

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 4, Number 3, 1997



ISLAM AND INDONESIAN NATIONALISM;
THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF HAJI AGUS SALIM
Erni Haryanti Kahfi

KYAI AND JAPANESE MILITARY
Kobayashi Yasuko

INDONESIAN ISLAM BETWEEN PARTICULARITY AND UNIVERSALITY
Johan Hendrik Meuleman

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Volume 4, Number 3, 1997

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Harun Nasution
Mastuhu
M. Quraisb Shibab
A. Aziz Dablan
M. Satria Effendi
Nabilah Lubis
M. Yunan Yusuf
Komaruddin Hidayat
M. Din Syamsuddin
Muslim Nasution
Wahib Mu'thi

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

Azyumardi Azra

EDITORS:

Saiful Mujani
Hendro Prasetyo
Johan H. Meuleman
Didin Syafruddin
Ali Munhamif

ASSISTANTS TO THE EDITOR:

Arief Subban
Oman Fathurrahman
Heni Nuroni

ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR:

Kay Bridger

ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR:

Nursamad

COVER DESIGNER:

S. Prinka

STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published quarterly by the *Institut Agama Islam Negeri* (IAIN, The State Institute for Islamic Studies) Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta. (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

All articles published do not necessarily represent the views of the journal, or other institutions to which it is affiliated. They are solely the views of the authors. The articles contained in this journal have been refereed by the Board of Editors.

Islam and Indonesian Nationalism; the Political Thought of Haji Agus Salim

Abstraksi: *Semenjak Nusantara, semakin luasnya dampak-dampak sosial-politik kolonialisme Belanda, setelah berkali-kali gagal mengadakan perlawanan militer dan politik pada masa lalu, mulai mencurahkan perhatian mereka pada masalah organisasi politik yang efektif. Isu-isu yang menyangkut reorganisasi kekuatan politik Islam itu, antara lain; perlunya mengadakan modernisasi sosio-ekonomi, sistem pendidikan, legislasi dan mengembangkan paham bersama yang berakar pada tantangan bersama. Pada paruh pertama abad ke 20, isu-isu tersebut menarik minat banyak tokoh atau pemikir yang terlibat dalam gerakan modern Islam di Indonesia. Salah seorang modernis yang dengan gigih menyuarakan gagasan reorganisasi kekuatan politik Islam di Indonesia adalah Haji Agus Salim.*

Artikel ini mendiskusikan aspek-aspek sosial-politik dalam pemikiran keagamaan Salim. Meskipun perhatian utamanya pada usaha Agus Salim untuk mensintesakan antara Islam dengan paham nasionalisme, artikel ini juga menyoroti berbagai pandangan-pandangan politiknya. Ia sekaligus mencoba menganalisis berbagai sepak terjang Salim dalam dunia politik praktis, organisasi keagamaan, sampai jabatan pemerintahan.

Secara luas, Salim dikenal sebagai seorang tokoh politik dan pemikir pergerakan nasional, baik sebelum Indonesia merdeka maupun sesudahnya. Bahkan Mohammad Hatta, Wakil Presiden Indonesia pertama yang juga kawan seperjuangannya, Salim dijuluki sebagai 'Grand Old Man' yang mengkombinasikan pengetahuan Islam dengan dunia modern untuk mencapai suatu sintesa Islam dalam konteks Indonesia.

Dilahirkan di Kota Gadang, Bukit Tinggi, pada 1884, sebagai seorang anak dari pejabat pemerintah kolonial yang juga berasal dari keluarga bangsawan dan agamawan, Salim menyelesaikan pendidikannya di HBS di Jakarta. Ia kemudian bekerja pada konsulat Belanda di Jeddah. Di sinilah ia memperoleh kesempatan memperdalam pengetahuannya tentang Islam. Ia pernah kembali ke kampungnya di Sumatera Barat untuk memimpin sebuah sekolah dasar (HIS) untuk masyarakat Minang, hingga akhirnya ia terlibat aktif di dunia pergerakan dari satu generasi ke generasi yang lain. Ia bergabung dengan Sarekat Islam (SI) pada 1915 sebagai "anggota seksi politik dari kepolisian." Meskipun pada awalnya tidak populer, ia berhasil mencapai suatu posisi kepemimpinan dalam SI, terutama dalam membentuk dan memberi isi Islam pada Sarekat Islam.

Salim dikenal sebagai pemikir dan aktivis pergerakan dengan pandangan politik yang liberal. Ada dua unsur utama dalam pemikiran politiknya: solidaritas masyarakat Muslim untuk menentang kolonialisme, dan populisme ajaran sosial Islam. Doktrin solidaritas umat Islam, yang ia sebut sendiri sebagai nasionalisme, diajukan oleh Salim sebagai satu-satunya benteng pertahanan terhadap pendudukan dan dominasi asing atas negeri-negeri Muslim. Sedangkan dorongan populismenya timbul karena dua hal, baik dari pertimbangan akan keadilan intrinsik Islam maupun dari kenyataan bahwa hanya pemerintah yang konstitusional oleh rakyat sajalah yang akan kuat berdiri dan dapat dengan kokoh menghadapi intrik-intrik asing.

Oleh karena itu, bagi Salim, semangat untuk membangkitkan kemauan umat Islam menghadapi kolonial Barat tidak cukup dengan membangkitkan semangat keagamaan Islam yang universal saja, tetapi juga semangat-semangat lokal atau nasional dari berbagai komunitas yang ada. Pada tingkat inilah agama, Islam atau yang lain, memberi ruang bagi umatnya untuk membangun solidaritas berdasarkan bangsa atau kebangsaan.

Dalam pandangan Salim, rasa nasionalisme—melembi perasaan solidaritas yang dibangun berdasarkan agama, suku ataupun golongan—adalah kesadaran berbangsa. Yakni, suatu rasa persatuan yang tumbuh karena adanya kebersamaan sosial yang muncul dari kebudayaan, sejarah dan aspirasi perjuangan, serta kebersamaan dalam menghadapi tantangan. Meskipun ide nasionalisme ini pada tingkat tertentu berbeda dari Pan-Islamisme Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, seorang pelopor politik Islam modern, ia tetap mempunyai semangat yang sama, yakni: reorganisasi kekuatan politik Islam untuk menentang kolonialisme.

الإسلام والقومية الإندونيسية؛ أفكار الحاج آغوس سالم السياسية

خلاصة: إنه منذ أن أحس المجتمع الإسلامي في الأرخيبل بالآثار الاجتماعية والسياسية للاستعمار الهولندي، بدأ المسلمون - بعد أن فشلوا مرة بعد أخرى في المقاومة العسكرية والسياسية - يركزون اهتمامهم على إعادة التنظيم السياسي الفعال؛ وكان من بين القضايا المتعلقة بإعادة تنظيم القوى السياسية تلك، هي ضرورة القيام بالتجديد والتحديث في مجالات الاقتصاد والتربية ونظام الشورى ووجود مبدأ مشترك يكون نابعا من التحديات المشتركة؛ وفي النصف الأول من القرن العشرين، كانت تلك القضايا مثار اهتمام كثير من الشخصيات أو المفكرين الذين اشتركوا في الحركات الإسلامية المعاصرة بإندونيسيا، وكان أحد دعاة التحديث الذين شَمروا عن ساعدهم من أجل إرساء فكرة إعادة التنظيم السياسي الإسلامي بإندونيسيا هو الحاج آغوس سالم (Haji Agus Salim).

هذه المقالة تتعرض لمناقشة الجوانب الاجتماعية-السياسية في الفكر الديني عند آغوس سالم؛ ولئن كان الاهتمام الرئيسي فيها منصبا على جهود آغوس سالم في التوفيق بين الإسلام ومفهوم القومية فإن هذه

المقالة تلقي الضوء على آرائه السياسية مع محاولة لتحليل أنشطته عمليا في عالم السياسة وفي الجمعيات الدينية حتى توليه مناصب حكومية. ويعرف عن سالم كونه شخصية سياسية وعقلا مدبرا للحركة القومية سواء قبل استقلال اندونيسيا أم بعده؛ بل ذهب محمد حتى (Mohammad Hatta) ، أول نائب رئيس الجمهورية الاندونيسية وهو صديقه في المقاومة، إلى لقبه بـ“أب الاندونيسيين الأكبر“ (Grand Old Man of Indonesia) الذي حاول ربط العلوم والمعارف الاسلامية بالحياة المعاصرة، تحقيقا للتوافق بين الاسلام وطبيعة اندونيسيا الخاصة.

ولد أغوس سالم بـكوتا جادانج (Kota Gadang) ، بوكيت تينجي (Bukit Tinggi)، سومطره الغربية، سنة ١٨٨٤م ، وكان والده مسئولاً في الحكومة الاستعمارية، وهو من أسرة النبلاء المعروفين عنهم بالالتزام بالدين؛ وتلقى سالم تعليمه الاساسي في المدرسة الثانوية الهولندية (HBS) بجاكرتا؛ وفي وقت لاحق اشتغل في القنصلية الهولندية بجدة، فأتاح له ذلك فرصة لتعميق معارفه الاسلامية؛ وكان يرجع إلى مسقط رأسه، سومطره الغربية، لإدارة مدرسة ابتدائية (HIS) أقيمت للمجتمع المينانجكاباوى (Minang)؛ وفي النهاية اشترك بشكل نشط في حركات المقاومة بين جمعية إلى أخرى؛ فلقد انضم إلى جمعية شركات اسلام (Sarekat Islam) سنة ١٩١٥م كعضو في الجناح السياسي من الشرطة، ورغم أنه لم يكن يتمتع بالشهرة الواسعة في أوائل نشاطه إلا أنه استطاع أن يبوأ لنفسه مكانا في مجلس قيادة شركات اسلام، خاصة الدور الذي أسهم به في صياغة شركات اسلام وإثرائها بالحقائق الاسلامية.

ويشتهر سالم مفكراً، ورجل المقاومة النشط، مع آرائه السياسية المتحررة، وهناك عنصران رئيسيان في تفكيره السياسي، هما: التضامن الاسلامي لمقاومة الاستعمار، والتوعية الشعبية بالجوانب الاجتماعية في الشريعة الاسلامية؛ أما التضامن الاسلامي الذي كان نفسه يسميه بالقومية، فقد قدمه سالم كحصن وحيد للأمة في مواجهة الاحتلال، والسيطرة الأجنبية على الدول الاسلامية، وأما ضرورة توعية الشعب فقد نشأت بمقتضى أمرين، إما بالنظر إلى العدالة الحقيقية في الاسلام، أو باعتبار الواقع الذي يقضى بأن حكومة دستورية يقيمها الشعب فقط، هي التي تستطيع أن تثبت صامدة وتقف قوية أمام التدخلات الأجنبية.

ولذلك فقد رأى سالم أنه لا يكفي في النهوض بروح المقاومة لدى الأمة الاسلامية مجرد إثارة الاحساس الديني بعالمية الاسلام، وإنما يجب أن يتم ذلك أيضا في المستويات المحلية أو القومية للمجتمعات الموجودة؛ ففي هذا الاطار يكون الدين - سواء كان الاسلام أو أي دين آخر - قد أتاح لأمته أن يقيم تضامنا يقوم على أساس القومية؛ وفي رأي سالم فإن القومية - وهي تفوق التضامن المؤسس على دين أو قبيلة أو طائفة - هي الوعي الوطني، أعنى الوحدة التي تصدر عن إحساس اجتماعي مشترك متأصل في الثقافة والتاريخ والآمال والتحديات المشتركة (للشعب ككل)؛ وعلى الرغم من اختلاف مفهوم القومية هذا، عن مفهوم الجامعة الاسلامية عند جمال الدين الافغانى، رائد التحديث السياسي الذي كان يؤثر تأثيرا كبيرا على اندونيسيا، فقد بقي تشابه بينهما وهو إعادة تنظيم القوى السياسية الاسلامية لمقاومة الاستعمار؛ على الأقل في مستوى معين من الوعي السياسي لدى الأمة.

Haji Agus Salim was an outstanding man who actively participated in the nationalist movement before and after the proclamation of the Indonesian Republic. As such, he became known as the 'Grand Old Man of the Indonesian Independence movement and veteran leader of Indonesian Islam'.¹ This epithet, Hatta maintained, was well deserved and signified the proper respect due to such a distinguished figure.² This opinion was also shared by Sukarno who called the latter an *ulama intelektual*, a leader who combined Islamic sciences and Western knowledge to produce a new synthesis of practical Islam on the Indonesian scene.³ Appreciation for Salim stemmed from his early involvement in Indonesian political affairs, and his struggle in the nationalist movements during the Dutch colonial period. Although Salim's activities in the early nationalist movements were marked by several disputes with his fellow nationalists, this did not however diminish their appreciation for his contribution. Rather, their attitude proved that even though he quarreled with most people and staunchly defended his political convictions, Salim had no real enemies as a human being.⁴

Thirty years earlier in the nationalist movement, Salim joined Sarekat Islam which had by then achieved tremendous success under the leadership of HOS Tjokroaminoto. He was so devoted to the movement in general that he soon occupied the second position of power in that organization, second only to its leader HOS Tjokroaminoto. Together, they struggled to promote all aspects of Indonesian life, whether in the economic, social, political or religious fields. Not surprisingly, they became known as the *dwi tunggal* (*duumvirate*) or "the solid" due to their close cooperation. It could also be said that they inspired the later *duumvirate* of the Javanese Sukarno and the Minangkabau Hatta,⁵ when they headed the early Indonesian Republic from 1945 to 1950.

Salim's Early Life and Career

Haji Agus Salim, whose name at birth was Masyudul Haq, was born on 8 October 1884 in the village of Kota Gadang in the Agam area around Bukittinggi, West Sumatera.⁶ Traditionally, the citizens of Kota Gadang used to leave their home area to make a living as gold craftsmen or civil servants in larger urban centres. In Salim's time, parents often sent their children to study at Dutch schools, which gave them the opportunity to become physicians, or technicians or to pursue occupations sought after by the middle and upper classes.

The children of Kota Gadang went to school in Bukittinggi; and to do so they had to leave their homes early in the morning and to cross a deep gorge and a wide river by foot. Kota Gadang in the early twentieth century, was overseen by a leader who accomplished much in leading his village towards progress. He established, for instance, the "Studiefonds Kota Gadang" with the aim of providing scholarships to the children of Kota Gadang who wanted to continue their studies at a higher level in Java or, if necessary, in Europe. These scholarship could be repaid gradually by the students after finding employment.⁷ Therefore, although Kota Gadang was a small village, it produced a number of dedicated intellectuals. Some of them, such as Haji Agus Salim, went on to become national leaders.

Haji Agus Salim was born into a religious as well as a noble family, whose members were part of the upper class of Minangkabau, West Sumatera. Both his mother Siti Zaenab, and his father, Sutan Muhammad Salim, were from respectable families, and, despite being an Indonesian, Sutan Muhammad Salim was employed in Riau as a *hoofd djaksa* (chief public prosecutor), one of several high positions in the Dutch government. He was considered to be an excellent employee and once received the highest civilian medal from Queen Wilhelmina due to his loyalty and devotion to the Dutch government. The distinguished status of his father allowed Agus Salim to be admitted as a student to the Europe Lagere School (ELS-the European Primary School) where he attained an education as edifying as students of European descent.⁸

At the age of seven years, Agus Salim began to study at the ELS in Bukittinggi. Seven years later he graduated from this school first in his class. Furthermore, throughout the period of his studies at the ELS, Agus Salim was also sent for Islamic religious instruction in the afternoons. In Kota Gadang, Muslim families of various ranks often sent their children to religious schools. In both schools, Salim was recognized as being intelligent, and was known to like reading and to be fond of debating and critical thinking. So much so that one of his Dutch teachers, Jans Brouwer, became interested in Agus Salim and asked Sutan Muhammad Salim to allow Agus Salim to stay with him. The former wanted to educate and guide this intelligent child personally. Realizing the potential of this opportunity, Muhammad Salim agreed to this request; however he only allowed Agus Salim to stay at Brouwer's house after school hours and until dinner time because Muhammad Salim still wanted to supervise his child's upbringing.

Hence, thanks to the disciplined guidance of Brouwer, Agus Salim was able to graduate first in his class. Not surprisingly, Salim, encouraged by his success, wished to continue his studies; and was supported in this by his father and Brouwer.⁹

In order to continue his study at secondary level, Agus Salim had to go to Batavia (Jakarta) where the Hogere Burgerscholen (HBS), a general five-year secondary school, was located. Therefore, at the age of thirteen, Agus Salim left his birthplace. In Batavia, once again, he lived with a Dutchman, namely Professor T. H. Koks, who was appointed by Muhammad Salim as Agus Salim's guardian until his son graduated from that school. During his studies at HBS, Agus Salim and other students from influential families were educated and trained in a disciplined fashion. During these years, Agus Salim studied very hard. His fondness for wide and diverse reading contributed to his successful graduation in 1903. In fact, he was not only the best in his class, but ranked high in the list of examination results among the HBS students in the three main cities of Java, Surabaya Semarang, and Jakarta.¹⁰

Thanks to his success, Salim hoped to pursue an advanced education in medicine in the Netherlands. However, his father could no longer afford to pay his tuition fees, even though he was a trusted employee of the Dutch colonial administration. Thus, his Dutch teachers at HBS, who appreciated the talent of Agus Salim, encouraged him to submit an application for a Dutch government scholarship. However, the efforts of the Dutch teachers were unsuccessful. Then, one year later his father proposed that an equal status (*gelijgesteld*) be granted to his son; this idea was inspired by the secretary of the General-Governor who advised him that this equal status could make Agus eligible for such a scholarship.¹¹

During the Dutch colonial period the inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies were differentiated in accordance with how they were to be treated by the government. The Europeans, as the ruling class, occupied the highest rank in society, and the government provided numerous facilities for them. The non-Indonesian group, which consisted of Chinese and Arabs residing in the country, occupied the middle class. These people made their livelihood like the Europeans; however, the government did not provide as many facilities for them as it did for the Europeans. The lowest rank was assigned to the Indonesians, the ruled people. Indonesians were further classified into common people, i.e. agrarian workers, villagers and townsmen, who

formed the majority, and the elite, who stood above the common people. The latter were, for the most part, able to obtain a better education and occupations, so that to some extent, they had a measure of influence and played a leadership role in Indonesian society.¹² People in this latter category as in the case of Agus Salim's father could apply for *gelijgesteld*, or 'equal status' which theoretically meant that a person became eligible for better educational and occupational activities, in many cases similar to those enjoyed by his European counterparts in the Indies. However, despite receiving *gelijgesteld* in 1905, Agus Salim was still unable to obtain a scholarship.

While he was waiting for his scholarship proposal to be decided upon, his Dutch teachers suggested that Salim apply to study in Indonesia if the Dutch government refused his request to study in the Netherlands. They wished the government to substitute the scholarship in the Netherlands with a scholarship to attend STOVIA (Stichting tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen- a medical college for Indonesians) in Batavia. Thus, Agus Salim attended courses at that college. However, his attendance was only for a brief period, since in the end, this request was also refused.¹³

At the same time, there was a young Javanese woman, the daughter of the regent of Djepara, who had received an offer of funding from the Dutch government to study in the Netherlands. Her name was Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904).¹⁴ However, in accordance with the Javanese custom concerning young women of high rank and pure blood, Kartini was expected to stay at home while waiting for a suitable candidate to be found for her hand.¹⁵ She was aware of Agus Salim's status and his strong ambition to continue studying. Thus, she requested that her government scholarship be transferred to Agus Salim and, to supplement this request, she wrote a letter to Mrs. Rosa Abendanon Mandri, whom she regarded as a surrogate mother, and asked her to pass this request on to her husband, J. H. Abendanon, the contemporary director of the Department of Education. In her letter, Kartini explained how Salim's father was unable to finance Salim's education abroad and listed Salim's advantages, notably his intelligence and eloquence. Furthermore, Kartini discussed his attachment to Indonesia and how, if he attained a degree in medicine, he would render valuable services to his countrymen. Kartini also asked Mrs. Abendanon-Mandri whether a private letter to the Queen about this situation would help.¹⁶

Kartini's attention and efforts to attain a scholarship for Salim did

not succeed. However, some reports suggest that Kartini's request to transfer the scholarship was accepted, and that Salim, himself, did not accept it. The reason offered is that the scholarship was really Kartini's and that it was not genuinely offered by the Dutch government to him. However, this theory is inaccurate since Salim did not know of Kartini's letter; this fact was clearly stated in the letter itself. This fallacy was further exposed by Salim himself several decades later. In 1953, he remarked that he did not continue his studies in medicine because Prof. Christiaan Snouck Hourgronje suggested that being a physician was not a good life and discouraged him going to the Netherlands, although, according to Salim, a physician's salary, which might have been regarded as low by Dutchmen, would have been a high one for Indonesians. Hourgronje then advised Salim to choose a career in the Dutch East Indies government.¹⁷

Although Agus Salim did not succeed in continuing his studies in medicine, he was still one of the more successful Indonesians to graduate from HBS. This secondary school was mostly attended by European students, who were able to enter any of the higher ranks of the colonial administration after graduating. Posts such as controller, assistant resident, resident and governor were open to them. Moreover, the majority of students graduating from HBS did not continue their studies at the university level since there was no university in the Dutch East Indies until the 1920's.¹⁸

After having spent five years studying at HBS, Agus Salim had come to master various European languages such as Dutch, French, English and German. Hence, his HBS certificate and ability in languages bestowed on him the opportunity to work in the Dutch Administration, although as an Indonesian, Salim would not find the same opportunities as European peers.¹⁹ The Dutch provided chances for Indonesians to study at European schools in the hope of producing people who could be recruited to work in the Dutch Administration. This policy, known as the 'Association', was one of the many reformed Dutch governmental policies introduced and administered by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

Christiaan Snouck "Hurgronje was a prominent civil servant who held the position of Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken (Advisor for Native Affairs) to the Dutch colonial government from 1889 to 1906. His activities and writings reflect the changing policy of the Dutch government towards Islam in Indonesia. He also advocated a separation between politics and religion. However, towards those Indone-

sians who wanted to achieve independence, he advocated total opposition and ruthless suppression; as evident in the destruction of the regions of Aceh and Jambi. On the other hand, thanks to his efforts the Dutch Administration modified its policy towards religion, which had been developed and implemented by the Office for Native Affairs (the predecessor of the current Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs).²⁰ The consolidation and expansion of Dutch authority during the nineteenth century had in fact resulted in numerous confrontation with local elements, most of which were inspired by Islamic principles. These conflicts included the Paderi War (1821-1837), the Diponegoro War (1825-1830) and the long Aceh War (1872-1912). Because of these rebellions, the Dutch Administration invited Hurgronje, who was familiar with Islam, to find solutions for the problems facing the Dutch East Indies. On the basis of his advice, the Dutch implemented a reformed policy which was twofold; ruthless in terms of politics, but tolerant and conciliatory in terms of religious affairs.²¹

To create the impression of being neutral towards religion, the Dutch permitted Muslims to practice their rituals as well as to maintain Muslim religious courts. A number of religious schools were also subsidized, the pilgrimage (*hajj*) was assisted by the opening of a Dutch consulate in Jeddah, and an office for Islamic and native affairs in Batavia. These two offices, however, were soon to be regarded as monitors and controllers of the activities of Muslims both at home and in the Holy City.²² Hurgronje, who is best known as the initiator of the idea of 'Association', is thus recognized as having been the force behind the reform of Dutch policies towards Indonesian Islam. His advice on Islamic matters in particular found immediate acceptance. That is why he was the unchallenged expert of the Ethical Policy Period.²³

From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards Indonesians needed more and more schools and, in response, the Dutch subsidized their construction. Moreover, following the inauguration of the Ethical Policy in 1901, the Dutch Administration also supported the propagation of Christianity in the Indies. Assistance was given to Christian missionaries who gradually penetrated Muslim areas. Furthermore, Christian organizations and schools were allocated much more in subsidies than the Muslim religious schools. In fact, the Dutch Administration's subsidy for Muslim schools was rather insignificant when compared to the needs of Indonesian Islam. In

this case, the Dutch only supervised and controlled rather than developing them. On the other hand, in response to Hurgronje's idea of emancipating the Indonesians from Islam; the Dutch Administration established several secular schools. These Dutch secular schools produced Western-educated Indonesians who regarded religion as a personal matter pertaining to the spiritual aspect of one's life. Consequently, the idea of separating religion from politics was agreeable to those Indonesians who had graduated from these Western schools.²⁴ The idea of Association, as formulated by Hurgronje, originated from his belief that the rigidity of the Islamic system was no longer capable of adapting to the modern era. Hence, the large-scale organization of education on the basis of universalism and religious neutrality was the only medium by which the Dutch Administration could liberate Muslims from their religious convictions and shackles, he rendered.²⁵

Not surprisingly, the secular educational system set up by the colonial government was considered by Muslims to hamper the development of Islam. The Muslim leaders who realized this danger, tried to overcome it by combatting the secularization process of the Dutch educational system in two ways. Firstly, the Muslim leaders demanded religious lessons to be introduced at these schools. This demand was finally granted towards the end of the 1930's. In the meantime, religious lessons were given once a week after school hours by instructors who usually belonged to the modernist faction of Indonesian Islam. Secondly, Muslim leaders set up new schools with a system that incorporated both religious subjects and secular ones. One of the modernist Muslim teachers active in these reforms was Haji Agus Salim.²⁶

Haji Agus Salim was not blind to the colonial agenda that these schools fulfilled. Salim argued that the secular schools, which had been established by the Dutch Administration, were organized and controlled directly by the Dutch, particularly with regard to their curriculum, teachers and supervisors.²⁷ As a result, the Dutch secular schools were having a negative impact on the Indonesian nation; specifically, they were hampering the efforts to shake Indonesia free of colonialism. Moreover, the Dutch schools were designed to produce Indonesians who would contribute to a colonized society. The Dutch needed native employees from the lowest to the highest ranks, especially technicians. Thus, the native workers were trained for certain types of work and were indoctrinated with the aims of Dutch colonialism.²⁸ That is why Salim didn't send his eight children to Dutch

schools, but educated them at home. Only his last child was sent to a formal school, and this happened when Indonesia gained its independence.

According to Salim, Dutch education aimed to fulfill two purposes; firstly, to recruit members of the Indonesian upper classes in order to assimilate them into the Dutch culture so that they would cooperate with the Dutch government; and secondly, to alienate young Muslims from their own religion. This opinion of Salim's was actually based on his own experience. When he began to study at ELS, the population of Kota Gadang expected and supposed that he had converted to another religion. Moreover, at the second school, i.e. HBS, the school succeeded in separating him from his belief. After five years of studying at HBS, Salim graduated feeling that he could not seriously believe in any religion.²⁹ Salim's experiences were proof enough of the following official statement, which should leave no one in doubt: "all educated orientals must steep themselves in Western culture, even adopt the Christian religion as a preliminary to fulfilling their task of leadership."³⁰

Salim, however could never deny the extent to which Christian Snouck Hurgronje influenced him. It was due to Hurgronje's influence that the Dutch Administration had recruited Indonesians, like Salim, to study at Dutch schools, thus enabling them to master many European languages as well as other sciences. Furthermore, Salim was able to work at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah where he had the opportunity to study and deepen his religious conviction; an act which eventually proved to be very valuable for his life as well as for Indonesian Islam.³¹

After graduating, Salim decided to work. However, he did not want to work for the Dutch colonial government in his own country, and thanks to his linguistic ability, he worked as a translator in Batavia. He translated foreign language texts into the Malay language; the term used for Bahasa Indonesia during the colonial period. However this work was not satisfying for Salim, so in 1904, he moved to Riau where his father worked. In Riau, he obtained a job as assistant to a public notary. However, this work did not satisfy him either. Shortly afterwards, he was transferred to Indragiri where he was employed by a coal-mining company as a translator and clerk until 1906. Salim, who had obtained the best examination result of all candidates from the three HBS in 1903, was discovering that the opportunities open to his European fellow students were not open to him.

Indeed, he was only offered jobs which had no relation to his abilities as a graduate of HBS.³²

Moreover, his parents began to be worried over his inability to stay in one place or in one job. His father wanted him to follow in his footsteps and work for the Dutch government, but Salim's disinterest in government service began to irritate his father and to heighten tension between them. He was then offered employment at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah, an offer he refused. At the time, Salim's family was a religious one and his mother, noticing her son's less than devout religious penchant, had hoped that he would accept this position in Jeddah. In Saudi Arabia, the family had a relative who had become a religious teacher and Salim's parents had hoped that this relative would bring a positive Islamic influence to bear upon their son. However, Salim still rejected this argument disappointing his mother deeply. Unfortunately, the latter died soon afterwards and out of respect for his mother's last wish, Salim accepted the position at the Dutch Consulate where he was made responsible for translation and for managing the pilgrimage of Indonesians to Mecca.³³

The departure of Agus Salim to Jeddah was described by *al-Imâm* magazine, which was published in Singapore from 1906-1909. In the August 1906 issue of *al-Imâm*, there was an article containing an interview with Agus Salim. During the interview, Salim had described how he hoped to facilitate the pilgrimage for the many Muslims in Singapore. In another article, the editorial staff of *al-Imâm* also declared Agus Salim to be their representative in Jeddah.³⁴

Thus, in 1906 at the age of twenty two, Agus Salim went to Jeddah full of confidence and promise thanks to the encouragement of his family, his relatives and his Muslim brothers in his own country and abroad. During his stay in Jeddah, he was given the opportunity to go to Mecca. This chance was given to him because the non-Muslim Dutch consulate staff were not allowed to enter the city. Hence, he met his cousin, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib.³⁵ By that time, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib had become a prayer leader (*imâm*), a preacher and also a lecturer at the Masjid al-Harâm in Mecca. During his stay of five years in Jeddah (1906-1911), Salim regularly met his cousin and enlisted the latter's help in the study of Islam, an important requirement when managing the accommodation of Indonesian pilgrims.³⁶

In the context of Indonesian Islamic reform, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib is acknowledged as a forerunner of the reformists in Minangkabau. While in Mecca, and during the last two decades of the nineteenth

century and the early years of the twentieth, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib had further expanded and propagated his ideas concerning reform. He had also, as we saw above, attained the prestigious positions of leader and preacher at the Masjid al-Harâm. However, because he had never returned to Indonesia, he maintained communications with his homeland through Indonesian pilgrims, students and written publications. He often wrote on controversial matters, including the debate surrounding the *Tariqat Naqshabandiyyah* which was much followed at that time, and the debate on inheritance regulations in the Minangkabau tradition.³⁷ Although Ahmad Khatib was an *imâm* of the Shâfi'î school, he did not prohibit his students from reading the texts of various reformists and modernists, such as the writings of Muhammad 'Abduh published in the periodical *al-Urwat al-Wuthqa* (The Indissoluble Bond) and the latter's exegesis of the Qur'ân.³⁸ For Salim, Ahmad Khatib was the primary source of religious instructions; however, Khatib tutored Salim differently from the other students, most of whom were undergoing training to become Islamic scholars. These students included Syaikh Jamil Jambek, Syaikh Abdulkarim Amrullah from Sumatera and K. H. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of the Muhammadiyah movement in Java. When Salim was introduced to the various subjects, he would often react in a critical and comparative manner. Therefore, the lectures given by Khatib tended to focus on discussions and the exchange of ideas, rather than simple instruction.³⁹ Khatib, who had also once studied at an HBS, understood Salim's educational background and how the Dutch educational system emphasized the importance of reason over faith. That is why Khatib provided his cousin with careful answers and plenty of explanations. Khatib hoped that his answers would slowly create in Salim an appreciation of Islam. Fortunately, Salim eventually solidified his religious convictions and in fact, performed *hajj* five times. He once commented on his religious experience in an interview with the newspaper, *Bendera Islam* (Islamic Flag). He acknowledged that, at first, his belief was only a natural reflection of his Indonesian nationality and that it was not a belief based solely on faith. However, after five years in Saudi Arabia, a number of pilgrimages and the expansion of his awareness of Islam, his belief developed from distrust to doubt, and from doubt to confidence. He thus came to believe wholly in the existence of God and God's revelations.⁴⁰

The close relation between Agus Salim and Khatib also inspired Salim to study the works of other modern Muslim thinkers more

seriously. He eagerly studied the teachings of Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî (1839-1897) who had developed the idea of Pan-Islamism, and became familiar with Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) who was renowned as a committed reformist and modernist in the Muslim world. 'Abduh had attempted to free Islam from the rigidity of orthodoxy and, to this purpose, introduced Islamic reforms which were adapted to the demands of modern society.⁴¹ 'Abduh greatly influenced Salim's perception of Islamic education in Indonesia. Salim, for instance, began to see his country's approach to religious education as stagnant and old fashioned, archaic and needing reform. Furthermore, he perceived the root of the problem to be the Dutch colonial government and its educational system. As such, Salim decided to involve himself in Islamic religious propagation in the hope of reforming Islamic pedagogy once he returned to his country. He hoped one day to be able to harmonize and synthesize Islam and modernity for his fellow Indonesians.⁴²

Linguistically, Salim prospered as a result of his stay in Saudi Arabia. After five years, he could speak and comprehend both Arabic and Turkish fluently. This is not surprising since Mecca, at that time, was administered by the Ottomans. Moreover, since the consulate was also responsible for mercantile affairs, Agus Salim likewise learned about business administration and commerce. In addition, he became familiar with diplomatic etiquette, a useful skill in his later career after the independence of Indonesia.⁴³

However, during his work in Jeddah he came under other influences and was, in fact, a living example of the results of Snouck Hurgronje's educational policy to assimilate educated native people into the Dutch government service. Hurgronje had chosen Salim to work in the Dutch consulate because he acknowledged the latter to be a talented bureaucrat. Similarly, Agus Salim, now working as a *gelijkgesteld*, thought that he would be given the same status as his Dutch co-workers. Therefore, upon arriving at the Dutch consulate, he requested a desk for his personal use, an act which reflected his position in the office. He also tended to side with the Indonesian pilgrims whenever there was a problem. Not surprisingly, these attitudes evoked negative sentiment among his Dutch seniors, who, later on, always tried to suppress his views. As for the Dutch employees, they considered Salim to be an undisciplined and conceited co-worker. And, even though Hurgronje supported Salim, the clash between Salim and his seniors reached boiling point. In fact, Salim would come

to suffer from the physical effects of this nervous tension. He also realized that his relationship with the Dutch, be it attending school at HBS or working in the consulate at Jeddah, was based on segregation and discrimination.⁴⁴

In 1911 Agus Salim returned to the Dutch East Indies. Since he had just returned from Saudi Arabia and had performed pilgrimage, his friends and colleagues gave him the title of Haji. Back home, he stayed in Batavia, where he worked at Department Onderwijs en Culturen (the Department of Education and Culture) for a while before transferring to *Burgelijke openbare Werken* (the Department of Public Works) where he worked from 1911 to 1912.⁴⁵

Agus Salim liked reading very much and was specifically impressed by accounts of the numerous Indonesian resistance movements, such as those of Teuku Umar, Diponegoro, and Hasanuddin. Although all these groups were defeated, their will to free the country from Dutch colonialism had found a place in his heart. Furthermore, the failure of these movements inspired Salim to analyze their argument in the hope of raising a new spirit, a spirit which would compel other national leaders to work towards independence. Agus Salim was not satisfied with the country's condition or the backwardness of his people. Moreover, his knowledge and maturity inspired him to develop a new mentality in Indonesia. He thought that the underlying cause for the previous defeats of the Indonesian struggle was not individual weakness, but their lack of education. At the time, Indonesians were educationally inferior to the Dutch. If lack of education explained why the Dutch had been so successful in subjugating the Indonesians, it stood to reason that the only way to achieve independence was to promote education for backward Indonesians, he thought. To achieve this objective, educated Indonesians should contribute to the advancement of their own people through education. Thus, leaving his post at the Department of Public Works, he went back to his village, Kota Gadang, in 1912 and built and managed an elementary school, namely, the *Hollands Inlandse School (HIS)*.⁴⁶

The children of Kota Gadang could now study in their village, without having to go to Bukittinggi. Moreover, this school had special characteristics; advanced students who could not afford to pay tuition were given scholarships; most of the teachers worked voluntarily; and the subject of nationalism was promoted among the students in order to raise a sense of the Indonesian identity. In the Dutch schools, on the other hand, nationalism was never mentioned and

the Dutch teachers emphasized that the indigenous Indonesians were a submissive people who had no work skills or culture. This approach made Indonesians feel inferior to others, especially to the Dutch. Therefore, the national educational program propagated by Salim was well suited to the growing needs of contemporary nationalism. The seeds of nationalism needed to be planted in the minds of young students together with other subjects. Salim hoped that students who had been educated at HIS could be groomed as the next generation of leaders. He knew that the intelligentsia, the forerunners of the national struggle, were well educated, and included such figures as those of the Budi Utomo (Noble Endeavor) and Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union)⁴⁷.

The HIS, managed by Salim, ran smoothly. He taught classes and administered the school at the same time. However, after having taught for two years, he realized that he needed a formal certificate in order to teach at the HIS. To obtain this certificate, he had to pass an examination in Jakarta. He thus prepared for all the subjects for the upcoming examination, including pedagogy, psychology and the Dutch language. He easily passed all the subjects except Dutch. Since Salim had studied with Dutch teachers at the ELS for seven years and at the HBS for five years, he was surprised and disappointed at this failure and suspected that discrimination had occurred.⁴⁸

After having managed the HIS for three years and being credited for laying solid foundations for the dissemination of national dignity, Agus Salim and his family decided to seek a new life outside Kota Gadang in 1915. They left their village to go to Java. Once in Batavia he obtained a position at the government's translation office, Translator Indonesische Drukkerij. After obtaining experience in this office, Salim moved to the Commissie voor de Volkslecteur, which was then known as Balai Pustaka and was responsible for the publication of various books for Indonesian readers. There, he worked as a translator of European languages into Malay (Indonesian) and vice versa. In addition to these activities, he was appointed as the assistant editor of the *Neratja* newspaper, under the editor-in-chief, Abdul Muis.⁴⁹

Initially, *Neratja* was subsidized the Dutch Administration in response to demands by advocates of the Ethical Policy for higher levels of literacy among Indonesians. To avoid any possibility of this newspaper being infiltrated by anti-Dutch propagandists, the management of the newspaper was given to a person who could be trust-

ed for his loyalty to the Dutch. The Dutch had therefore appointed Lanjumin Datuk Tumenggung in this capacity. Tumenggung at that time held an important advisory position (*patih*) to the office of Inlandsche Zaken. Tumenggung, in turn, selected for the post of chief editor his uncle, Abdul Muis, who already held a position as vice president of Sarekat Islam. Tumenggung hoped that Muis would reduce his political activities, and help decrease the tension between the Dutch Administration and Sarekat Islam. This tension was caused by the Party's demand that the colonial government establish a people's representative council.⁵⁰

Sarekat Islam was an Islamic political association, which had quickly gained popularity among Indonesians and eventually became a mass movement. Under the leadership of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, it had attempted to eliminate the social and economic ills afflicting Indonesians. Needless to say, this mass popularity made the Dutch uneasy, and they confronted the SI and its leaders with challenges and slander. In retaliation, Tjokroaminoto reminded the government of its responsibilities by quoting Article 55 of the *Regeeringsreglement* (the Government Regulation). Specifically, he cited how that article guaranteed that Indonesians would be protected from governmental arbitrariness. He also dispelled the myth that the SI was a violent revolutionary political party. This assertion was, to some extent, in response to the accusation that he had engaged in secret negotiations with the Germans in order to procure arms to support a full-scale revolt against the Dutch Administration.⁵¹ To substantiate this accusation, the Dutch Administration, however, needed a qualified native to investigate the matter. Tumenggung, an advisor on native affairs and the manager of *Neratja*, nominated Agus Salim to be this investigator. He told Salim that the police had acquired reports that a revolt was about to break in Java. At the time, the German ships were all over the world, and it was reported that one such German ship was carrying 40,000 rifles to Java, and that Tjokroaminoto would start a revolt once he received those arms. Agus Salim was instructed to become acquainted with Tjokroaminoto. He had already met the Dutch police commissioner in Batavia, and gone to the Central Sarekat Islam (CSI) as an investigator.⁵² He accepted this position, even though he thought that the rumors were unfounded, and that if a revolt were to take place, it would result in disaster since, at that time, the Indonesians had not taken up arms for more than a century. Thus, Salim believed that there was no basis for such accusations and that the SI was operating independently.⁵³

Agus Salim, who was introduced by Tumenggung to Tjokroaminoto knew from the beginning that Salim had already been in contact with the Dutch police commissioner in Batavia. However, Tjokroaminoto pretended otherwise and asked Salim to attend the SI congress in Surabaya in 1915. After the congress, Salim was invited to several local meetings of the SI in East Java. There, Salim saw evidence of mass popular support; in fact, around 50,000 people attended these meetings, and reacted enthusiastically to the speeches. When Tjokro walked by them, the people squatted to the ground and kissed his feet, all the while uttering words of adoration. In Javanese belief, there was a prediction that a "just king" (Prabu Heru Tjokro) would rise, who would save them from their suffering. Thus, Tjokroaminoto was welcomed as the incarnation of Prabu Heru Tjokro. Later on, when the meeting ended, Tjokroaminoto asked Salim for his opinion on the SI, and Salim replied positively. However, he also noted that such adoration was dangerous because few people experience such exaggerated adoration without losing their perspective. Tjokroaminoto agreed and afterwards they made their first agreement; they promised to help one another, and never to undertake any decision for the party without their mutual agreement. Thus, when Salim came to Surabaya he decided to become a party member and to send a wire to the chief police commissioner in Batavia which stated that he ended his relation with the Dutch police. At that moment, he began to study this movement which not only had a promising potential but was also based on Islam.⁵⁴

Likewise, Tjokroaminoto was happy to have Salim in his party. He realized that he had one of the best educated and most intellectually gifted Indonesians for an ally; he also knew that Salim held progressive views on social and economic matters combined with steady Islamic principles. Moreover, Salim was a realist who considered the future aims and potential of the Indonesians.⁵⁵ Haji Agus Salim and H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto became a solid team and together they led the party into its most effective and influential period. Their leadership was known as the Duumvirate Tjokroaminoto-Salim. They managed to maintain their cooperation and always to help each other until Tjokroaminoto died in 1934.

Salim and Dutch Colonial Policy

Dutch rule over Indonesia was established after a series of bloody wars, known as the Pacification Movement, which were fought in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries against local indigenous leaders, small kingdoms and sultanates. The Dutch campaigns against Prince Diponegoro (1825-1830), the Padris in West Sumatra (1831-1839) and the Acehnese (1874-1904) are illustrative of these struggles. Moreover, once these efforts at pacification had achieved the desired end of establishing Dutch sovereignty, colonial control was then extended to the remotest parts of Indonesia, bringing security and peace to the whole region.⁵⁶

The security and prosperity established in the regions outside of Java supported the flow of Western and foreign investments which then resulted in millions of guilders in profits being sent to the Netherlands. As an example, during the years 1831-1877, Netherlands gained 823 million guilders from the colonial policy of *culturstelsel* (forced labor) in the Indies. These Indonesian contributions to the Dutch treasury were on the increase from the beginning of the twentieth century until the period of World War I, as a result of rapid economic, social and political developments taking place in the Indonesian archipelago.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the developments created new problems for the Dutch government, chief among which was the diminishing welfare of Indonesians. This diminishing welfare was a direct result of the growth in the number of Western-owned estates and mining enterprises. Indeed, their growth was so rapid that it disrupted the Indonesian economy and created an economic division between the Indonesians and the Westerners. Moreover, the favorable peace conditions and the persuasiveness of law and order were conducive to the rapid growth of the Indonesian population, which multiplied faster than growth in food and cattle.⁵⁸ Not surprisingly, this diminishing welfare became a concern for the Dutch government and eventually resulted in the formation of a new colonial policy.⁵⁹

At the turn of the twentieth century in the Dutch East Indies, there was a change of political orientation launched by the Netherlands. It came in the wake of the elections of 1901 which brought a coalition of rightist and religious groups to power.⁶⁰ The "Christian" outlook of the new government can be seen in the annual message of Queen Wilhelmina delivered in September 1901 which stated that

As a Christian nation the Netherlands have a duty to improve the condition of native Christians in the Indian archipelago, to give Christian missionary activity more aid and to inform the entire administration that the Netherlands have a moral obligation to fulfill as regards the population of those regions.⁶¹

The Queen also asked that a commission be formed to investigate the causes for the diminishing welfare of Indonesians, an act which marks the official beginning of what the Dutch called the Ethical Policy.⁶²

According to the English scholar of economics, Furnivall, the Ethical Policy had a twofold impact, one economic and the other social. On the economic side, the government promoted Western enterprise while at the same time demanding that companies located in the Indies provide funds for the promotion of Indonesian welfare. As for the social aspect of this policy, it sought to promote social welfare through village institutions and local self-government. Moreover, in larger rural centres the colonial government established councils and a Volksraad (People's Council) for urban areas and the whole Indonesian territory. Along with the extension of representative bodies, there was recruitment of personnel into the colonial administration to promote education, agriculture, medical care and other services which were equally important for Indonesian social welfare.⁶³

With the appointment of Governor General A.W.F. Idenburg as the Colonial Minister in 1902, the Ethical Policy began to be implemented. In 1905 the first direct contribution, amounting to 40 million guilders, was made by the Netherlands to the East Indies for improvement of economic conditions in Java and Madura. This payment was seen by the Dutch as a payment of "a debt of honor" for past exploitation; an idea inspired by Mr. Conrad T. van Deventer, one of the most prominent supporters of the Ethical Policy.⁶⁴ Earlier, in August 1899, in an article entitled "Een Eerchuld" (Debt of Honor) in *De Gids*, van Deventer called for the restitution of some of the millions of guilders earned by the Netherlands in Indonesia. The sum, which he estimated to be around 187 million guilders, would improve the school system and many other facets of public welfare. Fortunately, this plea gained wide acceptance among the Dutch people and gave impetus to the implementation of the aforementioned policy by the Dutch government. Furthermore, Professor Snouck Hurgronje was also an outspoken supporter of the Ethical Policy. He emphasized that by sponsoring education, the policy was ad-

expressing a hope stated by many Indonesian leaders and writers, about the value of education to the progress of Indonesian society. Hurgronje believed that by granting the wish of Indonesians to receive schooling, the Dutch would secure their loyalty for an unlimited time.⁶⁵ Thus in 1905 education for Indonesians began to gain momentum.⁶⁶

In practice, however, this Dutch colonial policy laid more emphasis on improving the material situation of Indonesians, while education, an essential feature of the Ethical Policy, and political reforms continued to be given much less attention.⁶⁷ The efforts at improving social welfare at the village level, by expanding democratic self-government, in accordance with the decentralization regulations of 1903 was only minimally realized. Regional councils did not represent the indigenous people because nearly all their members came from functionaries chosen by the Dutch East Indies government, and Europeans. Since representation did not exist, the real aims of the decentralization policy or autonomy were not attained. Moreover, the freedom to express one's political opinions was not granted to all Indonesian political organizations, whose meetings could be stopped whenever they were regraded as dangerous to state authority.⁶⁸

During the period of 1900-1914, the Ethical Policy was regarded as an effective and worthwhile policy in Indonesia and the Netherlands. However, after this period it began to attract heavy criticism from all sides, and was even ultimately judged to have been a failure by many observers.⁶⁹ One knowledgeable observer, a professor of tropical economy in Leiden, commented on the results of this policy in the following terms. He said that "he really could not assure that Indonesians were better off for the millions which the government had borrowed from the State Banks. Irrigation, emigration, colonization, were catchwords that had lost their luster. Other catchwords such as the promotion of export crops, the improvement of hygiene and the relief of taxation had their ups and downs, as, for example the cry for industrialization rising and falling with the economic conjuncture."⁷⁰

The promotion of Indonesian welfare was markedly successful in creating a new class of Dutch-educated Indonesians. Prominent in this class were a number of Indonesian intellectuals who were well aware of their own positions within the colonial structure, but who recognized the lack of education among their compatriots. Begin-

ning in 1914 Indonesians writers criticized the Ethical Policy, which they regarded as a failure. This criticism was championed by the educated Indonesians who had joined the nationalist self-identity movement.⁷¹ Among these Indonesian intellectuals was Haji Agus Salim. He responded to this policy and its effects in a number of articles published in *Neratja*, where he occupied the position of chief editor from 1916 to 1920.⁷²

Haji Agus Salim, recognized the Ethical Policy for what it was, an attempt on the part of the Dutch to develop the Indonesian economy and promote the social welfare of the general population. He saw the Dutch Administration wanting to improve economic well-being as a means of promoting Indonesian change and development regarded by the Dutch as “progress”. Creating a prosperous economy for village life was seen as making it easier for the government to provide health care and education. This effort was in Salim’s opinion, launched and motivated by a desire to generate respect on the part of Indonesian’s towards the Dutch East Indies government. He warned specifically that if the government did not in fact raise Indonesian living standards or create the other changes, it would be disgraced in the eyes of the world.

Agus Salim expressed some of these opinions in an article entitled “Kemajuan Perkara Hatta” (Progress as a Property Case), written for *Neratja* and published on 11 October 1917. In it he maintained that the Dutch political parties called for promoting Indonesian welfare for two main reasons: First, some Dutch politicians were publicly embarrassed because Indonesians, who had contributed to raising the standard of living in the mother country, were themselves, living in poverty. These politicians felt that such inequality was unjust and wanted to compensate the Indonesians to overcome this inequity. Thus, it seemed to Salim that their effort stemmed, primarily, from the wish to recover the honor of their nation in the face of international criticism. Second, a group of entrepreneurs wanted to promote Indonesian prosperity because they believed that an economically prosperous people would be a better trading partner. Salim saw the motivation behind both views as effectively the same, i.e. self interest. Even though the Dutch public supported this Ethical Policy enthusiastically, he argued, their efforts were not really motivated by unselfish interests.

Salim further stated that just as Sarekat Islam had failed in establishing cooperative companies, the government and foreign compa-

nies too had collapsed after spending too much money on capital investment and not enough on Indonesian welfare. The colonial, however, blamed these failures on the Indonesians who, they insisted had not as yet reached the level of maturity needed to compete in the world's economy. Salim contended that a nation which wanted to contend in the global economic arena had to have both property (infrastructure) and wealth (purchasing power). Freedom and independence were of no importance if the nation did not have these requisites of modern economic life. This attitude on the part of the colonial powers, according to Salim, was typical of the Western understanding, which maintained that the Indonesians had to be rich before having independence or even the right to independence.

Agus Salim maintained that the Dutch insistence on Indonesian progress as a condition for independence, ignored the lesson of world history. To illustrate this point he cited examples from earlier centuries when slaves and oppressed peoples obtained their freedom while still living in the midst of humiliation and poverty. Then, not long afterwards, these poor people became wealthy, with many of them achieving high social positions. Salim also affirmed that during the late 18th and the middle 19th centuries many revolutions took place in Europe that were championed by a fourth class of people (*de vierde stand*). These people represented the lower classes who wanted to free themselves from the oppression of "King, Church and Aristocrats." These people, he said, were only able to gain material and social wealth after achieving their freedom. Similar phenomena also took place in the Greek and Roman empires. Not surprisingly, Salim believed that every effort carried out by the colonial government or other groups to raise the economic status of Indonesians was doomed to failure so long as the right to freedom was denied them. Indonesians would get nowhere if they were treated equally in the fields of law, education, technical training, trade and government affairs. He concluded that it was impossible to gain economic advancement unless independence and political rights were granted.

In the same article of 11 October 1917 Salim wrote that Dutch ideas promoting Indonesian welfare were only catchwords, based on Dutch concepts and policies, and their attainment depended on Dutch action. The Dutch were of the opinion that progress should be a matter which concerned Indonesians only, but paradoxically could not really be handled by them. Thus, when Indonesians demanded the introduction of progressive ideas and techniques, they waited in

vain, wondering if their demands would be granted or not. Likewise, when Indonesians requested improvements in their education, they had to wait for a decision made by people on the other side of the world, and received one which was unsatisfactory when it finally came.

In another article entitled “Mana Yang Harus Didahulukan” (That Which Should be Given Priority), written for *Neratja* on 24 January 1918, Agus Salim drew a metaphor to illustrate this situation, by comparing the Dutch Colonial Policy to a nurse taking care of a child. There are two purposes behind the nurse’s function, he elucidated: the first is to care for someone not yet mature enough to care of him or her self; the second is the wish to lengthen the work of being a nurse. Salim then went on to say that a nurse would forbid the child to do anything which she regarded as dangerous for him, such as forbidding the child to swim out of fear that he might drown, or forcing the child to eat very soft foods which cannot strengthen the child’s body, instead of rice, porridge or bananas. The nurse is thus overprotective of the child because the longer the child needs her, the longer the nurse keeps her position. Similarly, the Dutch who knew how to develop in Indonesians the capacity to look after themselves, decided not to do so, because they deemed the latter as incapable of achieving any progress. Fortunately, however, just as there are parents who are not afraid to expose their children to some danger, while guiding and helping them to become self-reliant, there were also a number of Dutch administrators who wanted to help Indonesians become more independent. This group, according to Agus Salim, was truly progressive. Unfortunately there were many more Dutch people who believed in treating the Indonesians like a nurse treats a child, he lamented, because they considered rapid progress to be dangerous for Indonesians whom they regarded as not “mature” enough. These and several others also assumed that they would lose their authority over the Indies if they allowed progress to accelerate. Salim referred to these people as conservative and reactionary, and contended that they advocated the suppression of new ideas by maintaining tight control over the Indonesians. Consequently, reflecting his optimism in the ability of the Indonesians to overcome obstacles put before them, he declared that if the Indonesians were decisive and united themselves in pursuit of a common goal, then applied themselves peacefully and patiently to it, victory could be gained. He concluded that the best way for Indonesians to achieve this goal was through education.

In the same article, however, Salim reminded his readers that under Dutch colonialism, Indonesian education was organized and controlled by Dutch regulations, and that it had taken decades for the Dutch Administration to acknowledge that these regulations had not been applied fairly. Moreover, Dutch educational regulations presented more disadvantages than advantages to Indonesians, since the government did not know which structure was suitable for Indonesians or what branches of knowledge were important to them. The reason the Dutch Administration applied its regulations in this way, Salim affirmed, was due to its belief that Indonesians were not “mature” enough. Indeed, it is to be regretted, he went on to say, that the Dutch educational system, which was managed by “mature” people, was unable to produce equally “mature” people in turn.

Salim believed that the progress and independence of a nation was achievable not only through the advancement of science, but also through sheer force, as had been the case with Japan, an Asian country which had defeated a stronger country (i.e. Russia) in battles on both sea and land. Since that time Japan had been acknowledged as independent and its dignity had risen in the eyes of the world. In reflecting on Japan’s success Agus Salim wondered: How could a backward country such as Indonesia force others to recognize its dignity and obtain equal rights? Furthermore, was education the key for Indonesians to achieve progress and to compete with other nations?

In answer to the first question, Salim affirmed that there was no reason for Indonesians to take up arms in order to gain independence and progress. Moreover, even though Indonesia had been ruled by foreign powers for centuries, this did not hamper the progress of the Indonesian people. Indeed, progress was attained in spite of the fact that the country was under foreign domination, and often because of it as well. Moreover, if Indonesians opposed the colonial government by force it would be an offense towards God as well as the world, and would ultimately result in disaster, given the superiority of the Dutch in arms and security forces. Besides, rebelling against a government which claimed to be working for the progress of its indigenous people would only invite the hatred of other nations, and cause friction among Indonesians themselves.

The best way to achieve progress, Salim continued, would be through peaceful means. Indonesians had to unify themselves in pursuit of the same goals and to ask for and demand the equality of dignity, of rightism of law for all people in the Indies, and the right

to become involved and to speak in political meetings in order to express their views on how the country should be run.

In answer to the second question, Salim stated that Indonesia had been left far behind other nations, and that education was therefore a prerequisite for progress.

Moreover, education, in a number of European countries was often the result of progress. A case in point is Netherlands; whose golden age was the seventeenth century in which the Dutch liberated themselves from Spanish tutelage. During this century there were developments in almost every science and the Netherlands became renowned for its scientific progress and wealth. It was in fact at that time that the Dutch occupied the Indies, which in turn became a source of Dutch prosperity and glory. All this progress was the direct result of what they had done to heighten their dignity, and to escape from Spanish imperialism, Salim affirmed.

Thus, according to Salim, because Indonesians had been left behind, it would be impossible for them to compete with European countries, particularly if they were uneducated. Therefore education was of paramount importance to Indonesians, but not just any education. What was need was an educational system extending from the lowest to the highest levels. Agus Salim argued that whereas an architect could build a beautiful building with the help of dozens people, thousands people who only graduated from elementary school would not be able to construct such a building. Every single person who attained an advanced level of education was more valuable for the dignity and progress of his or her country, than the thousands of people who acquired only a basic education. Consequently, Indonesians needed more academic institutions, universities, and colleges, rather than the hundreds of elementary schools provided by the colonial government. With higher levels of schooling available to them, Indonesians would become teachers, leaders, and pioneers, who would in turn educate the new generations, thus putting an end to dependence on foreign teachers.

At the end of this article of 24 January 1918, Salim called upon the people to unite and be more "mature", so that the right to organize their own national affairs would be granted to them. Moreover, a "mature" people would be able to gain independence gradually, Salim believed, regardless of the Dutch reluctance to grant such freedom.

Salim's comments should be seen in the context of the turn of the century, when the Netherlands was still far behind in providing ad-

equate education to the Indies population, compared with other countries such as Great Britain which had started providing education half a century earlier in India.⁷³ At the time, Indonesians could study at European schools. However, these demanded high school fees and offered instruction in Dutch, which limited the number of Indonesians who could study at these institutions. Fortunately, the Dutch East Indies government soon discovered the need for extending popular education, but was faced with the very difficult problem of costs. An answer was finally found by Governor Generale van Heutsz in 1907. Van Heutsz introduced a low-cost school system whose management was left to the *desas* (villages). Secondary schools, however, remained scarce, and universities non-existent. The first university in fact opened in 1924.⁷⁴

Because of these conditions Indonesians, according to Agus Salim, had to demand better education, and its continuation to higher levels, which would be most useful for Indonesian society in the long run.

In an article entitled "Lahirnya Tipis, Isinya Dalam" (Thin on the Outside but Deep on the Inside), written in *Neratja* of 4 October 1917, Agus Salim again criticized the Dutch educational system offered to Indonesians. He took as his example the careers of several nationalist activists, most of whom had graduated from Dutch schools, whom he saw as poor products of education because of their insensitivity toward their fellow Indonesians and Indonesian values. According to Salim, the fault lay in the fact that young Indonesians were taught in a European manner, and not along the lines of Indonesian tradition. Coming from an Eastern background, they acquired a superficial knowledge of subjects which were alien to their spiritual development. The Dutch were not sensitive to this dichotomy, and continued to encourage materialism through their educational system without reinforcing it with any spiritual values. The resulting confusion in the minds of these young Indonesians led them to apply the knowledge they had gained in the Dutch school system to ends which were not in keeping with the Eastern ideals they had left behind.

Still Salim recognized that the situation was not without hope. He recognized that some Dutch reformers were aware of the need for providing Eastern educational methods, more suitable to the Indonesian milieu, and tried to give priority to the demand for Eastern subjects. Agus Salim exhorted Indonesians to support these efforts serious-

ly. He asked them to work with the Dutch in this matter, because the Westerners alone would not be able to achieve this synthesis and would need guidance.

Regardless of whether they could provide practical support or not, Indonesians were encouraged by Salim to support any Dutch effort to realize these aims. One such effort was known as the Labberton movement, led by L. J. Polderman who tried to introduce educational reform to Indonesia. The theory behind this movement was the Western saying: '*Kennis is macht*' (knowledge is power). This movement believed that an educated person should be a leader of his society, and Salim hoped that young, educated Indonesians partaking of this system would be inspired by its ideals and would behave with dignity and respect, in the best Eastern tradition. Moreover a person of good character would be a leader of his nation.

The Labberton movement worked actively to inform Indonesian youth of their responsibilities and opportunities and directed its efforts towards teaching subjects not formerly taught in Dutch schools. Once, Polderman delivered a speech on the importance of the sense of responsibility, beginning with responsibility towards one self, one's family and relatives, all the people in the village, and one's fatherland. The last responsibility often demanded personal sacrifice, a concept that was foreign to most Indonesian youth of his day. Polderman also asked his audience of what value was personal happiness and dignity if humiliation still adhered to every Indonesian's forehead. Although an Indonesian might achieve personal distinction, he still lived as part of his nation, and humiliation was still part of his lot. Agus Salim seemed to agree with this evaluation, and believed that if Indonesians were to listen carefully to the advice of Polderman, they would be able to achieve some progress for their nation. A stance which seems to indicate that he demanded young educated Indonesians to love their nation, and to put its welfare ahead of personal dignity, social status or salary.

A further weakness of the colonial school system was that only 15 percent of its enrollment space was allotted for girls at central continuation schools. This reflected widespread belief in Dutch and Indonesian society that women did not need much education in the first place. This attitude led to a reaction which led to the creation of a number of groups advocating special attention to women's progress.⁷⁵ Among these groups was J. H. Abendanon, a leading proponent of the ethical policy. In his capacity as director of the Department of

(Indonesian) Education, Religion and Industry, he pursued his interest in the education of women. Abendanon knew about Raden Ajeng Kartini, later famous for her letters calling for Dutch and Indonesian efforts to raise educational standards for Indonesians, who had met with him in 1900, and was able to give her much more support than her earlier Dutch contacts had been able to do. He expanded her network of intellectual Dutch and Indonesian friends to whom she wrote letters in the following years. Then, at Abendanon's suggestion, Kartini was finally able in 1903 to open a school for Indonesian girls. The publication of her book entitled *Door Duisternis tot Licht* (Through Darkness into Light), a collection of Kartini's letters, attracted popular sympathy to Abendanon's Kartini Foundation, a private organization for women's schools, which was mainly supported by voluntary Dutch contributions. In 1916, this foundation had opened the first Kartini schools, which played an important role in overcoming the traditional opposition to the education of girls.⁷⁶

The colonial administrator and political observer De Kat Angelino concluded that there were at least four prominent names among the advocates of Indonesian women's progress: Raden Ajeng Kartini and Abendanon, who were mentioned earlier, van Deventer (who was also linked to the establishment of various education programs in Indonesian women's schools) and lastly Mrs. van Deventer, who continued her husband's work in this direction. He maintained that their efforts, particularly those of Kartini, aimed at raising the position of Indonesian women, thus enabling the latter to establish better marriages, and to become educated mothers, who, in turn, would insist on proper education for their children. In short, family life would be strengthened through the improvement of the status of women. This was seen as one of the primary conditions necessary for creating a stable society, which would in turn provide a solid foundation for a secure country.⁷⁷

Although Agus Salim was not one of the leading advocates of Indonesian girl's schools, he nevertheless supported efforts at improving the quality of life for Indonesian girls. Thus, he was keeping with the interests of leading figures in the fight for Indonesian women's progress. In an article entitled "Kemajuan Perempuan Bumiputera", (The Progress of Indonesian Women), written in *Neratja* on 4 September 1917, Salim argued for the advancement of Indonesian women and posed three questions to support his argument: he asked, firstly, what was more important for the nation's progress, women teachers,

or smart and educated women? Secondly, what is the best way to produce educated women teachers? Lastly, was it necessary to provide schools for Indonesian women at the time?

Agus Salim approached the first question by referring to both the conservative opinion which says that a woman is only a “house or kitchen guardian”, as well as the (incorrect) assumption that Islam is an obstacle to women’s education. In answer to these questions, Agus Salim lamented that women received less attention than men in education, even though people, at the time, had begun to understand the importance of education for women. This situation was aggravated by the fact that the Dutch educational system also gave priority to men over women.

According to Salim, the Dutch educational system produced young, educated Indonesian men who underestimated their female counterparts, and as a result, preferred non-Indonesian women to be their wives rather than Indonesian ones. Many of these educated Indonesian men did not even respect Indonesian women, and did not hesitate to leave one wife for another without notice. Salim regarded all of these factors as obstructing national progress, to say nothing of social morality. This unfavorable situation had to be addressed, Salim contended, by providing more advanced education for Indonesian women. In Salim’s opinion the late Raden Ajeng Kartini had provided a noteworthy example in this regard, by rendering a great service to women’s education.

Another result of schools not providing sufficient space for Indonesian women, was that many wealthy Indonesian parents sent their daughters to Dutch schools. This had the effect that, aside from its impracticality and expensiveness, an attitude of superiority was promoted in these girls. These girls did not want to marry Indonesian men, since they too underestimated those who did not have the same advantages. For this reason, Salim, regarded it necessary to build a new education system for Indonesian women. He supported van Deventer’s reforms, the intention of which was to build schools for Indonesian women. He disagreed, however, with the plans to build a school designed to produce female Indonesian teachers. Agus Salim wanted well-educated Indonesian women (with a broad role of service in Indonesian life) and not just narrow careers in education.

In Salim’s opinion, there were at the time many teacher training schools which also accepted Indonesian women into their programs. If put to good use, these schools would undoubtedly be able to pro-

duce an appropriate number of qualified Indonesian women teachers. However, they were not able to do so because many Indonesian parents could not meet the expenses of accommodating, supervising, feeding and clothing their daughters during the school year. Moreover, because teacher training schools were mostly run by the colonial government, very little attention was given to the care and supervision of girls outside of school hours. Salim felt that since the authorities did not care for personal and moral development of girls, these schools were not suitable institutions for Indonesian women. He concluded that the best way to produce educated female teachers was for them to have their own teacher training schools, without any government contribution. One initiative in this direction was the establishment of the Gunung Sari School in Batavia. Salim requested Indonesians to assist this school financially, by providing accommodation for the girls and protecting them during their period of study at the school. Turning to the third question, Salim stated that in the minority of Dutch and Indonesian schools boys and girls studied together; and, even though there was a number of single-gender schools, these were not the norm. Moreover, in both Dutch and Indonesian schools, the number of boy students usually exceeded that of the girls, and had done so for decades without provoking any disagreements or encountering any obstacles. As such, Salim concluded that gender separation was not a necessity in Indonesian schooling.

Also in connection with this, Salim pointed out that in both Indonesian and Dutch schools, students studied topics in broad subject areas such as physical education, which were designed to foster good health; "inner sight" education, intended to establish a better character and personality; and intelligence improvement education, which enhances one's knowledge and abilities. These three components were taught to both boys and girls, without distinction, because both have to be clever and intelligent enough to fulfill their duties as human beings and members of society, although people generally believed that females should stay at home after marriage. Moreover, Salim stated that after marriage a male should work to maintain his family, while a female should manage the home budget, direct the family affairs and educate the children. This family "job description" was necessary because the husband had no time to do additional housework. However if the wife had been educated, she should have developed the character and personality necessary to manage the house-

work and family, which are the chief benefit of women's education, Salim believed.

In Salim's opinion, the family is the basic social unit. In it, both husband and wife should care for their children in a harmonious environment, because only a harmonious family can create perfection, peace and security in the world. To establish this harmonious ambience, married couples should adapt to one another, especially in understanding, thought and desire, and should do their utmost to bring up a family properly. Agus Salim ended his article of 4 September 1917 by stating that living in a harmonious family can only be achieved if both members of a couple have an equal degree of education, and since men and women are equals, there should be no priority for one over the other. At the end, Salim called for the couple to have mutual respect for each other.

Since the introduction of the Ethical Policy, the idea of eliminating all social distinction in the Dutch East Indies was gaining ground. Such concepts as "assimilation" and "association" were integral parts of this policy which did not acknowledge race differences; all the people of the Indies, Indonesians and non-Indonesians were to be acknowledged as having equal positions, functions and values in society, and equal rights were to be granted to all.⁷⁸ However there were certain people, Indonesians and Dutch, who disagreed with this doctrine, and who even opposed the Ethical Policy in general. The criterion for anti Ethical Policy sentiments was not easy to determine, although the very sincere supporters of this policy seemed to find opponents of what they did in changing village life, among other things. The non-supporters of the policy regarded any attempt at improving social welfare at the village level as radical and dangerous to the integrity of Indonesian life-style. In general, however, the strongest opposition came from "the insecure and small European lower middle class, from the Indonesian-born Europeans (the *sinjo*) and certain sectors of the Indo-European community (Eurasians) group." These people were still convinced of their racial superiority and refused to consider the application of equality.⁷⁹

The European population of the Dutch East Indies consisted of the Europeans and the Eurasians, who were generally called Indo-Europeans, or in short, Indos. The number of these Indos made up around eighty percent of the whole European population.⁸⁰ The full blooded Europeans who were born in Europe but settled in the Indies were, for the most part, businessmen, entrepreneurs, representa-

tives of financial interests and civil administrators. The Eurasians, on the other hand, were economically far behind their European counterparts by the year 1900. Besides, they were mostly neglected by their European fathers, with the result of not being at home in either culture. The Colonial government too did not treat them as Europeans. However, after the year 1900, European humanitarians began to pay more attention to the poorer Eurasians and training was offered them in certain skills. As such, the situation of the Eurasians improved during the twentieth century.⁸¹

Nevertheless, the growing social, economic, and political situation in the Indies had attracted more European immigration to the Archipelago. These new European immigrants competed with the older ones especially in the areas of government administration and private enterprise. As such, the Europeans grew more European and were less inclined to regard the Indos as part of their society. At the same time the Indos holding official positions of a lower grade began to feel pressure from educated Indonesians, who began to take over positions previously reserved for the Indos by the colonial government. Even the middle class Europeans found themselves in competition with Indonesian intellectuals, a threat which led some of them to abandon the Ethical Policy and the ideas of unification which they saw as a threat to their privileged status. Some people also saw no reason to try to improve the economic and social position of the Indonesians, and regarded the existence of Indonesian political movements as a danger to Dutch authority in the region.

Nevertheless, General Idenburg, who occupied the post of Minister of the Colonies from 1902 to 1905, and again from 1908 to 1910, was one of the strongest advocates of the Ethical Policy. He also served as Governor General from 1909 until 1916. During his tenure, he showed himself to be very sympathetic to Indonesian aspirations. Moreover, under the leadership of Graaf van Limburg Stirum, his successor, Indonesians were able to have a say in political issues through the creation of the Volksraad (People's Council). This council, which people saw as the first step towards self-government, attracted criticism from many quarters in the European sector, especially for allowing the participation of Indonesians in political affairs which was regarded as too advanced and too rapid.⁸³

The growth of opposition towards, and criticism of, the Ethical Policy had its effect on the activities of those Indonesians who advocated continuation of the policy to assist Indonesian development.

Agus Salim, one of these advocates, was motivated to address the general issue of opposition and to offer suggestion on how to counterbalance that attitude. In an article entitled "Kemajuan Diperoleh Dengan Usaha" (Progress is Gained by Hard Work) published in *Neratja* of 15 September 1917, Agus Salim mentioned that the progress of Indonesians towards establishing their own nation was clear to all who followed the activities of the Indonesian political movement. He asserted that the facts showed that the growth of the Indonesian movement could not be halted.

In addressing the criticism of those who opposed the Ethical Policy, Agus Salim proposed four questions: 1) Did they (the Netherlands Indies elite) really believe that the Dutch position among nations would be enhanced if Indonesians remained forever backward and inferior? 2) Did they really believe that the progress of the Indonesian people could be hindered and demands for their progress ignored, if the government did not answer their demands? 3) Did they really believe that the power of the Dutch people in the Indies would not be strengthened by associating with the Indonesian people? 4) Did they really believe that the power of the Dutch forces was sufficient to protect them from the Indonesian people, if the latter could not be trusted?

According to Salim, the *Asmodee*⁸⁴ never seemed to have thought of these questions. This was because they only taught their followers that if the Indonesian people achieved intellectual progress, the Indos would then lose their privileged positions and the high-salary jobs which were provided by the Dutch Administration.

The *Asmodee* asserted that if the Indonesians were given arms, this would pose a threat to Dutch authority, as the Dutch would be driven out immediately. However, according to Agus Salim, *Asmodee* writers did not tell their readers that if Indonesians were not allowed to advance, the Indies would lag behind other countries. This was so because the Netherlands, with only thousands of inhabitants, would not be able to keep up with the advancements of other countries. Salim also insisted that the *Asmodee* should tell their readers that the Dutch would not suffer when Indonesians realized greater progress, since Indonesia was a very large and rich country, with resources and room for all.

Agus Salim remarked that the *Asmodee*'s negative attitudes convinced many Dutch readers and bred hatred and disaffection among them. The fruits of these seeds were to be seen in many incidents,

which Agus Salim cited as proof of the harm the Asmodee were wreaking. He cited a case involving the Zusters Ursulinen (Ursuline Sisters), a religious order operating a system of Dutch private schools in Batavia. These schools were targeted by the Asmodee who demanded that they no longer accept Indonesian students. Shortly afterwards, the order, whose several schools had previously offered high quality education to both European and Indonesian students, sent a letter to every Indonesian student asking him or her to leave the school and to find another institution of learning. Fortunately, however, the Dutch Administration still provided sufficient schools so that these students were able to continue their studies in a similar educational system.

There were still many other instances of how the Asmodee were inciting its readers against Dutch efforts to further Indonesian progress through education. As such, Salim called for Indonesians to support every single Dutch Administration program promoting Indonesian welfare, which was being hampered by the Asmodee. All the same, he reminded the people that if they wished to achieve independence, or wanted to become self-reliant, they should not always depend on the Dutch government for everything they needed. They should instead raise themselves up by their own hands, and try their best to fulfill those desires. Until Indonesians proved their ability, through struggle and effort, to attain the goals that they set for themselves, they did not deserve to have independence, or to have the authority to manage their own nation, he declared. Therefore, if a Dutch company, for example, did not want to have Indonesian partners, why should Indonesians not support the founding of their own companies? Furthermore, if schools belonging to the Dutch did not want to accept Indonesian students, why did the latter not want to establish their own schools? he asked.

In his article entitled "Benih Pertjederan" (The Seed of the Split), published in *Neratja* on 7 January 1919, Agus Salim as chief editor of *Neratja* and an advocate of the Indonesian advancement movement, openly opposed accusation that his ideas were directed against the Dutch. He believed that this accusation had been hurled at him and his association (the SI) because of the distinction he drew between the Dutch and their supporters, on the one hand, whom he referred to as *kaum sana* (over-there people) and the Indonesians, whom he called *kaum sini* (over-here people), on the other hand. For Salim, these terms referred to the priorities which each group set for itself.

The “over-there people” for instance were chiefly interested in the good of the Dutch homeland, whereas the “over-here” people advocated policies that favored Indonesia, Indonesian progress and political rights of their own kind. It was understandable that such positions would clash from time to time. The other reason for the accusation was because Salim often reminded Indonesians not to imitate Dutch manners. Apparently, he did not make this point because he disliked the Dutch people (indeed Salim believed that they were capable of much good) rather, he argued that what was best was that which could help Indonesians achieve progress, and that this progress itself should agree with the nation’s traditions. This was the true path of success since it agreed with the Indonesian character, which is typically Eastern in that it does not emphasize the material (*materie*) over the spiritual (*gevoel*). Therefore in Salim’s opinion, the conflict between Dutch and Indonesian values was one of difference, and contradictory understandings. This difference in understanding was not derived from a sense of antipathy towards the Dutch, but was the natural evolution of thought, as expressed by an increasing number of Indonesian intellectuals.

The Indonesian people believed that the autocratic government of the Dutch should not hang on to power much longer, and that giving priority to Europeans over Indonesians had to be stopped. As such, Salim told Indonesians that it was time to demand justice, and to ask for equality. Not surprisingly, this demand for rights led many Europeans to oppose all Indonesian political movements. A case in point is the Dutch writer who wrote an article in the daily *Suara Indische Bond* (The Voice of Indies Unity), in which he called upon all people of Dutch blood (on the father’s side) to unite to prevent the realization of equality for the Indonesian population. In his argument, the writer said that all efforts to help Indonesians achieve progress should be terminated before they destroyed all those of Europeans descent. It was clear enough, according to Salim, that this attitude derived from a sense of hatred towards Indonesians and that these statements were “nonsensical”.

Salim nevertheless felt obliged to respond to these accusations, by stating that the Indonesians would not treat the Europeans like the Europeans had treated them for centuries, because rule of law would prevail in the new state. Moreover, Indonesians demanded progress, justice and independence based on religious principles, and in a state governed by justice, people would not be treated differently because

of their descent or ancestry, but rather all would find their places in society solely on the basis of ability and intelligence.

Another example given by Salim was that an association established by Captain W. V. Rhemrev in Malang, Java, which went by the name Oranjebond van Orde (Orang Association, a defender of orderly security). This association aimed at supporting Dutch authority and took every step within the law to further this goal. One of its leading members started his speech, which he dedicated to the King of the Netherlands, by saying, "Today all the many people under Malang leadership are celebrating *Oranje* day happily, and all of them express their love, sincerity and loyalty towards His Majesty and the Dutch in the Indies of government administration." The speech also called on the Dutch and their supporters to unite in support of the colonial government.

Salim for his part said that it was the right time for Indonesians to demand that Dutch authority be replaced. However, he asked that this be carried out peacefully. Furthermore, he thought that, while the Oranje Association expressed neither hatred nor love towards the Indonesian political movement, it was nevertheless careless in underestimating it or feeling mere contempt for it, because it had called for Indonesians to unite in opposition to the demand for Independence, thus helping to undermine Indonesian unity.

The last example offered by Salim was that of an association called the Nederlandsch Indische Economische Bond (Dutch Indies Economic Association). The political program of NIEB was a "grass roots" organization of establishing village autonomy and meetings at the level of regency institutions. With the Dutch settlers clearly in control, the establishment of NIEB was intended to counteract the efforts of Indonesians who wanted to advocate their own ideas concerning the direction of political process. Clearly, the NIEB programs were launched to support Dutch progress and welfare in all areas. In political matters NIEB supported *zelfbestuur* (self-government) for the Indies, but insisted that unity with the mother country be maintained forever. Within this permanent union Indonesians would slowly mature in their approach to economy and politics, they held.

In commenting on this, Agus Salim pointed out that village autonomy was still only granted on Dutch authority. He reminded his readers that all the miseries and misfortunes affecting Indonesians were caused by the Dutch East Indies government regulations, which prevailed at every level of society. Autonomy for the lowest-level of

political institutions would be useless as long as all matters affecting the whole Dutch East Indies were decided from another country, that is, decided by non-Indonesians. Thus, Salim likened the NIEB, which wished to bring about progress for Indonesians, as a tree which had been invaded by caterpillars. Instead, Salim wished to plant another tree, a sturdy tree, one of independence for the whole Indies.

Salim continued his argument in this same article of 7 January 1919 by attacking the NIEB program which aimed at ensuring the security and tranquillity of the country. According to Salim the factors which posed a danger to the country's security were there in number. In the first place, there were the criminals who existed in every country, and whose opponents were the police. Secondly, there was poverty and hunger, which could be solved by government action to end poverty and produce more food. Thirdly, there was intimidation practiced by aristocratic and wealthy people which could be prevented by instituting a system of social justice. Finally, Salim emphasized that rebellions against the political system would not occur if the colonial administrators themselves obeyed their own law, a situation that frequently did not occur when the colonial administration dealt with the Indonesian nationalist movement. It was not Indonesian political movements that were seeking confrontation, but when their legitimate activities were hampered by hard-line administrators in violation of existing law, open resistance by Indonesians could not be avoided.

In actuality, at the earliest stages of their development, Indonesian political movements were unable to operate in the open. Article 111 of the Constitutional Ordinance of 1854 stated that all political associations were forbidden, a situation that still prevailed in the early twentieth century. For example, the *Indische Partij*, founded on 6 September 1912 sought government recognition, but it was denied on the assumption that it had a revolutionary character. In the following year, the three leading figures of the party, Douwes Dekker, Tjipto Mangunkusumo and Suwardi Suryaningrat, were banished from the Indies altogether, by applying Article 48 of the Constitutional Ordinance of 1854 which stated that the courts could independently judge "to expel persons considered dangerous to maintenance of law and order."⁸⁵

To avoid such action by Dutch colonial authorities, the *Sarekat Islam* in 1913 at the first congress declared that it was not a political party. Its leader H.O.S Tjokroaminoto stated that the SI would main-

tain its loyalty to the Dutch government, and announced specific programs considered legal and claimed no hidden political agenda. This was considered necessary in order to avoid the application of article 111 of the Constitutional Ordinance of 1854 which "absolutely forbade organizations and meetings of a political character."⁸⁶ This approach was ultimately successful, for the colonial government finally granted legal status to the party in 1916. With that legal recognition, the SI's status rose among Indonesians who apparently preferred legality, even to colonial laws, than to open defiance of the established political order. Thereafter there was greater ease in holding public meetings, especially national congresses, and membership increased in all its branches.⁸⁷

As a result of the increasing influence of the Indonesian political movement and the Ethical Movement, the Dutch East Indies government revoked the Constitutional Ordinance of 1854, especially article 111. In response to this recognition, Agus Salim published his views on how this right should be used properly, in a book, entitled *Hak Berserikat dan Berkumpulan* (The Right to Associate and to Meet) written in 1919.⁸⁸ In it he rejects the contention that the Dutch government or, in fact, any government, has the authority to prevent "the people" from conducting normal political activity. In this he is clearly reflecting views common in European political thought that justified the rise of democracies and republics on that continent.

According to Agus Salim the civil rights of Indonesians would not be handed over by the government voluntarily; rather, every single right given to the people would have to be gained by the efforts of the people themselves. Every government would change its direction in accordance with the people's progress and demands. Once Indonesians finally realized that the government could not survive without popular involvement, it would make that government aware of their power and would claim their rights. At this point, the government would make two options: 1) it could acquiesce to the demands of the people, and thereby assure better relations between government and people; 2) it could continue to resist, thereby leaving the people no other choice but to resort to force. Force would only be a temporary measure because it would only be necessary while the government stood still; for every government has its enemies waiting to step in when it is weakened, and popular uprising would give them an excellent opportunity to do so. However, according to Salim, the government could only be toppled if the people agreed to let

those enemies do that, and only if the original government did not concede to their demands for full civil rights.⁸⁹

According to Salim, the Dutch nation was not very large; the population of the Netherlands itself was only six million. By comparison, Indonesia was very large with a population of almost fifty million. With such disparity Salim believed that the Dutch were not ultimately powerful enough to maintain such a vast empire and profit from it as they had in the past. To him the signs were already apparent. The Dutch government understood that employing non-Dutch or non-Indonesians to administer its possessions would make it difficult for the Dutch to retain their hold. To prevent such a development, the mother country had in fact chosen to provide training in various skills to certain Indonesians, whom it would then employ in different tasks throughout the country. Because of the increasing number of educated Indonesians graduating from the Dutch educational system, there had to be concessions in rights generally granted to people in other countries in the world.⁹⁰

Here and elsewhere in his writings Salim put forward his arguments about what rights should be enjoyed by an independent people and how these rights should be applied. Salim divided the rights of the independent peoples of Europe into four categories; rights which are performed, such as the right to make requests of government officers, the right to associate, and the right to choose representatives to legal or advisory councils; rights which are received, such as the right to occupy a position in civil administration; rights of protection, such as of person and property, of family, of privacy, and those rights pertaining to the law and fair trials; and lastly rights of freedom, which include religious and press freedom, meaning the freedom to express thoughts, opinions, and criticism in the media. Salim insisted that these four categories of civil rights were principal, fundamental rights that should be granted to the people of a country which respected justice. He concluded that if the government did not regard these principles as sacred, it would mean that the country was based on authoritarian rule, and that there was a basic conflict between the welfare of two opposing interests; the rulers and the ruled. Salim implied that this situation existed in colonial Indonesia and was perpetuated to prevent the Indonesians from achieving independence. Consequently it had to be recognized that the government would always consider its policy carefully, and whenever it gave a right to the Indonesians, it would apply it gradually rather than di-

rectly, because such rights were only ever given after due consideration of its own needs as a colonial power.

Agus Salim went on to argue that people in the Indies had their rights embodied in the *Reegeringsreglement*, or government regulation, which had existed since 1854. The rights granted them in this document could not compare with the rights granted to the people of the Netherlands. For example, article 4 of the *Grondwet*, or the foundation law of the Dutch kingdom, mentions that everyone living in the Kingdom receives the same right of protection of both person and property. These rights were granted to a free people, as a result of democratic reforms in the Netherlands and throughout Europe at the same time. There was, however no comparable movement in Indonesia, although Multatuli (E. Douwes Dekker), who lived and worked in the Dutch East Indies during the period 1840-1857, called for greater democratization in the Indies, but without any real success. Salim maintained that there were no such rights because Indonesians themselves had not insisted on them. He stated that it was the right time for Indonesians to raise the question of democratic rights in order that the colonial government pay more attention to the democratization process of Indonesia. He recognized that in a country which was subjugated by another sovereign government, it was authority and power that forced people to obey that government; these people were naturally not permitted to become involved in their own country's affairs. Looking forward to the institution of an independent Indonesia, he projected that in an independent state the government's actions would reflect the will of the majority of the people. In such a nation, the people would reflect the will of the majority of the people. In a such a nation, the people would be free to associate, to meet and to discuss governmental affairs.

Returning to conditions in colonial Indonesia, Salim noted that article 111 of the *Reegeringsreglement* stated that it was forbidden for people to associate or to meet to discuss affairs of state. In 1915, a regulation was issued on 8 May (*Staatsblaad* no. 542) which revised article 111 of this Government Regulation, and which was itself adopted from article 9 of the *Grondwet*. It stated that the government recognized the right of people to associate and to meet. Still this was short of ideal as this right was regulated and limited by the ordinance (*algemeene verordening*) used for the maintenance of public order. Since Indonesians were guaranteed freedom of political action, they had to be aware of how to take advantage of this opportunity. Salim

reminded his readers that in order to use these new laws properly, people had to know all the requirements and prohibitions.⁹¹

Agus Salim analyzed the requirements and prohibitions affecting the rights that had been granted. He stated that every right gained by the people was accompanied by an obligation and prohibitions affecting the rights that had been granted. He stated that every right gained by the people was accompanied by an obligation; therefore if a right was not accompanied by an obligation; this right would be useless or might even invite disaster. For example, the right of association and of holding political meetings were balanced by the obligation to maintain public order. Furthermore, Salim asserted that the rights of the people and what they were granted or prohibited had no value unless accompanied by sanctions which command attention to these laws. Such concern for the maintenance of order in society was a key consideration of Salim.⁹²

Looking at the practical side of things, Salim proposed a single gathering place which could be used by a number of political associations. This idea was intended to unify the political associations both physically and ideologically. Because of its central location, such a building could be used for political training and for teaching political leaders how to provide leadership. An educated leadership would be able to persuade other educated people to join the associations and to discuss their use and purpose, thereby giving direction to the national political movements. These educated leaders would also approach popular associations and share their knowledge with the public. If the right of association and meeting was used properly, Salim stated, these groups would be more mature and meaningful, especially when the public at large was aware of the issues being debated.⁹³

Salim's Idea of Nationalism

From his early career on, Haji Agus Salim saw young Indonesians as constituting the country's future leaders and undertook a personal mission to help those with leadership abilities to develop such potential. For instance, before joining the nationalist movement, he had established an elementary school (HIS) for Indonesians in 1903 with the purpose of creating educated Indonesians who were aware of their position in the colonial regime and who had a deep sense of love for their fatherland. Moreover, such an attitude was often displayed in his speeches and writings. A case in point is the article entitled "Lahirnya Tapis, Isinya Dalam", which was alluded to earlier. At the conclu-

sion of this article, Salim issued a clear summon to the young Indonesian graduates of Western schools to love their nation and to put its welfare ahead of personal dignity, social status or salary. Therefore, as a prominent leader of Sarekat Islam, Salim welcomed a group of young Indonesians into the nationalist movement, and always gave liberally of this time, advice and attention.

In an article entitled "Indonesia Merdeka" (Free Indonesia), published in the daily *Hindia Baroe* of 14 May 1925, Agus Salim warmly greeted the foundation of the Indonesische Vereniging, (Indonesian Association) or Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI), an association intended to organize young Indonesians studying and working in the Netherlands. This association used the Indonesian language of communication with the intention of establishing relations with the nationalist movement and its leaders in the Dutch East Indies. According to Salim, this was an admirable goal, particularly, since the PI had attracted much attention among the Dutch people at the time. The members of the PI had in fact declared that they would not seek high-salaried positions within the colonial government once they had finished their studies, but would instead devote their efforts to assisting popular movements.

According to Agus Salim these young educated men showed a true sense of love of country and fatherland. Chauvinistic nationalism was transformed into love of the nation, namely love of the people, and a desire to improve their countrymen's lot. This was in line with his view that whenever patriotism existed as blind nationalism, it did not help the people achieve progress in any aspect of their lives.

Agus Salim also pointed out that PI members were most concerned with helping those people who were living in misery and difficulty. For this purpose, they would have to carefully investigate the situation, before embarking on the course of action that would render benefit. Efforts of this kind, while requiring much energy, would be of the greatest benefit to the under-privileged stratas of society. He warned that the PI had to avoid seeing the situation through Dutch eyes, and to ignore those Dutch voices which maintained that the situation of the poor had improved during the three hundred years of Dutch occupation of the Indies. Instead, he urged the PI to focus its attention on worthy paradigms from the life of the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w.,⁹ the prominent model for all human beings, and the shape (*hernover*) of his era." The PI should carefully study how the prophet transformed a coarse and unsophisticated nation into a

powerful and eminent one in a short space of time. Even though the times and the world had changed, Salim added, Muhammad's example was a worthy one and could be applied to the contemporary situation. The spirit and foundation of nationhood as established by the Prophet Muhammad should be kept firmly in mind, even though its rhythm, method and realization would certainly differ in accordance with the changes in time and circumstances of each nation. Obviously Salim believed that Islamic ways of running matters were synonymous with general Indonesian values, a point not necessarily accepted by most members of the PI who came from regions and class groups where Islam was not the regulating cultural factor of their lives.

Nationalism and Patriotism; Polemics with Sukarno

The Sarekat Islam Party (PSI) enjoyed a cordial relationship with one of the "secular" nationalist groups, namely the Bandung study club which later became the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI-Indonesia Nationalist Party) headed by Sukarno. When Sukarno proposed the amalgamation of the Indonesian political parties into the PSI in October 1927 Sukiman Wirjosanjoyo, a leader of the PSI at the time, enthusiastically welcomed this idea. This idea also found favor with the other parties, and as a result the PNI, PSI and other political parties, such as the Budi Utomo, the Surabaya Study Club and several leading Christian organizations merged in a federation known as Permuafakatan Perhimpunan Partai Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia (PPPKI—the Federation Body of Indonesian Political Parties) on 17 December 1927.⁹⁴ Adopting the concept of an all embracing Indonesian nationalism, the PPPKI, led by Sukarno and supported by his friends, advocated national unity regardless of all other principles. To arouse the people's patriotic feelings, Sukarno delivered numerous speeches on the greatness of "Mother Indonesia," and her delivery of such heroic figures as Gajah Mada and the other leaders of the Indonesian Hindu period. Sukarno also highlighted the importance of love and devotion to Mother Indonesia.⁹⁵

However, this conception of nationalism was not accepted by many Indonesian Muslims, including Salim, who warned his readers against it in an article published in the daily *Fadjar Asia* on 29 July 1928. In that article Salim discussed the issues of nationalism and patriotism in the context of a speech delivered by Sukarno a few days earlier. That speech had been made before the PNI, and in it Sukarno

summoned his listeners to love their fatherland and to serve their Mother Indonesia faithfully, because of her beauty, and her generosity in giving them water to drink and rice to eat, as well as her many other splendors. All that was needed was a little care and time, and the land would give them all they needed, he added. Sukarno also described Mother Indonesia as vigorous and fertile because she had consistently brought forth champions and heroes to face challenges and would in the future continue to bring forth many smart and courageous sons. Sukarno concluded that it is proper that all Indonesians should serve the motherland and become her true and devoted children.

In response Salim admitted that Sukarno's approach would doubtless appeal to the people's sensitivity. Any person will love and honor his or her own mother above all other people's mothers, and no citizens will respect other countries more than they respect their own. He admitted that it would be very difficult to find any other country which matches the wealth, generosity and loving care of Mother Indonesia. Indeed, she had borne sons of great courage, such as Gajah Mada and Kumbakarna, who had dedicated their strength, even their lives, for the honor of Mother Indonesia. Agus Salim cited other heroes such as Hayam Wuruk, Sunan Kalijaga, Maulana Yusuf from Banten and Pangeran Diponegoro from Mataram. In sum, Sukarno's reasons for praising mother Indonesia, according to Salim, were true and his purpose proper and meritorious.

However, Agus Salim warned that in the name of one's "country", which is frequently synonymous with "deity" or "mother", the French happily paraded behind the tyrant Louis XI, attacking, damaging and destroying other countries and other peoples, who were, after all, their fellow men. In the name of the "fatherland" the Austrians humiliated the Italians and Swiss in the era of their glory. Also in the name of the "fatherland", the Prussian kingdom destroyed the Austrians. Other examples were also provided by Salim demonstrating how various peoples humiliated others in the name of their country.

Salim asserted that this "religion" (i.e. nationalism) enslaves human beings to the love of the "fatherland"; a love which drives them in pursuit of wealth, glory and greatness, all the while humiliating and destroying other countries and totally disregarding human rights and justice. It is dangerous to be so dedicated and subservient to a fatherland, he observed, because it becomes an end in itself, and be-

cause it confers wealth and honor. This quest for worldly riches is of no use to anyone who seeks true perfection, because when life comes to an end, worldly things perish. Every aspect of this mundane world, including love of the fatherland, should be set aside for higher goals such as righteousness, justice and greatness; qualities and values ascertained by God Almighty and not by fellow human beings. When people want to accomplish any task, it should be for the sake of Allâh, Salim declared. This would steer them away from the wrong path, onto which they may be driven by passion and greed. *Lilillâhi Ta'âla*, "for the sake of Allâh" should be love of the fatherland, i.e. Indonesia. In other words, "For the sake of Allâh" should be the ultimate condition underlying every noble intention, Salim concluded. As support for his contention he cited Surat Ibrâhîm of the Holy Qur'ân, verse, 37, where it is recorded how Ibrâhîm prayed to Allâh concerning his homeland:

"Our Lord, I have settled a part of my offspring in a valley unproductive of fruit near Thy Sacred House, that they may keep up prayer; we make the hearts of some people yearn towards them, and provide them with fruits; happily they may be grateful".⁹⁶

Salim explained that the land surrounding Allâh's Sacred House was not wealthy, nor beautiful. It was a dry desert, an unproductive land devoid of vegetation, ringed by rocky hills, and severed from the outside world. This land offered nothing to its people, except for the opportunity to pray in Allâh's Sacred House; the first religious house established by Man. Since that time, however, this land has become the great city of "Makkah al-Musharafah", to which people come from all over the world. Whatever their race or color of their skin, people visit this country and feel a love for it akin to the love they have for their own fatherlands. People come to this place for no other purpose except to obey Allâh's summons. This is true "love of one's country", or love of the fatherland that is solely motivated by the love of Allâh, and in obedience to His orders. Therefore, Mother Indonesia would be truly fortunate if her sons take as their example such a love of the fatherland; one that shuns worldly goods and appearances, and is performed for the sake of Allâh, Salim wrote.

Sukarno responded to Salim's article on nationalism and patriotism, in an article entitled "Ke Arah Persatuan" (Towards Unity), in *Fadjar Asia* of 18 August 1928. He stated that the spirit of Indonesian nationalism had penetrated every level of society, according to those

active in Indonesia's independence movement. The PNI as one of the organizations working for Indonesians independence was proud to be serving this spirit and working for the country's welfare and unity. In this, the PNI was trying to realize the truth of the proverb, "Unity brings strength", by motivating Indonesians to join this movement, whether in the ranks of the PNI or any other movement. Hence, a sense of devotion and loyalty to Mother Indonesia was important, in order to strengthen the relations amongst Indonesia's political parties and to transform narrow party interests into the supreme interest, i.e. the interest of unity. Sukarno elucidated that it was his belief that Hadji Agus Salim's article was inspired by the spirit of unity, and that it was not Salim's intention to differentiate between the love of the fatherland and dedication to Mother Indonesia.

Sukarno also reiterated Salim's argument on how nations humiliated other nations in the name of their own country and for the sake of material wealth and prosperity. According to Sukarno, although this argument was not entirely clear to him, he did see that it had much relevance to the Indonesian nationalist movement and it should not cause split in the effort toward gaining independence. Similarly, the article written by Sukarno in response to Salim's article was not intended to create a rivalry or to cause divisions between them. Rather, Sukarno stated, he hoped that his comments would reinforce the unity between them, especially since they were not intended to contradict, but to complement Salim's thoughts. Sukarno also stated his firm belief in the old proverb, "United we stand, divided we fall".

According to Sukarno, the nationalist sentiments which burned at the hearts of Indonesian nationalists were not aggressive nationalist sentiments, or a nationalism on the offensive, or a wish to dominate the world, as exhibited by Western nationalism which is directed outwards, not inwards, and which calls for a worldly nationalism of an antagonistic nature. Rather, it is the mainstream of Eastern nationalism as inspired by such great figures as Mahatma Gandhi, Mustafa Kamil and Sun Yat Sen, all of whom completely rejected Western nationalism. Indeed, it is this Eastern nationalism that has inspired Indonesian nationalism, Sukarno reminded Salim.

Furthermore, Indonesian nationalism is not based on arrogance, Sukarno stated, but is a broad minded type of nationalism that is complemented by a thorough knowledge of the structure of the world and the course of history; it is not jingoism or chauvinism, or a copy of Western nationalism. Indonesian nationalism has room for love of

other nations, and for allowing the existence of all living things, he rendered. Indeed, Indonesian nationalism is no different from the nationalism espoused by the champions of Islam, such as Amanullâh Khân, the King of Afghanistan who called himself “the servant of this country” or ‘Urâbî Pâshâ who vowed that he would “go to heaven with Egypt or to hell also with Egypt”. Sukarno and the followers of his party were convinced that the nationalism of these champions is essentially similar to Indonesian nationalism, and is noble nationalism.⁹⁷

Agus Salim’s retort to Sukarno came in the form of an article written for *Fadjar Asia* on 20 August 1928. In it, Salim mentioned that he had already pointed out the similarities and differences between himself and Sukarno. According to Salim, both men shared the same sentiment of “love of country and nation,” had the same purposes and goals of attaining “national dignity and national independence,” and shared the same arena, “the arena of the political movement of the oppressed nation which demanded its natural rights, an undivided control over its own territory, an attainment of independence from the alien nation from overseas, and freedom from the oppression of other nations”. However, their differences lay in the basic principles and intentions that promoted these sentiments.

However, these differences are not insurmountable since both men shared a basic tenet, namely, Islam, and acted for the sake of God, *Lillâhi Ta’âlâ*, Salim added. This meant that they were both willing to die for the sake of fulfilling His commands, would be happy if this were to occur in the process of winning, and would accept His determination without sadness or disappointment in the event of loss; after all, success and loss are both in the hands of Almighty God. Salim maintained that their similarities should motivate them to cooperate and to strengthen national unity, but it was their differences with regards to spiritual attitude, that had driven him to make the statement which had in turn prompted a reply from Sukarno.

In addition, Salim denied that this argument lacked clarity. Rather, it was meant to clarify what he agreed or disagreed about, without blaming or finding fault with anybody else. Salim also stated the nature and attitude of the PSI in relation to the matter he was discussing. For instance in article 16 of the PSI’s principle statement, it as mentioned that with regards to cooperation with any political movement which sought to achieve the common purpose of considering worldly nature alongside Islamic tenets, the PSI would not allow its

fate to depend on any international movement, but would affirm its independence and purpose vis-a-vis any other parties contending that his article did not in anyway threaten the national unity which had been agreed upon by PSI and PNI. Rather, it was a clear and factual account of the differences in the convolutions and principles of birth parties. That is also why the PSI had provided Sukarno with the opportunity to clarify his principles and conviction in the PSI's daily newspaper *Fadjar Asia*.

Agus Salim stated that he did not comment on the examples cited by Sukarno because in his view it is most difficult to compare and judge the attitude and behavior of another individual. Every human being cannot be separated from his own virtues and weaknesses except when liberated by God from his mistakes and weaknesses. Therefore the example of the Prophet Ibrâhîm, who loved his country so deeply for the sake of Allâh was a compelling example of love one's country, Salim affirmed. Ibrâhîm's love for his country was not engendered by secular controversies nor was it motivated by worldly pleasures, Salim declared.

As for the nationalist heroes and champions Sukarno has cited, Salim simply replied that one should not praise them, they might do something wrong or betray their nation before they really passed away. Salim argued that the statement made by 'Urâbî Pâshâ on "going to heaven with Egypt, and also proceeding to hell with Egypt" referred to an earthly heaven and hell. "Heaven" is akin to independence while "hell" is equivalent to the oppression of the imperialists, he demonstrated. Salim refused to equate the Hereafter with one's fatherland, and rejected the argument that one's belief depended on one's worldly fatherland. Likewise he would not accept such blasphemy whether it was expressed by 'Urâbî Pâshâ or by a much better man. And, while Amanullâh Khân had called himself 'the servant of the country', Khân's statement, in Salim's opinion, may have been inspired by affection for his fatherland, but his devotion was due only to Allâh.

The last comment of Sukarno's that Agus Salim commented upon was the phrase "United we stand, divided we fall", and to which Sukarno referred as two stakes upholding each other. This picture however did not agree with the PSI's convictions because, even though respecting unity is a command of Allâh, the party did not need to lean on this unity but on Allâh, as all Muslim's must lean on Him alone. "For the sake of the Almighty" the exact requirement for ev-

ery single righteous intention if Muslims truly wish to pursue righteousness without striving for worldly gains, avoiding loss and evading calamity. "For the sake of Allâh" is the basic principle underlying the struggle for independence. Since liberating a country from the tutelage of imperialists was not a light matter and did not produce immediate advantages, there were many worldly temptations which might provoke the people to stray from the right path. Only the acknowledgment of Allâh's restrictions would protect the purity of a true movement, Salim elucidated.

Agus Salim reminded his readers that at the beginning of almost every national movement "love of the nation and country" are just and pure slogans, particularly when these countries are subjugated and oppressed by other nations. However, a precept from the Holy Qur'ân Surat al-'Alaq, verse 6-7: ".....but yet man is rebellious for he thinks he is sufficient in himself,"⁹⁸ demonstrates that the spirit of defending and struggling for independence is often superseded by the wish to defeat and to subdue other nations, once a nation has succeeded in achieving its own sovereignty.

In conclusion, there are two concepts according to Salim that must be kept in mind from the beginning: 1. *Lillâbi Ta'âlâ*, "For the sake of God", which is a concept that will eliminate fear and dread of mundane objects. 2. Virtue and righteousness should become the building principles for people in any endeavor.

Such polemics as illustrated by the exchange of Sukarno and Salim led to a split among the members of PPPKL, and this showed that the unity erected by the federation was not based on a real consensus. The differences of purposes, ideology and personalities among the members were reasons for the cleavage within the federation. There was Sukarno and his fellow secular nationalists on the one hand, who believed that a nationalism irrespective of regional and religious bonds was a potential basis for Indonesian action. They were supported in this by the Indonesian students in the Netherlands who merged in a political group known as Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI-Indonesian Association) founded in 1922.⁹⁹ These students not only hailed the concept of a religiously natural nationalism, but also regarded Islam as historically incapable of adapting to modernity and being one of the factors which caused a 300 year Dutch colonization of Indonesia. They therefore restricted religion (in this case Islam) to individual belief and worship, and maintained that the secular nationalism of the West was the best vehicle for gaining independence and establish-

ing the Indonesian state. This viewpoint was strengthened by the emergence of a secular nation in the "Islamic region" such as Egypt, Persia and Turkey which they regarded as dynamic and full of future promise.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, there was Agus Salim and other urban Islamic leaders who believed that Islam deserved to be recognized as a foundation for nationalism. This viewpoint received strong support from the prominent leaders of Persatuan Islam (Persis —Islamic Union) who roundly denounced nationalism on the basis that it was created by men, caused divisions among Muslims worldwide and brought Western wars and colonialism. Furthermore, Persatuan Islam writers voiced the view that as an elevation from God, there could be no better basis than Islam for unifying the country; after all it was the religion of most Indonesians.¹⁰¹ As A. Hassan of Persis mentioned, the adoption of Islamic principles for the nationalist movement was fair because 90 % of the population was Muslim, while the other 10 % were believers of other religions whose rights would be equally respected by Islam.¹⁰² In other articles written in 1931 Mohammad Natsir, a future Prime Minister, stated that "only Islam could be the basis of an Indonesian nationality, but for Muslims independence itself could not be the ultimate goal; rather, they must struggle for a state which would serve Islam and in which Islamic Law and Muslim leaders would be dominant."¹⁰³

On the other hand, the 'secular' nationalists who began to dominate the Indonesian political arena highlighted the incapability of Sarekat Islam, with its Islamic national character, to mobilize the masses against continued Dutch rule in the fifteen years of existence. This failure had encouraged the new Indonesian leaders to create a new meaning of the concept of Indonesian nationalism. Thus, during the "stagnation period" of the SI (in the late 1920's) these leaders, represented by Sukarno, invented a new national culture devoid of any religious, regional or tribal nuances. Instead the grandeurs of the past Hindu empire; Srivijaya and Majapahit, which, they asserted had already formed an Indonesian nation, were brought to the fore and exhaled as worthy paradigms in the creation of a new Indonesia.¹⁰⁴ This idea inspired those active in the political and youth movements to make frequent references to past glory, to Hinduism, Hindu gods, the Bhagavad Gita or other sacred Hindu books. Agus Salim regretted such Islamic references and added that some people seemed disinterested in Islamic teachings. Indeed, they regarded as taboo any

citations quoted either from al-Qur'ân or from the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁰⁵

In response to Sukarno's creations of a new Indonesian nationalism, Mohammad Natsir, whose outlook paralleled that of Agus Salim, retaliated by tracing Indonesian nationalism from a historical point of view and stating that the Islamic movement was a paramount action directed towards independence, and that it had already planted the seeds of Indonesian unity, by removing the barriers of isolation between the various islands and provincial regions. Islam was the first to sow the seeds of brotherhood among Muslims worldwide, Natsir added. And, only Islam has the ability to bind hundreds of thousands of members throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Therefore, "here was no Indonesian nationalism without Islam", he concluded.¹⁰⁶

If we refer back to Salim's article "Indonesia Merdeka," published on 14 May 1925 in *Hindia Baroe*, which was addressed to Indonesian students in the Netherlands, we will see why he suggested that the efforts of the PI (Indonesian Association) in improving the fate of Indonesians, should imitate those of the Prophet Muhammad. He asserted that most of these young intellectuals were Muslims, and hence should apply a part of their Islamic heritage to their movement.

Furthermore, according to the Neo-modernist Muslim scholar A. Syafii Maarif, the misunderstandings between the Muslims and the nationalists were caused by a limited number of nationalist leaders who knew nothing of Islam. Maarif further stated that Agus Salim's response to Sukarno's advocacy of nationalism was only a reminder that nationalism should not depart from God. Hence, the phrase 'for the sake of Allâh' was indeed very crucial for Salim. To Salim and others associated with an Islamic identity, such calls to emphasize Islamic illustrations seemed necessary as a part of Muslim faith, but many other Indonesians found such identification unnecessary or unimportant. Hence Salim can be seen as a "renewer" of religious attitudes as well as a champion against Dutch colonial rule. In addition, Maarif believes that while there is no evidence in Salim's writings suggesting that he regarded nationalism as wholly incompatible with Islam, it is nevertheless clear that he did not want to see nationalism, in Indonesia, depart from the universalism of Islamic teachings.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, the highly respected Muslim activist and scholar Deliar Noer also commented upon Sukarno's refusal to accept Salim's un-

derstanding of the Prophet Ibrâhîm's love of his country, and the suggestion that *Lillâhi Ta'âla* should serve as the basis of Indonesian nationalism. According to Noer, Salim believed that the concept of nationalism proposed by Sukarno would only result in imperialism and colonialism which at that time, were being fiercely condemned by Indonesians. It was this difference in approach which impeded both figures from reaching any agreement on this point.¹⁰⁸

In reviewing polemics raging through the Indonesian political scene of the late 1920's when the issue of nationalism was becoming an important motivation for Indonesians, the New Order economist Emil Salim declared that Salim's remarks anticipated and warned against the danger of love of the fatherland without control. According to Emil Salim, the difference between Sukarno and Agus Salim lay on how each would have answered the question, "what is the purpose of loving one's country?"¹⁰⁹ Emil Salim believes that Sukarno's thinking was oriented towards the secular and the mundane, the here and now, while Agus Salim's starting point was "for the sake of Allah." Indeed, for Salim, love of the nation and love of the country developed because of and for the sake of Allah. Not surprisingly, these two attitudes towards love of the country provided alternate motivations for those committed to liberating Indonesia from Dutch colonialism. Interestingly though, one may note that this exchange of polemics did not greatly sour the relationship between Sukarno and Salim who subsequently sat on many of the some boards: e.g. the Committee for the Investigation of Indonesian Independence, the Small Committee (the Committee of 9), the Formulator Committee and others, which eventually resulted in the formulation of the Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945. The viewpoints of both Sukarno and Agus Salim can be seen in the first and third principles of the Pancasila, namely, "Belief in the One, Supreme God" and "the Unity of Indonesia."¹¹⁰

The sessions held by the committee for the Investigation of Indonesian Independence (BPKI) were conducted during several months before the actual proclamation on 17 August 1945. During these sessions, the basic ideology of the state was discussed and members argued on whether Islam or Pancasila, should form the national foundation. However, there is no evidence that Agus Salim associated the state ideology with religion. Salim was also a member of the Committee of 9 (the Independence Preparatory Committee/PPKI), which made the Preamble of the Constitution of 1945, later known

as the Jakarta Charter. When the chief of the Committee, Sukarno, delivered and defended the results of the Committee of 9 to the plenary session, he said, "Please receive this. This is a compromise which was achieved with difficulty between the nationalist group (5 people; Sukarno, Hatta, Moh. Yamin, Maramis, and Ahmad Subarjo) and the Muslims (4 people; Haji Agus Salim, Abikusno Tjokrosuyoso, Wahid Hasyim and Kahar Mudzakir)". In this case, Salim must have agreed to the compromise, although in the plenary session, Wahid Hasyim still advocated Islam as the national foundation. Salim, however, stated that the members of the Committee of 9 were tied by achieved compromise, which resulted in the Jakarta Charter.¹¹¹

With regards to Salim's conception of the relation between the state and religion, Moh. Natsir declared that Salim's position on this matter was similar to Masyumi (i.e., the leading Muslim political organization of the late 1940's). However, Salim's position was quite different from Kartosuwiryo's notion of an Islamic state (which was based on recognizing Kartosuwiryo as leader (*imâm*), immediate implementation of Islamic precepts (*sharî'ah*) and accepting no compromise with non-Islamic movements). Masyumi believed that the nation should be a means to an end. Furthermore, when Masyumi formulated its concept of how the state should be established, Salim asked its members if their position resembled Kartosuwiryo's? To which they replied with a resounding "no". Instead, Masyumi believed that the state should promote the cause of Islam and become the means of the realization of Islamic principles.¹¹²

Conclusion

In conclusion, Salim's writings demonstrate that he paid attention to the well being of his fellow countrymen whether economically, socially or politically. He demanded better living standards for Indonesians, called for equal treatment, justice better education for both men and women and asked for political freedom. He was concerned with attainment of independence in all Indonesian aspects of life. Moreover, in implementing his ideas, Salim had a keen eye for reality, he knew social conditions well enough as to ascribe workable solutions that addressed real needs. As such, he advocated the highest education, as the ideal for the advancement of science and society. Meanwhile, he refused the use of armed force for the attainment of freedom, since he believed that force and violence would only hamper the movement of Indonesian nationalism. All of these

ideas sprang from his sincere devotion to his nation and fatherland. Not surprisingly, he became a well-known personality, as a true nationalist, a realist, and was respected by both Dutch and Indonesian at the same time.¹¹³

Finally, by referring back to the exchange of polemics between Sukarno and Salim, one has to assert that the ideas of these two leading figures fueled the popular political movements and greatly contributed to the birth of the Republic of Indonesia. Moreover, these two perceptions of nationalism are recognized and regarded as crucial to the study of the early birth of Indonesian nationalism. They are also the reason why Sukarno is appreciated as the father of secular Indonesian nationalism, and Agus Salim as the founder of Indonesian Islamic nationalism.¹¹⁴ It is significant that these two protagonists got on well together, that they could argue politely with one another and ultimately cooperate with one another in the final phases of Indonesia's actual birth as an independent nation. It is to Salim's credit that for whatever views Sukarno might espouse, he was ultimately like himself, a Muslim leader.

End Notes

1. Harry, J. Benda, *The Crescent and The Rising Sun, Indonesian Islam Under The Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*. (The Hague and Bandung: W. Van Hoeve Ltd. 1958), p. xi
2. Hatta, "Kenang-Kenangan Kepada Haji Agus Salim," in *Haji Agus Salim Pahlawan Nasional* (Djakarta : Djajamurni, 1965)
3. Solichin Salam, *Hadji Agus Salim Pahlawan Nasional* (Djakarta; Djajamurni 1965), p. 5. Alfian, *Muhammadiyah The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta; Gajah Mada University Press; 1989), p. 125.
4. As John Coast mentions, even though Salim quarreled with most people, he had no real enemies (Coast, *Recruit to Revolution*, p. 98).
5. Mavis Rose, *Indonesia Free, A Political Biography of Mohammad Hatta* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Modern Indonesian Project, 1987). p. 110.
6. The name Masyudul Haq was used by Agus Salim during the time he was looked after by his Javanese maid. In Javanese custom, maids usually used the term '*den bagus*' or in short '*Agus*' or '*Gus*' to refer to the infant in their care; a term which indicated the love and respect of the maid towards the sons of her employer. Therefore in time, the name Agus became used by his family, school friends and Dutch teachers. Moreover, because of the Dutch tongue, the name Agus was pronounced "August" by his teachers who bestowed on him an additional name; Salim. This was the name of Masyudul Haq's father. As a result, he was registered as a student at the Dutch school as August Salim. When he became an adult, he still used this name with Indonesian spelling rather than Dutch; Agus Salim. The decision to use the name Agus Salim for his name indicated that he was close to his maid; and thus opposed to the Minangkabau tradition which acknowledged regulations based on the matrilineal rather than patrilineal line. Kustiniyati Mochtar, "Agus Salim Manusia Bebas," in *Seratus Tahun Haji Agus*, Hazil Tanzil, et al. (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984). p. 136. Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim, Karya dan Pengabdiannya* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1985)
7. Mohammad Hatta, *Memoir* (Jakarta: Tintamas Indonesia, 1982). pp. 24-5.
8. Untung S., *Mengikuti Jejak H. Agus Salim dalam Tiga Zaman* (Jakarta: Rosda Java Putra, 1987). pp.1-2.
9. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," pp. 36-69. Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim*, p. 3
10. Untung S., *Mengikuti Jejak*, p. 3. Bernard Dahin, *History of Indonesian in the Twentieth Century*, P.S. Falla, tr. (London: Praeger Publishers, 1971). pp. 18-9.
11. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," p. 41.
12. Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian Elite* (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve Publishers Ltd., 1970). pp. 14-6.
13. Untung S., *Mengikuti jejak*, p. 3, and Joost Cote, tr. *Letters from Kartini an Indonesian Feminist, 1900-1904* (Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, 1992), p. 439.
14. She was one of the more notable Javanese women who were able to receive a Dutch education at ELS. As an educated woman, Kartini held progressive ideas concerning freedom, independence and the status of women. Her progressive ideas about women caused her to be known as a pioneer of Indonesian feminism. She demanded equal rights for women, particularly regarding education.

- Her ideas were portrayed in letters which she sent to her Dutch acquaintances and friends in Holland. These letters attracted the attention of J.H. Abendanon, the Director of the Department of Education in the Dutch government from 1900 to 1905, who compiled them into a book known as *Door Duisternis tot Licht* (Through Darkness to Light). Anton Timur Djailani, "The Background of Indonesian Nationalism," *Mizan* 4, vol. 1, (1984), p. 23.
15. Hildred Geertz, ed. *Letters of A Javanese Princess Raden Ajeng Kartini*, Agnes Louise Symmers, tr. (New York: W.W Norton Company, 1964). p. 11.
 16. Cole, *Letters from Kartini*, pp. 438-40.
 17. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," p. 42.
 18. Dahm, *History of Indonesia*, pp. 18-9.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 18
 20. Karel Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam; Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Atlanta, GA. 1993). p.77 and pp. 87-91.
 21. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan*. (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2985). pp. 52, 55.
 22. Deliar Noer, "Islam as a Political Force in Indonesia," *Mizan* 4, col. 1, (1984), pp. 33-4.
 23. Benda, *The Crescent and The Rising Sun*, p. 29.
 24. Deliar Noer, *Administration of Islam in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1978). p. 26.
 25. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism*, p. 88-9.
 26. Noer, *Administration of Islam*, p. 26
 27. Mohammad Roem, *Diplomasi: Ujung Tanduk Perjuangan RI* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989). p. 119
 28. Mohammad Roem, "Memimpin adalah Menderita: Kesaksian Haji Agus Salim," *Mizan*: LP3ES 8, (August, 1977), p. 51.
 29. Mochtar "Agus Salim," p. 40
 30. A.D.A. De Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*, vol. I (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931). p. 379.
 31. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," pp. 41-3.
 32. Dahm, *History of Indonesia*, p. 19. Sutrisno Kutojo and Mardanas Safwan, *Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangan Haji Agus Salim* (Bandung: Angkasa, n.d.) pp. 16-7.
 33. Kutojo and Safwan, *Riwayat Hidup*, pp. 1708. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," pp. 42.3.
 34. Hamka, "Haji Agus Salim sebagai Sastrawan dan Ulama," *Panji Masyarakat* 284 (December, 1979), p. 39.
 35. The blood relation between Salim and Khatib mentioned in several sources is as Khatib being an uncle of Salim. However according to other writers such as Hamka they were cousins who were descended from Abdurahman by the title Datuk Rangkayo Besar. Aburrahman had two sons, the first one was Sutan Muhammad Salim, the father of Agus Salim. The second one was Abdullatif known by the title Khatib Nagari, who was the father of Ahmad Khatib. Hamka, "Haji Agus Salim," p. 40. Kutojo and Safwan, *Riwayat Hidup*, p. 19.
 36. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," p. 44. Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim*, p. 9 Untung S., *Mengikuti Jejak*, p. 7
 36. Kutojo and Safwan, *Riwayat Hidup*, p. 19.
 37. *Tariqah Naqshabandiyyah* is an orthodox sufi order which spread from Central Asia into Turkey and Eastern Muslim lands such as India, China, Malaysia and

Indonesia. The *Naqshahandiyah* was founded in the 8th/14th century by Bahâ' al-Dîn (d. 791/1389). The so-called *Naqshband* of its founder is clarified by his tying of spiritual paintings on the hearts of his students who practice *dhikr* by speechless words in order to purify the heart. In practicing *dhikr*, the students were taught to think of God by keeping their teacher in their mind. In this case, the teacher became a kind of medium, this practice was and is considerably contradictory to Islamic teachings. In Islam, the relation between man and God should be direct, but the teachers of *Syikh* occupied a very important place in this community and were able to gain material benefits from the selling of *azimat* and *penangkal* (charms, amulets) to avoid evil spirits and for other purposes. They also sometimes behaved as *dukun* (healer). It was because of these practices, which were basically against *Tawhid*, the unity (of God) that Ahmad Khatib attacked the *Tariqah*. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1979). p. 146. Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973). pp. 11, 99.

In the Minangkabau tradition there were two regulations of inheritance which emphasized the individual and *suku* (clan) properties. The former maintained that the property of a person who died should be inherited by a *kemenakan* (sister's child) rather than by children of the deceased. The latter preserved that *suku* (clan) properties called *harato pusaka* could be enjoyed by a *suku* member as a trustee. Ahmad Khatib did not distinguish the two kinds of properties. For him, these two properties should be subject to *farâ'id* (The Islamic law of inheritance). Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, pp. 217-8.

38. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, pp. 31-3
39. Hamka, "Haji Agus Salim," p. 40.
40. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 110. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," p. 45.
41. Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (New York: Russel & Russel, n.d.).
42. Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim*, p. 10
43. *Ibid.*
44. Mochtar, "Agus Salim," 43.. Taufik Abdullah, "Haji Agus Salim dan Pembentukan Tradisi Kecendekiaan Islam di Indonesia," in *Seratus Tahun Haji Agus Salim*, Hazil Tanzil, et. al. (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984). p. 207.
45. Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim*, p. 11.
46. Hamka, "Haji Agus Salim," p. 40.
47. Budi Utomo is a cultural organization of the Javanese elite; civil servants and nobility, as well as Western educated intellectuals. This organization was formed on 20 May 1908, which was later arguably recognized as the start of the Indonesian national awakening. Sarekat Islam was developed in 1911 by a middle class society in Central Java. At the beginning, this organization was a Muslim trading association which was intended to protect Muslim merchants from the encroachments of non Indonesian economic monopoly and capitalization. Soon, this party was followed by the aristocracy and the masses from almost the whole archipelago so that it acquired millions of members very rapidly. Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement: Its contribution to Indonesian Nationalism," (MA thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1959). p. 2, and pp. 149-50. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 102.
48. Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim*, pp. 12-3. Untung, *Mengikuti Jejak*, pp. 7-8.

49. Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim*, pp. 22-3.
50. Hatta, "Kenang-Kenangan," p. 21, and Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim*, pp. 22-3.
51. Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam," pp. 49-50.
52. Mochtar, *Agus Salim*, pp. 57-9. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, pp. 110-1. Salam, *Haji Agus Salim*, pp. 85.
53. Salam, *Haji Agus Salim*, p. 85.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
55. Van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, p. 119.
56. Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional dari Kolonialisme sampai Nasionalisme*, Jilid 2 (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 1990), pp. 28, 37. J.M. van der Kroef, *Indonesia in the Modern World*, Part 1 (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1954), pp. 6-7. Yusmar Basri, ed., "Jaman Kebangkitan Nasional dan Masa Akhir Hindia Belanda" in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, Jilid V. Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto, ed. (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1990), pp. 14, 30-2.
57. Basri, "Jaman Kebangkitan," pp. 38, 57. Bernhard H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara; A History of Indonesia* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1959). p. 291.
58. Basri, "Jaman Kebangkitan," pp. 36, 59. van der Kroef, *Indonesia*, pp. 7-8.
59. van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, p. 32.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 341.
61. Hustus Maria van der Kroef, "Dutch Colonial Policy in Indonesia 1900-1941," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), p. 53.
62. J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice; A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 22, and van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, p. 30.
63. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy*, pp. 227-9.
64. Basri, *Jaman Kebangkitan*, p. 35, van der Kroef, "Dutch Colonial Policy," pp. 20-2. van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, p. 32. Amry Vandebosch, *The Dutch East Indies Its Government, Problems, and Politics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944), p. 64.
65. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, pp. 330, 331. Dorothy Woodman, *The Republic of Indonesia* (London : The Cresset Press, 1955), p. 149.
66. Van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, p. 34.
67. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, pp. 332-3.
68. Kroef, *Dutch Colonial Policy*, pp. 339-41, and Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, pp. 41-6.
69. Basri, "Jaman Kebangkitan," p. 61. van der Kroef, "Dutch Colonial Policy," pp. 344-5.
70. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy*, p. 229.
71. Basri, "Jaman Kebangkitan," p. 61.
72. Van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, p. 135. Hatta, "Kenang-kenangan," pp. 26-7.
73. A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*, Vol. II (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), p. 195.
74. Woodman, *The Republic of Indonesia*, pp. 141-2. Vandebosch, *The Dutch East Indies*, pp. 200-1.
75. Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*, Vol. II, p. 225.
76. Geertz, *Letters of a Javanese Prince*, p. 15, and pp. 22-3. Cote, *Letters From Kartini*, p. xxiii.

77. Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*, Vol. II, p. 226.
78. Basri, "Jaman Kebangkitan," p. 64. van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, p. 36-7.
79. van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, p. 38.
80. Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies*, pp. 7-9.
81. van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, p. 13.
82. van der Kroef, *Indonesia*, p. 283. Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah*, p. 52.
83. Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies*, p. 68.
84. *Asmodee* is a terminology used by Salim for the ruling European group. In this sense he used it to refer to the intellectual writers of the class, primarily in news paper editorials.
85. Dahm, *History of Indonesia*, pp. 34-7.
86. George Mc Turnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1952). p. 68.
87. van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesian*, pp. 117-8.
88. Agus Salim, "Hak Berserikat dan Berkumpulan", in *Djedjak Langkah Hadji A. Salim; Pilihan Karangan Utjapan dan Pendapat Beliau dari Dulu sampai Sekarang*, Panitia Peringatan (Jakarta : Tintamas, 1954). pp. 104-22.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5
90. *Ibid.* pp. 105-6.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-2
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 112,115.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-2
94. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, pp. 250-1. M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia, c. 1300 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981). pp. 174-5.
95. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 253.
96. Agus Salim, "Nationalism and Patriotism, *Mizan* 4 (1984), p. 51.
97. Sukarno, *Under the Banner and Revolution*, vol. 1 (Jakarta: Publication Committee, 1966), pp. 101-6.
98. Ahmed Ali, *Al-Qur'an; A Contemporary Translation* (Princeton University Press, 1993). p. 543
99. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, p. 175.
100. Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam; Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1970), p. 85.
101. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, p. 179.
102. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, pp. 87-8.
103. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, p. 179.
104. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, pp. 88-9.
105. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 257.
106. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 89. Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, p. 260.
107. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, "Islam and Nationalism in Indonesia; A Historical Perspective, *Mizan* 4 (1984), pp. 14-5.
108. Deliar Noer, "Mengalihkan Perhatian dan Persoalan Pokok, *Media Dakwah* 2411 (1994), pp. 50-1.
109. Emil Salim, "Li'llahi Ta'ala, "in *Seratus Tahun Agus Salim*, Hazil Tanzil, et al. (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984), p. 480.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 481-2

111. Ahmad Syafii Maarif, "Bapak Kaum Intelektual Muslim Indonesia", in *Seratus Tahun Haji Agus Salim*, Hazel Tanzil, et. al. (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984), pp. 243-5.
112. *Ibid.*
113. Van Niel, *The Emergence of Modern Indonesia*, p. 158.
114. *Mizan's* introduction to Salim's article, "Nationalism and Patriotism," p. 48.

Erni Haryanti Kahfi is a lecturer at the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN), Bandung.