

INTELLECTUALS AND CORRUPTION BETWEEN MORAL AND POLITICAL FORCES

By: Siswanto Masruri *

Abstraksi

Secara empiris, pernyataan Lord Action bahwa 'manusia yang memiliki kekuasaan cenderung untuk menyalahgunakannya, akan tetapi manusia yang mempunyai kekuasaan absolut sudah pasti akan menyalahgunakannya' adalah untuk para politisi, pemburu kekuasaan, bukan untuk cendekiawan, pelaku budaya, dan kaum moralis. Cendekiawan biasanya memiliki dilemanya sendiri: terlibat dalam kegiatan budaya atau dalam politik praktis. Terkait dengan korupsi, tulisan ini akan menawarkan dua strategi sistematis yang dilakukan kaum cendekiawan dan politisi. Pertama, menggunakan kekuatan moral melalui revitalisasi mental dan keteladanan. Kedua, menerapkan kekuasaan politik dengan penegakan hukum, kebangkitan nasionalisme, peningkatan demokrasi, dan pembaharuan ekonomi.

بشكل تجريبي، بيان اللورد أكتن بأن القوة تميلُ إلى إفساد، كما كانت السلطة المطلقة تفسد بالتأكيد، وهذا التصريح في الحقيقة مخاطب للسياسيين، وصيادو سلطة، وليس للمثقفين، ومراقبون ثقافيون، وفلاسفة أخلاقيون. المثقفون عندهم معضلاتهم الخاصة عادة: مُشتركة في النشاطات الثقافية أو في المجالات السياسية. تعاملًا بالفساد، هناك إستراتيجيتان منظمّتان رئيسيتان من بعض المثقفين والسياسيين: أولاً، تطبيق الأخلاق والتهديب من خلال التقوية العقلية والقُدوة الحسنة. ثانياً، تنفيذ السلطات السياسية بتطبيق القانون، وغرس الروح الوطنية والتطوير الديمقراطي، والإصلاح الإقتصادي .

Keywords: Intellectual, Dilemma, Corruption, and Good Example.

* A lecturer of the Faculty of Ushuluddin, UIN Sunan Kalijaga and Director of the Postgraduate Program of Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta.

A. Introduction

Intellectuals have important roles in formulating state concepts, developing science and technology, and keeping morality. They often relates to Muslim scholars (*ulama*). If intellectuals educated and titled academically, *ulama* are pious and faithful to Islam. Subsequently, there are many intellectuals who are pious and faithful to Islam and there are many Muslim scholars who are scientifically educated and titled. Ironically, in the era of reformation, some of them deviate from their human nature and engage in graft or corruption. The deviation to corrupt of some intellectuals is generally caused by two choices: theories or practices, moral forces or political ones. Actually, from their involvement in politics, some of them are trapped from their dilemmas. They couldn't use morality and avoid from corruption.

Corruption in Indonesia has been crystallized and even becoming a kind of cotemporary crime which is difficult to prove. It is growing anywhere together, with the spread of economic, law, and political power.

Corruption in Indonesia has become part of the government system. It is not a problem of executives, but has been contaminated the state institution as well as legislative, judicial, and non government institution. So, in order to eliminate corruption through law enforcement, the writer should offer the systematic approach.

B. Role of Intellectuals

Intellectuals are those who have school (secular) academic background and Muslim scholars are those who have the basis of *pesantren*.¹ Although with different basis in education, the characteristic of their thought has more similarities. Certain basic education couldn't determine whether they are intellectuals or Muslim scholars. There are many factors to make people have two predicates mentioned. In Lewis A. Coser's opinion, the predicate of intellectual has close relationship with their academic institution. In his work, Coser stated that some authors tend to classify people graduated from universities into intellectuals.² Even, redefining them could start from their position in relation with high education.³ Ron Eyerman and his companions have also the same opinion with Coser when stated that,

¹ Karel A. Steenbrink (1986), *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah, Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Moderen*, Jakarta: LP3ES, p. 20.

² Lewis A. Coser (1965), *Men of Ideas*, New York: The Free Press, p. vii.

"Recent studies have defined intellectuals more or less as they have seen fit, for example, as those with a university degree or those working in specified profession, such as writers, journalists, teachers and so on".⁴

Intellectuals usually relates to academic circle. But, to define them only from academic point of view is not appropriate.⁵ According to Roberto Michels, those who have been half-educated or autodidact are intellectuals as long as they could understand scientific materials. Those who have academic title, therefore, could not be intellectuals and on the contrary, those who have not academic qualification could be intellectuals as far as they have enough knowledge to understand. Herbert Spencer, although he had no academic background, he was well known as the outstanding intellectual.⁶

Many definitions on intellectuals actually have been written by many authors. But, it is difficult to limit certain concept as it is, especially in social sciences.⁷ According to Yogendra K. Malik, intellectuals and intelligentsia have been implemented broadly and have a wide definition. Even, the intellectual like Edward Shils, as the best author of intellectual practices in contemporary social sciences, who, according to S.M. Lipset and Asoke Basu as having a comprehensive definition⁸ is still insufficient in defining intellectuals.⁹ It is proven with the definition of Edward Shills¹⁰, which doesn't involve any persons who have activities in production (creation) and consumption (reception) of intellectual works, but also involves general executive roles.

Another definition comes from Roberto Michels which is also very important. According to him, intellectuals are those who have common knowledge, or, in the narrower meaning, those who make their values based on the reflection and knowledge, not only from their empirical perception.¹¹

³ Seymour M. Lipset dan Asoke Basu (1976), "The Roles of the Intellectual and Political Roles" in Aleksander Gella (Editor), *The Intelligentsia and the Intellectuals*, London: Sage Publications Ltd., p.119.

⁴ Ron Eyerman et al. (1987), *Intellectuals, Universities and the State in Western Modern Societies*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 2.

⁵ Roberto Michels (1977), "Intellectuals", in Edwin Seligman dan Alvin Johnson (Editors), *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 8, New York: The Macmillan Company, p.118.

⁶ Syed Hussein Alatas (1977), *Intellectuals in Developing Societies*, London: Frank Cass, p.8.

⁷ Selo Soemardjan (1976), "Peranan Cendekiawan dalam Pembangunan Nasional", in *Prisma*, Nomor 11 Nopember, p.3.

⁸ Seymour M. Lipset and Asoke Basu, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁹ Yogendra K. Malik (1982), "Introduction" in Yogendra K. Malik (Editor), *South Asian Intellectuals and Social Change*, New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, p. 4.

¹⁰ Edward Shils (1968), "Intellectuals" in David L. Sills (Editor), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: The Macmillan Company, p. 399.

¹¹ Roberto Michels, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

Selo Soemardjan, on the other hand, stated that intellectuals are those who have good reasoning power, interested in things of mind, like art or or idea.¹² Henceforth, he stated that intellectuals and intelligentsia are basically the same. To strengthen his opinion, he said that,

“Something differentiate the meaning from nonintellectual is not their abilities to use their reason capabilities, because every normal person is inherited with that capabilities. Something makes intellectuals different from nonintellectual is their capabilities to think independently as the contradiction to follow others’ opinion. The concept to think independently includes: observing accurately the phenomenon in a certain environment, understanding some causes of the phenomenon, and its correlation with other phenomenon; finally, the formulation of the conclusion which could be communicated to other person should use the clear language.”¹³

Whether the process to think independently be coloured by the established system of belief, or by ideologies which have been invested in a person, and whether the product could or couldn’t be accepted objectively or subjectively, couldn’t influence the quality of any persons as intellectuals. However, individuality who experienced socialization in the existence of culture, almost impossible to avoid cultural power as the former of their sense and opinion.

But, the statement of Selo Soemardjan above is not entirely agreed by Mochtar Buchori, who stated that,

“Intelligentsia are those who go to modern universities or those who are specialist or professional. Meanwhile, intellectuals are those who interested in knowledge only because their world view is very wide (religion, art, social, and politic). In other words, intelligentsia is a specialist and intellectual is a generalist”.¹⁴

From the definitions above, it could be concluded that intellectuals are those who – with or without certain academic background – are able to create, understand knowledge, and implement it in their idea, in some aspects of symbolic, rational, creative, independent, and responsible life, on the basis of essential values. So, creativity should be the central point of the whole definitions of intellectuals.

“The creative intellectuals are the most dynamic group within the broad intellectual stratum because they are innovative, they are at the forefront in the development of culture The characteristic orientation of these ‘generalizing intellectuals’ is a critically evalu-

¹² Selo Soemardjan, *op. cit.*, p.3.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Mochtar Buchori (1989), “Menggugat Dikhotomi Ulama Intelektual, in *Jurnal Ta’dib*, no. 36, th. III, Januari, pp. 13 14.

ative one, a tendency to appraise in terms of general conceptions of the desirable, ideal conception which are taught to be universally applicable".¹⁵

At the beginning, intellectuals did something because of their curiosity to serve devotedly to truth. It had close relationship to the religious origin dealing with their functions because the clergymen had lastly functioned in playing the role of intellectuals. They didn't have any worldly interest, and, as stated by Benda, it was forbidden to draw the social and political benefit:

"The Clerks are all those whose activity essentially is not the pursuit of practical aims, all those who seek their joy in the practice of an art or a science or a metaphysical speculation, in short in the possession on nonmaterial advantages, and hence in a certain manner say: "My kingdom is not of this world".¹⁶

The attitudes of French intellectuals have effected to Benda and motivated him to write a book on title, *La Trahison des Clercs*. In his book, Benda thinks that French intellectuals have been traitorous to his moral responsibilities. In this context, he stated that,

"French intellectuals had paid attention the practical values more than scientific knowledge. Intellectuals were estimated as to prostitute sciences for the sake of political status and victory. Morality has been *untergeordnet* to politics and not on the other way. If Plato last time followed the opinion that morality determined politics and Machiavelli emerged with his thesis that morality had no relationship with politics, so, French intellectuals emerged with the thesis that politics determined morality".¹⁷

Benda will actually remind French intellectuals that their duties are not devoted to political interest but to maintain the eternal and abstract values which occur for along time (truth, justice, and rationale).¹⁸

The sociologist Edward Shils gave what is possibly the earliest indepth of the intellectual in a developing nation. Since then, a number of other studies have appeared and some dealing with the impact of foreign education on such an intellectual. After the collapse of parliamentary government in a number of

¹⁵ S.M. Lipset dan Asoka Basu (1991), *op. Cit.*, p.119; see also, Nurcholish Madjid, "Masalah Tradisi dan Inovasi Keislaman dalam Bidang Pemikiran, serta Tantangan dan Harapannya di Indonesia" in paper delivered at a symposium on "Islam dan Kebudayaan Indonesia: Dulu, Kini dan Nanti", *Festival Istiqlal 1991*, Jakarta, 21-24 Oktober, pp. 15-16.

¹⁶ Julien Benda (1928), *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, New York: Wiliam Morrow & Company, p. 43; quoted from Philip Rieff, *op. cit.*, p. 61; see also, Indonesian edition by Wiratmo Soekito (1997), "Kata Pengantar" in Julien Benda, *La Trahison des Clercs*, translated into Indonesian by Winarsih P. Arifin and edited by Jean Couteau on title, *Pengkhianatan Kaum Cendekiawan*, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Utama, p. xii.

¹⁷ S. Tasrif, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

developing countries and the emergence of regimes dominated by the military, a spate of studies was published dealing with the intellectual in uniform. In most of these studies, the intellectual is portrayed as the modernizer, the formulator of new goals and purposes, as well as the articulator of dissent.¹⁹

C. Dilemma of Intellectuals

Intellectuals often emerge as people tormented by their own sense of alienation, stemming from the clash between the two cultures to which they feel they belong. Part of this picture of intellectuals is also the manner in which they see themselves performing the function of relating universally held human values to the concrete situation in which they find themselves and to the methods by which they seek to pursue their goals. In this respect, they are continually and crucially concerned with the cultural and moral or normative problems of identity and expression, purpose and direction, structure and meaning, perception and motivation.²⁰

A great deal of time has passed and a great many events have taken place since Shils started to draw attention to this general topic. This passage of time has been characterized by the collapse of many of the illusions that Shils's intellectuals held when they entered into the era of independence. Many of these men and women have had the previously unfamiliar experience of entering into positions of responsibility. A new post-independence generation of intellectuals has emerged, bringing with them a different sense of life, and often, a more nativistic orientation. Third world intellectuals as they are defined by their dilemmas, by looking at them from the inside rather than from the outside, by examining their internal conflict rather than the external pressures to which they are subject.²¹

Despite all the political changes in many of the new nations, the basic role of the intellectual has not changed, mainly because the process of social transformation in which the nation is involved is still going on. Thus the intellectual is still faced with essentially the same dilemmas analyzed by Shils.

¹⁹ Soedjatmoko (tt), "Cendekiawan di Negara Berkembang" in Kathleen Newland dan Kemala Chandrakirana Soedjatmoko, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²⁰ Kathleen Newland and Kemala Chandrakirana Soedjatmoko (Editors) (1994), *Transforming Humanity, The Visionary Writings of Soedjatmoko*, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc., p. 20; see also, Soedjatmoko (1984), "Peranan Intelektual di Negara Berkembang", in Aswab Mahasin, Sabam Siagian, and Ignas Kleden (Penyunting), *Etika Pembebasan, Pilihan Karangan tentang Agama, Kebudayaan, Sejarah dan Ilmu Pengetahuan*, Jakarta: LP3ES, pp. 233-249.

²¹ *Ibid.*

But there have been some important shifts in perspective, and, consequently some changes in the intellectual's sense of self-awareness and in the resulting responses. The first and foremost dilemma remains that of the relationship of intellectuals to power.²² Insofar as they have clear ideas about the future of their countries, the goals that have to be pursued, and the manner in which those goals should be pursued, they are inevitably fascinated by power as the unavoidable means to translate their ideas into reality.

At the same time, the ambivalence of their own attitudes toward power has remained the same. They must come to terms with the slow pace of change, the inevitable compromises that go with administrative responsibility, and the need – in order to buttress their power bases in any political structure – to cater to popular prejudices and preoccupations that they are unable to share. These adjustments do violence to the clarity of their vision of the future and to the directness and vigor that they see as an essential condition for successful implementation. These conditions all seem to threaten both their integrity and their continued creativity as intellectuals. Moreover, political and administrative responsibility is concerned with order and, insofar as change is concerned, with orderly change. New ideas always constitute a threat to the established order.²³

For many intellectuals, this dilemma was at its sharpest immediately after the attainment of independence. What changed in the light of post independence experience was the intellectual's awareness of power, its function, its limits, and its character. Among intellectuals there is now a greater awareness of the need for a strong central government capable of pursuing the goals of nation building and economic development in the face of intractable obstacles posed by tradition, ignorance, and backwardness. There is also a greater awareness of the need to establish and develop countervailing forces within the society that can limit abuses of power. The intellectuals of developing nations have aligned themselves on both sides of this dividing line, their places determined mainly by temperament and incidental factors. But, whatever their place, it is clear to all of them that a sufficiently large number of intellectuals should stay outside of the government, outside of direct political involvement, to strengthen and nurture the intellectual institutions and voluntary association needed to secure a balance between state power and the power of society. This is a precondition for freedom and civility in the political system.²⁴

²² This first dilemma is the same as Julien Benda's opinion; see, S. Tasrif, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

²³ Soedjatmoko, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; see also, Julien Benda, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

The continued inability of many nations to overcome economic stagnation, despite all the national efforts for development, has pointed up another important role for the intellectual. It is to make them aware toward their responsibility considering the political and social impact of their action.²⁵ In this case, Nurcholish Madjid has stated that,

“For that purpose, a kind of partnership in discussion is very important that is the partnership which means that discussion should be on the basis of dialogue, not monolog. In the developmental and complex system, the emergence of the system which accommodate opposition is indeed very normal. In this case, of course, the right is the so called ‘loyal opposition’ that is opposition for gaining the ideas and principles together”.²⁶

Social scientists will have to reorient their research in their own countries. These are some of the dilemmas that intellectuals in many parts of the Third World face in performing their functions. This essay has brought out the complexities of their relationship to power, to reason, to tradition, to nation and community of origin as well as to dissent. The self-restraint that grows from deeper awareness of these dilemmas does not necessarily diminish the strength or the depth of the intellectuals’ commitment or reduce their willingness to struggle.²⁷

The impossibility of finding clear and unambiguous answers to the dilemmas that they face has led to greater sobriety and greater realism. To win the fight against stagnation requires not only courage and tenacity but intelligent flexibility and a deep and sympathetic understanding of one’s own society. Intellectuals cannot fail to be aware of the wholly political nature of their commitment and of the need for political engagement. The nature of their political roles remains a matter of personal and subjective choice for each. Whether this role should be an evolutionary or a revolutionary one depends on the particular situation each one faces.²⁸

Despite intellectuals have confused fascination with power, they should not lose themselves entirely in waging the political battles of the day. It is clear that their most important, most enduring contributions lie in changing the nation’s perception of the problems it faces .

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10; The prediction of Soedjatmoko and the phenomenon have really occurred in Indonesia nowadays.

²⁶ Nurcholish Madjid (1997), *Tradisi Islam, Peran dan Fungsinya dalam Pembangunan di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Paramadina, p. 225.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁸ Kathleen Newland and Kemala Chandrakirana Soedjatmoko, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

"The role in changing perceptions may be more decisive in putting a country on the road to development than the question of who or what combination of forces wins office. The basic concern and responsibility of intellectuals is the modernization of politics as a prelude to the depoliticization of modernization. In performing this function, they will have to operate on a national level, in the communal framework, as well as in the area of transcommunal relationships".²⁹

Finally, *hubris* is commonly perceived to be an affliction of intellectuals the world over. But intellectuals in developing societies have come to realize too vividly the strength of the irrational forces involved in the process of nation building for them to be able to afford the luxury of arrogance. The answers to seek to give to these problems will not prevent them from arising again in different forms.

Still, intellectuals keep throwing stones into the stream. Big or small, these stones will disappear with scarcely a ripple, without influence on the course of rushing water. Intellectuals are bound to keep on tossing their pebbles or boulders, for it is not success or failure that is the measure of the meaning of a person's life. If this statement summons up echoes of the Bhagavad Gita, it is not entirely inappropriate for a modernizing intellectual of a developing nation to be deeply aware that it is within the stream of historical continuity that he fulfills his destiny.³⁰ Really, it is quite better for intellectuals to be outside of the government and not having *hubris*. The most important for intellectuals is their integrity and encouragement to serve humanity.

D. Corruption: Between Moral and Political Forces

Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, the winner of Noble Prize, put Indonesia as the soft state among developing countries in Southern Asia. This designation is uncomfortable to ears, so that it becomes controversy and polemic in the country. But, it is not mistaken to study again the purpose of Myrdal's evaluation as a mirror in searching the facts, without ignoring important stigmas in the controversy and the polemic mentioned.³¹

According to Myrdal, 'soft' is avoiding social discipline. Without social discipline, the development will find serious difficulties and everything will certainly be delayed. What the writer means with avoiding social discipline is weakness and arbitrariness which is misused - to attain private benefit - by people who have eco-

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Clifford Geertz, "Pangantar" in Kathleen Newland and Kemala Chandrakirana Soedjatmoko (Editors), *op. cit.*, pp. xiii-xvii.

³¹ Gunnar Myrdal (1970), *The Change of World Poverty, A World Anti-Poverty Program in Outline*, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, p. 211.

conomic, social, and political power. At the same time, the opportunity to misuse in big measurement is only ready for high class. But, the low class often gets smaller opportunity. Therefore, it is stated that corruption is fundamentally nothing but one specific manifestation of the soft state. Dealing with the corruption, he stated,

“For a while, one party in a country expands proven difficult to rational introduction, advantage motive and market behavior into life sector which is in that life sector of a country goes forward to the motive of walking - that is in business environment - at others in the reality also difficult to vanish the personal advantage motive in sector which is in a country goes forward is generally eroded by that is environment of common power and responsibility.”

If it is true that *jer basuki mawa beya* (every success has its cost), so as one of the cost becomes independent country is to change the colonial staff with its own to arrange this country and it means to change an expert and experienced staff with non expert and less experienced one. The conditions of non expert and less experienced have result to decrease the efficiency. Decreasing the efficiency that function to lack of ability is the same meaning with decreasing the productivity. Decreasing the productivity is walking together with personal increase, and on this order, together with descending of the salary if measured from the real values.

Connected with the habit of administration operation ‘in order to wisdom’ (discretionary) and added with politicians after independent held important position because they have power, descending the salary state staff in real value join to open the door to corruption practical. So, corruption must be seen from dynamic angle. In connection with this, Myrdal with specific method called Indonesia as an ordinary country that free from corruption in Dutch period. But, later, after the independence, it became the corrupt country. This fact connected with Mahatma Gandhi’s statement,

“How often the oppressed, through struggle against the grinder, becomes and looks like the grinder, and after obtaining the victory, the late oppressed, in turn, changes to be the grinder.”³²

In Nietzsche’s opinion, corruption was a falling season of a country’. In the corrupt society, those who avoid corruption were regarded stupid. For a decade, maybe from Japanese period, Indonesian people lived with corruption, although it was a clear deviant behavior. Political corruption could be tyrannical, betrayal or subversive, but it also could be a lobbyism, buying votes, dishonest

³² Siswanto Masruri (2005), *Humanitarianisme, Soedjatmoko, Visi Kemanusiaan Kontemporer*, Yogyakarta: Pilar Media, p. 209.

in general election, and patronage. So, corruption is naturally losing of loyal capability either to people, state, rules, or other ethical principles. On the other hand, economic corruption could be understood as using position for individual importance and upgrading their financial income. People can buy position and live from the tip, bribe, and nepotism. To get any facilities, licenses, even though an ordinary service, people need to bribe. Gifter (active bribe) and receiver (passive bribe) are admitted as a corrupt action so that corruption and corruptor expanded and tyrannized.³³

As soft state, corruption in Indonesia expanded systematically and grew on the strength. Hence, corruption in this country referred with the systematic corruption. Form of this wickedness is difficult to prove and expanded in line with economic, law, and political power. Consequently, there are some intellectuals having an opinion that tackling integratedly is by improving and repairing the existing system. So, the maximum effort for maintaining law, especially the eradication of corruption, should use the systematic approach.

Hereinafter, speaking about corruption in context with elimination, hence it can be said that corruption represents something beyond the law for it is very difficult to verify. This time, some of judge in Appellate Court are also incurred by its rubber because alleged to conduct the corruption (the case of Probosutedjo). This happened because of some factors, for example power and its strength of economic power. Systematic approach to eradicate corruption has in line with the opinion of Lawrence M. Friedman in his book, *American Law: What is Legal System*.³⁴

The systematic approach covers the re-evaluation, reposition, and structural renewal, substantive law, and cultural law as a mirror of ethics and integrity. This approach should be implemented because corruption in Indonesia cannot be told as executive problem, but have cleared away far to other political institution: legislative, judicative, KPU, and other institutions. Therefore, without existence of political will from political institution, not in narrow and tight meaning of just executive, but also from legislative, judicative, and institution of other politics, hence the result of corruption eradication will be inaccessible.

One of the strategies to eliminate and to fight against corruption is growing awareness among people that society is now still sick. After that, looking at its symptoms to determine its disease. After recognizing its disease, the way of

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁴ Indriyanto Seno Adji (2006), "Korupsi Sistemik", in SKH *Kompas*, 7 Januari, p. 6.

approach and its medication should be searched for. Social medication of course is not easy because there are many factors and therapies to determine either the success or its failure. Even, sometimes there is a tendency to let its healing time, then overextending the time to give a break and to think until the people forget the disease. After reaching the critical step, the people's care to the disease emerges. It is very seldom that one or some symptoms are restrained so tend to cure or eliminate the symptom, not eliminating the disease causes.

Because of such complex corruption and in such a way destroyed and yielded impacts, hence, according to Myrdal, there is no way to fight against corruption except the strong political will and good example of a leader. Strong political will and leader's good example have to run along and together. Without good example, any exclamation and action of a leader will have never been authoritative, because it is not authentic. On the contrary, if only by good example and without strong political will of a leader, so the leadership will not be effective.³⁵

In general, the special and first strategy in corruption eradication is the total reform (or the subtotal) of all aspects of nation and state, and the most important is mental revitalization. The corruption is almost flatten and collapse the moral individually or nationally. National resilience stands up above moral resilience, not above weapon or hardness. This relates to the the protection of universal and relative human rights. Justice is a king pillar in straightening humanity. The most fundamental of development is of human being development, not technological development and construction as a target and size measure of efficacy and progress.³⁶

The first strategy to face corruption mentioned above is in line with Jawaharal Nehru's opinion. According to Myrdal, people is true to blame him with reference to his fast corruption in India. Though Nehru has good example to bring about, because he was really a patriotic and clean leader - but he has not been ready to act coherently the corruption which is known well in his country. The reason is because by yelling corruption loudly, hence the society got an impression wrongly as living in corrupt environment so that very possibly push the people to bravery conduct the corruption. Possibly Nehru was correct, but its disinclination to use his personal authority and to fulfill the public demand

³⁵ "Agama dan Etika Bisnis Antara Kemauan Politik dan Keteladanan Kepemimpinan" in Elza Peldi Taher (Editor) (1994), *Demokratisasi Politik, Budaya dan Ekonomi*, Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, p. 111.

³⁶ T. Ya'cob, *op. Cit.*, p. 6.

emphatically to fight against corruption upstairs, as told by a lot of his closest friend is a serious of Nehru's mistake.³⁷

Differ from the Nehru is Rajaratnam from Singapore. This Republic Island is assessed by Myrdal as single from Asian country because of its relative free from corruption and not the inclusive of soft state. Myrdal thinks that the country is as an example the leadership of Rajaratnam, one of the political figure of Singapore. There is an opinion of whereas all experts saying that "corruption is not a symptom heap which each other interfere in, but a political system which can be instructed by those who in command with the accuracy storied which can be tolerated." To the opinion which impressing look down to the damage energy of corruption, Rajaratnam expressed,

"But its founding that corruption can be driven with the storey level precise which can be tolerated by opposing against various fact as we know in Asia. A system of thief power (kleptocracy) will drive himself, whether those who in command want it or do not, toward corruption which progressively mount and finally up at economic chaos and politics. It has come to the circle life in Asia during two last decades."³⁸

Rajaratnam expressed that matter in its oration as a Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore in labor union meeting of Asian Public Servant, entitle, '*Bureaucracy versus Kleptocracy*' (Power Against Thief Power). Because of blessing of political will which ossify the leader like that of Rajaratnam in fighting against corruption and added with his good example and clean family, hence Singapura finally succeed to own the later clean governance and heighten the spirit of its people to develop. One of the positive impacts is the existence of clean governance through generalization of burden responsibility and sense of justice. Later, on heighten the people to feel having the state and its governance. If broken down, although unequal, the strategy of Rajaratman could be explainable as follows :

First is the straightening of law. Obedient at law has to represent the second habit. People have to fear to impinge the law though there's nothing to see. The law system and jurisdiction is a place and expectation of the weak. The underestimation, abuse and commercialization of the law is a very hard deterioration. *Second*, is the effort to peep out the national evocation return. The matter is important after the nation construction desisted by avaricious and corrupt practices in sentrum of the power. For this needing, there should be political information in and abroad. For the home affairs, it should be paid

³⁷ Nurcholish Madjid, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

attention to balance the central government and the provinces (it is better not regency), the flake – under, and social faction so that there are distributive justice, judicial, and commutative. Going abroad should be reorientation, realignment, active free political redefinition by paying attention to circumstances of geopolitics and geo-economics based on pursuant to national importance.

Third is the effort of straightening democracy as important condition in applying every thing mentioned before. There is no absolute similarities between democracy practiced by various states now, but there is a fundamental element in democracy. For Southern nations, the most important to precise is the applied democracy as have been practiced by developed nations at the beginning of their early democracy. *Fourth*, is the economics reform which requires to be performed after experiencing the excitement crisis and influenced all life aspect and almost entire fatherland. Putting all eggs into globalism, America is something very imprecise. Leaders have to manifestly stare at forwards, and how influenced so much factor to an ethnocentric idea of West, oppose against the democracy and a world of one but multicultural. A world division for muscle world but not be skillful in doing handwork for the world of brain mastering technology and capital have to be prevented. A world as mentioned first is only a producer of raw and cheap material, and the last yields the finished goods with more values and sold costly.

With the strategy and reform elaborated above, this nation will cure the disease and eliminate its causes, creating more civil society compatible with prosperity, justice, humanism, and democracy. Thereby, they will be more settle to enter the new century expected become the century of people and peace. Civilized society has some fundamental characteristics, for example, people is more important than state, people has enough information, can choose better their proxies to determine the policy which is concerning importance of the people and tranquility. That proxy form the governance and both are responsible to people.

Next characteristic is looking after of the trilateral prosperity, justice, continuity. Above the trilateral that can be developed by an endless peace. In this case, the nation-state still be needed, though subdividing supranational will happen, balanced with the freedom of ethnical faction who have identity expression and minority. Rights of human being have to be known and under the aegis of government and society. Individual rights have to be made balance by collective rights. Big target of human being is improving the prestige and degree of human being, so that human being tomorrow have to better than yesterday and these days.³⁹

³⁹ T. Ya'cob, *op. cit.*, p. 7; see also, Robert Klitgaard (2001), *Controlling Corruption*, translated into Indonesian, *Membasmi Korupsi*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, p. 9.

E. Concluding Remark

Intellectuals are those who – with or without certain academic background, have ability to create something, understand knowledge, and implement it in their ideas, in the whole aspects of life symbolically, rationally, creatively, independently, and be responsible for their essential and basic values of life. Creativity should be the most important thing dealing with the notion of intellectuals. They could be classified into two: (1) who creates culture, (2) who implements culture, or (1) who are always dissatisfied, (2) who are always satisfied. Through this classification, intellectuals have serious dilemmas between their involvement in moral forces and political ones. In the colonial era, intellectuals involved more in morality than in politics. But after independence, they much involved in political power. Since then, the deviation and distortion of intellectuals occurred. Whatever their argument, it is better for intellectuals to lie outside of power and government.

Empirically, the statement of Lord Acton that ‘power tends to corrupt, but absolute power corrupts absolutely’ is indeed for politicians and authority hunters, not for intellectuals, cultural observers, and moralists. Some cases of the Indonesian intellectuals who involved in corruption were caused by their ignorance of their own dilemmas. At least, there are two main systematic strategies of some intellectuals and politicians to wipe out corruption in Indonesia: First, Nehru Strategy which applies totally the moral forces through mental revitalization and good examples. Second, the Rajaratman Strategy which consistently implements political powers by law enforcement, nationalism or national stabilization, democratic development, and economic reformation. *Wallahu a’lam bi al-sawab.*

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