

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Dissertations

- Abd al-Majid, Mahmud Khalidi. *Ma'alim al-Khilafah fi al-Fikr al-Siyasi al-Islami*. Beirut: Dar al-Jil; Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1984.
- Abd al-Muta'al, Hashim Sa'idi. *Al-Islam wa al-Khilafah fi al-'Asr al-Hadith*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Adab wa Matba'atuha, 1985.
- Abd al-Rahman, Jalal al-Din. *Al-Ijtihad: Dawabituhu wa Ahkamuhu*. Cairo: Dar al-Tiba'ah al-Hadithah, 1986.
- Abdillah, Masykuri. *Responses of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals to the Concept of Democracy (1966–1993)*. Hamburg: Abera, 1997.
- Abdullah, Taufik. *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927–1933)*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project Cornell University, 1971.
- Ahmad, Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, and Hussain Yasmin. *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, Social Issues in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.
- Ahmad, Zainal Abidin. *Islam dan Parleментарisme*. 3rd edition. Djakarta: Antara, 1952.
- . *Membentuk Negara Islam*. Jakarta: Widjaya, 1956.
- Ahmed, Ishtiaq. *The Concept of an Islamic State: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan*. London: Pinter, 1987.
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram and Abdullah Saeed. *Islam and Political Legitimacy*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Algadri, Hamid. *Politik Belanda Terhadap Islam dan Keturunan Arab di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Haji Masagung, 1988.
- Ali, Chiragh. "Islam and Change". In *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, edited by John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Ali, Fachry and Bahtiar Effendy. *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru*. Bandung: Mizan, 1986.
- Ali, Fachry. "Intelektual, Pengaruh Pemikiran dan Lingkungannya: Butit-Butir Catatan untuk Nurcholish Madjid". In *Dialog Keterbukaan: Artikulasi Nilai Islam dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer*, edited by Nurcholish Madjid. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998.
- Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture; Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Alwani al-, Taha Jabir. *Al-Ijtihad wa al-Taqlid fi al-Islam*. Cairo: Dar al-Ansar, 1979.

- Anshari, Endang Saifuddin. *Piagam Jakarta, 22 Juni 1945 dan Sejarah Konsensus Nasional Antara Nasionalis Islami dan Nasionalis Sekular Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia, 1945–1959*. Bandung: Pustaka Perpustakaan Salman ITB, 1981.
- Anwar, M. Syafii. *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Politik Tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995.
- Arkoun, Mohammed. *Min al-Ijtihad Ila Naqd al-'Aql al-Islami, Buhuth Ijtima'iyyah; 11*. London: Dar al-Saqi, 1991.
- . *Al-Fikr al-Islami: Naqd wa Ijtihad*. 2nd ed. London: Dar al-Saqi, 1992.
- . *Al-'Almanah wa al-Din: Al-Islam, al-Masihiyah, al-Gharb*. 2nd ed. London: Dar al-Saqi, 1993.
- . *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.
- Arslan, Amir Shakib. *Limadha Taakhhkhara al-Muslimun wa Limadha Taqaddama Ghayruh*. Beirut: Maktabat al-Hayah, 1975.
- Assyaukanie, Luthfi. *Wajah Liberal Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Teater Utan Kayu, 2002.
- . “Masih Relevankah Fikih Siyasah? Perspektif Baru Pemikiran Politik Islam”. In *Islam, Negara, dan Civil Society: Pemikiran dan Gerakan Islam Kontemporer*, by Komaruddin Hidayat dan Ahmad Gaus. Jakarta: Paramadina, 2005.
- Azmeh, Aziz. *al-'Almaniyyah min Manzur Mukhtalaf*. Beirut: Markaz Dirasat al-Wahdah al-'Arabiyyah, 1992.
- Azra, Azyumardi. “HM Rasjidi BA: Pembentukan Kementrian Agama dalam Revolusi”. In *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik, Seri Khusus Inis Biografi Sosial-Politik; 1*, by Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam. Jakarta: INIS and PPIM, 1998.
- . *Reposisi Hubungan Agama dan Negara: Merajut Hubungan Antarumat*. Jakarta: Kompas, 2002.
- Azra, Azyumardi and Saiful Umam. *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik, Seri Khusus Inis Biografi Sosial-Politik; 1*. Jakarta: INIS and PPIM, 1998.
- Bachtiar, Harsja W. “The Religion of Java: A Commentary”. In *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, edited by Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, and Hussain Yasmin. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.
- Baird, Robert M. and Stuart E. Rosenbaum. *Same-Sex Marriage: The Moral and Legal Debate*. 2nd ed. Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2004.
- Barton, Greg. “The Emergence of Neo-Modernism: A Progressive, Liberal Movement of Islamic Thought in Indonesia: A Textual Study Examining the Writings of Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib and Abdurrahman Wahid, 1968–1980”. Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1995.

- . “Islam, Pancasila and the Middle Path of Tawassuth: The Thought of Achmad Siddiq”. In *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, edited by Greg Barton and Greg Fealy. Victoria: Monash Asia Institute Monash University, 1996.
- Barton, Greg and Greg Fealy. *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*. Victoria: Monash Asia Institute Monash University, 1996.
- Basyaib, Hamid and Hamid Abidin. *Mengapa Partai Islam Kalah?: Perjalanan Politik Islam dari Prapemilu '99 Sampai Pemilihan Presiden*. Jakarta: Alvabet, 1999.
- Bellah, Robert Neely. *Beyond Belief; Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Benda, Harry J. *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation*. The Hague and Bandung: van Hoeve, 1958.
- . “Decolonization in Indonesia: The Problem of Continuity and Change.” *American Historical Review* 70, no. 4 (July 1965).
- Boland, B.J. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. *NU: Tradisi, Relasi-Relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru*. Yogyakarta: LKiS and Pustaka Pelajar, 1994.
- . *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1995.
- Budiman, Arief. *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*. Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990.
- Budiman, Arief, Barbara Hatley, and Damien Kingsbury. *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*. Melbourne: Monash Asia Institute, 1999.
- Busyairi, Badruzzaman. *Boerhanoeddin Harahap: Pilar Demokrasi*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Bulan Bintang, 1989.
- Catholic University of America. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 13, 2nd ed. Detroit, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2002.
- Chalid, Idham. *Islam dan Demokrasi Terpimpin*. Jakarta: Api Islam, 1965.
- Cox, Harvey. *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*. SCM Cheap edition. London: SCM Press, 1966.
- Crawford, Neta C. *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Crouch, Harold A. *The Politics of Islam in Southeast Asia*. Flinders Asian Studies Lecture 18. Bedford Park, South Australia: Flinders University of South Australia, 1987.
- . *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Rev. ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Dahl, R.A. *A Preface to Economic Democracy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Daman, Rozikin. *Hukum Tata Negara: Suatu Pengantar*. Jakarta: Grafindo Persada, 1993.

- Davis, Gloria. *What is Modern Indonesian Culture?* edited by Gloria Davis. Athens: Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1979.
- Dijk, C. van. *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1981.
- Dijk, Kees van. "Ketakutan Penjajah, 1890–1918: Pan-Islamisme dan Persekongkolan Jerman-India". In *Kekacauan dan Kerusuhan: Tiga Tulisan Tentang Pan-Islamisme Di Hindia-Belanda Timur Pada Akhir Abad Kesembilan Belas Dan Awal Abad Kedua Puluh*, by N.J.G. Kaptein. Seri Inis 43. Jakarta: INIS, 2003.
- Donohue, John J. and John L. Esposito. *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Downs, A. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper, 1957.
- Eck, Diana L. *Encountering God: A Spiritual Journey from Bozeman to Banaras*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.
- Effendi, Djohan. *Progressive Traditionalists: The Emergence of a New Discourse in Indonesia's Nahdlatul Ulama During the Addurrahman Wahid Era*. Deakin University, 2000.
- Effendy, Bahtiar. *Islam and the State in Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- Elson, R.E. *Suharto: A Political Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Enayat, Hamid. *Modern Islamic Political Thought*. Modern Middle East Series. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982.
- Esposito, John L. *Islam and Politics*. 3rd ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1991.
- Esposito, John L., and John Obert Voll. *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Fadjar, A. Malik. *Platform Reformasi Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia*. Pamulang, Ciputat: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999.
- Fatah, Eep Saefulloh. "Partai Semangka, Mangga, dan Mentimun". In *Mengapa Partai Islam Kalah? Perjalanan Politik Islam dari Prapemilu '99 Sampai Pemilihan Presiden*, by Hamid Basyaib and Hamid Abidin, Jakarta: Alfabeta, 1999.
- Feith, Herbert. *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962.
- Finch, Susan, and Daniel S. Lev. *Republic of Indonesia Cabinets, 1945–1965*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Gautama, Candra. *Pers Indonesia Pasca Soeharto: Setelah Tekanan Penguasa Melemah*. Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Pers dan Pembangunan, 1999.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- . *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Gelner, Ernest. *Postmodernism, Reason, and Religion*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Ghazali, Abd Rohim. *Yusril Ihza Mahendra: Sosok Politisi Muda Muslim*. Politik Indonesia Kontemporer. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999.

- Hamka. *Ajabku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perdjungan Kaum Agama di Sumatera*. 2nd ed. Jakarta: Widjaya, 1958.
- . *Pengaruh Muhammad 'Abduh di Indonesia; Pidato Diutjapkan Sewaktu Akan Menerima Gelar Doctor Honoris Causa Dari Universitas al-Azhar di Mesir Pada Tgl. 21 Djanuari 1958*. Jakarta: Tintamas, 1961.
- . *Tanja Djawab*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1967.
- Hanafi, Hassan. *Al-Turath wa al-Tajdid: Mawqifuna min al-Turath al-Qadim*. 4th ed. Beirut: al-Mu'assasah al-Jam'iyah li Dirasat wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi, 1992.
- Hanifah, Abu. *Kedudukan Agama dalam Negara-Negara Modern dan Merdeka*. Jogjakarta: Kementerian Agama R.I., 1948.
- Harjanto, Nicolaus Teguh Budi. "Islam and Liberalism in Contemporary Indonesia: The Political Ideas of Jaringan Islam Liberal". Master's thesis, Ohio University, Political Science, 2003.
- Harun, Lukman. *Muhammadiyah dan Asas Pancasila*. 1st ed. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1986.
- . *Muhammadiyah dalam Undang-Undang Pendidikan Nasional*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1990.
- Hassan, Mohammad Kamal. *Muslim Intellectual Respones to "New Order" Modernization in Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1980.
- Hatta, Mohammad. *Islam, Masyarakat Demokrasi dan Perdamaian*. Jakarta: Tintamas, 1957.
- Hefner, Robert W. "Secularization and Citizenship in Muslim Indonesia". In *Religion, Modernity, and Postmodernity*, edited by David Martin, Paul Heelas, and Paul Morris. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.
- . "Islam and Nation in the Post-Suharto Era". In *The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia*, edited by Adam Schwarz and Jonathan Paris. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press. 1999.
- . *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000
- . *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.
- Hefner, Robert W. and Patricia Horvatic. *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.
- Held, David. *Models of Democracy*. 2nd ed. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Hick, John. *God and the Universe of Faiths: Essays in the Philosophy of Religion*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Hooker, Virginia Matheson. *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia*. South-East Asian Social Science Monographs. Kuala Lumpur; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

- . “Developing Islamic Argument for Change through ‘Liberal Islam’”. In *Islamic Perspectives on the New Millennium*, edited by Amin Saikal and Virginia Matheson Hooker. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004.
- Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Husayni, Idris. *Al-Khilafah al-Mughatasabah: Azmat Tarikh ‘Am Azmat Muarrikh?* Beirut: Dar al-Nakhil, 1995.
- Imarah, Muhammad. *Al-Islam wa al-‘Urubah wa al-‘Almaniyyah*. Beirut: Dar al-Wahdah, 1984.
- . *Al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm: li ‘Ali Abd al-Raziq*. 2nd ed. Beirut: al-Muassasah al-‘Arabiyyah li al-Dirasat wa al-Nashr, 1988.
- Iqbal, Muhammad. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Lahore: K. Bazar, 1958.
- Jabiri al-, Muhammad ‘Abid. *Al-Turath wa al-Hadathah: Dirasat wa al-Munaqasat*. Beirut: Markaz Dirasat al-Wahdah al-‘Arabiyyah, 1991.
- Jackson, Karl D. *Traditional Authority, Islam, and Rebellion: A Study of Indonesian Political Behavior*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Jamhari and Fuad Jabali. *IAIN dan Modernisasi Islam di Indonesia*. Ciputat: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2002.
- Janda, Kenneth, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Jerry Goldman. *The Challenge of Democracy: Government in America*. 6th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- Kahin, George McTurnan. *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952.
- . “Deliar Noer’s Educational Background and His Ties with Hatta and Natsir”. In *Begawan Politik: Deliar Noer 75 Tahun*. Jakarta: Panitia Penerbitan Buku 75 Tahun Prof. Dr. Deliar Noer, 2001.
- Kaptein, N.J.G. *Kekacauan dan Kerusuhan: Tiga Tulisan Tentang Pan-Islamisme Di Hindia-Belanda Timur Pada Akhir Abad Kesembilan Belas Dan Awal Abad Kedua Puluh*. Seri Inis 43. Jakarta: INIS, 2003.
- Khan, Qamar-ud-Din. *The Political Thought of Ibn Taymiyah*. Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1973.
- Khan, Sayyid Ahmad. *Maktubati Sir Sayyid*. Lahore: Majlisi Taraqqi Adab, 1959. In *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*, edited by Christian W. Troll. New Delhi: Vikas Publ. House, 1978.
- Khomeini, Ruhollah. *Islamic Government*. Rome: European Islamic Cultural Centre, 1983.
- Khoury, Paul. *Al-Turath wa al-Hadathah: Maraji’ li Dirasat al-fikr al-‘Arabi al-Hadir: Muqaddimah ‘Ammah wa Masadir li Istiqsa al-Nitaj al-Fikr al-Hadir*. Beirut: Ma’had al-Inma al-‘Arabi, 1983.
- Küing, Hans. *Christianity and the World Religions: Paths of Dialogue with Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism*. London: Collins, 1987.
- Kuntowijoyo. *Identitas Politik Umat Islam*. Bandung: Mizan, 1997.

- . “Agama Berdimensi Banyak, Politik Berdimensi Tunggal”. In *Mengapa Partai Islam Kalah? Perjalanan Politik Islam dari Prapemilu '99 Sampai Pemilihan Presiden*, edited by Hamid Basyaib, and Hamid Abidin. Jakarta: Alfabet, 1999.
- Kurzman, Charles. *Liberal Islam: A Source Book*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Laffan, Michael Francis. *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds, Soas/RoutledgeCurzon Studies on the Middle East*. London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Leclerc, Jacques. “Amir Sjarifuddin, Between the State and the Revolution”. In *Indonesian Political Biography: In Search of Cross-Cultural Understanding, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, No. 28*, edited by Angus McIntyre. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1993.
- Lev, Daniel S. *The Transition to Guided Democracy: Indonesian Politics, 1957–1959*, Cornell, N.Y.: Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asia Program Dept. of Asian Studies Cornell University, 1966.
- . *Islamic Courts in Indonesia; A Study in the Political Bases of Legal Institutions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Lewis, Bernard. *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Liddle, R. William. “Modernizing Indonesian Politics”. In *Political Participation in Modern Indonesia*, edited by R. William Liddle and Donald K. Emmerson. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1973.
- . “New Patterns of Islamic Politics in Democratic Indonesia”. In *Piety and Pragmatism: Trends in Indonesian Islamic Politics*. Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center, Asia Special Report No. 10, 2003.
- Maarif, Ahmad Syafii et al. *Syariat Islam Yes, Syariat Islam No: Dilema Piagam Jakarta Dalam Amandemen Uud 1945*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001.
- Maarif, Ahmad Syafii. *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi Tentang Pecaturan Dalam Konstituante*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1985.
- . *Membumikan Islam*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1995.
- . *Islam Kekuatan Doktrin dan Kegamangan Umat*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997.
- . *Islam dan Politik: Upaya Membingkai Peradaban*. Cirebon: Pustaka Dinamika, 1999.
- . *Mencari Autentisitas dalam Kegalaan*. Jakarta: PSAP, 2004.
- Macpherson, C.B. *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Madjid, Nurcholish. “The Issue of Modernization among Muslims in Indonesia: From a Participant Point of View”. In *What is Modern Indonesian Culture?*, edited by Gloria Davis. Athens: Ohio University, Center for International Studies, 1979.

- . *Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan*. Bandung: Mizan, 1987.
- . *Islam Agama Peradaban: Membangun Makna dan Relevansi Doktrin Islam Dalam Sejarah*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995.
- . *Cita-Cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999.
- . *Indonesia Kita*. Jakarta: Universitas Paramadina, 2004.
- Madjid, Nurcholish and Mohamad Roem. *Tidak Ada Negara Islam: Surat-Surat Politik Nurcholish Madjid-Mohamad Roem*. 2nd ed. Jakarta: Djembatan, 2000.
- Mahendra, Yusril Ihza. *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme dalam Politik Islam: Perbandingan Partai Masyumi (Indonesia) dan Partai Jamaat-i-Islami (Pakistan)*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999.
- Mahendra, Yusril Ihza, and Sabar Sitanggang. *Catatan Kritis dan Percikan Pemikiran Yusril Ihza Mahendra*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 2001.
- Mahfudh, Sahal. *Nuansa Fiqih Sosial*. Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2003.
- Mallarangeng, Rizal. *Mendobrak Sentralisme Ekonomi: Indonesia, 1986–1992*. Jakarta: KPG, 2002.
- Mannheim, Karl. *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. New edition. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Mas'ood, Mohtar, S. Rizal Panggabean, and Muhammad Najib Azca. "Social Resources for Civility and Participation: The Case of Yogyakarta, Indonesia". In *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*, edited by Robert W. Hefner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.
- Mawdudi, Abul-Ala. "Political Theory of Islam". In *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, edited by John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- McIntosh, Kenneth, and Marsha McIntosh. *When Religion and Politics Mix: How Matters of Faith Influence Political Policies, Religion and Modern Culture*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Mason Crest Publishers, 2005.
- McIntyre, Angus. *Indonesian Political Biography: In Search of Cross-Cultural Understanding*. Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, No. 28. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1993.
- McVey, Ruth T. *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Mietzner, Marcus. "Nationalism and Islamic Politics: Political Islam in the Post-Suharto Era". In *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, edited by Arief Budiman, Barbara Hatley and Damien Kingsbury. Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1999.
- Mintaredja, M. Sjafaat. *Masyarakat Islam dan Politik di Indonesia; Renungan Pembaharuan Pemikiran*. Jakarta: Permata, 1971.
- . *Islam dan Politik: Islam dan Negara di Indonesia*. 2nd ed. Jakarta: Septenarius, 1976.
- Mubyarto. *Ekonomi Pancasila: Gagasan dan Kemungkinan*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1987.

- Muhammad, Husein. *Fiqh Perempuan: Refleksi Kiai atas Wacana Agama dan Gender*. Yogyakarta: LKiS and Rahima, 2002.
- Mujani, Saiful. "Religious Democrats: Democratic Culture and Muslim Political Participation in Post-Suharto Indonesia". Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2003.
- Muzadi, Hasyim. *Nahdlatul Ulama di Tengah Agenda Persoalan Bangsa*. Jakarta: Logos, 1999.
- Nafis, Muhamad Wahyuni et. al. *Kontekstualisasi Ajaran Islam*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995.
- Naimy, Nadeem N. *al-Hadathah wa al-Turath*. Beirut: Naufal, 1997.
- Nakamura, Mitsuo. "NU's Leadership Crisis and Search for Identity in the Early 1980s: From the 1979 Semarang Congress to the 1984 Situbondo Congress". In *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, edited by Greg Barton and Greg Fealy. Victoria: Monash Asia Institute Monash University, 1996.
- Nasution, Harun. *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1979.
- Natsir, Mohammad. *Capita Selecta*. Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1954.
- . *Some Observations Concerning the Role of Islam in National and International Affairs; An Address Originally Made before the Pakistan Institute of World Affairs with Subsequent Elucidatory Additions*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Dept. of Far Eastern Studies Cornell University, 1954.
- . *Persatuan Agama dengan Negara*. Padang: Jajasan Pendidikan Islam, 1968.
- . *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia*. Bandung: Peladjar dan Bulan Sabit, 1969.
- . *Kebudayaan Islam dalam Perspektif Sejarah: Kumpulan Karangan*. Jakarta: Girmukti Pasaka, 1988.
- . *Islam Sebagai Dasar Negara*. Jakarta: DDII, 2000.
- . *Agama dan Negara dalam Perspektif Islam*. Jakarta: Media Da'wah, 2001.
- Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O. van. *Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Five Essays*. The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1958.
- Noer, Deliar. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900–1942, East Asian Historical Monographs*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- . *Administration of Islam in Indonesia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1978.
- . "Pendahuluan". In *Ekonomi dan Keuangan: Makna Ekonomi Islam*, edited by Sjafruddin, Prawiranegara. Jakarta: Inti Idayu Press, 1986.
- . *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional, 1945–1965*. Jakarta: Grafitipers, 1987.
- . "Islam dan Politik". In *Mengapa Partai Islam Kalah?: Perjalanan Politik Islam dari Prapemilu '99 Sampai Pemilihan Presiden*, edited by Hamid Basyaib and Hamid Abidin. Jakarta: Alvabet, 1999.
- Nozick, Robert. *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
- Panitia 75 Tahun Deliar Noer. *Begawan Politik: Deliar Noer 75 Tahun*. Jakarta: Panitia Penerbitan Buku 75 Tahun Prof. Dr. Deliar Noer, 2001.

- Parera, Frans M. and T. Jakob Koekertis. *Masyarkat versus Negara*. Jakarta: Kompas, 1999.
- Pramuko, Yudi. *Yusril Ihza Mahendra, Sang Bintang Cemerlang: Perjuangan Menegakkan Sistem dan Akhlak Berpolitik*. Jakarta: Putera Berdikari Bangsa, 2000.
- Prawiranegara, Sjafruddin. *Ekonomi dan Keuangan: Makna Ekonomi Islam*. Jakarta: Inti Idayu Press, 1986.
- Putnam, Robert D., et al. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Qasim, As'ad. *Azmat al-Khilafah wa al-Imamah wa atharuba al-Mu'asirah: Ard wa Dirasah*. Beirut: Markaz al-Ghadir lil-Dirasat al-Islamiyah, 1997.
- Qutb, Muhammad. *Jahiliyyat al-Qarn al-Isrīn*. Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1964.
- Rachman, Budhy Munawar. *Islam Pluralis: Wacana Kesetaraan Kaum Beriman*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001.
- . "Basis Teologi Persaudaraan Antar-Agama". In *Wajah Liberal Islam di Indonesia*, edited by Luthfi Assyaukanie. Jakarta: Teater Utan Kayu, 2002.
- Rahardjo, M. Dawam. *Esei-Esei Ekonomi Politik*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1983.
- . *Intelektual, Inteligensia, dan Perilaku Politik Bangsa: Risalah Cendekiawan Muslim*. Bandung: Mizan, 1993.
- . *Islam dan Transformasi Sosial-Ekonomi*. Pasar Minggu, Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Agama dan Filsafat, 1999.
- . *Masyarakat Madani: Agama, Kelas Menengah Dan Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999.
- . "Isu-isu Kontemporer Ekonomi Pancasila". Paper presented at a symposium held by the Centre of Study of Pancasila Economy, Yogyakarta, 6 April 2004.
- Rahman, Fazlur. *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Rais, M. Amien. *Demokrasi dan Proses Politik*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1986.
- . *Cakrawala Islam: Antara Cita dan Fakta*. Bandung: Mizan, 1987.
- . *Membangun Politik Adiluhung: Membumikan Tauhid Sosial Menegakkan Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*. Bandung: Zaman Wacana Mulia, 1998.
- . *Ijtihad dan Terobosan: Esai-Esai Reformasi*. Merak: Larayba, 1999.
- . "Tidak Ada Negara Islam". In *Tidak Ada Negara Islam: Surat-Surat Politik Nurcholish Madjid-Mohamad Roem*, edited by Nurcholish Madjid and Mohamad Roem. 2nd ed. Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000.
- Ramage, Douglas E. *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam, and the Ideology of Tolerance, Politics in Asia Series*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Rasjidi, Mohamad. *Keutamaan Hukum Islam*. N.d.
- . *Koreksi Terhadap Drs. Nurcholis Madjid Tentang Sekularisasi*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1972.

- . *Kasus RUU Perkawinan dalam Hubungan Islam dan Kristen*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974.
- Rasyid, Daud. “Pembaruan” *Islam dan Orientalisme dalam Sorotan*. Jakarta: Usamah Press, 1993.
- Ricklefs, Merle C. “Six Centuries of Islamization in Java”. In *Conversion to Islam*, by Nehemia Levtzion. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979.
- . *A History of Modern Indonesia since C.1200*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Ridha, Rashid. *Al-Khilafah aw al-Imamah al-Uzma*. Cairo: al-Zahra li al-’lam al-Arabi, 1988.
- Roem, Mohamad. *Bunga Rampai dari Sejarah 3*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1983.
- Roff, William R. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967.
- Rosidi, Ajip. *Sjafruddin Prawirangegara Lebih Takut Kepada Allah Swt: Sebuah Biografi*. Jakarta: Inti Idayu Press, 1986.
- . *M. Natsir: Sebuah Biografi*. Jakarta: Girimukti Pasaka, 1990.
- Sabrie, Zuffran. *Peradilan Agama dalam Wadah Negara Pancasila: Dialog tentang RUUPA*. Jakarta: Pustaka Antara, 1990.
- Saeed, Abdullah. *Islamic Banking and Interest: A Study of the Prohibition of Riba and Its Contemporary Interpretation*. Studies in Islamic Law and Society, Vol. 2. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996.
- . “Towards Religious Tolerance through Reform in Islamic Education: The Case of the State Institute of Islamic Studies of Indonesia”. *Journal of Indonesia and the Malay World* 27, no. 79 (1999).
- . “The Official Ulema and Religious Legitimacy of the Modern Nation State”. In *Islam and Political Legitimacy*, by Shahram Akbarzadeh and Abdullah Saeed. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Samson, Allan. “Religious Belief and Political Action in Indonesian Islamic Modernism”. In *Political Participation in Modern Indonesia*, edited by R. William Liddle and Donald K. Emmerson. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1973.
- Schumpeter, J.A. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. 3rd ed. New York: Harper, 1962.
- Sekretariat Negara. *Risalah Sidang Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI), Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (PPKI), 28 Mei 1945–22 Agustus 1945*. Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 1995.
- Shiraishi, Takashi. *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926, Asia, East by South*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Siradj, Said Aqiel. *Islam Kebangsaan: Fiqih Demokratik Kaum Santri*. Ciganjur, Jakarta: Pustaka Ciganjur, 1999.
- Sjadzali, Munawir. *Polemik Reaktualisasi Ajaran Islam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1988.

- . *Islam dan Tata Negara: Ajaran, Sejarah, dan Pemikiran*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1990.
- . “Dari Lembah Kemiskinan”. In *Kontekstualisasi Ajaran Islam*, edited by Muhamad Wahyuni Nafis et al. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995.
- Soedjatmoko. *Etika Pembebasan: Pilihan Karangan Tentang Agama Kebudayaan Sejarah dan Ilmu Pengetahuan*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984.
- Soekarno and Panitia Peringatan 100 Tahun Bung Karno. *Bung Karno dan Wacana Islam: Kenangan 100 Tahun Bung Karno*. Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 2001.
- Soroush, Abdolkarim. *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Spencer, Robert. “Can Islam be Secularized and Made Compatible with the Western Pluralistic Framework?”. In *Islam Unveiled: Disturbing Questions About the World’s Fastest-Growing Faith*, edited by Robert Spencer. San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2002.
- Subagiyo, I.N. *Jusuf Wibisono, Karang di Tengah Gelombang*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1980.
- Sumargono, Ahmad. “Negara Sekuler, Tanggapan atas Tulisan Denny JA”. In *Negara Sekuler: Sebuah Polemik*, edited by Denny J.A. et al. Jakarta: Putra Berdikari Bangsa, 2000.
- . “Sekali Lagi, Soal Sekularisasi dan Politisasi Agama”. In *Negara Sekuler: Sebuah Polemik*. Jakarta: Putra Berdikari Bangsa, 2000.
- . *I Am a Fundamentalist: An Ideological Reflection on the Challenges Facing the Muslims of Indonesia*. Jakarta: Khairul Bayaan Press, 2002.
- Sullivan, Andrew. *Same-Sex Marriage, Pro and Con: A Reader*. Revised and updated edition. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.
- Suminto, Aqib. *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda, Het Kantoor Voor Inlandsche Zaken*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1985.
- Suryadinata, Leo. “State and Minority Religion in Contemporary Indonesia: Recent Government Policy Towards Confucianism, Tridharma and Buddhism”. In *Nation-State, Identity, and Religion in Southeast Asia*, edited by Tsuneo Ayabe. Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies; Select Books 1998.
- Suseno, Franz Magnis. “Seputar Rencana UU Peradilan Agama”. In *Peradilan Agama dalam Wadah Negara Pancasila: Dialog tentang RUUPA*, edited by Zuffran Sabrie. Jakarta: Pustaka Antara, 1990.
- Syamsuddin, Nazaruddin. *Pemberontakan Kaum Republik: Kasus Darul Islam Aceh*. Jakarta: Grafiti, 1990.
- Tahqiq, Nanang. *Freedom of Speech and Literary Expression: A Case Study of “Langit Makin Mendung”*. MA Thesis by Kipandjikusmin. McGill University, Canada, 1995.
- Tamimi, Azzam. *Islam and Secularism in the Middle East*. London: Hurst & Co., 2000.

- Tantawi, M. Sayyid. *Al-Ijtihad fi al-Ahkam al-Shar'iyah*. Cairo: Dar Nahdat Misr, 1997.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett Pub., 2000.
- Troll, Christian W. *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*. New Delhi: Vikas Publ. House, 1978.
- U.S. Department of Commerce Office. *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce Office of Technical Services Joint Publications Research Service, 1963.
- Vatikiotis, Michael R.J. *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: Order, Development, and Pressure for Change*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Vatikiotis, P.J. *Islam and the State*. London; New York: Croom Helm, 1987.
- . *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*. 4th ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- Wahib, Ahmad, Johan Effendi, and Ismed Natsir. *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam: Catatan Harian Ahmad Wahib*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1981.
- Wahid, Abdurrahman. "Presiden dan Agama". In *Masyarkat Versus Negara*, edited by Frans M. Parera and T. Jakob Koekertis. Jakarta: Kompas, 1999.
- . *Melawan Melalui Lelucon: Kumpulan Kolom Abdurrahman Wahid di Tempo*. Jakarta: Tempo, 2000.
- . *Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Kebudayaan*. 2nd ed. Depok: Desantara, 2001.
- Wahid, Salahuddin. "Negara Sekular No! Negara Islam No!". In *Syariat Islam Yes, Syariat Islam No: Dilema Piagam Jakarta Dalam Amandemen UUD 1945*, edited by Ahmad Syafii Maarif et al. Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001.
- Woodward, Mark R. *Toward A New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*, edited by Mark R. Woodward. Tempe: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1996.
- Yassin, H.B. *Heboh Sastra 1968: Suatu Pertanggungjawaban*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1970.
- Yunus, Mahmud. *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1983.

Articles and Papers

- Abshar-Abdalla, Ulil. "Menyegarkan Kembali Pemahaman Islam". *Kompas*, 18 November 2002.
- . "The Politics of Islam in a Democratizing Indonesia". Paper presented at a joint conference sponsored by Usindo and the Asia Foundation. Washington D.C., 7 February 2002.
- Amatillah, M. Sj. Ibnu. *Mungkinkah Negara Indonesia Bersendikan Islam: Analise*. Semarang: Usaha Taruna, 1950.

- Assyaukanie, Luthfi. "Democracy and the Islamic State: Muslim Arguments for Political Change in Indonesia". *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 20 (2004).
- Azm al-, Sadik Jalal. "Is Islam Secularizable?". *Free Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Fall 1997).
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia". *South East Asia Research* 10, no. 2 (2002).
- Budiman, Arief. "Adi Sasono dan Ekonomi Kerakyatan, Mungkinkah?". *D&R*, December 1998.
- Cammack, Mark. "Indonesia's 1989 Religious Judicature Act: Islamization of Indonesia or Indonesianization of Islam?". *Indonesia*, 63 (April 1997).
- Christanty, Linda. "Is There a Rainbow in Islam?". *Latitudes* 30 (July 2003).
- Cipriani, Roberto. "Religiosity, Religious Secularism and Secular Religions". *International Social Science Journal* 46, no. 2 (June 1994).
- Collier, David and Steven Levitsky. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research". *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997).
- Cone, Malcolm. "Neo-Modern Islam in Suharto's Indonesia". *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 4, no. 2 (2002): 52–67.
- Dobbin, Christine. "Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century". *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 3 (July 1974): 319–56.
- Doorn-Harder, Nelly van. "The Indonesian Islamic Debate on a Woman President". *Sojourn* 17, no. 2 (2002).
- Effendi, Djohan. "Agama, Apakah Sudah Gagal?". *Kompas*, 20 September 2002.
- Engineer, Asghar Ali. "Islam and Secularism". *Secular Perspective*, 1–15 June 1999.
- Fealy, Greg. "Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 23, no. 2 (August 2001).
- Gabardi, Wayne. "Contemporary Models of Democracy". *Polity* 3, no. 4 (Summer 2001).
- Hefner, Robert W. "Global Violence and Indonesian Muslim Politics". *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (September 2002).
- . "Public Islam and the Problem of Democratization". *Sociology of Religion*, special issue, guest edited by José Casanova, vol. 62, no. 4 (2001): 491–514.
- Hidayat, Komaruddin. "Menimbang Misi Departemen Agama". *Kompas*, 12 July 2002.
- Ihsan Alief, Mohamad. "Political Islam and Democracy: A Closer Look at the Liberal Muslims". *Asia Program Special Report*, No. 110 (April 2003).
- Ismail, Faisal. "Pancasila as the Sole Basis for all Political Parties and for all Muslim Organizations: An Account of Muslims' Responses". *Studia Islamika* 3 no. 4 (1996).
- Kholiludin, Tedi. "Salat Bilingual, Haruskah Menjadi Kontroversi?". *Jawa Pos*, 16 May 2005.

- Kuntowijoyo. "Obyektivikasi, Agenda Reformasi Ideologi". *Kompas*, 13 July 1999.
- . "Obyektivikasi: Memotong Mata Rantai Dikotomi". *Kompas*, 4 March 2004.
- Liddle, R. William. "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation", *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 3 (August 1996).
- Liddle, R. William and Saiful Mujani. "The Islamic Challenge to Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia". Unpublished paper.
- Maarif, Ahmad Syafii. "Harapan Pada RUU Sisdiknas". *Republika*, 4 June 2003.
- Marty, Martin E. "Our Religio-Secular World". *Daedalus* 132, Issue 3.
- Masudi, Masdar F. "Hubungan Agama dan Negara". *Kompas*, 7 August 2002.
- Mazrui, Ali A. *Islamocracy: In Search of a Muslim Path to Democracy*. Paper delivered at the 4th Annual CSID Conference, Washington, D.C., 16 May 2003.
- Morrison, Scott. "Almaniya, Laiklik and Democracy in Egypt and Turkey". Prepared for the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, 29 August–2 September 2001.
- Mujani, Saiful. "Fenomena PKS". *Jawapos*, 4 April 2004.
- Mulyadi, Sukidi. *Teologi Inklusif Cak Nur*. 2nd ed. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2001.
- Munhanif, Ali. "Islam and the Struggle for Religious Pluralism in Indonesia: A Political Reading of the Religious Thought of Mukti Ali". *Studia Islamika* 3, no. 1 (1996).
- Muzani, Saiful. "Mu'tazila Theology and the Modernization of the Indonesian Muslim Community: Intellectual portrait of Harun Nasution". *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1, Jakarta (1994).
- Najjar, Fauzi M. "The Debate on Islam and Secularism in Egypt". *Arab Studies Quarterly (ASQ)* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996).
- Nurul Huda, Mh. "Mencermati RUU KUB". *Kompas*, 29 May 2003.
- Nurwahid, Hidayat and Zulkiflimansyah. "The Justice Party and Democracy: A Journey of a Thousand Miles Starts with a Single Step". *Asia Program Special Report*, No. 110 (April 2003).
- Osman, M. Fathi. "Sovereignty of God or Sovereignty of the People?". *Muslim Democrat* 2, no. 1 (February 2000).
- Qodir, Zuly. "Mengkritisi RUU KUB". *Kompas*, 13 November 2003.
- Ricklefs, Merle C. "Islam on the March". *Australian Financial Review*, 2 September 2005.
- . "Islamizing Indonesia: Religion and Politics in Singapore's Giant Neighbour". Public Lecture organized by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, at the Asian Civilisations Museum, 23 September 2004.
- Rumadi. "Agama Tanpa Negara". *Kompas*, 4 February 2000.
- Saeed, Abdullah. "Ijtihad and Innovation in Neo-Modernist Islamic Thought in Indonesia". *Journal of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 8, no. 3 (1997).

- . “Rethinking Citizenship Rights of Non-Muslims in an Islamic State: Rashid al-Ghannushi’s Contribution to the Evolving Debate”. *Journal of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 10, no. 3 (1999).
- Samson, Allan. “Islam in Indonesian Politics”. *Asian Survey* 8, no. 12 (December 1968).
- Sardar, Ziauddin. “Can Islam Change?”. *New Statesman*, 13 September 2004.
- Sasono, Adi. “Ekonomi Kerakyatan dalam Dinamika Perubahan”. Paper presented at the *International Conference on Network Economy: Toward a Democratization of Economy in Indonesia*, Hotel Shangri-La, Jakarta, Indonesia, 6–7 December 1999.
- Shepard, William E. “Islam and Ideology: Towards a Typology”. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 3 (August 1987).
- Suaidy, Mohamad Saleh. “Tjita-Tjita Negara Islam”. *Suara Partai Masyumi* 9, no. 4-5/6 (1954).
- Sucipto, Hery. “Dilema Relasi Agama dan Negara”. *Media Indonesia*, 19 July 2002.
- Sulastomo. “Islam, Demokrasi, dan Bung Hatta”. *Kompas*, 9 August 2002.
- Von der Mehden, Fred R. “Marxism and Early Indonesian Islamic Nationalism”. *Political Science Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (September 1958).
- Wahid, Abdurrahman. “Indonesia’s Mild Secularism”. *SAIS Review* XXI, no. 2 (Summer-Fall 2001).
- Wahid, Abdurrahman. “Paham Konghucu dan Agama”. *Duta Masyarakat*, 29 October 2001.
- Widjojo, S. “Kesaktian Pancasila dalam Tantangan”. *Hidup*, No. 10 (5 March 1989).
- . “Peradilan Agama: Antara Negara Agama dan Negara Pancasila”. *Hidup*, No. 7 (12 February 1989).
- Woodward, Mark R. “Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy”. *SAIS Review* 21, no. 2 (2001).
- Wright, Robin. “An Iranian Luther Shakes the Foundations of Islam”. *The Guardian*, 1 February 1995.

Brochures and Transcripts

- Anggaran Dasar, Anggaran Rumah Tangga, Tafsir Azas, Program Masyumi*. Jakarta: Masyumi, 1953.
- Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). *Kliping tentang Undang-Undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional*. 2 vols. Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1989.
- Diskusi JIL. “Bedah Pemikiran Adonis”. Transcript of discussion presented by M. Jadul Maula and Ulil Abshar-Abdalla, Teater Utan Kayu, 26 February 2004.
- ICG Report. “Indonesia Backgrounder: How the Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist Network Operate”. International Crisis Group, 11 December 2002.

- Jaringan Islam Liberal (JIL). "Workshop Jaringan Kampus". Jakarta, 28 February–1 March 2005.
- Rentjana Dasar, Program dan Struktur Partai Demokrasi Islam Indonesia (PDII). Bandung: Angkasa, 1967.
- The Asia Foundation. "Islam and Development in Indonesia". March 2005.
- Transcript of Merle C. Ricklef's interview with Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, 3 August 1977.
- Transcript of Merle C. Ricklef's interview with Nurcholish Madjid, 6 August 1977.
- Transcript of Merle C. Ricklef's interview with Mohammad Natsir, 14 August 1977.
- Transcript of Merle C. Ricklef's interview with Muhammad Rasjidi, 7 September 1977.
- U.S. Embassy Jakarta. "Indonesia: Laporan Kebebasan Beragama Internasional 2003". 11 February 2004.

Magazines and Newspapers

- Age, The*, 4 April 2005; 20 March 2005.
- Australian, The*, 4 April 2005.
- Gatra*, 7 December 1998; 21 December 2002; 14 February 2003; 26 September 2005.
- Hidup*, 12 February 1989.
- Jakarta Post*, 24 December 2002; 21 September 2005.
- Jawa Pos*, 25 August 2002.
- Kompas*, 15 July 1988; 13 August 1988; 10 February 2000; 6 August 2000; 11 August 2000; 27 November 2000; 16 January 2001; 17 January 2001; 17 May 2001; 14 January 2002; 13 February 2002; 7 April 2002; 16 April 2002; 18 July 2002; 8 August 2002; 10 August 2002; 3 May 2003; 28 May 2003; 12 August 2003; 25 August 2003; 8 September 2003; 13 November 2003; 15 November 2003; 4 December 2003; 13 December 2003; 6 May 2004; 21 September 2005.
- Media Indonesia*, 14 June 2002; 27 July 2002; 7 August 2002; 8 August 2002.
- New Statesman*, 13 September 2004.
- New York Times*, 18 March 2005.
- Panjimas*, 9–16 August 2000.
- Pikiran Rakyat*, 8 November 2002; 20 January 2003; 21 July 2004.
- Republika*, 10 May 2001. *Sinar Harapan*, 18 December 2002; 21 February 2003; 29 May 2003.
- Star, The*, 10 April 2005.
- Suara Partai Masyumi*, Vol. 9, No. 4-5/6, 1954.
- Syir'ah*, 20 July 2003; December 2004.
- Tekad*, 7–13 August 2000.

Tempo, 25 August 1973; 8 September 1973; 6 October 1973; 15 December 1973; 29 December 1973; 1 August 1981; 24 June 1989; 25 November 2001; 18 December 2002; 30 March 2003.

Time, 28 March 2005.

V. Interviews and Conversations

- Abu Bakar Baashir, chairman of MMI. Jakarta, 2 February 2004.
- Ahmad Rivai Hassan, lecturer of Paramadina University. Jakarta, October 2001
- Al-Chaidar, leader of Darul Islam (DI). Jakarta, 4 March 2004.
- Amien Abdullah, Muslim intellectual. Yogyakarta, 24 February 2004.
- Budhy Munawar Rachman, Muslim intellectual. Jakarta 23 January 2004.
- Dawam Rahardjo, chairman of Muhammadiyah. Jakarta, 28 January 2004.
- Deliar Noer, chairman of Partai Umat Islam (PUI). Jakarta, 4 February 2004.
- Djohan Effendi, Muslim intellectual. Melbourne, 18 November 2004.
- Goenawan Mohammad, essayist and poet. Jakarta, 10 March 2004.
- Hilmy Bakar al-Maskaty, deputy of FPI. Jakarta, 10 February 2004.
- Husein Muhammad, Muslim scholar. Jakarta, 22 January 2004.
- Ismail Yusanto, chairman of Hizbut Tahrir. Jakarta, 2 March 2004.
- M. Jadul Maula, director of LKiS, Jakarta 27 September 2001, 5 March 2005.
- M. Syafi'i Anwar, editor-in-chief. Melbourne, December 2002.
- Masdar F. Masudi, chairman of NU. Jakarta, 27 January 2004.
- Muslim Abdurrahman, chairman of Muhammadiyah. Jakarta, 8 March 2004.
- Nono Anwar Makarim, lawyer. Jakarta, 13 February 2004.
- Nur Mahmudi Ismail, chairman of PKS, Melbourne, 26 September 2003.
- Nurcholish Madjid, Muslim intellectual. Jakarta, August 2001.
- Ridwan Saidi, chairman of Partai Masyumi Baru, Jakarta 12 December 2001.
- Saiful Mujani, political analyst. Jakarta, 26 February 2005.
- Ulil Abshar-Abdalla, Muslim intellectual. Jakarta, January–March 2004; May–June 2004; and February–March 2005.

