

Notes

Introduction by Herman L. Beck

- 1 Ahmad Najib Burhani, Muhammad Abdullah Darraz, and Ahmad Fuad Fanani, the editors of the book *Muazin Bangsa dari Makkah Darat: Biografi Intelektual Ahmad Syafii Maarif* (Jakarta: Serambi and Maarif Institute, 2015), 9; Sudirman Nasir, "Ahmad Syafii Maarif, Seruan Moralitas untuk Peningkatan Derajat Kesehatan Masyarakat," *ibid.*, 226; Abdul Munir Mulkhan, "Sintesis Peradaban Ahmad Syafii Maarif," *ibid.*, 346.
- 2 *Muazin Bangsa* is the epithet used to describe Syafii Maarif in the book's title.
- 3 See, for example, Ahmad Syafii Maarif et al., *Catatan 1 Dekade Maarif Institute 2003–2013* (Jakarta: Maarif Institute, 2013).
- 4 Franz Magnis-Suseno, SJ, "Christian and Muslim Minorities in Indonesia: State Policies and Majority Islamic Organizations," in *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*, ed. Mirjam Künkler and Alfred Stepan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 81.
- 5 As quoted by Muhammad Ali, "Gagasan Islam Nasionalis-Humanis Ahmad Syafii Maarif," in *Muazin Bangsa dari Makkah Darat*, 276.
- 6 See <http://rmaward.asia/?s=ahmad+syafii+maarif>.
- 7 To mention only two such "immature" books: *Peta Bumi Intelektualisme Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1993) and *Membumikan Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1995).
- 8 There are different versions of this autobiography. I have used *Titik-Titik Kisar di Perjalananku: Autobiografi Ahmad Syafii Maarif*, 3rd rev. ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 2009).
- 9 James L. Peacock, "Dahlan and Rasul: Indonesian Muslim Reformers," in *The Imagination of Reality: Essays in Southeast Asian Coherence Systems*, ed. Alton L. Becker and Aram A. Yengoyan (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1979), 245–268. However, in *Pemikiran Muhammadiyah dan Muhammad Abduh: Suatu Studi Perbandingan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1993), Arbiyah Lubis defends the thesis that Ahmad Dahlan and the Muhammadiyah are in fact more influenced by the interpretation of Muhammad 'Abduh through Rashid Rida, his disciple, than directly by Muhammad 'Abduh himself.
- 10 For Mohammad Natsir and the Masyumi, see Yusril Ihza, "Combining Activism and Intellectualism: the Biography of Mohammad Natsir," *Studia Islamika* 2, no. 1 (1995): 111–147; Rémy Madinier and Andrée Feillard, "At the Sources of Indonesian Political Islam's Failure: The Split between the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Masyumi in Retrospect," *Studia Islamika* 6, no. 2 (1999): 1–38; and Rémy Madinier, *L'Indonésie, entre démocratie musulmane et Islam intégral: Histoire du parti Masjumi (1945–1960)* (Paris: Karthala, 2011).
- 11 For Mawdudi, see, for example, Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press,

- 1996), 3, 81–106; for Maryam Jameelah, see, for example, Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, “Maryam Jameelah,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, vol. 3, ed. John L. Esposito (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 59–60.
- 12 Most of the following examples are taken from Fazlur Rahman’s *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), especially 141–162.
 - 13 The MA thesis has been published in an Indonesian translation: *Islam dan Politik di Indonesia pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959–1965)* (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1988). The PhD dissertation was published three years earlier in an Indonesian translation: *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi Tentang Percuturan dalam Konstituante* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985).
 - 14 Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003), 108.
 - 15 See, for example, M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1200*, 3rd ed. (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 377.
 - 16 Moch Nur Ichwan, “Official Reform of Islam: State Islam and the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Contemporary Indonesia, 1966–2004” (PhD diss., Tilburg University, 2006), 367.
 - 17 See, for example, Ahmad Najib Burhani, “Liberal and Conservative Discourses in the Muhammadiyah: The Struggle for the Face of Reformist Islam in Indonesia,” in *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the “Conservative Turn,”* ed. Martin van Bruinessen (Singapore: ISEAS, 2013), 105–144.
 - 18 Titik-Titik Kisar, 340.
 - 19 Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Islam and Democratization in Indonesia,” in *Islam beyond Conflict: Indonesian Islam and Western Political Theory*, ed. Azyumardi Azra and Wayne Hudson (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 47–52.
 - 20 Martin van Bruinessen, “Indonesian Muslims and Their Place in the Larger World of Islam,” paper presented at the 29th Indonesia Update Conference, Australian National University, Canberra, September 30–October 2, 2011, especially 21–22.

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- 1 See Marvin Perry, *Arnold Toynbee and the Crisis of the West* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1982), 11–31.
- 2 Khaled Abou El Fadl’s *Speaking in God’s Name* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2001) is very important reading, especially by those who would hijack God to gain objectives that are in fact purely worldly in nature. When speaking of radical Islamic movements, including extreme ones, this view of El Fadl is something we will study, along with his other works.
- 3 During an event in Surabaya on August 26, 2007.
- 4 QS Al-Hujurat (49):13. In these notes, Q refers to the Quran; s refers to surah.
- 5 QS Al-Jumu’ah (62):11. This surah was transmitted at the beginning of the Medina period. According to several interpretations based on hadiths, there

were only twelve companions not tempted by the pull of trade goods and games. See Wahbah al-Zuhayli, *Al-Tafsir Al-Wajiz 'Ala Hamishi Al-Qur'an Al-'Azim wa Ma'ahu Asbab Al-Nuzul wa Qawa'idu Al-Tartil* (Damascus: Dar Al-Fikr, AH 1402 / 1972), hadith 555. This incident was the reason for the transmission of this verse in Surah Al-Jumu'ah.

- 6 See Sukarno, *Indonesia Menggugat* [Indonesia accuses] (Yogyakarta: Aditya Media Yogyakarta, 2004), 127. This book is based on Sukarno's speech before the colonial court in Bandung on December 1–2, 1930. It was 170 pages long and delivered in Bahasa Indonesia. See Bob Hering, *Soekarno Bapak Indonesia Merdeka: Sebuah Biografi, 1901–1945* [Soekarno, the Father of Independent Indonesia: A Biography, 1901–1945], trans. Hasono Sutejo, 2 vols. (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 2003), 1:213.
- 7 See, for example, Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Kerakyatan, dan Keindonesiaan* [Islam, populism, and Indonesian identity] (Bandung: Mizan, 1993). This book is a collection of writings by the late Nurcholish Madjid from the 1970s through the 1990s. An earlier collection was titled *Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan* [Islam, modernity, and Indonesian identity] (Bandung: Mizan, 1987). I prefer the term “Indonesian intellectual” for Nurcholish Madjid, not “Muslim intellectual,” for this figure represented the spirit of the times of his nation. He wanted to see an Indonesia that was just and prosperous, a home for all the people, without discrimination. He felt no conflict between Islam and being Indonesian. We do not know Allah's secret plan for why he was called home so soon, on August 29, 2005. As a friend and fellow alumnus of the University of Chicago, I along with many others deeply felt his loss.
- 8 See Soekarno, *Lahirnya Pancasila* [The birth of Pancasila] (Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan RI, n.d.), 27.
- 9 Ibid., 27–28.
- 10 See Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan, Mentalitas, dan Pembangunan* [Culture, mentality, and development] (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2002), 45.
- 11 Said in exasperation by Suardi Tasrif, according to the senior journalist Rosihan Anwar during a meeting at the Jakarta Academy in or around 2005.
- 12 The most recent data of Jasser Auda on the composition of the adherents of Islam across the world is as follows: Arab, 19 %; Turkish, 4 %; Indo-Pakistani, 24 %; African, 17 %; Southeast Asian, 15 %. See Auda Jasser, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London and Washington: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2007), xii. It is obvious that non-Arab Muslims far exceed the number of Muslim minorities in Europe, North America, Latin America, East Asia, and other places. A quarter of the 6 billion inhabitants on earth are Muslim, an *umat* that is rapidly growing. I met this writer at a meeting in Kuala Lumpur on October 25–27, 2007. This work comes from his PhD dissertation at the University of Wales, July 2007.
- 13 Karen Armstrong, *The Future of God*, a one-hour recorded lecture distributed as an audiocassette (Sounds True, 1995).

- 14 Barack Obama, *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (New York: Crown, 2006), translated into Indonesian by Ruslani and Lulu Rahman as *Menerjang Harapan: Dari Jakarta Menuju Gedung Putih* (Jakarta: Ufuk Press, 2007), 157.
- 15 Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Indonesia Baru di Tengah Pertarungan Antara Mosaik Budaya yang Elok dan Kaya dengan Ancaman Keserakahan* [The new Indonesia in the midst of the battle between the elegant and rich cultural mosaic and the threat of greed] (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University, 2004), 4. This booklet comes from a speech I gave upon receiving the Hamengkubuwono IX Award from Gadjah Mada University on December 20, 2004.
- 16 Soekarno, *Lahirnya Pancasila* [The birth of Pancasila], 27–28.
- 17 See QS Al-Ma'idah (5):48.
- 18 Soekarno, *Lahirnya Pancasila*, 22.
- 19 See Mostafa Rejai, "Nationalism, East and West," in *Ideologies and Modern Politics*, by Reo M. Christenson et al. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975), 25 and 44. Italics per the source.
- 20 Ibid., 44.
- 21 See the private letter from Y.B. Mangunwijaya to President B.J. Habibie dated August 8, 1998, at <http://www.etan.org/et/1998/august8-14/14letter.htm>.
- 22 See Hazil Tanzil, ed., *Seratus Tahun Haji Agus Salim* [One hundred years of Haji Agus Salim] (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984), 346.
- 23 Ibid., 356.
- 24 Ibid. Quoted directly from the original.
- 25 See Panitia Seminar Sejarah Masuknya Islam ke Indonesia [Board of the Seminar on the History of Islam's Entry into Indonesia], *Risalah Seminar Sejarah Masuknya Islam ke Indonesia* [Minutes of the Seminar on the History of Islam's Entry into Indonesia] (Medan, 1963), 265.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 The classic work on the process of Indianization of Southeast Asia was created in great and careful detail by the French scholar George Coedès (1886–1969) in *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, translated by Susan Brown Cowing (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968). This 403-page book consists of 256 pages of text in addition to a foreword, end notes, and index. All the kingdoms inspired by Indian civilization in Southeast Asia are recorded in this work, beginning with the early centuries of the Common Era. Coedès recorded that the arrival of Indians bringing Hinduism and Buddhism was a peaceful process without any evidence of force or military conquest. The kingdoms of Southeast Asia with Indian features, and specifically in Nusantara at Kutai in East Kalimantan, Tarumanegara in West Java, Sanjayawangsa in Central Java, Sailendera in Central Java, and Sumatra, Sriwijaya and Melayu in Sumatra, Kediri, Singasari and, largest of all, Majapahit in East Java, were generally independent and headed by indigenous or mixed-blood rulers. The Indian arrivals functioned as advisers, while their main tasks were more of a cultural nature. This was in contrast with what occurred in Vietnam, where the governing positions were directly in the hands of the Chinese. That is why the influences of China were limited to the territories

- it conquered, while the Indian influences far exceeded their commercial voyages (see pp. 34–35). For over a thousand years, Vietnam was a colony of China.
- 28 Bertrand Russell, *Understanding History and Other Essays* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957), 9.
 - 29 Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 14.
 - 30 Russell, *Understanding History*, 13.
 - 31 See, for example, Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, *Mengapa Indonesia Harus Menjadi Negara Federasi* [Why Indonesia must become a federated state] (Jakarta: University of Indonesia Press), 2002.
 - 32 See Nico Schulte Nordholt, “Romo Mangun, Activist,” in *Inside Indonesia* online (July–September, 1999).

Chapter 1

- 1 See Isma‘il R. al-Fârûqî and Lois Lamy al-Fârûqî, *The Cultural Atlas of Islam* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1986), 203–228.
- 2 Ibn Al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi Al-Tarikh* (Al-Maktabah Al-Shamilah, n.d.), Sect. 1, 306. See also Ibn Kathir, *Al-Fusul fi Sirat Al-Rasul S.a.w.* (Al-Maktabah Al-Shamilah, n.d.), 60–61.
- 3 Ajip Rosidi, *Bahasa Indonesia Bahasa Kita* [Bahasa Indonesia, our language] (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2001), 10.
- 4 See Restu Gunawan, *Muhammad Yanin dan Cita-Cita Persatuan* [Muhammad Yamin and the aspirations of unity] (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2005), 22. P.M. Hooykaas was the Resident in Bengkulu.
- 5 Ki Hadjar Dewantara, *Karya Ki Hadjar Dewantara Bagian II: Kebudayaan* [Works of Ki Hadjar Dewantara, part II: Culture], 2 vols. (Yogyakarta: Majelis Luhur Tamansiswa, 1994), 2:109–110. Ki Hadjar originally wrote this in Dutch and it was carried in *Hindia Poetra* 1 (1916–1917).
- 6 Ibid., vol. 1 (1962), 514.
- 7 Subagio Sastrowardoyo, “Sikap Budaya Takdir dalam Polemik Kebudayaan serta Pengaruhnya” [Takdir’s cultural stance in the cultural polemic and its effects], in *Sang Pujangga: 70 Tahun Polemik Kebudayaan Menyongsong Satu Abad S. Takdir Alisyahbana* [The poet: Seventy years of the cultural polemic on the eve of one century of S. Takdir Alisyahbana], ed. S. Abdul Karim Mashad (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006), 358.
- 8 Ibid., 359.
- 9 See J.S. Badudu and Sutan Mohammad Zain, *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* [General dictionary of the Indonesian language] (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1994), 63 and 950; see also Widada et al., *Kamus Basa Jawa (Bausastra Jawa)* [Dictionary of Javanese language] (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kanisius, 2001), 540.
- 10 Widada, *ibid.*, vol. 22.
- 11 That expert is M.T. Zen of the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), Bandung.
- 12 Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistik Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1975), 3.

- 13 Christine Drake, *National Integration in Indonesia: Patterns and Policies* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 9.
- 14 See Khudori, "Pemanasan Global dan Adaptasi Pertanian" [Global warming and agricultural adaptation], *Republika*, September 22, 2007, 4. Widi Agoes Pratikto (Secretary-General of the Department of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries when this note was written) said that the coastal length of Nusantara is 95,181 km, the second longest in the world after Canada. The size of the maritime areas that Indonesia possesses is thanks to the Juanda Declaration of December 13, 1957, which asserted that Indonesia's maritime territories extend twelve miles from island shorelines. Previously their extent had been only three miles. After this declaration, the extent of Indonesia's waters grew to three-quarters of the entire territory of Indonesia (see *Jawa Post*, November 19, 2007, 14). These figures are still contradictory; we need more authentic sources. The main thrust of the Juanda Declaration is: (1) The shape of the Indonesian state is archipelagic, in which its maritime territory contains islands; (2) the boundary of our archipelagic state is a straight line drawn from the outer islands in accordance with the *point-to-point* theory; (3) Indonesia possesses territorial waters of twelve nautical miles. See Agus S. Djamil, *Al-Qur'an dan Lautan* [The Quran and the seas] (Bandung: Arasy Mizan, 2005), 268.
- 15 The term *Nusantara* was used in old Javanese texts in reference to the "other islands." See Bernard H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), 400. J.L.A. Brandes, the Dutch scholar, reintroduced the term with a new meaning in the late nineteenth century. In the 1920s, *Nusantara* was used by leftist political activist E.F. Douwes Dekker. (Our thanks to the anonymous peer reviewer for additions and corrections.)
- 16 *Ibid.*, 324. Etymologically, the name Indonesia refers to the Latin *Indus*, meaning India, and *nesos*, which is ancient Greek for island. The British ethnologist George S.W. Earl in 1850 proposed the term *Indunesians*. Later, a student of Earl's, James Richardson Logan, used the word *Indonesia* as a synonym for the Indian Archipelago. Soon after that, Adolf Bastian popularized this name in his book *Indonesien, oder die Inseln des Malaysischen Archipels* [Indonesia, or the islands of the Malaysian Archipelago]. The first Indonesian scholar to use that name was none other than Ki Hadjar Dewantara, when he established a press bureau in the Netherlands with the name Indonesisch Pers-bureau (Indonesian Press Bureau) in 1913. (See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia>.) Naturally, Ki Hadjar had not intended that the word *Indonesisch* stand for the name of the entire people, but he was a visionary who anticipated the name Indonesia, which was crowned by the Indonesian Association [PI] in the 1920s.
- 17 If we can use the date as an indicator of the birth of a nation, the name change from *Indische Vereniging* (Indies Association) to *Indonesische Vereniging* (Indonesian Association) occurred in 1922: the Indonesian nation was born then and colonized for only twenty years before 1942. But if the Youth Oath of October 28, 1928, is taken as the benchmark, then Indonesia was colonized for an even shorter period, fourteen years. I certainly reject the view held by

- many that Indonesia had been colonized for centuries. The hard facts of history refute such views entirely.
- 18 Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), a work that caused an uproar among Indonesian social scientists in the 1960s and 1970s. This book was first published in 1960 by Glencoe Press.
 - 19 Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 2:551. The same excerpt can be read in another of my books, *Islam dan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi tentang Perdebatan dalam Konstituante* [Islam and Pancasila as the foundation of the state: A Study of the debate in the Constituent Assembly] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2006), 2. The title of the abovementioned work by Geertz clearly shows that the religion of the Javanese is not fully Islamic, but is a Javanese religion. Geertz, who was recognized worldwide in anthropology thanks to the findings from his research in Central Java, in Hodgson's view made systematic and misleading errors.
 - 20 Leo Suryadinata, Evid Nurvidya Arifin, and Aris Ananta, *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003), 104. These data show that once people became Muslim in Nusantara, it was very difficult to convert them to another religion.
 - 21 See Leslie H. Palmier, *Indonesia and the Dutch* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 5. According to Palmier, in 1900, out of 30 million inhabitants, fewer than 2,000 *pribumi* (indigenous) children had been able to enter Dutch schools, the majority of which were Christian missions. Colonial government policy in fact hindered *pribumi* people from entering Dutch schools.
 - 22 J.C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1967), 148.
 - 23 Coedès, *Indianized States*, 241–242.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, 242.
 - 25 See note 24.
 - 26 W.F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition: A Study of Social Change* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1969), 196.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, 198.
 - 28 See QS Al-Hujurat (49):13.
 - 29 A saying of General Soemarno Soedarsono, General Chairman of Yayasan Jati Diri Bangsa (Foundation of the National Identity). See Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Jenderal Sepuh and Jati Diri Bangsa [An elderly general and national identity],” *Republika*, June 12, 2007, 12.
 - 30 QS Al-Qalam (68):4.
 - 31 QS Al-Ahzab (33):21.
 - 32 See Muhammad ‘Ali Al-Shabuni, *Safwat Al-Tafasir*, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dar Al-Qur’an Al-Karim, AH 1405 / 1985), 3:425.
 - 33 Fazlur Rahman, in his lecture “Readings in Islamic Theology” on the campus of the University of Chicago, October 8, 1979.
 - 34 See Mahyauddin Hj. Yahaya, *Ensiklopedia Sejarah Islam* [Encyclopedia of the history of Islam], 6 vols. (Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1986), 2:613–614.

- 35 *Mawali* (singular: *maula*) in this context means those who are ruled, not slaves, “but who in live in an environment of childhood. They ... did not have the right to have views in carrying out public affairs.” See Muhammad Shahrur, *Dirasat Islamiyyah Mu’asira fi Al-Dawla wa Al-Mujtama’*. I have used its translation, *Tirani Islam: Genealogi Masyarakat dan Negara* [Islamic tyranny: Genealogies of society and the state], trans. Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy and Badrus Syamsul Fata (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2003), 157. *Maula* can also mean God (see QS Al-Haj [22]:78), protector, overseer, and so on.
- 36 QS Al-‘Ankabut (29):41.
- 37 Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: 1500–1900, Dari Emporium Sampai Imperium* [Introduction to modern Indonesian history: 1500–1900, from emporium to imperium] (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1987), 26.
- 38 Ibid., 27.
- 39 H.J. Benda, “Kontinuitas dan Perubahan dalam Islam di Indonesia” [Continuity and change in Islam in Indonesia], in *Sejarah dan Masyarakat: Lintasan Historis Islam di Indonesia* [History and society: The historical course of Islam in Indonesia], ed. Taufik Abdullah, trans. Mien Joebhaar et al. (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1987), 32.
- 40 See Anthony Reid, *Sejarah Modern Awal Asia Tenggara* [The history of early modern Southeast Asia], trans. Sori Seregar, Hasif Amini, and Dahris Setiawan (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2004), 20–52.
- 41 Ibid., 46–47. Our knowledge about the role of Chinese Muslims in this Islamization process in Nusantara is very limited. In fact, that role is quite important, even if not as important as the role of Arab Muslims and Indian Muslims.
- 42 Karkono Kamajaya Partokusumo, *Kebudayaan Jawa, Perpaduannya Dengan Islam* [Javanese culture and its blending with Islam] (Yogyakarta: IKAPI Jakarta Branch, 1995), 301. I personally knew this person who had been a member of the Constituent Assembly of the PNI during the years 1956–1959.
- 43 See note 24.
- 44 See, for example, QS Al-Baqarah (2):256 and Yunus (10):99, which strictly forbid such compulsion.
- 45 M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1982), 13. This excerpt is translated from the author’s Indonesian-language version.
- 46 See Ong Hok Ham, *Dari Soal Priyayi sampai Nyi Blorang: Refleksi Historis Nusantara* [From the *priyayi* issue to Nyi Blorong: Reflections on the history of Nusantara] (Jakarta: Kompas Books, 2004), 75.
- 47 Ricklefs, *History*, 27.
- 48 Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 201. Karel Steenbrink in *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts, 1596–1950*, trans. Jan Steenbrink and Henry Jansen (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1993), does not mention “rice Christians” when discussing colonial politics. Eight pages (60–67) deal in some detail with Coen’s initial hard line toward Islam. For Coen, architect and administrator of Dutch power in Nusantara, religious differences were the main reason for colonization. Coen died of sickness in 1629 at a time when

- Batavia was besieged by the Sultan of Mataram, a powerful Javanese Muslim raja (pp. 61–64). The siege itself ended in failure.
- 49 See note 46 and the many modern problems discussed in this book for examples of such weakness.
- 50 QS Ali Imran (3):110.
- 51 I found the term “paradox” in Wertheim, *Indonesian Society*, 199.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Mochtar Lubis, *Indonesia: Land under the Rainbow* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1990), 91.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 At the time when I was writing this section, this message was still saved in my handphone email and was dated July 5, 2007.
- 56 *Hongitochten*: *Hongi* means a war fleet in Bahasa Ternate, *tochten* means “sailing,” so that *hongitochten* means sailing with a fleet as a part of the monopoly politics of the VOC that forced Malukan males to cut down vast areas of clove and nutmeg trees. The venture triggered popular resistance, although the VOC won in the end. All the spice trees in Hoamoal were destroyed until the place became devoid of human habitation, with the exception of crews from the *hongi* who came to search out the remains of the wild nutmeg trees for final destruction. (See Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru*, 179; Ricklefs, *History*, 61.)
- 57 See Reinhard Schulze, *A Modern History of the Islamic World*, trans. Azizeh Azodi (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 87.
- 58 Soekarno, *Indonesia*, 35–36. *Contingenten* refer to a type of tax paid with crops by the village heads; with *leverantien*, the chiefs were forced to make sure crops were deposited that would be bought by the Company, the amount and the prices being set by the Company. See notes 2 and 3 in this source.
- 59 Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Kesaksian Ali Sastroamidjojo: Gugatan Hari Kebangkitan Nasional [The testimony of Ali Sastroamidjojo: The claim of National Awakening Day],” *Gatra*, May 30, 2007, 106, with minor modifications.
- 60 Ali Sastroamidjojo, *Tonggak-Tonggak di Perjalanananku* [Milestones in my journey] (Jakarta: Kinta, 1974), 43.
- 61 Mansur Suryanegara, *Menemukan Sejarah* [Discovering history] (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 201.
- 62 Mohammad Hatta, *Memoir* (Jakarta: Yayasan Hatta, 2002), 73.
- 63 Maarif, “Kesaksian” [Testimony], 106.
- 64 Hatta, *Memoir*, 172.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 See Palmier, *Indonesia and the Dutch*, 2.
- 67 Ibid., 5.
- 68 Ibid., 6–7.
- 69 Ibid., 13.
- 70 Al-Khairiyah, SI, Muhammadiyah, and Al-Irsyad, which represented modernist practicing Muslims in the national movement, can be read about in comprehensive detail in Deliar Noer’s *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia, 1900–1942* [The modern Islamic movement in Indonesia, 1900–1942] (Jakarta:

- LP3ES, 1995). This work is now a classic and began as the writer's dissertation at Cornell University in 1962.
- 71 See Ricklefs, *History*, 163.
- 72 See Palmier, *Indonesia and the Dutch*, 18.
- 73 See Akira Nagazumi, *Bangkitnya Nasionalisme Indonesia: Budi Utomo 1908–1918* [The rise of Indonesian nationalism: Budi Utomo 1908–1918], trans. Pustaka Utama Grafiti and KITLV (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1989), 262, Addendum 1. Akira Nagazumi (1929–1987) analyzed BU's growth and development over a ten-year period for his dissertation at Cornell University. We owe a debt of gratitude to this Japanese scholar who has enriched our knowledge about a period whose lines are not always easy to trace. Before he passed away, Nagazumi mentioned this to his colleague, Peter Carey: "When the moment of my physical death arrives, in accordance with my family tradition ... I will say the name Amitabha, the Buddha of Infinite Light. There is nothing for me to fear."
- 74 See Donald Eugene Smith, ed., *Religion, Politics, and Social Change in the Third World* (New York: Free Press, 1971), 109.
- 75 Timur Jaylani, "The Sarekat Islam Movement: Its Contribution to Indonesian Nationalism" (MA thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1959), 48–49.
- 76 Ali Sastroamidjojo, *Empat Mahasiswa Indonesia di Negeri Belanda Tahun 1927* [Three Indonesian students in the Netherlands in 1927] (Jakarta: Idayu Press, 1977), 9.
- 77 See Gunawan, *Muhammad Yamin*, 23.
- 78 Ibid., 27. The Youth Congress was formed in June 1928 with a committee composed of Sugondo Djojopuspito (PPPI/Perhimpunan Pelajar-Pelajar Indonesia [Association of Indonesian Students]), chair; Djoko Marsaid from Jong Java, deputy chair; Muhammad Yamin from Jong Sumatranen Bond, secretary; Amir Sjarifuddin from Jong Bataks Bond, treasurer; Djohan Muh. Tjai from Jong Islamieten Bond, assistant I, Kotjosungkono from Pemuda Indonesia (Indonesian Youth), assistant II; Senduk from Jong Celebes, assistant III; J. Leimena, from Jong Ambon, assistant IV; Rohjani from Pemuda Kaum Betawi (Batavia Youth Group), assistant V (p. 25). Regrettably, Amir Sjarifuddin (1907–1948), one of the architects of this 1928 Youth Congress, the former minister of defense and prime minister during the Revolution, met a tragic end after being accused of involvement in the Madiun PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) rebellion, which began on September 19, 1948. Amir was finally captured by forces under Kemal Idris at Desa Klambu, Purwodadi, on November 29, 1948, when he was suffering from dysentery. Amir was first brought to Yogya, and then at the order of the attorney general as prisoner of war he was sent to Surakarta to be examined by Military Governor Gatot Subroto. Then, at the order of Gatot Subroto, Amir and his friends were shot dead on the night of December 19, 1948, at Desa Ngalihan, Karanganyar, Surakarta. Amir was known as a great orator, second only to Sukarno; see Soe Hok Gie, *Orang-Orang di Persimpangan Kiri Jalan* [People on the left side of the intersection] (Yogyakarta: Benteng, 1997, 250–265). When the words of the Youth Pledge were launched, who could

- ever have imagined that twenty years later the congress treasurer would be executed in a small village far from the land of his birth as a Tapanuli Muslim of North Sumatra, a convert to Christianity in about 1935, and later a prominent figure in the PKI.
- 79 Sagimun M.D., *Jakarta: Dari Tepian Air Ke Kota Proklamasi* [Jakarta: From the waterfront to the city of the Proclamation] (Jakarta: Museum and History Service, Government of the Jakarta Special Capital Region, 1988), 266.
 - 80 Sutardji Calzoum Bachri, “Pidato Kebudayaan SCB [SCB’s speech on culture]” at the Little Theater, TIM (Taman Ismail Marzuki), December 10, 2007, 4.
 - 81 The numbers of victims of the Aceh War may be read in Ibrahim Alfian, *Perang di Jalan Allah* [War on God’s road] (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1987), 266–267, Addendum A and B. This work derives from the writer’s dissertation at Gadjah Mada University, which was defended in 1981. The late Prof. Dr. T. Ibrahim Alfian was a lecturer of the philosophy of history when I attended IKIP in Yogyakarta in the 1960s. I felt very close to Pak Ibrahim Alfian.
 - 82 Soekarno, *Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi* [Under the flag of revolution], 2 vols. (Jakarta: Panitia Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi, 1965), 2:22.
 - 83 See Timur Jaylani, “The Sarekat Islam Movement,” 76.
 - 84 Hatta, *Memoir*, 137. Hatta met Tan Malaka in Berlin in July 1922 at the request of Dr. Soetomo, and it was there that they conversed. Hatta was twenty years old; Tan Malaka, twenty-seven.
 - 85 H.B. Jassin, *Chairil Anwar: Pelopor Angkatan 45* [Chairil Anwar: Pioneer of the 1945 generation] (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1959), 30. This translation, by John H. McGlynn, is taken from the *Lontar Anthology of Indonesian Poetry: The Twentieth Century in Poetry*, ed. John H. McGlynn et al. (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2017), 66.
 - 86 Tan Malaka, *Thesis* (Jakarta: Bukit Tinggi, 1947), 19.
 - 87 *Ibid.*, 19–20.
 - 88 Rosihan Anwar, *Menulis Dalam Air: Sebuah Otobiografi* [Writing in water: An autobiography] (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1983), 27. Rosihan Anwar, a seasoned journalist, was born on May 10, 1922, and was still writing well into his eighties. I was fortunate to spend time with him at the Jakarta Academy at beginning of the twenty-first century.
 - 89 Zulhasril Nasir, *Tan Malaka dan Gerakan Kiri Minangkabau* [Tan Malaka and Minangkabau leftist movements] (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2007), 59. See also the three-volume biography by Harry Poeze, *Verguisd en vergeten. Tan Malaka, de linkse beweging en de Indonesische Revolutie, 1945–1949* (Leiden, KITLV, 2007: III, 1460–1467; also in Indonesian translation).
 - 90 See Alfian, “Tan Malaka: Pejuang Revolusioner yang Kesepian” [Tan Malaka: The lonely revolutionary], in *Manusia dalam Kemelut Sejarah* [Humankind in the crisis of history], ed. Taufik Abdullah, Aswab Mahasin, and Daniel Dhakidae (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1981), 170.
 - 91 Franz Magnis-Suseno, “Madilog-nya Tan Malaka” [The Madilog of Tan Malaka], *Basis*, March–April 2001, 52. [Translator’s note: *Madilog* is Tan Malaka’s acronym of the neo-Hegelian formula “Materialism Dialectics Logic.”]
 - 92 Hatta, *Memoir*, 203.

- 93 Sastroamidjojo, *Ampat* [Four], 10.
- 94 Ibid., 11.
- 95 Ibid., 10. Italicization by the author.
- 96 See Rosihan Anwar, *Sejarah Kecil (Petite Histoire) Indonesia* [A little history of Indonesia] (Jakarta: Kompas Books, 2005), 91.
- 97 Ibid., 95–101. According to notes made by Hamka, Rasuna was held for only six months in Semarang along with Rasimah Ismail. In 1937, Rasuna was in Medan to oppose the Registered Marriage Ordinance together with Zainal Abidin Ahmad. Also, the date of his death was not 1965, as Rosihan has it, but 1963, in Parabek, West Sumatra. See Hamka, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera* [My Father: The life of Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah and the struggle of religious communities in Sumatra] (Jakarta: Umminda, 1982) 316–317.
- 98 For anyone wishing to learn about the fighting among the Islamic parties during Guided Democracy, see Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Politik: Teori Belah Bambu Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959–1965)* [Islam and politics: The divide and conquer theory during Guided Democracy (1959–1965)] (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996).
- 99 Rosihan, *Sejarah Kecil* [A little history], 94–95.
- 100 Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989), 289.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Quoted from Aquib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* [The Islam policy of the Netherlands Indies government] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 21, note 47.
- 103 See Sutan Sjahrir, *Out of Exile*, translated from the Dutch by Charles Wolf Jr. (New York: John Day, 1949), 112.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Mohammad Hatta, *Indonesia Merdeka* [Independent Indonesia], translated from the Dutch *Indonesie Vrij* by Hazil (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1976), 151. It is taken from Hatta's defense speech in The Hague on March 9, 1928. In this court hearing, Hatta was defended by the Dutch lawyers J.E.W. Duys, Tj. Mobach, and E.P.A. Weber.
- 106 Ibid., 150.
- 107 Ibid., 12–13. Excerpt per source text.
- 108 Soekarno, *Indonesia*, 194.
- 109 Ibid., 211. Excerpt per source text.
- 110 See Soe Hok Gie's spotlight on Sutan Sjahrir's "Perjuangan Kita [Our struggle]" (1945) in *Zaman Peralihan* [Times in transition] (Yogyakarta: Benteng, 1995), 85.
- 111 Some of the data concerning the Japanese occupation were taken from Panitia 75 Tahun Kasman [The Committee of 75 Years of Kasman], *Hidup Itu Berjuang: Kasman Singodimedjo 75 Tahun* [To live is to struggle: 75 years of Kasman Singodimedjo] (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1982), 46–66.
- 112 Data and Analysis Center Team *TEMPO, Jenderal Tanpa Pauskan, Politisi Tanpa Partai: Perjalanan Hidup A H. Nasution* [The general without an army, the

- politician without a party: The life of A.H. Nasution] (Jakarta: PDAT and ISAI, 1998), 295–296. I was delighted when this book was given to me by Pak Nas when I visited his home on March 10, 1998.
- 113 Ibid., 296.
- 114 Ibid. Bushido was the code of the samurai during the feudal period in Japan. The values embedded in this code were honesty, resoluteness, bravery, frugality and simplicity, courtesy, sincerity, and, above all, loyalty to leadership and the country. Although the feudal system ended in the mid-nineteenth century, the influence of the code survived, especially in military circles. Living by those values was the only way a soldier could preserve his honor. Otherwise he would perform harakiri (ritual suicide by disembowelment). Nasution saw the bushido spirit in PETA, certainly not in KNIL.
- 115 Ibid., 297.
- 116 See Nugroho Notosusanto, “Soedirman: Panglima yang Menepati Janjinya” [Soedirman: The commander-in-chief who kept his word], in Taufik Abdullah, Aswab Mahasin, and Daniel Dhakidae, *Manusia* [Humankind], 54.
- 117 See Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change: 1953–1956* (New York: Doubleday, 1963), 312.
- 118 See “Einstein–Szilárd letter,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Einstein%E2%80%93Szil%C3%A1rd_letter.
- 119 *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Ultimate Reference Suite DVD, 2005), s.v. “Martin Heidegger.”
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 See Herbert F. Ziegler, “Legacies of World War II,” in *Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia*, 2002, <https://sites.google.com/site/nccmn2x4/legacies-of-world-war-ii>.
- 122 Franklin D. Roosevelt, “FDR’s ‘Day of Infamy’ Speech,” <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/winter/crafting-day-of-infamy-speech.html>.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 See Anhar Gonggong, “Salah Kaprah Pemahaman Terhadap Sejarah Indonesia” [Common accepted errors in understanding Indonesian history], in *Menjadi Indonesia: 13 Abad Eksistensi Islam di Bumi Nusantara* [Becoming Indonesia: 13 centuries of the existence of Islam in Nusantara], ed. Komaruddin Hidayat and Ahmad Gaus AF (Bandung: Mizan, 2006), 47.
- 126 See RM. A.B. Kusuma, *Lahirnya Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* [The birth of the 1945 Constitution] (Jakarta: Center for Constitutional Law Studies, Faculty of Law, Universitas Indonesia, 2004), 376.
- 127 Hatta, *Memoir*, 455.
- 128 Sastroamidjojo, *Tonggak-Tonggak di Perjalananku* [Milestones in my journey], 140.
- 129 On the subject of the Round Table Conference negotiations, see Hatta, *Memoir*, 558–563.
- 130 There are at least three studies that can be referred to on the issue of the foundation of the state. These are, in the order of publication: (1) Ahmad Syafii

- Maarif, *Islam dan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi tentang Perdebatan dalam Konstituante* [Islam and Pancasila as the foundation of the state: A study of the debate in the Constituent Assembly] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2006) – previously titled *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante* [Islam and the issue of the state: A study of discussions in the Constituent Assembly], first printing 1985 based on the translation of my dissertation at the University of Chicago in 1983; (2) Adnan Buyung Nasution, *The Aspiration for Constitutional Government in Indonesia: A Socio-legal Study of the Indonesian Konstituante 1956–1959* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1992), also a dissertation by the writer at Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1992; (3) a broader approach by Faisal Ismail, *Islam and Pancasila: Indonesian Politics 1945–1995* (Jakarta: Office of Religious Research and Development and Training, 2001) – a dissertation written at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1995.
- 131 Hatta, *Memoir*, 435.
- 132 The most blatant is *Risalah Sidang BPUPKI and PPKI* [Minutes of the BPUPKI and PPKI sessions], ed. Saifuddin Bahar, Nannie Hudawati Sinaga, and Ananda B. Kusuma (Jakarta: State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1992), 7–22. These official minutes of the Soeharto government clearly state that Muhammad Yamin had spoken about those five foundations of the state on May 29, 1945.
- 133 The belief that it was Yamin who “invented” Pancasila is found as well in the work of Endang Saifuddin Anshari, *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945: Sebuah Konsensus Nasional tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia (1945–1949)* [The Jakarta Charter of 22 June 1945: A national consensus on the foundation of the state of the Republic of Indonesia (1945–1949)] (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1997), 15–19.
- 134 Soekarno, *Lahirnya Pancasila* [The birth of Pancasila], 28.
- 135 See Mohamad Roem, *Bunga Rampai Sejarah* [The garland of history], 3 vols. (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1983), 3:317.
- 136 Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Citra [Image],” *Gatra*, November 15–21, 2007, 106.
- 137 Hatta, *Demokrasi Kita* [Our democracy] (Jakarta: Pustaka Antara, 1966), 9.
- 138 Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “*Demokrasi di Tangan ‘Si Gila’* [Democracy in the hands of ‘the crazy guy’],” *Republika*, February 5, 2008, 12.

Chapter 2

- 1 See Qs Al-Shuraa (42):38 and Qs Ali ‘Imran (3):159.
- 2 Fahmi Huwaydi, *Demokrasi, Oposisi, dan Masyarakat Madani: Isu-Isu Besar Politik Islam* [Democracy, opposition, and civil society: Major issues of Islamic politics], trans. Muhammad Abdul Ghoffar (from the Arabic *Islam wa Al-Dimuqratiyah*) (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), 212.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid. 212–234.

- 6 Vaclav Havel, *Toward a Civil Society: Selected Speeches and Writings 1990–1994* (Prague: Lidové Noviny, 1995).
- 7 I have taken Mernissi's views on democracy and the attitudes of the Arab world from Fatima Mernissi, *Islam dan Demokrasi: Antologi Ketakutan* [Islam and democracy: Anthology of fear], trans. Amiruddin Arrani (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994), especially 52–72.
- 8 Ibid., 63.
- 9 Ibid., 58–59.
- 10 Ibid., 81.
- 11 Ibid., 67.
- 12 Ibid., 68–69.
- 13 See Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 180–202.
- 14 Ibid., 187.
- 15 Ibid., 193.
- 16 Mernissi, *Islam dan Demokrasi* [Islam and democracy], 195. Mernissi took the term “Petro-Wahabism” from the work of D. Nur ‘Abdalla, *Al-Petrole wa Al-Akhlaq* [Petroleum and Virtue] (1990).
- 17 Shahrur, *Tirani Islam* [Islamic tyranny], 157.
- 18 Ibid., 454.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid., 158.
- 21 Ibid., 147.
- 22 See Kuntowijoyo, *Identitas Politik Umat Islam* [Political identity of the Muslim umat] (Bandung: Mizan, 1997), 95.
- 23 Ibid., 96.
- 24 Hatta, *Demokrasi*, 30.
- 25 The Quranic interpretation about human freedom may be seen in Machasin, *Menyelami Kebebasan Manusia: Telaah Kritis Terhadap Konsepsi Al-Qur'an* [Fathoming human freedom: A critical study on the conceptions of the Quran] (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1996). This 144-page work, apart from the introduction, index, and bibliography, derives from the writer's 1995 dissertation at UIN Yogyakarta. Machasin is quite careful in gathering sources for his work and then interpreting them. Naturally, one senses the subjective dimension throughout this book, because of course humanity is relatively unable to be fully free from background influences and philosophical tendencies that have fused within ourselves.
- 26 Musa Al-Musawi, *Meluruskan Penyimpangyan Syi'ah* [Correcting the Shia deviation], trans. Ahmad Munif (Jakarta: Qalam, 1995), 36–37. The title of the original work is *Al-Shi'a wa Al-Tashih: Al-Sira bayn Al-Shi'a wa Al-Tashayyu'*. In my view, this work needs to be disseminated far and wide in the interest of enlightening the Muslim umat. Its scientific authority is no longer in doubt, as its author holds a PhD in Islamic law from the University of Tehran and a PhD from the Sorbonne (University of Paris), and has lectured in various institutions of higher learning in the Muslim world and in the West. With a vision characterized by support for reconciliation, Al-Musawi has been

harshly criticized within conservative Shia circles, which accused him of having converted to Sunnism. It is not easy to make a breakthrough in reconciliatory thinking in the midst of adherents who have made an idol of history, but we must continue to make the attempt if this Muslim *umat* still respects the Quran as its guide.

- 27 Ibid., 143.
- 28 See A. Hassan, *Al-Furqan* [The criterion] (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1962), 82 note 310, interpreting verse 256 of the Surah Al-Baqarah.
- 29 Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar* [Exegeses of Al-Azhar], vol. 3 (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1986), 21–22.
- 30 QS Yunus (10):100.
- 31 Ibid., verse 99.
- 32 See Al-Shabuni, 1:598.
- 33 QS Al Rum (30):22.
- 34 Husein Muhammad, “Menghapus Dikonomisasi, Menjemput Masa Depan” [Eradicate dichotomizing, meet the future], its author’s response to this work, written in Cirebon, June 4, 2009, 8.
- 35 The views of Iqbal on women’s education are widely available online.
- 36 “Riffat Hassan: Interview by Samina Ibrahim,” *Newsline* (Karachi), April 2001.
- 37 Riffat Hassan, “Equal Before Allah? Woman-Man Equality in the Islamic Tradition,” *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* 17, no. 2 (January–May 1987): 2–4.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Yunahar Ilyas, *Feminisme dalam Kajian Tafsir Al-Qur’an, Klasik and Kontemporer* [Feminism in interpretive studies of the Quran, classic and contemporary] (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997), 149.
- 40 Riffat Hassan, “Equal Before Allah?”
- 41 See Yunahar Ilyas, *Feminisme*, 65.
- 42 Ibid., 110.
- 43 Ibid., 65.
- 44 Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar* [Exegeses of Al-Azhar], vol. 1 (Jakarta: Pustaka Tinamas, 1982), 173–178.
- 45 Ibid., 174.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 The Diyanet Project on Hadith published its results in Turkish in 2013 (available online). Translations into other languages are ongoing.
- 48 See the *Christian Science Monitor*, March 11, 2008.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 See note 34.
- 52 Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 84.
- 53 Hamka, *Tafsir* [Exegeses], vol. 5, clarification of verse 34 of the Surah Al-Nisa, 47.
- 54 Readers who would like to learn about the views of Al-Hibri on the status of women in Islam can read the article by Tamara Sonn, “Fazlur Rachman and Islamic Feminism,” in Earle H. Waugh and Frederick M. Denny, eds.,

- The Shaping of an American Islamic Discourse: A Memorial to Fazlur Rahman* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998), 123–140. Al-Hibri's full name is Azizah Yahia Muhammad Toufiq Al-Hibri; she is a legal expert and US citizen of Lebanese descent. She was appointed by President Obama as a commissioner on the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom in June 2011. Al-Hibri is Professor Emeritus at the Richmond University Law School.
- 55 See Khaled Abou El Fadl et al., *The Place of Tolerance in Islam* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 7–11.
- 56 See Zuhairi Misrawi, *Al-Qur'an Kitab Toleransi, Inklusivisme, Pluralisme dan Multikulturalisme* [The Quran: Book of tolerance, inclusiveness, pluralism, and multiculturalism] (Jakarta: Fitrah, 2007). I shall not quote the numerous religious arguments used by Zuhairi to support his theories. As an alumnus of the Pondok Pesantren, Prenduan, Sumenep, Madura, and Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Zuhairi has the authority to quote both classical and modern sources from the treasury of Islamic thought.
- 57 Ibid., iii.
- 58 Ibid., 478.
- 59 Abd. Moqsih Ghazali, *Argumen Pluralisme Agama: Membangun Toleransi Berbasis Al-Qur'an* [Arguments for religious pluralism: Building tolerance based on the Quran] (Jakarta: KataKita, 2009), 401.
- 60 QS Al-Baqarah (2):285.
- 61 See Abdul Mun'im Al-Hafni, *Ensiklopedia Golongan, Kelompok, Aliran, Mazhab, Partai dan Gerakan Islam* [Encyclopedia of Islamic groups, factions, sects, schools, parties, and movements], trans. Muhatrom (Jakarta: Soegeng Sarjadi Syndicate-Grafindo Khazanah Ilmu, 2006).
- 62 See Johan Galtung, "Moderates all over the world, unite!" <http://www.sopos.org/aufsaetze/3e74775b512e7/1.phtml>. Besides this source, I also used Galtung's website <http://www.transcend.org>.
- 63 My writing on Galtung can also be read in the "Perspektif" column of *Gatra*, April 10, 2008, 114.
- 64 The most comprehensive literature on these radical movements has been written by Haedar Nashir, *Gerakan Islam Syariat: Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis di Indonesia* [Sharia Islamic movements: Reproducing the Salafist ideology in Indonesia] (Jakarta: PSAP, 2007). It derives from the writer's dissertation at the Postgraduate School of Gadjah Mada University's sociology study program. Other useful works are Khamami Zada, *Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Orma-Ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia* [Radical Islam: The battles of hard-line Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002); S. Yunanto et al., *Gerakan Militan Islam di Indonesia dan di Asia Tenggara* [Islamic militant movements in Indonesia and in Southeast Asia] (Jakarta, 2003), in the form of a collection of writings by several authors, also available in an English edition; Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia* [Radical Salafist movements in Indonesia] (Jakarta, Raja Grafindo Persada), 2004.
- 65 See Haedar Nashir, *Gerakan Islam Syariat* [Sharia Islamic movements], 398.
- 66 Ibid., 400.

- 67 See Herry Mohammad, "Abu Bakr Ba'asyir Keluar dari MMI" [Abu Bakr Ba'asyir leaves the MMI], *Gatra*, July 31–August 6, 2008, 12; Herry Mohammad, "Islah Bersyarat Tak Bisa Mengikat" [A conditional peace settlement cannot be binding], *Gatra*, August 28–September 3, 2008, 12.
- 68 Yusuf Al-Qardhawi, *Fiqh Maqashid Syariah: Moderasi Islam antara Aliran Tekstual dan Aliran Liberal* [Fiqh maqasid sharia: Islamic moderation between the textual and liberal streams], trans. Arif Munandar Riswanto (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2007), 7.
- 69 Haedar Nashir, *Gerakan Islam Syariat* [Sharia Islamic movements], 399.
- 70 See the foreword by Deliar Noer in Zada, *Islam Radikal* [Radical Islam], xvii.
- 71 Al-Qardhawi, *Fiqh*, 49–55.
- 72 Ibid., 54.
- 73 See Jamhari and Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal* [Radical Salafist movements], 129–130.
- 74 Ibid., 131–132.
- 75 Ibid., 130.
- 76 See Zada, *Islam Radikal* [Radical Islam], 168–170.
- 77 See Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gokalp* (London: Harvill Press, 1950), 94. The word *khalifa* [caliph] or its plural form *khulafa/khala'if* appears eight times in the Quran, twice in the singular form and six times in the plural form; that is, QS Al-Baqarah (2):30 on Adam; QS Sad (38):26 on the Prophet David; QS Al-An'am (6):165; QS Yunus (10):14 and 73; QS Fatir (35):30; QS Al-A'raf (7):69 and 73; QS Al-Naml (27):62, on mankind in general, including the prophets. The Quranic commentator Mufasssir Muhammad Makhluf provides a definition of *khalifa*: "someone who replaces someone else and occupies the position he had represented" (*huwa manyakhluflu ghaira wa yanubu manaba*). His task was to "develop the world and regulate humanity" (*fi 'imarat al-ardh wa siyasat al-nas*). See Makhluf, *Shafwat Al-Bayan lima'ani Al-Qur'an* (Kuwait: Wizarat Al-Awqaf wa Al-Shuni Al-Islamiyah, AH1408 / 1987), 11. See also Al-Suyuti, *Qur'an Karim: Tafsir wa Bayan ma'a Asbab Al-Nuzul* (Damascus: Dar Al-Rashid, n.d.), 6.
- 78 See Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shah-Wali-Allah and His Times* (Canberra: Ma'rifat, 1980), 290.
- 79 See Qamaruddin Khan, *The Political Thought of Ibn Taymiyah* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1973), 81.
- 80 See Fazlur Rahman, "Islam and the State," paper presented at the Conference of Religious Conviction and Public Action: The Life of Faith in a Pluralistic World, University of Chicago, April 2, 1982, 2.
- 81 Yusuf Ibish, *The Political Doctrine of Al-Baqqilani* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1966), 1.
- 82 Helmut Gätje, *The Qur'an and Its Exegesis*, trans. and ed. Alford T. Welch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 13.
- 83 I wrote this text on classical Islamic political theory over a quarter of a century ago, with a few subsequent revisions. See, for example, Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Pancasila sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi tentang Perdebatan dalam*

Konstituante [Islam and Pancasila as the foundation of the state: A study of the debate in the Constituent Assembly] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2006), 19–40. This work is a revised edition of the translation of my dissertation, first published by LP3ES in 1985 with the title “*Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante*” [Islam and the issue of the state: A study of discussions in the Constituent Assembly]. My adviser, the late Prof. Fazlur Rahman, asked that, before entering into discussions of the basic problems of the state in Indonesia, I first trace back the political theories developed by Muslim jurists and theologians of the Middle Ages. By considering the historical background of the political thinking in scholarly Muslim circles, both classical and modern, we will see that the entire structure of those theories was closely bound up with conditions of time and place. There is no absolute here, except the Quranic dictum that the principle of *shura* (consultation) must underpin the structure of political and social theory. Sad to say, such jurists do not depart from that dictum.

- 84 Fauzi M. Najjar, *The Islamic State: A Study in Traditional Politics* (Darien, CT: Monographic Press, 1967), 11.
- 85 QS Al-Zumar (39):17–18.
- 86 Taufik Abdullah, *Islam dan Masyarakat: Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia* [Islam and society: Reflections on Indonesian history] (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987), 248.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 Ahmd Syafii Maarif, “Jaudat Sa’id: Juru Bicara Islam Damai” [Jaudat Sa’id: Spokesman of an Islam of peace], *Gatra*, October 23–30, 2008.
- 89 See, for example, QS Al-Isra (17):70.
- 90 QS Al-Ma’idah (5):28.
- 91 See Novriantoni Kahar, “Profil Jawdat Said: Islam yang Menghidupkan, Bukan Mematikan” [Profile of Jaudat Sa’id: Islam that gives life, but does not take it], in IslamLib.com, July 24, 2008.
- 92 Jaudat’s website is <http://www.jawdatsaid.net>.
- 93 See the interview of Jaudat Sa’id by Bashir Humeid, “Philosopher Jawdat Said’s View of Islam as a Violence-Free Religion,” translated into English by Mark Rossman and published in *The American Muslim*, December 22, 2006 (originally published in German in *Qantara.de* [2006]). Available at http://theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/philosopher_jawdat_said_s_view_of_islam_as_a_violence_free_religion.
- 94 QS Al-Ra’d (13):17.

Chapter 3

- 1 Table 1, “Human Development Index and its components,” in United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2016: Human Development for Everyone* (New York: UNDP, 2016), 198–201. These statistics have been updated for the English edition.
- 2 See Sismono La Ode et al., eds., *Di Belantara Pendidikan Bermoral: Biografi Pemikiran dan Kepemimpinan Prof. Suyanto*, PhD [In the jungle of moral

- education: A biography of the thoughts and leadership of Prof. Suyanto, PhD] (Yogyakarta: UNY Press, 2006), 30.
- 3 See Fazlur Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'an* (Minneapolis and Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980), 33–34.
 - 4 QS Al-Hajj (22):46.
 - 5 QS Fussilat (41):53.
 - 6 Rahman, *Major Themes*, 34; citing QS Ar-Rum (30):7.
 - 7 See my paper “Muhammadiyah Education: Normative and Philosophical Aspects,” delivered in a seminar organized by the Central Executive Committee of the Muhammadiyah Council on Primary and Secondary Education, Jakarta, March 25, 2000.
 - 8 See Mh. Djaldan Badawi, ed., *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Muhammadiyah, 1912–1985* [Articles of association and bylaws of Muhammadiyah, 1912–1985] (Yogyakarta: Secretariat of the Executive Committee of Muhammadiyah, 1998), 22. In the Articles of Association of 1912, article 2, item *a*, the word “teaching” (*pengajaran*) appears. Then, in the Articles of Association of 1914, the word “training” (*pelajaran*) was added after “teaching” (see *ibid.*, 1 and 4).
 - 9 *Ibid.*, 44, item 4c.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, 49.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, 68.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 140.
 - 13 See Umar Hasyim, *Muhammadiyah Jalan Lurus* [Muhammadiyah: The straight road], Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1990, 358–359.
 - 14 See for example QS Al-Hijr (15):26, 28, 33, and other verses. In the commentaries and explications of Hasanain Muhammad Makhluḥ, *Tafsir wa Bayan Kalimat Al-Qur'an Al-Karim* (Damascus: Dar Al-Fajr Al-Islami, 1997), 263, the word *shalshal* means *tin yabis ka'l-fakhkhar* (dry earth like thick clay), *hama'in* means *tin aswad mutaghayyir* (black soil that can change), and the word *masnun* is *mushawwar* (given form), human form that is still empty without any understanding (*surata insan ajwaf*).
 - 15 *Ibid.*, note to p. 263.
 - 16 QS Al-Mu'minun (23):12–14.
 - 17 QS Al-Hijr (15):29, QS Sad (38):72.
 - 18 See QS Al-Isra (17):70.
 - 19 QS Al-Hijr (15):27.
 - 20 QS Al-Shams (91):7–10.
 - 21 See Tarif Khalidi, *Classical Arab Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1985), 57.
 - 22 Quoted in Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity*, 58.
 - 23 See QS Fussilat (41):53.
 - 24 Summarized from QS *Ali Imran* (3):190–191. The expression *albab* (the plural form of *lubb*) derives from the verb *labba*, which means live or settle in one place. It also means to be intelligent and clever, reasonable and logical, wise and level-headed, to understand, be well educated, etc. *Lubb* means heart, thought, intellect, understanding. Therefore, *ulu al-albab* (encountered in fifteen places in the Quran) is that group of humanity that is intelligent, wise, well-intentioned

in mind and heart, and have a grasp of thought and feeling that exceeds all that is visible. It is these people who have succeeded in marrying the power of *dhikr* and *fikr*.

25 See QS *Taha* (20):54 and 128.

26 See QS Ali ‘Imran (3):13; QS Al-Nur (24):44, and QS Sad (38):45.

27 QS Al-Baqarah (2):269.

28 See Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* [Yellow books, *pesantrens*, and *tarekat*: Islamic traditions in Indonesia] (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 23.

29 Ibid. See the decision of the 27th Congress of the Nahdlatul Ulama in *Nahdhatul Ulama Kembali ke Khittah* [The Nahdhatul Ulama returns to the line of action] (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 23.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., 158.

32 The election of Idham Chalid (b. 1922) as the national chair of the NU in the Medan Congress in December 1956, according to available information, was not according to his own wishes, but because K.H. Dachlan, who was supported by Idham, had many opponents. As a result, the choice fell on Idham, who wrote, “Regardless of my wishes, I was chosen to be the national chairman.” See Arief Mudatsir Mandan, ed., *Napak Tilas Pengabdian Idham Chalid: Tanggung Jawab Politik NU dalam Sejarah* [Following in the footsteps of the devoted service of Idham Chalid: Political responsibility of the NU in history] (Jakarta: Pustaka Indonesia Satu, 2008), 321–322. As it turned out, Idham served the longest term as the national chair of the NU, even though he came from South Kalimantan, until he was succeeded with little tension by Abdurrahman Wahid in 1984 in the Situbondo Congress.

33 Ibid., 388, connected with note 4, p. 408.

34 Ibid., 394–395.

35 Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islamku Islam Anda Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi* [My Islam, your Islam, our Islam: Religion of the society of a democratic state] (Jakarta: Wahid Institute, 2006), 223–224.

36 Ibid., 225–226.

37 Ibid., 227.

38 See my article “Demokrasi di Tangan Aji Mumpung” [Democracy in the hands of opportunists], *Gatra* online, December 11, 2008.

39 Ibid.

40 See QS Al-Mujadila (58):11.

41 See Irshad Manji, “To Fix Islam, Start from the Inside,” *Newsweek* online, December 31, 2008, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/1777388/output/print>.

42 Ibid.

43 You can read about the *nagari* Sumpur Kudus in my autobiography, *Titik-Titik Kisar di Perjalananku* [Turning points in my journey] (Yogyakarta-Jakarta: Ombak-Maarif Institute, 2006), 3–99.

44 See DetikNews, September 12, 2006. This is based on information from the Minister of National Development Planning, Syaifullah Yusuf.

- 45 In Muhammadiyah, this issue of female leadership (particularly the question of a woman becoming president) was discussed by the Muhammadiyah Central Executive's Council of Legal Consideration and Reform Movement during the 2010 National Conference of Legal Consideration in Malang. Discussion relating to female leadership at the conference was a continuation of the 1976 Legal Consideration Congress on Pious Women in Islam, which included a discussion of "Women of Islam in the Political Field." The 2010 National Conference issued a final decision or fatwa, which has yet to be formalized, that states, in part:

The book *Adabul Mar'ah Fil Islâm ...* (1982) states that women can become leaders at various levels, such as school principals, company directors, ... mayors, judges, and ministers It is stated that "religion does not criticize or block the progress of men or women so long as it does not release the person from devotion to Allah." *Adabul Mar'ah Fil Islâm* also does not regard the hadith of the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him), transmitted by Abu Bakrah, ... to be a correct reason for prohibiting women from becoming leaders. This hadith cannot be understood as a general rule, and on the contrary must be connected with the context of the Prophet at the time he pronounced it. ...

This hadith cannot be understood that all the highest rulers of the female sex are sure to meet with failure, because this goes against the Quran, which tells of the shrewd and wise Queen of Sheba More than that, ... we see so many women who lead this or that country and they are successful in doing so By paying attention to the experience of world history, which recognizes female leaders, some of whom are immortalized in the Quran, as well as the fact that we do not find any *naskh* verses of the Quran or hadith that forbid Muslim women from becoming leaders, and by making the association with previous positions that were normally held by women, as stated in *Adabul Mar'ah Fil Islâm*, there is not the slightest obstacle for a Muslim woman to become president.

- 46 See Manji, "To Fix Islam."

- 47 Mohammad Amien Rais, *Agenda – Mendesak Bangsa: Selamatkan Indonesia* [Agenda – Urging the nation: Save Indonesia] (Yogyakarta: PPSK Press, 2008), 223.

Chapter 4

- 1 See Henri Peyre, "Existentialism and French Literature: Jean-Paul Sartre's Novels," introduction to *The Age of Reason*, by Jean-Paul Sartre, trans. Eric Sutton (New York: Knopf, 1968), xv.
- 2 Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Kashmiri Bazar, 1971), 148. In fact, Iqbal's thinking on *ijtihad* and the philosophy of the Ego, with occasional editorial additions or deletions, was included in Ahmad Syafii Maarif and Mohammad Diponegoro, *Percik-Percik Pemikiran Iqbal* [Shards of Iqbal's thinking] (Yogyakarta: Shalahuddin Press, 1983), 1–12. This treatment originated in my article in *Panji Masyarakat* 323 (1981), published when I was at the University of Chicago.

- 3 Ibid., 178.
- 4 Ibid., 97.
- 5 See Abu Al-Hasan ‘Ali bin Muhammad bin Habib Al-Bashari Al-Bagddadi Al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam Al-Sultaniyyah wa’l-Wilayat Al-Diniyyah* (Cairo: Mustafa Al-Babi Al-Halabi, 1973). The very first sentence in this work makes quite an interesting statement on the position of *al-imamah* (the system of imamate rule): “The system of imamate rule was institutionalized to replace the prophetic function in guarding religion and governing the world.” This expresses the main task and responsibility of a government in Islam. What concerns me is that Al-Mawardi’s thesis is meant to preserve the dynastic imperial system, in this case that of the Abbasids. Because I have analyzed Islamic political thinking of the classical period in another book, I will discuss this only briefly here.
- 6 My lecture notes at the University of Chicago, November 30, 1981.
- 7 Iqbal, *Reconstruction*, 178–179.
- 8 See Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel’s Wing: A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 178.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 See the excerpt of Miss Kazimi, “Iqbal’s Revolt,” *Iqbal Review* 3, no. 1 (July 1954), 3.
- 11 Ibid., 109.
- 12 QS Al-Qalam (68):1.
- 13 See G.R. Sabri, “Individual and Society in Iqbal’s Thinking,” *Iqbal Review* 18, no. 4 (January 1978), 2.
- 14 Kazimi, “Iqbal’s Revolt,” 114.
- 15 Sabri, “Individual and Society,” 11.
- 16 Ibid., 12. *Khair Al-Bashar* (the Best of People) refers to the Messenger of Allah, Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him). Iqbal’s love of this Last of the Prophets knows no bounds.
- 17 See *Kulliyat-e Ash’ar-e Farsi Maulana Iqbal* (Lahore and Tehran: Kitab Kaneh Sinai, 1964), 35.
- 18 See QS Al-Baqarah (2):23.
- 19 Al-Shabuni, *Safwat Al-Tafasir*, 1:42.
- 20 “The best community” (*khaira umma*) indeed does come from the Quran (QS Ali ‘Imran [3]:110), but definitely would not refer to a community that is falling into decline.
- 21 See Konstituante Republik Indonesia [Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia], *Risalah Perundingan: Dasar Negara* [Minutes of the negotiations: Foundation of the state], vol. 6. Jakarta: 1957, 157.
- 22 This quotation of Rahman’s statement is based on my memory when I attended his lectures between 1979 and 1982 at the University of Chicago.
- 23 See QS Al-Baqarah (2):185.
- 24 See also Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Muhammad Asad tentang Al-Qur’an” [Muhammad Asad on the Quran], *Republika*, October 17, 2006, 12.
- 25 See H.B. Jassin, *Charil Anwar*, 66.
- 26 Most of this section comes from a paper I gave at the Catholic Seminary of Kota Baru, Yogyakarta, in a limited discussion held April 1–2, 2000, under the

- title “Agama dan Ketulusan” [Religion and sincerity], with occasional additions and modifications.
- 27 See J.S. Badudu and Sutan Mohammad Zain, *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia* [General dictionary of the Indonesian language] (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1994), 1547. See also Sheikh Othman bin Sheikh Salim et al., *Kamus Dewan* [Institute dictionary], new ed. (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1986), 1400.
 - 28 See J.M. Cowan, ed., *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, 1976), 254–255.
 - 29 See David B. Guralnik, ed., *Webster’s New World Dictionary* (New York: World, 1970), 692. See also R.E. Allen, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 700.
 - 30 See, for instance, QS Sad (38):46.
 - 31 QS Al-Bayyinah (98):5.
 - 32 QS Al-Insan (76):9.
 - 33 See Gianni Vattimo, *Nietzsche: An Introduction*, trans. Nicholas Martin (London: Athlone Press, 2002), 75. See also Gianni Vattimo, *The End of Modernity*, trans. Jon R. Snyder (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 20.
 - 34 Vattimo, *The End of Modernity*, 20.
 - 35 QS Al-Ma’un (107):1–3.
 - 36 See A.J. Toynbee, *Surviving the Future*, 3rd ed. (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 37–67. This work was the result of a long dialogue between Toynbee and the Japanese thinker Kei Wakaizumi, a professor at Kyoto Sangyo University.
 - 37 Ibid., 38.
 - 38 Ibid., 44.
 - 39 Ibid., 58–67. Higher religions are religions oriented to transcendental values; lower religions are religions that busy themselves with things of this world, distinct from prophetic and transcendental values.
 - 40 QS Yunus (10):99.
 - 41 QS Al-Hashr (59):2.
 - 42 Z. Yasni, *Bung Hatta Menjawab* [Bung Hatta responds] (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1979), 179. This book represents a long series of interviews Yasni held with Muhammad Hatta in the context of commemorating the seventy-sixth birthday of the Proclamator. This interviews went on for approximately one year and were then incorporated into a 215-page book.
 - 43 Ibid., 177.
 - 44 Arnold Mononutu, “Kenang-Kenangan tentang Bung Hatta” [Memories of Bung Hatta], in *Bung Hatta: Pribadinya dalam Kenangan* [Bung Hatta: The man in memory], ed. Meutia Farida Swasono (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan-Universitas Indonesia, 1980), 613. Boldface per the source.
 - 45 Ibid., 614.
 - 46 Ibid., 613–614.
 - 47 Ibid., 616.
 - 48 Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan* [Islam, modernity, and Indonesian identity], 89.

- 49 Ibid., 93.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid., 105.
- 52 Ibid., 178.
- 53 See QS Yusuf (12):110.
- 54 Approximately the final two pages in this section were taken from my column *Faktor Islam* [The Islamic factor], with occasional editorial modifications. See Gatra, July 19–25, 2007, 114.
- 55 With quite significant changes and additions, the initial idea for this section came from my column *Resonansi* [Resonance]: “Peradaban di tengah Harapan dan Kecemasan” [Civilization between hope and unease], *Republika*, June 14, 2005, 114.
- 56 See *Just Commentary* 8 (January 1988), 1.
- 57 See Michael D. Aeschliman, “The Real Nietzsche,” *The World and I*, January 1990, 846.
- 58 See, for example, the face of the US coin issued in 1972.
- 59 Albert Einstein, *Out of My Later Years* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), 9.
- 60 Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy: The Perils and Politics of Radical Religion, Oil, and Borrowed Money in the 21st Century* (New York: Penguin, 2007), 93.
- 61 See Michael Hastings’s interview with Chomsky, “A Tale of Two Quagmires,” *Newsweek*, January 9, 2006, 52. See also my column about the comparison of Zalmay Khalilzad (former US ambassador in post-Saddam Iraq) and Chomsky in *Republika*, January 24, 2007, 12.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 The influential print media that conducted this survey were the *Guardian* (UK), the *Toronto Star* (Canada), and *Reforma* (Mexico). See Phillips, *American Theocracy*, vii. A comment by the *Chicago Sun-Times* reviewer on the back cover of this book by Phillips reads: “Everyone should have access to what *American Theocracy* tells us about our country at this critical time.”
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 See *Pravda* online, February 21, 2008. Mesplay was the presidential candidate of the Green Party. IRV, or instant-runoff voting, is a voting system used to identify the single winner in an election, whereby the voter ranks the candidates in order of preference. In an IRV system, if no candidate wins the majority of votes in the first round, the candidate with the smallest number of votes is eliminated and his or her votes are distributed to the remaining candidates according to the choice of voters in that round. This process is repeated until one candidate obtains an absolute majority of the votes.
- 66 Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Fukuyama, Neokons, dan Keonaran” [Fukuyama, neocons, and mayhem], *Republika*, January 29, 2008, 12. Continuing from the asterisk: “... This means that had the 9/11 tragedy and the Iraq war never occurred, the power of those radicals would have diminished because of course the absolute majority of the Muslim *umat* rejected them. The results of a six-year Gallup survey on three continents showed how false was the charge that Islam itself was the same as ‘radicalism and violence.’ About 93% of 1.3 million

Muslims were moderate and only 7 % were politically radical.” (See “Survey challenges notions of Islam,” *The Jakarta Post*, February 28, 2008, 1. “Politically radical” does not necessarily mean that they are terrorists; a small number of people act out of despair caused by their failure to adapt to modernity and all its implications.)

- 67 See Ahmad Syafii Maarif, “Where Is Indonesia and Where Is It Going?” *Kompas*, October 18, 2008, 6. A summary of *The Post-American World* (2008) by Fareed Zakaria is available in his long article “The Rise of the Rest,” *Newsweek* online, May 12, 2008. Zakaria’s previous work has been translated into various languages and titled *The Future of Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003). Zakaria, a well-known *Newsweek* columnist, was born in India in 1966; he moved to the United States at the age of eighteen.

Chapter 5

- 1 An excerpt from Emmanuel Levinas, *Humanism of the Other*, quoted by Souleymane Bachir Diagne in “Religion and the Challenge of Spirituality in the Twenty-First Century,” in *The Future of Values: 21st-Century Talks*, ed. Jérôme Bindé, trans. John Corbett (Paris: Unesco, 2004), 100.
- 2 Adapted from QS Al-Mulk (67):2.
- 3 W.S. Rendra, *Megatruh Kambuh: Renungan Seorang Penyair dalam Menanggapi Kalabendu* [The Megatruh of relapse: Musings of a poet in response to the Kalabendu era] (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University, 2008), 2.
- 4 Anhar Gonggong, *Indonesia, Demokrasi, dan Masa Depan* [Indonesia, Democracy, and the Future] (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2005), 233.
- 5 Jakob Oetama, *Berpikir Ulang tentang Keindonesiaan* [Rethinking Indonesian identity] (Jakarta: Kompas Books, 2001), 4.
- 6 QS Al-Anfal (8):24.
- 7 Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, *Sejarah Kebudayaan Indonesia Dilihat dari Segi Nilai-Nilai* [The history of Indonesian culture seen in terms of values] (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1982), 50.
- 8 See my analysis of the views of STA in Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Peta Bumi Intelektualisme Islam di Indonesia* [The map of Islamic intellectualism in Indonesia] (Bandung: Mizan, 1993), 114.
- 9 H.B. Jassin, *Chairil Anwar*, 66. Chairil was inspired by Archibald MacLeish’s “The Young Dead Soldiers Do Not Speak” to write the poem “Karawang Bekasi,” which has been translated by John H. McGlynn as “Between Karawang and Kekasi” and was published in the *Lontar Anthology of Indonesian Poetry: The Twentieth Century in Poetry*, ed. John H. McGlynn et al. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2017), 91.

Afterword

- 1 QS Al-Baqarah (2):249. This verse is from the time of the Battle of Badr, during the war between the Muslims and the Quraysh of Mecca. There were only 317 Muslims, while the Quraysh polytheists numbered about 3,000. The Messenger (peace and blessings be upon him) said: “Your numbers are equal to the numbers of the army of Thalut [Saul] [about 300 men].” See Al-Tabari, *Jami’ Al-Bayan fi Tafsir Al-Qur’an* [A compilation of statements on interpreting the Quran] (Mauqi’ Majma’ Al-Malik Fahd li-Taba’ah [Al-Maktabah Al-Shamilah], Sect. 5, n.d.), 351.

