

The role of Islamic education in shaping the social ethic of brotherhood and peace as developed in the schools studied are as follows: Husnuzhan (be kind to one other suspect). Tasamuh (tolerate the taste, knitting harmony), Takrim (casting awards, reap the honor), Tafahum (maintaining mutual understanding, build mutual understanding), Amanah (maintaining the trust, taking responsibility), Ihsan (knit solidarity, demanding the sacrifice), Fastabiqul Khayrat (racing achievement), reconciliation (peacefully resolve the conflict), 'Afw (plant forgiveness, reap forgiveness), sulh (build a culture of peace in your life together). (2) non-violence: 'adl (upholding the balance, reaching for justice), Lyn (softness-violent anti-fruit of mercy and good deeds). Salam (peace in the hearts of peace on earth).

The Political Economy of Knowledge: Sharia and Saudi Scholarship in Indonesia

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INTRODUCTION

Until recently only a few studies have been proposed to account the relations between Indonesia and Saudi Arabia. Most of them are dealing with premodern era (Azra 2004, Basri 2008, Laffar 2003, Mas'ud 1997). While this lack of initiatives in some parts can be attributed to the authoritarian nature of the Saudi regime, most of the studies have entertained the idea that the relations are static and that most of the Saudi education projects are largely directed to support state ideology (Al Rasheed 2007, Okruhlik 2004). This assumption does not have strong evidence. Many things have changed over the last decades. Throughout this article I argue that, on the one hand, it is becoming more obvious that these relations have been characterized by patron-client relations. On the other hand, it involves a wide range of actors thereby allowing the diversity of knowledge reproduction.

This article deals with LIPIA, a Saudi education project and its network with Indonesian graduates. These returning graduates are currently serving in various positions such as teachers and preachers. In the course of time they have maintained relations with Saudi, from which they obtain financial supports. It focuses on students who studied in Saudi in recent periods precisely in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. Their understandings of Sharia have changed over the time depending its contexts.

Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim country. It has played an important role in shaping the politics of regional and global Muslim world. This fact attracts Saudi

Education beyond Border

At the beginning of the 1980s, Saudi Arabia sought to promote its education system beyond its borders. Universities and institutes specializing on Shari'a were erected at home and abroad. These institutions were made to accommodate the ulama who become state notables. This period also witnessed the channeling of Saudi funds to other Muslim countries through formal and informal institutions. Most of the funds were distributed through Islamic philanthropist organizations and humanitarian flags. But since the roles of ulama were significant, this project has been affected by a particular religious spirit called Salafism.

LIPIA (Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic) is the first and the largest Saudi project in Indonesia. It was founded in 1980 in Jakarta. This institute is extremely important since it shapes the subsequent transmission of Salafism to Indonesia. This can be seen in the fact that most of the Indonesian Salafi leaders previously studied at this institute. They are credited of transforming Islamic movements of the 1970s and 1980s and linking them to transnational and global organizations.

The foundation of the LIPIA is an uneasy step. It is made possible by a number of factors. It goes back to the 1970s when Suharto approached depolitization of Islam. Some Islamic organizations in the country approached Saudi Arabia. In response to this, Syeikh Abd al-Aziz Abdullah al-Ammar, a prominent student of Syeikh Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz bin Baz, made a short visit to Jakarta. Mohammad Natsir, a prominent Indonesian Muslim figure, welcomed him. He fully supported the idea to build an Islamic institute. Natsir was the founder of Masyumi (the largest Islamic party during Sukarno's era and the chief executive of the DDII (Indonesian Muslim Promulgation Commission). He approached Indonesian officials, most of whom were the high-rank officials of the Department of Religious Affairs.

Daed Joesoef, Ministry of Education and Culture and a secularist-nationalist, refused to give permission to this idea. Alamsjah, Ministry for Religious Affairs, who supported the idea, came to Joesoep asked the matter. The latter responded that Muslims were already fanatics. If they studied at an Islamic institute, they would become even more fanatical. Alamsyah slammed Joesoep. This brawl eventually led to Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was charged with the operation of the institute (Mujiburrahman 2006).

Located in a rent building in Salemba Central Jakarta, still called LPBA (Institute for Arabic Teaching), the institute began its mission in 1980. The class was held in the afternoon, to give the opportunity for other students who had activities in the morning. For the first time in the Indonesian history, Arabic was introduced to public in highly sophisticated manner. All the teachers were natives. They were Arabs (Saudi, Egyptian, Sudanese, Yemeni, etc).

The wide gap between the Saudis and non-Saudis, the Arabs and non-Arab, frequently leads to conflict. One of the conflicts which raises public attention, at least to some, is the case of Muhammad Zaini, a staff working with the institute for more than fifteen years. The conflict began when Zaini, a Banjarese, demanded the institute raised his salary. At that time he was only paid 800 riyal per month. The institute asked him to be patient as the government planned to make a new policy. After some time, he found out nothing happened. Once again, the institute asked him to be patient a little more. He waited for the second time. However, after some times, nothing happened. This made him resigned from his position. The bitterest experience is that the Saudis never showed respect for others. In his protest to the director, he said that only stupid person and a donkey who worked in this institute.

Zaini's case may reflect a broader picture of the LIPIA management. In spite of its modern technology, it is poorly managed. The recruitment of teachers and students involve personal and informal ties. This also happens in salary system. According to Zaini, the institute does not have a standard for salary payment. Instead it depends on negotiation between professors and the institute. The highest salary an Indonesian professor has ever obtained is that of Salim Segaf al-Jufri, which is 8000 riyal per month. Al-Jufri is one of the Indonesian who successfully create links with Saudi. He previously studied at Islamic University of Medina and assumed key positions in WAMY (World Association Muslim Youth) and International Saudi Relief. He has been credited of creating link between Islamic organizations particularly founded by the Saudi graduates with donor institutions in the Middle East.

LIPIA has consistently applied the curriculum which orients students to acquire a complete knowledge of Islamic traditional scholarship. This results in the rigid nature of their religious practices e.g. gender segregation, women's seclusion, and the stress on outward disciplines such as having long beards (lihya), Arab-style flowering robes (jalabiya), and shortening pants right up ankles (isbal), and women's wearing a form of enveloping black veil (burqa).

Furthermore the institute teaches traditional Islamic scholarship especially those of the Hanbali school. A collection of Hanbali books are found in the library. Students are required to take all courses related to this school. Despite other Sunni scholarship are available, the collections are limited. Neither the works of al-Ghazali, a Sunni theologian and philosopher (d. in 1111), nor those of Ibn Arabi, a Muslim mystic (d. 1240), are available. The only classical book available and widely used in the institute is Bidayatul Mujtahid, composed by Ibn Rushd (d. in 1198). Modern Islamic works by the Salafi ulama are available. The works of Syeikh Abd al-Aziz bin Abdullah bin Baz, died in 1999, and Syeikh Abdullah al-Uthaimin, died in 2001, are abundant. The institute also emphasizes on the importance of the memorization of the Koran and the Hadith. Some scholarship are given to students memorizing the hadith at most.

before he finished it. This opposition is found in their personal blogs, facebook, and twitter. Some students even publish books to oppose the danger of liberal Islam. The controversy of Ulil does not only attract LIPIA students, it also divided Muslim groups into two opposing camps. The opponent camp even issued a fatwa of murdering Ulil.

A number of student organizations such as Hizb al-Tahrir, KAMMI (Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union), HMI (Indonesian Student Association) are found within the LIPIA. KAMMI is the largest student organization which has link with Welfare and Justice Party (PKS), an Islamic political party which produce important politicians and bureaucrats. It is obvious that most of the students support Islamism, that Islam becoming the alternative system for the ummah. However, support for Islamism has recently eroded, as more people believe in democracy and civil rights. Despite LIPIA still play an important role in transmitting Islamism and Salafism, its influence is particularly limited within a relatively small groups of Muslim communities. Its position is really marginal in term of reproducing Islamic knowledge within larger Muslim audiences. Most of the Muslim people still regard the prominence of state Islamic universities in Jakarta and Yogyakarta.

LIPIA has played an important role in creating Salafi schools in the country. There have been dozens of Salafi schools built in the country over the last two decades. These schools are linked to LIPIA in one way or another. Most of them are found in Java. Looking at their bases, it is obvious that the Salafis have been successful in creating its network in non-traditionalist NU strongholds. In West Java, they created network in Bandung, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Ciamis, Sukabumi, and Bogor. In Central Java, they created network in Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Magelang, Salatiga.

In the aftermath of Aceh Tsunami in 2005, the Salafi created network in Sumatra especially in Banda Aceh. Working with various Islamic reliefs, they bought lands and built mosque, schools, and boarding schools. It is clear that the Salafi joined the humanitarian project together with other Islamic organizations and this project linked them to broader international financial sources. In Sulawesi, the Salafi network is found in Makassar. This network is made, among others, by Wahdah Islamiyah, a leading Salafi organization in the region. From Makassar, the network is further developed to Kalimantan, Maluku, and Papua. It is important to say that Wahdah is founded by the LIPIA graduates and has the largest network in eastern Indonesia.

It is becoming clear that the Salafis have successfully created network in province, city, town, and district. This success cannot be separated from two modernist organizations, Muhammadiyah and Persis. In the grass root level, the Salafis gain strong support from these organizations. They pave the way for the Salafis to advocate their ideologies. This may not be surprising if one recalls that both Muhammadiyah and Persis have the same spirit of reform. At organizational level, the Salafis, Muhammadiyah and Persis have made joint project on education. The agreement is that,

