

# Indonesian Politics and Society

A Reader

Edited by David Bourchier  
and Vedi R. Hadiz



This book is a project of the Asia Research Centre,  
Murdoch University, Western Australia

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This is a book that will become a classic, not only for those whose interests lie in Indonesian politics but for those with broader and comparative interests in the political dynamics of change. Bouchier and Hadiz are able to draw out those statements, quotes and documents that capture the pivotal struggles and issues of Soeharto's New Order. They present us with a rich insight into the the collision of reactionary and radical populism, secular state corporatism and liberalism in these turbulent years.

Richard Robison, Professor of Political Economy, Institute for Social Studies,  
The Hague, Netherlands

*Indonesian Politics and Society* is an exceptional tool for understanding social and political change in Indonesia over more than three decades. It contains more than eighty translated extracts of carefully selected speeches, pamphlets, manifestos and poems, providing a unique insight into the social thought and political concerns of a wide range of actors intimately involved in the struggle to shape modern Indonesia following the triumph of Soeharto's New Order in the 1960s.

This volume introduces and assesses the thinking of state ideologues, modernising pluralists, social radicals, and of political Islam, during a period of tumultuous change and sometimes violent conflict. It also relates the ideas of the major protagonists in political struggles to important events in Indonesia following the fall of Soeharto.

Much of the material presented is made accessible for the first time to English-language readers. As such, the book is an invaluable text for scholars of modern Indonesia, and for those who seek to understand the ideas that continue to be relevant to the actors currently reshaping the country's social and political terrain.

**David Bouchier** is Chair of Asian Studies at the University of Western Australia. **Vedi R. Hadiz** teaches at the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore. He is also a Fellow of the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Australia.



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**For Herb Feith (1930–2001)**



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# Notes on the authors

**ABDULKADIR BESAR** (b. 1926) was a leading military thinker, lawyer and writer during the 1960s and 1970s. Born in the central Javanese town of Magelang, Abdulkadir graduated from the Military Law Academy in 1958 and the Military Law College in 1963. He worked closely with General Nasution in the 1960s, first as intelligence assistant at the Armed Forces Directorate of Social and Political Strategy, and from 1967 to 1972 as secretary-general of the Interim People's Consultative Assembly. Abdulkadir then joined the teaching staff at the Army Staff and Command College, where he became known as a leading theorist of integralism and *dwifungsi*. In the late 1970s he fell out of favour with Soeharto and 'pragmatic' elements within the military establishment for arguing that the armed forces should scale back its participation in politics. He retired a brigadier-general and spent most of the 1990s teaching at the National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas), the University of Indonesia and Gadjah Mada University.

**K. H. ABDURRAHMAN WAHID** (b. 1940) is a religious scholar, a liberal intellectual and Indonesia's fourth president. The grandson of a founding member of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the son of the minister for religious affairs under Sukarno, he is the inheritor of a strong but open-minded Islamic tradition. Born in Jombang in East Java, Abdurrahman (known popularly as Gus Dur) was educated in Islamic boarding colleges (*pesantren*), and later at the Al Azhar University in Cairo and at the University of Baghdad. In 1984, soon after being elected chair of NU, he withdrew the NU from the United Development Party (PPP), giving the organisation more leeway to pursue its social and political objectives. He became well known as a pluralist critic of the New Order, allying himself with secular intellectuals in Democratic Forum. After Soeharto's resignation he helped form the National Awakening Party (PKB), which won approximately 11 per cent of seats in parliament in 1999. Supported by a temporary coalition of Islamic parties, he was elected president in October the same year. In July 2001 he was impeached and replaced by his vice-president, Megawati Soekarnoputri.

**AGUS WIRAHADIKUSUMAH** (1951–2001) was a highly trained infantry officer who emerged in the 1990s as a leading military reformer. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1973 and served in several combat zones, including East Timor. In the 1980s he undertook studies and training in the US and Australia, and in 1992 obtained a master's degree in public policy and management from Harvard University. After this he served mainly in senior education and planning positions, where he developed a view that the military's political role should be wound back and that its territorial apparatus should be abolished. He put some of his radical proposals in a 1999 book that received the backing of President Abdurrahman Wahid but was unpopular with many of his fellow officers. In August 2000 the military leadership blackballed him, forcing him prematurely from his position as chief of the Army Strategic Reserve Command.

**Muhammad Shiddiq AL-JAWI** (b. 1969) is a Muslim scholar and senior member of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, the local chapter of a Middle Eastern-based Islamist group that supports the establishment of Islamic caliphates. After studying at several *pesantren* in Bogor and gaining a degree in biology at the Bogor Agricultural Institute, he now lectures in Islamic economics at the Surakarta State Islamic College while taking a postgraduate degree in Islamic Studies at the Indonesian Islamic University in Yogyakarta. He has written several books on aspects of Islam and translated books from Arabic, including *Demokrasi Sistem Kufur* (Democracy, System of the Unbelievers) by Abdul Qadim Zallum, the current leader of Hizbut Tahrir.

**ALI MOERTOPO** (1924–84) was a long-time intelligence aide to Soeharto and one of the chief architects of the New Order political framework. In his capacity as head of OPSUS, a powerful clandestine intelligence unit, Moertopo oversaw the creation of Golkar and the reorganisation of the party system. In 1971 he co-founded the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a Jakarta think tank that played a major role in formulating domestic and foreign policy in the 1970s and 1980s. Although Moertopo exercised power largely through his personal networks, he also occupied important government positions, including deputy head of the Intelligence Coordinating Agency (Bakin) from 1974 to 1978, minister of information (1978–83) and deputy chair of the Supreme Advisory Council.

**AMIEN RAIS** (b. 1944) Born into a pious Muslim family in Solo, Amien Rais attended a Muhammadiyah school. He graduated from Gadjah Mada University in 1968 with a degree in political science and spent much of his career there lecturing in politics. In 1974 he obtained a master's degree in politics from Notre Dame University in the US, and in 1984 a doctorate from Chicago University. In 1995 he was elected head of Muhammadiyah and was later appointed to a senior post in the

government-sponsored Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals' Association (ICMI). After adopting an increasingly critical stance, in 1997 Amien was expelled from ICMI and in 1998 he became a central figure in the anti-Soeharto reform movement. Following Soeharto's resignation, he formed the pluralist National Mandate Party (PAN), which won 7.7 per cent of the national vote. In October 1999 he became chair of the People's Consultative Assembly.

**S.M. AMIN** was a Muslim lawyer aligned with the modernist Masjumi party.

**AMIR BIKI** (1948–84) was born in Gorontalo, Sulawesi, and died in Jakarta in the Tanjung Priok massacre in September 1984. Biki, an entrepreneur and informal leader in the port area of Tanjung Priok, studied at the University of Indonesia in 1966, where he had been a strong supporter of the New Order. He took part in the 1978 protest movement and in the early 1980s organised religious lectures critical of government policies.

**A. Hamid S. ATTAMIMI** (1928–95) was a constitutional lawyer and ideologue who enjoyed a long career in Soeharto's powerful State Secretariat. Between 1983 and 1993 he was deputy cabinet secretary. A holder of a doctorate from the law faculty at the University of Indonesia, Attamimi advocated the thesis that Indonesia was a 'village republic' that should be guided constitutionally by customary law principles. He was also a defender of a strong presidency.

**Arief BUDIMAN** (b. 1941) was a leading light among the '1966 generation' of student protestors that helped bring the New Order to power. He received his undergraduate degree in psychology at the University of Indonesia and a PhD in sociology from Harvard. By 1968 he had become increasingly critical of the corruption and heavy-handed tactics of the Soeharto regime. He was an outspoken critic of Madame Tien Soeharto's 'Indonesia in Miniature' project and led a movement to boycott the 1971 – and subsequent – New Order elections. From his base at Satyawacana University in the central Javanese town of Salatiga, he wrote widely on Indonesian sociology and politics, becoming known as one of the New Order's most articulate and popular critics. Professor Arief Budiman is currently head of the Indonesian Studies Program at Melbourne University.

**BUDIONO Kusumohamidjojo** (b. 1949) is a senior practising lawyer and lectures in legal and cultural philosophy at Parahyangan University in Bandung. He obtained a PhD from the State University of Würzburg in West Germany in 1982 and has written numerous articles and books on legal topics, international relations, defence, education, leadership and social change in Indonesia. He is currently a partner with the Jakarta law firm Soebagio, Jatim, Djarot.

**Mohammad DAUD YOESOEUF** is a lecturer in the faculty of law at Syiah Kuala University, Banda Aceh.

**Mohammad DAWAM RAHARDJO** (b. 1942) is an economist, a Muslim scholar and a former non-governmental organisation (NGO) activist. Educated at the faculty of economics at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Dawam worked as a researcher at the Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information (LP3ES), later becoming its director. He also edited the prestigious social and political affairs journal *Prisma*. He subsequently established LSAF (the Institute for the Study of Religion and Philosophy), where he published the religious and social affairs journal *Ulumul Qur'an* until 1998. Dawam was instrumental in founding ICMI, the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals' Association, where he served as an expert adviser. He is currently an adviser to Amien Rais' National Mandate Party and a senior member of Muhammadiyah.

**Hartono Rekso DHARSONO** (1925–96) was one of the most prominent generals to fall out with Soeharto. As commander of the prestigious Siliwangi division, Lieutenant-General Dharsono had played a major part in delivering West Java to the New Order. Disagreement over the reorganisation of the party system saw him removed from active duty, and in 1976 he was appointed secretary-general of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Dismissed two years later for criticising the regime, Dharsono joined a group of like-minded retired officers. Following the Tanjung Priok massacre in 1984, Dharsono and others signed a white paper questioning the official account. In 1985 he was charged with subversion and sentenced to 10 years in gaol for having signed this document and also for having allegedly incited Muslim activists to participate in a bomb attack. Dharsono was released in 1992 and posthumously rehabilitated by President Habibie in 1998.

**EMIL SALIM** (b. 1930) is a veteran economist who served for more than 20 years as a cabinet minister under Soeharto. Born in South Sumatra, he was educated at the economics faculty at the University of Indonesia, and at the University of California, Berkeley, where he received his doctorate in 1964. From 1971 to 1973 he served as minister for the reform of the state apparatus, then as transport minister, minister for the supervision of development and for the environment and, from 1983 to 1993, as population and environment minister. After this time he became increasingly critical of the Soeharto regime, and in February 1998 formed Gema Madani, a civil society advocacy group. A long-time professor of economics at the University of Indonesia, Emil Salim later served as an adviser to President Abdurrahman Wahid.

**Bacharuddin Jusuf HABIBIE** (b. 1936) Indonesia's third president. Patronised by Soeharto from his boyhood days in South Sulawesi,

Habibie was given the opportunity to study, first in Bandung and later in Germany, where he pursued a brilliant career in aeronautical engineering. In 1974, after 18 years as a German resident, Soeharto enticed Habibie to Jakarta to help realise his vision of a modern, industrialised Indonesia. He was appointed research and technology minister, a position he kept for 20 years. In 1990 Habibie was appointed to head ICMI, the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals' Association, and in 1997 became vice-president. When Soeharto resigned the following year, Habibie inherited his position. With little political support, Habibie recast himself as a reformer, presiding over a bewildering array of legislative changes and successfully managing the democratic general election of June 1999. Allegations of serious corruption, his failure to restore the economy and his decision to grant East Timor a vote on its future were key factors in the MPR's vote of no confidence on 14 October 1999, which spelt the end of his 17-month tenure.

**HAMKA** (1908–81) was born in Maninjau, West Sumatra, and was one of Indonesia's best-known Muslim politicians and scholars. After spending his early years as a novelist, journalist and an activist for Muhammadiyah, he was elected to parliament in 1955 as a member of Masjumi. Hamka, whose full name was Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, later attracted the ire of Sukarno for vehemently opposing his establishment of Guided Democracy. For his efforts, Hamka was arrested and imprisoned without trial in 1964. Released from prison by Soeharto, Hamka soon grew disillusioned with the New Order and spoke out against what he saw as the weak moral fibre of its leadership and its suspicion of Muslim politicians. He wrote several books on Islamic doctrine and served as head of the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI), the peak body of Islamic scholarly organisations, from 1975 until shortly before his death in 1981.

**HARJONO Tjitrosoebono** (1922–99) was a widely respected advocate and human rights activist. He belonged to an older generation of Dutch-speaking lawyers that included Suardi Tasrif and Yap Thiam Hien, sharing their commitment to the rule of law. Born into a political family in Malang, East Java, Harjono became a student leader in the 1950s, and in 1965 he joined the anti-Sukarno protests as chair of the Indonesian Graduates' Action Front. In the 1970s Harjono joined the Legal Aid Foundation and defended many people accused of political crimes. He chaired the Indonesian Advocates' Association (Peradin) from 1980 to 1985 and maintained a critical stance towards the Soeharto government. When Soeharto's military lawyers attempted to establish a rival bar association (Ikadin), Harjono foiled their plans by managing to have himself selected as its chair, a position he held until his death.

**HARRY TJAN Silalahi** (b. 1934) was born into a Chinese Catholic family in Yogyakarta and rose to become a prominent politician, entrepreneur



and adviser to Soeharto's government. Christened Tjan Tjoen Hok, Harry Tjan played a key role in the anti-communist movement of 1965–6 and accepted a seat in parliament at the age of 33. With the backing of Ali Moertopo and Sudjono Humardani, he helped establish the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). As deputy director of the CSIS in the 1990s he maintained a high profile as a conservative commentator and intellectual.

**K.H. HASBULLAH BAKRY** (1925–98) was a South Sumatran Muslim scholar who worked as a spiritual adviser to the military from the 1950s until the mid-1970s. He also lectured in Islamic colleges in Jakarta and Yogyakarta, as well as writing books on theological issues, Islamic law and secular law. He obtained a law degree in 1970 and worked as an advocate in Jakarta in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1970s he was associated with GUPPI, the Association for Renewal of Muslim Education.

**IDHAM CHALID** (1921–98) was a politician and religious leader born in Setui, South Kalimantan. He received his education in the well-known Gontor *pesantren* in East Java, but also received an honorary doctorate from Al Azhar University in Cairo in recognition of his role as a religious scholar. Initially an educator, Idham Chalid entered politics and served as a member of parliament in the 1940s and 1950s. It was also during this period that he was named a deputy prime minister (1956–7). A long-serving leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, he was a leading political figure in the early New Order. He chaired the People's Consultative Assembly from 1972 to 1977.

**IWAN FALS** (Virgiawan Listianto) (b. 1961) was born in Jakarta, and is a singer-songwriter idolised by poor urban youths for his songs, which frequently deal with themes of social injustice and sneer at the corruption and hypocrisy of the powerful. The son of a retired army general, Fals began to garner a substantial cult following when he was still in high school. He was a superstar by the 1990s, forming the group *Swami* and *Kantata Takwa*, which included the musician Sawung Jabo, the poet Rendra and the businessman-cum-artist Setiawan Djody.

**JUWONO SUDARSONO** (b. 1942) After graduating with a PhD in political science from the London School of Economics in 1978, Juwono taught politics for many years at his alma mater, the University of Indonesia, rising to become dean of the social and political science faculty. For many years he was known as an urbane and independent-minded commentator on politics and international relations. He accepted a position as environment minister in Soeharto's last cabinet and was appointed education and culture minister by President B.J. Habibie. Juwono's close ties with the military saw him appointed deputy governor of the National Defence Institute and, in

Abdurrahman Wahid's first cabinet, as Indonesia's first civilian defence minister since the 1950s. In 2000 he returned to teach at the University of Indonesia.

**Manuel KAISIEPO** (b. 1953) is a Papuan journalist, commentator and, more recently, a government minister. Born and raised in Biak, his father was the second governor of Irian Jaya, Franz Kaisiepo. Manuel Kaisiepo moved to Yogyakarta in the early 1970s to attend Gadjah Mada University. He later studied politics at the National University in Jakarta and at the Catholic Driyakara School of Philosophy. After editing the social and economic affairs journal *Prisma* (1979–83) he joined *Kompas*, Indonesia's leading daily, in 1986. In the interim he was a researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences. In August 2000 Kaisiepo was appointed junior minister for the acceleration of development in Eastern Indonesia in Abdurrahman's second cabinet, a position he continued to hold in the Megawati administration.

**Yusuf B. MANGUNWIJAYA** (1929–99) was a Catholic priest, architect, novelist, human rights activist, social worker and a well-known social and cultural commentator. Born in Ambarawa, Central Java, 'Romo Mangun' studied architecture in Germany for six years before returning to Yogyakarta in 1966 to teach at Gadjah Mada University. He won many prizes, including the Southeast Asian Writing Award in 1983 for his historical novel *The Weaverbirds* and the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1992 for his Kali Code complex in a poor area of Yogyakarta. Romo Mangun embraced liberation theology, but did not affiliate himself with any political group. People from all layers of society and religious denomination attended his funeral in Yogyakarta.

**MEGAWATI SOEKARNOPUTRI** (b. 1947) was born in Yogyakarta, the eldest daughter of President Sukarno and Fatmawati. After studying agriculture for two years at Padjadjaran University in Bandung, she enrolled in psychology at the University of Indonesia. Megawati was recruited by the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) in 1987 and helped to boost the party's fortunes in the 1987 and 1992 elections. In December 1993 she was elected head of the PDI, but was ousted from her position in June 1996 when the government endorsed a rival faction of the party. This led to a dramatic standoff that saw the party's headquarters destroyed, triggering riots in Jakarta. After Soeharto's downfall Megawati formed the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), which attracted the support of the PDI's constituency as well as many former supporters of Golkar and NU. Under her leadership the PDI-P won the largest share of the vote (34 per cent) in the 1999 general elections. She won only second place in the presidential election, however, and took her place as Abdurrahman Wahid's vice-president in October 1999. On 23 July 2001 Megawati was sworn in as Indonesia's fifth president.

**Haji Mohammad Sjafa'at MINTAREDJA** (1921–c.92) was a Dutch-educated lawyer who headed the Muslim Students' Association (HMI) during the revolution. After working as an official at the Foreign Exchange Institute he served on the boards of several business enterprises. In 1965 he became assistant to the social affairs minister, and soon afterwards was appointed minister for liaising between the government and legislative institutions. In late 1970, while still serving in this position, he was installed as head of Parmusi, the newly created party for modernist Muslims. In this role he was known as a supporter of the New Order government's depoliticisation and secularist policies which saw the role of political parties, including his own, tightly circumscribed. He argued for a merger of Muslim political parties, and when the government engineered this in January 1973 Mintaredja was appointed the first leader of the PPP. He held this position until 1979.

**NURCHOLISH MADJID** (b. 1939) is a widely respected Muslim intellectual. Born in Jombang, East Java, he rose to prominence as head of the influential Muslim Students' Association (HMI) between 1966 and 1971. He later became president of the Southeast Asian Union of Islamic Students. In the 1970s Nurcholish (known as Cak Nur) became a leading figure in a movement to decouple Islam from party politics and apply it more flexibly to the modern world. Since his brand of neo-modernist Islamic thought was compatible with the New Order's priorities, he was treated well by the regime. In the early 1980s he moved to the US, where he completed his PhD at the University of Chicago, and in 1991 was appointed deputy chair of ICMI. He has held several teaching positions and is now dean of the University of Paramadina Mulya in Jakarta.

**Adnan Buyung NASUTION** (b. 1934) was perhaps the most prominent human rights lawyer during the Soeharto era. Born in Jakarta, Buyung worked as a prosecutor before studying law at Melbourne University and at the University of Indonesia. He took an active role in the pro-New Order demonstrations in 1966. In the late 1960s he established himself as an advocate and in 1970 helped to found the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation. It was in this role that he became well known as a defender of political dissidents and an outspoken advocate of human rights. After being ruled in contempt of court in 1988 during the trial of H.R. Dharsono, he moved to the Netherlands, where he wrote a doctoral dissertation on constitutional history that was published in 1992. After the fall of Soeharto he defended several military officers accused of serious human rights abuses.

**NURSYAHBANI Katjasungkana** (b. 1955) is a prominent lawyer, feminist and human rights advocate. After working as a legal aid lawyer in the early 1980s, she became well known as head of the Legal Aid Institute's Jakarta office between 1987 and 1992. She subsequently set up her own

legal aid organisation (LBH-APIK) devoted to helping poor women, and has been active in several other NGOs working with women, and on human rights and environmental issues. In 1999 she became a member of the People's Consultative Assembly as an NGO representative, where she campaigned vocally for human rights and civilian supremacy. Nursyahbani comes from a prominent nationalist family in Madura that has produced several political activists.

**PADMO WAHYONO** (1932–91) was a constitutional lawyer and a leading ideologue of the New Order. Born in Tulungagung, East Java, Padmo spent most of his career lecturing in law at universities and military academies. In the mid-1970s he was appointed professor of law at the University of Indonesia and dean of the law faculty. When the government set up its Pancasila indoctrination body (BP7) in 1978, Padmo was appointed as one of its deputy directors, a position he retained until his death. Padmo published numerous works on constitutional law, Pancasila, legal education and legal philosophy.

**W.S. RENDRA** (b. 1935) is the son of two performing artists: his father was an actor in Solo and his mother a dancer at the sultan's palace in Solo. As a student at Gadjah Mada University in nearby Yogyakarta, Rendra founded the Bengkel Theatre. In the 1950s he began writing plays and poetry. His collection of poems *Ballada Orang-orang Tertjinta* was awarded a national literary prize for 1955/6. In 1964 Rendra took up a scholarship to study for four years at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. On his return he staged several original plays, such as *Bipbop* and *Perjuangan Suku Naga*, as well as adaptations from Sophocles and Bertold Brecht. His plays and poems denounced injustice and were banned on several occasions. Rendra now lives in a village near Jakarta with his wife, the actress Ken Zuraida.

**I. SANDYAWAN SUMARDI, SJ** (b. 1958) is a Jesuit priest long involved in humanitarian causes. For several years 'Romo Sandy' was director of the Jakarta Social Institute, a group that assisted and advocated for street children. In 1996 he was awarded the prestigious Yap Thiam Hien Award in recognition of his courageous work in helping the victims of the attack on Megawati's PDI headquarters in Jakarta. In 1998 he and his Volunteer Team for Humanity played a crucial role in gathering evidence about the rapes and riots in Jakarta.

**Frans SEDA** (b. 1926) is an economist, politician and businessman from the eastern Indonesian island of Flores. After studying economics in Holland in the 1950s, Frans Seda went on to lead the small Catholic Party from 1961 to 1968. In the 1960s and 1970s he was plantations minister, agriculture minister, finance minister, and transport and tourism minister, serving under both Sukarno and Soeharto. A former member of the