

Index

A

- AA Conference
 Bandung, 311
- Abadi, 356
- Abdoel Moeis, 23, 169, 210
- Abdoel Rivai, 72, 89
 background, 8
 emphasis on cosmopolitan world, 10
- Abdul Karim Amrullah, Dr H., 171
- Abdurrahman Wahid
 abolishment of two Ministries, 540
 animosity with Parliament, 540, 541
 background of, 408
 dealing with demands of the Papuan people, 565
 end of Presidency, 542
 nomination as President, 539
 role as President, 540
- ABRI
 loss of dominance in political power, 533
 reformation of, 533
- Aceh, 60, 105, 237, 467
 application of Islamic law, 236
 barter trade with Singapore and Penang, 237
 daerah operasi militer (DOM), 473
 disappointment with central government, 470
 earnings not returned to province for development, 469
 first rebellion against Japanese, 105
 formation of province of, 265
 Habibie's attempts at resolving Aceh dispute, 557
 Memorandum of Understanding (August 2005), 561
 Operasi Bujuk, 474
 Proclamation of independence, 471
 purchase of first plane for Air Force, 237
 Red Net Operation, 473
 talks in Davos and Geneva, 558
 tsunami disaster, 560
 war and ideology, 167
- Aceh murder, 89
- Aceh-Sumatra National Liberation Front (ASNLF)
 see Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM)
- Achmad Dahlan, K.H., 20
- Achmad Djajadiningrat, R., 27
- Achmad Soebardjo, 145, 245, 309
- Achmad Yani
 General, 321
 kidnap of, 325
- Act of Free Choice, 326, 411, 483, 484, 563
- Acton, Lord, 369
- Adam Malik, 359
 formation of ASEAN, 355
 Minister of Trade, 323
- Adams, Cindy, 347, 348
- adat, 71
 adat chief
 Tan Malaka, 31

- administrative
 priyayi, 76
- administrative system
 restructuring during Japanese Occupation, 107
- Adnan Buyung Nasution, 456
- African nations
 visits from leaders of, 430
- Agoes Salim, Haji, 20, 51, 77, 86, 153, 187
- Age of the Proclamation of Independence, 209
- Agum Gumelar, Brigadier-General, 460
- Audit, D.N., 305
- air force
 relationship with Presidents, 324
- aircraft manufacturing company (IPTN)
 state owned, 503
- Airlangga, 263
- Airlangga University, 214
- Akbar Tanjung, 538
- Al Imam*, 12
- Al Irsyad, 366
- Al Moenir*, 12
- alam Minangkabau (Minangkabau world), *see* Minangkabau world
- Alamsyah, Lieutenant Gen. (Ret.)
 assembling of *ulama*, 512
- Algemeen Middelbaar School (AMS), 98
- Ali Alatas, 493
- Ali Boediardjo, 196
- Ali Hasymi, 265
- Ali Sadikin, 381
- Ali Sastroamidjojo, 216
- Ali Sastroamidjojo, 233, 309, 333, 420
 coalition cabinet, 248, 275
 coalition government of PNI,
 Masyumi and NU, 275
- first Indonesian Ambassador to Washington D.C., 309
- formation of cabinet of, 239
- installation of new Chief-of-Staff, 247
- resignation, 280
- resignation as Prime Minister, 280
- returning of mandate to President, 250
- aliran (stream), 219
- All-Indonesia Congress, 257
- all-Indonesia youth organization, 67
- Allied Forces, 163
 control of Jakarta, 211
- Alor, 560
- Almujahid, 161
 leader of youth wing of PUSA, 160
- Alqadri, Hamid, 332
- Ambon, 60, 193, 216, 438, 553
 communal conflict, 554
 debate on, 223
 elite, 222
 Malino peace agreement, 556
 political scene, 224
 studies on communal conflict in, 571
 tradition for solving conflict, 555
 under central government, 225
- Amien Rais, 410
- Amien Rais, Dr M., 511
 political prominence, 538
- Amir Hamzah, 163, 164, 222
- Amir Sjarifuddin, 130, 133, 177, 259, 320
- Andalas, 263
- Anderson, 140
- Andi Aziz, Capt., 196, 222, 224, 239
- Angkatan 45*, 202, 352, 519
- Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia Serikat*, 196

- Anglo-Saxon capitalism
sphere of, 143
- Antara News Agency, 323
- anti-individualism
draft of constitution, 117
- anti-liberalism
draft of constitution, 117
- anti-West campaign
PKI, 317
- anti-Western policy
Japanese Occupation, during, 214
- APODETI (Associação Popular Democrática Timorense), 490
- APRA (Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil), 195
- Arab community
representative in parliament, 254
- Arab minorities, 114
- Arief Rahman Hakim, 357
- aristocratic class
East Sumatra, of, 221
- aristocratic elite
western-educated Javanese, 96
- Aristotle, 369
- armed forces
rationalization and modernization, 229
- Armijn Pane, 204
- army
internal affairs of, 179, 279
- Army Headquarters
official report of, 337
- Arp, Arnold, 485
- Arun, PT, 468, 470
- ASDT (Associação Social Democrata Timorense), 490
- Asian financial crisis
effect on Indonesia, 513, 514
Islamic Bank unaffected, 405
- Asian Games, 301
cause of rampant inflation, 303
strain on finances, 303
- Asian Relation Conference, 308
- Asian-African Conference, 310, 311
- Asian financial crisis
cause of economic and political crises, 415
impact of, 414
loss of confidence in rupiah, 415
private banks borrowing from abroad, 415
- Asian tigers, 413
- asisten pribadi* (ASPRI)
Soeharto, of, 367
- Asmari Hadi, 337
- Asrul Sani, 200, 202
- Assa'at
speaker of KNIP, 139
view on Chinese as an exclusive group, 257
- Association of Muslim Intellectuals in Indonesia, 407, *see also* ICMI
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 355
- Association of the Upholders of Indonesian Independence, 297
- asyabiyyah*, 66
- Australian, New Zealand, United Stated Treaty (ANZUS)
Malaya as member of, 316
- autonomy
local, 169
- autonomy law of 1974, 395
- auxiliary corps, 111

B

- Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional (BKBN), 430
- Badan Pendukung Sukarnoisme (Supporters of Sukarnoism League), 322

- Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI), 114, 285 sessions, 115
- Badan Perencanaan Nasional (BAPPENAS), 374
- Badan Persatuan Islam (Islamic Unity Agency), 109
- Bahder Djohan, 34, 78
- Bahasa Indonesia, 189, 210, 434 language of instruction in schools, 433
- Balai Perguruan Tinggi Republik Indonesia establishment of, 211, 212
- Balai Poestaka, 52
- Bali bombing, 547
- Bambang Sugeng, Col., 150
- Bambang Triyatmodjo ownership of Satelindo, 501
- Bambang Utoyo, 333
- Bandung venue of A A Conference, 311
- Bandung Institute of Technology, 406
- Bangka, 185
- bangsa Hindia*, 17
- bangsa Islam*, 17
- Banjar, 60
- Banjarmasin, 528
- Bank Duta loss in foreign exchange dealings, 500 ownership, 500
- Bank Indonesia, 216 reservations on opening of Islamic Bank, 405
- banks liberalization of, 415
- Banten, 92, 102 communist rebellions, 33
- BAPPENAS draft of five-year development plan, 375
- Barisan Hizbulullah, 152
- barisan perjuangan* (struggle units), 1, 153
- barter trade Aceh, 237
- Batak Toba, 167
- Battle of Surabaya, 131
- bazaar Malay, 52 Latin script, 13
- Beel, L.J., 186, 187, 188
- Benteng group, 257
- Bhinneka tunggal ika*, 198
- Biak, 475
- Biak Numfor, 487
- bilingualism national phenomenon, 433
- Bima, 60
- Bimantara, 502
- Bintang Hindia*, 8
- Bintang Kejora, 480
- Bijeenkomst voor Federale Overleg (BFO), 187
- Boedi Oetomo, 18, 90 birthday of, 94 issue of native militia during First World War, 24 spread of, 19
- Boerhanoeddin Harahap, 247
- Masyumi-dominated cabinet, 273, 333, 345
- Bone kingdom of, 90 raja of, 153
- Bonjol fort, 5
- Borneo, 115
- Boven Digul, 476

- Brebes, 158
- Bugis
- Ambon, in, 553
- Bukittinggi, 31, 57, 134
- bupati*, 380
- Japara, of, 94
- Butonese
- Ambon, in, 553
- C**
- cabinet
- swearing in, 275
- cabinet formateur*, 274
- Cairo
- venue of Second Non-Aligned Conference, 317
- Camus, 205
- Campus Normalization Programme, 377
- capitalism
- fight against, 314
- Catholic Indonesian Council of Clergies (MAWI), 453
- Catholic organizations, 453
- Catholic Party
- formation of Liga Demokrasi, 298
- Cendrawasih University, 482
- Central Advisory Council
- Japanese Occupation, during, 108
- Central Axis, 539
- Central Committee of PKI, 316
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
- sponsorship of local rebellions, 311
 - support to rebels, 311
- Central Sumatra
- Muslims in, 290
- Permesta rebellion, 345
- Ceram, 225
- Ceribon, 102
- Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (COHA), 558
- Chaerul Saleh, 305
- Chairil Anwar, 262
- Chinese, *see also* Indonesian Chinese, 344
- Chinese communities
- representatives in parliament, 254
- Chinese minorities, 114
- Christian Indoneisan Council Churches (DGI), 453
- Christian missionary
- establishment of organizations to promote Papuan political emancipation, 478
- Christianization
- aftermath of coup attempt of 1965, 401
- CIDES, 411
- Cimareme (Garut), 92
- citizenship
- New Order regime, during, 395
- Citra Lamtorogung, 502
- civil servants
- attendance at P-4 courses, 401
- civilian supremacy, 216
- cloves
- monopoly of trade in, 377
- coalition government
- Ali Sastoamidjojo, under, 275
- Coljin
- Minister of the Colonies, 45
- collective democratic system, 270
- collective memories, 59
- Javanese, 59
- colonial towns
- segragated communities, 4
- colonial administration, 167
- colonialism, 18–31

- comfort women, 104
- Comite Boemipoetra (Committee of the Sons of the Soil), 22, 23
- Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, 191
- commercialized newspapers, 67
- Commission of Good Offices
 - supervision of conflict, 308
 - United Nations, 308
- Committee for Javanese Nationalism, 25
- Committee of Good Offices of the U.N., 132, 134, 186
- communist party, 99
- communist-phobia, 299
- communists
 - punishment for, 449
 - rebellion of late, 30, 1926
 - rebellions in Banten and Silungkung, 33
- Conference on the New Emerging Forces (CONEFO), 319
- Conference on Non-Aligned Countries, 313
- Congress for Javanese Cultural Development, 25
- conservative group (*kaum kuno*), *see* *kaum kuno*
- Constituent Assembly, 218
- Constitution 1943
- Constitution (1945), 121, 129, 139, 190, 250, 285, 286, 287, 329
 - Article 20, 452
 - Article 28, 536
 - Chapter 37, 423
 - general election, 369
 - issue of succession, 511
 - return to, 312
 - preamble, 285
- rejection of return to, 286
- village administration law, effect of, 380
- Constitution
 - Art 6, 27 and 28, 118, 120, 378
 - Art 28 and 29, 118
 - Article 3, 378
 - drafters, 329
 - integralistic interpretation, 389
 - Preamble of, 285, 489
 - President, requirement for, 120
- Constitutional Court, 545
- Consultative Assembly for the Act of Free Choice (CAA), 482
- continuing generation (*generasi penerus*), 2
- continuing revolution
 - Sukarno's notion of, 354
- Coordinating Minister for Economy and Finance, 374
- Corps Tjadangan Nasional (CTN), 226, 229
- corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN)
 - growth of, 415
- counter-revolutionaries (*kontrev*), 323, 326
- crime
 - solution for, 450, 451
- Crisis Management Initiative, 561
- crush-Malaysia campaign, 302
- cultural bazaar, 71
- Cultural Conference
 - second, 203
- cultural ideologues, 203
- Cultural Manifesto group, 322
- cultural nationalism, 64
- Cumbok War, 159
- Cut Nyak Dien, 89

D

- D.N. Aidit, 305
 Dahm, 41
 Dai Toa senso, 106
 Dani, 487
 Darul Islam, 192, 199, 220, 228, 230, 327
 formation of, 133
 rebellion, 345
 transformation into Negara Islam
 Indonesia, 291
 transformation of, 291
 West Java, 234, 254
 Datuk Soetan Maharadja, 6, 90, 96
 abolishment of office of Tuanku Regen, view on, 11
 background of, 7
 formation of Boedi Oetomo, 9
 involvement in kaum muda, 8
 leader of *kaum muda*, 71
 main concern of, 10
 referred to as father of Malay journalism, 6
 STOVIA, 9
 Day of the Sacredness of Pancasila, 440, 447
 Day of the Youth Oath, x
 Day of the Youth Pledge, 440
 Dayak, 439
 communal violence with Madurese migrants, 551
 De Javasche Bank, 192, 215
 de Jonge, Kiewit, 9, 79
 Governor General, as, 45, 46
 decade of ideologies, 218
 decentralization
 importance of, 269
 declaration of independence, 201
 definitions
 human nature in Pancasila, 388
 village, 380
 Dekker, Douwes, 21, 75
 Democracy
 definition determined by state ideology, 396
 design as operational political system, 252
 notion of, 18–31
 symbol of kemajuan and social equality, 17
 theme of Hatta's writings, 35
 democracy and national identity, 279–90
 Democratic League, 299, *see also* Liga Demokrasi
 banning of, 299
 call for new parliament, 299
 revelation of ideological flaws, 300
 Democratic Party
 performance in 2004 elections, 546
 democratic tradition
 re-emergence of, vii
 Democratische Volksparti (DVP), 479
 Detik, 411, 414
 development trilogy, 392
 Dewan Dakwah Indonesia, 402
 Dewan Nasional (National Council), 278
 Dewan Pertimbangan Agung, 374
 Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD)
 (Council of Regional Representatives), 544
 Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR)
 factions, 373
 Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD), 380
 Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat-Gotong Royong (DPR-GR) (Mutual Help People's representatives), 349
 Dewan Revolusi (Revolutionary Council), 235

- Dewantara, K.H.
ideas on importance of leadership, 39
national hero, 210
- Dharsono, H.R., 455
- dialogue with Sukarno, 266
- Diapari, D.P., 196
- Dibawah Bendera Revolusi*, 80
- Dienaren van Indie, 34
- Dienbiempu
fall of, 329
- Digul, 98
- diplomacy
basic policy of Republic, 148
- Diponegoro, 62, 65, 206, 262
- discussion with Sukarno, 239
- Dja Endar Moeda, 5, 70
- Djalaluddin Thaib, 84
- Djawa Hookoo Kai, 107
- Djuanda, 281, 288
Prime Minister, as, 281
- Dokter Jawa*, 72
- DPA (Supreme Advisory Council)
abolishment of, 545
- DPR-GR
replacement of elected parliament, 299
- dunia maju* (progressive world), 18
- Dutch
police action, 185
- Dutch companies
seizure in West Irian, 283
seizure of, 283
- Dutch East India Company (VOC), 66
- Dutch enterprises
confiscation of, 343
- Dutch Occupation
isolation imposed by, 227
- Dutch officials
conservative, 69
- Dutch policy
rejection of political reform, 55
- Dutch scientific terms, 110
- Dutch sovereignty
recognition of, 65
- dwifungsi, 533
military forces, of, 349
military, of, 351
Soeharto's explanation of, 419
- E**
- early stage of industrial economy, 496
- East Sumatra, 161
centre of plantation economy, 237
Malay aristocratic class of, 221
social revolution, 165
- East Timor, 490
abandonement by Portuguese, 412
decline in use of Portuguese, 523
development and improvements in, 492
failed integration, 489
integration with Indonesia, 492
non-integration of people from, 451
outbreak of civil war, 412
province of Indonesia, 412
vote for independence, 537
- economic collectivism, 39
- economic crisis
handling by new government, 536, 537
resulting in growing dissent, 510
- Economic Declaration (Dekon), 302
- economic democracy, 39
- economic development
basic flaws, 415

- economic growth
1965–97, 496, 1997
- division between pribumi and non-pribumi, 497
- economic planners
declining role of, 505
- economic recovery
slow and hard process, 415
- economic well-being
subordination, 303
- economy
Dutch domination of, 215
- Editor*, 411, 414
- educated elite
communication with mass population, 113
- education
democratization, 216
national budget allocation for, 432
- Egyptian Ikhwanul Muslimin, 456
- Egyptian ulama
attack on historical materialism, 57
- Eight-Year Overall Development Plan, 302
- election
defintion determined by state ideology, 396
- elections
local (1957), 277
- elementary schools
expansion of network of, 433
- Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PDRI), 135
- Emergency University, 212
- Ethical Policy, 70, 94
- ethnic-based national solidarity
abandoning of, 68
- Eurasian community
representative in parliament, 254
- Eurasian minorities, 114
- Europe
Sukarno's visit to, 306
- F**
- Fachruddin, K.H.
chairman of Muhammadiyah, 453
- Faculty of Letters of UGM, 213
- Fak Fak, 476, 477
- FALINTIL (Forcas Armada de Liberaçao Nacional de Timor L'Este), 491
- family system, 395
manifest of Pancasila worldview, 388
- Farmers Association, 158
- federal states
Dutch sponsored, 187
- Federation of Malaya, 315
- Feith, 200
usage of Weberian “ideal type” approach, 264
- fertility
decrease in, 431
- Fifth Five-Year Plan (Repelita) (1988–93), 432
- First Indonesia Raya Congress, 272
- First World War
issue of native militia, 24
outbreak of, 23, 24
- Five-Year Plan
eight lanes of equality, 393
- floating mass
concept of, 371
- flying lecturers, 213
- Ford Foundation, 521
- foreign orientals, 18, 255
- foreign policy
fee and active, 149

- foreign-owned plantations
policy towards, 146
- Forum Aceh, 474
- foundation of state
controversy over, 118
- Fourth Five-Year Plan, 452
- FRETILIN (Frente Revolutionaria de Timor-Leste Independente), 490
- declaration of independence of East Timor, 491
- Front Demokrasi Rakyat, 133
- Front Pemuda Sunda, 254
- functional group, 292
constitutional concept of, 292
- functional groups
Constitution 1945, in, 351
- functional
priyayi, 76
- G**
- Gabungan Politik Indonesia (GAPI)
(Political Federation of Indonesia),
48, 55
- Gadjah Mada, 263
- Gadjah Mada Foundation, 212
- Gadjah Mada University, 205, 208, 270,
271, 410
- gambling
prohibition of, 404
- Games of the Emerging Forces
(GANETO), 319
- Gang Kenari, 47
- Gani, A.K., 136
- GAPI, *see* Gabungan Politik Indonesia
- Garuda Indonesian Airways, 216
- Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara
(GBHN), 294, 295, 296, 373
- Gatot Subroto, Gen., 136
- Gayo
predominance in various parts of
Aceh, 522
- Geertz, 219
- Gelanggang, 200
- General Action (1955), 334
- general election (1997)
GOLKAR's performance, 414
- general election
participation of military personnel, 249
second, 248
- General Election Commission, 463
- general elections (1997)
worst in Indonesia's experience, 528
- General Major, 238
- General Meeting of the Commanders
of the Armed Forces
speech by Soeharto, 381
- generasi penerus* (continuing
generation), 2
- Generation (1908), 2
- Generation 1928, 66, 352, 366
- Generation (1945), 2, 202, 206
- Gerindo (Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia)
(Movement of the Indonesian
people), 48, 101
- Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), 471
depletion in numerical strength, 474
financing activities, 473
proclamation of independence of
Aceh, 472
- Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasionalis
Indonesia (GMNI), 323
- Gerakan Persatuan Nieuw Guinea
(GPNG), 479
- Gerpolek, 148
- Gestapu Affair
erosion of Sukarno's power, 348
- Gibb, 11
- Giyu Gun
expansion, 112
- global economic recession, 45
- globalization
awareness of, 445

- Goethe, 307
- golden bridge
- metaphor of, 218
- GOLKAR (Golongan Karyawan), 370
- percentage of votes, 372
 - performance in general election (1997), 414
 - representation of bureaucracy, 498
- Golongan Putih (Golput), 372
- Gorontalo, 60
- gotong royong*, 284
- emphasis on, 284
 - significance in Pancasila Democracy, 388
- gotong royong* cabinet, 281, 305
- Governor of Sumatra
- refusal to acknowledge surrender to Japanese, 103
 - scorched-earth policy, 103
- Gowa, 60
- Gowa-Tallo
- double kingdoms, 61
- Gadjah Mada University, 205
- graduates
- medical schools, from, 431, 432
- Great Depression, 45
- Great East Asiatic Conference
- Tokyo, 113
- Great Leader of the Revolution, 330, 352, 353
- Greater Asia War, 107
- Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, 101
- Greater East Asia sphere, 116
- Greater Indonesia party, 68
- guerilla fighters, 227, 228
- rationalization and modernization, 240
- Guided Democracy, 250, 269, 288, 330
- belief that Malaysia neo-colonialist project, 316
- consolidation of power, 297
- downfall of, 350
- eight years plan, 302
- establishment of, 128, 289
- foreign policy, 300
- fulfillment of Constitution, 295
- holder of hegemony of political discourse, 297
- ideological flaws revealed, 300
- intensification of, 272
- notion of being in constant sphere of revolutionary struggle, 3
- on course, 236
- origins of, 290
- seeds planted, 290
- significance of, 327
- similarities with New Order, 107
- slogans, symbols and myth, 304
- solution to Pernesta, 328
- state of political hegemony, 297
- system of dictatorship, as, 383
- transformation into ideological orthodoxy, 272
- Gunawan Mohamad, 372
- Guntur Sukarnoputra, 520
- Guruh Sukarnoputra, 457, 458
- Gusmao, Xanana
- capture of, 494
- ## H
- Habibie, B.J., 503
- abolishment of office of BP7, 535
 - attempts at solving Aceh dispute, 557
 - choice given to East Timorese, 537
 - decision to hold general elections, 537
 - formulation of team for advancement of civil society, 567
 - introduction of legislation, 535
 - problems faced during Presidency, 532

- re-humanization of Presidency, 535
- swearing in as new President, 531
- Habibie, Prof B.J., 426
 - background of, 408
- Hakko Ichiu, 106
- Halmahera, 556
- Hamengkubuwono I, 62
- Hamengkubuwono IX, 128, 341
- Hamka, 62
 - praise of Tan Malaka, 78
- Hamzah Haz, 541
- Harian KAMI*, 356
- Harian Rakjat*, 325
- Harmoko, 530
 - request that Soeharto step down, 516
- Hasan di Tiro
 - escape to Singapore, 472
 - proclamation of independence for Aceh, 471
 - stay in Sweden, 472
 - support of Libya, 473
- Hasanuddin, 263
- Hasanuddin Brigade, 228, 229
- Hasanuddin University, 214, 231
- Hasyim Asy'ari, K.H., 109
- Hatta, 128, 330
 - arrest of, 150
 - endorsing Japanese decision to form voluntary army, 111
 - neither pro-Russia nor pro-U.S., 309
 - on hearing news of Dutch capitulation in Bandung, 102
 - proclamation of independence, 121
 - proposal included in Art 27 of Constitution, 118
- Head of National Archives
 - discovery of different versions of *Supersemar*, 420
- health care, 430, 432
- Hei Ho, 112
- Helsinki
 - GAM representatives in, 561
- Hendropriyono, Colonel A.M., 456
- Hendropriyono, Major General, 460
- Henry Dunant Center
 - sponsorship of talks between GAM and Indonesian goverment, 558
- Humpuss, 501
- hero worship, 210
- Heroes' Day, 440
- Hikayat Banjar*, 60
- Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, 59, 62
- Hiroshima, 122
- Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) (Islamic Students Association), 324, 454
- historical materialism, 57
- historical trilogy
 - introduction by Sukarno, 43
- history
 - Neerlando-centred history, 207
 - regio-centric view of, 208
- history textbooks, 208
- Hitler's Third Reich, 53
- Hizbu'llah, 112, 156
 - fighting against Dutch, 154
- Hollandia, 477
- Hollandsch-Inlandsche School, 98
- House of Representatives, 191
 - election of new members of, 218
- human nature
 - definition in Pancasila, 388
- Hurgronje, C. Snouck, 63, 95, 159, 160, 168
 - Islam policy, 171
 - study of the Acehnese, 181
- Husein Alatas, 78

- Hutomo Mandala Putra, 506
 monopoly of clove trade, 501
- I**
- ICMI, *see* Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim di Indonesia (ICMI) (Association of Muslim Intellectuals in Indonesia)
- Ida Anak Agung Gde Agung, 185
- ideological differences
aliran-bound, 219
- ideologies
 decade of, 218
 Indonesianization of, 219
- Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim di Indonesia (ICMI) (Association of Muslim Intellectuals in Indonesia), 407, 408, 427
- close relationship with government, 411
 fostering national integration, 411
 objectives of leaders of, 409
- Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia (IPKI), 2998
- illiteracy
 eradication of, 433
- Iljas Jacub, 84
- Imamura, Gen., 102
 commander of Japanese 16th Army, 102
- independence
struggle for, *see* struggle for independence
 theme of Hatta's writings, 35
- Independence Address (1962)
 Sukarno, 312
- Independence Day address, 302
- Independence Day Address (1962), 312
- Independence Day speech, 281
- indigenous states
 pre-colonial, 118
- Indische Partij, 21, 22, 23
 use of new media, 30
- individualism
 fight against, 117
- indoctrination programme
 genesis of, 424
- Indologie
 special system of knowledge, 95
- Indonesia
 agreement with China regarding citizenship of Indonesian Chinese, 344
 agreement with Malaysia regarding archipelagic waters, 443
 censure from Security Council, 318
 divided world, in a, 306–19
 history of name of, 79
 withdrawal from United Nations membership, 303
 within sphere of influence of Anglo-Saxon capitalism, 143
- Indonesia Accuses
 Sukarno's defence speech, 58
- Indonesia Berparlemen
 campaign for, 55
- Indonesia in Miniature park, 377
- Indonesia Menggugat*
 Sukarno's defence speech, 43
- Indonesia Merdeka
 official slogan of PI, 35
- Indonesia Muda (Young Indonesians), 47
- Indonesia Raya*, 47, 114, 115, 189, 315, 356, 376
- Indonesian Association, *see* Perhimpoenan Indonesia (PI), 31
- Indonesian Chinese
 citizenship, 344, 345

- Indonesian Council of the Ulama (MUI), 403
Indonesian culture, 201
Indonesian language, 110
Indonesian Leftist group, 308
 relations with Russian bloc, 308
Indonesian mukims
 Mekka, in, 64
Indonesian nation
 genesis of, 68
Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (PBKI), 430
Indonesian underground troops, 122
Indonesianization
 local Malay dialects, of, 435
Indonesianness, 201
Indonesians
 Chinese descent, of, *see Indonesian Chinese*
 higher economic status, 256
 peranakan, 255
 problem of, 255
 trading activities during the revolution, 267
Indonesië Vrij, 79
Indonesisch Vereniging
 change of name to Perhimpoenan Indonesia, 34, 36
Indonesische Overpeinzingen, 45
Indramayu, 102
 resistance against Japanese, 105
infant mortality
 decrease in, 431
inflation
 double digit, 303
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, xi
Insulinde, 5, 6
integration
 problems of, 550–67
integration of state
 emphasis by Sukarno, 242
integrity of state, 466
intelligentsia
 urban Javanese, 14
Inter-Asian Relations Conference, 186
inter-ethnic cultural understanding
 promotion of, 436
Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), 355
Inter-Indonesian Conference, 138, 189
internal proletariats, 101, 495
International Monetary Fund
 agreement with Indonesia, 510
International Olympic Committee, 319
Investigating Body for the Preparations of the Independence of Indonesia, 114
IPKI
 formation of, 337
Irian Jaya, 482, 562, 563, 564
 development strategy criticized, 484
 mass demonstrations, 564
irrigation networks
 Java, 192
Iskandar Muda, Sultan, 71
Islam, 284
 depolitization of, 400
 ideologization of, 64
 Japanese policy towards, 108
 religion of majority, 219
 sociological claims of, 65
 spread of, 60, 61
Islam-Christian dialogue (1967), 402
Islamic Bank
 establishment of, 405
Islamic court
 need for, 405
Islamic Democratic party, 366
 efforts to re-establish, 421
Islamic ethnic communities, 219
Islamic ideologues, 65
Islamic ideology, 74

- Islamic journals
 Jawi, use of, 13
 Islamic Law
 codification of, 405
 Islamic modernism
 Masyumi, 218
 Islamic modernist schools, 99
 Islamic newspaper
 Republika, 411
 Islam policy
 Hurgronje, C. Snouck, 171
 Islamic political groups
 Soeharto's mission to frustrate
 political comeback of, 367
 Islamic political parties
 weakening of, 400
 Islamic rejuvenation
 spirit of, 399
 Islamic resurgence
 worldwide phenomena, 409
 Islamic voluntary corp
 setting up, 112
 Ismail Marzuki, 155
 Ismail Suko, 424
- J**
 Jakarta Charter, 175, 287
 draft of Constitution, 119
 seven magic words, 287, 384
 Jakarta, hosting of Asian Games, 301
 Jambi, 92
 Jambi experience, 167
 Japanese
 resistance against, 105
 success in erasing *mission civilisatrice*
 image of European, 106
 Japanese calendar
 introduction of, 171
 Japanese *kempeitei*, 158
 Japanese military
 cooperation of Sukarno and Hatta, 173
 policy of Japanization, 106
- Japanese Occupation, 103–13
 auxillary corps, 111
 Badan Persatuan Islam, 109
 comfort women, 104
 end of discriminatory school system,
 111
 establishment of Tyuuoo Sangi-In,
 108
 forced labour, 104
 forced rice deliveries, 105
 impact of policies on peasantry, 170
 Islam policy, 108
 Japanization, policy of, 106
kempeitei, 158
 Kyodo Giyu Gun, 111
latihan ulama, 109
 Military Commander of Java, 112
 mobilization of work force, 105
 national language, issue of, 110
 national language as language of
 science, 110
 neighbourhood association,
 establishment of, 107
 PETA battalion, 106
 policy towards Islam, 108
 restructuring of administrative
 system, 107
 role of rural *kyai* or *ulama*, 108, 109
 Seinendan, 111
 short account of, 84
 social mobilization, 107
 socialization of ideology, 107
 starvation during, 105
 Tentara Sukarela Pembela Tanah Air
 (PETA) (Voluntary Armed
 Defenders of the Fatherland), 111
 Tonari-Gumi, 107
 total war structure, creation of, 105
 Triple A Movement, 108
 Tyuuoo Sangi-In (Central Advisory
 Council), 108

- ulama brought to mainstream of national politics, 108
youth corps, 172
- Japanese troops
 landing on coasts of Indonesia, 102
- Jassin, Col., 236
- Java, 130
 irrigation networks, 192
 peasant oppositions, 91
- Javanese language
 speech levels, 14, 16
- Javanese nationalism, 16, 27
- Javanese society
 divisions in, 8
- Javanese speech levels, 73
- Jawa Dipa, 19
 cultural movement, 14
 end of, 16
 promotion of *ngoko*, 15
- Jawah community, 63
- Jawi
 use of, 13
- Jayapura, 477
- jiwa budak* (slave mentality), 38
- Johor Riau empire
 Raja Muda of, 62
- Jones, Howard, 334
- Jong Batak, 34
- Jong Islamieten Bond, 47
- Jong Java, 14, 34, 40, 46
 congress in Bandung, 14
- Jong Sumatra, 47
- Jong Sumatranen Bond, 6, 34, 145, 162,
 166
- journalist associations
 establishment of, 536
- Judicial Review
 establishment of, 545
- June 25 affair, 299
- JW Marriott
 bombing of, 547
- K**
- Kabinet Karya (Working Cabinet), 281
- Kahin, 269
- Kakuei Tanaka
 visit to Indonesia, 375
- Kalimantan
 communal violence, 551
- Karim Amrullah, Syekh Dr A., 63, 109
- Kartini, R.A., 15
- Kartosoewirjo, S.M., 254
- Kartosuwirjo, 300
 capture of, 300
 leader of Darul Islam, 230
- Kartodikromo, Marco, 21, 75
- kaum kuno* (conservative group), 8
- kaum muda* (Young Group), 8
 group in Sumatra, 30
 leader of, 71
- kaum muda ulama* (Islamic reformists), 56
- kaum pergerakan*, 45, 46
- kaum tua* (old group), 8
- Kawilarang, Col., 229
- Keluarga Gerilya*, 155
- kemajuan
 notion of, 17
- Kemal Idris
 memoir, 416
- Kennedy, John F., 312
- keprabadian bangsa*, 285
- keprabadian nasional* (national personality), *see* national personality
- Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa (KAMI)
(Indonesian Students Action Front), 356–57, 376

- Kesatuan Gerilya Sulawesi Selatan (KGSS), 228
- Khalifat Congress
Mekka, 63
- Khruschev, Nikita, 312
- Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, 113, 175
- Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 51, 99
founder of Taman Siswa, 49
new name of Soewardi
Soerjaningrat, 26
see also Soewardi Soerjaningrat
- King of Adat (Rajo Adaik), 58
- King of Religion (Raja Ibadaik), 58
- Kissinger, Henry, 491
- KKN (corruption, collusion and nepotism), ix
- KL (Koninklijk Leger), 195
- KLM
loss of Indonesian operations, 344
- KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indisch Leger), 138, 195, 225
support to Australian troops, 153
troops, 222
- KNIP, 138, 190, 308
Speaker of, 139
Working Body of, 130
- komedistiambul*, 52
- komisi istilah*, 110
- Komite Indonesia Merdeka, 477
- Komite Nasional Indonesia (KNI), 152
- Komite Pemilihan Umum (KPU)
(General Election Committee), 537
- Komite Rakyat (People's Committee), 532
- Kompas*, 376, 403
- konfrontasi*, 302, 317
intensification of politics of, 329
isolation of Indonesia, 328
- Soeharto's secret mission to end, 355
termination of, 413
- Koninklijk Leger (KL), 195
- Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indisch Leger (KNIL), *see* KNIL
- konsepsi*
opponents of, 282
- Kopkamtib (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), 367, 370, 464
Chief of Staff Soedomo, 396
- Korean War, 309
China's intervention, 309
- Kotaraja, 161
- Kotoe (Komando Tinggi Operasi Ekonomi), 304
- KPM
confiscation of ships, 344
- krama*
Javanese speech level, 16
- kramanization*, 394
- ksatria* (warrior class), 24
- Kyodo Giyu Gun, 111
- L**
- labour union
communist backed, 293
- Lakitan
dispute over, 44
- Lam Teh Agreement, 235
- Lampung, 401
- Lampung Affair, 454
- language
division into speech levels, 394
- Langkat, 238
- lasykar*, 156, 175
ulama sponsored, 152
- Lasykar AMPERA "Arief Rahman Hakim", 357

- Lasykar Jihad, 555
Layskar Muslimin Indonesia (Lasymi), 156
law on local autonomy
 end of highly centralized state, 536
Law of Revolution, 295
 Sukarno, 295
leadership
 centralization of, 300
 importance of, 328
League against Imperialism, Colonial Oppression and for National Independence, 35
Leiden-school, 97
Leimena, Dr J., 224
Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), 217
Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (LEKRA), 321, 322
lembaga swadaya masyarakat (LSM), 508
 critical of First Family's economic activities, 510
liberal democracy, 116, 249
 political instability, 354
liberal democracy period
 characterized by political squabbles, 392
Libya
 training ground for GAM freedom fighters, 473
Liem Sioe Liong
 owner of PR Indo cement Tunggal Perkasa, 500
Liga Demokrasi (Democratic League), 298
 formation of, 298
Linggajati Agreement, 131, 132, 149
literati
 forced withdrawal, 29
guardians of noble tradition, 29
Javanese, 25
local autonomy
 importance of, 269
local elections, 277
Lucas Kustarjo, 248
Luns Plan, 480
 objection of Sukarno, 481
Luwu
 raja of, 153
- M**
- M. Amien Rais, 410, 511, *see also* Amien Rais
Macapagal
 Philippines, 316
Machtstaat, 117
Madam Sun Yat Sen
 conversation with Sukarno, 327
Madiun Affair, 133, 134, 143, 150, 156, 178, 199
Madjid Ibrahim, Prof., 468
Madura, 130
 return of Madurese to, 553
Madurese, 438, 439
 communal conflict with Dayak, 551
Majapahit, 59, 60, 86, 95
goldern age of, 76
Majelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (MIPI), 217
Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat-Sementara (MPRS), 295
Majelis Rakyat Papua, 566
Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), 403
Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi), 109
Makarese
 Ambon, in, 553
Makaresse historical tradition, 61
Makassar, 63, 93

- Gowa, 60
 KNIL soldiers landing on, 153
 Malari Affair, 375
 result of, 376
 Malay Language
 Arabized, 13
 bazaar, *see* bazaar Malay
 formal acceptance, 52
 use of, 16
 Malaya, 115
 Malaysia
 agreement with Indonesia relating to
 archipelagic waters, 443
 creation of, 315
 election to Security Council, 303
 infiltration of Indonesian military
 personnel, 317
 Malino peace agreement, 556
 Manado, 93
 Manggarai
 first king, a Minangkabau, 60
 Manifes Kebudayaan (Cultural
 Manifesto), 321
Manifesto Politik (Manipol), 289
 essence of, 297
 ideology of revolution, 296
 Political Manifesto, 294
 Manipol, *see* *Manifesto Politik*, 296
 Manipol-USDEK, 300, 302, 326
 basis of, 384
 support of Nasakom, 300
 Maphilindo, 316
 Maramis, A.A., 135
 March 11 Letter of Order (*Surat
 Perintah 11 Maret*), 357
 Marhaenism, 263
 Sukarno-designed nationalist
 ideology, 420
 Marti Ahtisari, 561
 marriage law, 404
 rejection of draft by Islamic faction,
 375
 Mas Mansoer, Kyai Haji, 108
 mass demonstrations, 166
Massa Actie, 145
 influence of, 33
 Masyumi, 109, 220, 233, 269, 273
 banning of, 236
 formation of Liga Demokrasi, 298
 Islamic modernism of, 218
 Islamic modernist party, 48, 247
 number of parliamentary seats, 274
 proposal for inclusion of "escape
 clause", 244
 Mataram Dynasty, 23
 Mataram kingdom, 61, 62
 Matu Mona
 Pacar Merah, 164
 May 1998 riots, 529
 Mead, Margaret, 205
 Medan, 93, 163
Medan Prijaji, 9
 medical schools, 432
 Megawati Sukarnoputri, viii, 457, 460,
 461
 defeat in Presidential elections, 539
 drafting of National Education Law,
 543
 loss in 2004 elections, 546
 passing of new laws, 543
 Presidency, 542, 543
 suit against Minister of Internal
 Affairs, 462
 supporters attacked by government
 forces, 462
 Vice-President, as, 539
 Melanesian Christianity
 cultural notion of, 486
 Melanesian identity, 563
 Merauke, 477

- Merdeka Palace, 184, 341
M.H. Thamrim, 102
MIAI (Majlisul Islamil A'laa Indonesia), 109
middle way
concept of, 346
migration
spontaneous, *see* spontaneous migration
military
concept of *dwifungsi*, 346
concept of the middle way, 346
Military Commander of Java
Japanese Occupation, 112
military matters, 246
MULO, 98
Minahasan
Christian, 223
Minahasaraad, 77, 96
Minangkabau
economic and social change of, 93
Padri War, 69
traditional political system, 71
uprisings in, 91
Minangkabau world, 5
Soetan's revival of past glory of, 11, 12
Minang Saiyo, 254
Minimum Programme, 147, 164
Minister of Defence

- exchange of opinions with Sukarno, 82
- opponent of konsepsi, 282
- Mohammad Roem, 137, 139, 188, 427
- Mohammad Yamin, 174, 175, 302
- chair of National Planning Council, 302
- Moluccas, 223
- Mongisidi, Wolter, 223
- Monitor* case, 403
- monodualistic* nature
- Soeharto's theory of human beings, 387
- monuments, 2
- mortality rates
- mothers in childbirth, 430
- mosque youths, 406
- Movement of the Indonesian People,
see Gerindo
- MPR
- deliberations on revisions to Constitution, 544
 - Mandate holder of, 296
- MPRS
- election of Soeharto as President, 371
- mufakat*
- importance of, 382
- Muhammad "Bob" Hassan, 499
- owership of percentage of shares in Nusumba, 500
- Muhammad Natsir
- formation of Dewan Dakwah Indonesia, 402
- Muhammad Hasan di Tiro, 471
- Muhammad Rasyid, 136
- Muhammad Yamin, background, 3
- Muhammadiyah, 20, 57, 62, 164, 366
- abstention from practical politics, 402
 - establishment of, 13
- issue of Presidential succession, discussion on, 511, 512
- leader of, 113
- spread of, 20
- Muhammadiyah schools, 49
- Mujahiddin, 152
- Mukti Ali, Prof., 407
- appointment based purely on personal capacity, 427
- Multatuli, 104
- multi-complex revolution, 144
- mutli-ethnic nation-state
- re-examination of, 570
- Murba Party, 179, 312
- Munawir Syadzali, 404
- municipality councils, 96
- Muslims
- central Sumatra, 290
 - historical claims of, 65
- Muso, 150
- musyawarah*, 37, 284
- emphasis on, 284
 - importance of, 382
- Musyawarah Besar Papua (Papuan mass consultation), 565
- Mutual Help People's House of Representatives (DPR-GR)
- member's reaction to Sukarno's Independence Day address, 360
- Mutual Security Act, 209, 245, 309
- N**
- Naar de Republiek Indonesie*, 32
- Nabire, 560
- Naga Bonar*, 181
- Nagarakertagama*, 59
- Nagasaki, 122
- Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (Awakening of the Ulama), 20, 238, 320

- abandonment of politics, 453
traditionalist Islamic party, 273
withdrawal from politics, 402
- Nangroe Aceh Darussalam, 559
Nasakom (Nasionalis, Agama, Komunis), 299, 300, 319, 383
principle of, 306
support of Manipol-USDEK, 300
nasionalisme ke-Rakyatan (popular nationalism), 42
- Nasution, 341
alliance with Sukarno, 290
Minister of Defence, 288
political ostracization, 422
political weakening of, 301
position weakened, 320
as Speaker of MPRS, 420
visit to United States, 286
- Nasution, Gen., 226, 234, 247, 370
alliance with Sukarno, 290
co-founder of IPKI, 248
Minister of Defence, as, 288
Sejarah Perang Kemerdekaan Indonesia, 417
urging Sukarno to change system, 251
weakening of position, 301
- nation-building
development from a wider meaning, 392
dynamics of, 429–47
- nation formation
beginning of story of, 4
- nation-state
designing of, 113–22
whether federal or unitary, 118
- National Awakening Day, 18, 94, 440
- national budget
allocation for education, 432
- National Congress of Education, 25, 49
National Congress of Sciences, 217
National Commission for Human Rights (1993), 446
investigation into past abuses in Aceh, 557
national community, 66–69
National Council, 281, 284
legitimacy of, 335
- National Development Planning Agency, 497
National Education Law, 543
National Front, 292
national government, 225
national heroes, 210
national history, 206, 210
national identity, 279–90
national integration, 437
maintenance of, 466
national language, 189, 210
issue of, 110
development of, 434
first attempt to make it language of science, 110
Malay language, 52
national personality (*kepribadian nasional*), 3, 272
notion of, 350
- National Planning Agency, 288
National Planning Council, 302
National Reserve Corps, 226
national revolution, 249
nationalist movement, 241
national unity
cornerstone of Sukarno's political thinking, 41
Sukarno's concern, 43
theme of Hatta's writings, 35
- nationalism
consolidation phase, 46

- cornerstone of Sukarno's political thinking, 41
- different versions of, 219
- narrow, 116
- zenith of, 201
- nationalist movement
 - history of, 139
 - nationalist movement (1930s), 82
 - nationalization
 - impact of, 344
 - nationalized Dutch enterprises
 - operation by military officers, 503
 - Natsir, 44, 334, *see also* Mohammad Natsir
 - Nawaksara, 360
 - Neerlando*-centred history, 207
 - Nefos, 303, 326
 - Negara Bagian Aceh (NBA), 234
 - negara boneka*, 187
 - Negara Indonesia Timur (NIT), 131, 154, 184
 - Negara Islam Indonesia (NII), 199, 230, 233, 291
 - negara kekeluargaan
 - notion of, 498
 - negara keluarga
 - transformation into, 498
 - negara kekuasaan, 117
 - negara pengurus, 117
 - Negara Sumatra Timur (State of East Sumatra), 165, 193, 194, 222
 - Nehru, Pandit Jawarharlal, 186, 310
 - neo-colonialism and imperialism (Nekolim), 318
 - Netherland Indies, x, 98
 - Netherlands
 - liberation of, 22
 - Netherlands-Indonesia
 - end of, 291
 - New Emerging Forces, 314, 316
 - New Order
 - birth of, 353
 - citizenship, issue of, 395
 - commitment to 1945 Constitution, 374, 391
 - commitment to Pancasila, 391
 - containing emergence of divergent Islamic orientations, 409
 - crisis of legitimacy, 510
 - depolitization of Islam, policy of, 403
 - hostility towards political Islam, 368
 - inability to comprehend
 - inseparability of global economy, 527
 - morning religious sermons on radio, 400
 - objective of regime, 354
 - Pancasila Democracy, 389
 - practice of bersih diri dan bersih linkungan, 450
 - regime awareness of goal of nation-building, 439
 - slow downturn drift of regime after 1995, 507
 - solution to conflicts, 451
 - transformation into crisis of mutual distrust, 517
 - trilogy of development, 356
 - world of consensus, sustenance of, 393
 - New Order government
 - military dominated, 372
 - new political alignment
 - emergence of, 397–411
 - New York Agreement, 481
 - newspapers
 - commercialized, 67
 - newsweeklies, 411

- ngoko*
Javanese speech level, 14, 15
- Nine Saints (*Wali Sanga*), 60
- niyah*, 452
- Non-Aligned Conference
Second, 317
- Non-Aligned Movement, 445
participation in, 444
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 508, 509
- non-*pribumi*
economic progress, 497
- North Maluku
formation of, 548
- North Sulawesi
Permesta rebellion, 345
problem of smuggling, 250
- North Sumatra
problem of smuggling, 250
- Notosoeroto, 49
- NU
formation of Liga Demokrasi, 298
- Nusamba
ownership by Soeharto's yayasan, 500
- Nyoto, 305
- O**
- October 17 Affair, 246, 337, 341, 342, 345, 416
aftermath of, 247
climax of complex problem, 253
internal military coup, 417
result of, 343
- Oldefos, 303
- Old Batavia
prototype of colonial town, 87
- Old Established Forces (Oldefos), 32, 303, 314, 319
control of United Nations, 318
- old group (*kaum tua*), *see kaum tua*
- oligarchy
transformation from democratic system into an, 499, 500
- Olympic Games
withdrawal of Indonesia, 301
- one-sided action
implementation of agrarian law reforms, 319, 320
- Open Proportional electoral system, 544
- Operasi Bujuk
Aceh, 474
- operasi khusus* (OPSUS), 367
- opposition
definition determined by state ideology, 396
oppositionist view, 140
- ORBIT, 411
- Orde Baru* (New Order), 325
- Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), 485
- Organization of Scientific Research, 217
- Orientalists, 399
- Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), 488
- P**
- P-4 Courses (Programme for Pancasila Comprehension and Practice), 383, 401
opposition of Islam faction in parliament, 386
- Pacar Merah*
Matu Mona, by, 164
- Pacar Merah Indonesia* (Indonesian Scarlet Pimpernel), 52
- Pacific War, 54, 100
beginning of, 53
- Padang, 5, 93

- newspapers, 5
- social history of, 70
- Padang Panjang, 103
- Padjadjaran University, 323
- Padri War, 69, 262
- Palapa, 436
- Palar, L.N., 101
- pan-Islamism, 63
- Pancasila, 284, 378
 - affirmation of, 288
 - birth of, 114, 119
 - definition of human nature, 388
 - five principles of, 283
 - Sukarno's lecture on, 313
 - transforming state into a greedy state, 397
 - understanding of, 384
- Pancasila Democracy, 388
 - New Order, during, 389
 - reflection of identity of nation, 390
- Pancasila personality
 - objective of national education, 378
- Pancasila society, 385
 - socialistic-religious society, 386
- Pangeran Antasari, 65
- Panglima Polem, 89
- Panitia Sembilan, 174
- Papare, Silas, 522
- Papua
 - Christianization, 486
 - heavy-handed treatment by central government, 487
- Papua Barat, 480
- Papuans
 - plight of, 485
- Parang Kamang, 90
- Parang Mangopoh, 90
- parliamentary democracy, 241–51
- Parmusi
 - victim of OPSUS operations, 422
- Partai Amanat Nasional, 538
- Partai Indonesia Merdeka (PIM), 223
- Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (PKB), 539
- Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) (Justice and Prosperity Party), 546
- Partai Kemerdekaan Indonesia Irian (PKII), 478
- Partai Nasional (PARNA), 479
- political system
 - loss of, 11
- Padri War, 5
- Pancasila
 - Sukarno's proposal of, 42
- Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (PPKI) (Preparatory Committee for the Independence of Indonesia), 1, 121
- Panitia Sembilan (Commission of Nine), 119
- Parindra, 102
- Parmusi
 - modernist Islamic party, 402
- Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI), 373
- Partai Indonesia (Partindo), 38, 81
- Partai Indonesian Raja (Parindra), 48, 68
- Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), 21
 - radicalization of, 57
- Partai Muslimin Indonesia (PMI), 366
- Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), 373
- Partai Republik Indonesia (PRI), 168
- Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII), 48, 51
- Partai Sosialis Indonesia, 133
- participation
 - definition determined by state ideology, 396
- Partindo, 44

- Pasai, 61
Islamic kingdom in Northern Sumatra, 59
role of, 59
Pasundan, 195
patriotic voluntary associations, 158
Pearl Harbour
Japan's attack on, 53
PBKI (Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association), 430
PDI
accused of instigating riots, 463
attraction of, 458
change in political posture, 457
re-election of Suryadi, 460
requests relating to elections (1993), 459
special congress held in Jakarta, 460
PDI Perjuangan (PDI-P), 463
biggest party in 1999 elections, 463
loss in elections, 546
Pedoman, 293, 356, 376
confiscation of printing house, 293
Pekalongan, 528
Pekan Olahraga Nasional III
Medan, 233
Pelajar Islam Indonesia (PII)
(Indonesian Islamic Students), 454
Pemalang, 158
pembangunan, 156
Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (PRRI), 282
Pemoeda Sumatra, 34, 46
pemuda
Ambon politics, 224
radical, 154, 162, 163
radical youth, 123
urban, 223
Pemuda Indonesia, (PPI), 478
Penempatan Tenaga Mahasiswa, 215
Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (New PNI), 38, 44
People's Consultative Assembly (MPR)
election of Soeharto, 372
single majority of GOLKAR, 371
People's Republic of China
agreement with Indonesia regarding citizenship of Indonesian Chinese, 344
agreement with Indonesia relating to Indonesian-born Chinese, 255
birth of, 255
change in belligerent posture, 309
policy of peaceful coexistence, 256
Sukarno's visit to, 312
People's University, 211
peranakan, 255
Perdjoeangan Kita, 140, 165
Pergerakan, 329
dominance in political and cultural discourses, 29
history of, 104
leaders, 65
leaders, 30, 31
pergerakan nasional (nationalist movement), 241
Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI)
(Indonesian Association), 31, 33, 46, 80, 117
Perhimpunan Kebaktian Rakyat, 107
movement for communal services
during Japanese Occupation, 107
Peristiwa Tiga Daerah, 158
Permest rebellion, end of, 300
Permesta
challenges posed by, 327
Permesta officers
degeneration into *gerombolan*, 291

- Permesta rebellion, 235, 300, 345
 Permi, 56, 84
 Persatoean Indonesia, 48
 Persatoean Kaoem Moeda (Association of the Young Group), 8
 Persatoean Muslimin Indonesia (Permi), 39, 56
 Persatuan Islam, 86
 Persatuan Perjuangan (PP), formation of, 147
 Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh (PUSA), 160
 Perserikatan Komoenis di Hindia, 21
 Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia (PNI), 80
 Perserikatan Partai-partai Politik Indonesia, *see* PPKI
 Pertamina
 contracts given to Soeharto's children, 501
 explorations for natural gas, 468
 Pertamina fiasco, 376
 Pertja Barat, 70
 PERTI (Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah), 238
 Peryataan Keprihatinan (Statement of Concern)
 speech by Soeharto, 381
pesantren, 405
 establishment of secular faculties, 406
pesantren kilat
 quick religious instruction programmes, 406
 pesta demokrasi
 general election, 372
 PETA (Tentera Sukarela Pembela Tanah Air) (Voluntary Armed Defenders of the Fatherland), 111
 PETA battalion, 106
 Petisi, 50, 382
 Petrus
 mysterious shooter, 450
 Philippines
 SEATO, as member of, 316
 Pires, Tomé, 5
 PKI, 218
 ability of members to run for elections, 545
 anti-West campaign, 317
 Central Committee of, 316
 dissolution of, 357
 local elections (1957), 277
 support of September 30th Movement, 325
 violent annihilation of, 465
Plakat Panjang, 90, 91, 167
plakat pendek, 65
 PNI
 number of parliamentary seats, 274
 number of votes, 274
 use of Marhaenism as ideological foundation, 420
 victims of OPSUS operations, 422
 PNI-led cabinet, 246
 PNI-Masyumi coalition cabinet, 346
Poedjangga Baroe, 53
 Sjahrir's contributions to, 45
 Poetoehena, J., 197
 Poetri Hindia, 9
 Polemic Kebudayaan (polemic on culture), 25, 26
 police
 reformation, 533
 political conservatism, 166
 political debates, 246
 political discussion
 restriction on, 376

- Political Federation of Indonesia, *see*
Gabungan Politik Indonesia
(GAPI), 48
- political manifest (*manifesto politik*), 336
- Political Manifesto (Manipol), 294, 295
- political nationalism, 64
- political parties, 241–51
- failure, 269
 - larger share in decision-making process, 301
 - number of, 248
 - Sukarno's view of, 243
- Political Study Group, 34
- politics of confrontation, 314
- politics of independence
- radicalization of, 30
- Poorten, Gen. Ter, 102
- Pos Kota*, 404
- Poso, 556
- PPKI, *see* Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia
- PPKI (Perserikatan Partai-partai Politik Indonesia) (Association of Indonesian Political Parties), 48
- Pramoedya Ananta Toer, 155, 262
- exile, 449
- Prawoto Manjusasmito, 323
- Prayogo Pangestu, 500
- Presidency
- times one can occupy, 511
- President
- relationship with the air force, 324
- Presidential Address
- 17 August, 294
 - Political Manifesto, 295
- Presidential Decree
- formation of political parties, 241
 - No. 2 of, 295, 1959
- Presidential Decree No. X, 128, 144
- Presidium Dewan Papua (Papuan Presidium Council), 565
- pribumi*
- economic progress, 497
 - primary health centres, 432
 - Prime Minister of RUSI, 139
 - primordialism, 220
 - print capitalism, 67, 77
 - print culture
 - commercialized, 100
- private institutions of higher learning, 433
- private schools
- spread of, 12
- priyayi*
- administrative, *see* administrative *priyayi*
 - functional, *see* functional *priyayi*
 - Javanese, 13
- Proclamation Day, 440
- celebrations, 441, 442
- Proclamation of Independence, 69, 121, 122–28, 174, 175, 287, 384
- during fasting month, 157
 - fulfillment of promises of, 349
 - monuments for, 2
 - sixth anniversary of, 258
 - views on, 68, 145
 - Yamin's view on, 3
- progressive world (*dunia maju*), *see*
dunia maju
- proportional system, 369
- Protestant party, 298
- provinces
- creation of new, 548
- Provisional Constitution (1950), 243, 244, 287, 343
- Provisional Parliament
- October 17 Affair, 341

- Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS), 292
- Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, *see* Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara (MPRS)
- challenges posed by, 327
- PRRI (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia), *see* Pemerintah Revolucioner Republik Indonesia
- PSI
- formation of Liga Demokrasi, 298
 - leader, 280
 - support for inclusion of "escape clause", 244, 245
- PSII, *see* Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia; Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia, 48
- PT Arun, 468, 470
- PT Freeport Indonesia, 488
- PT Indo cement Tunggal Prakasa
- percentage of shares owned given to Yayasan Dharmais and Yayasan Dakap, 500
- puputan*
- ceremonial death, 89
- PUSA (Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh), 160
- leader of, 238
- Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (Centre of People's Manpower), 108
- Q**
- Qahhar Muzakkar, 198, 221, 226, 227, 228, 230, 236
- political outlaw, 231
- traditional sense of honour, 229
- Qahhar Muzakkar, Buginese sense of honour, 265
- Qur'an
- contextualization of, 399
- R**
- Rachmawati Sukarnoputri, 520
- Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), 435
- radio stations
- role of, 436
- Radjiman, 173
- Radjiman Wediodiningrat, Dr, 114
- raja
- conservative, 223
- Raja Empat Islands, 475
- Rajo Alam of Minangkabau, 57, 58
- Ratu Adil Affair
- Bandung, in, 239
- Ratulangi, Dr Sam, 477
- rebels
- support from CIA, 311
- reconquista*
- Iberian Peninsula, of, 204
- Red Net Operation, 473
- Reformasi*, 510, 515
- death of students, 515
 - participation of university students, 529
 - street demonstrations, 515
- reformasi* (political reformation), viii
- regio-centric view of history, 208
- regional monetary crisis, *see* Asian financial crisis
- Reid, 164
- rejection of Hatta's worries, 117
- religion
- definition determined by state ideology, 396
- religious schools
- modernist, *see* modernist religious schools
- spread of, 12

- religious teaching
 communal character of, 385
- Renan, Ernest, 67
- Renville Agreement, 132, 133, 177, 204, 259
- Republik Indonesia Serikat (RUSI or RIS) (Republic of the United States of Indonesia), 184
- duration of, 198
- government, 191
- provisional constitution, 193
- Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS) (Republic of South Moluccas), 197, 451
- Republik Persatuan Indonesia (United Republic of Indonesia), 198, 236
- Republik Persatuan Islam Indonesia (United Islamic Republic of Indonesia), 198, 230–31
- Republika*, 411
- Residency of Pekalongan, 158
- Resink, G.J., 82, 207
- Retnodhoemilah*, 8
- revolution
 dynamics of, 151
- revolutionaries, 323
- Revolutionary Council
 formation of, 25
- revolutionary diplomacy, 312
- Riau Islands
 economic domination of Singapore, 317
- rice delivery
 forced, 105
- riots
 May 1998, 515
- Risalah*, 174
- Rodrigo de Villa*, 204
- Roeslan Abdoelgani, 281, 296
- Ronkel, Ph. S. van, 6
- Rosihan Anwar, 51
- Round Table Conference (RTC), 137, 138, 189, 342
- abrogation of agreement, 344
- inclusion of West Irian, 301
- RTC agreement, 138
- Royal Decree (16 November 1938), 54
- Rudini, 537
- Rudini, Gen (Ret.), 426
- Rukun Tetangga (Neighbourhood Association)
- Japanese Occupation, during, 107
- Rumkoren
 proclamation of independence of Papua, 484
- rupiah
 loss in confidence in, 415
- RUSI, *see* Republik Indonesia Serikat
- Ruslan Abdulgani, 176
- Russel, Bertrand, 313
- Russian Revolution, 32
- rust en orde* (calm and orderly), 100
- politics of, 45
- Rustam Sutan Palindih, 96
- S**
- S. Nishima, 113
- S. Takdir Alisjahbana, 110
- Sabilillah, 156
- Salah Asuhan*, 263
- Salman mosque, 406
- Sam Ratulangi, Dr, 96, 153
- Samandhoedi, H., 10
- Samba
 communal conflict in, 552
- Sampit
 massacre of Madurese, 552
- Sanskrit terms
 use of, 394
- Santa Cruz tragedy, 446, 493

- santri*, 157
- santri*, religious students, 157
- santrinization*
 - deepening of Islamic influences, 398
- Sarekat Adat Alam Minangkabau
 - (Adat Association of the Minangkabau World), 11
- Sarekat Dagang Islamiyah (Islamic Trading Association), 9
- Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), 10, 16, 19
 - Central Committee of, 72
 - early history of, 74
 - issue of native militia during First World War, 24
 - Semarang branch, 19, 21, 32
 - Sukarno as member, 40
 - use of new media, 30
- Sarekat Rakyat, 21, 32
- Sarekat Sumatra, 48, 82
- SARS
 - effect on Indonesian economy, 542
- Sartre, 205
- Sartono, 299
- Sarwo Edhie, Colonel, 449
- Satelindo, 501
- satellite communications, 436
- Sayuti Melik, 322
- schakel*, 98
- Schiller, 307
- schools
 - private, *see* private schools
 - religious, *see* religious schools
 - secular, *see* secular schools
- scientific terms
 - translation into Indonesian, 110
- scorched-earth policy, 103
- Second Army Seminar of, 1966, 348
- Second World War, 201
 - beginning of, 53
- secular schools, 405
 - spread of, 12
- Security Council, 187
 - censure of Indonesia, 318
 - Committee of Good Offices, 132
 - Resolution (January 1949), 188
 - urging for end of hostilities, 136
- Seinendan, 111
 - youth corps, 172
- Sekber Golkar
 - transformation of, 370
- Sekolah Raja, 31
- self-censorship
 - Pancasila press, 382
- Semarang, 93, 99
- Seminar of National History, 208
- Semaoen
 - former leader of SI Semarang branch, 33
- separatist movement, 197, 224
- September 11
 - effect on Indonesia, 542
- September 30 affair, 448
 - punishment for communists (PKI), 449
- September 30th Movement, 325
- Serui, 477
- Seulawah, 265
- Sewaka, 195
- Shuhada Mosque, 400
- Si Singamangaraja XII, 167
- Siasat*, 200
- Sidik Djojosukarto, 267
- Sigit Soeharto, 506
- Silas Papare, 478
- Siliwangi, 133
- Siliwangi Division, 204
- Silungkang, 92
 - communist rebellions, 33
- Simatupang, T.B., 34, 137, 196, 341

- Singapore
 economic and fiscal domination, 317
- Sino-Indonesian conglomerates
 control of large percentage of economy, 498
 role of, 504
- Sino-Indonesian Dual Nationality
 Treaty, 256
- Sipadan
 dispute over, 444
- sistem kekeluargaan, 395
- sistem kekeluargaan (family system)
 manifest of Pancasila worldview, 388
- Sitor Situmorang, 167
- Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, 425, 499
- Sjafruddin, 137, 236
- Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, 134, 216, 232
 opponent of *konsepsi*, 282
- Sjahrir
 Hatta's friend, 102
 LinggaJati Agreement, 149
- Sjawa Hookoo Kai, 107
- smuggling
 problem created by local commanders, 250
- social changes
 economic growth, result of, 496
- social mobilization
 impact during Japanese Occupation, 107
- social revolution, 161, 194, 199, 221
 East Sumatra, 165
- Social Science Foundation, 521
- social structural changes
 resulting in, 496
- Socialist Party (PSI), 273
- socialist society
 creation of a, 302
- socialization of ideology
 Japanese Occupation, during, 107
 impact of Japanese Occupation, 107
- socio-democracy
 Sukarno's views on, 42
- socio-nationalism
 Sukarno's view on, 42
- Soebadio Sastrosatomo, 323
- Soedarmomo
 election as Vice-President, 409
- Soedjatmoko, 280
- Soedomo, Admiral (Ret.), 464
- Soeharto
 announcemnt of government's twin duties, 364
 appointment of state minister to deal with population problems, 430
 calls to be put on trial, 534
 children's business activities, 501, 502
 course of democracy should be programme oriented, belief that, 392
 election as Chief Executive, 365
 election as President by MPRS, 371
 ending *konfrontasi*, 325
 emphasis on *musyawarah* and *mufakat*, 382
 emphasis that Pancasila an open ideology, 404
 fall of, 415
 formation of foundation to foster Islamic propogation, 405
 frustrating possibility of re-emergence of Islamic political groups, 367
 Independence Day speech, 363, 364
 installation as Acting President, 362
 lowest point of political legitimacy, 376
 monodualistic nature of human beings, 385

- personal assistants, reliance on, 367
 request for Sukarno to step down, 361
 success in centralizing power, 413
 support for re-nomination from ulama, 512
 speech at opening of General Meeting of the Commanders of the Armed Forces, 381
 state address of, 388, 1978
 Soeharto's relatives
 economic dealings of, 377
 Soeharto's yayasan
 strategic role of, 525
 Soekiman Wirjosandjojo, 34
 Soemitro, General, 375
 Soemitro, Gen. (Ret.)
 Malari Affairs, on, 423
 Soemitro Djojohadikusumo, 282
 Soetatmo, 25
 ideas counted by Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, 27
 Soetomo, 73
 Soewardi Soerjaningrat, 23, 26, 49
 change of name, 26, 49
 Sorong, 477
 Sosrokartono, 78
 Soumokil, Dr Mr., 197
 Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), 316
 Special Autonomy of Papua, 566
 Special Military Court, 449
 special paratroopers (RPKAD), 449
 special regions, 185, 194
 speech levels
 Javanese language, 13
 spoken language, 434
 spontaneous migration
 social and economic discrepancies, cause of, 494
 Spoor, Gen., 135
 Sri Paku Alam VIII, 422
 Sriwijaya, 95, 207
 starvation
 Japanese Occupation, during, 105
 State Islamic Institute (IAIN), 432
 state nationalism, 290
 State of Pasundan, 186, 195
 state universities
 province, in every, 432
 STOVIA
 Malay as official language, 16
 medical students of, 90
 Strait of Malaka, 209
 student activists
 critical of First Family's economic ventures, 510
 struggle for independence
 diplomacy in, 2
 student organizations, 67
 students
 P-4 courses, 401
 study group of constitutional consciousness, 382
 Subandrio, 361
 Foreign Minister, 315
 Sudharmono, 385, 424
 Sudirman, Gen., 135, 137
 Commander of Armed Forces, 149
 revolutionary Commander of the Armed Forces, 346
sudra (peasantry), 24
 Sukabumi
 Hatta and Sjahrir transferred to, 44
 Sukarni
 follower of Tan Malaka, 175
 Sukarno, ix, 44
 arrest of, 43, 150
 attack on colonialism, 311
 background, 40, 41

- backing of marine and police, 422
Banda Neira, 44
biography, 80
blemished image, 362
clemency by Governor General, 44
confinement to Bogor Palace, 363
conversation with Madam Sun, 327
cornerstones of political thinking, 41
death of, 331
defence speech, 179
dialogue with Tgk Daud Buereueh,
 266
displeasure with Luns Plan, 481
dissolution of Provisional
 Parliament, 341
division of world into Nefos and
 Oldefos, 303
emphasis on cadre formation, 39
emphasis on national unity, 242
eulogizing revolution, 3
exchange of opinions with Natsir, 82
exiled to Flores and Bengkulu, 44
formation of cabinet on basis of
 three programmes, 288
Great Leader of the Revolution, 292
historical trilogy, 43
Independence Address (1962), 312
Independence Day speech, 281
Independence Day Address of, 296,
 1960, 360
influential leader, as an, 288
introduction of state recognition of a
 hero, 420
kONSEPSI, 282
Law of Revolution, 295
lecture on Pancasila, 313
Legge's comments, 332
member of Jong Java, 14
Mentjapai Indonesia Merdeka speech,
 272
Mouthpiece of the People, 330
national unity, concern about, 43
notion of continuing revolution, 354
objection against formation of
 Malaysia, 315
officially opening Third National
 Sports Week, 233
Pancasila, 41
pilgrimage to Mekka, 247
Political Manifesto, 295
political rhetoric, 43
President for Life, proposal for, 305
process of impeachment of, 421
proclamation of independence, 121
recognition of Abdoel Moeis as
 national hero, 210
speech before UN General Assembly,
 313
speech at Heidelberg, 306
symbol of national unity, 183
transfer of power to Soeharto, 362
tridharma, 271
usage of *ngoko*, 14
view of world forces, 314
view on the formation of Malaysia, 317
views on political parties, 220, 243
visit to Germany and Europe, 306
visit to People's Republic of China, 312
visit to United States, 306
visits to U.S. and Europe, 306, 307
voluntary stepping-down of, 361
West Irian, issue of, 312
world leader, 313
world of conflict, 393
Sukarno-Hatta
 leadership, 278
Sukawati, 196, 223, 224
Sukiman, 230
 second cabinet of, 245
Sukmawati Sukanorputri, 520

- Sulawesi, 93, 223
 Sultan Abdul Hamid II, 195, 261
 Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, 282, 341,
 359
 plan to assassinate, 196
 Sultan of Riau, 163
 Sultan of Yogyakarta, 128, 177, 369
 Sultanate of Aceh, 71
 Sultanate of Banjarmasin, 60, 65
 Sultanate of Deli, 163
 Sultanate of Demak, 60
 Sultanate of Ternate, 60, 63
 Sultanate of Tidore, 76
 Sumatra, 130
 Sumatra, Governor, 103
 Sumatra Thawalib, 56, 57
 Sumatranen Bond, 46
 Sumbawa, 60
Sumpah Pemuda, 47
 Sumual, Ventje, 278
 demand for full regional autonomy
 for East Indonesia, 278
 Sunan Giri, 60
 Sunda Islands, 223
 Sunda Kecil, 120
Supersemar, 357, 369, 420, 441
 ownership of Bank Duta, 500
 Supomo, 115, 116, 389
 Hegelian political philosophy, 389
 Supomo, Prof., 213
 Supratman, W.R., 47
 Supreme Advisory Council, 289, 294
 chaired by President, 294
 formation of, 288
 Supreme Court, 333
 Supriyadi, 106
 leader of rebel PETA battallion, 106
 Surabaya, 93
 British attack on, 130
 colonial period, during, 73
Surat Kepercayaan, 200, 201, 202, 210,
 213, 217
Surat Kepercayaan Gelanggang, 321
 Suryadi, 457, 459, 461, 462
 Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, viii, 546
 Sutradjo Petition (1938), 54
 Sutan Sjahrir, 44, 50, 129, 140, 141, 142,
 162, 165, 188
 hierarchy of revolutionary goals, 142
 neo-capitalism or socialism, 143
 Suwardi Suryaningrat, 75
 Syahkuala University, 468
 Syamaun Gaharu, 234
 Syekh Abdur Rauf al-Singkili, 61
 Syekh Dr A. Karim Amrullah, 109
 Syekh Thaher Jalaluddin, 12
 Syekh Buhanuddin, 61
 Syekh Ismail al-Banjari, 62
 Syekh Nuruddin Arraniri
 Aceh, of, 62
- T**
- T. Nyak Arief, 161, 180
Tajus-salatin, 62, 85
 Takdir Alisjahbana, S., 49, 50, 53, 110,
 203
 Taman Mini Indonesia, 377
Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, 500, 501
 Taman Siswa, 49
 schools, 99
 Tan Malaka, 31, 52, 77, 78, 92, 99, 142,
 146, 150, 162, 165, 179, 284
 background, 31
 career as international communist,
 32
 death of, 151
 exile in Bangkok, 168
 formation of Persatuan Perjuangan
 (PP), 147
Gerpolek, 148

- influence of Egyptian Islamic modernist ideas, 31
- Marxist ideas of, 162
- Massa Actie*, 145
- meeting with Sukarno and Hatta, 145
- Netherlands, in, 32
- praise by Hamka, 78
- tanah air
 - meaning of, 442
 - poetic notion of, 115
- Tanah Karo, 238
- Tanah Merah, 98, 476
- Tanjung Morawa affair, 246
- Tanjung Priok, 401
- Tanjung Priok Affair, 454, 455, 456
- tarekat*, 91
- tarekat Shattariah*, 90
- tariqah*, 91
- Tasikmalaya, 105
 - resistence against Japanese, 105
- Teacher's Training Institute (IKIP), 432
- technocrats
 - declining role, 505
- Tegal, 158
- telephone culture
 - blooming of, 394
- television
 - availability, 435
- Tempo*, 411, 414, 507
 - banning of, 413
- Tengku Mansyur, 165
- Tenno Haika, 109
 - worship of, 109
- Tentera Nasional Indonesia (TNI), 2
- Tentara Pelajar* (student army), 156
- tentara pelajar (student soldiers), 210
- Tentara Perjuangan Rakyat (TPR), 160
- Tentera Sukarela Pembela Tanah Air (Voluntary Armed Defenders of the Fatherland (PETA)), 111
- Terauchi, Field Marshal, 104
- Ternate, 60, 446
- terrorists
 - bombing activities, 546, 547
- Teuku Nyak Arief, 152, 159
- Teuku Umar Johan Pahlawan, 522
- Teungku Cik di Tiro, 151, 152, 522
- Teungku Daud Beureueh, 136, 151, 161, 237
- Tgk Daud Beureueh, 227, 233, 235, 237
 - cessation of rebellion against central government, 467
 - confirmation as Governor of Aceh, 232
- Thamrin, M.H., 48, 55, 97, 102, 170
- Theys Hiyo Eluay
 - arrest of, 566
- Three Nations Commission, 132
- Three Regions Affair, 199
 - see also Peristiwa Tiga Daerah*
- Timor, 115
- Tirto Adhi Soerjo, R.M., 9, 19, 74
- Tjarda van Starkenhorgh-Stachouwer, 102
- Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, 23, 74, 75
 - fear for Sukarno's fate, 40
 - opposed to Soetatmo's ideas, 27
- Tjokroaminoto, H.O.S., 10, 14, 20, 40, 74, 75, 77
- TNI, *see* Tentara Nasional Indonesia
- Toba, 185
- Toli-Toli, 92
- Tonari-Gumi, 107
 - introduction, 107
- trade
 - greater role of, 497
- trade unions
 - leftist, 311
- traditional communities, 221
- traditionalist Islamic party
 - fighting alongside Masyumi, 279

- transfer of sovereignty, 190, 225
 from Japanese to Indonesia, 122
- transmigration
 Papuan experience, 487
 transmigration programme, 437
- Tri Koro Darmo, 40, 46
tridharma, 271
trikora, 481
- Triple A Movement, 108
- tsunami disaster, 560
 result of, 561
- Tuanku Abdul Rahman, 315, 316
- Tuanku Imam Bonjol, 5, 206, 262
- Tuanku Mahmud, 152
Tufhat an-Nafis, 62
- Tyuuoo Sangi-In (Central Advisory Council), 108
- U**
- UDT (União Democrática Timorense), 490
ulama-uluebalang, 266
ulebalang, 152, 159
- Umar Wirahadikusumah, 425
- underground groups, 172
- unitarism, 194
- unitarist movement, 193, 195
- United Nations
 Commission of Good Offices, 308
 Sukarno's plan to replace, 318
 withdrawal of Indonesian membership, 303
 withdrawal of Indonesia from, 303
- United Nations General Council
 Sukarno's speech before, 313
- United States
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 311
 Sukarno's visit to, 306
- unity
 importance of, 328
- universal humanism, 322
- Universitas Islam Indonesia, 214
 Universitas Nasional, 215
 Universiteit van Indonesië, 212
 universities
 national selection procedure for applicants, 432
- university campuses
 domestication programme, 509
 places of worship for Friday prayers, 400
- university graduates
 number of, 251
 percentage from madrasahs, 406
- University of Andalas, 214
- University of Indonesia (UI), 212, 375
- University of Jember, 324
- university students
 protests in Jakarta and Bandung, 376
- Untung, Lieutenant Colonel, 325, 448
- Universiteit Negeri Gadjah Mada, 212
- urban centres
 enlargement of, 497
- USDEK, 297
- Utrecht-school, 97
- V**
- van Leur, 95, 206
 van Mook, H.J., 131, 198
 divide and rule policy, 194
 van Roijen-Roem Statement, 189
 van Starkenough-Stachouwer, Tjarda, 102
 Vasco da Gama, 307
 Ventje Sumual, 278
vervolgshool, 97
 Vietminh, 329
 Vietnam, Dalat, 104
- village
 definition, 380
 village administration law (1979), 380, 395

- transgression of 1945 Constitution, 380
- village community
loss of self-defence mechanism, 381
- village democracy, 270
- Visman Report, 102
- VOC, *see* Dutch East India Company
- Volksraad, 27, 37
official opening, 28
- volksschool, 97, 98
- volksvertegenwoordiging* (representative of the people), 24
- Vorstendlanden*, royal territories, 10
- W**
- Wahidin Soedirohoesodo, 8
- Wang Gungwu, Prof., xi
- Wanggai, Thomas, 485
- Wajo, 90
- Wali Negara, 195
- Wali Sanga (Nine Saints), 60
- war of independence, 155
- warasatul anbiya*, 109
- waqaf* regulation, 405
- Wawasan Nusantara, 443, 444, 519
- West Irian, 249, 279, 326
cause of abrogation of RTC
Agreement, 344
- communist-backed labour unions, 283
- conflict, 281
- dispute, 266
- Dutch Government's planned reinforcement for, 298
- Dutch refusal to return, 189
- Dutch reinforcement of, 298
- effect of campaign on inter-party conflicts, 343
- issue of, 190, 191, 198
- Indonesia's claim to, 279
- Komite Nasional, 480
- Luns Plan, 480
- mining activities, 488
- problem of integration, 475
- process of inclusion into Indonesia, 412
- radicalization of campaign, 304
- radicalization of conflict with, 291
- settling of issue, 300
- Sukarno's demand for inclusion of, 242
- Sukarno's politics of confrontation with the Dutch, 314
- West Irian experience, 484
- West Irian Jaya, 566
- West Irian Jaya province
formation of, 548
- West Java
Darul Islam's earliest movement, 254
- West Kalimantan, 196
- West New Guinea
Papua Barat, 480
- West Papua, 115
- Westerling, 154, 195
- Western-educated intellectuals, 206
- Western liberal democracy, 328
- Wongsonegoro, 145
- Widjojo Nitisastro, 374
- Wild Schools Ordinance, 99
- Wilopo, 246, 374
- Wiranto, Gen.
promise of military backing to President Habibie, 531
- work force
mobilization of, 105
- mobilization during Japanese Occupation, 105

World Bank
classification of Indonesia, 496

Y

Yamin, 117, 173
five periods of history, 209
Indo-centric view of history, 207
Yayasan Dakap, 500
ownership of Bank Duta, 500
Yayasan Dharmais, 500
ownership of Bank Duta, 500

Yayasan Amal Bakti Muslim Pancasila
establishment of mosques, 405

Yogyakarta, 369
kota pelajar, 213
Shuhada Mosque, 400
Young Group, *see kaum muda*
Youth Congress, 46, 296, 296
Second, 47
Youth Oath, 4

Z

zenith of nationalism, 201