zone and their intellectuals. Southeast Asian cultures have usually not been strong enough or isolated enough to totally reject outside influences to the degree that Japanese and Chinese societies did for long periods of their histories. Nonetheless cultures within the Muslim Zone were able historically to hold off intrusive systems, limiting the extent of their influence to certain groups in the Zone or to limited access to the local cultural institutions. For example, early Islam, which then was an intrusive culture, was limited initially to the populations of the ports, later to parts of the courts and still later to the areas around religious schools. In wider society Islamic values were often accepted only within the context of local customs (*adat*) where there was considerable adaptation and rejection of some Islamic beliefs and practices (Hooker 1982: 20-22). Much the same was true of Western economic penetration, where colonial systems of crop production and mining operated fully only in areas actually controlled by colonial enterprises and the remaining population existed with a separate economy and work culture (Allen 1962: 264-273; Sievers 1974: 281-4). Today the influence of both Islam and the West are much more pervasive and have overcome much of the earlier resistance to their wide dissemination and acceptance. This success has much less to do with suitability of the values, practices and beliefs being disseminated than it has to do with new methods of transmission of the intrusive concepts.

Without doubt historical cultural systems of Southeast Asia are under heavy attack at present throughout the Zone from a number of intrusive forces. In addition to Islam and Westernism already mentioned, the dominant position of non-Muslim cultures in the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand are important considerations. Still, despite these influences, local culture remains important and in some cases is being refortified as a point of national or local identification.

In Malaysia, Brunei and the southern Philippines new reconstructions are in place as a deliberate attempt to preserve or further the distinct identity of Muslim peoples (Mutalib 1993: 127-137). Indonesia has its own particular version of nationhood; it is rebuilding a national culture on the basis of an eclectic approach to preservation and extension of local cultural norms, drawn primarily from Javanese culture, but not ignoring other cultures either (Indonesia 1989: 213-220; Vatikiotis 1993: 111-114; Matheson 1993: 4-5). Singapore Muslims are rebuilding their cultural base for a modernized society, but the outcome is not yet clear (Majlis 1990: 1-1 1)). The trend may be the same in southern Thailand (Thailand, 1979: 13 -2'1), but the direction is even less clear than it in Singapore.

Identification with local institutions varies according to intellectual group. Religious scholars identify with existing institutions and even favor developing new institutions to preserve local identity, so long as basic Islamic teachings are accommodated in the restructuring. Serudin's study and support of local Brunei customs and institutions are illustrative of this attitude (Serudin 1992, 79-90); there is every reason why he should, since a key ingredient of that redevelopment is the expansion of the influence of Islam in national life. Revivalist Muslim intellectuals are less interested in maintaining those local institutions, wanting a much more significant identification with Islamic institutions at the expense of local culture. Kasimin's total concentration on Islamic attitudes in his letters of advice and his heavy criticism of local Malay customs shows this attitude (Kasimin 1993 (1) viii-ix; 1993 (11) 129-133). Academic scholars are curious about the existence and operation of these local institutions and make them objects of study and observation. They would like modest change toward some increase in the role of Islam and a transformation of some practices to reflect Western technological gains. In her study of Brunei, Siddique (1992) follows this two-fold approach even while making her examination in standard academic research form. Societal intellectuals often look for ways to transform these local institutions into "better" representatives of local life. They are the building blocks of their plans for a better society, but only if they are capable of being modernized or upgraded. Mastura's study of Muslim institutions in the Philippines, notably the religious schools and village customary courts and his ideas for upgrading them to meet national and Islamic parameters, is a good example of such examination and usage (Mastura 1984, 236).

Factor 4. In three states Muslims exist as a cultural, racial and/or religious minority and must adapt to the majority cultures of those countries. This factor has already been apparent in the comments made throughout the essay, yet it deserves its own discussion. This minority status, of course, has implications for language usage, for the construction and operation of government and for the values that motivate and regulate society. The Thai and Philippine cases are often seen as similar in this regard, where Buddhism and Catholicism are pervasive of government attitude and operation, which cause grave problems of adaptation by the Muslim minorities in those two countries. Singapore is similar, but the Muslim population has been the object of special development measures, that is different than measures in Thailand and the Philippines. Special problems of identification are placed on the populations of these minority communities in identifying with the nation-state, with their religion, with their ethnic heritage and with their religion.

In the societies where Muslims function as a minority the attitudes of the four intellectual groups differ as well. Religious scholars identify with traditional mores and methods of accommodation with the majority group and government. Mohammad's relationship with the Singapore government, which has been long and supportive, is a case in point (Mohammad 1988: 196). On the other hand the religious scholars of the Philippines have been much more divided in their association with the state and many of them have sided openly or covertly with insurgent groups when those movements have been active (1990: 91, 127). Revivalists strive for greater appreciation of Islamic ways of doing things and often stimulate points of difference with the majority population in such states. The efforts of Amin To'mina in the 1970's in southern Thailand indicates this tendency by his refusal to take part in the efforts to integrate religious (*pondok*) schools into the government education system. He stressed heightening Islamic identification instead and was successful enough that the government organized its own revivalist efforts to counter his influence (Pitsuwan 1985, 249-251). However, he was an activist, not an intellectual, and we have no example of a revivalist intellectual from that country in our pool to show that this would necessarily follow the tendency among revivalist scholars. Academic and societal intellectuals often are coopted into the institutions of the majority group and attempt to reflect new attitudes of accommodation and identification. The Islamic scholar Surin Pituswan's university and govern-

ment positions in Thailand show this relationship (Ariff 1988: 12). However, in a limited number of cases, some members of these two groups may identify with activists seeking greater autonomy or independence from the majority group. Salamat Hashim, who headed his own rebel movement in the Philippines, is an example of an intellectual siding with an insurgent group (Man 1990, 88).

Added to this minority status by three Muslim communities are the cases of Indonesia and Malaysia, which have special problems that make the Islamic majorities in those countries less than a clear issue. In Indonesia many Muslims complain that the nation is not operated according to the wishes of the Muslim majority, but, rather, according to the policies of a minority that consists of nationalists who eschew an Islamic identification (Federspiel 1992: 85-100). Many Muslim groups speak about the entry of Islam into the political mainstream of the nation, by which they mean the open identification of government leaders with Islamic values, rather than nationalist aspirations. In Malaysia the thin majority of the Malay group, who also are Muslims, places the national policies of the government in question, since non-Muslim Chinese and Indian political demands must be given appropriate consideration. In this situation, Islamic policy is often regarded by both Malays and non-Malay groups as simply an extension of Malay ethnic politics (Musalib 1993: 78-126; Chandra 1987: 23-6).

The four intellectual groups in Indonesia and Malaysia reflect these concerns in the same way that other Muslims do in the two countries. It will be enough to give only two examples here. In Indonesia Kuntowijoyo (1991: 154-6), a scholar at Gadjah Mada University, expresses his concern for the limited entry of Muslims in the political process by speaking about the ways in which a Muslim political organization could mobilize the Indonesian population. Drawing on Indonesian national history he offers three models, each of which might resurrect an Islamic leadership role in the country and, perhaps, in the government. In Malaysia Chandra shows how the growth of revivalist movements are directly related to Malay feelings of defensiveness and represent an attempt to arm themselves spiritually for preserving their influence in the political sphere and gaining a greater foothold in the economic life of the nation (Chandra 1987: 16-26).

Conclusions

1. There is a striking lack of influence by Neo-fundamentalist ideology and program among the general Muslim population of the Zone and among their intellectuals. It is not a case of lack of exposure, since many Muslims travel to the Middle East for the pilgrimage, for study and for other purposes and come into contact with those Muslims from elsewhere who regarded Neo-fundamentalism as important. Also, Neo-fundamentalist texts are popular reading in Southeast Asia and the works of Mawdudi (d. 1974) and Qutb (d. 1966), *inter alia*, are freely available in a number of languages. Still it is commonly asserted by some Muslim thinkers that the Muslims of the Zone are not likely to adopt Neo-fundamentalist approaches (Rais 1987: 172-4, Mastura 1984: 235-6). There are real reasons why this is so.

The Western models of economic and technological development are popular among all the intellectuals and are highly supported by the academic and societal groups. Certainly all the intellectuals call for Islamic values and standards to oversee the adoption of those development plans, but this application of Islam is usually not expressed in a hostile or defensive tone. All the Muslims in the Zone are profiting by the development plans of their nations, including the southern Philippines and southern Thailand, even though the rates of growth are not as strong as in other areas of those two countries. This trend leads to some optimism. Further, adaptation of technical and sociological modernization from the West occurs in an environment where North American and European influence operates through the international trading system and there is a clear absence of Western military presence in the region. Some government leaders may be dependent on foreign support, but it is obvious that they are not simply propped up by Western donor nations

There is an "Islamic intensification" at work throughout the Zone that is also marked by optimism and good feeling. Certainly the history of the Zone gives evidence that, while Islam was accepted wholeheartedly by some groups of Muslims, other groups identified with Islam hold attitudes that regarded religious behavior and obligations as matters of priorities. This attitude of indifference or lack of complete acceptance has undergone change throughout the century, especially in the past twenty five years. It is this new experiencing of Islam, which appears fresh and rel-

evant to the worshipers, that accounts for the positive attitude. Intellectuals reflect this positiveness when they deal with Islamic issues. Because they are enthusiastic about the virtues of personal immersion in Islam, they see no reason not to regard the subjects of their thinking, such as the nation-state, the economic system, society, and even the international order, as likely to benefit from an infusion of Islamic principles as well. Such an approach, of course, is totally different from that characterizing the Middle East, including the Maghreb, where Islamic intensification has not produced the fresh wave of purism, but has caught the stale drafts of frustration with authoritarian regimes, deadlocks over territory (Israel, Kuwait), problems of national identification (Kurds) and Western military intrusion. No wonder that Islamic ideology in the Middle East is often defensive in tone and approach.

So much of the Muslim intellectuals' outlook turn on these factors— progress in modernization attempts, success in revivalism and, most importantly, anticipation that the future (i.e. the coming "Asian Century") appears bright to them. In their outlook a wise application of Islam will make aspirations really come true in a most positive sense. Much will then depend on just how good the future of the people in the Zone will really be. Surely the outlook of the intellectuals is closely tied to these considerations, as, indeed, we might expect them to be.

2. Muslims intellectual groups are important in all parts of the Muslim Zone and they reflect a common pattern of development by Muslims despite national boundaries. Overall comparisons show Indonesia and Malaysia to be in one class relative to the remainder of the six countries, which might be expected given their Muslim majorities and their size. In those two countries there is a solid development of all four classes of intellectuals. In the other four countries there is uneven distribution of the size and influence of intellectual groups, caused apparently by the young development programs sponsored by the government in Brunei, and the minority status of the Muslims in Thailand, Philippines and Singapore. Still the trend seems the same for all Muslims in all six countries.

Among the four intellectual groups there are some common interests. All believe in a strengthening of traditional belief and behavior and all want to be part of economically and politically modern states. But equally, there are some striking differences in

emphasis. Religious scholars and revivalist scholars generally identify with Arabic culture and its interpretation of Islam, while the academic scholars and the societal scholars are more attuned to Western culture and like the interpretation of Islam that has been filtered through it. While serious and divisive debate has not taken place over these preferences, there are nonetheless indications of differences that are not likely to be resolved in the short run. The parties can seek to close the differences and speak to a common agenda or they can choose their goals reflecting their particular outlooks that will lead to separation and even bitterness. The challenges to all four groups for survival and for long-term influence are momentous. How the scenario develops will say much about the peacefulness or stridency of the Islamic community that will emerge in Southeast Asia over the next half a century and, perhaps, beyond.

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Howard M. Federspiel is professor of political science, Ohio State University at Newark.

حقوق الطبع محفوظة .

عنوان المراسلات :

STUDIA ISLAMIKA, KAMPUS IAIN JAKARTA

JL. IR. H. JUANDA NO. 95, PO BOX 225

CIPUTAT 15401, JAKARTA INDONESIA

TELP. (021) 7401616/ 7401925

FAX : (021) 7401592

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وفي البلدان الاخرى يضاف الي قيمة العدد مبلغ ١٠.٠٠٠ روبية (٥ دولارات)

للارسال بالبريد الجوي . اما الارسال بوسائل خاصة فيرجى قبل ذلك

الاتصال بالمجلة .

للاشتراكات وفي حالة تغير العناوين يرجى الاتصال كتابها بقسم التوزيع
مجلة سنودها اسلاميكا.

طباعة :

INIS, JAKARTA, INDONESIA



ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة التاسع، العدد ١، ١٩٩٩

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هارون ناسوتيون

مسطوحوه

قريش شهاب

عبد العزيز دحلان

محمد ساتريا أفندي

محمد يونان يوسف

مسلم ناسوتيون

قمر الدين هدلية

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واهب معطى

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على منحنف

سكرتير التحرير:

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دونل فوتير

تصميم ومراجعة اللغة العربية:

نورصمد

تصميم الغلاف:

س. برنكا

ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN: 0215-4942) مجلة دورية تصدر أربع مرات في العام عن جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا (STT/DEPPEN NO. 129/ DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) برعاية وزارة الشؤون الدينية بجمهورية إندونيسيا، وتخصص للدراسات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا، بقصد نشر البحوث والمقالات التي تبحث في القضايا الأخيرة. وتدعو المجلة العلماء والمتقنين إلى أن يبحثوا إليها بمقالاتهم العلمية التي تتعلق برسالة المجلة. والمقالات المنشورة على صفحات هذه الدورية لا تعبر بالضرورة عن إدارة التحرير أو الهيئات ذات الارتباط، وإنما عن آراء الكتاب.