Index

A
Abadi, 299
Abbasid empire, 9
Abduh, Mohammad, 14
Abdul Hasib Hasan, 53, 351
Abdullah Hehamahua, 63, 64
Abdullah Rahmat, 350
Abdullah Yusuf Ali, 10
Abdurrahman Saleh, 354
Abdurrahman Wahid
abolishment ban on Marxism, 43
alleged mishandling of public
funds, 265
criticisms against, 278
dismissal, 284
election as president, 1
ill health, 276
leader of PKB, 221
policies, negative reporting in Arab
newspapers, 281
positions in his cabinet, 280
presidency, 71
sacking of Yusril, 314
support of Islamist parties, 265
unique character, 279
Abu Ridho, 53, 61, 87, 139, 196, 202,
335, 350
Aceh, 132
military operations in, 281
Adian Husaini, 68, 225, 354
criticism of Yusril, 78
Afandi Ridwan, 64
Agum Gumelar, 298
Ahmad Dahlan, 15, 335
Ahmad Hassan, puritan reformist, 74
Ahmadiyah sect, 38, 339
al-Afghani, Jamal al-Din, 14
al-Banna, Hassan, 16, 17, 55, 61, 72, 127
one-party system, 128
al-Islah al-Irsyad, 34
al-Islahy press, 87
al-Maududi, Abu al-A’la, 17, 19, 40,
45, 52, 127, 128
literal adaptation of Islamic
teachings, 128
al-Raziq, Ali Abd, criticism against,
163
Al-Sayyid, Mustafa Kamel, 27
Ali Hardi Kiai Demak, 185, 220, 293,
348
Ali Jinnah, Mohammad, 45
Ali Mochtar Naim, 152
Alimarwan Hanan, 289, 347
Alvin Lie, 259
Amien Rais (Prof), 64, 269, 293, 334,
355
criticism by Daud Rashid, 195
elections (1999), 65
identification with Poros Tengah,
270
PDIP officials as agent of
foreigners, 133
presidential ambitions, 66
reformasi movement, 67
Amir Yusuf Faisal, 61
Anas Urbaningrum, 55
Anis Matta, 196, 198, 201, 235, 236, 349
anti-colonial movement, 14, 15
anti-Jewish sentiment, 73, 130
anti-Semitism, 11
anti-Western sentiment, 73
anti-Western stance, 130
Anwar Harjono (Dr), 54, 60, 63, 106, 111, 121, 355
Anwar Saleh, 354
Arab community, 130
Arab Socialism, 126
Arief Mudatsir Mandan, 72
Asian economic crisis, 122, 128
Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals see Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia (ICMI)
Australia, 322
visas to refugees from Western New Guinea, 152
Ayubi, Nazhi N., 7

B
Badan Koordinasi Amal Muslimin, 92
Badan Koordinasi Umat Islam (BKUI), 122
Badan Penelitian Untuk Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI), 108
Bahtiar Chamsyah, 51, 300, 347
Bank Bali, 281
Boediono (Prof.), 299
Brullogat, 300
bupati, 44

Burhanuddin Harahap
national hero, 123

C
campus dakwah movement, 53
Chinese Christians
political and economic wealth, 135
Chozin Chumaidy, 178, 348
Christian communities, 135
Christian interest group
Minahasa Forum, 254
Christian missions, 118
Christianity, 3
universal appeal, 9
Christians
conversion of Muslims, 140
civil Islam, 6
colonialism
long-term effects, 322
national law, 11
Communication Forum of the Islamic Youth see Forum Komunikasi Generasi Muda Islam (FKGMI)
Congress of the Muslim Community, 36
conspiracy theories, 131
Constituent Assembly (1956–1959), 34, 109, 110, 177
dispute over Pancasila and Islam, 216
Constitution of 1945
call to amend, 217
reinstallation, 109, 110
costitutional Islamism, 264
costitutionalism, 39
Crescent Star Party see Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)
Criminal Code, 341
cultural tension, Islam and the West, 101
customs and culture, Middle Eastern, 15
D

dakwah, 16, 52
  activities, PK’s focus on, 198
  incorporation of significant sections of, 57
  movements in campuses, 88
  pivotal aspect of teachings, 200

dakwah rabbaniyah, 199

Darul Islam, 57

Daud Rashid (Dr), 195, 241, 351
  setting up Islamic foundations, 53

Deliar Noer (Prof), 63, 355
  criticism of Yusril, 95

Democrat Party see Partai Demokrat (PD)

Democratic Party of Indonesia-Struggle see Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (PDI-P)

Department of Religious Affairs,
  interpretation of Pancasila, 153

Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII), 34, 38, 104, 224
  affiliated periodicals, 77
  countering moves by Christian missionaries, 230
  leaders, joining Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), 61
  legacy of Masyumi, 322
  maintenance of keluarga unity, 59
  Masyumi legatees in, 268
  Musyawarah Besar, 60
  summit (June 1998), 65
  support of Prabowo Subianto, 122

Didin Hafidhuddin (Dr), 274

Din Syamsuddin (Prof), 340
  district regents see bupati

Djaelani Naro, leadership of PPP, 219

Djafar Badjeber, 179, 222, 289

E

East Timor, 132
  independence of, 164

Eggy Sudjana, 353
  wish for Islamist coalition, 142

elections (1955), 62

elections (1971), 46

elections (1999), 61, 62, 334
  results, 148, 345
  Islamist parties, 269
  PPP’s strategy, 50

elections (2004), 334
  results, 346

elections (2009), 332, 334

elections, provincial, 335

electoral strategies, Islamist, 216–63

Endang Zainal Abidin, K.H., 266, 283, 305, 348

Expert Council see Majelis Pakar

F

Fadli Zon, 274, 353

Fahri Hamzah, 280

Faisal Baasir, 47, 62, 180, 222, 269, 347
  remaining in PPP, 62

family law, shari’ah, 176

Farid Prawiranegara, 274, 306, 354

Fatwa, A.M., 61

fatwas, ulama issued, 266

fiqh, Muslim jurisprudence, 12

Forum Komunikasi Generasi Muda Islam (FKGMI), 168

Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah (FUI), 35, 38, 120, 304
  founding members, 76

Fraksi Reformasi, 137, 177, 238, 242, 302

Cabinet positions in Abdurrahman’s government, 280

constituents, 323
constitutional recognition of shari‘ah, 251
initiation of Special Session of MPR, 265
Ministers, 358–59
plural clause of, 218
proposal on religious freedom, 178
recommendation for reducing corruption, 240

G
Gerakan Pemuda Islam (GPI), 34, 37, 61
Golden Age in Islam, 8, 9, 14
Golkar, 56, 267, 332, 336
Islamic turn, 333
Gospels, 9
Guided Democracy, 13, 332
view of Islamic ideology, 106

H
Habibie, B.J. (Prof), 1, 122
administration, criticism of, 306
criticisms against, failure to bring New Order cronies to trial, 274
interim presidency, 269
referendum for East Timor, 132
rehabilitation of champions for independence, 123
Haji Agus Salim, 15
Hamdan Zoelva, 177, 190, 218, 226, 353
Yudhoyono’s success team, 297
Hamka, 32, 103
alliance of anti-Islamic forces, 118
Hamzah Haz, 50, 85, 180, 268, 270, 283, 296, 307, 311, 324, 347
commitment for shari‘ah issues, 289
pragmatic leadership, 285
presidential election campaign, 298
relations with Megawati, 284
support for Islam as ideological base, 136
view on shari‘ah voting, 293
Hartono Mardjono, 41, 42, 70, 145, 353
Harun Nasution (Prof), 197
Hasyim Ashari, 335
Hasyim Muzhadi, K.H., 298
Hatta, Mohammad
involvement in BPUPKI, 156
headscarves, 338
Hefner, Robert, 3, 4
Hidayat Nur Wahid (Dr), 129, 133, 233, 240, 241, 335, 349
election as Speaker of MPR, 299
support Megawati, 282
setting up Islamic foundations, 53
Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI), 34, 37
Hinduism, 328
Hodgson, Marshall G., 6, 18
hudud law, 231
Hurgronje, Snouck, 106
Husni Thamrin, 62
Hussein Umar, 63, 64, 277, 355

I
Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia (ICMI), 34, 56
role in reviving Islamist parties, 62
immoral behaviour, curbing of, 337
Indonesia
cultural identity, grounded in shared religious awareness, 100
Indonesian Committee for Solidarity of the Islamic World see Komite Indonesia untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam (KISDI).
Indonesian Armed Forces see Tentera Nasional Indonesia (TNI)
Index

Indonesian Communist Party see Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI)
Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council see Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII)
Indonesian Islamic Students’ Association see Pelajar Islam Indonesia (PII)
Indonesian Muslim Party see Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Parmusi)
Indonesian Supreme Islamic Council see Majlisul Islamil a’laa Indonesia (MIAI)
Indonesian Ulama Council see Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI)
‘Indonesian-ness’, 15
inheritance law shari’ah, 176
International Monetary Fund (IMF) condemnation of, 129
interreligous marriages ban by PPP, 182
Irgan Chairul Mahfidz, 249
Irian Jaya, 132, 281
Irvan Prayitno (Dr), 129, 137, 194, 230, 350
standards of justice, 234
Isa Anshary, 74
Islam
as pluralism-friendly religion, 2
as principle for national law, 201
civil see civil Islam
early, 8–14
historical legitimacy, 104
impact on cultures, downplay by Dutch, 118
pluralistic, 334
politics in Indonesia, 14–16
sense of national unity, 102
special treatment, 32
Islamic Association see Persatuan Islam
Islamic bank, establishment of, 160
Islamic banking, 175
Islamic Brotherhood Forum see Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah (FUI)
Islamic courts, formal recognition of, 160
Islamic doctrinal models, 31
Islamic financial institutions, 130
Islamic idea, nationalization of, 11–14
Islamic jurisprudence, 6–8, 16
Islamic law, implementation, 3
Islamic legal concepts, 334
Islamic modernism, 15
Islamic philosophy, medieval, 9
Islamic politics, awareness of, 151
Islamic reformism, from Middle East, 101
Islamic revivalism, 16, 16–20
Islamic scholarship
binary conceptions, 2–6
liberal bias, 2–6
Islamic state, steps in establishing, 202, 203
Islamic Students’ Association see Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam
Islamic values
definition by PPP’s National Congress, 220
understanding of, 5
Islamic Youth Movement see Gerakan Pemuda Islam (GPI)
Islamism
application to broader religiosity, 240
critics, 3
legitimacy of, 102
partial, 46–52
tarbiyah-style, 333–36
Islamist agenda, support for, 102
Islamist electoral strategies, 216–63
Islamist factions, constitutional recognition of shari'ah, 251
Islamist parties
anti-IMF stance, 299
backing of Abdurrahman Wahid, 324
backing of Habibie, 324
criticism of Megawati’s administration, 296
disconnect between practical imperative and personal conviction, 328
doubtful of electoral appeal of shari’ah issues, 324
Hefner’s critique of, 4
political pragmatism, 327
provincial elections, 335
refusal to vote on “religion” paragraph, 292
Islamist politics
monolithic, 321
re-formation of, 59–70
Islamist rhetoric, 289
Islamists
achievement of political goals, 264
alliance strategies, 140
elections (1999), disappointing results, 269
history of injustices toward Muslim community, 111
opposition to PDIP, 265
prevention of secular-nationalist camp from dominance, 267
sense of victimization, 150
support for Habibie, 265
support for presidential candidates, 264
treatment of umat, 104
Islamization, 333, 334
Ismail Hassan Metareum, 347
leadership of PPP, 219
Israel, 126, 322
occupation of Palestine, 129
Izzul Islam w’al Muslimin slogan for PBB, 226
J
jahiliyah, 17, 103, 195, 197, 231, 235, 245, 259
Jakarta, 336
defence of, 218
deletion from Constitution, 111
effect of deletion according to PBB, 189
importance as historical assignment, 182
key role, 112
original wording of, 177
pluralist version, 243
removal, 119
symbolic meaning, 121
Jamaat-i-Islami, 17, 44, 46, 52, 128
Japanese Occupation, 108
Jewish communities, 135
animosity against, 138
jihad, 19, 25, 27, 124, 126, 162, 168, 195, 197, 199, 213, 235, 261
jihadist concepts, rationalization of, 197
Judaism, 3
universal appeal, 9
Justice Party see Partai Keadilan (PK)
Justice Prosperity Party see Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)
Jusuf Syakir, 275
K
ka’abah, 47
Ka’ab, M.S., 144, 227, 282, 335, 352
pragmatist, 188
Yudhoyono’s success team, 297
Kahin, George McTurnan, 102
Kasman Singodimedjo (Prof), medal of honour, 160
Keluarga Besar Bulan Bintang (Greater Bulan Bintang Family), 39, 65, 72
doctrinaire camp, 131
fragmentation of, 51, 58
Islamists, 73
notables, 355
kepercayaan
as an acknowledged religion, 83
Kepercayaan Law (anti-syncretism law), 47
Khadduri, Majid, 6, 11, 27
Kholil Ridwan, 45, 79, 142, 277, 353
Ki Bagus Hadikusomo, medal of honour, 160
Kissinger, Henry, 312
Komite Indonesia untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam (KISDI), 34, 224
Islamic credentials, 269
support of Prabowo Subianto, 122
suspicious of Christians and Chinese, 132
Komite Pusat Nasional Indonesia, 110
Kongres Umat Islam (KUI), 36, 60, 64
issue of gender of president, 270
Konstituantne
deadlock, 37
result of elections (1955), 74
Kramer, Martin, 3, 19, 27, 327

L
Lapidus, Ira M., 8
laws, shari’ah friendly, 12
Lewis, Bernard, 8
Liddle, R. William, 4, 5
Ligitan, 133
Linz, Juan, 47

Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, 248, 283, 288, 348
Luthfi, A.M., 56, 63, 239
members of Partai Amanah Nasional (PAN), 61

M
Mahfudz Siddiq, 193, 198, 199, 229, 351
Majdlisul Islamil a’laa Indonesia (MIAI), 37
Majelis Pakar, 51, 56
objective of, 220
Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR), 1
Annual Session (2002), 332
session (2002), 137
Majelis Pertimbangan Partai (MPP) religious issues debated, 265
Majelis Syuro ensuring Islamic principles, 265
Majelis Ulama Indoneisa (MUI), 38, 121, 338
Marriage Law (1973), 47
Mashadi, 54, 351
DDII activist, 61
Masyhur, Musthafa, 52
Masyumi, 15
allegiance to its policies, 40
anti-communist stance, 77
anti-leftism, 40
anti-Western and anti-Jewish stance, 124
ban on, 35
call for rehabilitation of, 94
corporate membership, 36
differentiation between worship and social relations, 187
essence of ideology, 41
founding, 25
guiding principles, 41
ideological drive, 18
ideology, 30, 41
image as counter-revolutionary, 116
inseparability between nation and Islam, 131
leaders from Persis background, 154
legacy, 40–46
loss of political force, 59
membership, 75
membership criteria, 36
non-clarification on female leadership, 272
political authority of religious elite, 266
repositioning Islam as fundamental pillar of state, 121
segments, 56–59
splitting into camps, 37
support base, 39
tradition, 71
use of name and symbol, 63, 68
view on shari’ah rule, 113
waning of tradition, 30–99
Western concepts, adoption of, 31
Masyumi Baru, 59
Media Dakwah, 65, 77, 274
Media Persatuan, 290
Medina, 8
Constitution of, 9
society, 327
Medina Charter, 241, 243
adoption by PK’s Syuro Council, 239
Megawati Soekarnoputri, 50, 70, 122
issue of a women president, 270
replacing Abdurrahman Wahid, 2
mentoring cells (usroh), 17
Middle Axis see Poros Tengah
Middle East, religious studies, 35
Middle Eastern activists, call to face up to global Islamic crisis, 124
Mimbar Ulama, 77
Minahasa Forum
Christian interest group, 254
minority rights, 328
Mintaredja, Mohamed, government choice to chair Parmusi, 82
modern political system, 31
monotheist religions, 3
moral education (tarbiyah), 16
Muhammadiyah, 3, 36, 328, 335
founders, 15
non-support for establishment of Islamist party, 107
severing ties to political parties, 37
multiparty system, 33
Muslim Brotherhood, 16, 40, 72, 247
Muslim Community Party see Partai Umat Islam (PUI)
Muslim identity, sense of loss, 322
Muslim jurisprudence, fiqh, 12
Muslim leaders, liberal, 3
Muslim Nation dogma, 100–73
dealing with non-Muslims, 135–50
economic facet, 147
Islam as bonding agent, 102–07
Islam in notion of nationhood, 103
legitimacy of Masyumi, 102
no distinction between shari’ah and lived Islams, 104
Muslim concessions to non-Muslims, 107–16
rapport between Islamist and nationalist sentiment, 128–35
resentment and victimization, 116–50
Muslim national identity
desire for restoring of, 153
Muslim supremacy, 328
Muslim women
veiling, 79
wearing of headscarves, 338
Muslims
- liberals, seen as victims, 196
- pluralists, 3
- urban modernist background, 57
- views on U.S. policy, 322

Mutammimul 'Ula, 53, 61, 68, 195, 204, 244, 351
- Islam as value system and methodology, 233

N
- Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), 3, 328, 335
- distrust of modernists, 93
- non-support for establishment of Islamist party, 107
- support of implementation of shari'ah, 33

National Awakening Party see Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 250

national sovereignty
- Islamist parties addressing issues of, 151
- nationalized Islam, 45

Natsir, Mohamad, 15, 31, 117, 326, 335, 355
- detention, 63
- national hero, 123
- redirecting Islamic struggle, 86
- "theistic democracy", 187

Nazhi N. Ayubi, 7

negara Islam, 32
Negara Islam Indonesia, 57

Netherlands, diplomatic row with, 152
- New Order, 13, 332
  - end of, 33
  - patronage system, 36
  - unquestioned loyalty to Pancasila, 116
  - view of Islamic ideology, 106

non-Islamist reformasi, 324

non-Muslims
- dealings with, 135–50
- religious freedom of, 33

Nur Mahmudi Ismail (Dr), 280, 310, 349
Nurcholish Majid, 197
- liberal views, 91

O
- opposition
  - lack of, 267
  - positive, 268

Ottoman empire, 9
- abolition, 18
- downfall of, 127

P
- Pancasila, 47, 71, 337, 339
  - adoption by Islamists, 57
  - deconfessionalized doctrine, regarded as, 74
  - interpretation by Department of Religious Affairs, 153
  - New Order definition, 182
  - neutral wording, 109
  - sole ideological foundation, 119
  - parliamentary elections, June (1999), 1

Partai Amanah Nasional (PAN), 61, 177, 238, 334
- Islamist camp, 146, 239
- member of Fraksi Reformasi, 323
  - reformasi values, 141
- religiously neutral, 72

Partai Bintang Reformasi, 52

Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), 34, 39, 174, 186–93
- accusations of financial malpractice, 42
agenda distinguished from *tarbiyah*, 45
calls for action against Abdurrahman, 277
campaign for elections (2004), 247
compromise on *shari’ah* issues during election campaigns, 223
curbing of Masyumi’s *shari’ah* mindedness, 225
dedication to Masyumi and *shari’ah*, 326
dissatisfaction with Abdurrahman government, 287
electoral strategy, 217, 223–28
first National Congress (2000), 85, 97, 287
ideal of formal recognition of *shari’ah*, 205
implementation of *shari’ah*, 294
Islamist rhetoric, increase in, 226
issue of Jakarta Charter, 323
launch of, 63
leaders, 352
legacy of Masyumi, 322
percentage share in elections (1999), 192
political clout, 266
promoted insertion of seven-word clause, 189
promotion of *shari’ah* mindedness, 333
publication of book titled “Fighting for Shari’ah Islam”, 227
publication journal, Abadi, 299
reluctance for coalition deals, 170
second National Congress (2005), 247
slogan, 226
support of Megawati, 286
support for Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, 297
suppression of *shari’ah* agenda, 246
target of Izzul Islam w’al Muslimin, 225
Partai Damai Sejahtera (PDS), 338
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia — Perjuangan (PDIP), 50, 144, 332
attacks against, 145
Islamic turn, 333
leadership, 283
perceived as hiding place for political left, 146
Partai Demokrat (PD), 324, 332
Islamic turn, 333
Partai Keadilan (PK), 20, 45, 53, 68, 177, 193–205
cadre-based party, 192
cadreization material, 140
collaboration with PAN, 238
Congress (May 2002), 229
collaborative approach, 235
dakwah programmes, 200, 229
elections (2004), 246
elections (2004) slogan, 246
electoral strategy, 217
ghazwul fikri, 194–97, 228, 236
definition, 194
global conspiracy to destroy Islam, 126, 132, 139, 326
gradualist approach, 203
Israel as colonialist, 140
leaders, 349
awareness of concessions necessary, 229
diploma holders of Islamic Studies from Middle Eastern universities, 238
member of Fraksi Reformasi, 323
non-support for seven-word clause, 236
objectives, 52–56, 68
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>party culture, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-Islamization of society, 205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reformasi values, 141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relationship of internal bodies, 266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>separation of ideological and political commitment, 228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shari’ah Board, fatwa on dakwah, 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shari’ah not related to hudud aspects, 231</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staying clear from constitutional issues on religion, 236</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>support for Megawati’s presidency, 282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>view on female presidency, 271</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>view on Muslim policies, 137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zakat included in tax system, 237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), 50, 146, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideology and cadreization programme, 75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Parmusi), 35, 46, 62, 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rivalry with Nahdlatul Ulama, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (PNI)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independence movement against Dutch, 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), 20, 35, 46, 48, 121, 174, 178–86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acceptance of asas tunggal, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annullment of National Congress (1998), 285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appointments for Majelis Pakar, 220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approach to election (1999), 246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belief in shari’ah’s universal values, 183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belief that Muslims most discriminated against, 150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brand of Islamism, 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cadre training, 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>call for reformasi, 219</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clause defining party policy, 179, 183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combating communism and atheism, 182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debate on religious issues in MPR, 265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedication to Masyumi tradition, 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic nationalism, 248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>electoral strategy, 217, 219–23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elections (1999), 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strategy, 222</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enforcement of shari’ah rulings, 184</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factionalism, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hierarchies, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inconsistency on presidential issue, 296</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic ideological base, 136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta Charter, 287, 288, 323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaders, 347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>membership, 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Congress (2003), 248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objection to labelling of Pancasila, 209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancasila, 48, 63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partial Islamist agenda, 248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party symbol, 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>policies viewed as anti-umat, 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purpose of seven-word clause, 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promoted insertion of seven-word clause, 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-New Order National Congress, 220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading of Pancasila, 185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reformasi values, 141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven-word clause as prime policy, 325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>softening of Islamist rhetoric, 288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>split, 326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
support of Habibie, 275
support for Hamzah Haz, 298
support for religiously defined
Pancasila, 181
tributes to religious pluralism, 248
types of cadre, 49
view on shari’ah rule, 115
willingness to endorse shari’ah-
friendly regulations, 249
Partai Politik Islam Indonesia
Masyumi (PPII Masyumi), 34
Partai Umat Islam (PUI), 34
ex-Masyumi membership, 95
partial Islamism, 46–52
Patrialis Akbar, 242, 261
Peace Welfare Party see Partai Damai
Sejahtera (PDS)
Pelajar Islam Indonesia (PII), 34, 35,
37
cadreization, 91
Chairman Djayadi, 61
People of the Book, 9
People’s Consultative Assembly
see Majelis Permusyawaratan
Rakyat (MPR)
Persatuan Islam (Persis), 15, 34, 61
Masyumi, leaving of, 37
Persatuan Umat Islam (PUI), 34
Persaudaraan Muslimun Indonesia
(Parmusi), 51
Perserikatan Daulatul Ummah Faction
(FPDU), 177, 292, 293
pilgrimage services, 175
Pipes, Daniel, 18
Pluralism
Pancasila style, 340
religious, 321
restricted, 329
upholding of, 33
pluralist ideas, 3
rise of, 4
political contract
PKS’s endorsement of Yudhoyono,
298
political fragmentation, 267
political theory, classical Sunni, 7
popular sovereignty principle, 73
Poros Tengah, 270, 303
power-sharing arrangements, practical
motive, 267
PPP Reformasi, 52, 86
Prabowo Subianto, 122, 274
pragmatic-ideological tension, 2
Prawoto Mangkussasmito, medal of
honour, 160
pre-Dutch colonialism, embracing of
shari’ah rules, 101
preaching activities (dakwah), 16
presidential elections
2004, 297
direct, 223
Prevention of Blasphemy and Abuse
of Religions, 341
pribumi, 136
Prophet Mohammad, 8
“Protocols of the Elders of Zion”,
126

Q
Qadir Djaelani, Abdul, 41, 68, 70, 133,
164, 277, 353
wish for Islamist coalition, 142
qisas
Qur’anic concept of, 234
Qur’an, 5, 244
definite rules of conduct and
commands, 242
endorsement of political and social
commitment, 88
Islam as final and true religion,
143
Qutb, Mohammad, 53
Qutb, Sayyid, 17, 18, 19, 55, 127, 128
perception of jahiliyyah, 26
Qutbian doctrine, 194

R
Rahman, Fazlur, 6, 7
Ramlan Mardjoned, 40
Rasjidi, Mohamad, 355
Reform Faction see Fraksi Reformasi reformasi, 1
call by PPP, 219
reformasi issues, criticisms against Abdurrahman Wahid, 276
reformasi movement, 332
reformist ideas, Middle Eastern, 14
reformist movement, 15
student led, 216
Religious Judicature Act, 121, 160
religious minorities, Islamist parties’ position, 151
religious studies, in Middle East, 35
revivalist Islamic opposition, 89
revivalist thought, influx, 125
Rida, Rashid, 14, 16
Ridwan Saidi, 59
Rifyal Ka’bah (Dr), 44, 188, 337, 353
interview, 81
Rightly Guided Caliphs, 8, 54
Roqib Abdul Kadir, 279
Rusdy Hamka, 273, 348

S
Saefuddin, A.M. (Prof), 50, 62, 348
Sahal Madfudz, 340
Sahar L. Hassan, 152, 352
Saiful Mujani, 4, 5
Salim Segaf-al Jufri (Dr), 193, 200, 234, 271, 350
setting up Islamic foundation, 53
Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union), 15, 153, 154
Serial Khutbah Jumat, 77
shari’ah, 174–215
agenda of Islamist parties, 341
approval ratings, 332
constitutional recognition of, 251
enforcement of, 333
family law, 176
formal acknowledgement in constitutions, 23
implementation issues, 14, 71
inheritance law, 176
issues of concern, 216–28
doubtful electoral appeal, 324
Masyumi ideological agenda, 57
negative propaganda, 322
significance, 329
support from Muslim intellectuals, 206
shari’ah-friendly laws, 12
shari’ah-friendly legislation, 175, 325, 336, 337
shari’ah-mindedness, 6–8
Shari’ah rule
embracing of, 101
not included in Constitution, 110
Shiism, 38
Shimon Peres Foundation, 312
Sholahuddin Wahid, 297
shura, 12
Sipadan, 133
Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, 297
Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, 106, 126, 162
letter to Soeharto, 120
national hero, 123
Soeharto
fall of, 65
New Order, 332
resignation from office, 1, 63
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soekarno</td>
<td>ban on Masyumi, 37, Guided Democracy, 332, involvement in BPUPKI, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soleiman, Mohamad</td>
<td>47, 56, 61, 352, student organizations, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suaib Didu</td>
<td>191, 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suara Keadilan</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suara Masjid</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumargono, Ahmad</td>
<td>64, 68, 130, 134, 282, 282, 353: lamenting surrender to Western concepts, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surkarti, Ahmad</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suryadharma Ali</td>
<td>249, 300, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono</td>
<td>298, 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syafi’i’s legal teachings</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syamsul Balda</td>
<td>199, 244, 245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syuro Council</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamsil Linrung</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanjung Priok</td>
<td>145, 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarbiyah</td>
<td>45, 52: activists, 100, groups, 54, movement, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tate Qamaruddin</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theo Syafei</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tifatul Sembiring</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torah</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosari Widjaya</td>
<td>305, 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theo</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tifatul Sembiring</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torah</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosari Widjaya</td>
<td>305, 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rejection of Megawati’s nomination</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tentera Nasional Indonesia (TNI)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undermining of reputation and efficacy</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teori resepsi, Dutch colonial policy</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>83, 127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**U**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukhuwah</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulama</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umat</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ummayad empire</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un-Indonesian value systems</td>
<td>encroachment of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criticisms against</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>military support for Israel</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reaction to Israel’s occupation of Gaza strip</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity Development Party</td>
<td>see Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
<td>changing of religions, 165, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usoh</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>van Nieuwenhuijze</td>
<td>C.A.O., 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**W**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wahabi Islamism</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war crimes, Bosnian Muslims</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western law, adoption of</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western pop culture</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western scholarship, views</td>
<td>Muslims, 104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Y
Yahya Muhaimin, 61
Yunan Nasution, 355
Yusril Ihza Mahendra (Prof), 39, 41, 44, 56, 63, 64, 162, 223, 268, 311, 335, 352, 355
application of Islam in family law, 190
awareness of Indonesia’s diverse religious communities, 141
control of PBB political discourse, 186
legal implication of term “obligation”, 189
participation with Poros Tengah, 273
pragmatist, 188
problems other Muslim countries implementing Islamic law, 191
view on diplomatic row with Netherlands, 152
wife of, 79
Yudhoyono’s success team, 297

Z
Zainal Ma’arif, 298
Zainuddin MZ, K.H., 49, 52, 221, 348
zakat, 175
inclusion in tax system, 237
Zarkasih Noer, 269, 348
Zein Badjeber, 181, 184, 348, 290, 293
Zionism, international, 196
Zionist ideology, 140
Zubair Bakri, 112, 353