

Glossary

A

Anak-anak Soekarno was the term used to describe university student activists who were admirers of President Soekarno but who chose to be critical of him.

Apotek de Gedeh was a pharmacy set up in the Dutch colonial era, which subsequently changed its name to Apotek Kimia Farma

B

Barisan Soekarno was a pressure group that surfaced amid the political chaos of the 1960s. The public was divided between those who were for and against groups that supported President Soekarno.

Belgrade was the capital city of Yugoslavia. After Yugoslavia broke up into a number of independent states in the 1990s, Belgrade became the capital city of Serbia.

Boat people is a term that refers to the thousands of Vietnamese refugees who fled their country on makeshift boats during the Vietnamese civil war in the early 1970s. The war raged between the Communist North, backed by China, and the nationalist South, backed by the United States and its allies. Thousands of the boat people entered Indonesian waters, and they were temporarily housed on the island of Galang.

BP7 – Badan Pembina Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (Supervisory Agency for Education in the Directive for the Realization and Implementation of Pancasila) was a government agency mandated to disseminate Pancasila across Indonesian society through P4 “classes”, which were mandatory for most Indonesians. The agency was disbanded during the era of Reformasi.

BPI – Badan Pusat Intelijen (literally, Central Intelligence Agency) was Indonesia’s intelligence body formed by President Soekarno on 5 December 1958 under the name Badan Koordinasi Intelijen (BKI), headed by Colonel (Navy) Pirngadi. On 10 November 1959, BKI became BPI, headquartered in Jalan Madiun, under Dr Soebandrio.

C

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). This was founded in 1971 as a forum for policy research by Ali Moertopo, Soedjono Hoemardani, Harry Tjan Silalahi and Daoed Joesoef.

Cleret gombel (Javanese), literally flying lizards, a reptile belonging to the Agamidae family. The term was popularized by Sudarko Prawiroyudo, a member of the DPR representing Irian Jaya (West Papua). He first used it to describe politicians who felt they could shake the government’s tree, while in reality a bigger force was at work in creating political upheaval. He often used the animal’s name to refer to our own group in a bid at self-irony.

Corpus Studiosorum Bandungense (CSB) was founded on 2 September 1920 at Technische Hoogeschool (TH), now ITB, under the name Bandungsche Studenten Corps (BSC). Its membership is open to all, regardless of political ideology, race, religion or ethnic group.

D

Dasasila Bandung was a ten-point declaration that resulted from the Asia-Africa Conference held between 18 and 25 April 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. One of the resolutions was “a statement regarding support for peace and global cooperation”. Dasasila Bandung incorporated

principles contained within the UB Charter and those of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Deklarasi Cirebon (Cirebon Declaration). After Japan's Emperor Hirohito issued his country's surrender to the Allies in World War II, Dr Soedarsono and members of PSI immediately declared Indonesia's independence in Cirebon on 15 August 1945. The declaration was later deemed a prelude to the Proclamation of Independence on 17 August 1945 by Soekarno-Hatta.

De-Soekarnoisasi (De-Soekarnoization) was a directive issued by the New Order regime under General Soeharto to belittle the role and presence of Soekarno in the nation's official history and memory and to eradicate his cult of personality.

Diplomatska Kolonija (Serbian), meaning "the Diplomatic Colony", which was an elite housing complex in the centre of Belgrade reserved for ambassadors, attaches and foreign diplomats.

Dwikora – Dwi Komando Rakyat (Two Commands by the People). President Soekarno was of the view that the Malaysian Federation sponsored by Britain represented a threat to Indonesian sovereignty. Dwikora was declared in 1964, marking the start of "Confrontation" with Malaysia. The two commands were (1) Fortify the resilience of the Indonesian Revolution, and (2) Assist the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei

F

Floating mass. A political concept that roughly defines belonging to any sociopolitical force based on voluntariness, volition and individual choice. According to the floating mass theory, an individual could not be claimed to belong to any group unilaterally.

G

Gang of Four. A term used to refer to a political faction comprising four leaders of the Chinese Communist Party during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76). The four members were Mao Zedong's wife

Qiang Jing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen. They were in charge of decision-making in the party. In Bandung, the term was used to refer to four student activists who worked in tandem: Rahmat Witoelar, Wimar Witoelar, Zulkarnaen Yusuf and Sarwono Kusumaatmadja.

General Certificate of Education (GCE). Measuring the academic level of competence that is a prerequisite for entrance into tertiary education for students in Britain and other countries following the British education system.

H

Hollandsch Indische Kweekschool (HIK). A teacher-training school for natives set up by the Dutch colonial government in 1848 to train teachers to provide elementary education for the local population.

Hollandsch-Inlandsche School (HIS). A school intended for the upper classes of the native population in the Dutch East Indies. It was set up in 1914 as a result of the reorganization of Year 1.

Hoogere Kweekschool (HKS). A teacher-training school one level up from HIK. This category of school only existed in a number of large cities like Medan, Jakarta, Bandung and Semarang.

Hundred-Minister Cabinet. This was the last cabinet headed by President Soekarno. It was sworn-in on 11 March 1966 and was intended as an improvement to the Dwikora Cabinet. It was the cabinet with the most number of ministers in Indonesian history.

I

Institut International d'Administration Publique (IIAP). An education institution based in Paris, originally founded to educate and train officials of the former French colonies in Africa on matters of good governance and government administration. The school was established by the order of President General de Gaulle in 1966. IIAP eventually admitted students from other developing nations, including Indonesia.

J

John Birch Society. A lobby group in the United States advocating anti-communism, limited government intervention, a constitutional republic and individual freedom.

K

Karakterdes – Kader Penggerak Teritorial Desa (Catalytic Village Cadre) was a Golkar regeneration programme at the village level.

Kelompok Bangbayang (Bangbayang Group) was a group of university students in Bandung in the 1960s who met at a boarding house in Jalan Bangbayang. Several of its members came from educated and wealthy families, such as Arifin Panigoro and Aburizal Bakrie.

Kelompok Cipayung (Cipayung Group). In early 1972, leaders of off-campus student organizations (HMI, PMKRI, GMNI and GMKI) met in Cipayung, Bogor and duly issued a resolution critical of the government. The group, and other student organizations, continued to be critical of the government.

Kelompok Petisi 50 (Petition 50 Group). This group had its origins in a petition signed by fifty national figures expressing their concern about and their criticism of the way President Soeharto was using Pancasila to silence his political opponents. Among the signatories were Ali Sadikin, Hoegeng Imam Santoso, A.H. Nasution, Baharudin Harahap and Mohammad Natsir. It later became a pressure group critical of the government. Before signing the petition, the signatories held a forum called Yayasan Lembaga Kesadaran Berkonstitusi.

KL – Koninklijk Leger (Royal Dutch Army).

Klein ambtenaar (Dutch) referred to a lowly civil servant from the native population during the Dutch colonial era. Most such officers worked as clerks.

KMKBDR – Komando Militer Kota Besar Djakarta Raja (Military Command for Greater Jakarta). Established on 24 December 1949, this command was in charge of security for Jakarta. Its name was later changed to Komando Daerah Militer V/Jayakarta (Kodam Jaya).

KNIL – Koningklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger (Royal Netherlands East Indies Army). A special division in the Dutch Armed Forces intended for operation in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). The personnel of the force were drawn from diverse nationalities—Dutch, German, Swiss, French—as well as from the native population: Javanese, Ambonese, Sundanese and others. The name KNIL was officially adopted in 1933, but the division had existed since 1830, after the end of the Diponegoro War (1826–27).

Komando Operasi Mandala (Operation Mandala Command) was the name of the task force formed by President Soekarno on 2 January 1962 with the mission of taking back West Papua from the Dutch. The task force was commanded by Major General Soeharto later President Soeharto.

Konsultasi Tiga Jalur (The Three Stream Consultation). A Golkar-specific term used to describe the communication mechanism between the three forces in society that were behind the functioning of the New Order: the military (ABRI), specifically represented by the army, called Stream A; the civil service (bureaucracy), called Stream B; and Golkar itself, called Stream G.

Koridor Tengah (literally, “the middle corridor”; translated in this book as “The Middle Course”). A term used by Sarwono Kusumaatmadja to describe the boundaries for political freedom under the New Order. The boundaries could be elastic. The red lines not to be crossed were Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution and presidential succession. Anyone crossing these lines would be dealt with.

Kursus Reguler Lemhanas (Lemhanas Regular Course). A form of leadership training for people occupying important posts in the military, civil service, business, press, etc. The organizer of the training was Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional, or the National Resilience Agency (Lemhanas). The material used in the training sessions dealt with strategic reviews of national resilience and the consolidation of nationhood values.

M

Mahasiswa Indonesia. A weekly print magazine run by Bandung students between 1966 and 1974. Because of its frequent criticism of the government, the magazine was shut down by the government in 1975, following the Malari incident on 15 January. In addition to a Jakarta edition, the magazine also had a West Java edition, which was distributed across the country.

Mang. A mode of address for young Sundanese males.

Mas. A mode of address, originally Javanese, for young males. It is applied before someone's first name; e.g.: "Mas Sarwono".

Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia). An Islamic political party founded in 1943. Disbanded by President Soekarno on 13 September 1960.

Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO). A type of school during the Dutch colonial era, equivalent to a junior high school.

Membat mentul (Javanese). An expression describing springing and reverberating motions. The term was used by Moerdiono to describe an approach to communication that sought to minimize tension in a discussion.

Menteri Beras (The Rice Minister). A sobriquet given to the Minister of Social Affairs, Dr Soedarsono, who was given the task of helping India face famine by sending its population rice shipments.

Moerdiono Connection. A term used to describe politicians close to Moerdiono. The connection bestowed access to the president, which very few politicians under the New Order had.

N

Nasakom. The acronym for Nasionalisme (Nationalism), Agama (Religion) and Komunis (Communism), a concept of President Soekarno's for keeping the country's political forces in balance. It represented the

middle path in the face of contestations and confrontations threatening unity of the nation.

Non-Aligned Movement. A grouping of newly independent nations that came together after World War II. The countries in the movement chose to neither side with the United States nor the Soviet Union during the Cold War period.

O

Operasi Khusus (Opsus), or Special Operation, was an intelligence unit formed to carry out clandestine operations.

Orsinalmas – Organisasi Fungsional Kemasyarakatan (Functional Community Organization) refers to organizations with functional themes founded by Golkar members and those that declare themselves as affiliated with Golkar periodically.

Orsosmasinal – Organisasi Sosial Kemasyarakatan Fungsional (Functional Civil Society Organization) refers to the founding organizations of Golkar from when its membership paradigm was organizational rather than individual. After the individual membership paradigm was adopted, these organizations became to be seen as entities with historic links to Golkar.

P

P4, or Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (Directive for the Realization and Implementation of Pancasila), was a set of guidelines on the application of Pancasila during the New Order era. It drew for its legal existence on act MPR No. II/MPR/1978 on Eka Prasetya Pancakarsa, which elaborated the five principles into thirty-six practical guiding precepts.

Pak. A mode of address for adult males as a sign of respect. Originally from the Javanese word *bapak* (father). It is used before someone's first name, often in the abbreviated form, e.g.: Pak Soeharto or Pak Harto, Pak Sudharmono or Pak Dhar.

Partizan. The Yugoslavian guerrilla forces led by Josip Broz Tito against the Nazi German forces.

Peperti, or Penguasa Perang Tertinggi. Created by President Soekarno in 1962 in preparation for military action to take back West Papua. This body was empowered to mobilize civilians as auxiliary forces.

Pertemuan Seperempat kamar (Quarter Chamber Meeting). A term used to describe a meeting between the Golkar Fraction and the government, without F-ABRI. This was similar to a Half Chamber Meeting but would not touch on matters relating to defence or security.

Pertemuan Setengah Kamar (Half Chamber Meeting). A term used to describe an off-the-record meeting between the parliamentary fraction of ABRI, Golkar and the government in order to harmonize the policy approach in the DPR and when managing public communication.

Petrus, or Penembakan Misterius, was a covert operation to eradicate crime, which lasted from 1982 to 1985. On 24 July 2012, the National Commission on Human Rights stated that the operation had produced up to ten thousand casualties and that it constituted grave violations of human rights.

R

RPKAD, or Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat, was an elite corps within the Indonesian Army. The special force was endowed with great mobility, shooting accuracy, and abilities in surveillance of the enemy and counterterrorism. Its name changed a number of times over the years. In the early 1950s it was known as KKAD (Korps Komando Angkatan Darat), before being changed to RPKAD in 1955. In 1956 it became Pusat Pasukan Khusus TNI AD. In 1971 it was renamed Kopassanda (Komando Pasukan Sandi Yudha). At the end of 1985 it became Komando Pasukan Khusus (Kopassus).

S

Sekretariat Bersama Golongan Karya, or Sekber Golkar. Founded on 20 October 1964 by the Indonesian military, in particular by army

officers, such as Lieutenant Colonel Suhardiman from SOKSI. It worked hard to bring together dozens of youth, women, university graduates, and organizations of workers, farmers and fishermen into a shared secretariat.

Sekretariat Bersama Organisasi Mahasiswa Lokal (Somal). Activism by students in the 1960s saw the formations of many local organizations. To qualify as a member of the KAMI Central Presidium, various student organizations came together to form Somal. Those organizations were Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Bandung (PMB), the Bandung Student Association; Ikatan Mahasiswa Jakarta (Imada), the Jakarta Student Association; Ikatan Mahasiswa Bandung (Imaba), the Bandung Student Association; Gerakan Mahasiswa Surabaya (GMS), the Surabaya Student Movement; Masyarakat Mahasiswa Bogor (MMB), the Bogor Student Society; Corpus Studiosorum Bandungense (CSB); and Ikatan Mahasiswa Pontianak (Imapon), the Pontianak Student Association.

Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret (the Decree of 11 March) was a presidential decree by Soekarno to Major General Soeharto to restore order and security in the country.

T

Tahir Case. A scandal that was exposed in 1976 causing ripples of outrage. Tahir, a director with the state-owned oil company Pertamina, died on 23 July 1976. His wife, Kartika, reportedly tried to cash a term deposit of her late husband's totalling USD 35.8 million at two Singapore banks. The Indonesian government duly filed an intervention with the Singapore courts to repatriate the funds on the basis that the money had been embezzled from Pertamina.

Tamblong Group. A Bandung student group based in Jalan Tamblong. Its leader was Rahman Tolleng, who was also the publisher of *Mahasiswa Indonesia* magazine.

Tjakrabirawa – the Presidential Guard, the personnel for which were drawn from the four forces: the army, navy, air force and police.

Tri Tuntutan Rakyat, or Tritura (The Three Demands of the People). A statement of three demands issued to Soekarno's government by Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia (KAMI; Unified Action of Indonesian University Students), supported by Kesatuan Aksi Pelajar Indonesia (KAPI), Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia (KAPPI), Kesatuan Burug Indonesia (KABI), Kesatuan Aksi Sarjana Indonesia (KASI), Kesatuan Aksi Wanita Indonesia (KAWI) and Kesatuan Aksi Guru Indonesia (KAGI), as well as the army. The three demands were to disband PKI and its sub-bodies, reshuffle the cabinet and bring down food prices.

Trikarya – The three “mother groups” that founded Golkar: Kosgoro, MKGR and SOKSI.

U

UNCLOS (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea). The international agreement resulting from the third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea that took place between 1973 and 1982.

Y

Yugoslavia, meaning South Slavia, was a nation state that existed in the Balkans in the southeast of Europe from 1918 to 2003. It was a monarchy before becoming a federal republic, with Belgrade as its capital city. After the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980—who had been declared President for life—Yugoslavia became embroiled in ethnic strife and separatism. In 2003, Yugoslavia disintegrated to form seven new countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo.