

# Contents

Notes on the authors	xii
Glossary	xxiii
Acknowledgements	xxvii
Introduction	1
<i>Ideological conflict in Indonesian history</i>	2
<i>Conceptualising political thinking</i>	7
<i>The search for a political format, 1965–73</i>	11
<i>The New Order at its height, 1973–88</i>	13
<i>Tensions and contradictions: 1988–97</i>	16
<i>Crisis and reform: 1997–9</i>	18
<i>Legacies</i>	21
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>The search for a political format, 1965–73</b>	25
1 The organicist camp	27
1.1 <i>Api: keep attacking them</i>	30
1.2 <i>Supersemar</i>	31
1.3 <i>Banning communism</i>	33
1.4 <i>Ali Moertopo: the dual function of the armed forces</i>	34
1.5 <i>Soeharto: Pancasila democracy</i>	37
1.6 <i>Abdulkadir Besar: the family state</i>	41
1.7 <i>Ali Moertopo: national political history</i>	43
1.8 <i>Ali Moertopo: the floating mass</i>	45
1.9 <i>Soeharto: democratic rights may not be used as masks</i>	49
2 Modernising pluralism	56
2.1 <i>Soemarno: a two-party system</i>	59
2.2 <i>Soelaiman Soemardi: the need for a progressive, independent force</i>	64

2.3 A. Rahman Tolleng: voting and the composition of parliament	67
2.4 Kompas: the concept of the floating mass	70
2.5 Mahasiswa Indonesia: the holy anger of a generation	71
2.6 The White Group: boycott the elections	73
2.7 Arief Budiman: the moral force	74
2.8 Abadi v. Berita Yudha: polemic on the military's dual function	76
<b>3 Marginalised Islam</b>	<b>82</b>
3.1 Idham Chalid: protecting the umat	84
3.2 Hamka: the shocking draft bill on marriage	85
3.3 Nurcholish Madjid: Islam yes, Islamic parties no!	88
3.4 H.M.S. Mintaredja: development-oriented Islam	92
<b>PART II</b>	
<b>The New Order at its height, 1973–88</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>4 Organicism ascendant</b>	<b>97</b>
4.1 Soeharto: Muslims who fail to understand	99
4.2 Soeharto: Pancasila, the legacy of our ancestors	103
4.3 Ali Moertopo: Indonesianising Indonesians	110
4.4 The law on social organisations	112
4.5 Abdulkadir Besar: the armed forces must not take sides	115
<b>5 Pluralist critiques</b>	<b>118</b>
5.1 ITB Student Council: White Book of the Students' Struggle	120
5.2 The Petition of Fifty	126
5.3 Indonesian Legal Aid Institute: threats to NGOs in the bill on social organisations	128
5.4 H.R. Dharsono: the promise of the New Order betrayed	132
5.5 Abdurrahman Wahid: we can be Pancasilaists and liberals	136
<b>6 Islam out in the cold</b>	<b>139</b>
6.1 K.H. Hasbullah Bakry: critique of Pancasila democracy	141
6.2 Sjafruddin Prawiranegara: don't let Pancasila kill Islam	144
6.3 The Indonesian Muslim Students' Association: no more political engineering	148
6.4 Amir Biki: let me die for the Islamic world!	151
6.5 Abdurrahman Wahid: choices facing the Muslim middle class	155

<b>PART III</b>	
<b>Themes in the later New Order</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>7 Radicalism and new social movements</b>	<b>161</b>
7.1 <i>Setiakawan: the need for an independent trade union</i>	163
7.2 <i>Fazlur Akhmad: the Indonesian student movement – a force for radical social change?</i>	167
7.3 <i>Taufik Rahzen: anti-violence manifesto</i>	170
7.4 <i>SKEPHI: people-oriented forest management</i>	172
7.5 <i>Nursyahbani Katjasungkana: gender equality, a universal struggle</i>	175
7.6 <i>Wiji Thukul: a caution</i>	179
7.7 <i>People's Democratic Party: manifesto</i>	179
<b>8 'Political openness' and democratisation</b>	<b>185</b>
8.1 <i>Soemitro: aspiring to normal politics</i>	188
8.2 <i>Soeharto: openness</i>	192
8.3 <i>Gadjah Mada alumni: the state of emergency is over</i>	195
8.4 <i>Democratic Forum: rekindle society's critical capacity</i>	197
8.5 <i>LIPI: reforming the New Order</i>	199
8.6 <i>Megawati Soekarnoputri: an agenda for reform</i>	203
8.7 <i>Muhammad Shiddiq Al-Jawi: must Islam accept democracy?</i>	207
<b>9 State and society relations</b>	<b>212</b>
9.1 <i>Kopkamtib: intelligence test</i>	215
9.2 <i>W.S. Rendra: poem of an angry person</i>	216
9.3 <i>Iwan Fals: Bento</i>	217
9.4 <i>Marsillam Simanjuntak: speak out!</i>	218
9.5 <i>International NGO Forum on Indonesia: democracy and the right to organise</i>	219
9.6 <i>The Sirnagalih Declaration</i>	223
9.7 <i>Abdurrahman Wahid: Islam and the state in the New Order</i>	224
9.8 <i>Dawam Rahardjo: ICMI's vision</i>	226
9.9 <i>Y.B. Mangunwijaya: communists</i>	230
<b>10 Human rights and the rule of law</b>	<b>234</b>
10.1 <i>Hamid S. Attamimi: the separation of powers is alien to our constitution</i>	237
10.2 <i>Padmo Wahyono: Indonesian human rights</i>	237
10.3 <i>Harry Tjan Silalahi v. Adnan Buyung Nasution: human rights and the constitution</i>	239

10.4 Harjono Tjitarsoebono: <i>the concept of the integralist state hinders democracy</i>	241
10.5 Budiono Kusumohamidjojo: <i>the need for a reliable legal system</i>	244
10.6 Juwono Sudarsono: <i>the diplomatic scam called human rights</i>	246
10.7 Indonesian NGOs for Democracy: <i>joint declaration on human rights</i>	248
10.8 Government of Indonesia: <i>rights and obligations</i>	250
<b>11 Federalism, regionalism and the unitary state</b>	<b>255</b>
11.1 Frans Seda: <i>regional autonomy, a constitutional right</i>	258
11.2 Manuel Kaisiepo: <i>the trouble in Irian Jaya</i>	260
11.3 Mohammad Daud Yoesoef: <i>Aceh might still secede</i>	263
11.4 Anonymous: <i>if only I were free</i>	265
11.5 Y.B. Mangunwijaya: <i>federalism as an antidote to separatism</i>	269
11.6 Major-General Sudrajat: <i>federalism is not right for Indonesia</i>	271
<b>PART IV</b>	
<b>Crisis and reform</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>12 Looking beyond the New Order</b>	<b>277</b>
12.1 Amien Rais: <i>succession in 1998 – an imperative</i>	280
12.2 LIPI researchers: <i>restore our dignity as a nation</i>	282
12.3 People's Democratic Party: <i>end the dictatorship!</i>	284
12.4 Jakarta students: <i>proposal for an Indonesian People's Committee</i>	285
12.5 Emil Salim: <i>total reform</i>	288
12.6 Indonesian professionals: <i>no justice and transparency, no tax</i>	290
12.7 I. Sandyawan Sumardi: <i>crimes against humanity</i>	291
12.8 President B.J. Habibie: <i>a new beginning</i>	295
12.9 Media Indonesia: <i>an ideology of tolerance</i>	302
12.10 The armed forces: <i>a new paradigm</i>	303
12.11 Agus Wirahadikusumah: <i>overhaul the military</i>	306
<i>Bibliography</i>	
<i>Index</i>	319