INDEX

A
Abdullah Sidiq, 232, 233
Abdurrahman Wahid, 4, 15, 50, 52, 175, 197, 201, 271, 302
Aceh, protest against MoU, 305–06
biography, 41
dismissal of, 30, 55, 60–61, 78
impeachment, 149, 172, 195–96, 266, 288
military reform under, 136–40
rule of, 28–32, 137
ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia), 129, 131–32, 144
police integration, 134–35
police separation from, 135, 156, 179
see also military; TNI
Aburizal Bakrie, 36, 217, 238
“accountability report”, 52, 54, 111–12
Aceh, 4, 12, 17, 23, 91, 95, 141–42, 155, 166, 176, 338, 347–48
cease-fire agreement, 289–91
central government apology, 285
DPRD in, 308, 312, 327
etnicity, 284, 320–21
Helsinki talks and peace agreement, 300–05
“Humanitarian Pause”, 287
local elections in, 314–16

military atrocities, 285–86, 292–93, 321
military emergency, 291–94
MoU (Memorandum of Understanding), 303–07, 317, 327
natural resources, 280–81, 320
negotiations, 151, 297–300
refugees to Malaysia, 324
separatist, roots of, 282–85
separatist challenge, resolving, 279–319
“special autonomy”, 94, 282, 286, 289, 300–01, 303
sultanate, 282, 284
survey of conflict-affected people, 324
TNI economic stake in, 281, 318
TNI lack of professionalism in, 284
“Verandah of Mecca”, as, 284
see also AMM; GAM; NAD
Aceh National Army (Tentera Neugara Aceh), 314
Aceh Referendum Information Centre, see SIRA
Aceh Reintegration Agency, see BRA
Aceh Transition Committee, see KPA
Acknowledgement of Debt, see AKU
Adam Damiri, Maj. Gen., 172
AdekSI (Asosiasi DPRD Kota Seluruh Indonesia), 105, 226
Index

Adi Upaya, 188
Administrative Law Court, 231
Adrian Kiki Ariawan, 235
Agum Gumelar, Gen., personal wealth, 238
Agung Laksono, 114, 301, 306, 326
Agustadi Sasonko Purnomo, General, 152
Agus Widjojo, see Widjojo, Agus,
Agus Wirahadikusumah, see Wirahadikusumah, Agus
Ahtisaari, Martti, 298–300
AKU (Akta Pengakuan Utang), 234
Alagappa, Muthiah, 127, 161
Aland Islands, 301
Al-Qaeda, 5, 155, 258, 285
Amien Rais, 28, 41, 50, 58, 67, 76,
80, 82–83, 91, 105, 183, 252
personal wealth, 238
AMM (Aceh Monitoring Mission),
304, 306, see also Aceh; GAM; NAD
Amnesty International, 296
Andas T. Tanri., 71
Antasari Azhar, 233
anti-Chinese riots, 1, 4, 20, 23, 166,
204, 346
commission of enquiry, 39
anti-corruption agencies, 212–16
conflict between, 221–23
Anti-Corruption Court, see Tipikor
Antonius Sujata, 208
Antony Zeidra Abidin, 85
APEKSI (Asosiasi Pemerintah Kota Seluruh Indonesia), 105
APKASI (Asosiasi Pemerintah Kabupaten Seluruh Indonesia), 105
APPSI (Asosiasi Pemerintah Provinsi Seluruh Indonesia), 105
Arifin Panigoro, 60, 82
Army Strategic Reserve Command, see Kostrad
Artidjo Alkoster, 208
Arun LNG Company, 280, 283, 320
Asia Foundation, study, 101
Asian Financial Crisis, 1, 14, 19, 76,
130, 175, 203, 209, 245, 331, 333
ASNLF (Acheh-Sumatra National Liberation Front), 283, see also GAM
association of kabupaten governments, see APKASI
association of municipal governments, see APEKSI
association of municipal parliaments, see ADEKSI
association of provincial governments, see APPSI
ATA (Anti-Terrorist Assistance), 184
Attamimi, Muhammad, 259, 267, 275
Aulia Pohan, 239
authoritarian regime, 3, 20
collapse of, 1–2, 11, 47, 87
autonomy laws
debate on revision of, 103–06
implementation of, 95–98
Ayip Syafrudin Soeratman, 253

B
Babinsa (Bintara Pembina Desa),
157–59, 185, 186
Bagir Manan, 195–96, 221–22
Baharuddin Lopa, 235
BAIS (Badan Intelijen Strategis), 144
Bakorstanas (Badan Kordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan Stabilitas Nasional),
138, 180
Bakrie, Aburizal, see Aburizal Bakrie
Bali bombing, 5, 155, 266–67, 277
Bambang Setyo, 71
Bank Alpha, 234
Bank Andromeda, 233
Bank Artha Graha Internasional, 163, 168, 187, 217
Bank Aspac (Bank Asia Pacific), 206
Bank Bali, 41
case, Golkar and 1999 elections, 207–11
Bank Harapan Sentosa, 235
Bank Industri, 233
banking, and BLBI scandal, 203–06
Bank Jakarta, 233
Bank Mandiri, 222
Bank Modern, 206
Bank Niaga PT, 71
Bank of Indonesia Liquidity Assistance, see BLBI
Bank of Indonesia, see BI
Bank Surya, 235
Bank Umum Servitia, 206
Bantaqiah, Teuku, 170
Baramuli, Arnold, 208
Barnas (Barisan Nasional), 25, 41
BBM (Butonese, Bugis, Makassarese), ethnic groups, 244–47, 272
Beddu Awang, 202, 232–33
BI (Bank Indonesia), 72, 204, 206, 291, 233, 328
Bibit Waluyo, Lt. Gen., 141, 159, 290
“Big Bang”, decentralization, 92–95, 118–19
Bimantara, PT, 188
BIN (Badan Intelijen Negara), 174, 321
bin Laden, Osama, 267
Laskar Jihad, falsely linked to, 258, 275
BKPM (Badan Kordinasi Penanaman Modal), 106
Blair, Denis, 165–66
BLBI (Bantuan Likuiditas Bank Indonesia), 73, 212, 220, 234
scandal, 203–06, 228
block grant, see DAU
Boediono, 36
Bondan Gunawan, 180, 288, 322
BPD (Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi), 307, 313
BPK (Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan), 72, 164, 168, 187, 204, 234
BPKP (Badan Pengawasan Keuangan dan Pembangunan), 219
BP Migas, 166
BRA (Badan Reintegrasi Aceh), 307
Brimob (Brigade Mobil), 154, 173, 190, 249, 254, 263–64, 273, 276, 288
British Department for International Development, see DFID
Broad Outlines of State Policy, 44, 60–61
Brunei, loan from Sultan of, 30
Bulog (State Logistics Board), 30, 202, 209–11, 236
BUMN (state corporation), 219
Burhanuddin Abdullah, 73
Busyro Muqqadas, 222
Butar Butar, Maj. Gen. (ret.) Rudolf, 190

C
Capital Investment Coordination Agency, see BKPM
Cardig International Group, 188
cease-fire agreement, Aceh, 289–91
Central Axis (Poros Tengah), 28–30, 32
central government
apology to Aceh, 285
authority of, 92–93, 108–09, 124–25
fields reserved for, 97
financial dependency on, 102
grants from, 93
resentment of, 91
centralized government of Soeharto, 88–90
Central Kalimantan, communal violence, 167
CETRO (Centre for Electoral Reform), 83
Chief Justice, 193, 195–96, 221–22, 227
Chinese, anti-, riots, 1, 4, 20, 23, 166, 204, 346
commission of enquiry, 39
Choirie, Effendy, 145, 160, 184
Christian dominance, Ambon, 243–44
Ciganjur Statement, 50
Cik di Tiro, Teungku 283
civil emergency, 255, 268
Laskar Jihad, and, 251–55
civilian supremacy, 138
civil-military relations, legislating, 142–50
civil servants
decentralization, and, 99, 121
Golkar, association with, 49–50, 80
“closed list” system, 63, 74, see also district system
CMI (Crisis Management Initiative), 298, 300, 303
COHA (cessation of hostilities framework agreement), 290, 322, 324
Cold War, 190
“collusion, corruption and nepotism”, see KKN
“collusive democracy”, 78
“commercialisation of political offices”, 63, 83
Commission on Banking and Finance, DPR, 71, 73
Commission to Eradicate the Crime of Corruption, see KPTPK
Commission to Examine the Wealth of State Officials, see KPKPN
Communist Party, see PKI
Concerned Forum of West Sumatra (Forum Peduli Sumatra Barat), 224
constituencies, electoral, 65
constitutional amendments, 52–62, 113, 196–97
Constitutional Commission, 82
Constitutional Court, 55–56, 74–75, 79, 81, 113, 124, 196–97, 223, 227
function of, 61
constitutional legacies, 44–46
electoral system, 45–46
presidentialism, 45, 53–54, 60, 69
Constitution, of 1945, 46, 52, 88, 154, 192, 231, 340
“parliamentary” interpretation of, 81
Coordinating Agency for the Maintenance of National Stability, see Bakorstanas
Coordination Team for the Eradication of the Crime of Corruption, see Tim Tastipikor
corruption
Akbar Tandjung, charges on, 58
anti-corruption agencies, 212–16, 221–23
anti-corruption politics, in regional DPRD, 223–27
cases, dropped, 211–12
cases, major, 199–211
combating, 197–99
decentralization, and, 97, 110
DPR, in, 70–73, 84–86
DPRD, in, 111–12, 115–17
Indonesia, in, 68–75
judiciary, in, 198–99
officially encouraged, 17
Soeharto family, 200–03
“coup clause” 146
“court mafia”, 10, 14, 198, 211
courts
military “impunity”, and, 169–74
New Order, and, 192
covert operations unit, see Sandhi Yudha
Crescent and Star Party, see PBB
crisis-ridden reforms, 7–10, 13, 15, 27, 34, 87, 110, 131, 177, 229, 243, 333, 344

D
Dadang Sukandar, 209–11, 236
Darul Islam, 282–84, 320
DAU (Dana Alokasi Umum), 93, 100, 102, 124
Deddy Supriadi Bratakusumah, 241
decentralization, 87, 227, 335, 339
“Big Bang” approach, 92–95, 118–19

civil servants, and, 99, 121

corruption, 97, 110

financial, 93, 99–102
goal of, 94
Latin America, in, 117
motives for, 90
regional government, 27
resistance to, 96–97, 120
defence budget, 162, 187
Democracy Forum, 29, 136
Democrat Party, see PD
democratic civilian control, 127
Department of Communications, 218
Department of Defence, 143–47, 150, 154, 165, 168, 174–75, 183, 186, 190
TNI under, 144–45
Department of Foreign Affairs, 293, 324
Department of Forestry, 97, 235
Department of Justice, 193–95, 197, 227
Department of Mining and Energy, 99
Detachment 81, 155
Detachment 88, 155, 184
DFID (British Department for International Development), 184
Dili massacre, 293
Diponegoro University, 195
direct presidential election, 56–59, 62, 76, 125, 176, 345
dismissal of President, 55–56, 81
district government
authority of, 93
economic inequality among, 101–02
revenue sources, 100
district regional command, see Kodim
district system, election, 63, see also “closed list” system
Djadja Suparman, 139, 181, 253, 274
Djaelani, Maj. Gen., 230
Djoko Munandar, 224
Djoko Santoso, General, 37, 152, 155, 160–61, 167, 263–64, 270, 306
Djoko Suyanto, Air Marshal37, 152, 189
Dodi Sumadi, 202, 232
DOM (Daerah Operasi Militer), 283, 320
DPD (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah), 59
role of, 61
DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah), 61–62, 64, 93, 94, 104–05, 108, 165, 282
Aceh, in, 308, 312, 327
anti-corruption politics, in regional, 223–27
authority of, 224
candidates for, 89
corruption in, 111–12, 115–17
general election for, 66
Golkar control of, 89–90, 108, 217, 336
seats in, 65, 74
DPR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat), 22, 24, 28, 30–34, 38, 44, 89, 115, 146–47, 158, 172, 175, 195–96, 301, 306
authority of, 54, 81
Commission on Banking and Finance, 71, 73
corruption in, 70–73, 84–86
dual function, see Dwi Fungsi doctrine
dutch colonialism, 46, 161, 183
dutch colonial military, 128
dutch-style parliamentary system, 45
dwi fungsi doctrine, 23, 25, 129,
megawati presidency, and, 140–42
dwi ria, 226

East Timor, 4, 12–13, 17, 54, 91,
132, 141, 150, 171
dili massacre, 293
referendum, 26, 95, 135, 150, 176,
249, 279, 285, 335, 342
Eaton, Kent, 96
economic growth under new order,
90
edi Sudradjat, general, 22, 41, 59,
84, 143, 181, 183
election
aceh, in, 314–16
golkar, and, 19, 26, 66, 157,
207–11
gubernatorial, 114, 125
money politics and, 110–15
of 1999, 46–52, 111
of 2004, 62–67
of 2009, 73–75
President, of, 56–57
Yudhoyono, and, 67, 160, 174
Election Commission, see KPU
elections, regional, 113
party alliances, 113–14, 117
electoral constituencies, 65
electoral laws, 48, 50, 339
New Order, under, 46, 63
“package” of, 83
renewing of, the, 62–67
electoral system, 45–46
Ellis, Andrew, 43
El Nino, 1, 23, 209
emergency, in Maluku, 267–68
Emergency Law of 1959, 155
Endang Suwarya, Maj. Gen., 168,
281, 292–94, 301
Endin Wahyudin, 213–14
Era Giat Prima (EGP), PT, 207–08
Ernst & Young, 168
Erry Riyana Hardjapamekas, 168, 226
Erwin Sudjono, Lt. Gen., 152, 171
ethnic groups, BBM (Butonese, Bugis,
Makassarese), 244–47, 272
“ethnic, religious, racial, inter-group”
conflict, see SARA
European Union Assessment Mission,
303
ExxonMobil, 166, 288, 296, 320
failed-states
concept of, 5
restoration of regional, 346–48
Farhan Hamid, Ahmad, 307, 310,
312, 327
Fauzatulo Zendrato, 214, 237
Fauzi Hasbi, 285, 321
federalism, 115, 308, 311
proposed, 91, 95, 118–20
rejection of, 88
Feith, Pieter, 303, 306
“feudal culture”, 41
Finance and Development Supervision
Board, see BPKP
financial decentralization, 93, 99–102
financial dependency on central government, 102
Firman Gani, Brig. Gen., 255–56
Five Principles, see Panca Sila
FKM (Front Kedaulatan Maluku), 254, 260, 263, 265
forestry law, 71
Forum Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah wal-Jama‘ah, 252, 266
Forum Peduli HAM, NGO, 322
Free Aceh Movement, see GAM
Free Papua Organization, see OPM
Freeport McMoRan Copper & Gold Inc, 166
Freeport, mine, 166
Free Riau movement, 95

G
GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka), 151, 155, 176, 233, 253, 280–81, 284, 294–96, 316, 320–21, 344
alliance with PPP, 314–15
cease-fire agreement, 289–91
Jakarta contacts with, 286–89
negotiation team, 300, 326
post-Soeharto revival of, 285–86
refuge in Sweden, 283, 287, 297
Stockholm-based, 298–99
stronghold, 321
see also Aceh; AMM; ASNLF; NAD
gang rivalry, in Maluku, 254, 274
Garuda Airlines, 174
General Election Commission, 80
General Elections bill, 63
“Generation 1945”, 129, 130, 177
Ghalib, Andi Muhamad, 201, 232
Ginanjar Kartasasmita, 211, 281, 237
Glenn Yusuf, 207
Golkar, 8–9, 16, 21, 27–30, 32, 35, 41–43, 61, 113–15, 149–50, 268, 301, 313
chairman, Jusuf Kalla as, 68, 70, 113, 152, 345
civil servants association with, 49–50, 80
DPRD, control of, 89–90, 108, 217, 336
election, and, 19, 26, 66, 157, 207–11
image of, 48–49
military, and, 129, 134
regional seats, and, 51, 64, 111, 336–37
seats in MPR, 52, 200
Goro Batara Sakti, PT, 202, 209
governing institutions, reform of 339–42
Government of Indonesia and Bank of Indonesia Memorandum of Economic and Financial Policies, 188
government, central
apology to Aceh, 285
authority of, 92–93, 108–09, 124–25
fields reserved for, 97
financial dependency on, 102
grants from, 93
resentment of, 91
government, district
authority of, 93
economic inequality among, 101–02
revenue sources, 100
government, provincial
budget, 108–09, 124
plan to dissolve, 94
government, regional
anti-corruption politics in, 223–27
decentralization of, 27
disputes, 98
hierarchy of, 107, 109
illegal mining, 101, 121
performance of, 111
representation, 56
grants from central government, 93
“green” generals, 21–22, 40, 131, 178
gubernatorial election, 114, 125
Guided Democracy, 1, 53, 82, 192, 230, 350
Gus Dur, see Abdurrahman Wahid
Guterres, Eurico, 172–73

H
Habibie, B.J., 3–4, 6, 8–9, 13, 20, 40, 75, 171, 201
accountability report, 52, 54
alliance with Wiranto, 23
as chairman of ICMI, 18
democratization programme, 25
memoir, 22, 40–41
military reform under, 130–36
referendum on East Timor, 26, 95, 135, 150, 176, 249, 279, 285, 335, 342
reformer, as, 334–35
regional autonomy laws under, 90–102
transition under, 21–28, 47
Habil Marati, 71
Hadiz, Vedi, 6, 111
Haluan Negara (National Will), 55, 81
Hamid Awinuddin, 300, 326
Hamid Yandhu, 73, 85
Hamzah Haz, 30, 32, 67, 252, 266, 277
personal wealth, 238
Harini Wiyoso, 221–22, 239
Hari Sabarno, General, 104, 123–24, 147, 225, 240
Harjriyanto Tohari, 145
Harmoko, 201, 232
Hartomo, Lt. Col., 173
Hartono, General, 40
Hasan, Bob, 40, 206, 235
Hasan Muhammad di Tiro, Teungku, 283, 287, 298, 307, 324
Hasan, Noorhaidi, 252, 273
Hasbi Abdullah, 314–15, 329
Hassan Wirayuda, 287
Hasyim Muzadi, 67
HDC (Henri Dunant Centre), 287, 289, 295, 322
Helsinki talks and peace agreement, 300–05
Hendarman Supandji, 219–20
Hendra Rahardja, 235
Hendrawan Haryono, 206
Hidayat, M.S., 210
Hidayat Nurwahid, 306, 327
hierarchy of regional government, 107, 109
Honna, Jun, 185
Humam Hamid, 315, 329
“Humanitarian Pause”, 287
human rights, and military
“impunity”, 169–74
Human Rights Court, 173, 303, 310, 313, 319, 328
Human Rights Watch, 187, 295, 324
Huntington, Samuel, 3
Husni Putuhena, 259
Hutomo Mandala Putra, 201–02, 209, 232–33, 235

I
IBRA (Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency), 71, 166, 204, 205, 207–08, 234
Ibrahim Embong, 160
ICMI (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia), 245, 251
Habibie as chairman of, 18
ICW (Indonesia Corruption Watch), 70, 198, 201, 203, 211, 231, 240–41
Ida Resosudarmo, 100–01
IKAHI (Ikatan Hakim Indonesia), 214
IMF (International Monetary Fund), 19–21, 168, 193, 203, 207
Indonesia
“basket case”, 16
corruption, 68–75
economic growth, 1
failed state, as, 5
Islamic state, and, 53
jurisprudence in, 99
NIC status, 16
political stability, 68–75
Indonesia Corruption Watch, see ICW
Indonesian armed forces, see ABRI; TNI
Indonesian Banking Development Foundation, 72
Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, see Kadin
Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle, see PDI-P
Indonesian Democracy Party, see PDI
Indonesian Islamic University, 197
Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals’ Association, see ICMI
Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights, 171, 255
Indonesian National Military, see TNI
Indonesian revolution, 282
Indonesian Ulamas’ Council, see MUI
Indonesian Wrestling Association, 201
“integralist” concept, 192, 230
International Commission of Inquiry on East Timor, 171, 189
International Crisis Group, 165, 262
International Institute of Strategic Studies, 190
Irian Jaya, see Papua
Irman Lanti, 114
Irwanidi Yusuf, Tengku, 306, 314
Islamic College, see STAIN
Islamic law, 62, 289, see also syariah
Islamic state, and Indonesia, 53
Islam, political, 18, 39

J
Ja’far Umar Thalib, 252, 257, 262, 265–67, 273, 278
Jakarta Charter, 83
Jakarta, contacts with GAM, 286–89
Jakarta High Court, 173
Jakarta Post, 167, 301
Jakarta riots, 1, 4, 20, 23, 76, 128, 130, 131, 135, 141, 156, 170, 200, 204, 336
Jamsostek, PT, 219
Japanese occupation, 282
“Javanese domination”, 57
Jemaah Islamiyah, 267
Jimly Asshidique, 197
Joint Battalion, see Yon Gab
Joint Team to Eradicate the Crime of Corruption, see TGPTPK
JPPR (Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat), 126
Judicial Commission, 196–97, 216, 221–23, 240
judicial independence, 192–97
judicial reform, 193
judiciary
Corruption in, 198–99
salaries, of personnel, 198
selection of, 194–95
jurisprudence in Indonesia, 99
Jusuf Syakir, 214
Juwono Sudarsono, 42, 137, 144, 154, 163, 165, 168, 184, 186–87, 189, 252, 271

K
Kadin (Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry), 100
Kalimantan, violence in, 271
chairman of Golkar, 68, 70, 113, 152, 345
dismissal of, 139
Helsinki talks with GAM, 300–05
personal wealth, 238
Vice President, as, 151, 217, 229, 308
Kell, Timothy, 283
Kemal Idris, Lt. General, 41
Kiemas, Taufiq, 33, 210
Aceh, protest against MoU, 305–06
Kingsbury, Damien, 300–01, 326
KISDI (radical Islamic group), 252
KKN (kolusi, korupsi dan nepotisme), 23, 28, 191
Kodam (Komando Daerah Militer), 155–56, 158–59, 161, 172, 185, 190, 324
Kodim (Komando Distrik Militer), 156, 159–61, 185, 189
Kompas, 149
Kontras, NGO, 289, 325
Kopassus (Komando Pasukan Khusus), 152, 155–56, 163, 170, 173–74, 190, 283
sporadic violence, and, 261–65
Kopkamtib (Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban), 155, 180
Koramil (Komando Rayon Militer), 157–59, 185
Koran Tempo, 163
Korem (Komando Resor Militer), 156, 158, 160–61, 189, 255, 284
Kostrad (Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat), 20, 22, 37, 129, 152, 156–57, 159, 163–64, 168, 186, 249, 253–54, 264, 273, 290, 293
KPA (Komite Peralihan Aceh), 314–15
KPKPKN (Komisi Pemeriksa Kekayaan Penyelegaragana Negara), 212, 214–16
KPK, see KPTPK
KPTPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi), 72, 168, 213, 215–16, 218–23, 226, 228
KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum), 65–66, 74, 84, 112, 218
Kwik Kian Gie, 42, 234–35
L
Laksamana Sukardi, 41, 139
La Ode Ida 72
Laskar Jihad, 250, 273–74, 285
civil emergency, and, 251–55
departure of, 265–67, 271
military support, 252–54, 266
Osama bin Laden, falsely linked to, 258, 275
peace agreement, 259–60
Laskar Jundullah, 267
Laskar Kristus, 254, 260, 274
Laskar Mujahidin, 267
Latin America, decentralization in, 117
Law on Basic Judicial Powers, 193
Law on Eradication of the Crime of Corruption, 212
Law on Fiscal Balance between the Central Government and the Regions, 92–93, 108
Law on Human Rights Courts, 172
Law on National Defence, 144–46, 152, 182
Law on Regional Autonomy, 304
Law on Regional Government, 92, 107, 124, 224, 238, 312, 328
Law on the Basic Principles of the Judiciary, 193
Law on the Composition and Position of the MPR, DPR, DPD, and DPRDs, 106, 239
Law on the Election of the President and Vice President, 66
Law on the Governance of Aceh, 297, 303, 307–14, 319
Index

Law on the National Police, 144, 155
Lay, Cornelis, 112, 122
League of Indonesian Judges, see IKAH
“legal dualism”, 223
“legal umbrella”, 141
Lhokseumawe, petrochemical complex, 280–81, 283
“liberal democracy”, 45
Liem Sioe Liong, 201, 234–35
Lindsey, Tim, 43
Linz, Juan, 68–69, 84, 341
Local Government Code bill, of the Philippines, 119
Loncar, Budimir, 322
Loupatty, Berthy, 263–64, 267
Lumintang, Lt. Gen. Johnny, 140
M
MacIntyre, Andrew, 338
Mahfuz M.D., 197
Mainwaring, Scott, 68
Malaysia, refugees from Aceh, 324
Malik Mahmud, 300, 303, 309, 312, 314–15, 327
Malino Peace Agreement, The, 258–61
Maluku, 155, 346–48
communal violence in, 242–71
election, June 1999, 246
emergency, lifting of the, 267–68
gang rivalry, 254, 274
military strategy, 255–57
see also Ambon; RMS
Maluku Defenders of Islam Front, 259
Maluku Sovereignty Front, see FKM
Mandala Airlines, 139, 163, 168
Mangkoedilaga, Benjamin, 195
Manuputty, Alexander, 254, 263, 265
Marzuki Darusman, 189
Matori, Abdul Djalil, 141, 145, 183
May 1998 riot, see Jakarta riot
Mbak Tutut, see Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana
McBeth, John, 184
McCarthy, John, 101
Megawati Soekarnoputri, 4, 13, 15, 19, 27, 50–52, 103, 122
Aceh, on, 329
Aceh, protest against MoU, 305–06, 308
campaigner, as 58, 82
dwi fungsi mentality, and, 140–42
personal wealth, 238
presidency of, 32–35, 140, 159, 168, 175, 185, 218, 224, 317
presidential candidate, as, 149
vice-presidency, 29, 104
Meilono Suwondo, 71
MFNIA (Master Refinancing and Note Issuance Agreement), 234
Mietzner, Marcus, 114, 126, 135, 137, 143, 165, 181, 185
Migdal, Joel, 5
military
Ambon, response by, 248–51
civil government, in, 129
division in, 21
DPR, in, 133–34, 149, 183, 343
firing on demonstrators, 179
Golkar, and, 129, 134
Laskar Jihad, support for, 252–54, 266
leadership, 18
New Order, in the, 128–30, 136, 142, 160, 181, 144
reform, 342–44
reform, under Habibie presidency, 130–36
reform, unresolved issues, 153–74
representation in parliament, 50
rivalry with police, 156
Social and Political Affairs branch, dissolution of, 133
strategy in Maluku, 255–57
see also ABRI; TNI
military-civil relations, legislating, 142–50
military emergency, 255, 291–94
Military Enters the Village (TNI Masuk Desa), 164
military finance, 161–69
Military Honour Council, 138, 170, 178
military “impunity”, human rights, courts, and 169–74
military intelligence agency, see BAIS
Military Operations Area, see DOM
Mobile Brigade, see Brimob
money politics, 8, 10–11, 14, 56, 70, 84, 229, 349
elections, and, 110–15
MOOTW (Military Operations Other Than War), 155, 161
Morfit, Michael, 298, 300
MoU (Memorandum of Understanding), Aceh, 303–07, 317, 327
protests against, 305–06, 308–310
MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat), 11, 16–17, 19, 25, 27–28, 31, 33–34, 43–45, 113, 144
Ad Hoc Committee, 77, 171, 172
annual sessions, 54
authority of, 53–54, 197
election of President, 56–57
Golkar seats in, 52, 200
members of, 61
role of, 60–61
seats in, 50
Special Session of, 47, 50, 79, 91, 134, 194, 200, 247, 287
supreme state institution, as, 59, 82
TNI withdrawal from, 149–50
MSAA (Master Settlement and Acquisition Agreement), 234–35
Muchdi Purwoandjono, Maj. Gen. (ret.), 174
Muhammadiyah, 265
MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia), 260
Muladi, 195
Munir, 174, 182
Muslim vigilante force, see Pam-Swakarsa
Muspida (Masyawrah Pimpinan Daerah), 164
Mustopo, Brig. Gen., 261, 264–65
musyawarah mufakat, 53, 340, 350
N
NAD (Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam), 289–90, 304, see also Aceh; AMM; GAM
Nahdatul Ulama, see NU
Nasution, Senior General, 40
National Administration Institute (Lembaga Administrasi Negara), 241
National Audit Board, see BPK
National Awakening Party, see PKB
National Front, see Barnas
National Human Rights Commission, 195, 258, 275
National Land Agency, 98
National Mandate Party, see PAN
National Ombudsman Commission, 208
National Team for the Takeover of TNI’s Business Activity, 168
National Unity Coalition, 84
natural resources, in Aceh, 280–81, 320
Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, 118
Netherlands East Indies, 280
New Order, 1–5, 7, 127, 157, 191, 269
beneficiaries of, 17–18
courts during the, 192
dismantling of, 6, 15, 31
Index

- economic growth under, 90
- electoral law under, 46, 63
- military in the, 128–30, 136, 142, 160, 181, 144
- parties, 46
- restrictions under, 51
- structure, 16, 21, 75, 110, 179, 332–33, 350
- Newsweek, 166
- New York Times, 275
- NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 196, 227, 229, 289, 292–93, 322
- Ng Tjuen Wie, see Widjaja, David Nusa
- NIC (Newly Industrializing Countries), 1, 5, 16
- NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia), 142, 151, 176, 281, 293, 305–06, 310–11
- Noer Iskandar, 202, 232
- “nuisance taxes”, 100
- NU (Nabdatul Ulama), 29, 41, 67, 136, 265

O
- “open list” system, 63–65
- “openness” policy, 18–19
- Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, see Kopkamtib
- OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka), 151
- Orders to Stop Investigation, see SP3
- Osama bin Laden, see bin Laden, Osama
- Outer Islands, natural resources, 90

P
- Padjadjaran University, 195
- PAD (Pendapatan Asli Daerah), 100, 102
- Pam-Swakarsa (Pengaman Swakarsa), 25, 247
- Panaiarsi Siahaan, 183
- Panca Sila (Five Principles), 53, 178, 154, 279, 306
- Pande Lubis, 207–08, 236
- PAN (Partai Amanah Nasional), 28, 41, 51, 58, 80, 82, 301, 307, 327
- election result, 66
- Panji Masyarakat, 232
- Pansus (Panitia Khusus), 71
- Papua, 4, 12, 17, 91, 95, 141, 166, 286, 305, 316, 338
- Pariela, Tonny, 259
- parliamentarism, 45, 54, 56
- parliamentary system, Dutch-style, 45
- Pattimura University, 245, 255–56, 258–60
- patronage network, 1, 5, 11, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 28, 90, 118, 130–31, 161, 207, 332, 350
- “party list” system, invalidated, 75
- Pasukan Siluman (Invisible Force), 254
- Paulus Effendi Lotulung, 214
- PBB (Partai Bulan Bintang), 69, 83, 113, 183
- PDI (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia), 19, 44, 48, 51
- election result, 66, 112
- “nationalist” wing, 53, 59
- TNI backing, 57
- PD (Partai Demokrat), 35–36, 67, 217, 313
- PDS (Partai Damai Sejahtera), 113, 309, 313
- “pejuang”, meaning of, 183
People's Consultative Assembly, see MPR
People's Voter Education Network, see JPPR
Perhutani, PT, 98
Permadi, 160, 309
Pertamina, 320
“pesta demokrasi” (festival of democracy), 80
Philippines, Local Government Code bill, 119
PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa), 41, 51, 64, 150, 160, 302, 313
election result, 66
PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia), 16–17, 30, 179, 190, 282
PKPI (Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia), 69, 84
PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), 67, 69, 87, 113, 313
PLN (state electric company), 219
Poerwadi, 187
police force
integration with ABRI, 134–35
number of, 154, 184
political consolidation under Yudhoyono, 35–38
rivalry with army, 156
separation from ABRI, 135, 156, 179
“political engineers”, 77
“political Islam”, 18, 39
politics-as-usual, mode, 7–8, 10, 13, 34, 51, 62, 88, 110, 143, 333, 337, 339
Poso, 242, 258, 271, 297
post-crisis reforms, 11, 337–39
PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan), 25, 44, 48, 50–51, 80, 83, 214, 225, 313
alliance with GAM, 314–15
election result, 66
Prabowo Subianto, Lt.Gen, 20, 40, 131, 170
“praetorianism”, 14
Pramono Anung, 33, 42
Pramono Edhie Wibowo, Brig Gen, 152
Pranomo, Maj. Gen. (ret.), 190
Prayogo Pangestu, 212, 232–33
President
direct election, 56–59, 62, 76, 125, 176, 345
dissmissal of, 55–56, 81
presidential candidate, requirements, 66
presidentialism, 45, 53–54, 60, 69
press, crackdown, 19
PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 168, 208
Probosutedjo, 203, 221, 232–33
“Professional Army”, 148
ProPatria, 143, 182
PR (proportional representation), 46–49, 63, 64, 74, 77
Prosperous Justice Party, see PKS
Prosperous Peace Party, see PDS
provincial government
budget, 108–09, 124
plan to dissolve, 94
Puteh, Abdullah, 218, 224, 239
R
Rachmat Witoelar, 41
Rahardi Ramelan, 209, 211, 236
Rahman Gaffar, Abdul, Maj. Gen., 286
Rahman, M.A., 218
Rahman Saleh, Abdul, 217, 226, 241
“rainbow” cabinet, 32, 69
Ramlan Surbakti, 63, 83
recentralization, 116, 341
Rectors’ Forum, 294
“red and white” faction, 20, 131–32, 178
reform
and 1999 elections, 46–52
“big bang”, 87
courts, 344–46
Index

crisis-ridden, 7–10, 13, 15, 27, 34, 87, 110, 131, 177, 229, 243, 333, 344
governing institutions, 339–42
impetus to, 47
judicial, 193
key condition for, 332
military, 342–44
“one-roof”, 227
response to crisis, 334–37
TNI, 142–50
uneven, 349–50
Reformasi, 15, 53, 127, 141, 150, 193, 224, 228, 243
regional autonomy laws under Habibie, 90–102
regional elections, 113
party alliances, 113–14, 117
regional government
anti-corruption politics in, 223–27
decentralization of, 27
disputes, 98
hierarchy of, 107, 109
illegal mining, 101, 121
performance of, 111
representation, 56
Regional Government Law of 1974, 88
regional legislature, see DPRD
regional military command, see Kodam
Regional Representative Assembly, see DPD
regional structure, 88, 118
Reilly, Ben, 76
Republica, 251
resignation of Soeharto, 20–21, 39, 40
Riau People’s Congress, 95
Rizal Sukma, 295
RMS (Republic of South Maluku), 246, 254, 259–60, 272, see also Ambon; Maluku
Robinson, Geoffrey, 136
Robison, Richard, 6
Rokhmin Dahuri, 219
Rudy Ramli, 207–08, 236
rupiah, collapse of, 19
Ryamizard Ryacudu, General, 37, 59, 141–42, 146, 152, 159, 167, 173, 186, 190, 290–91, 298
Aceh, protest against MoU, 305–06
S
Said Agil Husin Al Munawar, 219
salaries of judiciary personnel, 198
Saleh Djasit, 72, 83
Saleh Latuconsina, 245, 258, 272
Salim Group, 234–35
Samadikun Hartono, 205–06
Sandhi Yudha (covert operations unit), 261, 263, 265
SARA (suku, agama, ras, antar-golongan), conflict, 346
Sarwata, Air Marshal, 231
Serwo Edhiie, Lt. Gen., 179
Satya Arinanto, 112
SBY, see Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang
Semanggi incident, 41
Semen Gresik, PT , 70
separatism, in Aceh, 282–85
separatist movements, 4, 12, 23, 94
September 11 attacks, 5, 155, 258
Setiawan Haryono, 206
Setya Novanto, 207–08
Sigit Hardjodjanto, 203
Silalahi, T.B., Lt. Gen. (ret.) 217
Simatupang, Winfried, 210–11, 236
Sinivasan, Manimutu, 212, 237
SIRA (Sentral Informasi Referendum Aceh), 285, 314–15
Sishankamrata (Sistem Pertahanan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta), 157
Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, 40, 203, 212, 232
Slater, Dan, 78
Soares, Abilio, 172–73
Social and Political Affairs branch, dissolution of, 133
Soedarsono Hardjosoekarto, 103
Soedjono Chanafiah Atmonegoro, 201
Soedradjad Djiwandono, 234
Soeharto, 44, 46, 60
centralized government of, 88–90
children, 18, 201, 232
fall of, 4–5, 15–21, 40, 45–46, 115, 131, 162, 173, 194, 199, 227, 279, 285, 331, 344
family, corruption case, 200–03
General, as, 16
military, and, 128–29, 174
resignation, 20–21, 39, 40
successor, 2–3
Soekarno, President, 1, 16, 44, 46, 81, 230
decree of presidential constitution, 45
Soepomo, Raden, 192
Soetjipto, 33, 60, 302, 308, 311
Soetjipto, Adi Andojo, 213, 230–31
Soewandi, Rini, 145
Sofyan Djalil, 300, 306, 326, 328
Sofyan Ibrahim Tiba, 323–24
Sofyan Jacoeb, 233
Solahudin Wahid, 67
Sopan Sophiaan, 149
Soviet Union, disintegration of, 91, 279, 280
SP3 (Surat Perintah Penghentian Penyidikan), 211, 217–18
“special autonomy”, Aceh, 94, 282, 286, 289, 300–01, 303
Special Autonomy Law, 304, 307
Special Force Command, see Kopassus
Sriyanto Muntasram, Maj. Gen., 190
STAIN (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri), 259, 267
Standard Chartered Bank, 207
State Audit Board, see BPK
state corporations, see BUMN
State Intelligence Agency, see BIN
State Logistics Board, see Bulog
State of Emergency Law, 255
“state of war”, 155
student demonstrations, 23
Subagio Hadi Siswoyo, General, 40
sub-district military command, see Koramil
sub-regional command, see Korem
Sudhono Iswahyudi, 211
Sugeng Widodo, Brig. Gen., 190
sultanate, in Aceh, 282, 284
Sultan Iskandar Muda, 320
Sultan of Brunei, loan from, 30
Sultan of Yogyakarta, 50
Sumargono, Ahmad, 252
Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, 178
Sunarko, Brig. Gen., 263
Supreme Advisory Council, 209
Suprihadi, 147
Surin Pitsuan, 322
Surjadi Surdirdja, Lt. Gen. (ret.), 96, 120, 252
survey of conflict-affected people, Aceh, 324
Sutarip, Sukawi, 125
Sutiyoso, Lt. Gen., 247
Sutojo Siswomihardjo, 179
Surojo Bimantoro, General, 202
Sutrisno, Bambang, 235
Sutrisno Mascung, Captain, 190
Suwandi I Made, 97
Sweden, GAM refuge in, 283, 287, 297
Syafi’ie, Abdullah, 288
Index

Syafiquddin Kartasasmita, M., 202
Syafrie Syamsudin, Maj. Gen., 141, 162–63, 292
Syahril Sabarin, 208
Syamsul Nursalim, 212
Syarifudin Tippe, Brig. Gen., 284
Syarwan Hamid, Lt. Gen., 92, 119
Syaukani HR, 105

T
Tabrani Rab, 95, 120
Tamaela, Brig. Gen. Max, 250, 253
Tandjung, Akbar, 22, 27, 32, 36, 49, 66, 79, 80, 152, 180, 217
Aceh, protest against MoU, 305–06
case, Golkar and 1999 elections, 207–11, 237
corruption charges, 58
Tanjung, General Feisal, 22, 26, 178, 180, 183
Tanri Abeng, 208
Tan Tjoe Hing, see Hendra Rahardja
Tarunodjojo Nusa, 206
Taufiequrahman Ruki, 216
“Team of Eleven”, 260, 276
“Team of Seven”, 79
Tempo, 195, 231, 323
Texmaco, 212
TGPTPK (Tim Gabungan Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi), 213–14, 216, 228
Thai baht, collapse of, 19
Thamrin Ely, 259, 263, 276
The Nin King, 232
Theys Eluay, 173, 190
Third Wave, The, 3
Timbul Silaen, Brig. Gen., 172
Tim Tastipikor (Tim Koordinasi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana), 219–21, 223, 228
Tipikor (Pengadilan Tindak Pidana Korupsi), 215–16, 218–21, 223
Tiro, Hasan, see Hasan Muhammad di Tiro, Teungku
Tjandra, Djoko Soegiarto, 207–09
TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia), 24, 37, 40–41, 135, 138–40, 181–83
deployment of forces, 146–47
economic stake in Aceh, 281, 318
“grey areas”, in, 154, 156
income, personnel, 167, 188
loss of professionalism in Aceh, 284
lack of professionalism in Aceh, 284
manpower of, 190
PDI-P, backing, 57
“Professional Army”, 148
reform in, 142–50
territorial structure, 156–61, 176
under Department of Defence, 144–45
unresolved issues, 153–74
withdrawal from MPR, 149–50
Wiranto, as Commander-in-Chief, 134–36, 200, 249
see also ABRI; military
Tobing, Jacob, 53, 76
Tommy Soeharto, see, Hutyomo
Mandala Putra
Total People’s Defence and Security System, see Sishankamrata
Transitional Constitution, 59
“transplacement”, 3–4
Triharmodjo, Bambang, 201, 232–33
Trisakti University, 20, 170
Truth and Friendship Commission, 41
Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 303, 310, 313
Try Sutrisno, General, 22, 59, 84, 181
Aceh, protest against MoU, 305–06
tsunami, 151, 186, 299, 304, 317
Tyasno Sudarto, General, 137, 158, 180, 251
U
Umar Wirahadikusumah, Gen., 179
UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 171
Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, see NKRI
United Rise of Nusantara Movement (Gerakan Nusantara Bangkit Bersatu), 306
Unity and Development Party, see PPP
Unity in Diversity, motto, 280
University of Indonesia, 197
“Upholding Order Operation”, 231
Urip Tri Gunawan, 220
Usman, Brig. Gen. Johny Wainal, 190
Utomo, Colonel Hadi, 184

V
“Verandah of Mecca”, 284
“Village Guidance”, see Babinsa
vote-buying, 112

W
Wahid Abdurrahman, see Abdurrahman Wahid
Wattimena, Agus, 254, 274
White Paper, defence, 143, 154–55, 159, 185–86
Widjaja, David Nusa, 206
Widodo Adi Sucipto, Admiral, 137–38, 149, 180, 184, 250, 255, 292, 300–01
Widjojo, Agus, Lt. Gen, 158–60, 178, 184–85
Winata, Tommy, 163, 217
Wirahadikusumah, Agus, Lt. Gen.138, 158–59, 163, 179, 181–82, 189
Aceh, protest against MoU, 305–06
alliance with Habibie, 23
Commander-in-Chief of TNI, as, 134–36, 200, 249
dismissal of, 138, 253, 270
memoir, 40, 180
Minister of Defence and Security, as, 135–37, 175
personal wealth, 238
World Bank, 21, 94, 96, 100, 119–20, 166, 168, 192–93, 207

Y
Yacob, Yohannes, 232
Yahya Harahap, 213, 237
Yasa, I Made, Brig. Gen., 255–56, 261, 265
Yayasan Dharma Putra Kostrad, 163
YKEP (Yayasan Kartika Eka Paksi), 163, 168
Yon Gab (Batalyon Gabungan), 256–57, 261
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 13, 15, 32, 34–35, 68, 80, 178, 186
anti-corruption drive, 216–20
Chief of Staff for Territorial Affairs, as, 133, 178
Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, as, 140, 142, 155, 258–59, 264, 288–89, 297, 348
dismissal of, 140
election, and, 67, 160, 174
first cabinet, 84
military reformer, as, 140
Minister of Mining and Energy, as, 138
personal wealth, 238
political consolidation under, 35–38
presidency, 150–53, 317, 319
Yugoslavia, disintegration of, 91

Z
Zaini Abdullah, 300, 314, 329
Zainal, Agus, 213
Zinni, General Anthony, 322