

INDEX

A

abangan, 2–4, 20, 111, 159
'Abduh, Muhammad, 26, 37
Abdullah, Amin, 146, 170
Abdurrahman Wahid, 18, 102–103, 105, 122, 143, 153, 172, 185, 190, 197–98, 231
 officialization of religion, 157–58
 on Islamic economy, 167–68
 on liberalism, 163–64
Abi Sufyan, Mu'awiyah ibn, 31
Abshar-Abdalla, Ulil, 179, 201, 204, 207–208, 218, 225
Abu Hanifah, 61, 64, 70
Adabiyah, 37
Agnostic democracy, 10
Ahmad, Abdullah, 36
Ahmad, Zainal Abidin, 14, 60, 72–74, 227
Ahmadiyah, 153, 156, 158, 165, 174
Ahmed, Ishtiaq, 11
al-Afghani, Jamal al-Din, 26
al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid, 25
al-Imam, 38
al-Irsyad, 39
al-Munir, 38
al-Raziq, 'Ali 'Abd, 66
Ali, Chiragh, 27
Ali, Fachry, 6, 170
Ali, Abdul Mukti, 99–100, 121–22, 143
al-Raziq, 'Ali 'Abd, 30, 31
al-Tahtawi, Rifa'a, 25, 26, 29
aliran theory, 227
Amrullah, Abdul Karim, 42, 48
Anshary, Endang Saifuddin, 5
Anshary, Isa, 5
Arkoun, Mohammed, 29, 31, 199

Asad, Muhammad, 11
asas tunggal, 104, 132, 155, 196
Asia Foundation, 180–81, 214
Asy'ari, Hasyim, 105
Ataturk, Mustafa Kamal, 30–31, 46–48
atheism, 165, 175
Awwas, Irfan Suryahadi, 182
Azra, Azyumardi, 144, 156, 170

B

Baashir, Abu Bakar, 188
Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia. *See* BPUPKI (Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence)
Bahtiar, Harsja W., 4
Basyaib, Hamid, 204, 218
Batuah, Datuk, 42
Bellah, Robert, 10, 147
Bentham, Jeremy, 9
bilingual prayer, 211
Bill of National Education, 17
B.J. Habibie, 103, 196
Boland, B.J., 152
BPUPKI (Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence), 59, 64, 71, 83, 151, 226

C

caliphate
 congress, 48
 issue of, 46–49, 66
Central Sarekat Islam (CSI), 41
Centre for Religious and Social Studies (Resist), 200–201

- Centre for the Study of Pancasila
Economy (PUSTEP), 126
- Children of God, 156
- Christians and Muslims relationship,
83
- Cipriani, Roberto, 18
- Committee for Preparatory Work
for Indonesian Independence
(BPUPKI), 59, 64, 71, 83, 151,
226
- Committee for the Preparation of the
Implementation of Shari'ah, 163
- Communion of Churches in Indonesia
(PGI), 157
- Communitarian democracy, 10
- Confucians, 155–57, 173
- Consultative Council of Indonesian
Muslims (Masyumi), 5, 59–63,
72, 75–76, 84, 86–87, 89, 93,
95, 187
- Crescent and Star Party (PBB), 7, 158,
185, 187, 190, 192, 194–96,
215–16
- CSI (Central Sarekat Islam), 41
- D**
- Dachlan, Ahmad, 225
- Dahlan, Mohammad, 62, 76
- Damascus, 31
- DDII (Indonesian Islamic Missionary
Council), 183, 187
- Deliberative democracy, 10
- democracy
and opposition, 74–76
and sovereignty of God, 81–82
and women's rights, 85–86, 96
Islamic roots, 72–74
models of, 8–12
see also Guided Democracy
- Democracy League, 76
- “democratic economy”, 77
- Depag (Departemen Agama), 151–54,
180, 229
- Development and Unity Party (PPP),
105, 115, 158, 189–90, 194–95
merger with NU (Nahdlatul Ulama),
132
- Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia
(DDII). *See* DDII (Indonesian
Islamic Missionary Council)
- DI (Darul Islam), 22, 63–64, 76, 90
- Diponegoro, 4
- Djaelani, Abdul Qodir, 186, 215
- Djambek, Muhammad Djamil, 36
- Dobbin, Christine, 35
- Dutch
pan-Islamism, 47
- E**
- Effendi, Djohan, 142–43, 153–55,
157, 159, 195, 211
- Effendy, Bahtiar, 6
- Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, 33
- Engineer, Ali Asghar, 31–32, 199
- essentialist scholars, 50
see also non-essentialist scholars
- F**
- Fadjar, A. Malik, 120, 137
- Fatwa, A.M., 196
- Fealy, Greg, 7
- Federation of Political Association of
Indonesian Nationalism (PPPKI),
43
- Feith, Herbert, 72
- female *imam*, 210
- Foucault, Michael, 10
- freedom and civil liberties, 207–208
- Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, 180,
214
- Fulbright Program, 180–81
- Functional Group *see* GOLKAR
(Golongan Karya)
- G**
- Gabardi, Wayne, 10, 11

- GAPI (Gabungan Politik Indonesia or Indonesian Political Federation), 58
- Geertz, Clifford, 2, 3, 4, 227
- Gerindo (Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia or Indonesian People's Movement), 58
- GOLKAR (Golongan Karya), 105, 189–91
- government, belongs to God, 22
- Greater Indonesian Party (Parindra), 58
- Guided Democracy, 72, 75–77, 94, 132
see also democracy
 “guided economy”, 77, 79–80, 94
- H**
- Habermas, Juergen, 10
- Hadikusumo, Djarnawi, 100
- hajj* management, 154–55
- Hamka, 15, 37, 38, 47–48
- Harahap, Burhanuddin, 75, 80
- Harun, Lukman, 100, 119
- Hasjim, Wachid, 62, 103
- Hassan, A., 43
- Hassan, Muhammad Kamal, 6
- Hatta, Mohammad, 62
- Haz, Hamzah, 181, 190
- Hefner, Robert W., 7, 224
- Held, David, 9, 10
- Het Kantoor voor Inlandsche Zaken (Office for Native Affairs), 151
- Hidayat, Komaruddin, 154, 161, 170
- “high politics”, 193, 216
- HIS (Hollands Inlandse School), 37
- Hitler, 58
- Hizbullah, 59
- HMI (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam), 99
- homosexual marriage, 209
- HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), 178, 188
- Hurgronje, C. Snouck, 186
- I**
- IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Religion), 143–46, 154, 180, 196
- ijtihad*, 27–29, 45, 68
- Imam Bonjol, 35
- indigenized Muslims, 6
- Indonesia
 change and reform, 35–37
 Japanese invasion, 58–59
- Indonesian Bishops' Conference (KWI), 157
- Indonesian Buddhist Council (WALUBI), 157
- Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), 4, 41, 76, 93
- Indonesian Council of Religious Scholars (MUI), 17, 115, 157–58, 174, 211
- Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDIP), 6, 189–91
- Indonesian Economic System (SPI), 127
- Indonesian Hindu Council (PHDI), 157
- Indonesian Islamic Democratic Party (PDII), 62
- Indonesian Islamic Missionary Council (DDII), 183, 187
- Indonesian Muslim Unity (Permi), 46
- Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI), 4, 46
- Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo), 58
- Indonesian Political Federation (GAPI), 58
- Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), 4, 76
- Institut Agama Islam Negeri. *See* IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Religion)
- Institute for Islamic and Social Studies (LKIS), 145, 199–200
- International Society for Krishna Consciousness, 156

- Iqbal, Javid, 11
- Iqbal, Muhammad, 11, 27, 28
- ISDV (Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging), 41–42
- Islam
- and alternative economic system, 166–68
 - and communism, 39–42
 - and nationalism, 42–46
 - and political change, 30–34
 - and secularization, 146–150, 170–71
 - rethinking, 45, 55
 - see also* Western Islamophobia
- Islam Jama'ah, 156
- Islamic court, 70, 115, 117
- Islamic Democratic State (IDS), 12–16, 19, 57–60, 227–29
- decline, 86–87
 - economic basis, 77–80
 - exponents, 60–61, 82–83, 87
 - foundation, 62–68
 - limitations, 80–86
 - resurgence and decline, 183–84, 190
- Islamic Law *see shari'ah*
- Islamic nationalist, 5, 59, 89
- Islamic Political Association of Indonesia (PSII), 58, 84, 89
- Islamic political discourse, 177–82
- Islamic political parties, 148, 183–88, 214
- decline, 189–90
 - opposing the idea, 192–93
 - turning moderate, 195–97
- Islamic political tradition, of Pakistan, 11–12
- Islamic reform, history of, 25–29, 50
- Islamic State, rejection of, 111–14
- Islamic thought, 224–26
- see also* liberal Islamic ideas
- J**
- Jacob, Ilyas, 46, 58
- Jakarta Charter, 59, 69, 116, 118, 141, 150, 163, 178, 184–90, 192, 203–04
- opposition to, 193–95, 223
- Jalaluddin, Shaikh Tahir, 36, 38
- Jama'at Islami, 187
- Jami'at Khayr, 39
- Japanese military power, 58–59
- Jaringan Islam Liberal *see* JIL (Liberal Islam Network)
- Jassin, Hans Begue, 15
- Javanese Muslims, variants, 3–4
- JI (Jama'ah Islamiyah), 183, 188
- JIB (Jong Islamieten Bond), 85
- JIL (Liberal Islam Network), 201–202, 211, 226
- Josephus, Flavius, 64
- Judaism, 155
- Justice Party (PK), 7, 190, 194–97
- K**
- kafir*, 165
- Kaum Muda, 37–39
- Kaum Tua, 37–38
- Khan, Sayyid Ahmad, 26, 27, 33
- Khatib, Shaikh Ahmad, 36
- Khilafat Movement, 46
- Khittah 1926, 102, 132
- Kholiludin, Tedi, 211
- Konstituante, 71–72, 93
- KPPSI (Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam), 163
- Kuntowijoyo, 101, 107, 192–93
- L**
- Langit Makin Mendung*, 15
- Laskar Jihad, 183, 188
- Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial, *see* LKiS (Institute for Islamic and Social Studies)
- Liberal Democratic State (LDS), 12, 17–19, 140, 228, 230
- foundation, 146–50

- intellectual roots, 141–46
 Islam and alternative economic system, 166–68
 officialization of religion, 155–58
 religion-state relationship, 151–54
 religious freedom and pluralism, 162–65
 trajectory of, 197–98
 liberal Islamic ideas, 202
 freedom and civil liberties, 207–10
 liberal democracy and secularism, 202–05
 religious pluralism, 205–07
see also Islamic thought
 Liberal Islam Network (JIL), 201–202, 211, 226
 Liga Demokrasi, *see* Democracy League
 LKiS (Institute for Islamic and Social Studies), 145, 199–200
 Locke, John, 8
 Luthfi, Mokhtar, 46, 58
- M**
- Maarif, Ahmad Syafii, 17, 100, 107
 Macpherson, C.B., 8, 9
 Madinah Charter, 164, 192, 194–95
 Madjid, Nurcholish, 18, 55, 87, 96, 111–12, 142, 146–47, 149, 161, 165, 185, 197–98
 Mahendra, Yusril Ihza, 81, 185, 187–88
 Mahfudh, Sahal, 102, 123, 218
 Majelis Ulama Indonesias *see* MUI (Indonesian Council of Religious Scholars)
 Majelis Islam A'laa Indonesia *see* MIAI (Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia)
 Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia *see* Masyumi (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims)
 Mangunkusumo, Tjipto, 43
 Mannheim, Karl, 8, 222
 Marriage Law, 115–17, 129
 Marxism, 10
 Masudi, Masdar F., 149–50, 153, 159
 Masyumi (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims), 5, 59–63, 72, 75–76, 84, 86–87, 89, 93, 95, 187
 Maula, Jadul, 208–209
 Mawdudi, Abul A'la, 11, 33, 114, 187
 Mazrui, Ali A. 34
 Megawati Soekarnoputri, 6, 86, 125, 181, 189–90
 MIAI (Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia), 58, 88
 Mill, James, 9
 Minangkabau, 35
 Ministry of Religious Affairs, 69–71, 151–52
 minority religions, 155
 Mintaredja, Mohammad Sjafaat, 99–100, 111, 116
 Misbach, Haji, 42
 Miskin, Haji, 35
 mixed languages prayer, 211
 Model 1, *see* Islamic Democratic State (IDS)
 Model 2, *see* Religious Democratic State (RDS)
 Model 3, *see* Liberal Democratic State (LDS)
 models of polity, 8–18, 65, 223
 modernist-traditionalist classification, 5–6
 Mohammad Hatta, 62, 184
 Mojokuto, 4
 Muamalat Bank, 167
 Mubyarto, 126
 Muhammad, Husein, 210, 220
 Muhammadiyah, 100–101, 119, 180, 190–91, 198
 acceptance of Pancasila, 106–107
 MUI (Indonesian Council of Religious Scholars), 17, 115, 157–58, 174, 211

- Muis, Abdul, 40
 Mujani, Saiful, 7, 203, 204, 218
 Mulyadi, Sukidi, 206, 219
 Munawar-Rachman, Budhy, 206, 219
 Munir, Muhammad, 12
 “Muslim Luther”, 32
 Muslims and Christians relationship, 83
 Mustafa Kamal Atatürk, 30–31, 46–48
 Mu’tazilah, 67, 91, 144
 Muttaqien, E.Z., 5
 Muzadi, Hasyim, 122–23
- N**
 Najjar, Fauzi M. 30
 Nasakom (Nationalism, Religion, and Communism), 132
 Nasution, Harun, 143–44
 National Awakening Party (PKB), 7, 189–90, 193
 National Education System Bill, 119
 National Mandate Party (PAN), 7, 100, 189–95
 Natsir, Mohammad, 13, 14, 22, 43, 44, 49, 60, 63, 75, 83, 207
 New Order, 3, 6–7, 16, 62, 98–99, 102–03, 111, 115, 180, 182–83, 224
 Noer, Deliar, 5, 39, 184–85, 188
 non-essentialist scholars, 24, 50
see also essentialist scholars
 NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), 5–6, 18, 62, 76, 89, 99, 101–103, 132, 180, 190, 198
 acceptance of Pancasila, 104–106
 merger with Development and Unity Party, 132
 Nurwahid, Hidayat, 195
 NUSumma Bank, 167
- O**
 Old Order, 98
 Osman, Fathi, 33
- Ottoman Turkey
 influence in Indonesia, 47
- P**
 Paderi War, 35–37
 Pakistan
 Islamic political tradition, 11–12
 PAN (National Mandate Party), 7, 100, 189–95
 pan-Islamism, 47
 Pancasila, 16, 59, 71, 93, 98, 103–108, 118, 132, 196, 203
 Pancasila economy, 126–28, 138
Pandji Islam, 44
 Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, *see* PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence)
Panji Masyarakat, 15
 Panjikusmin, Ki, 15
 Parindra (Greater Indonesian Party), 58
 Parmusi, 99–100
 Parsons, Talcott, 147
 Partai Amanat Nasional, *see* PAN (National Mandate Party)
 Partai Bulan Bintang, *see* PBB (Crescent and Star Party)
 Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, *see* PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle)
 Partai Demokrasi Islam Indonesia, *see* PDII (Indonesian Islamic Democratic Party)
 Partai Indonesia Raya, *see* Parindra (Greater Indonesian Party)
 Partai Keadilan, *see* PK (Justice Party)
 Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, *see* PKB (National Awakening Party)
 Partai Komunis Indonesia, *see* PKI (Indonesian Communist Party)
 Partai Nasionalis Indonesia, *see* PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party)

- Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, *see* PPP (Development and Unity Party)
- Partai Sarikat Islam Indonesia, *see* PSII (Islamic Political Association of Indonesia)
- Partai Sosialis Indonesia, *see* PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party)
- PBB (Crescent and Star Party), 7, 158, 185, 187, 190, 192, 194–96, 215–16
- PDII (Indonesian Islamic Democratic Party), 62
- PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle), 6, 189–91
- Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia, *see* PRRI (Revolutionary Government of the Indonesian Republic)
- Permi (Indonesian Muslim Unity), 46
- Permufakatan Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia, *see* PPPKI (Federation of Political Association of Indonesian Nationalism)
- Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia, *see* Permi (Indonesian Muslim Unity)
- Perwez, Ghulam Ahmad, 11
- PK (Justice Party), 7, 190, 194–97
- PKB (National Awakening Party), 7, 189–90, 193
- PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), 4, 41, 76, 93
- PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party), 4, 46
- PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence), 60
- PPP (Development and Unity Party), 105, 115, 132, 158, 189–90, 194–95
- PPPKI (Federation of Political Association of Indonesian Nationalism), 43
- Prawiranegara, Sjafruddin, 61, 63, 76–80
- Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI), 60
- Prince Diponegoro, 4
- proselytization, 83
- PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party), 4, 76
- PSII (Islamic Political Association of Indonesia), 58, 84, 89
- priyayi*, 3–4, 40
- PRRI (Revolutionary Government of the Indonesian Republic), 76
- PUSTEP (Centre for the Study of Pancasila Economy), 126
- Q**
- Qodir, Zuly, 161
- Qutb, Muhammad, 33
- R**
- Rahardjo, Muhammad Dawam, 101, 109, 145
- Rahman, Fazlur, 28
- Rais, Amien 16, 100, 120, 190–91, 215
- rejection of Islamic state, 112–13
- rejection of secularism, 108–109, 112
- Rasjidi, 69
- Rasul, Hadji, 36, 58
- Religious Democratic State (RDS), 12, 16–17, 19, 97, 228–30
- ascension and dominance, 191–92
- economic justice, 126–28
- emergence, 98–103
- foundation, 103–10
- limitations, 129–30
- religious freedom and pluralism, 121–23, 162–65
- religious judicature, 117–18, 129
- state-religion relationship, 110–20
- teaching religion in public schools, 119–20, 160–61, 179
- women's rights, 123–26
- religious freedom and pluralism, 121–23, 162–65

- Religious Harmony Bill, 158, 163
 Religious Judicature Bill, 117–18
 religion, in public schools, 119–20,
 160–61, 179
 religion, officialization of, 155–57
 religious pluralism, 205–07
 religious socialism, 79–80
 Renaissance, 121
 Resist (Centre for Religious and Social
 Studies), 200–201
 Revolutionary Government of the
 Indonesian Republic (PRRI), 76
 Ricklefs, Merle C., 19, 36
 Rida, Rashid, 30
 Roem, Mohamad, 61, 63, 87, 111–12
 Rosjadi, Imron, 62, 76
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 8
 Roy, Muhammad Yusman, 211
- S**
- Sadli, Mohammad, 127
 Saefuddin, A.M., 181
 Salafism, *see* Wahabism
 Salim, Agus, 40, 43, 85
 Salim, Emil, 127
 Samanhudi, Haji, 39
 Samson, Allan, 5
santri, 2–5, 19, 20, 98–99, 111, 114,
 141, 146, 149, 159, 168, 180,
 182, 185, 193, 211, 223, 226–27,
 231
 Sardar, Ziauddin, 24
 Sarekat Islam (SI), 39–42
 Sasono, Adi, 103, 128
 SATV (Sidik Amanat Tableg Vatonah),
 42
 Secular Democratic State, *see* Liberal
 Democratic State
 secular nationalist, 5, 59, 89
 secularism, 68, 70–72, 92, 104, 146,
 148–50, 230
 and liberal democracy, 202–205
 rejection, 108–109
 secularization, 230–31
 and Islam, 146–150, 170–71
shari'ah, 66, 91, 158–63, 181, 188, 203
 SI (Sarekat Islam), 39–44, 47–48, 186
 Siddiq, Achmad, 102, 105
 Siddiq, Machfoezh, 102
 Sidik Amanat Tableg Vatonah (SITV),
 42
 Sikh faith, 155
 Siradj, Said Agiel, 146, 148, 164, 170
 Sisdiknas (National Education System
 Bill), 119
 Sjadzali, Munawir, 103, 113, 117, 124
 Sjarifuddin, Amir, 83–84
 Soeharto, 3, 7, 16, 87, 98, 104,
 106–108, 121, 153, 156
 post-soeharto era, 177–82, 184–85,
 196, 198, 203–205, 212, 230
 Soekarno, 18, 23, 30, 43–46, 57, 60,
 62, 66, 72, 75–76, 132, 152
 officialization of religion, 155–56
 Soroush, Abdolkarim, 32
 State Institute of Islamic Religion
 (IAIN), 143–46, 154, 180, 196
 state-religion relationship, 110, 151–62
 Marriage Law, 115–17, 129
 rejection of Islamic state, 111–14
 unification of state and religion,
 114–15
 Sukarnoputri, Megawati, *see* Megawati
 Sukarnoputri
 Sukiman, 75
 Sultan Agung, 4
 Sumargono, Ahmad, 186, 215
 Sumatra Thawalib, 37, 46
 Sungkar, Abdullah, 183
 Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia
 (MIAI), 58, 88
 Surau Jembatan Besi, 37
 Suseno, Frank Magnis, 118
- T**
- Taymiyyah, Taqi al-Din ibn, 25

- Tempo*, 15
Thalib, Ja'far Umar, 183, 188
theocracy, 64–65, 68
Tirtoadisurjo, Raden Mas, 40
Tjokroaminoto, H.O.S., 40, 41, 48,
225
traditionalist-mordenist classification, 5
Trancendental Meditation, 156
Turkish secularism, 45
typological approach to religious-
political issues, 3–8
- U**
ul-Haq, Mahbub, 128
Umayyad caliphate, 31
unification of state and religion, 114–15
Unitarian Church, 156
- V**
van Dijk, Kees, 47
- W**
Wadud, Amina, 210
Wahabism, 35, 53
Wahid, Abdurrahman, see
Abdurrahman Wahid
WALUBI, 157
Weiss, Leopold, 11
Western Islamophobia, 63
Wibisono, Jusuf, 76
women's rights, 85–86, 96, 123–26
Woodward, Mark R., 6
- Y**
Yafie, Ali, 102–103