

Bibliography

A. Primary Sources

1. Interview with Prosperous Justice Party Leaders.

Abu Ridha, member of DRR RI, Jakarta, 11 October 2003.

Ahmad Mudzafar Jufri, Chairman of Consultative Body in East Java, Surabaya, 17 March 2003.

Ahmad Shidik, chairman of PKS in West Sumatra, Padang, 19 Juni 2003.

Akswendi, chairman of PKS in South Sumatra, Surabaya, 13 March 2003.

Aus Hidayat Nur, head of Wilda PKS, Depok, 13 May 2003

Budi Darmawan, member of the Expert Council of PKS, Canberra, 24 May 2004.

Fahri Hamzah, member DRR RI, Jakarta, 23 December 2005

Hilmi Aminuddin, head of Consultative Body, Jakarta, 23 December 2003.

Irwan Prayitno, member of DRR RI, Jakarta, 14 June 2003.

Ismail Yusanto, Hizbut Tahrir Spokesperson, Canberra, 1 August 2004.

Mahfudz Sidiq, member of DPR RI, Jakarta, 13 August 2003 and 8 October 2003.

Marfendi, member of DRR I West Sumatra, Padang, 23 June 2003.

Muhammad Arif, head of caderarisation section in West Sumatra, Padang, 19 June 2003.

Muslikh Abdul Karim, member of Shariah Council, Depok, 9 September 2003.

Mustafa Kamal, member of DRR RI, Jakarta, 11 June 2003.

Mutammimul Ula, member of DPR RI, Jakarta, 16 June 2003.

Nurmahmudi Ismail, former president of PK, Jakarta, 8 May 2003.

Nursanita Nasution, member of DPR RI, Canberra, 25 October 2005.

Rofi' Munawar, member of DPR I East Java, Surabaya, 7 March 2003.

Rafqinal, head of Wilda I West Sumatra, Padang, 19 June 2003.

Rahmat Abdullah, member of DPR RI, Jakarta, 11 May 2003.

Razikun, head of general election section of PKS, Jakarta, 23 December 2005.

R.B. Suryama, member of DPR RI, 11 June 2003.

Sholeh Drehem, member of Shariah Council in East Java, Surabaya, 13 March 2003.

Sigit Susiantomo, vice chairman of PKS in East Java, Surabaya, 17 March 2003.

Suryadarma, member of DPR I South Sulewesi, Makasar, 17 September 2003.

Untung Wahono, member of DPR RI, Canberra, 12 July 2005.

Zulkieflymansyah, member of DPR RI, Canberra, 30 August 2004.

I also conducted some interviews with members of Jemaah Tarbiyah and Prosperous Justice in DKI Jakarta, East Java, West Java, West Sumatra, and South Sulawesi but for some reason they did not want their name to be cited in this thesis.

2. Books written by Jemaah Tarbiyah and PKS activists

Al-Jufri, Salim Segaf forward to *Politik Da'wah Partai Keadilan*, by Syamsul Balda, Abu Ridha, and Untung Wahono. Jakarta: DPP Partai Keadilan, 2000.

Alynudin, Suhud, et.al. *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Menjawab Tudingan dan Fitnah*. Jakarta: Pustaka Saksi, 2004.

Akbar, Subhan, et.al. *Mereka Melawan Korupsi: Jihad Wakil Rakyat PK Sejahtera*. Jakarta: Pustaka Saksi, 2003.

Aminuddin, Hilmi. *Strategi Dakwah Gerakan Islam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003.

Balda, Syamsul, Abu Ridha and Untung Wahono. *Politik Da'wah Partai Keadilan*. Jakarta: DPP Partai Keadilan, 2000.

Ismail, Ahmad Satori. *Tarbiyah dan Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003.

Kurmarwanti and Nugroho Widiyantoro. *Dakwah Sekolah di Era Baru*. Solo: Era Intermedi a, 2002.

Lubis, Satria Hadi. *Yang Nyata dari PK Sejahtera*. Jakarta: Miskat Publication, 2003.

Matta, Anis. *Menikmati Demokrasi: Strategi Dakwah dan Meraih Kemenangan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Saksi, 2002.

Nasrullah, et.al (ed). *Geliat Dakwah di Era Baru: Kumpulan Wawancara Da'wah*. Jakarta: Izzah Press, 2001.

Nurwahid, Hidayat and Untung Wahono. *Pengaruh Sekularisasi dan Globalisasi Barat Terhadap Harakah Islamiyah di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2001.

_____. *Mengelolah Masa Transisi Menuju Masyarakat Madani*. Jakarta: Fikri Publising, 2004.

Pusat Konsultasi Syariah. *Penerapan Syariat Islam di Indonesia: Antara Peluang dan Tantangan*. Jakarta: Globalmedia, 2004.

- Prayitno, Irwan. *Tarbiyah Islamiyah Harakiyah*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2001.
- Rasyid, Daud. *Indahnya Syari'at Islam*. Jakarta: Usamah Press, 2003.
- _____. *Pembaruan Islam dan Orientalisme*. Jakarta: Usamah Press, 2003.
- Rahmat, Andi and Mukhammad Najib. *Gerakan Perlawanan dari Masjid Kampus*. Surakarta: Purimedia, 2001.
- Ridha, Abu. *Negara & Cita-Cita Politik*. Bandung: Syaamil, 2004.
- _____. *Saat Dakwah Memasuki Wilayah Politik*. Bandung: Syaamil, 2003.
- _____. *Amal Siyasi Gerakan Politik Dalam Dakwah*. Bandung: Syaamil, 2004.
- _____. *Islam dan Politik: Mungkinkah Bersatu?* Bandung: Syaamil, 2004.
- Sa'id, Muhammad. "Hatmiah At Tarbiyah: Tarbiyah Suatu Kemestian," in *Tarbiyah Berkelanjutan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003. 45-54.
- Sidiq, Mahfudz. "Peran Serta Da'wah dalam Politik," Paper presented at the Square House Building, University of New South Wales, 9 August 2002.
- _____. *Dakwah & Tarbiyah di Era Jahriyah Jamahiriyah*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2002.
- _____. *KAMMI dan Pergulatan Reformasi: Kiprah Politik Aktivis Dakwah Kampus dalam Perjuangan Demokratisasi di tengah Krisis Nasional Multidimensi*. Solo: Era Intermedia, 2003.
- _____. *Pemikiran dan Manhaj Politik Ikhwanul Muslimin*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003.
- Takariawan, Cahyadi. *Rekayasa Masa Depan Menuju Kemenangan Dakwah Islam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003.
- Tamhid, Ainur Rofiq Foreword to Syekh Abdur Rahman Abdul Khaliq, *Penyimpangan-Penyimpangan Tasawuf*, trans. Ahmad Misbach. Jakarta: Rabbani Press, 2001.
- Tandjung, M. Arlansyah "Tarbiyah, Perjalanan dan Harapan," in *Tarbiyah Berkelanjutan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2003. 12-19.
- Ula, Mutammimul. *Perpektif Syariat Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2001.
- Waluyo, Sapto. *Kebangkitan Politik Dakwah: Konsep dan Praktik Politik Partai Keadilan Sejahtera di Masa Transisi*. Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005.
- Wahono, Untung. "Piagam Jakarta, PKS, dan Demokratisasi Referensi." Kompas, 14 December 2004.

Yasmin, Ummu. *Materi Tarbiyah: Panduan Kurikulum bagi Da'i dan Murabbi*. Solo: Media Insani, 2002.

Yusuf, Ahmad Firman foreword to *Pemikiran Politik Kontemporer Al-Ikhwān Al-Muslimun: Studi Analitis, Observatif, Dokumentatif*, trans. Wahid Ahmadi and Arwani Amin. Solo: Era Intermedia, 2002.

Zulkieflimansyah. "Overcoming the Fear: PKS and the Democratization," *Jakarta Post*, 12 December 2005.

3. Official Documentations

Bayan DPP PK Sejahtera, 27 March 2004.

Bayan DPP PK Sejahtera, 1 June 2004.

DPP Partai Keadilan. *Kebijakan Dasar Partai Keadilan 2000-2005*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiatuna, 2000.

_____. *Manajemen Tarbiyah Anggota Pemula*. Jakarta: DPP Partai Keadilan, 2003.

_____. *Menyelamatkan Bangsa Platform Kebijakan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*. Jakarta: Al'Iktishom Cahaya Umat, 2004.

_____. *Panduan Organisasi Partai Keadilan*. Jakarta: DPP PK, 2001.

Press release DPP PKS, 21 Maret 2005

Press release issued by FPKS, 15 Maret 2004.

Press release issued by FPKS, 4 Maret 2004

B. Secondary Sources

1. Books and Journals

Abaza, Mona. *Islamic Education: Perception and Exchanges Indonesian Students in Cairo*. Paris: Cahier Archipel, 1994.

Abduh, Umar. *Al-Zaitun Gate: Investigasi Mengungkap Misteri Dajjal Indonesia Membangun Negara Impian Iblis*. Jakarta: LPDI, 2002.

_____. *Pesantren AL-Zaitun Sesat? Investigasi Mega Proyek dalam Gerakan NII*. Jakarta: Darul Falah, 2001.

Abdullah, Taufiq. "The Formation of a New Paradigm: A Sketch on Contemporary Islamic Discourse" in *Toward New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesia Islamic Thought*. Tempe: Arizona State University, 1996. 47-88.

Abuza, Zachary. "Politics and Violence in Indonesia: an Emerging Jihadist-Islamist Nexus?" *NBR Analysis* 15 no. 3 (September 2004): 1-54.

Acheh, Abu Bakar. *Pengantar Sejarah Sufi dan Tasawuf*. Kelantan: Pustaka Amar Press, 1977.

- Ahmadsumadi, Sugiati. "HMI, LMD, AMT, ICMI, DI dan Akhirnya Sufi," in *Bang 'Imad Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwahnya*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2002. 247-251.
- Al-Banna, Hasan. *Al-Ma'tsurat Sughra: Doa & Dzikir Rasulullah SAW Pagi dan Petang*. Jakarta: Sholahuddin Press, 1996.
- _____. *Usrah dan Da'wah*. Kuala Lumpur: Ikhwan Agency, 1979.
- _____. *Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin 1*, tran. Anis Matta et.al. Solo: Era Intermedia, 2001.
- _____. *Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin 2*, tran. Anis Matta et.al. Solo: Era Intermedia, 2001.
- _____. *Memoar Hasan Al-Banna Untuk Dakwah dan Para Dainya*, trans. Salafuddin Abu Sayyid and Hawin Murtadho. Solo: Era Intermedia, 2004.
- Ali, Daud. "Fenomena Sempalan Keagamaan di PTU: Sebuah Tantangan Bagi Pendidikan Agama Islam," in *Dinamika Pemikiran Islam di Perguruan Tinggi*. Jakarta: Logos, 1999. 249-257.
- Anon. *Buku Islam Sejak 1945*. Jakarta: Yayasan Masagung, 1988.
- _____. *Diskusi Buku Agama*. Jakarta: Tempo, 1987.
- Anwar, Syafi'i. *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Politik Tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Order Baru*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995.
- Aspinall, Edward. "Students and the Military: Regime Friction and Civilian Dissent in the Late Suharto Period," *Indonesia* 59 (April 1995): 21-44.
- Assidiqie, Jimly eds. *Bang 'Imad Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwahnya*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2002.
- Awwas, Irfan. S. (ed). *Dialog Internet: Aksi Sejuta Ummat dan Issu Negara Islam*. Yogyakarta: Wihda Press, 2000.
- Aziz, Abdul. "Meraih Kesempatan dalam Situasi Mengambang: Studi Kasus Kelompok Keagamaan Mahasiswa Universitas Indonesia," *Penamas* No. 20 (1995): 3-20.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*. Bandung: Mizan, 2002.
- _____. "Kelompok Sempalan di Kalangan Mahasiswa PTU: Anatomi Sosio Historis" in *Dinamika Islam di Perguruan Tinggi Wacana Tentang Pendidikan Agama Islam*. Jakarta: Logos, 1999. 233-246.
- _____. "Melacak Pengaruh dan Pergeseran Orientasi Tamatan Cairo," *Studia Islamika* 2 no. 3, (1995): 141-177.

- Barton, Greg. "Islam and Politics in the New Indonesia," in *Islam in Asia Changing Political Realities*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2002. 1-89.
- Bayumi, Zakariyya Sulayman. *The Muslim Brothers and the Islamic Associations in the Egyptian Political Life, 1928-1948*. Cairo: Maktabah al-Wahda, 1978.
- Benda, Harry J. "Christian Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," *The Journal of Modern History* 30 no. 4 (December 1958): 338-347.
- Bertrand, Jacques. "False Starts Succession Crises, and Regime Transition: Flirting with Openness in Indonesia," *Pacific Affairs* 69 no. 3 (Autumn, 1996): 319-340.
- Boland, B.J. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV, 1982.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *South East Asia Research* 10 no. 2 (2002): 117-154.
- _____. "Post-Suharto Muslim Engagements with Civil Society and Democratisation," in *Indonesia in Transition: Rethinking 'Civil Society', 'Religion', and 'Crisis.'* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004. 37-66.
- _____. *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992.
- _____. "Global and Local in Indonesian Islam", *Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no.2 (1999): 158-175.
- _____. "Gerakan Sempalan di Kalangan Umat Islam Indonesia: Latar Belakang Gerakan Sosial Budaya," in *Artikulasi Islam Kultural: dari Tahapan Moral ke Periode Sejarah*. Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada: 2004. 206-261.
- Burhanuddin, Nandang. *Penegakan Syariat Islam Menurut Partai Keadilan*. Jakarta: Al-Jannah Pustaka, 2004.
- Castori, James P. ed. *Introduction to Islam in the Political Process*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Crouch, Harold. "Islam and Politics in Indonesia" in *Politics, Diplomacy and Islam: Four Case Studies*. Canberra: Department of International Relations the Australian National University, 1986. 15-30
- Damanik, Ali Said. *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia*. Bandung, Mizan, 2002.
- Dhume, Sadanand "Radical March on Indonesia's Future," *Far Eastern Economic Review* 168 No. 5 (May 2005): 11-19.
- Dobbin, Christine. "Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 8 no. 3 (1974): 319-345.

- Dodge, Bayard. *Al-Azhar: A Millenium of Muslim Learning*. Washington DC: The Middle East Institute, 1961.
- Douglas, Ramage. *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Douglas, Stephen A. *Political Socialization and Student Activism in Indonesia*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.
- Effendy, Bahtiar. *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998.
- _____. *Teologi Baru Politik Islam Pertautan Agama, Negara dan Demokrasi*. Jakarta: Galang Press, 2001.
- Esposito, John L. and John O Voll. *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Esposito, John L. ed. *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Fealy, Greg and Greg Barton, ed. *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*. Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1996.
- Fealy, Greg and Virginia Hooker, ed. *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: a Contemporary Sourcebook*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006.
- Feillard, Andree. "Traditionalist Islam and the State in Indonesia" in *Islam in an Era of Nation States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997. 129 – 156.
- Fischer, Joseph and Sudarsono, Juwono. "Indonesian Student Activism," *Pacific Affairs* 44 no. 1 (Spring, 1971): 92-96.
- Fuller, Graham E. "Islamism(s) in the Next Century," in *The Islamism Debate*. Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1997. 140-173.
- Furkon, Aay Muhammad. *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Ideologi dan Praksis Politik Kaum Muda Muslim Indonesia Kontemporer*. Bandung: Teraju, 2004.
- Gayatri, Irene H. "Arah Baru Perlawanan Gerakan Mahasiswa 1989-1993," in *Penakluk Rezim Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999. 64-125.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Islam Observed Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- _____. *The Religion of Java*. New York: The Free Press, 1960.
- Gilsenan, Michael. *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: an Essay on the Sociology of Religion*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973.

- Hadi, Setyo (ed). *Masjid Kampus Untuk Umat & Bangsa*. Jakarta: Masjid ARH UI and LKB – Nusantara, 2000.
- Hafez, Mohammed M. and Quintan Wiktorowicz. "Violence as Contention in the Egyptian Islamic Movement," in *Islamic Activity: a Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004. 61-88.
- Harris, Christina Phelps. *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt: the Role of the Muslim Brotherhood*. The Hague: Hoover Institution Publication, 1964.
- Hasan, Muhammad Kamal. *Muslim Intellectual Responses to New Order Modernisation in Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, 1980.
- Hassan, M. Zein. *Diplomasi Revolusi Indonesia di luar Negeri: Perjuangan Pemuda/Mahasiswa Indonesia di Timur Tengah*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1980.
- Hefner, Robert W. "Islamising Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46 no. 3 (Augustus, 1987), 533-554.
- _____. "Islam, State, and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class," *Indonesia* 56 (October 1993): 1-35.
- _____. *Civil Islam: Muslim and Democratisation in Indonesia*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Howell, Julia Day. "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revivalism" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60 no. 3 (Augustus 2001): 701-729.
- Husaini, Ishak Musa. *The Moslem Brethren: The Greatest of Modern Islamic Movements*. Westport: Hyperion Press, 1956.
- Ismail, Faishal. "Pancasila as the Sole Basis for all Political Parties and for all Mass Organizations; an Account of Muslim's Responses, *Studia Islamika* 3 no. 4 (1996): 1-87.
- Jamhari ed. *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2004.
- Jenkins, David. *Suharto and His General: Indonesian Military Politics 1975-1983*. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesian Project, 1984.
- Johns, A.H. "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems of Perspective," in *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985. 304-320.
- Jones, R. "Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia," in *Conversion to Islam*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979. 129-158.
- Jones, Sidney "Indonesia Background: Why Salafism and Terrorism Mostly Don't Mix," *ICG Asia Report* no. 83 (13 September 2004).

- _____. "Radical Islam in Central Asia: Responding to Hizb Ut-Tahrir" ICG Asia Report, no. 58 (30 June 2003).
- _____. "The Recycling Militants in Indonesia: Darul Islam and the Australian Embassy Bombing" ICG Asia Report no. 92 (22 February 2005).
- _____. "It Can't Happen Here: A Post-Khomeini Look at Indonesian Islam," Asian Survey 20 no. 3 (March 1980): 311-323.
- _____. "Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: the Case of the Ngruki Networks in Indonesia," Indonesia Briefing (8 August 2002).
- _____. "Indonesia: Violence and Radical Muslims" ICG Indonesia Briefing (10 October 2001).
- Karim, M. Rusli. HMI MPO dalam Kemelut Modernisasi Politik di Indonesia. Bandung: Mizan, 1997.
- Koentjaraningrat, Javanese Culture. Singapore: Oxford University, 1985.
- Kramer, Martin, ed. The Islamism Debate. Ramat Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1997.
- Kuntowijoyo, Muslim Tanpa Masjid. Bandung: Mizan, 2001.
- Lapalombara, Joseph and Jeffrey Anderson, "Political Parties," in Encyclopedia of Government and Politics Vol. 1. London and New York: Roudledge, 1992. 393-412.
- Levtzion, Nehemia. "Towards a Comparative Study of Islamisation," in Conversion to Islam. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979. 1-23.
- Lia, Bryanjar. The Society of Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of Islamic Mass Movement 1928-1942. Reading: Ithaca Press, 2002.
- Liddle, R. William. "Soeharto's Indonesia: Personal Rule and Political Institutions," Pacific Affairs 58 no. 1 (Spring, 1985): 68-90.
- _____. "Media Dakwah Scriptualism: One Form Islamic of Political Thought and Action in New Order Indonesia" in Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought. Tempe: Arizona State University, 1996. 323-356.
- _____. "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," The Journal of Asian Studies 55 no. 3 (August, 1996): 613-634.
- Lim, Merlyna. "Cyber-Civic Space in Indonesia: From Panopticon to Pandemonium?" IDPR 24 no. 4 (2002): 383-400.
- Lufhfi, AM. "Gerakan Dakwah di Indonesia," in Bang Imad Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwah. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2002. 158-163.

- McAdam, Doug, et.al., ed., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Machmudi, Yon. *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Wajah Baru Islam Politik Indonesia*. Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing, 2005.
- Madjid, Nurcholish. "Agama dan Negara dalam Islam," in *Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Islam dalam Sejarah*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1994. 588-594.
- Madjid, Nurcholish. "Cita-Cita Politik Kita" in *Aspirasi Umat Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Leppenas, 1983. 7-36.
- Mahmud, Ali Abdul Halim. *Perangkat-Perangkat Tarbiyah Ikhwanul Muslimin*, trans. Wahid Ahmadi, et.al. Solo: Era Intermedia, 1999.
- Mandaville, Peter. *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Means, Paul B. "The Religion Background of Indonesian Nationalism," *Church History* 16 no. 4 (December 1947). 234-247.
- Mehden, Fred R. *von der Two Worlds of Islam: Interaction between Southeast Asia and the Middle East*. Gainesville: the University Press of Florida, 1993.
- Mitchell, Richard. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Mujani, Saiful. "Syariat Islam dalam Perdebatan," in *Syariat Islam Pandangan Muslim Liberal*. Jakarta: Sembrani Aksara Nusantara, 2003. 19-51.
- Mun'im, Abdul DZ, "Gerakan Mahasiswa 1966 di Tengah Pertarungan Politik Elit," in *Penakluk Rezim Orde Baru*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999. 17-44.
- Naipaul, V.S. *Among the Believers: an Islamic Journey*. New York: Vintage Books, 1982.
- _____. *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions among the Converted Peoples*. London: Little, Brown and Company, 1998.
- Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O. Van. *Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia*. Bandung: Van Hoeve Ltd, 1958.
- Nock, A.D. *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*. New York: The Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Pauker, Guy J. "Indonesia in 1980: Regime Fatigue?" *Asian Survey* 21 no. 2 (Feb, 1981), 232-244.

- Peacock, James L. *Muslim Puritans: Reformist Psychology in Southeast Asian Islam*. University of Berkeley: California Press, 1978.
- Pranowo, Bambang. "Islam and Party Politics in Rural Java," *Studia Islamika* I no. 2 (1994): 1-19.
- Putra, Heddy Shri Ahimsa. "Ramadhan di Kampus, PNDI, dan Safari Ramadhan: Beberapa Pola Islamasasi di Masa Order Baru" in *Agama Spiritualisme dalam Dinamika Ekonomi Politik*. Surakarta: Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2001. 11-22.
- Qardhawi, Yusuf. *Umat Islam Menyongsong Abad 21*, trans. Yogi Prana Izza and Ahsan Takwim. Solo: Era Intermedia, 2001.
- Rabi, Ibrahim M. *Abu Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*. Albany: State of New York Press, 1996.
- Rahardjo, M. *Dawam foreword to Islam Garda Depan: Mosaik Pemikiran Islam Timur Tengah* by M. Aunul Abied Shah, ed. Bandung: Mizan, 2001.
- _____. *Islam dan Transformasi Budaya*. Yogyakarta: PT Dana Bhakti Prima Yasa, 2002.
- Reid, Anthony. "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26 no. 2 (February 1967): 267-283.
- Ricklefs, M.C. "Islamization in Java" in *Islam in Asia II*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1984. 36-43.
- _____. *A History of Modern Indonesia since C. 1200*. Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001.
- Roff, William R. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya, 1980.
- Roy, Olivier. *The Failure of Political Islam*, trans. Carol Volk. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- _____. *The Globalised Islam: the Search for a Global Ummah*. London: C. Hurst, 2002.
- Saidi, Ridwan. "Dinamika Kepemimpinan Islam," in *Islam in Indonesia: Suatu Ikhtiar Mengaca Diri*. Jakarta: CV Rajawali, 1986. 81-96.
- Samson, Allan A. "Army and Islam in Indonesia," *Pacific Affairs* 44 no. 4 (Winter, 1971-1972): 545-565.
- _____. "Islam and Indonesian Politics," *Asian Survey* 8 no. 12 (December 1968): 1001-1017.
- Sanit, Arbi. "Gerakan Mahasiswa 1970-1973: Pecahnya Bulan Madu Politik," in *Penakluk Rezim Orde Baru Gerakan Mahasiswa '98*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999.

- Schrieke, B.J.O Indonesian Sociological Studies I. Den Hag and Bandung: Van Hoeve, 1995.
- Schwarz, Adam. A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability. St. Leonards: Allen and Unwind, 1999.
- Syam, Firdaus. Ahmad Sumargono: Dai dan Aktifis Pergerakan Islam Yang Mengakar di Hati Umat. Jakarta: Millenium Publisier, 2004.
- Tamara, Nasir. Indonesia in the Wake of Islam: 1965-1985. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies, 1986.
- Tanter, Richard. "The Totalitarian Ambition: Intelligence and Security Agencies in Indonesia" in State and Civil Society in Indonesia. Clayton: Monas University, 1990.
- The American Heritage[®] Dictionary of the English Language, 4 rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.
- Tholkhah, Imam and Abdul Aziz. "Gerakan Islam Kontemporer di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Awal," in Gerakan Islam Kontemporer di Indonesia. Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1996. 1-20.
- Tibbi, Bassam. Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change. San Francisco: Westview Press, 1991.
- Tim Amnesti Internasional. Fakta Diskriminasi Rezim Soeharto Terhadap Umat Islam, trans. Mohammad Thalib. Yogyakarta: Wihda Press, 1988.
- Tim Litbang Kompas. Wajah DPR dan DPD 2004-2009. Jakarta: Kompas, 2005.
- Voll, John Obert. Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World. Essex: Westview Press, 1982.
- Waardenburg, Jacques. "Muslim and Other Believers: The Indonesian Case Towards a Theoretical Research Framework," in Islam in Asia II. Boulder: Westview Press, 1984. 24-66.
- Wahid, Abdurahman. "Pribumisasi Islam," in Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan. Jakarta: P3EM, 1989. 81-96.
- _____. "Islam, the State, and Development in Indonesia," in Islam in South and South- East Asia. New Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1985. 75-125.
- Ward, Ken. The 1971 Election in Indonesia: An East Java Case Study. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1974.
- Wasis, Widjiono. Geger Talangsari: Serpihan Gerakan Darul Islam. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2001.
- Yusanto, Ismail. "Selamatkan Indonesia dengan Syariat Islam," in Syariat Islam Pandangan Islam Liberal. Jakarta: Sembrani Aksara Nusantara, 2003. 139-171.

2. Articles in Newspaper or Magazines

- Abdalla, Ulil Abshar. "Syariat Islam," *Suara Karya*, 23 March 2004.
- _____. "Muhammad Nabi dan Politikus", *Media Indonesia*, 04 May 2004.
- Anon. "Anggota DPRD Depok dari PKS Dipecat," *Kompas*, 6 June 2006.
- _____. "Banyak Jalan Menuju Kehidupan Islami," *Suara Hidayatullah*, August 2000.
- _____. "Barat atau Timur; Tetap Islam," *Tempo*, 3 April 1993.
- _____. "Belasan PSK Hadiri Kampanye PKS," *Jawa Pos*, 18 March 2004.
- _____. "Beragam Jalan Menempuh Dunia," *Tempo*, 3 April 1993.
- _____. "Cikal Bakal PKS," *Dewan Rakyat*, 3 October 2003
- _____. "Comparing Islamic Leftist and Rightist," *The Jakarta Post*, 21 September 2002.
- _____. "Demonstrasi itu Tertib dan Damai," *Media Indonesia*, 15 September 2003.
- _____. "Dinas Rahasia Susupi PKS," *Dewan Rakyat*, 3 October 2003.
- _____. "Gerakan Islam Kontemporer: Sebuah Sketsa tentang Gerakan Salafi dan Laskar Jihad di Yogyakarta," www.lkis.org/islam_kontemporer.php.
- _____. "Historical Development of Methodologies al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen and Their Effect and Influence upon Contemporary Salafee Dawah," *Salafi Publication*, March 2003.
- _____. "Jalan Pintas ke Surga, Katanya," *Tempo*, 14 July 2002.
- _____. "Jamaah Partai, Partai Jamaah," pkswatch.blogspot.com, 26 October 2005.
- _____. "Kader Muhammadiyah Tergiuur 'Rumah Yang Lain'" *Suara-Muhammadiyah.or.id*, 5 October 2005.
- _____. "Klaim di Luar Survei LSI," *Jawa Pos*, 26 March 2006.
- _____. "Mahasiswa RI di Mesir Mencapai Rekor Terbanyak," *Gatra*, 5 November 2005.
- _____. "PCNU Depok Deklarasikan Dukung Nurmahmudi," *PKS Online*, 10 June 2005.
- _____. "Perda Syariah Tidak Diperlukan," *Media Indonesia*, 16 June 2006.
- _____. "PKS-PDS Tetapkan Pasangan," *Suara Merdeka*, 18 March 2005.
- _____. "PKS Perkirakan Raih 48 Kursi DPR," *Gatra*, 21 April 2004.
- _____. "PKS Ancam Recall Anggotanya," *Jawa Pos*, 17 April 2005.
- _____. "PKS telah Praktikkan Pluralisme di Pilkada Termasuk Berkoalisi dengan PDS," *Kompas*, 1 August 2005.

- ____. "Profesional dari Mujahid Kampus" Hidayatullah, April 2000.
- ____. "Sejarah Kebangkitan dan Perkembangan PII," PelajarIslam.or.id.
- ____. "Survey PKS Yogya: Citra PKS Turun Gara-Gara Dukung SBY,"
Tempointeraktif.com, 24 November 2005.
- ____. "Syaikhut Tarbiyah, KH Rahmat Abdullah: Ikhwanul Muslimin Inspirasi
Gerakan Tarbiyah," Hidayatullah, August 2001.
- ____. "Syariat Islam yang Bagaimana," Panjimas, 27 November – 12 December
2002.
- ____. "Tegar Juga Ayah yang Sabar," WWW. PK-Sejahtera.org, 01 Oktober
2001.
- ____. "Tertunda, Pencarian Dana Kompensasi BBM," Kompas, 8 March 2005.
- ____. "Tidak Mudah Bagi Pemerintah Penuhi Amanat UU Sisdiknas," Kompas,
17 June 2003.
- ____. "Transkrip Pidato Dr. Amien Rais di FSLDK Nasional XI di Universitas
Indonesia," Ukhuwa.or.id, 2000.
- ____. "Ulil Abshar: NU akan Mengalami Penggundulan Generasi," Media
Indonesia Online, 30 April 2005.
- ____. "61 dari 112 Pilkada telah Direbut PKS," Gatra, 10 June 2006.
- Assyaukanie, Lutfi. "Berkah Sekularisme," Islamlib.com, 11 April 2005.
- Azra, Azyumardi. "Fenomena Hidayat Nurwahid dan Politik Islam," Media
Indonesia, 11 October 2004.
- Basyaib, Hamid. "Dilemma Partai Agama," Islamlib.com, 19 April 2004.
- Burhani, Ahmad Najib. "Piagam Jakarta dan Piagam Madinah," Kompas, 31
September 2004
- Dhume, Sadanand. "PKS and the Future of RI's Democracy," Jakarta Post, 5
December 2005.
- Khamami, Rizqon "Kebangkitan Neo-Wahabisme," Duta Masyarakat, 16 August
2005.
- Mulkhan, Abdul Munir. "Sendang Ayu: Pergulatan Muhammadiyah di Kaki
Bukit Barisan," Suara-Muhammadiyah.or.id, 2 January 2006.
- Salahuddin. "Menelusuri Kelompok Sempalan, Detik.com, 10 January 2001.
- Steele, Andrew. "The Decline of Political Islam in Indonesia," *Asia Times Online*,
28 March 2006.
- Yusanto, Ismail. "LDK: Antara Visi, Misi dan Realitas Sejarah Perkembangannya,"
www.fsl dk.20m.com.

3. Newspapers, Magazines and other Publications

Berita Keadilan, Bulletin of the Prosperous Justice Party District Jombang, 2003.

Bulletin Al-Islam no. 45, 2000.

Detik.com, 10 January 2001.

Eramuslim.com, 14 November 2002.

Gatra, 7 October 1995.

http://www.metareligion.com/Extremism/Islamic_extremism/muslim_brotherhood.htm.

Jawa Pos, 2 August 2005.

Jawapos, 27 December 2004.

Keadilan Online, 18 Maret 2005.

Keadilan Online, 20 Mei 2003.

Kompas, 21 April 1981.

Kontan Online, 16 November 1998.

Mertju Suar, 4 April 1968

Muslim Executive and Expatriate Newsletter, volume 1 Issue 3.

www.islamic-path.org.

Panjimas, 20 Feb – 05 March 2003.

PKS Online, 1 June 2005.

PKS Online, 1 Juni 2005.

PKS Online, 22 August 2002

Republika, 19 August 2003

Reuters, 7 April 2004.

Saksi, 20 May 2003, 28.

Saksi, 31 December 2003.

Salafy, no. 30 (1999).

Suara Karya, 21 April 1981

Sriwijaya Post, 21 January 2002.

Syariahonline.com, 01 January 2003.

Tempo 30 September 1978.

Tempo, 11 April 1981.

Tempo, 14 July 2002.

Tempo, 18 January 1999

Tempo, 3 April 1993.

Tempo, 7 August 2005.

Tempo, May 30, 1987.

Tempo, 19-25 June 2006.

Ulumul Qur'an 2 no. V (1994).

www.salafy.or.id

Christian Science Monitor, 2 Jan 1986.

4. Unpublished Materials

Anon. "Pemilih Islam dan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS): Hasil Survey LSI tentang Partai Politik dan Calon Presiden 2004," LSI, September 2004.

_____. "Tanya Jawab Estapeta Pemimpin NII dalam Darurat Perang," 14 September 2002.

Abduh, Umar. "Konspirasi Gerakan Islam & Militer di Indonesia." Jakarta: Cedsos, 2003.

Azra, Azyumardi. "Islam in Southeast Asia: Tolerance and Radicalism," Paper presented at The University of Melbourne, 6 April 2005.

Bamualim, Chaidar S. "Radikalisme Agama dan Perubahan Sosial di DKI Jakarta." Jakarta: Tim Peneliti Pusat Bahasa dan Budaya, 2000.

Imdadun, Muhammad. "Tansmisi Gerakan Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia 1980-2002: Studi Atas Gerakan Tarbiyah dan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia," Master's thesis, University of Indonesia, 2003.

Collins, Elizabeth Fuller. "'Islam is Solution:' *Dakwah* and Democracy." Paper presented at Ohio University, 20 June 2004.

Kraince, Richard Gordon "The Role of Islamic Student Activists in Divergent Movements for Reform during Indonesia's Transition from Authoritarian Rule, 1998-2001," Ph.D. diss., Ohio University, 2003.

Kurniawan, Hendra "Realitas Gerakan Hizbut Tahrir di Indonesia: Wacana Hegemonik dan Praksis Ideologi." Master thesis, University of Indonesia, 2003.

Kurtogle, Gul M. "Toleration of the Intolerant? Accommodation of Political Islam in the Muslim World." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2003.

Rosyad, Rifki. "A Quest for True Islam: A Study of the Islamic Resurgence Movements among the Youth in Bandung, Indonesia." Master thesis, the Australian National University, 1995.

Samson, Allan A. "Islam and Politics in Indonesia." Ph.D. diss, University of California, 1972.

- Santosa, Candra June. "Modernization, Utopia and the Rise of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia." Ph.D diss, Boston University, 1996.
- Uhlin, Anders. "Indonesian Democracy Discourses in a Global Context. The Transnational Diffusion of Democratic Ideas," Working Paper 83, the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1993.
- Wall, Alan. "The Indonesian Political Landscape Post General Election." A report presented at ICWA meeting, 10 May 2004.