

Glossary

Turkey

Diyanet Isleri Bakanligi: Directorate of Religious Affairs

Gecekondu: Turkish slums

Imam-hatip: Turkish Islamic schools

Naksibendi: Turkish Sufi *tarikats*. Tends to be more politically active.

Neo-Nurcus: Followers of Fetullah Gulen. Also referred to as the Fetullah Gulen movement.

Nurcu: Turkish Sufi *tarikats*. Followers of Said-i-Nursi.

Tarikats: Sufi brotherhoods

Suleymanci: Turkish Sufi *tarikats*. It tends to avoid political activism.

Malaysia

Dakwah songsang: Deviant Islamic propagation

Pakatan Rakyat: People's Pact. The 2008 opposition coalition comprised the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), the Democratic Action Party, and the People's Justice Party. It governs the states of Kelantan, Selanghor, Kedah, Perak, and Penang.

Sekolah Bantuan: PAS-affiliated schools that combine the government's mandated curriculum with that of Al Azhar University.

Sekolah Agama Negeri: State religious schools

Sekolah Agama Persekutan: Federal religious schools

Sekolah Agama Rakyat: Community religious schools

Sekolah Agama Swasta: Private religious schools

Semangat '46: Spirit of 46, a breakaway faction of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) that formed a new political party and contested the 1990 and 1995 elections before rejoining UMNO in 1998.

Indonesia

azas tunggal: Sole foundation

Bintang: Star

dwi fungsi: Under the Suharto regime, the idea that the military should have a dual function, its traditional security role and a political role.

Kembali ke kitab 1926: Return to the 1926 charter. When Nahdlatul Ulama withdrew from formal politics in 1984, it stated it would return to the 1926 charter, as a mass organization that provided Islamic education and social services to its members.

Kyai: The headmaster and head teacher of an Islamic boarding school

Madrasa: In Indonesia, madrasas are Islamic day schools.

Pancasila: Five principles—social justice, belief in one god, humanitarianism, unity in diversity, and democracy through deliberation and consensus. The unifying national ideology of Indonesia.

Pembaruan: Islamic renewal movement

Pengajian: Teaching sessions.

Pesantren: Indonesian Islamic boarding schools

Preman: Thug gangs

Proporsionalisme: Proportionality—the call by Indonesian Muslims during the late New Order period for greater proportionality in government hiring practices to ensure better representation for Muslims.

Rakyat: Common people (term used also in Malaysia)

Reformasi: The term for democratic reform movements that occurred in both Indonesia and Malaysia during the financial crisis period in the late 1990s.

Santri: Students at a *pesantren*. Also can be used to refer to orthodox Muslims.

SARA (*suku, agama, ras, antar-golongan*) laws: Prohibit discussion on contentious race, religion, intercommunal, and ethnic issues.

Transmigrasi: Transmigration. In Indonesia, it refers to the movement of peoples from the island of Java and other crowded islands to more sparsely

populated islands. The transmigration policy had the effect of inflaming tensions between the new arrivals and the indigenous peoples.

Undang-Undang Keormasan: Mass Organizations Law. According to it, all organizations had to adopt Pancasila as their sole foundation.

General Terms

Abmadiyah: Sect of Islam considered heretical by some conservative groups for believing that there was an additional prophet after Prophet Muhammad. This sect has faced discrimination in several countries referred to in this book, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Bangladesh.

al-dawlah al-Islamiyyah: Islamic state

Alevis: Sect of Shiism popular in Turkey and Syria

Amar ma'aruf nahi munkar: To encourage the good and discourage the bad. This term is used by mainstream Islamist groups to categorize their general mission of promoting moral and ethical behavior among Muslims. However, it is also a frequent justification by radical Islamists for attacking gambling dens and outlets selling alcohol.

Aqidah: Faith

Dakwah: Literal translation from Arabic “the call.” The term “Dakwah” or “Dawa” refers to Islamic movements that seek to convert non-Muslims to the Islamic faith and to persuade Muslims to become more observant.

Deobandi: Islamic reformist sect founded in India in 1866. The Deobandis emphasize correct ritual and personal behavior practice of Islam. They have a thriving network of madrasas throughout Pakistan.

Din: “Religion,” especially in practice. See *Islam ad-din*.

Fatwa (*Turkish-Fetwa*): A proclamation or determination on matters of Islamic law

Fiqh: Islamic jurisprudence

Hajj: One of the five pillars of faith. A pilgrimage to Mecca that Muslims must take once in a lifetime.

Halqah: Small religious study circles

Hudud: Islamic criminal code

Ijma: Consensus

Ijtihad: Independent reasoning

Intifada: An uprising (lit-shaking off). This term usually refers to mass protest movements in the West Bank and Gaza. It has also been used to refer to the Bahraini protest movement.

Islam ad din: Islam as a way of life—one of the key ideas of the *dakwah* movement.

Jemaah Islamiyah: This term literally translates to Islamic community; in this book, it is used to refer to the terrorist group active in Southeast Asia. It is discussed in chapters 3–6.

Jihad: Struggle. In the West, it is often used to refer to Islamic holy war. However, it may also refer to a struggle to purge oneself of one's sinful habits/characteristics. Finally, jihad, understood correctly, is always defensive.

Ka'bah: The Kabah is a holy site in Islam and part of the Hajj ritual pilgrimage. It is a large obsidian block that Muslims circumambulate.

Kadi: Muslim judges

Khutba (also hudba): The sermon preached at Friday prayers.

Madrasa: Islamic boarding school (in Indonesia, a madrasa is a day school). In Turkey, *imam-hatip* school. For Islamic boarding school in the Indonesian context, see *pesantren*.

Majelis al Shura: Consultative Council

Maktab: A school for children to learn to read and recite the Koran. This is typically a supplement to public school or day school.

Matam: Shia social welfare providers in Bahrain

Mujihideen: One who fights in a jihad

Mutazelites: A sect of Islamic jurisprudence that believes in rationalist analysis

Qisas: Part of Islamic criminal code

Salafi: Salafis also seek to return Islam to its pure roots. They believe that the true sources of Islam are the Koran, the Hadith, and the consensus reached by scholars during the first three generations after Prophet Muhammad's death. They shun modern interpretations.

Sharia: Islamic law

Shia (also Shiite): Sect of Islam that differs from the Sunnis over who should have led Muslims after the death of Prophet Mohammad. Shias are a majority in Bahrain, Iran, and Iraq. Significant Shia minorities exist in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Pakistan.

Shura: Consultation

Sunni: Popular name for Muslim majority sect also known as *Ahl al-Sunna Wa'l-Jama'ah*.

Tafsir: Explanation, interpretation, commentary. Term used to refer to the Koran.

Tarikat: Turkish Sufi brotherhoods

Ulama: Religious scholars

Umma: The Islamic community

Usroh: Lit. family. This term is used to describe Islamist study circles in various parts of the Muslim world.

Ustaz: Religious teachers

Wahabi: Puritanical reform movement led by Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab in the Arabian peninsula in the eighteenth century.

Waqfs: Islamic foundations or charities. Often used to refer to foundations by land grant.

Zakat: One of the five pillars of faith in Islam—annual contribution to the poor or less fortunate.

Zaydi: Sect of Shiism popular in Yemen

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Singer, Peter Warren, "Pakistan's Madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education, Not Jihad." Brookings analysis paper, no. 14 (November 2001), 3.
2. External Forces, see Said, Edward, "The Clash of Ignorance," *Nation*, October 22, 2001, thenation.com/do/20011022/said, and Schwartz, Stephen, *The Two Faces of Islam* (New York: Anchor Books, 2003); *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia: Crucible of Terror* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003), 18.
Exclusion-Repression Nexus, see Hafez, Mohammed, "From Marginalization to Massacres: A Political Process Explanation of GIA Violence in Algeria," in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, ed. Quintan Wiktorowicz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 37–60, and Hafez, Mohammed, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003).
Backlash against modernization, see Ansari, Hamied, "The Islamic Militants in Egyptian Politics," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16 (1984): 123–144; Dekmejian, R. Hrair, *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995); and Kepel, Gilles, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2002).
3. See Mishal, Saul, and Sela, Avraham, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Wiktorowicz, Quintan, *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001); *God Willing: The Politics of Islamism in Bangladesh* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004); Sidel, John, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Ramage, Doug, *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance* (London: Routledge, 1997); and Effendy, Bahtiar, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003).
4. See Lewis, Bernard, "The Revolt of Islam," *New Yorker*, November 19, 2001, 56, and Huntington, Samuel, "Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 32.
5. Inglehart, Ron, and Norris, Pippa, "The True Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Policy Magazine* (March/April 2003): 66.

6. Esposito, John L., and Piscatori, James P., "Democratization and Islam," *Middle East Journal* 45, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 428.
7. Scholars may cite any of the following verses from the Koran to support conceptions of *shura* and social justice.

Those who hearken to their Lord, and establish regular prayer; who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation; who spend out of what we bestow on them for sustenance (42: 38).

It is part of the Mercy of Allah that thou dost deal gently with them. Werd thou severe or harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about thee: so pass over (their faults), and ask for (Allah's) forgiveness for them; and consult them in affairs (of moment). Then, when thou hast Taken a decision put thy trust in Allah. For Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him) (3:159).

To thee we sent the Scripture in truth, confirming the scripture that came before it, and guarding it in safety: so judge between them by what Allah hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires, diverging from the Truth that hath come to thee. To each among you have we prescribed a law and an open way. If Allah had so willed, He would have made you a single people, but (His plan is) to test you in what He hath given you: so strive as in a race in all virtues. The goal of you all is to Allah. It is He that will show you the truth of the matters in which ye dispute (5:48).

8. See McAdam, Doug, Tarrow, Sidney, and Tilly, Charles, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Schwedler, Jillian, *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Hafez, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*; Abootalebi, Ali Reza, *Islam and Democracy: State-Society Relations in Developing Countries 1980–1994* (New York: Garland, 2000); Ghabbian, Najib, "Political Islam and Violence," *New Political Science* 22, no. 1 (2000): 77–88; Ibrahim, Anwar, "Who Hijacked Islam," *Time Asia*, November 8, 2004; Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Nasr, Vali, "The Rise of Muslim Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 16.2 (2005): 13–27.
9. Huntington, Samuel, *Political Order and Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), and Sartori, Giovanni, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
10. Huntington, *Political Order and Changing Societies*.
11. Snyder, Jack, *From Voting to Violence* (New York: W.W Norton and Company, 2000), 37–38.
12. Abootalebi, Ali Reza, "Islam, Islamists and Democracy," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 3, no. 1 (1999): 20.
13. Ghabbian, "Political Islam and Violence," 77.

14. Ibrahim, Anwar, "Who Hijacked Islam," *Time Asia*, November 8, 2004, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,178470,00.html> (accessed on April 24, 2005).
15. Goodwin, Jeff, *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 290.
16. Hafez, *Why Muslims Rebel*, 15.
17. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, 102.
18. Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism*, 8–9.
19. Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam*, 180.
20. Ibid.
21. Kepel, *Jihad*; Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution*; and Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam," 56.
22. Kepel, *Jihad*, 66–67, and Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution*, 33.
23. Sivan, Emanuel, "Why Radical Muslims Aren't Taking Over Governments," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 2, no. 2 (1997): 2.
24. Sivan, Emanuel, "The Clash within Islam," *Survival* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 28.
25. Hafez, *Why Muslims Rebel*, 10–11.

Chapter 2

1. The Turkish state extended its control over the religious sphere, in part, because of its historic tradition of doing so. Under the Seljuks and even under the Ottomans, religion never became the dominant source of state authority; instead, there was a partial separation between religion and worldly affairs. Islam had a strong social impact, but no political authority. Furthermore, Islamist groups and institutions had a strong tradition of obedience to political authority (from interviews with Professor Tufan Buzpinar, Istanbul, Turkey, August 18, 2005, and Professor Nuri Tinaz, Istanbul, Turkey, August 24, 2005).
2. Sayari, Sabri, "The Changing Party System," in *Politics, Parties and Elections in Turkey*, eds. Sabri Sayari and Yilmaz Esmer (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), 22.
3. Ozbudun, Ergun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 83.
4. Yavuz, Hakan, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 213.
5. Ibid.
6. Toprak, Binnaz, "The State, Politics and Religion in Turkey," in *State, Democracy and the Military: Turkey in the 1980s*, eds. Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 125.
7. Yesilada, Birol. A, "The Virtue Party," *Turkish Politics* 10, no. 33 (2002): 65.
8. Toprak, "The State, Politics and Religion in Turkey," 124.
9. White, Jenny. B, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 114–115.
10. Yesilada, "The Virtue Party," 67.

11. Sakallioğlu, Umit Cizre, "Parameters and Strategies of Islam-State Interaction in Republican Turkey," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (1996): 243.
12. Pope, Nicole, and Pope, Hugh, *Turkey Unveiled* (New York: The Overlook Press, 1998), 318.
13. Atacan, Fulya, "Explaining Religious Politics at the Crossroad: AKP-SP," *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 2 (June 2005): 188.
14. *Ibid.*, 195.
15. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 66.
16. Zubaida, Sami, "Turkish Islam and National Identity," *Middle East Report* (April–June 1996): 11.
17. Yesilada, "The Virtue Party," 70.
18. White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey*, 180.
19. Interview, Professor Tufan Buzpinar, August 18, 2005.
20. Narlı, Nilufer, "The Rise of the Islamist Movement in Turkey," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 3, no. 33 (September 1999): 42.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Ozbudun, *Contemporary Turkish Politics*, 85.
23. Howe, Marvine, *Turkey Today* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 29, and White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey*, 120.
24. White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey*, 11.
25. The February 28th process or "soft coup" constituted a widespread crackdown on Islamist leaders. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was thrown into prison after reading a poem by Turkish nationalist Ziya Gökalp. Foundations and newspapers sympathetic to the Islamists were all closed. The military boycotted Islamist businesses. Professors accused of reactionary views were barred from university posts of dean or rector. Mango, Andrew, *The Turks Today* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2004), 97.
26. Howe, *Turkey Today*, 183–184.
27. Onis, Ziya, "The Political Economy of Islam and Democracy in Turkey: From the Welfare Party to the AKP." Draft paper (May 2005), 8.
28. Guens-Ayata, Ayşe, and Sencer, Ayata, "Ethnic and Religious Bases of Voting," in *Politics, Parties and Elections in Turkey*, eds. Sabri Sayari and Yılmaz Esmer (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2002), 148.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Interview, Professor Tufan Buzpinar, Fatih University, Istanbul, Turkey, August 21, 2005.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Interview, İsmail Safi, vice president AKP, Ankara, Turkey, August 17, 2005.
33. *Ibid.*, August 18, 2005.
34. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 257.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*

38. Cagaptay, Soner, "The November 2002 Elections and Turkey's New Political Era," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 6, no. 4 (December 2002): 42.
39. Bahar, Heymi, "The Real Winners and Losers of Turkey's July 2007 Elections," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 11, no. 3 (September 2007): 69.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Zubaida, "Turkish Islam and National Identity," 11.
43. Onis, "The Political Economy of Islam and Democracy in Turkey: From the Welfare Party to the AKP," 5.
44. Yesilada, "The Virtue Party," 73.
45. Zubaida, "Turkish Islam and National Identity," 11.
46. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 141.
47. Vertigans, Stephen, *Islamic Roots and Resurgence in Turkey* (London: Praeger, 2003), 73.
48. Yesilada, "The Virtue Party," 71.
49. Ibid., 73.
50. Atacan, "Explaining Religious Politics at the Crossroad: AKP-SP," 190, and Yesilada, "The Virtue Party," 65.
51. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 143.
52. Atacan, "Explaining Religious Politics at the Crossroad," 188.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 196.
55. Interview, Professor Tufan Buzpinar, August 21, 2005.
56. Ibid., August 16, 2006.
57. Mango, Andrew, *The Turks Today*, 76.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., 128.
61. Aras, Bulent, and Gokhan, Bacik, "The Mystery of Turkish Hizballah," *Middle East Policy* 9, no 2 (June 2002): 150.
62. Ibid.
63. Pope and Pope, *Turkey Unveiled*, 327.
64. Aras and Bacik, "The Mystery of Turkish Hizballah," 148.
65. Ibid., 153.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. In the early 1990s, Ugur Mumcu, a noted investigative reporter, was murdered by car bombing; Bahriye Ucok, a prominent secular Islamic scholar, who asserted that covering one's hair was not compulsory under the Koran, was killed by a package bomb; Muammer Askoy, president of the Turkish Law Society, was murdered; and churches were bombed. In 1994, the IBDA-C was responsible for five bombings in cities around Turkey and 90 smaller incidents. Turkish Hizballah was held responsible for over 400 murders.

- Information cited from Karmon, Ely, "Radical Islamic Political Groups in Turkey," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 1, no. 4 (1997), <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/1997/issue4/jv1n4az.html> (accessed on October 27, 2005), and Howe, *Turkey Today*, 49–51.
69. Karmon, "Radical Islamic Political Groups in Turkey."
 70. *Ibid.*
 71. Howe, *Turkey Today*, 51.
 72. Lesser, Ian, "Turkey: 'Recessed' Islamic Politics and Convergence with the West," in *The Muslim World After 9/11*, eds. Angel Rabasa, Cheryl Benard, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Theodore Karasik, Rollie Lal, Ian Lesser, and David Thaler (Arlington: Rand, 2004), 195.
 73. Nugent, John Jr, "The Defeat of Turkish Hizballah as a Model for Counter-Terrorism Strategy," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 8, no. 1 (March 2004): 72.
 74. Aras and Bacik, "The Mystery of Turkish Hizballah," 147.
 75. Vertigans, *Islamic Roots and Resurgence in Turkey*, 73.
 76. Interview, Ali Bardakoglu, president, Directorate of Religious Affairs, Ankara, Turkey, August 17, 2005.
 77. Tank, Pinar, "Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity," *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 1, 8.
 78. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 125, and Vertigans, *Islamic Roots and Resurgence in Turkey*, 94.
 79. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 125.
 80. *Ibid.*, 126–127.
 81. *Ibid.*, 125.
 82. *Ibid.*
 83. Aras, Bulent, and Caha, Omer, "Fetullah Gulen and his Liberal 'Turkish Islam' Movement," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 4, no. 4 (December 2000): 34
 84. Tank, "Political Islam in Turkey," 5, and Toprak, "The State, Politics and Religion in Turkey," 122.
 85. Tank, "Political Islam in Turkey," 5.
 86. Sakallioğlu, "Parameters and Strategies of Islam-State Interaction in Republican Turkey," 256.
 87. Tank, "Political Islam in Turkey," 5.
 88. Interview, Professor Ihsan Dagi, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, August 16, 2005.
 89. *Ibid.*
 90. Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 127–128.
 91. Interview, Professor Ihsan Dagi, August 16, 2005.
 92. *Ibid.*
 93. Heper, Metin, "The Justice and Development Party Government and the Military in Turkey," *Turkish Studies* (June 2005): 225.
 94. *Ibid.*

95. Interview, Professor Ihsan Dagi, August 16, 2005.
96. Heper, "The Justice and Development Party Government and the Military in Turkey," 225, and Tank, "Political Islam in Turkey," 15.
97. Tank, "Political Islam in Turkey," 15.
98. Aras and Caha, "*Fetullah Gulen* and his Liberal 'Turkish Islam' Movement," 33.
99. Karmon, "Radical Islamic Political Groups in Turkey."
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Howe, *Turkey Today*, 50.
103. Ibid, 48.
104. Ibid.
105. "Turkish Kurds in Iraq: We Want Peace, They Say," *The Economist*, August 31, 2006.
106. Ibid.
107. "Turkey and Europe: The Way Ahead," *International Crisis Group Europe Report*, no. 184 (August 17, 2007): 14. According to the International Crisis Group, Turkish government officials are divided as to how many active PKK fighters are based in Iraq and how many reside in Turkey. Prime Minister Erdogan has stated that he believes that the majority of PKK fighters reside in Turkey itself, but this is disputed by the army. The latest figure given by the Turkish land forces commander, Ilter Basbug, at a news conference in June 2007 was 1,800–1,900 inside Turkey and 5,150–5,650 inside northern Iraq. Prior to that, the official number of PKK fighters in Turkey was 500. According to the International Herald Tribune, "Attacks Put Turkey in a Bind Over Kurdish Rebels," May 24, 2007. Turkish military sources say that 3,800 are based over the border in Iraq, while 2,300 operate inside Turkey.
108. Ibid.
109. Wright, Robin, and Abramowitz, Michael, "US Warns Iraq to Halt Rebel Raids on Turkey," *Washington Post*, October 23, 2007, A01, and "Attacks Put Turkey in a Bind over Rebel Kurds," *International Herald Tribune*, May 24, 2007, <http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/5/24/news/turkey.php> (accessed on November 2, 2008).
110. "Turkish Kurds in Iraq: We Want Peace, They Say," August 31, 2006.

Chapter 3

1. Fealy, Greg, and Platzdach, Bernhard, "The Masyumi Legacy: Between Islamist Idealism and Political Exigency," *Studia Islamika* 12, no.1 (2005): 81. This does not imply that all of these organizations were closely tied to Masyumi. Some were closer than others. For example, the HMI had members in both NU and Masyumi. However, the streams of thought were present, and members of these organizations tended to support Masyumi.
2. "Seorang Besar Dengan Banyak Teman," *Tempo Laporan Khusus 100 Tahun Mohammad Natsir, Tempo Edisi* (July 14–20, 2008): 83.

3. Van Bruinessen, Martin, "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *Southeast Asia Research* 10, no. 2 (2002): 118.
4. International Crisis Group, "Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the Ngruki Network," Indonesia Briefing, Jakarta/Brussels, August 8, 2002, 6.
5. Interview, longtime Indonesian observer, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
6. Hefner, Robert, *Civil Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 98–99.
7. Juoro, Umar, "Indonesia," in *Political Party Systems and Democratic Development in East and Southeast Asia, vol. 1. Southeast Asia*, eds. Wolfgang Sachsenroder and Ulrike Frings (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 214.
8. Liddle, R. William, "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (1996): 621.
9. Interview, Irwan Abdullah, director of the Graduate School at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
10. Umar "Indonesia," 198.
11. Interview, Husnan Bey, editor of *Majalah Pakar—the Newspaper of the United Development Party*, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
12. Effendy, Bahtiar, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003), 49.
13. Sukarno established *Pancasila* as the unifying national ideology of the Indonesian nation. It comprised five principles: belief in one god, social justice, unity in diversity, humanitarianism, and democracy through deliberation and consensus.
14. The Kabah is a holy site in Islam and part of the Hajj ritual pilgrimage. It is a large obsidian block that Muslims circumambulate.
15. Barton, Greg, *Jemaah Islamiyah: Radical Islamism in Indonesia* (Singapore: Ridge Books, 2005), 89.
16. Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, 51.
17. SARA-suku, *agama, ras, antar-golongan*.
18. Van Bruinessen, Martin, "Islamic State or State Islam? Fifty Years of State-Islam Relations in Indonesia," in Ingrid Wessel (Hrsg.), *Indonesien am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Abera-Verlag, 1996), 19–34.
19. It is important to note that Muslim interests do not necessarily imply political interests. A major Muslim interest in Indonesia at that time was upward mobility and the inclusion of more orthodox Muslims in the bureaucracy, which was seen as being dominated by Christians and secularists. Other issues slowly pushed over 20 plus years were the establishment of an Islamic bank and the equalization of the Islamic court system with the civil courts. One could then argue that Muslims could achieve their goals through institutional channels, but these policies were enacted after Suharto's change of heart. Thus, it was not successful mobilization, but a shift in Suharto's mind-set with regard to Muslim activists and his strategy for rallying votes for another term in office.
20. Interview, Bahtiar Effendy, professor of political science, UIN-Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
21. Porter, Donald, *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2002), 76.

22. Hamayotsu, Kikue, "Islam and Nation Building in Southeast Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective," *Pacific Affairs* 75, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 371.
23. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Suharto regime had overwhelmingly promoted secular Muslims and Christians into the upper levels of the bureaucracy. This was also true of cabinet appointment and promotions in the military. The bias in recruitment and promotion added to Muslim perceptions of being marginalized and aggrieved. The term *proportionalisme* became a buzzword to imply that since a majority of Indonesians were Muslims, this should be reflected in the leadership of the agencies and organs of state.
24. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 121.
25. Ibid.
26. Interview, Doug Ramage, country representative, and Robin Bush, assistant country representative, The Asia Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
27. Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, 130.
28. Abdurrahman Wahid, former chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama and former president of Indonesia, quoted in Ramage, Douglas, *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance* (London: Routledge, 1995), 56.
29. Interview, Bahtiar Effendy, May 2006.
30. "Generator Lapangan Dakwah," *Tempo Laporan Khusus 100 Tahun Mohammad Natsir. Tempo Edisi* (July 14–20, 2008): 104–105.
31. Collins, Elizabeth Fuller, "Dakwah and Democracy: The Significance of Partai Keadilan and Hizbut Tahrir" (2004). Forthcoming, <http://www.classics.ohiou.edu/faculty/collins> (accessed on July 3, 2006), 5.
32. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 109.
33. Interview, Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif, chairman of Muhammadiyah from 2000 to 2005, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
34. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 109.
35. International Crisis Group. "Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the 'Ngruki Network' in Indonesia." ICG Indonesia Briefing, August 8, 2002, 10.
36. Amnesty International, "Indonesia: Imprisonment of Usroh Activists in Central Java." Report, October 1986, 2.
37. Van Bruinessen, Martin, "The Violent Fringes of Indonesia's Radical Islam." Background information after the Bali Bombing of October 2002. Extended version of article published in ISIM Newsletter11 (December 2002): 9, www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/violent_fringe.htm (accessed on July 30, 2006). Machmudi, Yon, "Islamizing Indonesia" (PhD diss., Australia National University, 2006), 118.
38. Machmudi, Yon, "Islamizing Indonesia," 118.
39. Schwarz, Adam, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2004), 174.
40. Van Bruinessen, Martin, "Post-Muslim Engagements with Civil Society and Democratization" (paper presented at the Third International Conference and Workshop, "Indonesia in Transition." *Universitas Indonesia*, Depok, August 24–28, 2006).
41. Ibid.

42. Interview, Mutammimul Ula, member of the DPR from the Prosperous Justice Party, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
43. Barton, *Jemaah Islamiyah: Radical Islamism in Indonesia*, 89.
44. Interview, Ismail Yusanto, founding member of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
45. Van Bruinessen "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia," 128.
46. "Indonesia: The Imprisonment of Usroh Activists in Central Java," *Amnesty International Report*, October 1988, 1.
47. Amnesty International, "Indonesia: Imprisonment of Usroh Activists in Central Java." Report, October 1986, summary introduction page.
48. Van Bruinessen, Martin, "The Violent Fringes of Indonesia's Radical Islam."
49. Interview, Bahtiar Effendy, May 2006.
50. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability*, 38.
51. Robinson, Richard, and Hadiz, Vedi R, *Reorganizing Power in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2004), 115.
52. Liddle, "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," 625.
53. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 139.
54. Interview, Bahtiar Effendy, May 2006, and interview, Fadli Zon, former member of Golkar, former member of ICMI, and founding member of *Partai Bulan Bintang*, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
55. Barton, *Jemaah Islamiyah*, 46.
56. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 10.
57. *Ibid.*, 167.
58. *Ibid.*, 203. To facilitate cooptation, the Golkar Strategy Bureau and affiliated think tanks such as the Institute for Policy Studies published anti-Chinese, anti-Christian, and anti-Semitic propaganda to recast the Suharto regime as the victim of international conspiracy and to discredit the fledgling democracy movement. This propaganda revised Indonesian history to attribute the decades long marginalization of Muslim interests to an all powerful Jesuit extremist group with support from the Chinese and certain elements of the military
59. Interview, Fadli Zon, founding member of the PBB and member of the KISDI, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
60. Many Indonesia observers agree that the state was quite adept at keeping law and order in the territories within its borders, save the two peripheral provinces of Aceh and East Timor, where ongoing secessionist conflicts flared up intermittently throughout the New Order regime. However, neither conflict was overtly religious in nature. East Timor was an ethnic secessionist conflict, while Aceh was largely a conflict over resources and historical promises of autonomy. The Acehnese, like the majority of Indonesians, are Muslim. While East Timor was majority Catholic, religious rights were not a primary issue for the secessionists. Since religion was not a key issue in either secessionist conflict, it did not cause an increase in violent Islamist mobilization. Thus, these conflicts will not be examined in this book.

61. O'Rourke, Kevin, *Reformasi: The Struggle for Power in Post-Subarto Indonesia* (Crow's Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2002), 9.
62. Ibid.
63. Interview, General Saurip Kadi, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
64. Ibid.
65. Interview, Doug Ramage and Robin Bush, March 2006.
66. "Indonesia: Rethinking Internal Security Strategy," *Crisis Group Asia Report*, no. 90 (December 20, 2004): 2.
67. Collins, Elizabeth Fuller, "Indonesia: A Violent Culture," *Asian Survey* vol. 42, no. 4 (July–August 2002): 584.
68. Interview, longtime Indonesia observer, international NGO, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
69. Barton, *Jemaah Islamiyah*, 48.
70. Van Bruinessen, Martin, "The Violent Fringes of Indonesia's Radical Islam," 6.
71. "Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the 'Ngruki Network' in Indonesia," *International Crisis Group Indonesia Briefing*, August 8, 2002, 8.
72. Ibid, 9.
73. Conboy, Ken, *The Second Front: Inside Asia's Most Dangerous Terrorist Network* (Jakarta: Equinox, 2006), 153.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Suryadinata, Leo, *Elections and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 60.
77. Interview, Endy Bayuni, editor-in-chief, *Jakarta Post*, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
78. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting*, 331.
79. Barton, *Jemaah Islamiyah*, 50–51.
80. Sidel, John, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 55.
81. Ibid., 56, and Aspinall *Opposing Subarto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 66.
82. Friend, Theodore, *Indonesian Destinies* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2003), 190.
83. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, 56.
84. Bresnan, John, *Managing Indonesia: The Modern Political Economy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 223–224.
85. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, 56.
86. Collins, "Indonesia: A Violent Culture," 584, 593.
87. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 190.
88. Collins, "Indonesia," 2002, 592.
89. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 192.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Interview, Kevin O'Rourke, author of the *Reformasi: Struggle for Power in Post-Subarto Indonesia*, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
93. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 192.

94. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, 84.
95. Bertrand, Jacques, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 101, and Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, 84.
96. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 192.
97. Ibid.
98. Liddle, R. William, *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics* (Sidney: ASAA Southeast Asia Publication Series of Allen and Unwin, 1996), 6.
99. Ibid.
100. UN Human Development Report Statistics. Country sheet, <http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/countries.cfm?c=IDN> (accessed on July 24, 2006).
101. "Survey Indonesia: Time to Deliver," *The Economist*, http://www.economist.com/surveys/displayStory.cfm?story_id=3444238 (accessed on December 9, 2004).
102. Friend, *Indonesian Destinies*, 139.
103. Ibid., 147–148.
104. "Making the New Indonesia Work for the Poor." *The World Bank*. November 2006, 10.
105. Ibid., 146.
106. Ibid.
107. Interview, Dr. Din Syamsuddin, chairman of Muhammadiyah, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006, and interview, Mariah Ulfah, head of the Fatayat Welfare Foundation, Fatayat Woman's Wing of NU, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
108. Interview, Mariah Ulfah, April 2006.
109. Ibid.
110. Porter, *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*, 55.
111. Pohl, Florian, "Pesantren and Global Integration" (paper presented at informal talk held at the Center for Religion and Cross-Cultural Studies, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, May 6, 2006, 4).
112. Thomas, Murray R, "The Islamic Revival and Indonesian Education," *Asian Survey* 28, no. 9 (September 1998): 903.
113. Ibid.
114. Hefner, Robert, "Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia," in *Southeast Asia in the New International Era*, eds. Robert Hefner and Patricia Horavitch (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1997), 88, and Van Bruinessen, Martin, "Traditionalist and Islamist *Pesantren* in Contemporary Indonesia (paper presented at the ISIM workshop on "The Madrasa in Asia," Leiden, Netherlands, May 23–24, 2004, 6).
115. Statistics provided by Education Management Information Systems (EMIS). Yunanto, S., and Badrudin, Harun, "Terminology, History, and Categorization," in *Islamic Education in South and Southeast Asia: Diversity, Problems and Strategy*, eds. S. Yunanto et al (Jakarta: Ridep Institute, 2007), 30. Other organizations such as the DDII, the LDI, and Persis also ran smaller networks of Islamic boarding schools, to supplement state efforts. However, these groups account for .43 percent, .18 percent, and .50 percent, respectively, and thus do not play a significant supplemental role compared to NU or Muhammadiyah.

116. Feillard, Andree, "Traditionalist Islam and the State in Indonesia: The Road to Legitimacy and Renewal," in *Islam and the Era of Nation-States*, eds. Robert Hefner and Patricia Horavitch (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 141–142.
117. Porter, *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*, 113.
118. Van Bruinessen, "The Violent Fringes of Indonesia's Radical Islam," 4.
119. Pohl, "Pesantren and Global Integration," 3.
120. Ibid.
121. Abdul Mukti, head of Pemuda Muhammadiyah, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006. Indonesians are considered "youth" until their early 40s.
122. Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif, former chairman of Muhammadiyah, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
123. Pincus, John and Rizal, Ramli, Rizal, "Indonesia: From Showcase to Basket Case." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* (1998) 22, p728.

Chapter 4

1. "Making the New Indonesia Work for the Poor." *The World Bank*. Jakarta (2006), 20.
2. Suryadinata, Leo, *Elections and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), 75.
3. The inclusion of PAN is the result of conversations with Dr. Saiful Mujani. PAN is indirectly linked with Masyumi, for many Muhammadiyah members belonged to Masyumi. As the former head of Muhammadiyah, Amien Rais could count on that indirect linkage. Mujani, who comes from a Masyumi family in Banten, noted that this historical Masyumi connection was one reason why he chose to vote for PAN in 1999. The other reason was the perception of PAN as a party of intellectuals, given the active participation of scholars like Goenawan Mohamad and Emil Salim in its founding.
4. Other exclusive Islamist parties including the Indonesian Islamic Union Party 1905 and the Indonesian Political Party Masyumi failed to cross the electoral threshold in either the 1999 or the 2004 elections.
5. Azra, Azyumardi, "Islam and Indonesian Transition to Democracy," in *Indonesia, Islam and Democracy: Dynamics in a World Context* (Jakarta: Equinox Forthcoming. Pre-published manuscript), 17.
6. Ananta, Aris, Arifin, Evi Nurvidya, and Suryadinata, Leo, *Emerging Democracy in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2005), 12, and interview, Fadli Zon, founding member of the PBB and member of the KISDI, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
7. Ibid.
8. Ananta, Arifin, and Suryadinata, *Emerging Democracy in Indonesia*, 12.
9. Interview, Mutammimul Ula, founding member of PK(S), Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006. Collins, Elizabeth Fuller, "Dakwah and Democracy: The Significance of Partai Keadilan and Hizbut Tahrir." Forthcoming, <http://www.classics.ohiou.edu/faculty/Collins> (2004), 2.

“Hidayat Nur Wahid, chairman of PK, tried to position the party as a centrist Islamic party that occupied the middle ground between radical Islamist groups that reject democracy and Muslim organizations committed to democracy. In his view, Salafi groups are on the extreme left because they reject democracy as un-Islamic and are open to the use of violence. Next is Hizbut Tahrir which also views democracy as un-Islamic but rejects violence. Next are the old Masyumi activists and those who support the Jakarta charter and would impose Islamic law on Muslims. To the right of PK are . . . Muhammadiyah and NU, who reject the slogan ‘Islam is the solution’ but struggle for a better society through democratic means.”

10. Ananta, Arifin, and Suryadinata, *Emerging Democracy in Indonesia*, 12.
11. First three columns of table 4.1. The 1999 election results first appeared in Chapter 5, “Old Rivalries, Blurred Identities,” *Elections and Politics in Indonesia* by Leo Suryadinata, 103. Reproduced with the kind permission of the publisher, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>.
12. The Jakarta charter was a seven word phrase that was submitted for inclusion in the 1945 Constitution. At that time, the Constitution said all Indonesians should believe in one god. The Jakarta charter added, with the obligation of Muslims to obey sharia. Sukarno removed it before the Constitution was ratified, amid protests by secular Muslims and Christian groups.
13. Interview, senior member of parliament, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Jakarta, Indonesia, February 2006.
14. Van Zorge, Heffernan, and Associates, “Creeping Sharia ?” *Van Zorge Report on Indonesia VIII/8* (May 9, 2006): 6.
15. Harsanto, Damar, “Thousands Rally for Education Bill,” *Jakarta Post*, June 11, 2003.
16. Ananta, Aris, and Arifin, Evi Nurvidya, “Indonesia’s Education Bill Opens Pandora’s Box,” *Straits Times*, October 6, 2003.
17. Hari, Kurniawan, “House Passes Education Bill,” *Jakarta Post*, June 12, 2003.
18. Harsanto, Damar, “Thousands Rally for Education Bill,” *Jakarta Post*, June 11, 2003.
19. Ibid.
20. Ananta and Arifin, “Indonesia’s Education Bill Opens Pandora’s Box.” The Cipayang Forum comprises members of the HMI; Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Students Movement, PMII); Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Protestant Students Movement); and Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik republic Indonesia (Association of the Republic of Indonesia’s Catholic Students).
21. Hari, Kurniawan, “House Passes Education Bill,” and Unidjaja, Fabiola Desy, “Megawati Eats Her Words, Signs Education Law,” *Jakarta Post*, July 17, 2003.
22. Civil society aggressively mobilized for and against RUU-APP, lobbying, participating in hearings, holding seminars, and organizing mass demonstrations. A coalition of progressive Muslims organizations and women’s organizations,

- including the National Coalition for Women, the Liberal Islam Network, the Fatayat wing of NU, Rahima, and Apik, successfully lobbied DPR members against the bill and participated in hearings on the bill. Demonstration banners proclaimed, “Indonesia is not America but it also is not Saudi Arabia.” The pro-bill coalition included the Indonesian Ulama Council, Gerakan Tarbiyah, Muhammadiyah, Hizbut Tahrir, Forum Betawi Rempug, Mer-C, DDII, Muslima Peduli Ummat, and the PBNU and Muslimat wings of NU, but not the Young NU or Fatayat wings. The pro-bill factions claimed the bill was necessary to protect women from sexual exploitation, while the anti-bill faction contended it was creeping Arabization.
23. Barton, Greg, “Theodicy, Theocracy and the Individual: The Challenge of Political and Jihadi Islamism to Pluralism and Liberal Democracy in Asia” (prepared for the Conference on Political Legitimacy in Islamic Asia, organized by ARI, NUS, April 25–26, 2005, 14).
 24. Interview, Husnan Bey, editor-in-chief of *Majalah Pakar*, the PPP magazine, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
 25. Barton “Theodicy, Theocracy and the Individual: The Challenge of Political and Jihadi Islamism to Pluralism and Liberal Democracy in Asia,” 14.
 26. Interview, Dr. Saiful Mujani, professor at UIN-Syarif Hidayatullah and research director of the Freedom Institute, Jakarta Indonesia, April 2006.
 27. Ibid.
 28. Ibid.
 29. Interview, Hj.Yoyoh Yusroh, member of Commission 8 of the DPR for the Prosperous Justice Party, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
 30. Interview, Muhammad Kaththath, head of Hizbut Tahrir, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
 31. Van Zorge, “Creeping *Sharia* ?” 10.
 32. Ibid.
 33. Ibid.
 34. Interview, Doug Ramage, country representative, and Robin Bush, assistant country representative, The Asia Foundation, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
 35. The law and order concern was brought up repeatedly in interviews with scholars, politicians, journalists, NGO leaders, and international NGO leaders in response to the question, what is the greatest challenge for Indonesia today?
 36. Interview, Azyumardi Azra, professor of history and former rector, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
 37. International Crisis Group, “Indonesia: The Search for Peace in Maluku,” *Asia Report*, no. 31 (February 8, 2002): 1.
 38. Bertrand, Jacques, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 118; Van Klinken, Gerry, “The Maluku Wars: Bringing Society Back In,” *Indonesia* 71 (2001): 18; International Crisis Group, “Indonesia: The Search for Peace in Maluku,” 1; Azra, Azyumardi, “Communal Riots in Recent Indonesia,” in *Indonesia, Islam and Democracy: Dynamics in a World Context* (Jakarta: Equinox Forthcoming, 2006), 87–88.

39. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: The Search for Peace in Maluku," 1.
40. Van Klinken, "The Maluku Wars," 9.
41. Interview, Badrus Sholeh, a researcher on social conflicts at the Center for Peace Studies at the Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information (LP3ES), Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
42. *Ibid.*, 3
43. Van Klinken, "The Maluku Wars," 9.
44. Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*, 126.
45. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia," 4.
46. *Ibid.*, 5
47. Azca, Muhammad Najib, "Security Forces in Ambon: From the National to the Local," in *Violence in Between: Conflict and Security in Archipelagic Southeast Asia*, ed. Damien Kingsbury (Singapore: ISEAS, 2006), 241.
48. Interview, Endy Bayuni, editor-in-chief, *Jakarta Post*, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006; interview, Badrus Sholeh, March 2006; and Hefner, Robert, "Muslim Democrats and Islamist Violence," in *Remaking Muslim Politics*, ed. Robert Hefner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 288.
49. Interview, Indonesian army general, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
50. Yunanto, Sri, "The Logic behind the Growth of Militant Islamic Movements," in *Militant Islamic Movements in Indonesia and Southeast Asia*, eds. S. Yunanto et al (Jakarta: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung; Ridep Institute, 2003), 125.
51. Interview, Endy Bayuni, March 2006.
52. Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*, 132.
53. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia," 3.
54. *Ibid.*, 1.
55. Interview, Azyumardi Azra, Rektor UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Ciputat, Indonesia, March 2003.
56. Hefner, "Muslim Democrats and Islamist Violence," 288.
57. International Crisis Group, 13. Sidel, John. *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 208.
58. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia," 13.
59. Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*, 133.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia*, 156.
63. Human Rights Watch, "Breakdown: Four Years of Communal Conflict in Central Sulawesi." Report 14, no 9, 2002, 2.
64. Aragon, Lorraine, "Communal Violence in Poso, Central Sulawesi: Where People Eat Fish and Fish Eat People," *Indonesia* 72 (October 2001): 48.
65. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, 62, and Aragon "Communal Violence in Poso, Central Sulawesi: Where People Eat Fish and Fish Eat People," 49.
66. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, 162.
67. Interview, Badrus Sholeh, researcher on social conflicts at the Center for Peace Studies at the Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information (LP3ES), Jakarta, Indonesia, February 2006.

68. Interview, regional representative from Central Sulawesi, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
69. Human Rights Watch, "Breakdown: Four Years of Communal Conflict in Central Sulawesi," 2.
70. *Ibid.*, 41.
71. *Ibid.*, 11.
72. Rabasa, Angel, and Haseman. *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges, Politics and Power* (Arlington: Rand, 2002), 95.
73. Human Rights Watch, "Breakdown: Four Years of Communal Conflict in Central Sulawesi," 16.
74. *Ibid.*, 30.
75. Rabasa and Haseman, *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges, Politics and Power*, 95.
76. Interview, Central Sulawesi expert, international NGO, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006.
77. Interview, Central Sulawesi observer, international NGO, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2006, "Indonesia Flashpoints: Sulawesi, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3812737.stm> (June 28, 2004), and "Another Killed in Poso Blast," *Jakarta Post*, September 10, 2006.
78. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Tackling Radicalism in Poso," *Asia Policy Briefing*, no. 75 (January 22, 2008): 1.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Rethinking Internal Security Strategy," *Asia Report*, no.90 (December 20, 2004): 7.
84. "Clamping Down on Cults," *Van Zorge Report X/1* (January 2008): 1.
85. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: implications of the Ahmadiyah Decree," *Asia Briefing*, no. 78 (July 7, 2008): 5.
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid.*
88. Indraswari, "Numbers Speak in Inter-Religious Relations," *Jakarta Post*, January 22, 2008.
89. "Four Arrested in Attack on Ahmadiyah," *Jakarta Post*, Jakarta, Malang, Semarang, February 7, 2006, and Suwarni, Yuli Tri, "W. Java Police Back Closure of Churches," *Jakarta Post*, February 26, 2006.
90. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Implications for the Ahmadiyah Decree," 3, and Sufa, Theresia, "Thousands Besiege Ahmadiyah Complex," *Jakarta Post*, July 16, 2005.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Sufa, Theresia, "Bogor Disperses Ahmadiyah, Sends Followers Home." *Jakarta Post*, July 17, 2005, and Suryana, A'an, "Ahmadiyah Fights Back—In a Civilized Way," *Jakarta Post*, September 30, 2005.
93. "Cianjur 'bans' Ahmadiyah," *Jakarta Post*, September 29, 2005.

94. "Ahmadiyah Can Worship, Kalla Says," *Jakarta Post*, June 11, 2008.
95. Interview, Khoirul Roes Soetardjo, chairman of the Islamic Defender's Front (FPI) Solo area and secretary general of the Islamic Paramilitary Group (Laskar Umat Islam), Solo, Indonesia, July 2008.
96. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Implications for the Ahmadiyah Decree," 8.
97. "Anti-Ahmadiyah Campaign Escalating," *Jakarta Post*, June 21, 2008.
98. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Implications for the Ahmadiyah Decree," 8.
99. Khouw, Ida Indawati, "Guntur Refuses to Belong to the Silent Majority," *Jakarta Post*, November 2, 2008.
100. International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Implications for the Ahmadiyah Decree," 14.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid. ICG notes that the survey was conducted over telephone, which indicates that the respondents were members of the middle class.
103. Interview, Azyumardi Azra, professor of history and former Rektor UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Ciputat, Indonesia, March 2003.
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105. Interview, Khoirul Roes Soetardjo, July 2008.
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108. "Making the New Indonesia Work for the Poor." *The World Bank*. Jakarta (2006), 17
109. *Social Safety New: Providing Hope to Indonesia's Underprivileged*. Jakarta: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (BAPPENAS) (2004), 14, and Schwarz, Adam, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2004), 409.
110. Perdana, Ari, "Poverty Alleviation and Social Insurance Policy: Past Lessons and Future Challenges," 270.
111. Ibid.
112. Hendytio, Medelina, "The State's Role in Social Development," *The Indonesian Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2004): 293.
113. Sawitri, Adisti Sukma, "Government Told to Fix Health Care Scheme," *Jakarta Post*, September 21, 2007.
114. Ibid.
115. Interview, Kevin O'Rourke, author of *Reformasi*, Jakarta, Indonesia, April 2006.
116. Interview, Dr. Din Syamsuddin, chairman of Muhammadiyah, Jakarta, Indonesia, March 2003.
117. *Hasil-Hasil Mukhtamar XXX Nahdlatul Ulama* 21–26 November 1999, Pondok Pesantren Hidayatul Muhtadi'in Lirboyo Kediri Jawa Timur. P55 (results of

- the 30th NU Congress November 21–26 1999, Pesantren Hidayatul Pesantren Hidayatul Muftadi'in, Kediri Jawa Timur) 55.
118. Interview, Syafi'i Ma'arif, chairman of Muhammadiyah from 1999 to 2004, on the phone from West Sumatra, July 2008.
 119. Interview, Rachmat, leader of Al-Islam pesantren, Solo, Central Java, Indonesia, May 2006.
 120. Human Rights Watch, "Breakdown," 33.
 121. Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability*, 409.
 122. Van Zorge, Heffernan, and Associates, "Grade Point Average," *Van Zorge Report on Indonesia*" VIII/18 (July 12, 2006): 6.
 123. The Indonesian Constitution states, "The state should allocate a minimum of 20 percent from the national budget and regional budget to education expenditures" (Article 31–34). In 2002, the Indonesian Constitution was amended to say that "the state prioritizes a budget for education of at least 20 percent from the national budget and regional budgets to fulfill the needs of providing national education."
 124. "Indikator Pendidikan di Indonesia 2006/2007." *Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pusat Statistik Pendidikan* (2007), 15.
 125. "EFA Mid Decade Assessment Indonesia." EFA Secretariat, Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia (2007), 71.
 126. *Ibid.*, 73., Kepulauan Bangka Belitung, Sulawesi Barat, Irian Jaya Barat, Gorontalo, Papua, and Nusa Tenggara Timur.
 127. Khalik, Abdul, "State Still Fails to Provide Free Basic Education," *Jakarta Post*, July 17, 2005.
 128. *Ibid.*
 129. "EFA Mid Decade Assessment Indonesia," 73.
 130. Mujani, Saiful, "Macro Condition, Policy and Electoral Attitudes on the Eve of the 2009 Election: Public Opinion Trends."
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 132. Suparto, "Reforming *Pesantren*: While Reform of Islamic Education is Necessary, Secularization is Not," *Inside Indonesia* (2004): 1.
 133. Interview, Jahja Umar, director general of Islamic Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
 134. Interview, Kyai Hj. Mutasim Billah, leader of Pesantren Sunan Pandanaran, Jakarta, Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia, April 2006.
 135. *Ibid.*
 136. Interview, two teachers from Al-Mujihideen *pesantren*, Solo, Indonesia, May 2006, and interview, Wahyuddin, head of the Al-Mu'mim-Ngruki *pesantren*, Ngruki village, Solo, Indonesia, May 2006.
 137. Interview, Ali Usman, head of the Ngruki Alumni Network, Solo, Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia, May 2006.

138. Interview, Badrus Sholeh, researcher on social conflicts at the Center for Peace Studies at the Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information (LP3ES), Jakarta, Indonesia, May 2006.
139. Barton, Greg. *Jemmah Islamiyah: Radical Islamism in Indonesia* (Singapore: Ridge Books, 2005), 55, Conboy, Ken. *The Second Front: Inside Asia's Most Dangerous Terrorist Network* (Jakarta: Equinox, 2006), 99. Afghan veterans include Hambali, the former head of Mantiqi 1, comprising Malaysia and Singapore; Ali Gufron (alias Muklas), subsequent head of Mantiqi 1; Fathur Rahman al-Ghozi, mastermind behind the Philippine Embassy bombing; and Imam Samudra, sentenced to death for his role in the 2002 Bali bombing, among many others.
140. Conboy, *The Second Front: Inside Asia's Most Dangerous Terrorist Network*, 95.
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Chapter 7

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