

# SHANE JOSHUA BARTER, PhD

Assistant Professor, Soka University of America  
Associate Director, Pacific Basin Research Center

Office: 949-480-4487

Cell: 949-391-8340

[sbarter@soka.edu](mailto:sbarter@soka.edu)

## Soka University of America

*Assistant Professor, Comparative Politics*

August 2011—

- *Teaching:* State & Society; Democratization; Armed Conflict in Southeast Asia; Political Islam; Political Buddhism; Southeast Asian Studies; Pacific Basin
- *Learning Cluster Classes:* Childhood in Sumatra (class abroad); Mass Transit on the West Coast (class abroad); Sex Tourism in Southeast Asia; Politics of Coffee in Aceh, Indonesia (class abroad), Liberal Arts Education
- *Capstone Supervision:* Tibetan Activism; Sports & Politics; Political Transparency; the Sex Industry in Thailand; State Terrorism; Fiscal Decentralization in China; Civic Culture; Conflict Termination; Ethnic Conflict in China; Cults; the Middle Class and Democracy; Militia Governance; Islamic Parties; Japanese Diplomacy in Southeast Asia; the European Union; Muslim minorities; Hawaiian Autonomy

*Associate Director, Pacific Basin Research Center*

March 2013—

- Oversee faculty and student grants; co-chair various working groups; plan campus talks; manage post-doc
- *Co-Editor:* Palgrave series, *Politics, Economics, and Inclusive Development*

## EDUCATION

**University of British Columbia**

September 2005 – June 2011

*Doctor of Philosophy, Political Science*

*Liu Institute Scholar, Canadian Consortium of Human Security Fellow*

**University of British Columbia**

September 2004 – June 2005

*Master of Arts, Comparative Politics*

**University of Victoria**

July 2000 – April 2003

*Bachelor of Arts, Comparative Politics and Southeast Asian History*

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*Explaining the Genetic Footprints of Catholic and Protestant Colonizers* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2015)

*Civilian Strategy in Civil War: Insights from Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2014)

Reviewed by Damien Kingsbury, *Pacific Affairs* 89:2 (June 2016)

*Neither Wolf, Nor Lamb: Embracing Civil Society in the Aceh Conflict* (Bangkok: Forum-Asia, 2004)

### Journal Articles

“Measuring Religion in War: A Response” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 55:1 (2016) (with Ian Zatkin-Osburn)

“Zones of Control & Civilian Strategy in the Aceh Conflict,” *Civil Wars* 17:3 (2015)

“Between a Rock & a Hard Place: Second-Order Minorities in the Aceh Conflict,” *Asian Ethnicity* 16:2 (2015); 152-165

“Second-Order Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts,” *Asian Ethnicity* 16:2 (2015); 123-135.

“Strife of the Soil? Unsettling Transmigrant Conflicts in Indonesia,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 46:1 (2015) (with Isabelle Côté); 60-85

“Area Studies, Asian Studies, and the Pacific Basin,” *Geographical Review* 105:1 (2015); 105-119

“Shrouded: Islam, War, & Holy War in Southeast Asia” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 53:1 (2014) (with Ian Zatkin-Osburn); 187-201. Response from Isak Svensson, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (2016).

“State Proxy or Security Dilemma? Understanding Anti-Rebel Militias in Civil War,” *Asian Security* 9:2 (2013); 75-92

“Unarmed Forces: Civilian Strategy in Violent Conflicts,” *Peace & Change* 37:4 (2012); 544-571

“Strong State, Smothered Society: Explaining the Forms of Violence in Thailand’s Deep South,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 23:2 (2011); 213-232

“The Free Aceh Elections? The 2009 Legislative Contests in Aceh,” *Indonesia* 91 (2011); 113-130

“*Ulama*, the State, and War: Community Islamic Leaders in the Aceh Conflict,” *Contemporary Islam* 5:1 (2011); 19-36

“Resources, Religion, & Rebellion: The Sources and Lessons of Conflict in Aceh,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 19:1 (2008); 39-61

“The Dangers of Decentralization: Clientelism, the State, & Nature in Indonesia,” *Federal Governance* 1:6 (2008)

### Book Chapters

“The Rebel State in Society: Governance and Accommodation in the Aceh Conflict,” in *Rebel Governance in Civil War*, edited by Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly (Cambridge University Press, 2015); 226-245

“Learning to Lose? Not if UMNO Can Help It,” in *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems*, edited by Joseph Wong & Edward Friedman (Routledge, 2008); 211-230 (with Diane Mauzy)

“A Cosmopolitan Conflict? Aceh as a New War,” in *Old Conflicts and New Wars in the Pacific*, edited by Rolf Jordan and Michael Waibel (Berlin: Pazifische Studien 14, 2006); pp. 27-40

### Book Reviews

“The Making of Middle Indonesia: Middle Classes in Kupang Town, 1930s-1980s, by Gerry van Klinken,” *Pacific Affairs* 90:2 (2017)

“Religious Diversity in Muslim-Majority States in Southeast Asia by Bernhard Platzdasch and Johan Saravanamuttu,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 44 (2016) (with Gabrielle Garfunkel)

“The Roots of Terrorism in Indonesia, by Solahudin,” *Pacific Affairs* 88:4 (2015)

“Political Change & Territoriality in Indonesia by Ehito Kimura,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (2015)

“Soldiers and Diplomacy in Burma: Understanding the Foreign Relations of the Burmese Praetorian State by Renaud Egreteau and Larry Jagan,” *ILAS Newsletter* 72 (2015) (with Yuko Nakajima)

“Ghosts of the Past in Southern Thailand, edited by Patrick Jory,” *ILAS Newsletter* 69 (2014)

“Violence and Vengeance: Religious Conflict and its Aftermath in Eastern Indonesia by Christopher R. Duncan,” *Sojourn* 29:2 (2014)

“From Colonization to Nation-State: The Political Demography of Indonesia by Riwanto Tirtosudarmo” *ILAS Newsletter* 67 (2014)

“Regime Change and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Dayak Politics of West Kalimantan by Taufiq Tanasaldy,” *South East Asia Research* 22:3 (2014)

“Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia by Dan Slater,” *The Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 35 (2013)

“The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia by James C. Scott,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44:04 (2011)

“Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia by Edward Aspinall,” *Pacific Affairs* 83:2 (2010)

“From Rebellion to Riots: Collective Violence on Indonesian Borneo by Jamie S. Davidson,” *South East Asia Research* 18:1 (2010)

“Zones of Peace edited by Landon E. Hancock and Christopher Mitchell,” *Peace Review* 21:4 (2010)

“Realpolitik Ideology: Indonesia’s Use of Military Force by Leonard C. Sebastian,” *Pacific Affairs* 81:1 (2008)

“Verandah of Violence: Background to the Aceh Problem edited by Anthony Reid,” *Pacific Affairs* 80:3 (2007)

### Other

“[Intimate Economies: Sex Tourism in Southeast Asia](#),” *Verge Magazine* 4:2 (Spring 2014)

“Strange Bedfellows: The Limits of Partai Aceh Loyalty,” *Inside Indonesia* 113 (September 2013)

“Indonesia 2014: Partai Aceh Loyalty & the Prabowo Test,” *CCSEAS Newsletter* 8:1 (Summer 2013)

“[Minor Threat? Cracking Down on Punks in Aceh, Indonesia](#),” *CAPI Newsletter* (Spring 2013)

Featured in “How Holy is This Holy War,” by Kaela O’Brien, *Portland State Vanguard* (January 2013)

“Islam in Politics, not Political Islam in Indonesian Elections,” *Sociology of Islam Newsletter* 6 (2011)

“Boxing Day in Cotabato, Mindanao,” *Explorations Southeast Asia* 9 (2009); pp. 113-114

“A Deeper Look into the Recent Elections in Aceh,” *Jakarta Post* (28 April 2009)

“Language and the Southern Thai Conflict,” *Malaysiakini* (17 October 2008)

“Random Acts of Curiosity,” *Verge Magazine* (2008)

“Notes from Indonesia,” *CCHS Human Security Bulletin* 9:4 (March 2008)

Featured in “From the Ground Up,” by Tom Peacock, *Verge Magazine* 4:2 (Spring 2006)

Featured in “Tsunami Response: One Year Later,” by Brian Lin, *UBC Reports* 52:1 (January 2006)

“Reconstruction and Conflict Resolution in Aceh,” *CANCAPS Bulletin* (20 August 2005)

“Peace Talks in Post-Tsunami Aceh,” *Human Security Bulletin* (August 2005)

“Swedish Court’s Acquittal of Hassan and Accountability for Abuses in Aceh,” *Jakarta Post* (26 July 2004)

## **Under Review / In Progress**

“The Age of Colonialisms,” in *An Introduction to the Pacific Basin*

“Armed Conflict across the Pacific: Patterns and Possibilities,” in *An Introduction to the Pacific Basin*

“Coffee: An Indian Ocean Perspective” (under review)

“Dangerous Fieldwork in Southeast Asia” (part of a project on doing research in Southeast Asia)

*An Introduction to the Pacific Basin*, co-edited with Michael Weiner (Routledge 2017)

“Introduction to the Pacific Basin” (with Michael Weiner), in *An Introduction to the Pacific Basin*

“Rethinking Autonomy in Post-Conflict Areas” (book manuscript)

“Southeast Asia: Unity in Diversity,” in *An Introduction to the Pacific Basin*

“Southeast Asia: Unity in ASEAN” (with Amanda Boralessa), in *Routledge Handbook of Politics in Asia*, edited by Shingping Hua

“Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh” (under review)

“Ummah or Tribe? Islamic Practice, Political Ethnocentrism, and Political Attitudes in Indonesia” (with Nathan Allen, under review)

## **HONOURS**

- 2013-14 Co-recipient Best Professor Award, Soka University of America
- 2013 Best Paper Award, ISA-West Conference
- 2012 Visiting Scholar, Centre for Asia-Pacific Initiatives (CAPI), University of Victoria
- 2011 Leader of Tomorrow, St. Gallen Symposium, Switzerland
- 2010 Dr. Ronald Baker Doctoral Scholarship (Department of National Defense) (\$22,500)
- 2010 Graduate Award, CASIS (Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies)
- 2010 Esterline Prize, best student paper at ASPAC (AAS Pacific Coast)
- 2009 Security and Defense Forum Fellowship (Department of National Defense) (\$20,000)
- 2009 Liu Institute Scholar
- 2009 Kenneth Boulding Award, best graduate paper on Peace Studies at ISA
- 2008 Canadian Consortium on Human Security Fellowship (\$7,500)
- 2007 DFAIT / CCHS Human Security Research Award
- 2006 SSHRC Canadian Graduate Scholarship (CGS) (\$105,000)

## **OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE / SERVICE**

*Administrative:* Chaired search committee for American Politics position at Soka (2014-15)

*Board Member:* Western Conference of the Association of Asian Studies (2014-)

*Program Chair:* American Political Science Association (APSA) Southeast Asia Group (2014-)

*Reviewer:* Conflict Management and Peace Studies, Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion, Comparative Political Studies, Asian Ethnicity, Contemporary Islam, Pacific Affairs, Journal of Church & State, Journal of Religion and Violence, Journal of Peace Research, Sojourn, Geographical Review

*Memberships:* International Studies Association (ISA), Association of Asian Studies (AAS), Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR), Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), American Political Science Association (APSA), American Academy of Religion (AAR), American Association of Geographers

*Election Observer:* DFAIT / European Union Observer Mission in Aceh, Indonesia (2006); Carter Center Observer Mission in Indonesia (2004)

*Board of Directors:* Saree School, Aceh Indonesia (2005 – Present)

*Instructor:* Semester at Sea, Southeast Asia (2010)

*Coordinator:* Southeast Asia Internship Programme, YouLead (January 2005 – September 2008)

*Intern:* Forum-Asia (Bangkok). Organized conference on the International Criminal Court, worked with Acehese and Karen refugees. Authored *Neither Wolf, Nor Lamb: Embracing Civil Society in the Aceh Conflict*; hosted CSIS (Jakarta) event on human rights accountability for rebel movements (2003 – 2004)

## **PRESENTATIONS**

### **Invited Presentations / Workshops**

Peace Science Society, Notre Dame (20-22 October 2016)

Workshop participant, “Understanding Militias”, discussing topic “Militias: Pro-State or Anti-Rebel?”

American Political Science Association Conference, Philadelphia PA (30 August 2016)

Workshop participant, “Studying Southeast Asian Politics,” presenting paper “Dangerous Fieldwork in Southeast Asia”

International Studies Association (ISA), Atlanta GA (15-19 March 2016)

Workshop participant, “Religion and Peace: Possibilities, Challenges, and Prospects”

University of California, Irvine (06 February 2015)

Invited Speaker for Professor Steven Topik, presented paper “Coffee: An Indian Ocean Perspective”

Symposium: Social Resistance in Non-Democracies, Lund Sweden (24-26 November 2014)

Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”

Symposium: Framing Asian Studies: Geopolitics, Institutions and Networks, Netherlands (18-20 November 2013)

Presented paper: “Area Studies, Asian Studies, and the Pacific Basin”

Portland State University (16 January 2013)

Invited Speaker, International Studies, presented paper “Shrouded: Indicators of Holy War in Southeast Asia”

Symposium: Yale Conference on Militias, New Haven CT (19-20 October 2012)

Presented paper: “State Proxy or Security Dilemma? Understanding Anti-Rebel Militias in Civil War”

Symposium: Rebel Governance, Dartmouth College, Hanover NH (10-12 September 2010)

Presented paper: “Rebel State, Strong Society: Civilian Influence on Rebel Governance in Aceh”

Symposium: Religious Non-State Actors and Human Security, Seattle WA (6-8 May 2009)

Presented paper: “Ulama, the State, and War: Islam-State Relations in the Aceh Conflict”

Symposium: Religious Non-State Actors and Human Security, Seattle WA (8 May 2008)

Presented paper: “Ulama as Umpire: Islamic Leaders in the Aceh Conflict”

Symposium: Learning to Lose: Dominant Parties in Quasi-Democratic Systems, Toronto ON (31 March 2006)

“Learning to Lose? Not If UMNO Can Help It”

University of British Columbia, Global Citizenship Speaker Series, Vancouver BC (30 January 2006)

Presented paper: “From Brazil to Banda Aceh: UBC Students Reflect on Global Citizenship”

Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta Indonesia (14 April 2004)

Presented paper: “Neither Wolf, nor Lamb: Embracing Civil Society in the Aceh Conflict”

## **National Conferences**

American Political Science Association (APSA), Philadelphia PA (31 August – 04 September 2016)

Presented paper: “Decentralizing Autonomy: Power-Sharing among Ethnic Minorities”

Organizer / Chair for panel: “Political Diversity in Southeast Asia”

Discussant for panel: “The Legacies of Colonialism”

Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), Calgary AB (31 May – 02 June 2016)

Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”

Organizer / Chair for panel: “Armed Conflicts in Social Contexts”

International Studies Association (ISA), Atlanta GA (15-19 March 2016)

Chair / Discussant for panel: “Opportunities and Organizations in Civil Wars”

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSRC), Newport Beach CA (23-25 October 2015)

Presented paper: “Explaining the Genetic Footprints of Catholic & Protestant Colonizers”

Chair / Discussant for panel: “Research on Missionaries”

American Political Science Association (APSA), San Francisco CA (03-06 September 2015)

Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”

Organizer / Chair for panel: “Social Resistance and State Responses in Southeast Asia”

Organizer / Chair for panel: “Southeast Asian Politics: Democracy and Security”

Association for Asian Studies (AAS), Chicago IL (26-29 March 2015)

Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”

Organizer / Chair for panel: “Social Resistance in Non-Democracies”

International Studies Association (ISA), New Orleans LA (18-21 February 2015)

Presented paper: “Strife of the Soil: Unsettling Transmigrant Conflicts in Indonesia”

American Political Science Association (APSA), Washington DC (28-31 August 2014)

Presented paper: “Second-Order Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts”

Chair for panel: “The Contemporary Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict”

International Studies Association (ISA), Toronto ON (26-29 March 2014)

Presented paper: “Second-Order Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts”

Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), Victoria BC (4-6 June 2013)

Presented paper: “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Ethnic Minorities in the Aceh Conflict”

Organized panel: “New Voices in Southeast Asian Politics”  
 Discussed / Organized panel: “Civil Wars and Post-Conflict Violence”  
 Association for Asian Studies (AAS), San Diego CA (21-24 March 2013)  
 Presented paper: “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Ethnic Minorities in the Aceh Conflict”  
 Organized panel: “Sub-Regional Minorities in Asian Conflicts”  
 Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSRC), Phoenix AZ (09-11 November 2012)  
 Presented paper with Ian Zatzkin-Osburn: “Shrouded: Indicators of Holy War in Southeast Asia”  
 Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), Edmonton AB (13-15 June 2012)  
 Presented paper: “State Proxy or Security Dilemma? Understanding Anti-Rebel Militias in Civil War”  
 Chair / Discussant for panel: Sources of Conflict and Violence”  
 International Studies Association (ISA), San Diego CA (01-04 April 2012)  
 Presented paper: “State Proxy or Security Dilemma? Understanding Anti-Rebel Militias in Civil War”  
 Organized / Chaired panel: “Serving the State? Understanding Paramilitaries in War”  
 Association for Asian Studies (AAS), Honolulu HA (31 March – 03 April 2011)  
 Presented paper: “Strong State, Smothered Society: Explaining Violence in Thailand’s Deep South”  
 International Studies Association (ISA), Montreal QC (16-19 March 2011)  
 Presented paper: “Unarmed Forces: Civilian Options in Times of War”  
 International Studies Association (ISA), New Orleans LA (17-20 February 2010)  
 Presented paper: “Unarmed Forces: Village Authority and Non-Combatant Strategy in the Aceh Conflict”  
 Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR), Denver CO (23-25 October 2009)  
 Presented paper: “Ulama, the State, and War: Islam-State Relations in the Aceh Conflict”  
 Association for Asian Studies (AAS), Chicago IL (26-29 March 2009)  
 Presented paper: “Peace by Piece: Traditional Leaders and Conflict Mitigation”  
 International Studies Association (ISA), New York NY (15-18 Feb 2009)  
 Presented paper: “Peace by Piece: Village Peace Processes in Southeast Asia”  
 Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), London ON (3 June 2005)  
 Presented paper: “Insurgents or Resurgence? Islam and Identity in Aceh”

## **Regional Conferences**

AAS-West Annual Conference, Missoula MT (23-24 September 2016)  
 Presented paper: “Power to the Province: Decentralizing Autonomy in Southeast Asia”  
 Asian Studies Conference of Japan (ASCJ), Tokyo Japan (02-04 July 2016)  
 Presented paper: “Power to the Province: Decentralizing Autonomy in Southeast Asia”  
 Organized panel: “Democracy in Indonesia: Struggles across Time”  
 AAS in Asia, Kyoto Japan (24-27 June 2016)  
 Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”  
 Organized panel: “Social Mobilization, Governance, and Polarization in Southeast Asian Politics”  
 Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC), Northridge CA (10-12 June 2016)  
 Presented paper: “Power to the Province: Decentralizing Autonomy in Southeast Asia”  
 Organized / Chaired panel: “Individual Papers: Southeast Asian Security”  
 Southern Political Science Association (SPSA), Puerto Rico (07-09 January 2016)  
 Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”  
 Chaired panel: “Political Institutions and Institutionalization”  
 Chaired / Discussant for panel: “Democratic Culture in Authoritarian Contexts”  
 AAS-West Annual Conference (WCAAS), Salt Lake City UT (09-10 October 2015)  
 Presented paper: “Coffee: An Indian Ocean Perspective”  
 ISA-West Annual Conference, Pasadena CA (25-27 September 2015)  
 Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”  
 Discussant for panel: “International Conflict and War”  
 Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference, Coventry England (22-24 June 2015)  
 Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”  
 Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC), Stockton CA (5-7 June 2015)  
 Presented paper: “Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh, Indonesia”  
 Presented paper: “Coffee: An Indian Ocean Perspective”  
 AAS-West Annual Conference (WCAAS), Tempe AZ (03-04 October 2014)  
 Presented paper: “Strife of the Soil: Unsettling Transmigrant Conflicts in Indonesia”

Presented paper: "Second-Order Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts"  
Discussant for panel: "Modern Southeast Asia"  
ISA-West Annual Conference, Pasadena CA (26-27 September 2014)  
Presented paper: "Transmigration and Armed Conflict in Southeast Asia: Militants and Misconceptions"  
Chaired panel: "Human Rights and Humanitarian Ethics"  
Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC), Bellingham WA (20-22 June 2014)  
Presented paper: "The Best Ye Breed: Explaining the Genetic Footprints of Catholic & Protestant Colonizers"  
Presented paper: "Second-Order Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts"  
American Academy of Religion (AAR) West, Los Angeles CA (08-09 March 2014)  
Presented paper: "Explaining the Genetic Footprints of Catholic & Protestant Colonizers"  
Canadian Council for Southeast Asia Studies (CCSEAS), Montreal QC (17-19 October 2013)  
Presented paper: "Second-Order Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts"  
Chaired panel: "Local Identities and Resistance"  
ISA-West Annual Conference, Pasadena CA (27-28 September 2013)  
Presented paper: "Second-Order Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts"  
Winner, best paper award at ISA-West  
Presented paper: "Explaining the Genetic Footprints of Catholic and Protestant Colonizers"  
Chaired panel: "Managing and Resolving Conflict"  
Asian Studies, Pacific Coast (ASPAC), Portland OR (18-20 June 2010)  
"Strong State, Smothered Society: Explaining Violence in Thailand's Deep South"  
Winner, best student paper award  
Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS), Vancouver BC (15-17 October 2009)  
Presented paper: "The State and War in Thailand's South: Understanding Violence in Pattani"  
Organized panel: "Understanding Violence in Patani"  
Canadian Association of Asian Studies (CASA), Waterloo ONT (13-16 November 2008)  
Presented paper: "Peace by Piece: Village-Level Conflict Resolution in Southeast Asia"  
Canadian Consortium on Asia-Pacific Security, Quebec City QC (2-4 December 2004)  
Presented paper: "Turning the Corner: The 2004 Indonesian Elections"