

Israeli Nukes versus Palestinian Slingshots

David and Goliath in Indonesia

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indonesian press reportage of the recent conflict in Gaza claims that the Israelis used “Nuclear Weapons.” To Western readers these reports appear to be wildly inaccurate. But from a local perspective these reports are not fabrications. Rather they employ interpretive strategies rooted in local cultures to bring order to a complex body of information concerning the conflict. They invoke and scientific and pseudo scientific literature concerning degraded uranium and other “high tech” ordinance alleged to have been used by Israeli forces.

A *North Sumatra Post* story analyzed here evokes the shared Jewish, Christian and Muslim narrative of the diminutive but virtuous David confronting the gigantic, monstrous Goliath. Other news reports on the same day also emphasized the uneven nature of the conflict. Together the coverage paints a portrait of determined, just resistance to barbaric aggression.

This is an element of the process of “demonization” of opponents common in conflicts worldwide. The resulting images do not just appear in newspaper accounts. The theme is also reproduced in children’s art, contributing to the perpetuation and globalization of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Analysts should resist the temptation to dismiss such reports as sensational fabrications. Instead they should be viewed as reflections of important opinion-forming processes, grounded in local interpretive schemes. These construct influential narratives surrounding religiously charged issues regardless of whether they are literally “true.”

INTRODUCTION

This white paper concerns Indonesian responses to and interpretations of the recent war in Gaza and how they are framed by local understandings of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as an aspect of a global struggle between Zionism and Islam. Specifically, we focus on two graphic images. The first is the front page of a daily paper. The second is a set of collages made by school children and posted on a bulletin board at a Muslim school. Together they suggest that, even when based on reasonably accurate information, the tale of the conflict is socially, politically and religiously constructed in ways that reflect “cosmological archetypes” as much they represent “facts on the ground.”

GAZA AND INDONESIA: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

Indonesia is the world’s most populous Muslim nation and one in which Islam is an increasingly salient factor in political life. Since the democratic transition a decade ago, numerous Islamist political parties and social movements—some violent, others committed to the establishment of Islamic social norms through democratic means, some “home grown” and others with close ties to Wahhabi groups in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Middle East—have become increasingly vocal.¹ The democratic transition did not cause the development of Islamist sentiments but allowed them to emerge from the shadows. Groups promoting Islamist agendas that would have been outlawed little more than a decade ago are now accepted as legitimate political players.²

What would have been considered radical polemics are now seen as mainstream views.

The emergence of Islamism as a legitimate political movement has led to a shift in the tone of Indonesian discourse. What would have been considered radical polemics are now seen as mainstream views. This is especially true in foreign affairs. Opposition to Israeli policies and to Zionism more generally has long been a component of Indonesian foreign policy and political discourse. Israel and Zionists are easy and politically safe targets and outlets for Islamist sentiments because they have no domestic political constituencies. There are at most a handful of Jews in Indonesia, and Judaism is not among the officially recognized religions entitled to the protection and support of the state.

There is a significant Arab, but not Palestinian, population. Indonesians of Arabic descent are almost exclusively Hadramis, some of whom maintain close family and religious ties with communities in Yemen. They are also greatly respected because many are or at least are believed to be, descendents of the Prophet Muhammad. However, Habib, as they are known, are much indigenized. Few speak Arabic as a native language and most identify themselves as Indonesians of Arab descent.

Evangelical Christians, who in the United States, are among the most vocal supporters of Israeli policies, have not made support for Israel an element of Indonesian religio-political discourse at least in part because to

do so would further strain relations with the Muslim majority. Neither of these communities figures significantly in shaping Indonesian public opinion about the Gaza conflict or Middle Eastern Affairs more generally. Opinion is shaped by a combination of media coverage and views suggesting that Islam constitutes a global community. Consequently events on the global stage require local responses.

Indonesia does not have diplomatic relations with Israel and has been a consistent supporter of the Palestinian cause in world forums including the United Nations. Support for the Palestinians and denunciations of Israel are potent symbolic features of domestic political discourse. These sentiments are rooted almost exclusively in feelings of trans-national and trans-cultural Islamic solidarity.

For the vast majority of Indonesian Muslims support for the Palestinians and disdain for Israel is absolute and unquestioned.

These sentiments are also useful elements of domestic political discourse. Supporting Palestinian causes establishes Islamic credibility. Credibility building efforts take many forms, ranging from contributing to charities, offering the annual feast of sacrifice by proxy, and anti-Israel/pro-Palestinian demonstrations, to encouraging young Indonesians to join the “*Jihad* against Zionist brutality and aggression.”³ For the vast majority of Indonesian Muslims, of whom there are more than two hundred million, support for the Palestinians and disdain for Israel is absolute and unquestioned. A significant majority are prepared to believe almost anything negative that is said, or written about Israel. Students at the State Islamic Institute in Medan, North Sumatra were unimpressed with claims about Hamas attacks on civilians and saw Israel’s attacks as a naked land grab. Israel has precious few friends in Indonesia. When former president Abdurrahman Wahid suggested constructive engagement with Israel and even visited there, he was roundly criticized.

The conflation of Israel with Zionism and Judaism has given rise anti-Semitic sentiments in some quarters. Indonesian radicals believe that there is an international conspiracy of Christian Crusaders and Zionist Jews dedicated to the destruction of Islam. The Gulf War, along with the occupation of Iraq, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, are cited as illustrations of the effort to destroy Islam, as are the U.S. inclusion of Iran and Iraq in the “axis of evil.” Recent events in Gaza, the recent Israel-Lebanon War and threats against Iran’s nuclear program are understood as elements of this global conspiracy.

The popular *Islamist* magazine *Sabili*, available for purchase on newsstands and in mainstream and Islamic bookstores, describes the “invasion” of the Islamic World, liberalism, ridicule of the Prophet Muhammad (a reference to the Danish cartoon crisis) conversion to Christianity and pornography as efforts to destroy the morality of the Muslim community by colonialist Crusader forces, against whom it is necessary to conduct *jihad*⁴. For many, the Gaza war, civilian casualties and the enormous material damage inflicted have validated this understanding of the world order. While images discussed here are especially graphic they are not atypical.

In a broader sense we will be concerned with the ways in which analytic approaches drawn from Cultural Anthropology and Religious Studies can aid in the understanding of local instances of the global discourse concerning both the conflict in Gaza and the broader conflict of which it is only the most recent example. More specifically, we draw on anthropologist Clifford Geertz's understanding of religion as a cultural system and religious historian Mircea Eliade's understanding of relationships between mythic and historical narrative in the analysis of the cultural artifacts considered here.⁵

ISRAEL USES “NUCLEAR BOMB”

On January 7, 2009, the front page headline of the Medan *SUMUT Pos* (The North Sumatra Post) read: “Israel Uses Nuclear Bomb.” Medan is Indonesia's third largest city, located in the province of North Sumatra is a major commercial and industrial center. It has a religiously and ethnically diverse population of approximately 2.5 million people. The North Sumatra Post is among the cities most popular daily papers. On a recent trip, Ron (the first author) saw the headline, jumped out of a taxi, and bought a copy of the paper. That is where this story begins.



The imagery evokes the shared Jewish, Christian and Muslim narrative of the diminutive but virtuous David confronting the gigantic, monstrous Goliath.

With the exception of a short article about a popular Indonesian actress, a political ad, and another for a cell phone service, the entire front page was devoted to the conflict in Gaza. There were two major themes in the account. The first was the alleged nuclear attack; the second was about Palestinian fighters attacking Israeli tanks with stones and slingshots. Together they portray valiant Palestinians fighting bravely against seemingly insurmountable odds. The imagery evokes the shared Jewish, Christian and Muslim narrative of the diminutive but virtuous David confronting the gigantic, monstrous Goliath. Except in this version of the tale, Goliath is a Jew. The articles are replete with scientific and other supporting evidence that lend credibility to the story. Some, but not all of this evidence is credible. But in assessing the significance of the reportage it is not the factual credibility, but the narrative credibility of the story, and the political and religious “spins” it puts on them that are important.

Other news coverage in Medan on the same day also emphasized the uneven nature of the conflict. A television news program reported that during the recent conflict 600 Palestinians were killed and 3000 were wounded. On the other hand, only 9 Israeli soldiers were reportedly killed. After the basic statistics were delivered, the news program played a music

video with images of the killed and wounded on both sides set to a song with the lyrics, in English, “everyone hurts, everyone cries sometimes.” At the beginning of the video there was a “split screen” showing both sides, the Palestinian side took 60% of the screen and Israel took 30% of the screen. The way the numbers were being presented suggested that there were no Israeli civilian losses. Other news reports suggest there were some (3) Israeli civilian fatalities. Denying any civilian casualties of Hamas actions further establishes Hamas as without blame and woefully overpowered.

Returning to the *North Sumatra Post* front page, beneath the opening paragraphs there was a small image of a U.S.-made jet fighter firing a rocket labeled DIME. DIME is a U.S. Department of Defense acronym—Dense Inert Metal Explosive—for a weapon designed to create low “collateral damage.”⁶ It is exceptionally lethal, but its explosion has a very limited kill range, measured in tens of feet. The bomb is said to have contained “Heavy Metal Tungsten Alloy” (HMTA). This is a carcinogenic substance used in powdered form as a substitute for and “improvement” on conventional shrapnel.⁷ The article claims, incorrectly, that it has been outlawed by the international community. Together they are referred to in a side bar as a “Zionist Weapon.”

Elsewhere the weapon is described as including depleted uranium. Depleted uranium is an extremely dense metal and a byproduct of Uranium enrichment for weapons purposes and is derived from spent nuclear reactor fuel. It is not explosive but can ignite on impact when temperatures exceed 600 degrees Celsius. With a half life of more than four billion years it is only mildly radioactive. According to a World Health Organization report it is 60% less radioactive than naturally occurring uranium.⁸ It has approximately twice the density of lead and is commonly used for radiation shielding in medical devices and in containers designed to store and transport radioactive materials. Its military uses include armor plating and armor piercing ordinance. It has been used routinely in many conflict environments.

While there is no scientific evidence that exposure to depleted uranium poses a major public health risk, there is an enormous body of alarmist, pseudoscientific literature, much of it also available on the Web, claiming that those exposed to even small amounts are at great risk of cancer and other diseases. This literature is most frequently produced and cited by opponents of conflicts in which it is used and governments that include it in their arsenals.⁹ In these reports depleted uranium is often linked with white phosphorus, the use of which against human targets is banned by international law. On January 19 the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the Arab League announced plans to refer Israel to the International Criminal Court for War Crimes prosecution for alleged use of these munitions in the Gaza conflict.¹⁰

The story also includes reports of injuries inflicted by weapons and medical evidence which “proves” that they were in fact used. These

include reports by Norwegian medical teams attributed to an otherwise unidentified “Dr. Gilbert” who currently works at the al Shifa Hospital in Gaza, that traces of depleted uranium were found in the wounds of the dead and injured. Mads Gilbert is in fact a Norwegian Medical Doctor and a well known advocate of the Palestinian cause. He has been interviewed concerning recent events in Gaza by CNN, BBC news and other Western media outlets. He is described by pro-Israel US Christian groups as a “terrorist apologist.”¹¹

The article also refers to statements by *Een Ander Joods Geluid* (Another Jewish Voice) according to which the majority of Palestinian casualties have been civilians and that many more have lost their homes and become internally displaced persons as a consequence of Israeli military action. *Een Ander Joods Geluid* is a Dutch anti-Zionist Jewish organization.¹² It was founded in 2001 to promote criticism of Israeli policy and the search for a just peace with the Palestinians. Like other anti-Zionist Jewish organizations it is often mentioned by mainstream Indonesian Muslim intellectuals as proof that Judaism and Zionism are not one in the same.¹³

Other front page stories concern Palestinians attacking Israeli tanks with slingshots, the plight of Palestinian children, the geography of the Gaza Strip, and the history of Zionism. All are supported by reference to “authoritative” sources including the United Nations, The European Union, Save the Children and even Dr. Shaul Dollberg, Professor of Pediatrics at Tel Aviv University who is quoted as saying, “The children of the Gaza Strip are at risk for hypothermia, especially newborn babies.”

The account of the history of Zionism, which cites WIKIPEDIA as a source, describes it as a continuation of the Crusades.

The account of the history of Zionism, which cites WIKIPEDIA as a source, describes it as a continuation of the Crusades. It describes the establishment of Israel as the product of an Anglo-Zionist conspiracy. It quotes British General Edmund Allenby who after the conquest of Palestine during the First World War stated: “Only now have the Crusades ended.”¹⁴

Another item discussing the small-sized territory being fought over suggests that Israel has little to gain in a material sense and suggests other, more sinister motives. A commentary on Yogyakarta television made the point more explicitly. It raised the question of how it could be that “The grandchildren of the Holocaust are repeating it in Gaza?” This is a theme that has been repeated and distributed over supposedly academic mail lists.

Together these stories paint a portrait of determined, just resistance to barbaric aggression. The word *jihad* is not mentioned. It does not need to be. The “facts” speak for themselves. But if the term “*jihad*” were used, the “facts” clearly suggest that the form of *jihad* at play is the fully justifiable defensive war against an aggressor that seems bent on destroying the Muslim community or a local sub-set thereof.

The “facts” reported in these articles are well within the range of global discourse, even if they are not entirely accurate. All of the information mentioned above is available on the Web and is easily accessible from Indonesia.¹⁵ The account is, therefore clearly *not* a fabrication. What must be explored are questions concerning why the editors chose the “spin” or interpretation they did and how it was constructed and more specifically why they should have chosen to make the seemingly absurd claim that Israel has used a “nuclear bomb.” There are several possibilities more than one of which may be in play.

The description of a DIME as a “nuclear bomb” *can* be understood as the output of a mode of symbolic logic, or what Dan Sperber calls “symbolization” shared by many Indonesian cultures and languages. For Sperber, symbolization is the cognitive process through which representations of events are brought into correspondence with the conceptual categories of particular cultures.¹⁶

There are at least two principles at work here. The first is that when English and other non-native terms are used in Indonesian discourse, there is often a shift in, or widening of, meaning. For example, the Indonesian (as opposed to the English) word “*primadona*” has exclusively positive meanings. To call someone a “*primadona*” is to say only that he/she is the best in her/his field. Moreover, “*primadona*” can be used for inanimate objects as well as for humans. To call a computer, or an automobile, “*primadona*” is to say that it is the best in its class. Reflecting on a similar linguistic shift that might be at work in this case, it is common to hear the term “*Senjata Nuklir*,” or Nuclear Weapons used to describe weapons of mass destruction in a generic sense. The second is the tendency to assume that if two lexical fields share a salient intersection then they also share deeper, underlying meanings. The facts that there is credible evidence that the United States and Israel have used depleted uranium ordinance in previous conflicts and that nuclear explosives are made from uranium supports the view that such principles are operative here.

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It is, however, clear that Israel did not use a “nuclear bomb” in the literal sense of the word. The editors of *The North Sumatra Post* were also certainly aware of this. It is likely that they used a commonly understood symbolic mechanism to make a sensationalist claim to amplify the points they wanted to convey, and to sell papers. These symbolic transformations also work in reverse. The fact that a respected news source stated, in a symbolic sense, that Israel had used a “nuclear bomb” may well have led many to believe that they had used an actual nuclear bomb. This is all the more likely because many can not afford the price of the paper, and were able to read only the headline. Such a partial reading, in conjunction with the oversized photo of a Palestinian firing a slingshot reinforces the David/Palestinian versus Goliath/Israel theme. An alternative interpretation is, of course, that the headline was a deliberate misrepresentation intended to incite Islamist sentiments – and to sell papers.

AND FROM THE MOUTHS OF BABES

On the 30th of January the authors visited a *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) in the Indonesian town of Magelan in south central Java together with a colleague from *Universitas Islam Negri Sunan Kalijaga* (Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University).¹⁷ Our purpose was not to investigate responses to or interpretation of the violence in Gaza. It was very nearly the opposite. The *Pesantren* is well known for its efforts to promote inter-religious understanding, harmony and cooperation. Comparative Religion is part of the curriculum beginning at the elementary school level. A brief examination of the curriculum suggests that it is even-handed and fairly represents an *emic* (or insider) perspective of other religions. Other activities intended to foster inter-religious harmony include exchanges with local Roman Catholic schools and inter-communal football (soccer) matches.

Near the end of our visit we encountered a set of collages, obviously constructed by young children, posted on a bulletin board. The themes were remarkably similar to those of articles in the *North Sumatra Post* and other media intended for adults. Palestine is on one side, Israel the other. A Palestinian city is bombarded by Israeli jets and missiles. These images were accompanied by hand written notes expressing sympathy for the plight of children in Gaza and asking God to bless them in their time of need. They were stunningly and disturbingly similar to images produced by children in actual conflict situations. Children's conflict art is tragically similar, whether it is from the Spanish Civil War, Bosnia, Darfur or a Javanese *Pesantren* touched by conflict only indirectly and through the media. It is not subtle. It clearly demarcates victims from perpetrators, depicts the suffering of victims and the means through pain is inflicted. This image depicts a bipolar Palestinian-Muslim/Israeli-Jewish world in which Gaza is destroyed by fighter jets and missiles chillingly similar to those depicted in *The North Sumatra Post*.



The themes were remarkably similar to those of articles in the North Sumatra Post and other media intended for adults.

This *Pesantren* is not a “radical” academy. It is not a “terrorist training camp.” It is exactly the opposite. It is a school that roots trans-human values of inclusiveness, peace and justice in the transcendental values of the *Qur’an*. Yet, even in this context, the conflict in Gaza as seen through the eyes of Muslim children in one small town in Indonesia is constructed in ways that mirror the narrative form of *The North Sumatra Post*. The children who produced these images are too young to have constructed archetypes of evil like those employed by adult parties to this conflict. Unless the world changes, they soon will. Nothing more need be said.

CONSTRUCTING THE ENEMY OTHER

Much more can be and must be said about the symbolic processes through which media and its consumers construct “enemy others” because these constructions are blockades that make the “road map to peace” almost impossible to read, let alone traverse. Our purpose here is not to single out Muslims or Indonesians as being especially inclined towards this variety of symbolic thought. Far from it, these are seemingly universal aspects of what anthropologist Clifford Geertz called “conflict as a cultural system.” We have used Indonesian examples because both of us are Indonesia specialists and happened to be “in country” during the recent conflict.

The images described here can also be understood in terms of what anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss calls *bricolage*.¹⁸ In French this term referred originally to unforeseen and unpredictable events and subsequently to objects produced by craftsmen working with only the tools and materials at hand. Lévi-Strauss describes *bricolage* as being among the ways in which mythological principles are sometimes cobbled together to enable humans to interpret nature. To this we add that his observation applies to the interpretation of human events, and the construction of historical narratives. He describes the process as follows:

The characteristic feature of mythological thought is that it expresses itself by means of a heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is never the less limited. It has to use this repertoire, however, whatever the task in hand because it has nothing else at its disposal. Mythological thought is therefore a kind of intellectual ‘bricolage’ – which explains the relation which can be perceived between the two. Like bricolage of the technical plane, mythical reflection can reach brilliant unforeseen results on the intellectual plane.¹⁹

In cultures of conflict each side employs archetypes of violence to demonize their opponent and to establish its own righteousness.

This meaning making process through *bricolage* is far from random. Eliade has observed that in the construction of mythic and historical narratives what he terms archetypes are used to bring order and meaning to the vicissitudes of human experience. He argues that in traditional societies acts are meaningful only if they replicate cosmic archetypes and that in the construction of mythologies historical events are transformed to bring them into accord with these archetypes.²⁰ It would appear that Eliade’s supposition that this principle is no longer operative in the modern world was incorrect. It is chillingly apparent in rhetoric surrounding the Gaza conflict.

In cultures of conflict each side employs archetypes of violence to demonize their opponent and to establish its own righteousness. In the process of demonization, opposing sides project archetypes of evil on to others. The other is transformed, becoming what is most feared. Self identification is with archetypes of virtue and martyrdom. It is a process of valorization. This enables communities to define their own violence as defensive.

The images of conflict presented in The North Sumatra Post are examples of the intertwined processes of demonization and valorization.

This cycle of projection and denial combined with the psychological trauma experienced by victims contributes to what Stanley Tambiah calls the ritualization of violence.²¹ Those who have endured the trauma of conflict, even at a distance, are destined to repeat it as long as underlying conditions and archetypes of evil persist. The images of conflict presented in *The North Sumatra Post* are examples of the intertwined processes of demonization and valorization. The children's conflict art we encountered in Magelan is the first stage in the repletion of this archetype of horror.

Magelan and Medan are geographically far removed from the conflict in Gaza. But in the era of globalization, local and regional conflicts are rapidly globalized and may have unexpected consequences far from their points of origin.²² In this world the children of Indonesia, and the world, like those of Palestine and Israel, are at risk of being drawn into a cycle of what Mark Juergensmeyer calls "cosmic conflict" that is not of their own making.²³

IMPLICATIONS

Analysts should not simply dismiss reports of global and local events that appear to be sensationalistic and even wildly inaccurate. They should seek to uncover the underlying assumptions and archetypes used in the construction of narratives, especially those concerning conflict in which culturally or religiously charged issues are at stake. Analysis of such narratives can contribute to the understanding of the dynamics of opinion formation and conflict itself. These dynamics are especially important for understanding narratives produced in "free press" environments.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ See M. Woodward, "Resisting Wahhabi Colonialism in Yogyakarta," COMOPS Journal, November 6, 2008.
<http://comops.org/journal/2008/11/06/resisting-wahhabi-colonialism-in-yogyakarta/>
- ² See M. Woodward, "Indonesia's Religious Political Parties: Democratic Consolidation and Security in Post-New Order Indonesia," *Asian Security*, 4:1 2008. pp. 41-60, 2008.
- ³ The feast of sacrifice or *Id al-Adha* is conducted in conjunction with the pilgrimage to Mecca. Unlike other components of the pilgrimage it can be conducted anywhere. Muslims sacrifice goats, sheep and cattle to commemorate the Quranic and Biblical story of Abraham who was willing to sacrifice his son as a demonstration of his faith in God. Most of the meat is distributed to the poor and needy. It can be offered anywhere and need not involve the actual participation of those offering it. Today, it can be arranged by text messaging a local or trans-national agency.
- ⁴ *Majalah Islam Sabili* June 29th 2006 pp 60-61.
- ⁵ C. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in: M. Banton, (ed.), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. London, Tavistock, 1966, pp. 1-46 and M. Eliade, *The Myth of Eternal Return or Cosmos and History*, New York: Harper 1959.
- ⁶ See <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/systems/munitions/dime.htm>
- ⁷ http://www.onlinejournal.com/artman/publish/article_1507.shtml
- ⁸ World Health Organization Media Center, "Depleted Uranium," <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs257/en/> WHO also conducted a survey of scientific literature on depleted uranium that is available on the Web at http://www.who.int/ionizing_radiation/env/du/en/index.html
- ⁹ See, for example, "DEPLETED URANIUM BURNING: AN E T E R N A L MEDICAL DISASTER. Issues on the Use and Effects of an ILLEGAL RADIATION Weapon," http://www.xs4all.nl/~stgvisie/ud_main.html
- ¹⁰ http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20090119/ap_on_re_eu/eu_nuclear_israel_gaza
- ¹¹ <http://article.feeds4all.nl/Media-Uses-Terrorism-Apologist-as/1718061285.aspx>
- ¹² <http://www.eajg.nl/index.asp?navitemid=12&type=3&item=808>
- ¹³ Publicization of these groups and their activities is among the most effective modes of "counter-discourse" in an environment where Islamist appropriation of European anti-Semitic discourse is increasingly common.
- ¹⁴ Translation of the Indonesian text.
- ¹⁵ The Web browsing on which this account is based was done in Indonesia with locally purchased equipment: a four year old laptop computer and a cell phone modem.

¹⁶ D. Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

¹⁷ *Pesantren* are, in most respects similar to Middle Eastern and South Asian *madrasahs*. The terms “*pondok*” and “*pesantren*” or a combination of them are used throughout Muslim Southeast Asia. See R. Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java*. New York: Palgrave, 2005.

¹⁸ C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. “Shade tree mechanics” are a contemporary American example. Burmese mechanics, who seem to do everything with anything, including installing a 1970’s Toyota transmission in a 1951 English Ford are an even better example.

¹⁹ C. Levi Strauss, *op. cit.*, pg. 117.

²⁰ M. Eliade, *op. cit.*, pg.39

²¹ S. Tambiah, *Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

²² On the globalization of local and national level conflict see M. Woodward, “Religious Conflict and the Globalization of Knowledge: Indonesia 1978-2004”, in Linell Cady and Sheldon Simon (eds.) *Religion and Conflict in South and Southeast Asia. Disruption Violence* London: Routledge 2006

²³ M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God. The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Berkeley: University of California Press 2003.