CONSTRUCTING THE NATIONAL PROJECT:

TOWARD DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM

IN INDONESIA

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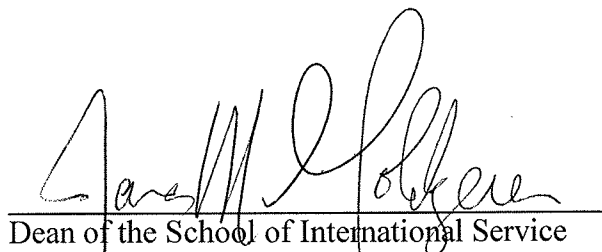
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For my courageous and loving parents, Farchan Bulkin and Jan Hostetler

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ABSTRACT

A new kind of nationalism is taking root in Indonesia: democratic nationalism, which is constructed from the bottom up instead of imposed by the state. Democratic nationalism's objective is mass voluntary contribution to the national project with the intention of engendering loyalty to the state, though not necessarily the regime. This sets it apart from top-down nationalisms that previously defined the Indonesian nation: colonial administrative nationalism, anti-colonial nationalism, and regime-sustaining nationalism. The shift to democratic nationalism was brought about by state policies of democratization and decentralization, which have dramatically increased the number of actors both within and outside the state who believe they have a stake not only in their own daily lives but in the national project. The Indonesian people have yet to answer all questions about their national identity, but as of now, popular commitment to the idea of Indonesia as well as democracy appears to be strong.

PREFACE

Turning and turning in the widening gyre

The falcon cannot hear the falconer;

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;

Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

-   William Butler Yeats, "The Second Coming"

We all have to accept reality, yes, that's true. But just to accept reality and do nothing else, that is the attitude of human beings who have lost the ability to develop and grow, because human beings also have the ability to create new realities. And if there are no longer people who want to create new realities, then perhaps the word "progress" should be removed altogether from humankind's vocabulary.

-   Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *House of Glass*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In studies of nationalism, Indonesia has attracted much scholarly attention because there appears to be nothing "natural" about its national unity: it is geographically scattered over an archipelago, and so juggles hundreds of languages and dialects, ethnic groups, and religions.[1] In other words, there was no obvious adhesive – yet a strong nationalist movement devoted to a nation called "Indonesia," speaking a language called "Indonesian," had emerged by the 1920s, before the Dutch East Indies had declared independence from the Netherlands. In *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson used the Indonesian case to formulate his influential theory of nationalism, which defines the nation as an imagined (limited and sovereign) political community: more socially-constructed than physical, modern instead of ancient, yet bound to its "deep, horizontal comradeship."[2]

The state of Indonesia has undergone significant changes since *Imagined Communities* was first published in 1982. Most significantly, Indonesia began its democratic transition in 1998 after thirty-three years of dictatorship under the Suharto regime. The 1997-1998 Asian Financial Crisis had crippled the Indonesian economy and provided an opening for democracy activists and Suharto's political opponents to protest against Suharto's legitimacy. The democratic transition was in and of itself surprising to observers; even more surprising was the fact that the upheaval of this transition neither destroyed the solidarity of the Indonesian nation, nor led to an upsurge in inclusionary nationalist policies intended to hold the nation together. State leaders did not turn to aggressive nationalism to cement their popular support or retain the

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[1] Cribb 1999, 169.

[2] Anderson 1991, 6, 7.

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hold of national unity – in fact, they scarcely imposed any form of nationalism at all. The Indonesian government wants to protect Indonesia's democratic, moderate-Muslim identity, which has given Indonesia a great deal of international credibility, but is reluctant to engage in indoctrination or even censorship.

This is not the outcome that would have been predicted by the dominant view of nationalism and conflict. Mansfield and Snyder, for example, predict that competing elites in democratizing states use "nationalist prestige strategies" to mobilize and maintain mass support, creating a militant and populist environment in which nationalist politicians must continuously up the ante on each other. Eventually, the unstable state, unconstrained by immature democratic institutions and inflamed by nationalist rhetoric, veers toward war.[3] Samuel Huntington's famous *Political Order and Changing Societies* predicts a different but related route to government collapse following mass mobilization into politics, especially in immature states: when efforts to mobilize a "unifying" nationalism fail and the state is instead torn apart by inter-ethnic civil wars.[4] This argument has lent fodder to the conservative, "Burkian" view that democracy empowers demagogues and an immature populace to make dangerous decisions – and according to some elites, perhaps it ought not to be risked at all.[5]

On top of these negative predictions, Indonesia's prospects for a stable democratization would not appear to be promising. A multipolar Indonesian democracy was not projected to be able to consolidate and institutionalize its authority – the party system was too fragmented, the economic crisis too severe. Additionally, the transition had an inauspiciously violent beginning:

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[3] Mansfield and Snyder 1995, 6.

[4] Huntington 1968, 36.

[5] Acharya 2010, 337.

mass pro-democracy protests were precipitated by the deaths of several student protesters and culminated in looting, arson, and rape. As democratization came in the wake of severe economic crisis and was immediately followed by a resurgence of secessionist movements, many feared that the "artificial" Indonesian nation would succumb to "social upheaval and widespread violence" and collapse.[6] Without authoritarian leadership holding Indonesia's peoples together, fear of separatism ran high both in Indonesia and abroad. Indonesia did lose one province (East Timor) in 1999, but the Indonesian nation has not collapsed. Instead, separatist movements in Aceh and Papua are en route to stabilization. In many other ways as well, Indonesia is stronger than ever. In the past ten years its annual GDP growth has averaged nearly 6%; its democracy has been stable and its power transitions non-violent; except for a few isolated incidents, terrorism has been contained. As Barton puts it, "Only a decade ago, the Indonesia of today would have represented a best-case scenario that would take decades, if ever, to achieve."[7]

Indonesian nationalism in the post-Suharto era has diverged sharply from the violent path that would have been predicted by pessimistic scholars of democratization and violence. Rather than appeal to exclusive ethnic, religious, or political identities, Indonesian politicians have attempted to embrace all views and identities. The masses are no longer considered too ignorant to participate in politics; neither local governments nor national Parliament are expected to uncritically accept the executive branch's policies; provinces that are dissatisfied with the way they are treated by the state are for the most part no longer punished but persuaded to stay; the military no longer has the prerogative to violate human rights under the pretense of maintaining national unity; violent revolution no longer defines the nation; alternative ideologies are allowed

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[6] Barton 2010, 473; Cribb 1999, 169.

[7] Barton 2010, 472.

to exist; nationals are no longer expected to sacrifice everything or do anything necessary for the sake of the all-encompassing nation; and no one – not Muslims nor Christians, not Javanese nor Papuans, not conservatives or leftists – is obliged to agree with the government's vision for the nation or risk retribution.

This is a relatively recent development. For decades, Indonesian nationalism did justify a great deal of violence, particularly against the populations of separatist provinces, critics of the ruling regime, and other Indonesians whose behavior was considered incompatible with the government-constructed national identity that promoted organic unity, rigid hierarchy, and unquestioning devotion to the state and the Pancasila.

A traditional approach to nationalism is insufficient for understanding why the post-Suharto Indonesian government has taken such a passive approach to the construction of a national identity. This thesis will argue that what can now be seen in Indonesia is in fact a new kind of nationalism: democratic nationalism, which is open-ended and constructed from the bottom up. Democratic nationalism's objective is mass voluntary contribution to the national project, with the assumption that free participation will engender loyalty to the state, though not necessarily the regime. This objective sets it apart from other types of nationalism that are also evident in Indonesian history – colonial administrative nationalism, anti-colonial nationalism, and regime-sustaining nationalism.

These four types of nationalism do not reflect "stages" of national development; although anti-colonial nationalism is always a response to colonial administrative nationalism, Suharto-style regime-sustaining nationalism could re-emerge at any time. This thesis will further argue that the shift from Suharto's regime-sustaining nationalism to the current democratic nationalism was brought about by state policies of democratization and decentralization. These policies

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reversed the extreme centralization adopted during the Sukarno and Suharto years – this authoritarian centralization, it should be noted, enabled and encouraged anti-colonial nationalism and particularly regime-sustaining nationalism. When the Indonesian government chose to cement centralization, the state also began to promote a totalitarian national ideology in line with the autocrat's worldview.

Democratization revealed widespread disillusionment with this intrusive, all-powerful and all-knowing central state, and decentralization forestalled further backlash that might have threatened national unity and pushed the state into more drastic, coercive or otherwise militant means of enforcing national loyalty. Decentralization provided what Humfrey calls a "safety valve" for discontent.[8] In addition, the number of actors both within and outside the state who believe they have a stake not only in their own daily lives but in the national project has increased dramatically with local autonomy, although an archipelagic nationalist ideology has yet to emerge out of the democratic noise.

This thesis will proceed as follows: *chapter two* will present a literature review of theories of nationalism. After an overview of the three main schools of nationalism, nationalism in the developing world, and the confluence of nationalism and democracy, I will introduce a new typology of nationalism based on the motivations of the regime in power and the characteristics of the nationalist policies the regime promotes. *Chapter three* will give a detailed account of Indonesian national identity from the emergence of the nationalist movement in the 1920s to the present-day. It will use the aforementioned motivation-based typology to differentiate between different manifestations of Indonesian nationalism: (1) the colonial administrative nationalism of the later colonial period through independence, (2) the anti-

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[8] Humfrey 2010, 15.

colonial nationalism of Sukarno's regime, (3) the regime-sustaining nationalism of Suharto's regime, and (4) the democratic nationalism of the *Reformasi* period.

Subsequently, *chapter four* will provide possible explanations for the transition from regime-sustaining nationalism to democratic nationalism. Two alternative but indeterminate explanations will be presented first – individual leaders' personalities, and international factors – followed by the most plausible explanation: democratization and decentralization. "Mini-case studies" highlighting a specific incident or phenomenon, will be used to more fully illustrate the effects of the extent of democratization and decentralization on nationalism. *Chapter five*, the conclusion, will offer theoretical implications for the study of nationalism and prospects for the future of Indonesia's national project.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Predictions that the world will coalesce into civilizational blocs or ascend to an enlightened state of supra-nationalism have thus far proved premature. We still live in a world of nation-states, defined by Smith more precisely as "states claiming to be nations," and it should be no surprise in such a setting that nationalist rhetoric of some kind is so pervasive. The ever-popular demand for sovereignty, justified by a unique national identity, is evidence enough of this. For most of the world's population, nation and state continue to serve as vital lifeboats providing collective meaning, belonging, and demarcation in a turbulent global sea.

Nationalism is an exceptionally powerful ideology, making "the nation the object of every political endeavor and national identity the measure of every human value," and can inspire nationals to sacrifice not only their own lives and liberties but others' lives and liberties as well. In order to properly understand the phenomenon, however, certain common terms (that are sometimes used interchangeably) need to be defined.

Three Schools of Nationalism

To begin with, it is quite clear that nations are not states. States are public institutions that, ideally, monopolize resource extraction, coercion, and law in the territories they govern. Nations are bonded communities. However, states are distinguished by their claims to sovereignty and territory, both of which help distinguish nations as well. Beyond this basic consensus, however, nationalism scholars can be divided into three schools: the primordialist school, the modernist school, and the social construction school.

The Primordialist School

The primordialist school of nationalism, also referred to as the perennialist school by Smith, sees the nation as a relatively stagnant community bound by cultural links: ethnicity, religion, language, ancestry, and a homeland. In and of themselves, these demarcations are fairly common in the literature.[9] A truly primordialist interpretation of nationalism, however, assumes that these shared characteristics are static and a defining part of one's identity.   By extension, national belonging becomes a state that people are born into.[10] Given this rigidity, the nation takes on the form of a "seamless whole, with a single will and character."[11] According to this view, the nation is primarily a cultural group that has become politicized through demagoguery, seeking political representation or recognition on the basis of its cultural identification. Thus Cohen warns that elites may capitalize on the appeal of "easy solutions in hard times," resulting in a nationalist movement driven by fear and dislocation.[12]

It is with these logical extensions of the ethno-cultural definitions of national identity that criticisms of the primordialist school emerge. The interpretation of the nation as an ancient "given" has been criticized as a distortion of most nations' recent historical development, the fluidity of cultural identity, and an inaccurate representation of diverse ancient societies as well.[13] Nonetheless, the primordialist school retains popular currency due to the nature of media reporting (c.f. the "ancient hatreds" hypothesis) and the simplicity of its argument. The seeming

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[9] Emerson 1960, 104; Laitin 2007, 78.

[10] Laitin 2007, 26, Smith 1998, 22-23.

[11] Smith 1998, 23.

[12] Gellner 1983, 97-98, 124; Cohen 1999, 22-23.

[13] Smith 1998, 18-19, Croucher 2004, 101, Tønnesson and Antlöv 1996, 18.

resurgence of ethnic nationalism across Eurasia has even led some scholars to wrongly conflate "ethnic" with "national."[14]

It is true that the nation, as a collective identity, must serve the purpose of distinguishing group members from "the other" that in this case is the wider world.[15] But as Tamir and Hechter argue, the details are less important than their ability to raise the solidarity and awareness needed to forget cultural differences, reinforce commonalities, and envision a compelling collective trajectory taking the group from a "glorious history" to a "promising future."[16] Cohen calls history, especially heroic founding myths and crucial turning points, "the modern substitute for religion" as "the centerpiece of identity."[17] This glorious history is always overly-romanticized, if not outright mythical (Emerson reminds us that selective forgetting is just as crucial as remembrance) but can still be used to explain the "national genius" through ritual and education.[18] The sense of fated belonging created by this perceived common heritage and common destiny appears, in the end, to be the nation's defining factor.

The Modernist School

The modernist school of nationalism is diametrically opposed to the primordialist school. Modernists do not believe that nations have been inherited whole from time immemorial – instead, they believe that nations have been created expressly by elites (and reinforced by institutions) to unite populations of a state. A prototypical modernist believes in shared civic

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[14] Smith 1998, 45.

[15] Hobsbawm 1990, 22.

[16] Tamir 1993, 65; Hechter 2000, 11, 14; see also Emerson 1960, 96.

[17] Cohen 1999, 28.

[18] Smith 1991, 90-91; Cohen 1999, 27-28; Emerson 1960, 149-50.

characteristics and political beliefs instead of cultural ones. As opposed to being a cultural community first and foremost, modernists understand nations to be political at their core.[19] The school is noteworthy, therefore, for the foundation it lays for mass egalitarian citizenship. In contrast to the primordialist view that national identity is an inherited state of being and the nation a fixed whole, the modernist views national identity as a "capacity for doing," and the nation as mutable and divisible into multiple special interest groups.[20]

Typically, leaders are seen to strategically use nationalist politics to manipulate the identities and attachments of the masses (although the masses may consciously reproduce these strategies, as Laitin notes), making nationalism appear "fundamentally irrational."[21] Indeed, many nations seem to expect self-sacrifice, and nationalist displays often involve "mass reverence."[22] Studies on identity, however, teach us that belonging is its own form of rationality.

These scholars are called modernists because they believe certain prerequisites – usually associated with industrialization – are necessary for a nation to come into being. These include the presence of an educated high culture, a modern state system that rewards legitimate control over a sovereign state, a unified state-wide economy, a well-defined territory, mass literacy and media, and an institutionalized legal code.[23] Smith also adds that the stresses modernization imposed on a state could only be accepted by people that were loyally bound to a nation.[24]

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[19] Smith 1998, 20.

[20] Hobsbawm 1990, 9-10; Smith 1998, 22-23.

[21] Breuilly 1994, 396; Laitin 2007, 23-4.

[22] Smith 1998, 67.

[23] Gellner 1983, 48; Breuilly 1994, 375; Smith 1991, 69.

[24] Smith 1998, 20.

Whereas primordialists think nations precede states, modernists think states precede nations, with nationalism serving as the connecting bridge.[25]

As progress marches forward, however, the impact of global developments on nations becomes questionable. While increased access to mass media potentially enables states to disseminate nationalist ideas, it can also challenge the state's hold on their nation's imaginary by exposing and endearing citizens to other national or transnational cultures.[26] Economic interdependence has promoted international interconnectedness, but has also caused painful dislocations, especially when large foreign companies mine local natural or human resources for profit. Most scholars, however, assume that that nationalism promotes either confidence in one's own culture or fear that one's culture is under threat of dilution (by such perils as international migration, cultural diffusion, or social transformation), and thereby promotes cultural diversification over global standardization.[27]

The main flaw of the modernist school is its weakness in explaining the depth of popular attachment to a particular nation or national identity. It struggles, that is, to make sense of a nation's defining characteristics, and why these characteristics have become salient.[28] This may be linked to the modernist school's emphasis on elite interests rather than bottom-up inputs – while modernists acknowledge the existence of mass culture, they understand nationalism to be an elite manipulation of these sentiments: the most famous modernist, Gellner, even characterized nationalism as having "pervasive false consciousness."[29] By virtue of being highly

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[25] Hobsbawm 1990, 10.

[26] Croucher 2004, 109.

[27] Tønnesson and Antlöv 1996, 23; Starrs 2001, xxi, xxvii; Hobsbawm 1990, 165.

[28] Smith 1998, 46.

[29] Gellner 1983, 124.

contingent on a single (Western) path to development, the modernist approach can also manifest as a fairly rigid theory.

The Social Construction School

The social construction school of nationalism blends the primordialist and modernist approaches: like modernists, these scholars believe that the nation is a flexible, socially-constructed, and political concept, but like primordialists, also believe that nationalism is only as resonant as it is able to tap into culturally and historically salient values and ideas.[30] Put another way, nationalism traffics in both practical politics and emotional symbolism.

Scholars in the social construction school share with modernists the assertion that nationalism is the force that constructs nations.[31] As Smith points out, however, nationalism cannot make a nation out of *nothing* – many social constructionists acknowledge that primordialists are correct to highlight the significance of pre-national bonds of collective belonging. Smith argues that nationalism directs the time and place of nation-formation, while the nation emerges out of the core *ethnie*, a group with a myth of common ancestry, some common culture, and a homeland.[32] Hobsbawm calls this "proto-nationalism" that supplies ready-to-use symbols for modern-day mobilization.[33] At the same time, social constructionists would argue that artificially-created bonds forged by nationalists, such as a pidgin "national language," are equally important as the foundational elements laid by a core *ethnie*, as long as

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[30] Croucher 2004, 103.

[31] Breuilly 1994, 1; Hobsbawm 1990, 10, 75.

[32] Smith 1991, 21, 39-40, 99.

[33] Hobsbawm 1990, 77.

these more recent bonds are also mythologized and historicized.[34] If an antecedent *ethnie* does not exist, one can simply be fashioned and fitted with appropriate symbols and stories.

Although there is disagreement regarding the level of social engineering that goes into sculpting a nation, most scholars today agree that nations are not born but constructed and coordinated.[35] Symbols such as flags, national anthems, monuments, and celebrations help strengthen feelings of kinship, especially when they appear imbued with historicity. Despite this artificiality, national identity can override more local, intimate loyalties – or perhaps more accurately, absorb and manipulate them.[36] Familiarly powerful family patterns are especially frequently mimicked.[37] Thus national identity can be seen as the broadest level of culture. As Emerson notes, national identity is most likely to rise to the apex of one's social identity during a security crisis, or "when the chips are down." The vagaries of the nation give national identity its "chameleon-like" and "multi-dimensional" qualities, which in turn explain why national identity is able to take on ugly characteristics – or positive ones.[38] But national identity can also serve positive functions: for example, socializing passive subjects into active citizens, or encouraging public service for the collective good.

The social construction school also places a heavy emphasis on nationalist entrepreneurs, without whom the group is presumed to remain obedient but dispassionate and directionless without the guiding hand of nationalists. Nationalist entrepreneurs, typically members of the intelligentsia, take on the challenge of mobilizing nations through raising national consciousness.

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[34] Hobsbawm 1990, 54.

[35] Hobsbawm 1990, 9-10; Laitin 2007, 41; Smith 1991, 16-17, 77.

[36] Emerson 1960, 96; Smith 1991, 143; Smith 1998, 201; Hobsbawm 1990, 11.

[37] Smith 1991, 78.

[38] Smith 1991, 14; Hobsbawm 1990, 169.

This involves the rediscovery, reinterpretation, and renewal of the group's common history, cultural symbols, and religious traditions; the elevation and education of the masses; and the construction of an accessible, standardized national language, usually an amalgamation of pre-existing idioms.[39] In addition to looking backward, Shamsul's concept (an expansion of Rotberg's) of a "nation-of-intent" describes how nationalist entrepreneurs use an ideal vision of their future nation to invite citizens to participate proactively in the "grand project" of nation-building.[40] But it is possible that the social construction school puts too much emphasis on these entrepreneurs at the expense of the possibility of popular, bottom-up construction.

<u>The Nation, the State, and Nationalism</u>

This thesis will assume that nations are socially-constructed political communities with shared values and trajectories, not a primordial given. It should be evident that nations, national identity, and nationalism are malleable, flexible, and open to reconstruction as demanded by local conditions, new participants, and international factors. Indeed, Croucher argues that this malleability explains why nationalism has survived into the 21st century.[41] Furthermore, the only core elements of nationalist doctrine are a belief in national uniqueness, the right to national independence and self-governance, and the prioritization of national identity above other identities; in addition to these, nationalism is a "black box." It can be imbued with a variety of other elements from across the political spectrum, and thus be used to promote policies that are either belligerent and xenophobic, or non-violent and liberal. Tønnesson and Antlöv provide an appropriately moderate and extremely broad definition of nationalism: an ideological movement

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[39] Smith 1991, 64-65; Hobsbawm 1990, 54.

[40] Shamsul 1996, 328, 347; Tønnesson and Antlöv 1996, 38.

[41] Croucher 2004, 103.

in support of a nation-state, defined as a state that most of its citizens identify with. Nationalism is powered by both emotion and pragmatism, both identity values and rational interests. This definition reminds us that nationalism is interested in autonomy, unity, *and* identity.[42] Because nationalism is a "black box," however, a typology of nationalist doctrine is necessary.

One popular typology distinguishes between nationalism's "ethnic" and "civic" manifestations. Theoretically speaking, ethnic nationalism emphasizes common descent, even above common territory, and because it emphasizes people and culture above laws and institutions, may have more populist or demotic manifestations.[43] Likewise, civic nationalism emphasizes the particular institutions, rights, and laws shared by citizens of a well-defined territory. However, these distinctions are problematic for several reasons: "civic" and "ethnic" are often code for "Western" and "non-Western" nationalism, or worse, "good" and "bad" nationalism. Clearly, there are elements of both "ethnic" and "civic" nationalism that can be found in most real-world nationalist ideologies. For example, most nationalists seem to crave a community based in a territorial homeland to demarcate "us" from "them" and otherwise ascribe meaning.[44] Most viable nationalist movements also gift their followers with common myths, rights, duties, and an economy.[45] Both the ethnic and civic brands of nationalism can, without the tempering hand of rule of law and respect for human rights, inspire violent state and non-state behavior.[46]

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[42] Tønnesson and Antlöv 1996, 2; Smith 1991, 73.

[43] Smith 1991, 12.

[44] Breuilly 1994, 401.

[45] Smith 1991, 14.

[46] Smith 1998, 212.

It is tempting to create a typology of nationalism based on the way this nationalism affects outsiders, namely through belligerence. Remarkably considering their opposing approaches to the nation, Smith and Breuilly agree that nationalism fundamentally believes in national individuality, in the prioritization of national identity, and in national sovereignty.[47] But whereas Smith believes that a nationalist generalizes these "rights" to all other nations as well, Breuilly does not. Laitin suggests that nationalism carries "genocidal implications," while Gellner allows for the possibility of "non-egoistic nationalism," though – obviously – only if culturally heterogeneous states do not try to become homogeneous.[48] The idea of the special and "chosen" nation is indeed popular worldwide, and usually invites or demands a religious devotion to this nation (through saluting the flag, for example). But many nationalist policies in existence worldwide are not intended to serve or promote xenophobia and conquest. Additionally, a demarcation between genocidal and non-genocidal nationalism does not shed any light on why some nationalist ideologies demand as extreme an act as genocide and others do not. Therefore, a new and more thorough typology that reflects the real-world variations of nationalism is needed.

<div align="center">Theories of Democracy</div>

In stark contrast to nationalism, democracy has a strongly positive normative value in contemporary global society. The high desirability of the "democratic" label has made the concept harder to define: even authoritarian regimes call themselves popular democracies, even if the autocrat is the only acceptable representative of the people. Attempts to assign standards for democracy are condemned as unfair, subjective, and culturally biased by states that fail to

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[47] Smith 1991, 74; Breuilly 1994, 2-3.

[48] Laitin 2007, 3; Gellner 1983, 2.

meet the standard. Indeed, spectra are more useful than absolutes in measuring democracy. While "nationalist" is often a pejorative term, "democratic" is a stamp of credibility.

Democracy should be understood as government by the people – it must be distinguished from good governance and its associated requirements, such as a well-written constitution, a corruption-free bureaucracy, or even rule of law.[49] As this thesis argues, democracy does not require strong institutions. Welzel and Inglehart show that when mass desire for democracy is greater than democratic institutions, democratic consolidation is greater; by contrast, when democratic institutions ("supply of democracy") exceed mass desire, states become less democratic in the years to come.[50] Additionally, some autocracies (notably Singapore) practice good governance and guarantee civil liberties.[51] Other concepts, such as socio-economic justice, are entirely political – left-leaning democracies believe it is part and parcel of equal participation, but right-leaning democracies prioritize individual economic rights over intergroup equality.[52]

The most popular and practical application of democracy, promoted by Schumpeter and Dahl, involves the free and fair election of leaders by an inclusive electorate. In addition, political competition should be relatively open. A strong argument can be made for the requirement that democracies provide political rights to free association, expression, and information as well.[53] Interestingly, excessive civilian participation – in the form of violent mass

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[49] Diamond 1993, 7. Some would call good governance a guarantee of government *for* the people (Mair 2002, 81), although I will argue that there are other means for securing this accountability.

[50] Welzel and Inglehart 2009, 127.

[51] Bernhagen 2009, 30.

[52] Rose 2009, 13.

[53] Rose 2009, 13; Bernhagen 2009, 29.

protests – arguably endangers democracy as well,[54] especially if the masses demand anti-democratic changes or, far more commonly, if political instability provokes an authoritarian crackdown.

Huntington distinguished between three types of transition: replacement, led by an opposition; transformation, led by the elite; and transplacement, when both are a factor.[55] Indonesia's democratic transition fits the transplacement model: strong non-violent civic associations, high violence on the part of the masses and the elites. Morlino estimates that the most painless transitions occur with low mass violence, and high elite and party continuity; the latter is assumed to require an institutionalized bureaucracy and judiciary.[56] During the fragile consolidation process, elite convergence around the democratic norm encourages strategies of accommodation, moderation, and compromise as opposed to coups.[57] Recent literature is undecided but optimistic on whether the masses can enact a democratic transition without the support of an elite reform wing, as long as a critical mass of opposition capable of outlasting and resisting state repression is reached.[58]

A democratic transition does not need to be preceded by a democratic culture. But democratic transitions must be socially embedded – accepted by both elites and masses – in order to endure. That is, the notion of democracy must have intrinsic legitimacy for most of the country's political subcultures; leaders should be judged not only on their fulfillment of

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[54] McAllister and White 2009, 197.

[55] Shin and Tusalem 2009, 360.

[56] Morlino 2009, 206.

[57] Diamond 1993, 5, 10.

[58] Welzel 2009, 83; Diamond 1993b, 430.

campaign promises but their adherence to democratic principles.[59] This level of social

embeddedness can grow through direct experience and participation in democratic rituals, or the

trauma of authoritarian rule.[60] But general consensus also holds that democracy must, at a basic

level, resonate with the population's cultural values.[61]

Here the famed "Asian values" debate takes center stage. Are Asian countries culturally

incompatible with democracy, or at least liberal democracy – and if so, does their high economic

growth justify their anti-democratic governance? Some Western commentators have taken the

"ultra-Orientalis[t]" route by pointing to a supposed cultural predilection for deference to

authority, reluctance to change, and conflict avoidance, while Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad

and Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew have promoted the cultural-relativist approach, arguing in what

has taken on the trappings of a "nationalist project" that Western states use the international

democratic norm to exert hegemonic control over sovereign Asian states.[62] Proponents of

"Asian values" claim that these "soft authoritarian" regimes have the peoples' blessing, at least if

they maintain precious social order and economic growth. But many of these illiberal regimes

are more a product of a particularly statist, technocratic developmental model – one that requires

a "concerted effort" organized by high state control – than a cultural paradigm.[63] Curtis

concludes that in Asia, "what matters is not culture but history."[64] Nonetheless, this debate does

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[59] Diamond 1993, 13-14; Diamond 1993b, 430.

[60] Diamond 1993, 14; Diamond 1993b, 424.

[61] Welzel 2009, 84.

[62] Antlöv and Ngo 2000, 3-4, 8; Shin and Tusalem 2009, 360.

[63] Jones, Jayasuriya, Bell and Jones 1995, 163; Antlöv and Ngo 2000, 5-6.

[64] Curtis 1998, 222.

demonstrate that alternatives to Western liberal democracy can successfully organize society in a more localized way.

The scholar's list of preconditions for a sustainable democracy typically includes mass literacy, a strong middle class, and a certain minimum level of economic development. It is evident that successful democracies have a higher average level of economic development than failed or non-democracies, but correlation does not imply causation.[65] These elements – often missing in non-Western, post-colonial states – allow for a mass society that is not only capable of systematically selecting its leaders, but living comfortably enough to value political representation. One explanation, termed the "human empowerment model," holds that such developments distribute power (action) resources more widely, making freedom more desirable and enabling social movements.[66] But as Diamond argues, this modernization theory relies on a slowly-evolving political culture to act as an "intervening variable" between economic development and democratization – if a low-income country nonetheless attains a "deeply internalized belief in democratic regime legitimacy," its democracy is just as likely to survive.[67] Likewise, plenty of high-performing economies, especially those in the non-Western world, do not democratize.[68]

The late-20th century democratization wave phenomenon also demonstrates the impact international politics has on domestic democratization. Globalization ensures that no country exists in a vacuum: state leaders are influenced by their neighbors' and allies' democratic values

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[65] Fish and Wittenberg 2009, 254.

[66] Welzel 2009, 81, 86.

[67] Diamond 1993b, 419, 425-6; Diamond 1993, 9.

[68] Rose 2009, 18-19.

and transitions, either as a deliberate strategic choice or due to normative diffusion.[69] Western liberal democracies have placed democracy promotion high on the agenda since the end of the Cold War, and Welzel suggests that these countries' economic, military, and technological prowess have also proved strong incentives for what Welzel calls "opportunistic democratization."[70] NGOs, multilateral organizations, and diplomatic contacts can all exert pressure on a state to democratize, though internal factors play the determining role.

A highly polarized society is not conducive to democratic consolidation, because competing groups in such societies are more likely to quickly resort to violence rather than accept electoral defeat. Military and police involvement in party politics then becomes common, always to ill effect.[71] Such situations are exacerbated by economic and resource inequality, and power re-distribution as well as consociationalism (power-sharing) could mitigate tensions.[72] Other factors that may erode democratic consolidation include the introduction of new political players who demand a re-negotiation of power bargains, a growing discrepancy of power in favor of the presidential branch, mass dissatisfaction and the resulting delegitimization of political actors, neglect of minority and communal interests – all of which imply some sort of democratic "cultural decay," in which faith and enthusiasm for the democratic project fades.[73]

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[69] Diamond 1993b, 422-3; Haerpfer, Bernhagen, Inglehart, and Welzel 2009, 4-5; Welzel 2009, 81.

[70] Welzel 2009, 82, 88.

[71] Morlino 2009, 214.

[72] Diamond 1993b, 430-1; Welzel 2009, 79.

[73] Diamond 1993b, 427-8; Welzel 2009, 86; Morlino 2009, 214; Mayall 2000, 195; Fish and Wittenberg 2009, 261.

Four Types of Nationalism

The first step toward attaining a typology of nationalism is unpacking the relationship between nation and state. In popular discourse, nationalism is typically held to be driven by the desire to make the boundaries of the nation and state congruent.[74] As Gellner explains, nationalism ascribes political legitimacy based on the criteria that leaders and citizens should belong to the same nation.[75] Yet one corollary of this argument can be immediately done away with: the argument that nationalism vanishes or otherwise becomes arbitrary as soon as nation and state are congruent.[76] The number of state leaders who espouse nationalism without seeking to expand or secede indicates that nationalism does survive the transition to state congruence. Nationalism, therefore, is more than the quest for independent statehood.

Instead, states and nations help legitimize each other.[77] States give nations the practical, institutional means to become autonomous communities, while nations give states a reason for being and a way to command loyalty and social order. A state that does not put forward a unifying national identity to give its citizens a sense of belonging and a reason to identify with the state runs the risk of fragmentation along ethnic or cultural lines, especially if the state is young, multicultural, and the democratic regime's control over the entire state unconsolidated. One common result is an escalation of inter-ethnic communal violence, especially involving competition over land or labor. At best, state agents try to play peacekeeper; at worst, the state implicitly or explicitly assists the majoritarian group that would represent the core *ethnie*, and a

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[74] Gellner 1983, 4; Laitin 2007, 40-41; Emerson 1960, 96; Hechter 2000, 7; Hobsbawm 1990, 9. As Breuilly matter-of-factly states, "Nationalism is, above and beyond all else, about politics and that politics is about power. Power, in the modern world, is principally about control of the state" (1994, 1).

[75] Gellner 1983, 1.

[76] Breuilly 1994, 390, 396; Hechter 2000, 17.

[77] Emerson 1960, 96; Tønnesson and Antlöv 1996, 2; Croucher 2004, 104-105; Smith 1991, 16.

pogrom begins.[78] Another possible outcome is "sons-of-the-soil" secessionism, especially in

areas where the central state is extracting resources and providing disparate economic returns.[79]

There are additional reasons for a state to develop a national identity: nationalist ideology can

patch over wounds left by painful adjustments that the state must make in order to proceed with

social, political, or economic development.[80] But more specificity is necessary. It is clear that

nations come in all shapes and sizes, and the exact type of nationalist policies pursued by the

state are determined by the ruling regime's motivation for pursuing nationalism.

A universal theory of nationalism ought to explain nationalism in all its permutations,

including nationalist movements beyond the West and in former colonies. But given

nationalism's aforementioned malleability, local context must be considered. Countries like

Indonesia are far younger than the European states that served as the real-world basis for most

theories of nationalism, but must still operate in a modern nation-state world. Like economic

development and democracy, nationalism inevitably evolves differently – and for Smith, more

intensely and forcefully – in such a high-pressure scenario.[81]

Much nationalism literature focuses on the state-building version of nationalism, which

seeks to give the nation a state to enable it to exercise self-governance, and thus often leads to

power struggles between national groups, possibly culminating in civil war. But Breuilly

observes that "official nationalism" or "governmental nationalism," which seeks to infuse a state

with the power of national belonging, is often found in new states struggling with control and

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[78] Laitin 2007, 7-8.

[79] Laitin 2007, 6.

[80] Shamsul 1996, 346.

[81] Smith 1991, 100-1.

development.[82]   Although this can involve expansionism, it may also involve ferreting out

internal elements deemed incompatible with the nation, infusing state-building with national

significance, or simply governing in accordance to national identity. The following typology

will enumerate the range of these nation-building projects.

Colonial Administrative Nationalism

Colonial administrative nationalism, as its name implies, is found in colonies instead of

independent states. The nation-builders in this case are foreign colonists and local elites. It may

seem surprising that colonists would have any interest in building a nation, as one of the tenets of

nationalist ideology is national sovereignty. Indeed, colonists do not *intend* to build nations in

their overseas territories; they intend to create a more governable territory by creating distinct

boundaries, administrative systems, commercial networks, and roads, as well as providing

education (and often a crucially political education) for the children of elites. It is concerned

primarily with building capacity, not identity. These young elites could then take advantage of

the "connective tissue" when spearheading a nationalist movement. Thus the end result of

colonial administrative nationalism ironically often contradicts the original intent, as members of

the accidental nation grow to desire and expect self-governance: an "Indonesia for Indonesians."

Colonialism affected the development of nations and national identity in multiple ways,

each of which served to dislocate and disrupt the evolution of an organically local proto-

nationalism. Most notable are the artificial borders imposed by colonial rule that cut across

ethnies, forcing the resulting newly-independent state to rely on "a purely territorial patriotism"

with highly-artificial myths and symbols cobbled together into a tenuous and ill-fitting "common

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[82] Tønnesson and Antlöv 1996, 20; Breuilly 1994, 8-9, 390.

mold" from multiple ethnic groups.[83] Exacerbating this excessively artificial nationalism is the problem of Western inheritance: the post-colonial state would have to be built on the skeleton of the colonial one, leaving these states still at the whim of their former rulers.[84] Even worse, this skeleton typically preserved the colonial administrators' risky biases toward particular social and ethnic groups.[85]

Bengali scholar Partha Chatterjee objected to Anderson's universalist claim that third-world nationalisms would be copied or imported from Western models, decrying the implication that "Even our imaginations must remain forever colonized."[86] There are particularities to the post-colonial experience that should not be smoothed over. Heeding this criticism, in 1991 Anderson added an additional chapter to *Imagined Communities*, "Census, Map, Museum," which argued that third-world nations reflected the "imaginings of the colonial state" instead of a perception of a distant European nation-state.[87] These "imaginings" include the discrete theorizing of the nation's demographic, territorial, and "culture" underpinnings (i.e., by creating the census, the map, and the museum) and leaving these artifacts for nationalist entrepreneurs to make use of during the nationalist revival to come.

On the other hand, colonialism also laid the potential foundations for a nation. It introduced territoriality, complete with intra-territorial economic exchange and a legal system, and brought multiple ethnic communities under one administrative umbrella.[88] For colonized

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[83] Smith 1991, 41; Emerson 1960, 118; Smith 1998, 130.

[84] Hobsbawm 1990, 138.

[85] Emerson 1960, 112.

[86] Chatterjee 1993, 5.

[87] Anderson 1991, 164.

[88] Smith 1998, 107; Emerson 1960, 385-6.

peoples, entering a nation would therefore mean joining a wider social and political network. The shared colonial system also allowed for a less risky conflict for independence, as new nationalists could work within pre-existing institutions.[89] Finally, the nationalist entrepreneurs within the intelligentsia were exposed to early 20th century Western political ideas that stressed the importance of national unity, honor, and independence, as well as liberal notions of freedom and equality, thereby preparing them to create a nation and a mass society.[90] For better or worse, the colonial experience served as "the crucible in which nationalist movements emerged."[91] It is one of the great collective events that Smith deems capable of changing the cultural content of national identity, thanks to its capacity to assist in state-making, military mobilization, religious organization, and ethnic self-renewal – processes that can help overcome the "sense of inferiority" and insecurity brought about by colonial domination.[92]

Anti-Colonial Nationalism

Anti-colonial nationalism usually follows colonial administrative nationalism. In this case, the nation-builders are the rulers of the newly independent former colony. In his critique of Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, Chatterjee attempts to square two apparently opposing truths: first, that anti-colonial nationalists do use similar languages and motifs as the colonists they oppose; and second, that anti-colonial nationalism is almost always grounded in the difference between the former colony's identity and the identity of the colonizing power. This apparent contradiction leads Chatterjee to separate nationalism into "inner" (cultural and

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[89] Breuilly 1994, 214.

[90] Emerson 1960, 199; Smith 1998, 108.

[91] Smith 1998, 108.

[92] Smith 1991, 26, 35-37; Emerson 1960, 152, 380.

spiritual) and "outer" (political) domains.[93] The "outer domain" legitimizes the nation as a nation-state on the global stage and necessarily adopts Western methods for organizing the nation's "material" foundations (again, the census, the map, and the museum). But the independent identity protected by the "inner domain" means that this nationalism truly belongs to the former colony and not its former colonizer.

This nationalism is typically fueled by revolution and opposition to not only the foreign colonizing empire but their domestic collaborators.[94] More than the other types of nationalism, anti-colonial nationalism is intended to prepare its nationals for struggle. It is strongly political, ideological, and internationally-engaged. Despite their strong conviction that the nation must govern itself, anti-colonial nationalists are seldom interested in encouraging a bottom-up construction of nationalism – often because as the nationalist entrepreneurs themselves are elites who view the educational levels of the masses to be insufficient to successfully steer the national project. They often focus on symbolic actions such as territorial military conflicts and the nationalization of locally-based foreign companies, as well as highly-confrontational rhetoric directed at outsiders.

Anti-colonial nationalism has often been derided for being devoid of meaning and direction, especially after the goal of liberation has been achieved.[95] It is also considered to be driven by resentment and anger instead of hope for the future, and ironically to excessively embrace Western values. These shortcomings typify nationalist movements that fail to build actual nations, and are subsequently more a movement than a community.[96] Relying too much

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[93] Chatterjee 1993, 220.

[94] Breuilly 1994, 195.

[95] Smith 1991, 108; Emerson 1960, 153.

[96] Smith 1991, 108; Hobsbawm 1990, 137.

on a particular *ethnie*, however, is potentially dangerous if it results in reactionary policies that exclude a previously privileged – or demonized – group. Plural nationalism, which attempts to transcend the fragmented society by building on non-ethnic values and beliefs, is more likely to result in a cohesive national identity in the long-run.[97]

Still, Breuilly argues that successful post-colonial nationalisms – which have reached a stable balance between non-Western and Western influences, usually in the midst of tremendous political crisis and transformation – have overcome great obstacles, and deserve credit.[98] Embracing the ideal of the nation-state has also helped newly independent countries attain international credibility and the means to participate in the international arena. The international norm of Wilsonian nationalism, buttressed by Westphalian sovereignty, provided convincing rationale for independence: self-determination. Post-colonial nationalists were highly cognizant of this global landscape, creating nationalisms with an unusually "internationalist" sensibility.[99]

Nationalism has turbo-charged modernization in many former colonies, particularly when developmentalist policies are at work. The trauma of colonial-era "economic bondage" has pushed many post-colonial nationalists to prioritize a robust national economy, usually through political control over natural resources and businesses.[100] A nationalist ideology, with its emphasis on national sovereignty and the prioritization of the nation above all other concerns, justifies and encourages these political-economic policies. A close relationship between

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[97] Tønnesson and Antlöv 1996, 21.

[98] Breuilly 1994, 228, 251.

[99] Hobsbawm 1990, 136, 171.

[100] Emerson 1960, 175.

nationalism and economic developmentalism does, however, risk undermining national solidarity

should the economy begin to fail.[101]

Regime-Sustaining Nationalism

Regime-sustaining nationalism is primarily interested in maintaining the rule of the

regime in power. Nationalism is valued for its ability to build communal bonds and engender

loyalty to the state. As an instrumentalist type of nationalism, regime-sustaining nationalism is

similar to colonial administrative nationalism – except that it is concerned with popular

legitimacy. Nonetheless, it is an unabashedly top-down endeavor; it is after all only interested in

promoting the interests of the ruling regime, not the masses. A state that is struggling with

national cohesion and socioeconomic transformations – whose people are adrift without codes or

meaning – is especially opt to impose this unity through nationalist policies.[102] Being geared

toward societal cohesion and order, these policies are focused on fixing domestic challenges to

the regime's control. They both encourage identification with a paternalistic state and target

specific interest groups (such as indigenous businesses or the military). On occasion, regime-

sustaining nationalism may also address international affronts and insults, if the regime has

reason to believe that rallying around the flag will stave off internal dissolution.

Much regime-sustaining nationalism is found in authoritarian states, wherein people long

for the military or some other tyrant "on a white horse" to single-handedly fix the nation's

problems.[103] Like regime-sustaining nationalism, authoritarianism takes the people as well as

their representatives out of politics – it is an unabashedly top-down endeavor. Autocrats, the

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[101] Breuilly 1994, 278.

[102] Lechner 1996, 172.

[103] Mizuno and Phongpaichit 2009, 5; Emerson 1960, 282.

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self-proclaimed "custodians of power," endorse the idea that ordinary people lack the education necessary to properly guide society, handle freedom, or indeed, do much other than labor for the national project.[104] Beneath the nationalist ideology they share with their leaders, the masses are not meant to have political or ideological commitments; opposition politics, and therefore the political realm as a whole, is marked unpatriotic and eschewed.[105] Like anti-colonial nationalism, regime-sustaining nationalism is often built around singular, charismatic, dominant personalities with a monopoly over the expression of the national will. Emerson attributes this to a lack of political education among the masses,[106] but it is worth wondering whether these personality cults fit the aforementioned reverence for the nation as a "god."

The nationalist autocracy that follows is usually accompanied by dogmatic education, suffocating government propaganda, and the heavy use of ceremony and symbolism – the overuse of which sometimes creates a "bored, skeptical, apolitical" population.[107] This may lead to the slow fading of nationalist rhetoric and the dimming of autocracy into a "managerial government" that uses superficial democratic features to balance ethnic differences.[108] It may also lead the nation to once again tie its fate to economic development, and suggests that a nationalist autocracy is unable to truly tie the loyalty of its citizens to the central state.[109]

The nationalist belligerence feared by Mansfield and Snyder, Huntington, and other scholars – whether directed at a foreign state to be conquered, or a particular ethnic subgroup –

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[104] Emerson 1960, 281, 290; see also Bell 1992, 36.

[105] Cohen 1999, 20; Schedler 1996, 2; Canovan 2002, 29.

[106] Emerson 1960, 281.

[107] Breuilly 1994, 276-7.

[108] Brown 1995, 162.

[109] Breuilly 1994, 276.

falls within the category of regime-sustaining nationalism, despite the fact that it takes place in a new democracy instead of an autocracy. When politicians enflame nationalist sentiment in order to win votes, they are using nationalism to secure their own political futures. Still, the dynamics are distinct from the main variant of regime-sustaining nationalism because multiple elite factions are competing against each other for popular legitimacy – often, this competition heightens the stakes of nationalist ideology by providing a ready-made internal other.

Democratic Nationalism

Democratic nationalism is the only one of the four types that can be considered to be constructed from the bottom-up. Because it is premised on democratic governance, democratic nationalism places a premium on mass participation. The nation-builders in this instance are intended to be the nationals themselves; the ruling regime and other elites are passive actors. As a result, democratic nationalism appears much less cohesive and is indeed far less coordinated than other types of nationalism. It may seem curious that a government would willingly surrender the opportunity to use national identity to cement popular support, but unlike autocrats, democratic leaders assume they will be replaced sooner rather than later; as such, they are primarily concerned with cementing loyalty to the *state* instead of their particular regime. Mass participation in the national project is viewed as a way create buy-in to the "silhouette" of the state while national identity remains malleable and moderate thanks to free contestation regarding the direction of the nation.

Nationalism and democracy share a dependence on shared values, culture, and legitimate rule. These two concepts are drawn even closer by the popular idea of the nation-state, which conflates members of a national community with citizens of a state. Though Smith's declaration

that "democratisation is also everywhere nationalist" may be an overstatement,[110] nationalist ideology does color many democratization movements. Emerson even includes national unity as a necessary pre-condition for democratic success.[111] National unity can boost a sense of fellowship and social trust, crucial elements in democratic survival. To accept a losing outcome and engage in constructive political discussion, rival social groups must believe in each other's commitment to the good of their shared nation, as well as the legitimacy and fairness of the electoral process.[112] Social solidarity, as Laitin argues, maintains a "healthy public life" in all types of government, because "when citizens do not identify themselves with fellow citizens as *fellow citizens*, they are less likely to want to contribute to a public good."[113]

Democratic nationalists espouse the basic belief in the people's right to a representative government. As Tamir points out, the democratic desire for self-government is a close ideological cousin to the nationalist desire for national self-determination:[114] in both cases the people, in this case defined as "the governed" or "the represented," ought to be directing the nation's future. Thus democratic nationalism may present itself as an answer to authoritarianism. Underlying this belief in self-governance is an even more basic, yet surprisingly rare belief: that "the mass of ordinary human beings are of consequence."[115]

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[110] Smith 1998, 83.

[111] Emerson 1960, 278.

[112] Hechter 2000, 153; Diamond 1993, 11.

[113] Laitin 2007, 108-109.

[114] Tamir 1993, 60-61, 153.

[115] Emerson 1960, 215.

Democratic nationalism tends to prioritize the development of a socially-conscious, media-literate "national-citizen," and are willing to mobilize formerly suppressed subgroups to do so.[116]

Democratic nationalism exhibits the potential of nationalism to espouse liberal characteristics – particularly its opposition to capricious authoritarianism, its support for mass mobilization and active political participation, and its emphasis on solidarity in an "ethical community."[117] Tamir offers several moral benefits of such a community: it promotes cooperation and responsibility over egoism and apathy, and encourages common – and possibly global – principles of justice.[118] Brodzinski's polycentric nationalism is the strongest advocate for a "brotherhood of nations" through which individual nations can take pride in their particularities, but still support other nations' freedom, justice, and rights. For Tamir, this acknowledgment of universal national rights – as earlier discussed, a concept that is included in Smith's doctrine of nationalism – prevents nationalism from devolving into World War II-era ideologies that believed individual identity should be subsumed by the will of the state.[119] If the ideology of nationalism is so strongly compelling that it will "simply not go away," suppressing national identity will only inflame tempers – instead, democracies could nurture a less vicious strand of nationalism, one which supports individual rights (as well as minority rights) as well as national membership.[120]

The decentralization of state authority forces a democracy to uphold its commitments, by restructuring the central government itself. Centralization has been found to correlate with

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[116] Hobsbawm 1990, 145; Mizuno and Phongpaichit 2009, 11; Emerson 1960, 215; Bell 1992, 91.

[117] Smith 1991, 18; Smith 1998, 211.

[118] Tamir 1993, 96.

[119] Tamir 1993, 79, 93.

[120] Tamir 1993, 167.

rebellions premised on secessionist nationalism,[121] suggesting first that institutions do not cement

feelings of loyalty and belonging to a central state. Hobsbawm argues that some secessionist

movements in the developing world should not be seen as demands for an independent territorial

state – though nationalist rhetoric may help stir up emotion – but rather as hard-driving bargains

for a greater share of the state's finite resources.[122] If this is the case, the central state can

implement policies to increase the political empowerment, resource distribution, and standard of

living in secessionist regions.[123] Yet democracies – especially those with weak, corruption-prone

institutions – often struggle to uphold their commitments to provide these secessionist regions

with adequate concessions.[124] Ideally, decentralization would satiate the secessionist desire for

self-determination and sovereignty; after all, secession is an enormous risk, and if staying loyal

to the state provides action resources and access to government decision-making it is by far the

safer option. Hechter warns, however, that if the center does not hold – in the event of an

interstate war, or more likely an economic crisis – the entire decentralized state will collapse.[125]

Meanwhile, Laitin reminds us that decentralization should be accompanied by attempts to foster

a national culture (and a shared language, for practical purposes) and layer these distinct cultural

identities with a national identity.[126]

One dangerous potential scenario for democratic nationalism is populism taken to an

extreme and turned loose against minorities who lack any protections accorded by a liberal

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[121] Hechter 2000, 147.

[122] Hosbawm 1990, 153, 155.

[123] Hechter 2000, 136.

[124] Laitin 2007, 22.

[125] Hechter 2000, 149.

[126] Laitin 2007, 135.

democracy. Mény and Surel call this a "reductionist" vision of democracy: democracy as a representation of brute popular will.[127] Extreme populism often accompanies mass disillusionment with representative democracy, which is accused of corruption, incompetence, or betraying the will of the wise crowd that needs only to "eject their enemies."[128] This is particularly likely when there is no underlying democratic legitimacy or democratic culture, and immediate economic concerns are prioritized over ill-defined political rights. As Canovan notes, some level of disillusionment is near-inevitable: people's democracy is impractical, and representative democracy requires proxies.[129]

These four types of nationalism can be summarized by Table 1:

Table 1. Four Types of Nationalism

	Colonial administrative nationalism	Anti-colonial nationalism	Regime-sustaining nationalism	Democratic nationalism
Regime motivation	Colonial control	Anti-colonial struggle	Regime survival	State survival
Characteristics of nationalist policies	Capacity-building; system development; education	Symbolic actions; confrontation; extreme rhetoric	Community-building; "rally around the flag"; social control	Passive openness; contestation; participation
Direction of social construction	Top-down	Top-down	Top-down	Bottom-up
Examples	British India (19th century); Malaya	India (early 20th century); Egypt; Venezuela	Yugoslavia; China	Post-independent India; the United States

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[127] Mény and Surel 2002, 9, 11, 21.

[128] Mizuno and Phongpaichit 2009, 3-4; see also Emerson 1960, 279, Schedler 1996, 12-13.

[129] Canovan 2002, 28.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF INDONESIAN NATIONALISM

For those seeking to break nationalism down into "civic" and "ethnic" types, Indonesia poses a challenging case. Indonesia's national ideology, the Pancasila, makes no reference to a particular ethnicity or religion, and appears to set the foundation for a civic national identity of justice, national unity, and democracy through deliberative consensus. The principle of monotheism is a nod to Indonesia's Islamist groups, vaguely written in "freedom for religion" style so as to acknowledge the importance of religion to the Indonesian people without locking the state into Islamic governance.[130]

Certainly, in comparison to its neighbor Malaysia, Indonesia does not define itself in ethnic terms. On the other hand, a core *ethnie* does exist: the Javanese, who make up the majority of the population and whose social values are often substituted for "Indonesian" values. Additionally, Indonesian politicians have never shied away from the cultural, indigenous basis of the political values underpinning the Pancasila, such as *musyawarah mufakat* (deliberative consensus), a quintessentially Javanese-Muslim concept. Therefore, Antlöv calls Indonesia "one of the most devoted agents in Asia for a political structure based on cultural ideology."[131]

"Indonesianness" is principally about belonging to the spatial entity that is the Indonesian state. Sukarno famously declared that even a child could see that the Indonesian archipelago was a single entity stretching "from Sabang to Merauke."[132] Of course, 17,000 scattershot islands between mainland Southeast Asia and Australia hardly look a natural nation – the Caribbean Sea

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[130] Bertrand 2002, 64; Sidel 2012, 132.

[131] Antlöv 2000, 203.

[132] Emerson 1960, 125.

contains twenty-eight states, for comparison. The Indonesian nation is a marvel of social engineering, a city-on-a-hill cobbled together out of the shipwrecked Dutch East Indies colony. The state, in Indonesia's case, preceded and propagated the Indonesian nation.[133] As would be expected in such an ethnically diverse, archipelagic state, alternative ideologies and nations-of-intent do compete with the state-sponsored vision of Indonesia – Islamism, radical populism, and specific regional nationalisms from the outer islands, for example. Despite all this, the strength of government nationalism has proved remarkably enduring, though not unchanging.

<center>A Brief History of Indonesia</center>

Although nations are always socially-constructed and almost always modern, nationalists often gain mileage from tracing the nation's heritage back to an ancient kingdom. Such a genealogy lends the national project an aura of grandeur and destiny. Indonesia is no exception, and sporadic attempts have been made – particularly by George M. Kahin – to link the current Indonesian nation with the Sumatra-based Sriwijaya empire of the 8th-12th centuries and the Java-based Majapahit empire of the 14th-16th centuries. Kingsbury too sees traces of this ancient "mandalic state," wherein power emanates outward from a central nucleus, growing diffuse and finally fading out at ambiguous borders, in modern Indonesia.[134] As Philpott notes, however, the political identity of the Indonesian state is vastly different from the Majapahit and Sriwijaya empires, and to suggest that an Indonesian identity was present in the Sriwijaya empire comes uncomfortably close to a discredited, Orientalist approach to non-Western nations.[135]

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[133] Kingsbury 2005, 9.

[134] Kingsbury 2005, 24-5.

[135] Philpott 2000, 57.

Indonesia as it is known today emerged following three and a half centuries of Dutch colonialism. During World War II, Indonesia was occupied by Imperial Japan; the new nationalist revolutionaries took advantage of the post-war chaos when declaring independence. Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, was an architect from the colonial elite class. He spent the first five years of his presidency consolidating Indonesia's independence from a Netherlands that was very reluctant to let it go. In 1950, a free and sovereign Indonesian nation-state gained the right and ability to govern itself.

Sukarno initiated Indonesia's transition to authoritarianism in 1957, when he adopted the quasi-authoritarian, self-defined "Guided Democracy." The transition was most likely a reaction to domestic political strife, dissatisfaction among provinces far from Java, and Sukarno's own delusions of exceptionalism and megalomania. As Horowitz notes, Sukarno had "neither democratic training nor inclinations."[136] The 1950 Constitution had replaced its predecessor's strong executive authority with a parliamentary system, and neither Sukarno nor the military – which preferred the 1945 Constitution for its possibility of including the armed forces as a legislative "functional group" – proved willing to take a reduction in power. In 1959, Sukarno reinstated the 1945 Constitution over the objections of the more moderate political parties and the Constitutional Assembly.

Rather than stabilizing Indonesia, under "Guided Democracy" the state started to spiral out of control. Separatist movements emerged in force, domestic polarization sharpened, and Sukarno adopted an anti-neocolonial foreign policy that was antagonistic toward what seemed to be the entire world, culminating in an aptly-named *Konfrontasi* against Malaysia and Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations and the International Olympic Committee. At home,

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[136] Horowitz 2013, 17.

Sukarno made a precarious attempt to balance his leadership on the shoulders of both the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which claimed an enormous 1965 membership of 25 million, and the armed forces (ABRI), which had an outsized role for a democracy. None of Indonesia's competing factions believed Indonesia to be compatible with a Western, liberal democracy, but they still had vastly different approaches to the future of Indonesia – the PKI wanted to complete the promise of social transformation promised by the Indonesian revolution, and ABRI was a fundamentally conservative organization seeking to maintain the status quo.

The balancing act finally failed, in dramatic fashion, in September 1965. General Suharto's coup d'état not only forced Sukarno from office, but was responsible for the mass killings of up to 2.5 million Communists in the process.[137] This massive politicide was understood in Indonesian political mythology as a popular reprisal against the PKI, one which was necessary, inevitable, and natural – either an erupting volcano or a violent correction of a society fallen out of balance.[138] There was nothing to be guilty for, so there was no need to assign responsibility; by the same token, there was no need to ever speak of it publically again.

The New Order saw Sukarno's early authoritarian impulses finally come to fruition. Under Suharto, Indonesia's political climate stabilized – at least at the superficial level. The New Order legitimized its comprehensive control over the state with economic growth and a military that saw the use of deadly force as its prerogative. Rather than balancing the needs of ideological opposites, Suharto returned to Supomo's integralist vision, absorbing all factions of society into his totalitarian whole. Influential Muslim groups, university students, and the emerging middle class were all co-opted into the New Order coalition – most of the New Order's

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[137] Sukarno died under house arrest in 1970, having been prevented by the New Order regime of leaving the country to seek medical treatment. (Case 2003, 34-5)

[138] Nordholt 2002, 44.

natural enemies, left-leaning groups, had either been eliminated or suppressed, and the tradition of revolutionary mass mobilization stagnated.[139] Until well into the 1990s, sustained open opposition was a political impossibility.[140]

Indonesia's democratization – or more precisely, Suharto's sudden resignation[141] – took most observers by surprise. The 1997 Asian Financial Crisis was devastating, but Suharto had faced economic difficulties before, due to petroleum price crashes, and survived by applying harsh austerity measures. For over thirty years, Suharto had convinced the outside world that he would eventually choose a successor from within the politically-powerful military and the New Order, much like Lee Kuan Yew's political system in Singapore, would endure. Even in 1996, Diamond predicted "little or no prospect of democracy in the near term" for Indonesia.[142] The political pre-conditions for a regime change did not seem to be present: there was no split within the elite, no single representative of the opposition, only a "docile" middle class and a limited civil society. There was only *rusuh*, what Aspinall calls "a spasm of mobilization in the streets": an inexhaustible dynamite that seemed to explode every decade or so.[143]

For Lane and Heryanto, democratization through Reformasi was not a complete surprise: a reform agenda was growing slowly behind the scenes, even amongst the elite, mostly because the New Order was starting to collapse internally.[144] The 1997 Asian Financial Crisis caused a tailspin that Suharto did not know how to correct, and because his legitimacy was entirely

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[139] Lane 2008, 43.

[140] Horowitz 2013, 18.

[141] Case 2003, 29.

[142] Horowitz 2013, 18-19.

[143] Horowitz 2013, 18-19.

[144] Lane 2008, 170, 174; Heryanto 2006, 138-139.

predicated on economic development, both he and his nationalist ideology looked ever more vulnerable. The sudden turn-around from an average annual GDP growth rate of 7% between 1990-1997 to a 14% economic contraction in 1998, accompanied by massive inflation and unemployment, created mass and elite discontent that was too severe to ride out or repress.[145]

The 1999 elections were embraced by not only the elites and the masses but the reformist-activists – the government's promises that they would be free and fair were fulfilled, crowds did not become violent mobs, and the transition to democracy was practically bloodless compared to the 1965 transition to authoritarianism.[146] Since then, Indonesia has undergone two more general elections on schedule, both of which included direct presidential elections. The Reformasi movement itself had produced no realistic political leaders, so the Reform Era had to be led by the same elites of the New Order, who nonetheless reinvented and distanced themselves from Suharto. Even Golkar foreswore its founding father, and today espouses neo-liberal but pro-democracy policies.

Though Indonesia's first three post-Suharto presidents (Suharto's vice president B. J. Habibie, NU leader Abdurrahman "Gus Dur" Wahid, and Sukarno's daughter Megawati Sukarnoputri) had short, politically tumultuous presidencies, Indonesia's current president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, will finish his second five-year term in 2014. Under his watch Indonesia has recovered from the 1997-1998 Financial Crisis and consolidated its democracy; its success has been so roundly acclaimed internationally that it is sometimes easy to forget that Indonesia's national project is far from finished.

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[145] Case 2003, 53.

[146] Horowitz 2013, 54.

Colonial Administrative Nationalism

That elements of pre-colonial archipelagic life influenced the shape of the nation that was to come is a valid assertion. The main organizational unit in most of Indonesia's pre-colonial societies was the village, and the idea of local- or neighborhood-level community-building, as well as a hometown *kampong* where one returns to on religious holidays, still resonates with many Indonesians. Village life discouraged trouble-making confrontation, encouraged cooperation and mutual assistance (from whence the popular political phrase *gotong-royong* is supposedly derived), and most importantly, prioritized the collective good over that of the individual.[147] Geertz and Nordholt highlight the legitimizing power of "grand royal rituals" and control over destruction and violence in pre-colonial Javanese "theatre-states," notions that continue to resonate in Indonesia today.[148]

But whether colonialism is seen more as a distortion or a transformation, it is safe to say that Indonesia as it stands today would not exist had its islands not been colonized by the Dutch.[149] Colonial boundaries closely define modern Indonesia – it is no accident that the colonial experiences of the three problem areas of Aceh, Papua, and Timor L'este were distinct from the rest of Indonesia, and the heart of the Indonesian nationalist's claim to Aceh and Papua, at least, is the shared inheritance of Dutch colonialism. That said, the Dutch East Indies were not colonized in a uniform manner: in a repeat of the "mandalic" pattern, Java was transformed into the administrative center and heavily integrated into the colonial system, while other areas were neglected.[150] As was typical of European empires, the Dutch practiced divide-and-conquer

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[147] Kingsbury 2005, 29.

[148] Nordholt 2002, 35-6.

[149] Philpott 2000, 57.

[150] Emerson 1960, 124.

tactics, privileging the Chinese and Christians and reinforcing ethnic and religious boundaries. Colonial rule severely changed the archipelago's trajectory in other ways as well: atrophying cultural development, monopolizing the territory's foreign interactions, and creating a regime of violence and fear.[151] Perversely, post-independence Indonesian leadership has adopted lessons learned from colonial leadership, including fear and distrust of the masses, heavy power centralization to prevent betrayal on the peripheries, export orientation, and the manipulation of economically-privileged minorities.

Of course, the Dutch were not interested in cultivating any sort of national identity. That was the work of the educated native elites inspired by the liberal revolutions of the Western world (particularly the French and American), the recent Communist revolution in Russia, and nearby anti-colonial revolutions in China, India, and the Philippines. These student-nationalists christened the colony "Indonesia" by 1917 and sculpted an "Indonesian" language out of the lingua franca, Malay. Indonesian is a simple, political, and egalitarian language, especially in comparison to the heavily hierarchical Javanese: in other words, perfect for nationalist revolution.[152] Highly cognizant of the need to win the loyalty of the uneducated masses, nationalists began the process of mass mobilization through strikes, unions, leaflets, parties, and mass assembly. By 1928, young activists from across the colony were taking the pro-independence Sumpah Pemuda (Pledge of the Youth), declaring themselves "One nation with one language, Indonesian; and one homeland, Indonesia."[153] This constructed Indonesian nation was necessarily future-looking and intent on the social transformation of feudal subjects into

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[151] Lane 2008, 11-13; Nordholt 2002, 37, 42.

[152] Kingsbury 2005, 29.

[153] Lane 2008, 18.

national citizens whose potential had been unlocked by freedom.[154] In many ways Indonesian

national identity has been defined by the process of revolution itself, often a revolution left

perpetually unfinished – "our ideals are not yet reached," as Sukarno proclaimed.[155]   The terms

Revolusi and *Merdeka* (freedom) still saturate political rhetoric today.

Colonial administrative nationalism is the unintended nationalism, borne out of the need

to better control a foreign territory. It shares similarities with regime-sustaining nationalism,

such as unequal treatment for different social groups, uneven development among regions, and a

highly-centralized administrative capital. But unlike regime-sustaining nationalism, colonial

administrative nationalism is fundamentally disinterested in the creation of a national community

and has no concern for a legitimating narrative. It is pragmatic without ideals, and as such

cannot provide the population it seeks to control with any sense of either history or destiny.

Unlike regime-sustaining nationalism, it also leads inevitably to its own downfall as the

unintended nation searches for a sense of purpose that its colonial administrators cannot offer.

<center>Anti-Colonial Nationalism</center>

The war for independence was brutal, and for several years following the declaration of

independence on August 17, 1945, Indonesia was left in international limbo as Dutch forces tried

to regain control of the territory after World War II. The Western world's hesitation to support

Indonesian independence convinced Indonesians of the need for self-reliance, while other former

colonies of the developing world expressed support for Indonesia during the 1949 Conference on

Indonesia in New Delhi; a confluence of these two factors led to the Non-Aligned Movement.[156]

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[154] Frederick 1997, 55-6.

[155] Elson 2008, 148.

[156] Elson 2008, 147.

The protracted war led paranoid Indonesian leaders to place a premium on national unity, and to dismiss federalism or regional autonomy out of hand.[157] The 1945-1949 war for independence gave Indonesian nationalism a violent edge, as well as a reservoir of grit from which to draw strength and faith in its convictions. It was a transformative experience Indonesians believed they shared only with the Vietnamese among their Southeast Asian neighbors.[158] Revolutionary valor and sacrifice on the part of both the military and the masses quickly became a powerful part of Indonesia's national mythology. Sukarno's nationalism too believed in an eternal struggle against forces of international and domestic oppression.

In the first years of independence, the idea of Indonesia was fiercely contested but undeniably full of potential and "the deeply felt hope that so large and vastly endowed a nation, tied together in unity of purpose… might aspire to a strength and power that would bring prosperity to its people and attract the administration of the world."[159] Much of this admiration, they hoped, would be for Indonesian nationalism and independence. The war had technically been won but the rewards of the revolution seemed unrealized. Indonesians of all social groups and political ideologies wanted this promising, "blank" nation constructed to reflect their values and identity, and were willing to risk their life and livelihood to guarantee it. The elusive "Indonesia" remained the lynchpin of their dreams; none of these nationalists would have uprooted from the land.

It became immediately apparent that nationalists did not agree on how to resolve several dichotomies – "East and West, village and city, region and nation, masses and elite… tradition

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[157] Elson 2008, 147.

[158] Liddle 1996, 92-3.

[159] Elson 2008, 197; see also Noor 2012, 2.

and modernity"[160] – nor on what the idea of Indonesia actually embodied beyond freedom from foreign rule. Those who had fought the hardest against the Dutch, however, were accorded the greatest political legitimacy: the Army and the charismatic face of the revolution, Sukarno, were the main beneficiaries of these spoils. Contrary to the Western image of the anti-colonial firebrand, these first leaders of the Indonesian state tended to be socially conservative and politically insecure. As the heirs of the revolution, they rooted out those deemed to be inauthentically or insufficiently devoted to Indonesia while reining in the far more radical impulses of the youth and, eventually, the Indonesian Communist Party.[161] The masses, or *rakyat*, were idealized as "intrinsically happy and good" as well as ignorant; while the *rakyat* embodied the Indonesian nation, they could not be trusted to run it themselves.[162] Such a responsibility was better left to the enlightened, whose firm grasp of various ideologies could provide a map for navigating the new, post-independence world.

Unfortunately, leaders grew impatient with these disagreements and decided to make themselves the sole arbiter of the Indonesian nation. For example, when the Konstituante (Constituent Assembly) could not come to a decision on whether the new Constitution should be based on secularism or Islam, Sukarno disbanded both the Konstituante and Parliament, and reinstated the 1945 Constitution. This decision in and of itself altered the direction of Indonesian nationalism by erasing the option for negotiation and debate over the nation's future, as well as the possibility for co-existing opposing ideologies.[163] What replaced it was an emphasis on a nation joined in top-down "harmony."

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[160] Frederick 1997, 56; Elson 2008, 43.

[161] Elson 2008, 147; Siegel 1997, 10, 232; Geertz 1972, 328.

[162] Frederick 1997, 56-7; Anderson 1972, 45, 51.

[163] Elson 2008, 196-7.

The pattern of the centripetal "mandalic state," centered in Java and spreading to what inevitably came to be called the "outer islands," once again re-emerged. The secular nationalist movement that had declared independence and established the Indonesian republic was unsurprisingly based in Java, the hub of the colony. National consciousness was deeply rooted among the Javanese, but theirs was a clearly Javanese vision of the nation-state – indeed, Ali argues that the creation of the Indonesian nation-state served as a vehicle for Javanese ethnic renewal, since Javanese culture, paradoxically, was the one that had been most manipulated by colonial rule.[164] Concepts that have greatly influenced the practice and study of Indonesian politics, such as the wise and apolitical hermit-guru, the divine right to power, and the balance between an obedient people and a graceful, non-violent ruler or *priyayi*, are all Javanese in origin. However, this Java-focus contradicted the modern, egalitarian conception of the Indonesian nation as an archipelagic web, not a mandala, and posed a serious threat to already-fragile national unity. Javanese nationalists have therefore stressed the national motto: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,* which means Unity in Diversity – in old Javanese.

During World War II and the Japanese occupation, right-wing integralism had emerged as a method of securing both horizontal and vertical national unity. Unbeknownst to many Indonesians and Indonesianists alike, this fascist ideology of the nation as an organic unity underpins the hastily-written and undemocratic 1945 Constitution.[165] The document's author, Raden Supomo, claimed that communities across the Dutch East Indies shared values of "communal harmony, social solidarity, and their feeling of oneness with their leaders," and since political institutions must reflect their people's cultural heritage, the state too should emphasize

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[164] Ali 1997, 189-91.

[165] Horowitz 2013, 17; Bourchier 1997, 159-62. Bourchier also notes that Supomo was most likely paying lip service to the Japanese occupiers by holding up Japan and the Third Reich as premier examples of integralism.

social harmony and hierarchical bonds. Whereas individualism would lead to selfishness and isolation and Communism would lead to conflict and disintegration, Supomo argued that integralism – with its respect for national spiritual unity and patrimonialism – would perfectly fit Indonesian society. Undoubtedly, the idea of spiritual oneness between ruler and ruled, manifesting in the "total faith by the people in their ruler," would have been quite attractive for nationalists seeking to craft a highly unified but traditionalist nation-state. As Supomo argued, such a nation would have given its citizens no fundamental rights, and its president no fundamental limits – such divisions would have disturbed the spiritual unity of the nation.

Critically for Indonesia, Supomo's vision did not win out entirely. Pragmatic liberals led by the first vice president, Mohammad Hatta, successfully fought for the inclusion of Article 28, which guarantees the political rights of freedom of association and expression. Whereas Supomo saw in fascist Japan and Germany an idealized vision of the nation-state as the village writ large, Hatta presciently foresaw the possibility of an all-powerful, arbitrary, and coercive state.[166] Had these proponents of liberal rights of citizenship not been a significant part of the early political intelligentsia, Indonesian nationalism might elicit the same knee-jerk fears as Japanese and German nationalism, and Indonesia likely would not be a champion of democracy today.

The nationalist ideology that developed instead – the Pancasila, which Sukarno claimed to boil down to the aforementioned notion of mutual cooperation, *gotong royong* – was much more even-keeled than Supomo's totalitarian state: in promoting co-existence as well as cooperation between sub-national groups (such as economic classes, political parties, and ethnicities), there was no need for absolute integration or, potentially, the destruction of undesirable elements. Sukarno saw the Pancasila as a catch-all ideology, a foundation on which

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[166] Bourchier 1997, 162.

every ideology could stand. He even suggested that the United Nations write the Pancasila into its Charter. Sukarno did share Supomo's concerns about Western individualism, which was why he sought to make Indonesia a nationalist and communitarian *socio-demokrasi*: a localized version of a powerful political norm and marker of international credibility.[167] The manifestation of this Pancasila, Geertz argues, is a country "as incapable of totalitarianism as of constitutionalism."[168]

With this hazy vision of Indonesia more or less established among the elites, the state immediately began to build a national culture to be held in common by the population. Schools were built and teachers were trained across the state, resulting in an estimated increase in the literacy rate from 10 to 80 percent from 1950 to 1960. Newly-minted political awareness manifested in remarkably dynamic and competitive political parties, which became consolidated into various *aliran*, or streams, of Indonesian society. Lane argues that these *aliran* – nationalist, Islamist, or Marxist – became so entrenched in day-to-day life that they often served as an Indonesian's primary identity.[169]

The ideology that truly defined the era, however, was the exceedingly popular Sukarnoism, which relied on the first president to guide and represent the masses' dreams and identities, shaping the state as necessary.[170] This ideology was premised on the fundamental unity of poor workers and peasants, all of whom Sukarno called the "Marhaen" after a peasant he met, but as Lane argues, Sukarnoism emphasizes class difference and action against segments of

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[167] Antlöv 2000, 204.

[168] Geertz 1972, 323.

[169] Lane 2008, 24.

[170] Elson 2008, 199.

Indonesia's own society.[171] The Marhaen were in part defined by their victimization by the political-economic system, personified by landlords and other anti-national conspirators with the NEKOLIM, forces of Neo-Colonialism, Colonialism, and Imperialism. Sukarno, a great orator and prolific writer, promoted his ideas widely through the press and radio.

On the other hand, Sukarno did seek to unify Indonesia's divergent philosophies (particularly mainstream nationalism, Islamism, and Marxism). Sukarno was fixated on national unity, both territorial and ideological, and wanted Indonesian groups, "whatever tactic they followed and whatever their goals," to build the nation together.[172] His failing was in his inability to create a practical realization of this unity within the parliamentary democracy of the early 1950s – resulting in an ideology that was mostly confined to rhetoric, and prone to sweeping inclusivity. "I have made myself the meeting place of all trends and ideologies," he stated, "I have blended, blended, and blended them until finally they became the present Sukarno."[173] Perhaps this is why out of the turbulent 1950s, Sukarnoism was the only idea that reached the elevated status of "revolution" and "Pancasila": other ideas were judged by their faithfulness to Sukarnoism.[174]

It must be noted that even Sukarno, who made grandiose proclamations about the nation belonging to the Marhaen, did not trust the people to uphold their own values or responsibilities as citizens – they needed taskmasters, preferably the President and the armed forces. The suppression of the people's political consciousness began during Guided Democracy, when the

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[171] Lane 2008, 249-50.

[172] Dahm 1969, 139.

[173] Geertz 1972, 322.

[174] Lane 2008, 29.

mobilized masses became the supporting Greek chorus behind Sukarno's main act.[175] Even

Sukarno viewed the military as "an organ which invigorates life" in the nation, "not a tool of

intimidation."[176] Sukarno also made appeals to the "national personality" to justify his return to

the more authoritarian 1945 Constitution, and was the first to argue that liberal democracy – that

is, foreign, *Western* democracy – simply did not fit the authentic Indonesian nature.[177]

Guided Democracy clearly altered the propagation of Sukarno's anti-colonial

nationalism: while ideas were frantically debated in the early 1950s, agreement with Sukarno's

principles was required for participation in politics during Guided Democracy.[178] It is worth

considering whether Sukarno would have persecuted right-leaning nationalists had his regime

survived. In Indonesia's early years, it is doubtful; in the Guided Democracy era, however, it is

entirely possible that Sukarno too would have adopted a totalitarian approach to the propagation

of his ideology, had he possessed some of Suharto's skill with implementation. One indication

that this might be the case is that the same year that Guided Democracy was adopted (1957), a

law was passed prohibiting Indonesians of foreign descent to study in foreign schools, and

converting over a thousand Chinese-language schools into Indonesian-language schools.[179]

With Guided Democracy, Sukarno was beginning to move toward the rigidity of regime-

sustaining nationalism, an ideology that would find full expression under Suharto's New Order.

But for the most part Sukarno retained a distinguishing characteristic of anti-colonial

nationalism: his vaguely-defined, lofty principles that allowed for a flexible, mutable view of the

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[175] Lane 2008, 253.

[176] Elson 2002, 177-8.

[177] Bourchier 1997, 157.

[178] Elson 2008, 200-201.

[179] Suryadinata 2000, 61-62.

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nation and co-existence rather than competition between sub-national ethnic and religious groups. Indeed, like democratic nationalism, anti-colonial nationalists assume the nation is a promising uncharted territory that can be carved in the likeness of their ideals.

Anti-colonial nationalism is not fundamentally concerned with controlling a restive population – only opposing oppressive geo-political forces, and for this endless struggle against an enemy other, national unity is most important. This confrontational stance also sets anti-colonial nationalism apart from democratic nationalism, which does not consider the nation to be in opposition to anything; anti-colonial nationalism bears battle wounds and a lingering victimization complex. Also unlike democratic nationalism, anti-colonial nationalism is a top-down construction led by the nation's first educated elites, and despite their modernist political inclinations, they did not trust the uneducated masses to determine the course of the nation. Anti-colonial nationalism creates a high-stakes, high-intensity ideological environment: one that eventually encourages political polarization and zero-sum conceptions of national ownership. These trends, in turn, bring anti-colonial nationalists closer and closer to regime-sustaining nationalists: ironically, the most oppressive nationalists of all.

<u>Regime-Sustaining Nationalism</u>

Sukarno's vision of national unity easily comes across as exaggerated, even absurd. But it was the New Order that took national unity to an extreme in its belief that all of Indonesian state and society be merged into one organic whole. Whereas Sukarno saw himself incorporating all of Indonesia's ideologies, Suharto adhered to one ideology – his interpretation of Pancasila – and expected it to absorb all of Indonesia in "monoloyalty," thus replacing all other identities and philosophies and de-politicizing the nation. In stark contrast to Sukarno, Suharto held that there was no need to discuss ideology, because as he told the Ansor Congress

in 1967, "we already have one ideology, Pancasila."[180] This organic unity was a deliberate attempt to patch together the deep divisions in Indonesian society: social, economic, political, even ethnic cleavages that the New Order blamed on Sukarno's Guided Democracy. Integralism surreptitiously crept back into the state's nationalism; by the late 1970s it was being taught at military academies, and by the late 1980s it was being taught at "P4" ideological education sessions and used to test students and government officials.[181] The machine that was Indonesia would rumble forward with one common purpose, joined by eternal familial bonds.[182] Voluntarily *leaving* the Indonesian unity – as separatist provinces were wont to do – was considered not only offensive but irrational.

In many ways, Suharto's devotion to order and hierarchy merely allowed him to properly realize authoritarian impulses already unleashed by Sukarno. Corporatism through functional groups, a pattern initiated by Sukarno, took on a new vigor – as well as depoliticization and hierarchy – during the New Order.[183] Civil servants were required to join KORPRI (Indonesian Civil Service Corps) and only KORPRI; KORPRI was in turn required to ally with Golkar (Party of the Functional Groups), Suharto's political party. KORPRI oversaw marriage and incorporated wives into a sister organization, Dharma Wanita. Joining the civil service – or receiving other forms of recognition from the nation, such as diplomas or checks signed by Suharto himself, or merely discussing the nation's achievements – could move citizens to tears.[184] It is the nationalist "desire to be together" in grand form.

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[180] Elson 2002, 181.

[181] Bourchier 1997, 163-5.

[182] Elson 2008, 277; Antlöv 2000, 210.

[183] Case 2003, 44.

[184] Siegel 1997, 7; Antlöv 2000, 206, 209.

Despite his obsession with national unity, Suharto believed in deep, inalienable cultural differences among the Indonesian people – this belief justified the hierarchy of a system where all rulers were benevolent and no authority should be questioned. Under Suharto, poor workers and peasants were no longer the Marhaen but the "floating mass," which had no political opinions and took no political actions. Being ignorant to the point of childishness, yet servile, the floating mass would work toward industrialization and tend the carefully-pruned cultural garden while their paternalistic leaders sat at the controls.[185] As Moelyono explains in the context of art, the poor became merely another objectified part of the social landscape, "no different from inanimate objects, scenery, flowers."[186]

To restructure society, and to empower the people to make political decisions, would be to risk opening a Pandora's Box. This depoliticization left the Indonesian people nearly voiceless, and as Lane argues, robbed them of their all-important collective trajectory, which having been founded in revolution was extremely political and centered on mobilization.[187] It also further reduced the already-limited channels of political dissent remaining after Guided Democracy. Effective, organized violence was monopolized by the military, so the only avenue left for the masses was the uncontrolled and spontaneous riot (*rusuh*), driven primarily by socio-economic discontent and disgust at elite corruption and brazen displays of wealth.[188]

Two examples are worth noting in particular for their illustration of where regime-sustaining nationalism draws its lines: the Malari riots of 1974 and the Tanjung Priok riots of 1984. In January 1974, Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited Jakarta and was greeted

[185] Case 2003, 44-5.

[186] Moelyono 1997, 122.

[187] Lane 2008, 54.

[188] Lane 2008, 83.

by university students and urban youths burning nearly 1000 Japanese vehicles and 144 buildings (such as Toyota showrooms and a Coca Cola bottling factory). The Malari (*Malapetaka Lima Belas Januari,* Fifteenth of January Disaster) riots expressed anger at the dominant economic role played by foreign direct investment and foreign aid at the expense of indigenous (non-Chinese) businesses. The state cracked down on the rioters – shooting and arresting students, banning incendiary newspapers, and disallowing public demonstrations against foreign investment – but also saw the need to stave off further restlessness by introducing restrictions on foreign investment and incentives for indigenous businesses.[189] The state, in other words, managed to integrate these public concerns into policies of regime-sustaining nationalism without actually allowing the public to voice them.

In September 1984, the port of Tanjung Priok was the setting of a large demonstration against the North Jakarta District Military Command (Kodim). A Christian member of a Village Guidance Squad had asked a mosque to remove signs urging Muslim women to defy the government restriction on wearing *hijab*; several mosque-goers attacked him, and were detained at the Kodim. A Chinese Indonesian family was killed en route to the Kodim, presumably by a swelling number of demonstrators – many of whom were dockworkers adjusting to individualistic urban life and taking refuge in the only "safe outlet" for activism, Islam.[190] The state admitted to killing 24 and injuring 54 demonstrators (unofficial estimates ran into the hundreds), over 150 demonstrators were given heavy sentences, and Muslim activists across Java were targeted for crackdowns.[191] The media was silent on the issue; the state made no

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[189] Thee 2010, 68-69; Case 2003, 35-36; Lane 2008, 83.

[190] Case 2003, 49.

[191] Liem 2002, 211-212; Nordholt 2002, 47.

adjustments. Whereas the Malari riots had targeted foreign businesses, the Islamic preachers leading the Tanjung Priok demonstration had criticized the government and the Pancasila itself; regime-sustaining nationalism does not tolerate such a direct affront to the ruling regime.

Everyone had a specially-assigned role in the New Order. The military was ascribed a special *dwifungsi* (dual function) role as protectors of the state and its development process, which essentially enabled the military to interfere in society. Even the competence of civilian politicians was regarded with some skepticism by the state, in comparison to military elites. Students had a special prerogative to mobilization (within reason – this right was eventually rescinded in 1978) as Indonesia's politically neutral "moral force."[192] Using a hallmark strategy of cultural nationalists, Suharto encouraged Indonesian scholars to find anthropological and sociological justification for his order, resulting in a re-definition of Indonesian society as one that valued communal harmony and joyful obedience, because "to serve is not a burden but a blessing."[193] This enabled Suharto to argue that his New Order returned Indonesia to its pure origins – even though this view of Indonesian society reflects only what elites want to see.[194]

Indeed, for all of New Order nationalism's cultural references, it actually continued the colonial tendency to compress the archipelago's diverse cultures into a "dirge-like flatness."[195] Both Sukarno and Suharto realized that un-erasable local cultures had to be made subservient to the national identity. Sukarno was a romantic with inspirational flair whose future-forward calls for a national identity based on multiculturalism felt genuine, if exaggerated. Suharto grounded multicultural national identity in the same pre-national, often feudal traditions that had been

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[192] Lane 2008, 62.

[193] Antlöv 2000, 206.

[194] Elson 2002, 187; Antlöv 2000, 210.

[195] Elson 2008, 277.

mummified as "museum cultures" by colonial rule – the resulting New Order-approved pageantries looked very homogeneous and artificial indeed.[196]

There was clearly no room for a political opposition in this view of the nation – after all, civil society and competing political parties were all integrated into the state, and to obey the state was to obey its leaders. Neither was there any room for human rights (let alone political and civil rights) protections – to provide this was to assume conflict between the state and its people.[197] Of course, an opposition engaged in the struggle to present an alternative vision of the Indonesian nation did exist, outgunned though they were by the state's control over the economy and the military.[198] As Indonesian culture grew more cosmopolitan, however, the expectation that the state should be able to handle a bit of humorous criticism and creative experimentation without resorting to censorship – because the nation itself was intelligent enough to digest such things – grew.[199] By the 1990s, the national culture – and indeed, "Indonesia" itself – was changing beyond the state's control.

The interpretation of the Pancasila evolved in accordance to the development of the state's nationalism. While Sukarno most prized the philosophy's universal applicability, Suharto saw it as a domestic tool, institutionalizing it as a stand-alone justification for the New Order.[200] Though the pillars of national unity, justice, and monotheism remained the same during the New Order, the pillar of democratic rule through deliberative consensus lost its "democratic" trappings (though Suharto ironically began to call the system *Demokrasi Pancasila* in 1968), and

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[196] Lane 2008, 269-270; Frederick 1997, 70.

[197] Antlöv 2000, 207.

[198] Ali 1997, 193-195.

[199] Frederick 1997, 74-75.

[200] Antlöv 2000, 206.

the pillar that Sukarno at times interpreted as left-leaning socio-economic equality was re-defined as humanitarianism.

In 1980 the Pancasila was implied to have preceded its inventor, Sukarno, as an essential facet of Indonesianness; in 1985-6, all mass organizations were required to adopt Pancasila as their sole foundation.[201] This doctrinaire Pancasila consumed everything: not only was there Pancasila Democracy, but Pancasila Economy and Pancasila Labor Relations; on Independence Day in 1967, Suharto mentioned Pancasila sixty-four times.[202] BP7, the government's propagandistic agency, organized the "P4" Pancasila Promotion Programme for civil servants and community leaders and Pancasila Moral Education for students, with the express intent of creating a "bond of loyalty" between the people and the New Order.[203] The Pancasila – as well as the Constitution of 1945 – became so important to Suharto that he argued Sukarno's reign had nearly drowned it under other ideologies, including – ludicrously – nationalism itself.[204]

Fascinatingly, this glorification of Pancasila would prove to be a double-edged sword. If the Pancasila defined all that was righteous in Indonesia, political opponents merely had to prove that Suharto's interpretation of the Pancasila was incorrect. One frequent target was the disputed fifth pillar of "social justice," as Suharto's critics accused him of failing to create a "just society."[205] This opportunity arose at a 1989 state-sponsored seminar at the University of Indonesia, when disagreement over the military's guaranteed 100-seat representation in parliament turned into a full-fledged debate over whether Indonesia truly was a *Negara*

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[201] Heryanto 2006, 12.

[202] Case 2003, 45; Elson 2002, 181.

[203] Ashton, Brahmantyo, and Keaney 2012, 95.

[204] Aspinall and Berger 2001, 1009.

[205] Antlöv 2000, 215.

Integralistik. Well-respected lawyers, academics, and journalists used the rare opportunity for dissent to argue that integralism was based on mistaken assumptions about Indonesian culture, that the 1945 Constitution was not integralist, and that integralism – with its feudalistic qualities – was not appropriate for modern-day Indonesia.[206] Proponents of democracy also began to argue that Hatta's vision of a state equipped with individual rights and accountable to the people due to *kedaulatan rakyat* (popular sovereignty) were more in keeping with the Constitution – and the Indonesian nation.[207] Afterwards, the state did withdraw from integralism, calling Indonesia a *Negara Kekeluargaan* (familial state) instead.

This episode points to an oft-forgotten truth about the nationalist ideologies of authoritarian states: every state, no matter how totalitarian, needs to be considered legitimate by its people. As Lane remarks, "Everybody still wants to speak in the name of or for the rakyat."[208] Nationalism, which links the state with its people, must therefore be handled with great care – the more so as the state tries to exercise more control over society. Liddle argues that Suharto reinstated elections because democracy was a "legitimating prop."[209] More fundamentally, however, Indonesian integralists seemingly forgot that Javanese feudal society requires that leaders as well as peasants exercise humility and place the community's needs above their own. These actions give leaders their *jasa* (service-mindedness); among the common people, *jasa* manifests as the right to sanction unwanted leaders.[210] The accountability and

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[206] Bourchier 1997, 168-170.

[207] Bourchier 1997, 175-177.

[208] Lane 2008, 114.

[209] Liddle 1996, 28-29.

[210] Antlöv 2000, 211-212.

respectability of leaders, therefore, must be as much a part of the Indonesian nation as harmony and family.

During the New Order a class called Education in the History of the National Struggle taught a military-prepared version of history that demonized the left and sanitized the revolution itself, erasing the many disagreements between different national factions about the future of Indonesia.[211] All writings by Sukarno, the Indonesian Communist Party, or any other group that could challenge the state-sponsored version of history were banned. Real revolution, too, was forbidden and – its practitioners having been alienated from the national project – became increasingly radicalized, and in some cases militant.[212] In contrast to Sukarno's truly revolutionary nationalism – Sukarnoism promoted the necessity of social, political, and economic re-ordering – Suharto's nationalism was a conservative ideology, and as such preferred the word "struggle" over "revolution."[213]

Suharto's economic policies did alter the nation in unexpected and divisive ways, principally by lifting wealthy Indonesians to a new *elit* status whose distinguishing symbols – luxury cars, luxury malls, mansions, and increasingly Western values – very publicly set them apart from the poor.[214] Elites turned to foreign investors to maximize wealth, diverting their attention from the nation; Suharto's own family was first in line. The ethnic Chinese, having never been accepted into the national unity, had little legalized protection and although they were encouraged to accumulate wealth and drive growth, they were entirely dependent on the government for protection from the "real" nation.

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[211] Lane 2008, 108-109.

[212] Kartodirdjo 1972, 119.

[213] Elson 2008, 277.

[214] Lane 2008, 254-255.

Whenever Suharto loosened control over the market, he tightened control over politics, but economic *keterbukaan* (openness) without political *keterbukaan* made increasingly little sense.[215] Villages were placated with subsidized goods and social assistance funding, but many of the poor were leaving the rural farmland for urban factories, where grievances found more outlets. Case notes that Suharto never ran paternalistic dialogue sessions with factory workers as he did with farmers, perhaps knowing such condescension would be ill-received.[216] Economic development was costing him control over both the nation and the national narrative.

Regime-sustaining nationalism is intended to legitimize the ruling regime. It shares similarities with colonial administrative nationalism – its pyramidal structure and highly-instrumental basis in which nationalism is a means to control a population – but compared to the latter, regime-sustaining nationalism puts greater emphasis on legitimization (it is much easier to overthrow a dictator than a colonizing empire), and thus on ideology. Even more so than anti-colonial nationalism, regime-sustaining nationalism is disproportionately top-heavy. It is nationalism by and for a small class of elites, and it is in their interest to cultivate a localized ideology that inculcates apolitical subservience at the mass-level. To do so, these nationalists typically flatten a wide array of cultures, monopolize organized violence, and practice divide-and-conquer tactics.

That Suharto's New Order took on fascistic qualities is not surprising. The equation of the government with the state itself, the assumption that nationals would never oppose or criticize state policy, the shared purpose and ideology of a pure and organic whole, the

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[215] Bourchier 1997, 173-174.

[216] Case 2003, 49. In such dialogue sessions, Suharto "smil[ed] broadly as he dispensed advice about the importance of hard work. Farmworkers then grinned, looked down, and contemplated this advice, forming asymmetrical exchanges that were duly broadcast on state-run TV" (Case 2003, 46).

conservative family structure that solidifies the national hierarchy – all these aspects of fascism support the purposes of regime-sustaining nationalism. Like colonial administrative nationalism, regime-sustaining nationalism often bears the seeds of its own demise: again, the regime at the helm of a heavily-centralized state structure loses control of a changing nation – opening the door to the possibility of democratic nationalism.

<div align="center">Democratic Nationalism</div>

State nationalism in the Reform Era is nowhere near as doctrinaire as it was during the transition to authoritarian rule. The most notable difference is the lack of effective top-down control of the national identity, resulting in much less cohesive nationalist sentiment. This does not mean that nationalism is dead in Indonesia – but with the end of authoritarianism, the foundations of the Indonesian nation and national identity have been thrown into flux. Nationalists, both in the central government and otherwise, have struggled to find stable footing on which to ground this new democratic nationalism. It is immediately clear, however, that state actors have shown no interest in constructing either a confrontational anti-colonial nationalism or a coercive regime-sustaining nationalism, even at a time fraught with crisis. As Leifer notes, Indonesian nationalism no longer seems to have an "external other."[217] There is some indication that such nationalism would not resonate at the mass-level either.

An immediate indication of the disruption in Indonesia's nationalist ideology has been the shifted status of the previously-venerated Pancasila. Some of Suharto's opponents, including the 1998 student movement and the populist political party led by Sukarno's daughter Megawati Sukarnoputri, PDI-P, have held steadfast to the Pancasila. These groups have maintained that there is nothing wrong with the Pancasila or the 1945 Constitution, but both concepts were

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[217] Leifer 2000, 168.

misused by Suharto. It is a relatively conservative position that both preserves the long-standing

basis of Indonesian nationalism and protects its proponents from the accusation of being

unpatriotic, and as such was the "only tolerable critique" during the New Order.[218]

While the Constitution has been slowly amended, nothing has replaced Pancasila.

Sukarno has been proven right about the Pancasila – it is less a justification for a particular

regime than a broadly applicable, politically flexible philosophy. Accordingly, the state itself no

longer enforces adherence to the Pancasila. Parliament has freed political parties and social and

cultural organizations of the requirement to be ideologically based on the Pancasila, as long as

the ideology they do adopt does not *contradict* the national philosophy.[219] While this confirmed

the state's commitment to the Pancasila, it allowed Islamic and regional parties to digress from

this commitment. The assumption of distinction between the state and its citizens would have

been unthinkable in the era of "organic unity," and is still curious today: why would the state

refrain from strengthening the national backbone in a period of high uncertainty?

The state's citizens and their mass culture have indeed derailed from the state's

ideological track; this divergence has come as a consequence of post-authoritarian

demoralization and disillusionment. The New Order's intellectual bankruptcy left the Indonesian

people – the development of their own national identity having been stilted for decades – at a

loss for legitimate public values or common purpose and meaning, or as Elson puts it, in a

"severe case of identity crisis."[220] The great common destiny promised by the New Order's

regime-sustaining nationalism had failed to arrive. Its replacement governments seemed unable

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[218] Antlöv 2000, 216; Horowitz 2013, 51; Leifer 2000, 153-154.

[219] Case 2003, 67; Barker 2008, 536.

[220] Elson 2008, 280; see also Kingsbury 2005, 161.

to implement even basic transportation and resource extraction without disaster, leaving Indonesians not only disappointed but doubtful of their government's ability to properly manage the same technology that foreign governments apparently handle with ease.[221]

In a short story called "I Want to Live," a young Christian who has died during a protest in 1998 feels understandably jaded toward an Indonesian national identity that seems to ring hollow: "Tell your children that we love Indonesia, our country, that we love wisdom and democracy. Tell them the usual things."[222] The middle class rarely partakes in "treacly" nationalism, preferring "commercially slick and bittersweet" humor that pokes fun at pillars of the Indonesian nation, including the masses; meanwhile, business elites demonstrate very little concern for the loss of national sovereignty.[223] Although years of nationalist indoctrination have left the Indonesian people with a vague but deeply engrained sense of national belonging, the Indonesian idea itself has lost its sheen – leaving Indonesians tethered to an entity they are no longer sure they believe in. Antlöv suggests that this shared political community of Indonesia is, in fact, the only public value that has survived.[224]

By the end of the 1990s, the New Order had lost touch with the new, cosmopolitan generation of Indonesians for whom the Communist threat, and increasingly anti-Chinese racism, meant almost nothing. Indeed, young Indonesians often fail to even identify an admirable Indonesian role model.[225] Ironically, the New Order itself caused this disconnect by driving economic growth and global consumerism on the one hand, and erasing all but the most

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[221] Amir 2010, 279-80.

[222] Epstein 2010, 3-4.

[223] Frederick 1997, 75-76; Lane 2008, 273.

[224] Antlöv 2000, 221.

[225] Heryanto 2006, 137-139; Anderson 1999, 10.

sterilized history on the other. As Lane explains, the result has made it "almost as if Indonesian history began some[time] in the 1980s."[226] Intellectuals most likely to spearhead constructive nationalist movements have become less attracted to nationalism, partly because it is an ideology associated with the New Order. Lane suspects this taint delayed nationalist objection to the notorious IMF package, for example – although it is equally likely that cosmopolitan Indonesia has simply accepted globalization as a force that cannot be fought, despite its human and economic costs.[227] Global cosmopolitanism is not the only type of belonging that can fill the void as the national project loses its charm and legitimacy; primordialism, with its susceptibility to corruption, exclusivity, and neo-patrimonialism, is another alternative that would only push Indonesian society toward greater divisions and narrowing empowerment.

The New Order's manipulation of history and tradition has undermined any future appeal to history as a source of national legitimacy.[228] The impact has been evident on the concept of "revolution," for example, which seems to have finally ended. While student activists tried to revive the tradition of mass mobilization (*aksi*) and reached back to the 1928 Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Oath) for their Sumpah Mahasiswa (Student's Oath), most of the population lacks a thorough understanding of the revolution against the Dutch, especially of the role played by the masses and of course the left.[229] This has reduced the cultural salience of revolution, although the more moderate rallying cry toward "Reformasi Total" has apparently taken the place of the

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[226] Lane 2008, 52-53.

[227] Lane 2008, 271-272; Noor 2012, 29; Frederick 1997, 71.

[228] Morrell 2001, 447.

[229] Lane 2008, 110, 115.

endless revolution. As Fealy writes, "Reformasi" declares the nation to not yet be perfect and demands further improvement.[230] It does not demand political, economic, and social overhaul.

Building a new, more suitable national culture with appropriate values, symbols, and institutions has proven difficult. Anderson suggests that in order to revive the national culture, Indonesia will first need to develop a "true love" for national institutions such as public education and government agencies, such that their benefits are distributed equally and their roots grow strong.[231] Such love would present a test of Indonesians' patience, however. A 2009 law requiring filmmakers to uphold the nation's moral, religious, and cultural values was roundly condemned as censorship; the education curriculum has been a battleground since 2003, when parliament passed a law proclaiming the goal of the education system to be the creation of faithful, pious, and moral citizens.[232] Instead, at least a portion of Indonesians raised in the era of globalization have begun to embrace the idea that openness and criticism, as well as a global goods market, are not incompatible with Indonesian identity – and the nation should be able to make room for free expression without "going off the deep end."[233]

This reluctance to adopt state-sponsored values must be considered in the context of the preceding four decades, during which government-constructed interpretations of history and culture were forced upon citizens paralyzed by a culture of fear: just like many victims of post-traumatic stress disorder, Indonesians will be quick to reject any similar attempts at cultural engineering, no matter how well-intended. The state has generally realized this, and in 2010 lifted a ban on books deemed disruptive to public order. In an important development,

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[230] Fealy 2008, 388.

[231] Anderson 1999, 10.

[232] Horowitz 2013, 251, 255.

[233] Frederick 1997, 74.

discriminatory policies against the Chinese have been largely removed, Chinese conglomerates are no longer so closely-tied to or so dependent on the state, and public use of Chinese language and culture has begun to find acceptance.[234]

Nordholt questions "whether there is still anything left of the nation after so many years of state domination."[235] The answer is yes, but there may be less leeway for elite nationalist entrepreneurs; the masses need and indeed demand to be brought back into the national project that has effectively excluded them as decision-makers. The learning curve has been steep. Popular preference for the nation's future has thus far been mainly expressed by either patron-client voting patterns, or mass action: protests, strikes, and occupations intent on stopping the normal flow of political and economic activity at government legislatures, factories, and plantations. Lane lists the sectors of society that have taken part in such protests:[236]

> students, workers, farmers, neighborhood residents, teachers, doctors, nurses, electricity company employees, bank employees, the state airplane factory employees, victims of Suharto period injustice, squatters, public transport drivers, taxi drivers, journalists, street traders, fishermen, women demonstrating against sexism of various kinds.

Mass action may appear to be an unproductive way to build a nation, since it merely implies the obstruction and rejection of the nation-state's status quo – and often according to personal interests and an under-developed ideology. This has led some to call this period the "era of insanity"[237] – especially since the state has not responded to this chaos by administering a top-down vision of national unity, through institutions or violence.[238] National fragmentation is

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[234] Bertrand 2008, 443; Heryanto 2006, 29.

[235] Nordholt 2002, 54; see also Lane 2008, 271.

[236] Lane 2008, 205-206.

[237] Van Dijk 2002, 281.

[238] Kingsbury 2005, 37.

a legitimate fear, of course, but mass action does allow previously disenfranchised people to air grievances and struggle for solutions; such skills are crucial to productive involvement in the national project. Amir's case study of Indonesia's anti-nuclear movement suggests that civil society groups with a common national vision can use their unique ideological frames to rally support from a diverse slice of society.[239] It will take time for cohesive *aliran* (national ideological streams) to re-emerge after having been compressed into organic unity for decades. The greater risk to national unity stems from middle-class and elite fears of these mass actions, which could lead to demands for the masses' exclusion from the national project, through coercion if necessary.[240]

Out of this chaos, two distinct ways of viewing and belonging to the nation have emerged in Reform-era Indonesia. Both are responses to a perception of national weakness following the economic collapse, the loss of the unhappy province East Timor, and perhaps even the Boxing Day Tsunami of 2004 and the 2002 Bali bombings. First is a forthright national pride – a belief that Indonesia "should stand tall and proclaim that enough is enough."[241] The imagined contemporary obstacles to Indonesia's greatness include ASEAN's limited efficiency, separatist provinces, foreign military bases on Indonesian soil or foreign sea patrols in Indonesian waterways, and international condemnation of Indonesia following the military's violent crackdown on East Timor following its vote for independence.[242] Suggested ways to lift Indonesia to greatness – and re-invigorate broad-based nationalism – range from a nuclear energy program to an "anti-UN jihad" to prevent the international community from demonizing

[239] Amir 2010, 282-283.

[240] Anderson 2009, 220.

[241] Clark 2011, 297.

[242] Murphy 2010, 369, 378; Heryanto 2006, 31; Elson 2008, 312-313; Chong 2012, 25-26.

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Indonesia to reclaiming regional leadership through ASEAN.[243] Some of this rhetoric has drawn cautions of a re-emergence of the old "neofascist aspirations," especially since it is often used by political or social leaders with the express purpose of riling up crowds.[244]

Indonesia's cultural competition with Malaysia, playfully dubbed "Konfrontasi II," is an oft-cited example. In 2009, the depiction of Indonesian songs and dances in Malaysia's tourism promotional materials led to several violent demonstrations against Malaysia, with protesters chanting the old Konfrontasi slogan, "Ganjang Malaysia" (Hang Malaysia). The Malaysian cultural minister was incredulous that "a single dance move used by another country's television station" led Indonesians to "start burning flags and throwing rocks."[245] But decades of authoritarian ritualization of cultural tradition have left Indonesians convinced that cultural heritage "makes up what Indonesia is."[246] This is a legacy of colonial administrative nationalism's first garbled attempts to create a united nation – and later, an "imagined kinship community" to be policed by a cultural ministry – out of a colony.[247]

This "conflict" is a prime example of chauvinistic democratic nationalism. Government officials may try to capitalize on what appears to be a salient issue among the voting public – Culture and Tourism Minister Jero Wacik suggested legally registering Indonesia's cultural heritage and suing "plagiarizers" – but the outrage is driven by mass society and amplified by media sensationalization.[248] Much of the violent uproar in this case appears to be an attempt by

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[243] Amir 2010, 278; Murphy 2010,369; Leifer 2000, 168.

[244] Noor 2012, 3-4; Chong 2012, 25-26.

[245] Chong 2012, 2.

[246] Chong 2012, 24.

[247] Chong 2012, 19.

[248] Kasim 2005, 3; Morrell 2001, 438.

activist paramilitaries to enforce their vision of national unity. For example, a vigilante group called Bendera (the People's Democratic Front) has patrolled the streets handing out miniature Indonesian flags, demanding Indonesian ID cards from motorists, and ostensibly searching for Malaysians to drive out of the country.[249]

Democratic nationalism demands that the state allow open political expression and contestation of what it means to be Indonesian. The government has also created less hostile outlets for national pride: Batikmark certification, batik carnivals, and the World Batik Summit.[250] Such endeavors are intended to draw both nationals and foreigners into the Indonesian nation rather than pushing outsiders away. Fortunately, the most recent development in the contestation of cultural theft has been a peaceful cultural revival: "Damn! I Love Indonesia" shirts are marketed to urban youth, and batik has become fashionable after years of sterile preservation as a part of Java's traditional "museum culture." Mass identification with the nation evidently remains strong, but Indonesia's democratic nationalism was born in the consumerist age; national pride is demonstrated by wearing t-shirts, not rattling sabers.

These fears should be at least somewhat mitigated by the second common way of relating to the nation: national shame, or more moderately, national modesty. In the post-authoritarian Indonesian nation, "seemingly infinite troubles" amplified by "the CNN effect" and state terror for the sake of national unity have given rise to doubts that Indonesian identity is worth taking pride in.[251] The IMF's ability to force Suharto into a subservient position was deeply embarrassing, as was the loss of East Timor and ASEAN's subsequent statement of support for

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[249] Chong 2012, 3-4.

[250] Chong 2012, 28-29.

[251] Elson 2008, 311-312; Epstein 2010, 4.

Indonesia's territorial integrity: "The need for such a collective position," Emmers explains, "humiliated a state that had represented the political core of the association."[252]

For some politicians, this has meant a self-imposed gag order where sensitive subjects are concerned. One important example is Indonesia's attempt to come to terms with the 1965 mass killings, which has been fraught with difficulties. The heart of the problem is separating the New Order's mythology of G30S – which casts the Communists as sadistic killers of seven military generals, and the violence that destroyed the Communist Party as natural, guiltless, and necessary – from Indonesia's national narrative. As long as this understanding of history remains in place – that is, as long as Indonesia's national identity involves resolute anti-Communism, the children of Communists are exiled from the national community – there will be no truth and reconciliation to Indonesia's largest and most-forgotten act of political violence.

On the one hand, academic efforts to remember this buried history re-invigorated the student movement that came to drive Reformasi, and restrictions on left-leaning print media have been largely lifted in the Reform Era in keeping with new standards of openness.[253] This has included memoirs by victims, such as "Breaking the Silence" and "I'm Proud to Be a PKI Child." This newfound sense of pride among the victims' descendants – who would not have been free to reveal their identities during the New Order – is a direct result of the state's willful relinquishing of central authority over the national narrative: "Why should I be [ashamed]? History doesn't have one version only," said one 17-year-old grandson of a PKI leader.[254] President Abdurrahman Wahid – himself an Islamic cleric – made surprising concessions to

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[252] Emmers 2005, 660.

[253] Lane 2008, 105; Heryanto 2006, 135.

[254] Dian Kuswandini, "Children of the PKI Claim Their Own Independence," *Jakarta Post,* August 19 2008, http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/08/19/children-pki-claim-their-own-independence.html

those demanding truth and reconciliation in late 1999 and 2000: along with extending an olive

branch to the People's Republic of China and Israel, he also offered formal apologies to victims

of Suharto's regime-sustaining nationalism: the East Timorese, and the victims of the 1965 mass

killings. He also called for an interrogation into the mass killings, attempted to open a Truth and

Reconciliation Commission, and tried to revoke a 1966 law outlawing Marxism and Leninism.

Islamic leaders reacted badly and Wahid lost a crucial support base.[255]

In 2004, Indonesia's textbooks were re-written to take out statements blaming the 30th

September Movement solely on the Communist Party, acknowledge that most of the victims of

socio-political "clashes" that followed the movement were Communists, and refer to these

"clashes" as a "tragedy." Even these minor changes would eventually prove unacceptable, and

in 2007 these textbooks were banned and burned, over the protests of Indonesian intellectuals.[256]

Wahid's Truth and Reconciliation Commission languished until 2006, when the Constitutional

Court demanded proof of human rights violations in 1965. When this proof was provided by the

National Human Rights Commission in 2012, the Commission's report was rejected by the

Attorney General's office. The entire society has gotten involved: attempts to locate and exhume

mass graves have been blocked by local residents, Islamic youth, and local military units.

The reluctance to re-assess the national understanding of the mass killings partly stems

from the fact that today's elites – including the military, the powerful Islamic mass organization

NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), and the Golkar Party – rose to prominence during the New Order on the

bones of Communists, and they fear being prosecuted, losing face, and bearing the burden of

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[255] Ashton, Brahmantyo, and Keaney 2012, 92.

[256] Lane 2008, 112.

public responsibility for such violence.[257] Local officials who oppose exhumations additionally

fear that ever-present boogeyman of Indonesian society, "social unrest."[258] McGregor notes that

many still believe that the Communists deserved their fate; that at least the Communists would

have put Islamists and soldiers on their "death lists" if they had come to power.[259] Indeed, most

students still believe the propagandistic movie *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* to be largely

accurate.[260] It is worth noting what such an argument implies about Indonesian identity: are

ideological disagreements so polarizing in Indonesian society that the dominance of one faction

is assumed to lead to the massacre of the others?

Unlike Indonesia's commitment to democracy – or an investigation into human rights

abuses in East Timor or Papua – an investigation into the mass killings is not supported by any of

Indonesia's Western allies, for fear that such an investigation would reveal their own complicity

in the purge. In a world where respect for human rights is a credibility-granting norm, no nation

– Indonesia included – wants such an embarrassing public stain on their record. While

glorification of the mass killings by either state or non-state actors appears to be on the decline,

most Indonesians seem to prefer willful forgetting of the killings in the interest of "pursuing a

better future."[261] Coming to terms with the mass killings would include re-assessing national

history, re-defining various symbols and reference points in that history, and creating what

amounts to a new set of national values – a daunting agenda for any nation. The national shame

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[257] Heryanto 2006, 24.

[258] Heryanto 2006, 25.

[259] McGregor 2012, 258.

[260] Heryanto 2006, 50.

[261] Heryanto 2006, 3.

that would result from embedding such ugliness in the official national history – a stark contrast

from the glorious history that most nations look for – may be too great for the nation to bear.

Following 2006 educational reforms, history textbooks have lamented the high price

Indonesia paid in economic well-being and international credibility for the failed and needless

aggression of Konfrontasi.[262] National modesty, Elson has suggested, correlates with more

grounded values of tolerance, individual integrity, and acknowledgment of past shameful state

acts – running in stark contrast to the grandiose, top-down nationalism that has led Indonesia

down darker paths.[263] Leaders may have finally lost faith in the possibility of the singular, all-

encompassing, transcendental march toward national unity, preferring gradual, pragmatic

progression instead. Wahid, whose presidency failed due to inter-factional conflict and a

scattered base of support, nevertheless serves as a quintessential example of this new type of

nationalism: tolerant of diverse beliefs and supportive of religious minorities, slightly

opportunistic, committed to democracy and secular state nationalism, and still respectful of the

traditional *ulama*.[264]

Rather than enforcing a uniform national identity or mobilizing a revolutionary

nationalist movement at home, the state has preoccupied itself with casting a larger-than-life, and

globally embraced, image of Indonesia upon an international projector screen. Indonesian civil

society and parliamentarians alike have pushed ASEAN to become a more "can-do" regional

organization, urging a proactive stance on the military junta in Myanmar and human rights

protection in ASEAN member states. As a 2010 editorial put it, Indonesia has "constitutional

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[262] Noor 2012, 23-24.

[263] Elson 2008, 312-314.

[264] Mujani and Liddle 2009, 587.

obligations to convince our neighbors that adopting democracy is not an option but mandatory."[265]   It is thanks to Indonesia's lobbying efforts that the ASEAN Security Community Blueprint calls for "peace, stability, democracy and prosperity" and the 2007 ASEAN Charter obliges members to follow "the principle of democracy" and "the promotion and protection of human rights."[266]   Some Indonesian intellectuals have also made the unrealistic suggestion, much to ASEAN's dismay, that Indonesia abandon ASEAN for a more elevated and progressive international platform, such as the G-8.[267]   Despite this strong support for what could be termed a gentle version of democracy promotion, Indonesia remains opposed to UN-based "name and shame" reprimands of pariah states.[268]   This objection is partly due to its own difficult history with the UN, but also reflects respect for the norm of non-interference – an increasingly unpopular concept that Indonesia still generally upholds due to its firmly nationalist approach to international politics.

A similar effort is being undertaken in the arts, as the newly-freed film industry has set its sights on competing at the Cannes and New York film festivals with depictions of Indonesian culture that make "a good impression on" outsiders, and the music industry has finally tried to sell the homegrown musical style of *dangdut* to foreign audiences.[269]   Indeed, this image centers on especially striking factoids seemingly lifted out of a travel brochure: Indonesia's identity as the "fourth largest country in the world" and "largest Muslim democracy in the world."

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[265] Sukma 2011, 117-118.

[266] Sukma 2011, 114.

[267] Clark 2011, 299-300.

[268] Sukma 2011, 116.

[269] Frederick 1997, 72.

This latter title, in particular, is a positive spin on two factors that raised doubts in the international community regarding the stability and sustainability of Indonesia's reform period: the haphazard-seeming democratization and the re-emergence of political Islam.[270] In 1999, Indonesia's reputation as a state was in a nosedive, with grave consequences not only for national unity but economic recovery, which would depend on foreign confidence. The projected image could also be an attempt to marry the aforementioned twin façades of national pride and national shame: the projected image is an internationally-sanctioned source of pride, and forms a powerful narrative in part because of the contrast it invites to pre-Reformasi Indonesia. If a shared national trajectory is the most vital and dynamic element of the nation, the Indonesian government has stumbled upon the most powerful trajectory of all: the *success story*.

This story, articulated through official statements and strategies, is an exercise in simulacra, rather like Java's famous shadow puppet plays, but does have a real impact on Indonesia's foreign and domestic policy. To this end Indonesia signed the Warsaw Declaration in 2000, was appointed to the advisory board of the UN Democracy Fund in 2005, and launched the Bali Democracy Forum in 2008. Just as Indonesia has no interest in violating its successful all-directions foreign policy of "a million friends, zero enemies" by attacking a neighbor, it also has no interest in ruining its democratic credibility by attacking those within its borders. In 2001, Indonesia's foreign minister claimed to the UN General Assembly that "Indonesians have a natural affinity to democracy" – a truly remarkable turn-around from the Asian Values argument.[271]

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[270] Sukma 2011, 112.

[271] Sukma 2011, 112-113.

Democratic nationalism stands apart from the other types of nationalism because it is constructed from the bottom-up – that is, by the masses instead of the elites. Democratic nationalism is intended to increase the chances of long-term, voluntary buy-in to the national project; its end goal is national unity and state survival, but not regime survival. Like anti-colonial nationalism, democratic nationalism is ideological rather than instrumental – but unlike the former, democratic nationalism separates the nation from the regime. This reduces the regime's ability to capitalize on nationalist rhetoric but also substantially lowers political stakes. Democratic nationalism also features other characteristics that typify democratic governance: a lack of cohesion, the acceptance of dissent, obstructionist protests. These are part and parcel of the struggle to integrate masses of previously disenfranchised voices into a people's national project.

Despite the occasional outburst of ostentatious national pride, democratic nationalism tends to be moderate and tolerant, with often-significant distrust – and even shame – of the state apparatus. Of the four types of nationalism discussed in this thesis, democratic nationalism is the most skeptical of dogmatic patriotism, but also has the potential to be the longest-lasting. Since democratic governments have built-in power transitions, any given regime will not have a long tenure; but unlike regime-sustaining nationalism, democratic nationalism assumes that the nation will outlive any given regime. Attachment to the nation as a political community may be the only value shared by a democratic nation, but it is also the most important value; if citizens remain committed to improving and clarifying the nation while the state upholds broad inclusion in the national project, then an ideology of democratic nationalism can potentially withstand the worst storms. On the other hand, a state apparatus that retreats too far runs the risk of allowing violent actors to dominate the national conversation at the expense of other citizens' rights.

Lane has suggested that Suharto's military faction was uncommitted to and thought little about the Indonesian nation,[272] while much has been made – especially in the Cold War-dominated West – of a supposed alliance between the Indonesian Communists and the People's Republic of China. Neither assessment is fair; both the Indonesian left and Indonesian right believed in protecting and prioritizing an independent, sovereign Indonesia.[273] Both valued a traditional formulation of the ideal Javanese society: *adil makmur*, just and prosperous. The two sides only disagreed on what a truly just and prosperous Indonesia would look like, and what obstacles lay in the path of Indonesia's greatness. The left, which appealed to peasants and the poor, saw a nation held back by the enduring oppressions of feudalism and imperialism. The right, which included land-owners and businessmen, saw a nation thrown into disarray by the disruptive machinations of the left.

Both anti-colonial nationalism and regime-sustaining nationalism made ample use of "cultural-ideological instruments" such as greatly simplified reconstructions of *gotong royong*, *musyawarah*, and *mufakat* to justify unpaid labor for the state and harshly curtailed political freedoms.[274] Totalitarian ideas about mass education and national culture were likewise present in both types of nationalism, although Suharto was again far more successful in the process of *membudayakan* Pancasila (making Pancasila part of the national culture). Sukarno wanted to create a *manusia Indonesia baru* (new Indonesian human being), while Suharto wanted to create

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[272] Lane 2008, 44.

[273] In fact the chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, Dipa Nusantara Aidit, promoted an oddly primordial view of the Indonesian people, claiming "they all originate from one stock, with one language and one culture. They became dispersed for a time but in the process of the struggle for national independence and for a New Indonesia they have been reunited." Elson 2008, 202.

[274] Bourchier 1997, 157-8.

a *manusia Indonesia seutuhnya* (complete Indonesian human being).[275]   And even Sukarno saw

the people as a collective rather than individuals – although whereas Sukarno focused on the

people's collective *interests*, Suharto focused on their collective *duties*. Thus only Sukarno's

anti-colonial nationalism was intended to fuel mass mobilization.

In the democratic nationalism of the Reform Era, national identity and nationalism are no

longer exclusively the domain of the state – ordinary Indonesians can now engage in a debate

about the nation's future, and the democratic state has been reluctant to use Sukarnoist and

Suhartoist tactics to foist a unilateral vision on the nation. This should not be mistaken for a loss

of national unity, however. As Sidel argues, democratic nationalism has seen a national identity

emerge "not only intact but arguably more inclusive and elastic"[276] than before – and much less

likely to justify or demand sacrifice or violence on its behalf. Indeed, the only national identity

the state has promoted, to much international acclaim, is democratic pride in one remarkable

fact: Indonesia as "the world's largest moderate Muslim democracy."

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[275] Liddle 1996, 98.

[276] Sidel 2012, 135.

CHAPTER 4

EXPLANATIONS FOR CHANGES IN NATIONALISM

Personalistic Factors

One possible explanation for the adoption of democratic nationalism is entirely dependent on the leaders' personalities. According to this explanation, Sukarno's and Suharto's megalomaniacal and paranoid personalities led them to conceive of the nation as a top-down project that should be imposed upon a foolish and wayward population; by contrast, this explanation would argue that leaders of the Reform Era have had less ego-centric personalities that have enabled them to see the merit of inclusive democratic nationalism.

It is easy to see how a cursory reading of Sukarno's volcanic personality would bolster this viewpoint. "National pride" is more strongly associated with Sukarno at the mass-level, even though Indonesia's business elite and middle class might argue that New Order economic development had more to be proud of, likely thanks to Sukarno's vitriolic "Go To Hell With Your Aid" rhetoric. As a young nationalist Sukarno promoted a broad, tolerant nationalism that would be "great and wide, giving space to other views,"[277] but his views became increasingly polarized – and polarizing – as time and Indonesia's struggles went on. Eventually, Sukarno came to view even Indonesian capitalists as victims of false consciousness at best, and traitors to the national cause at worst. His increasingly abrasive and absolutist approach would have alienated moderates and dissidents who would have found it difficult to work with him in the nation-building project.

Yet for all his rhetoric, Sukarno was not the Indonesian president to support the most coercive, totalitarian type of nationalism (that is, regime-sustaining nationalism) – that was the

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[277] Dahm 1969, 68.

work of the mild-mannered Suharto. It should also be noted that not all of Sukarno's rhetoric should be chalked up to Sukarno's personality. A significant contributor to his paranoia and victimization complex can be explained by Indonesia's position as a newly-liberated colony suddenly adrift on the world seas, surrounded by much more powerful, cohesive, and thereby dangerous nation-states. Much of Sukarno's aggressive rhetoric was transparently an attempt to make up for this insecurity and self-perceived weakness – because Indonesia refused to be "a nation of coolies, and coolie among nations." [278] Whether they were narcissists before they adopted political office is beyond the scope of this thesis – in either case, all facets of Indonesian politics were excessively personalistic, and made even more so by the pre-industrial political economy of clientelism, in which both men easily slipped into the dominant role of chief patron.

The personalistic explanation holds the least water in the democratic era. While a highly-institutionalized democratic system is equipped with more checks and balances than an autocratic system, and as such effectively neutralizes the personality factor by putting more constraints on leaders' idiosyncrasies, whims, and emotions, Indonesia's presidential democracy is still heavily geared toward singular individuals with powerful personalities. As in the nightmarish example of the former Yugoslavia, there is no reason that strong-willed and incendiary leaders of the Slobodan Milošević mold could not have pulled ahead in the race for popular support in Indonesia.

The Reform Era has seen an increase in accommodating and conciliatory leaders – or, put another way, "bland and indistinctive" leaders over charismatic ones.[279] Current president Yudhoyono, for example, is so fond of compromise that his critics consider him weak-willed and

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[278] Lane 2008, 277.

[279] Okamoto 2009, p.161.

indecisive. But the same cannot be said of his three predecessors. B.J. Habibie, Suharto's heir, deeply desired the validation of popular election and was willing to break political alliances to do so; the highly-divisive Abdurrahman Wahid was motivated by his ideological convictions and fought his impeachment with emergency rule; Megawati Sukarnoputri was a conservative, reactionary leader who occasionally used violent protests and military crackdowns.

Additionally, political dynasties have become a common feature of party politics. Megawati Sukarnoputri became chairwoman of the Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle (PDI-P), and appointed president, for likely no reason other than her name and her refusal to cooperate with or be co-opted by the New Order.[280] The proliferation of political families may reflect the instinct to cling to a known quantity in an uncertain time. New Order-era elite structures of patronage, corruption, and illicit foundations also survived the democratic transition and have served as a perverse security blanket for parliamentarians and party cadres facing new risks, responsibilities, and the need to run expensive nation-wide campaigns, despite bottom-up outrage. Corruption has also "lubricated" inter-party cooperation, as long as all parties receive a share of the spoils – Horowitz posits that without graft, political competition along cultural or ideological lines could become uncomfortably sharper.[281] Yet contrary to what this situation might seem to lead to, regime-sustaining nationalism did not develop in the Reform Era.

That said, the personalistic explanation is not entirely without merit. Although both Sukarno and Suharto appeared to exhibit deferential grace, as befitting a Javanese ruler, this deference was belied by both leaders' rampant paranoia and insecurity, never of which could ever be satisfied. Factional competition aroused worries that too many diverse interests needed

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[280] Lane 2008, 255-256.

[281] Horowitz 2013, 223, 258-259.

to be kept under control; general acquiescence aroused suspicion, harkening back to the aforementioned distrust of the masses.[282] This helps us understand why two leaders who placed such an ideological premium on national unity were so intent on dividing their populations. But it does not explain why the leaders of the Reform Era did not fall into this leadership pattern. Even the curmudgeonly Abdurrahman Wahid was eventually convinced to relinquish power peacefully.[283]

Likewise, both Sukarno and Suharto were indeed larger-than-life personalities who towered over the rest of government, were considered responsible for much behind-the-scenes politicking, and indeed continue to haunt Indonesian politics well after their deaths.[284] "Bung Karno" was a brother-figure, and "Pak Harto" a father-figure. Sukarno's inflated opinion of himself as the "Mouthpiece of the People" is well-known, but as Elson notes, Suharto's autobiography and six volumes of diaries also equate his presidency with the success of the Indonesian state.[285] None of the *Reformasi* presidents have considered themselves to be the embodiment of Indonesia, and the personalistic explanation does not explain why. This incomplete account suggests that there is a more valid explanation for the changes in Indonesian nationalism.

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[282] Heryanto 2006, 179.

[283] Case 2003, 79.

[284] Because there could be no discussion of Sukarno's defunct ideas during the New Order, state propaganda could only employ character assassination – but lurid stories of Sukarno's womanizing only served to enhance his mystique among the people (Lane 2008, 251).

[285] Elson 2002, 193.

International Factors

There can be little doubt that stressful economic and international conditions significantly exacerbated domestic tensions during Sukarno's anti-colonial nationalism, mostly because they raised the perceived stakes of each political development – in periods of crisis, decisions often appear to have outsized consequences. Sukarno accused the world's neo-colonial forces of trying to rule Indonesia through Malaysia, among other outrages. The fear of nation-state collapse through foreign interference, or in extreme cases domination, is typically unavoidable during anti-colonial nationalism.[286] Sukarno's left-leaning beliefs put him at odds with the United States and its allies, and the United States did provide under-the-table support to rebellions against the Indonesian state (covert actions that Sukarno became aware of when an American pilot crashed his fighter jet).

Economic growth and development were not among Sukarno's strong suits, and during his regime they were made more difficult by political upheaval and inter-factional conflict.[287] He had also inherited exploitative debts "unprecedented in the history of decolonization," destruction, and very poor infrastructure from colonial rule and the independence struggle – as well as the unfortunate phenomena of political but not economic independence as Dutch companies still controlled large swaths of the Indonesian economy.[288] Indonesia was only able to engage in effectively "independent" economic development after the New Order came to power.[289] The applied meaning of "socialism" in Indonesia was thus the nation's economic independence, creating a brand of "socialism" that was deeply nationalist as well as volatile

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[286] Chong 2012, 20.

[287] Kingsbury 2005, 47.

[288] Thee 2010, 59-61.

[289] Thee 2010, 60.

Indonesian negotiators had accepted disadvantageous terms in the rush to be independent; after Dutch companies' economic control of Indonesia was forcibly reduced through nationalization in 1957-58, foreign investment and inter-island shipping, most of which had been provided by a Dutch company, took a nosedive.[290]

To some extent, nationalist rhetoric was probably meant to boost morale in a situation where the price of already-scarce rice had increased by 900%.[291] Ironically, Sukarno's anti-colonial nationalism – the sense that Indonesia should have been able to thrive and provide for its own people independent of foreign support, especially from the former colonial power – prevented him from taking steps that might have ameliorated the crisis: making peace with Dutch business interests, pleading for a reduction in foreign debt. Further failure stoked further defensiveness, doubt, and distrust of foreign investment, foreign aid, and foreign ownership as British and American businesses were taken over by Indonesians in 1963 and 1965, and Chinese businessmen were required to hand over their rice mills and maritime enterprises in the mid-1950s to indigenous Indonesians who lacked the experience and skills necessary to benefit from them.[292]

Likewise, Indonesia today faces significantly easier international circumstances that have provided less incentive for nationalism to be used as a distraction or unifying bandage. Colonial presence in the region is functionally non-existent, with Southeast Asian nations generally able to host international visitors on their own terms through ASEAN and its affiliated organizations.[293] Indonesia has not faced serious economic hardship since the Asian Financial

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[290] Kingsbury 2005, 49.

[291] Kingsbury 2005, 53.

[292] Elson 2008, 198; Liddle 1996, 112.

[293] Leifer 2000, 168.

Crisis – if anything, Indonesian leaders in the Reform Era have seen the state coffers full enough to buy popular support without relying on an exaggerated nationalist ideology. As a small state with a labor-intensive, export-oriented economy, Indonesia fully realizes that it cannot extricate itself from the global system.[294] Indonesia is also in no position to use military intimidation or economic clout to dominate its neighbors. The only semblance of power or influence Indonesia has been able to project has been soft, normative, and ideational; as such, it must stay sensitive to the global norm discourse.

Each time Indonesia enacts a convoluted trade law or mining regulation – such as a 2007 Investment Law with a long negative list of sectors either restricted or unavailable for foreign investment – international alarm bells ring warning of an increasingly inhospitable business climate.[295] But these policies have rarely been implemented evenly or effectively – the government has called for increased value-added processing to keep more resource wealth in Indonesian hands, but has rendered the order toothless by contributing little capital or financial incentives to the endeavor.[296] The commercial court system appears packed with economic nationalists, especially at the lower levels, but many of their most egregious rulings have been overturned on appeal.[297] In reality, reform-era Indonesia has done much to stabilize and liberalize economically.[298] Indonesia's economic recovery – a reduction of inflation from 12% in 2000 to 5% in 2004, and a GDP growth rate above 6% since 2010 – has been remarkable. Even more remarkably has the fact that much of this recovery has been on Indonesia's own terms, led

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[294] Noor 2012, 29.

[295] Thee 2010, 77.

[296] Soemadipradja and Goerke 2012, 70.

[297] Rieffel 2004, 108.

[298] Soemadipradja and Goerke 2012, 66.

by a growing number of technocratic Indonesian economists who have embraced the ideal of fiscal discipline. In 2003, Indonesia left the IMF program and drew up its own White Paper plan for completing the process of economic recovery; in 2004, Indonesia successfully transitioned out of IMF balance-of-payments financing and debt relief; and in 2007, Indonesia resumed full ownership of its development aid program, dissolving the World Bank's aid consortium.[299] Thee calls this a "constructive" use of the energies and sentiments of economic nationalism.[300]

Following a temporary loss of regional standing in 1998, Indonesia has been able to successfully amass international prestige and credibility through its progressive leadership of ASEAN. International support for East Timorese independence appears to have been an exception, driven by evidence of severe human rights violations and the fact that the UN General Assembly never formally approved of the original annexation. Neither Acehnese nor Papuan separatists have ever received proclamations of international support.[301] To the contrary, the international community has dreaded a destabilizing break-up of the world's fourth largest state and remained in strong favor of Indonesia's territorial unity.

Indonesia's soft democracy promotion through ASEAN has also created space for Indonesian democracy activists to stress the importance of keeping Indonesia's own house spotless, a critique that the Indonesian government heeds in part because it knows international approval hinges on maintaining Indonesia's democracy, social stability – and regional restraint.[302] The international norm of democracy notwithstanding, the loss of New Order

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[299] Thee 2010, 75; Rieffel 2004, 106.

[300] Thee 2010, 76.

[301] Aspinall and Berger 2001, 1018-9. Sole support for Papuan independence has come from small island nations such as Vanuatu.

[302] Acharya 2010, 349; Murphy 2010, 381.

stability has awakened regional fears of a return to a Sukarno-era foreign policy. Indonesia's

neighbors (particularly Malaysia and Singapore) have not forgotten Konfrontasi, widely

understood to have been a nationalist rabble-rouser's attempt to distract the nation from

economic problems; the United States reacted similarly when President Wahid attended a

meeting of non-aligned states in Cuba, and when President Megawati dragged her feet on

counter-terrorism cooperation following 9/11.[303] As such, Indonesian leaders have tried to learn

how to accept international criticism with grace. Worried not only for its international reputation

but its internal stability, Indonesia has moved with particular speed and urgency to address

concerns regarding Indonesian terrorist cells after the 2002 Bali bombings. These conditions and

policies certainly complimented democratic nationalism.

It should be noted, however, that Indonesia's status as a "good global citizen" has at

times *added* to the external pressure faced by the country in addition to presenting it with

opportunities for normative leadership. The adoption of liberal-democratic norms has exposed

Indonesia to increased international scrutiny. Suharto was not expected to adhere to human

rights norms or hold free and fair elections; the international community largely accepted his

illegal annexation of East Timor and turned a blind eye to the violence committed against the

East Timorese for decades afterward. But when Habibie agreed to a referendum on East

Timorese independence in January 1999 – a decision motivated largely by the desire to appear

legitimate according to international standards – and the Indonesian military responded to the

vote with a brutal punitive crackdown, international opinion of Indonesia turned sour for years,

resulting in a U.S. arms embargo and IMF and World Bank threats to withhold loans.[304]

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[303] Case 2003, 78; Emmers 2005, 660-661.

[304] Aspinall and Berger 2001, 1012-3.

Balancing the demands of this international "beauty pageant" with domestic interests has continued to be challenging in the years to come.

But there is one major problem with attributing changes in Indonesian nationalism to international factors: Suharto faced markedly similar international pressures (or lack thereof) during his thirty-three year tenure as president. Despite presiding over an illiberal autocracy, Suharto enjoyed a great deal of international support for keeping Indonesia safe and stable. Even during the riots of Reformasi Total in May 1998, the United States seemed more interested in restoring Suharto's control over the convulsing nation than supporting calls for democratization – only when it became clear control would not be regained did Secretary of State Albright call on Suharto to "preserve his legacy" by stepping down.[305] Suharto's anti-Communist worldview ensured that his regime would essentially be left alone during the rest of the Cold War. He also lorded over the regional organization the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and significantly raised Indonesia's level of economic development – so much so that his family could skim some extra off the top. This argument predicts that there should have been little discernible difference between Suharto's nationalism and post-Suharto nationalism, but as chapter 3 shows, this could not be further from the truth.

Contrary to popular interpretation, the post-colonial fear of foreign interference did not dissipate after Sukarno was removed – even though foreign interference was hard to come by. As Emmers notes, Indonesian foreign policy under both Sukarno and Suharto was driven by the twin sentiments of national vulnerability and national entitlement – the twin sentiments, not coincidentally, of the benevolent autocrat.[306] ASEAN, which Suharto helped establish in 1967,

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[305] Acharya 1999, 425; Knowlton 1999.

[306] Emmers 2005, 647-648, 650.

enshrined the sanctity of national sovereignty in order to enable each new state to engage in unimpeded nation-building and economic development.[307] When Indonesia laid claim by force to West New Guinea in 1968 and East Timor in 1974 – an unmistakably aggressive act undertaken in the name of the nation – ASEAN gave its stamp of approval, assuring Indonesia that its actions were legitimate and would not be contradicted.[308]

The expectation that Indonesia should lead and organize ASEAN as "first among equals" in domestic battles against Communism does not significantly differ from the expectation that Indonesia should lead the Non-Aligned Movement against the forces of NEKOLIM. Neither Sukarno nor Suharto allowed foreign military bases to be established – nor, for that matter, has any president in the Reform Era. Suharto brought Indonesia back within the fold of the United Nations, but ignored a U.N. General Assembly resolution condemning Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.[309] Suharto's re-engagement with Malaysia should be attributed more to a right-leaning view of the nation than to a less aggressive nationalism – Suharto saw Communist enemies within whereas Sukarno saw imperialist enemies without. An explanation relying on the influence of international factors would predict a greater similarity in the policies of Suharto and the post-*Reformasi* presidents than Suharto and Sukarno.

Suharto rarely faced serious external economic pressure, but the tides of the global economy impacted his policies of regime-sustaining nationalism all the same. Suharto's entire claim to the nation was legitimated by his triumphant development of the economy through foreign investment and high petroleum prices, and he favored integration with the global

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[307] Chong 2012, 20.

[308] Cribb 1999, 172; Emmers 2005, 648.

[309] Emmers 2005, 652-653.

economy over backlash against it.[310] Economic growth was meant to indicate "national resilience," and Liddle writes that development was the New Order's own version of revolution, albeit one that fit much more comfortably with a hierarchical, integrated conception of the nation.[311] He also employed policies of developmental, redistributive nationalism whenever Indonesia's fortunes were good: building up indigenous business cooperatives, feeding state-owned enterprises and "national champion" industries such as aviation and shipbuilding, funding mosques and orphanages through unregulated state "foundations."[312] In effect, Suharto appeared to be "buying off" the nation's loyalty instead of relying on the strength of national identity and public values.

International factors cannot be held responsible for the changes in Indonesian nationalism – certainly, Indonesian leaders have not adopted different types of nationalism to match different levels of geo-political and economic pressure. This is not to say that the international environment has had no effect on the type of nationalism espoused by Indonesian leaders – but this effect has had nothing to do with nationalism serving as a distraction from external pressure. Indeed, it has been quite different: since Suharto made economic growth a validation of regime-sustaining nationalism, Indonesians have expected their leaders to develop the nation's economic well-being for the sake of the population, justice, and the national project itself.

The Asian Financial Crisis not only brought about a national economic slowdown, but discredited and halted the New Order's developmentalist strategy for years, a freeze symbolized by a Jakarta skyline marred by half-finished, empty skyscrapers.[313] In the years of hardship and

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[310] Ali 1997, 193; Solingen 1999, 35.

[311] Solingen 1999, 46; Liddle 1996, 96.

[312] Case 2003, 40.

[313] Barker 2008, 536.

humiliation brought about by the IMF loans and conditions, criticism of Suharto's reckless capitalism burst out at Indonesia's seams: villagers protested pollution-emitting factories, occupied golf courses, and sometimes looted goods just to burn them; thirty-five economists calling themselves "Indonesia Rise Up!" (*Indonesia Bangkit!*) launched nationalist critiques of the IMF package, particularly the required reduction in fuel subsidies and privatization of state-owned enterprises.[314] Just as Indonesian "socialism" in the Sukarno era had more to do with economic independence than Marxism, Indonesian "populism" in the Reform Era criticizes elites who are perceived to put their personal wealth above the nation's welfare – even if this perception is erroneous.

In the 21st century, this populism has manifested most visibly in disruptive and politically-driven protests over the government's decision to raise fuel prices – a decision that both the "populist" Megawati and the "neoliberal" Yudhoyono have had to make for the sake of the national budget. Under democratic nationalism, however, presidents cannot resort to a self-proclaimed mandate about the nation's needs and reinforce it with military force. Instead they make political bargains – Yudhoyono was able to negotiate a fuel price increase in 2005 by sacrificing the political position of his coordinating economic minister, Aburizal Bakrie. These political bargains are made for the sake of the state's future functionality, even when they jeopardize the ruling regime's popularity. It is an appropriate tactic for democratic nationalism, as it allows the discontented to voice their dissent. But it is hardly Suharto-style regime-sustaining nationalism. Ultimately, examining the impact of international pressure provides more insight on the different ways Indonesian leaders have reacted to this pressure – but suggests that the real key to understanding changes in Indonesian nationalism lies within the nation itself.

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[314] van Dijk 2002, 284-285; Lane 2008, 275-276.

Democratization and Decentralization

As Liddle points out, the 1965 coup d'état marked a shift from Sukarno's personal authoritarianism to Suharto's military authoritarianism – not from democracy to authoritarianism.[315] Yet neither Sukarno nor Suharto admitted that their regimes were authoritarian; they implemented "Guided Democracy" and "Pancasila Democracy." The national philosophy of Pancasila enabled them to imbue their regimes with a legitimizing democratic sheen thanks to the pillar in which democracy is defined as consent through deliberation. This leadership pattern very much aligns with traditional Javanese culture, wherein formal rituals are used to signify that the leader is being appointed instead of seizing power.

Sukarno's Guided Democracy and the Advent of Centralization

Party competition was fierce throughout Indonesia's parliamentary period. The so-called "little people" defied their cultural roles by mobilizing for the cause of independence and the Communist Party, and voting at an approximately 90 per cent rate.[316] The divide between the *alirans* ran so deep that a top-layer of elites never congealed.[317] In 1957, Sukarno gave an angry speech calling on Indonesia to "Bury the Parties" that were causing such deadlock, and empower a single all-powerful party instead. His vision never quite came to fruition, but the Konstituante's inability to reach consensus was faulted for making a swerve toward authoritarianism necessary; more fundamentally, the plethora of parties (twenty-eight won parliamentary seats in 1955) and politics itself was blamed.

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[315] Liddle 1996, 83.

[316] Liddle 1996, 65-66; Lane 2008, 263.

[317] Case 2003, 33.

Liddle expresses the typical Indonesian interpretation of this era of open politics: "the strength of the party system… now looks like the by-product of weak government."[318] The view that open and participatory decision-making (including voting) invites divisions and conflict, and elite consensus prevents such conflicts, remains a popular perspective in Indonesia today. But military general Nasution claims that neither the military nor Sukarno gave the Konstituante enough time to resolve their conflicts.[319] Horowitz additionally argues that this political deadlock was not as hopeless as history has made it appear – perhaps leaders on all sides were so taken with the idea of harmony and unity that a typical democratic struggle would have seemed intolerable.[320]

In 1959, Sukarno established Guided Democracy by presidential decree, and dissolved parliament. By reinstating the 1945 Constitution, Sukarno claimed to be reclaiming the substantial executive powers that the nation had originally vested in him.[321] It is ironic that political polarization only became more severe after the commencement of Guided Democracy: Sukarno's opponents were detained or stripped of their jobs, while Communist publications and peasant land actions banned by the military. Kammen and McGregor suggest that the lack of elections forced rival factions to ramp up their attempts to win popular support through society-wide mass organizations and ferocious competitions for membership.[322]

While the masses were eager for political empowerment, no elites were willing to take a potential hit to their popularity by taking a stand for democracy. Although Sukarno was

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[318] Liddle 1996, 34.

[319] Horowitz 2013, 25-26.

[320] Horowitz 2013, 17.

[321] Antlöv 2000, 205.

[322] Kammen and McGregor 2012, 13.

prevented from completely dissolving political parties, he did postpone the 1959 elections in favor of having all parties represented in cabinet – a classic co-optation strategy that would later find full expression in Suharto's integralism.[323] Political parties agreed to postpone elections – indefinitely, as it turned out – because they feared losing mass support to the PKI; but in so doing they lost their only institutional source of authority.[324]

Still, each faction appealed to the nation for legitimacy. The PKI divided the world into those who were "pro-people" and "anti-people."[325] Military general and two-time Chief of Staff Nasution argued that the armed forces' "revolutionary heritage" and their active suppression of regional uprisings throughout the 1950s – wars in which soldiers had directly fought for the central unity of independent Indonesia – justified their unelected presence in parliament and therefore their involvement in "the direction of the country's affairs."[326] Each plotted to remove their opponents from the state apparatus, and in 1965, political competition finally reached its zenith: the right destroyed the human, cultural, and institutional resources of the left in order to take control of the state.[327] This inter-faction cannibalism makes the anti-Communist mass killings a prime historical example of politicide. McIntyre blames the toxic political atmosphere that preceded it, arguing further that Sukarno was responsible for cultivating this scenario of frozen-yet-escalating political stakes.[328]

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[323] Emerson 1960, 285.

[324] Elson 2008, 204-205.

[325] Lane 2008, 33, 35.

[326] Elson 2008, 203.

[327] Kammen and McGregor 2012, 4.

[328] Elson 2008, 201-202.

Guided Democracy was a hyper-sensitive political system that construed every criticism of Sukarno, his policies, and his vision of Indonesia as a potential challenge to the system. The entire concept of a political opposition did not fit comfortably with Guided Democracy. In what Case calls "an intrinsically unstable form of politics," this semi-authoritarianism allowed for some activism, but no proper channels for such frustrations.[329] The Sultan of Yogyakarta, a traditional source of moral authority for the Javanese, criticized Guided Democracy as an attempt by Sukarno to "keep power and evade responsibility."[330] Quiet dissent was permissible although not encouraged. Several democratic-moderate politicians who had shared the mantle of revolutionary leaders with the President, Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, were banished from the power hub of Jakarta to their home island, Sumatra.

This exile also symbolizes the centralizing tendencies of Guided Democracy, which Horowitz calls a "a Javanese product."[331] Decentralization through federalism had been discredited during the revolution due to its association with a Dutch attempt to establish a puppet state, the United States of Indonesia, during the struggle for independence, and in 1950, early Indonesian federalism was formally discontinued in favor of unitary rule.[332] Guided Democracy represented a first step in the march toward high centralization, and marked the beginning of the transition from anti-colonial nationalism to regime-sustaining nationalism. A 1957 law for establishing autonomous executives and offices in the provinces was defeated by a coalition between the military and the municipal police.[333] Instead, Sukarno declared martial law. In

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[329] Case 2003, 34.

[330] Elson 2008, 204.

[331] Horowitz 2013, 59.

[332] Horowitz 2013, 58.

[333] Elson 2008, 206; Liddle 1996, 83.

1959, the military established what would become Indonesia's most notorious paramilitary, Pemuda Pancasila (Pancasila Youth), to "support" Guided Democracy. Only during the New Order, however, would Pemuda Pancasila reach its full potential.

When the state of Indonesia was being birthed, sub-national identities proliferated. The Javanese were far from the only cohesive *ethnie* in Indonesia: the people of Aceh, Riau, Maluku, North Sulawesi, Bali, East Timor, and Papua all had well-developed regional and ethnic identities that at times took priority over the national culture of Indonesianness that the state expected the entire archipelago to adopt. Ali theorizes that while the Javanese, as the core *ethnie*, focused their desire for cultural solidarity and unity on the Indonesian state – uncomfortably merging state and Javanese culture– among other ethnic groups a bold line separated state and un-integrated local culture.[334]

These sub-national identities, armed with the same historical memories and shared myths that fuel national belonging, seriously frustrated Sukarno's attempt to impose a national culture across the archipelago – especially when they served as the setting for outright rebellions against his state (i.e., Dar'ul Islam, PRRI-Permesta, and RMS). Perhaps sympathizing with the sincere ferocity of these fledgling nationalist movements, Sukarno did bestow Aceh with autonomous provincial status in 1957 and "special region" status in 1959. Otherwise, the military response to these alternative nationalisms was sharp and swift, announcing to the entire state that Jakarta was "the single and only possible centre of political authority and action."[335]

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[334] Ali 1997, 191-192.

[335] Elson 2008, 206.

Suharto's New Order and High Centralization

During Suharto's New Order, state centralization was consolidated through the doctrine of integralism – everything became one with the nation, and thus the state. Provincial and district heads were appointed by Suharto instead of elected by their constituents; these positions were often gifted as a political reward to military generals. Violence was monopolized by the state. Land was violently seized from peasants for military training purposes.[336] Any media coverage that suggested the existence of tensions between ethnic, religious, racial, or socioeconomic groups was forbidden. In 1973, nine opposition political parties were merged into two tightly-controlled entities that would no longer be called an "opposition," but "electoral participants" that could by definition never replace the New Order, only "participate" in it: the Islamic United Development Party (PPP), and the Indonesian Democracy Party (PDI).[337] Political or mass assembly beyond the state's corporatist groups was blocked, freedom of speech severely curtailed, and state terrorism – bringing about "a general state of fear and acquiescence, which erupts periodically" – used to make an example out of social groups that stepped out of line, including students, Muslim activists, retired and disgruntled military officers, petty criminals, and journalists, among many others.[338]

Suharto also elaborated upon Sukarno's "divide-and-conquer" strategies. While Sukarno balanced pre-existing opposed ideological factions, Suharto carved his elites into rival factions that were not ideological but functional: military, bureaucratic, and business.[339] Not only did he create elite factions, but sub-factions: Christian and Sumatran military officers against Muslim

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[336] Liem 2002, 214.

[337] Case 2003, 47.

[338] Heryanto 2006, 23.

[339] Case 2003, 29, 37.

Javanese officers, free-market technocratic economists against economic nationalists against ethnic redistributionists, indigenous against Chinese businesses.[340] These sub-factions prevented any one group from gaining the cohesion necessary to launch an attack against another, or to launch a coup against Suharto – and kept all of these miniature sub-factions dependent on chief patron Suharto for either protection or financing.[341]

All who were swept into the nucleus of the central state's mandala were assigned a simple functional grouping, like bureaucratic cogs in wheels, but denied any meaningful involvement in the political decision-making process. Even criminal gangs were co-opted by the state, transformed into paramilitaries by the armed forces. All who were unlucky enough to be left on the outskirts of the mandala – the poor masses, people of distant provinces, activists, leftists – were left with "very little control over sources of power and their fate," and were encouraged to work, produce, and find meaning in the conjures of "magical-charismatic leaders" and "state lottery tickets."[342] Effectively limitless state security agencies like Kopkamtib, Bakorstanas, Bais ABRI, and BAKIN rooted out ideological enemies of the state, enforcing a blanket of "social quiescence" over the political landscape.[343] After a large and violent strike in Medan in 1994, the government blamed an unregistered union, SBSI, which was competing with the government's own corporatist group, SPSI.[344] By associating economic protest with agitators outside the government's organic unity, economic protest itself was marked as anti-national, un-patriotic.

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[340] Case 2003, 38.

[341] Heryanto 2006, 28-29.

[342] Moelyono 1997, 126; Lane 2008, 49.

[343] Case 2003, 46.

[344] Case 2003, 50.

Here the similarities between Sukarno's and Suharto's governance, and the key to the lethal similarities in their nationalist ideology, become clear. Leftwing and rightwing politics aside, they had each inherited and developed a colonial power pattern that favored heavy central control.[345] There was no voluntary escaping the centripetal force of the mandala; the harsh crackdown on runaway provinces is evidence enough of this. Centralization went hand-in-hand with the authoritarian model of nationalist ideology practiced during Guided Democracy and the New Order. Liddle marvels that unlike most military coups that promise a speedy return to democracy, the Indonesian armed forces believed "fervently" in the righteousness of their dual-function role, and indeed that they themselves embodied democracy; all elements of Indonesia's authoritarian governments felt similar emotional pangs of grandiose duty.[346] Even paramilitaries, whose xenophobia and disregard for the law is unparalleled in Indonesian society, consider themselves to have earned their stripes during the revolution and as such claim to be patriots of the highest order, being totally committed to the nation.[347]

After the New Order took power, inter-party competition remained at a functional standstill, though the window dressing of electoral competition was returned. These elections were well-organized exercises in "collective make-believe" that were always won by Suharto's Party of the Functional Groups (Partai Golongan Karya), Golkar, which was supposedly "above politics."[348] The state controlled all media, screened all candidates, likely screened all votes and threw out those against the government, and enforced Golkar's victory through military

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[345] Kingsbury 2005, 61.

[346] Liddle 1996, 30; Lane 2008, 60.

[347] Van Dijk 2002, 291; Nordholt 2002, 47-48.

[348] Kingsbury 2005, 9-10.

mobilization down to the village-level.[349] Once in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR),

legislators were tasked with unanimously electing Suharto president and rubber-stamping

government policies; uncooperative legislators were recalled.[350] The only acceptable period of

political activity during the New Order was the five-week-long campaign period that preceded

once-every-five-years elections, dubbed "festivals of democracy." The special ritual significance

accorded to these festivals hints at the enduring need for the state to pretend it had popular

legitimacy in accordance with international standards. They are a "useful fiction" for suspending

disbelief.[351] The state's chief enemies during elections were not the two "accompanist" parties

PPP and PDI; rather, they were members of the loosely-affiliated group Golput (white group)

that left their ballots blank, thus refusing to be part of the nation.[352]

The alternative to non-participation was "excessive compliance": intensifying the

carnival atmosphere and amplifying whatever the state gave them with mass rallies, fireworks,

daredevil exhibitionism, rock concerts, celebrities, and motorcycle rallies – embracing the

opportunity to be as loud as possible even though the content was non-existent.[353] Schiller and

van Dijk argue that the masses also used the campaign period to let out pent-up frustrations

against the New Order's institutions while only breaking traffic laws, such that the cacophony

functioned as a sustained, unfocused scream.[354] The police, too, were more lenient with crowds

during campaign periods. In the 1997 elections, the fine line between excessive compliance and

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[349] Schiller 1999, 4, 6.

[350] Kingsbury 2005, 21-22; Case 2003, 48-49.

[351] Heryanto 2006, 149; Schiller 1999, 6.

[352] Heryanto 2006, 150; Schiller 1999, 3.

[353] Heryanto 2006, 151; Case 2003, 48.

[354] Schiller 1999, 13; van Dijk 2002, 291.

law-breaking was finally crossed as spontaneous violence not unlike the aforementioned *rusuh* overtook the campaigns in response to restricted local elections, central government fraud, and detentions of PPP candidates.[355] Police stations were burned when policemen tried to confiscate electoral signs, government offices were ransacked, and military barricades blocking demonstrators were stoned.[356]

The New Order continued to effectively suppress challenges to state nationalism, boosted the effort to impose a national culture from above, and quelled instances of inflamed ethnic conflict using the military's new civilian "fire extinguisher" role. Unlike religion, ethnic identity was not marked on Indonesians' national identity cards.[357] As part of Suharto's development-as-revolution program, Jakarta's economic policies toward non-Java provinces were reminiscent of colonial core-periphery relations: resource extraction (especially in Aceh, which has off-shore liquid natural gas [LNG] deposits), labor-intensive plantation, or neglect, while industrialization remained centered on Java.[358] A transmigration program of Javanese into Eastern Indonesian provinces whose loyalty to the state was "suspect" further dislocated social and economic patterns.[359] Sometimes these processes atrophied indigenous cultures in the eyes of the state, reducing them to insincere, simplified props of multicultural entertainment whose obedience and manipulation sanctified the wide umbrella of state culture.[360] Putting on a show for national

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[355] Schiller 1999, 14.

[356] Lane 2008, 163-164.

[357] Cribb 1999, 176.

[358] Cribb 1999, 175. Kingsbury 2005, 143.

[359] Kingsbury 2005, 149.

[360] Ali 1997, 189; Gayatri 2010, 189-190.

holidays additionally confirmed to the people of these local cultures that they were not fully

Indonesian, that Indonesians were an "ethnic other" to be tolerated.[361]

Suharto's vision of national "organic unity" is epitomized by the 1975 theme park Taman

Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park). Taman Mini was intended to

strengthen Indonesians' sense of national pride for the sake of national development, similar to

"Disneyland in the United States."[362] Taman Mini is indeed reminiscent of Disneyland's "It's A

Small World" ride: it is an ethnographic tour of Indonesia's provinces, each one represented by a

traditional house and dress and other symbolic objects. And like "It's A Small World"'s eerie

animatronic puppets, Taman Mini and the regime-sustaining nationalism it represents is entirely

hollow, shallow, and contradictory. Like old colonial museums, Taman Mini presents a

sterilized 19th century vision of Indonesian diversity: as an amalgamation of feudalistic,

primordial traditions with their sharp edges removed, happily integrated with the modern central

state.[363] When Aceh donated an anachronistic but truly authentic revolutionary fighter plane,

park officials supposedly tried to hide it.[364] Highly-centralized regime-sustaining nationalism

had no room for alternative narratives, symbols, and heroes.

In areas like Aceh – with a deeply-rooted regional history of independent action, such as

Aceh – the state's locally disadvantageous policies, secured by a coercive national military,

caused these regional identities to coalesce into full-fledged separatist movements.[365] While the

central state has traditionally offered Aceh a modicum of respect, likely because of its

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[361] Ali 1997, 189.

[362] Ashton, Brahmantyo, and Keaney 2012, 100.

[363] Siegel 1997, 3-4.

[364] Siegel 1997, 4.

[365] Gayatri 2010, 190; Kingsbury 2005, 148.

revolutionary credentials earned resisting the Dutch and the Muslim religious identity it shares with the state, the East Timorese nation was nearly annihilated beginning in 1976. Cribb speculates that the Indonesian military was shocked by the defiance of the East Timorese, i.e., that they did not pay the military the due deference that it believed it was due as the nation's guardian.[366] Of course, this was because the East Timorese have never considered themselves part of the Indonesian nation; but this rejection of Indonesia in and of itself was incomprehensible and intolerable to Indonesian leaders. Garishly, East Timor's punishment was to become "a laboratory" for the New Order's oppressive violence.[367]

Muslim groups, of which Indonesia contains a very wide variety, have long had a contentious relationship with the Indonesian nation and state. Nearly ninety percent of the Indonesian population is Muslim, but the Pancasila refers only to a nondenominational belief in God. After a boisterous 1950s led by the strident Masyumi party, Islamic groups too were subsumed by the state Goliath during the New Order, being funneled into a pseudo-opposition party, the United Development Party.[368] As an important part of the New Order's power coalition, Islamic groups could not be isolated – when it was politically useful, Suharto played up his Islamic credentials, sometimes over-empowering eager Islamic activists.[369]

In the long-run, neither Sukarno nor Suharto could control, suppress, or co-opt the entire spectra of Muslim groups. Groups who adhered to a far more conservative, inflexible, and often Arabic interpretation of Islam – such as Acehnese Muslims – saw little hope of Islamizing the Indonesian nation, and dreamed of secession. More moderate Muslims with a strong attachment

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[366] Cribb 2002, 239.

[367] Anderson 1999, 9.

[368] Lane 2008, 258.

[369] Case 2003, 50.

to their Indonesian national identity tried to nudge the nation and state toward more Islamic directions from within, though their efforts were consistently rebuked throughout parliamentary democracy, Guided Democracy, and the New Order.[370] Reform-minded Islamists, particularly those bonded to the large mass organizations of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), used their social ties and moral clout to fill an ideological vacuum in anti-Suharto opposition.[371] In 1970 Nurcholish Madjid, national chair of the Islamic University Students' Association, did much to expand pluralism and civic nationalism in advocating for liberalization and a separation of the moral mosque and the secular state, urging his audience to be both pious Muslims and good Indonesian citizens.[372] Total depoliticization of Islam, therefore, proved impossible.[373]

For the most part, a lack of necessary resources and geographic (as well as institutional) isolationism created what Liddle calls the "unconscious but deeply ingrained" sentiment that the national Indonesian monoculture was the only one that could be coterminous with a political community, even though Indonesian regions are relatively distinct and attachment to local communities provides familial warmth.[374] Not only did the wider Indonesian nation provided access to economic opportunities, upward social mobility, and more progressive values, but the wider Indonesian nation was backed up by state firepower.

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[370] Elson 2008, 204.

[371] Lane 2008, 260.

[372] Barton 2010, 473; Mujani and Liddle 2009, 586; Case 2003, 50.

[373] Brown 1995, 159-160.

[374] Liddle 1996 69-70; see also Ali 1997, 15.

Reformasi: Democratization and Decentralization

After Suharto's resignation, Indonesia's elite power structure remained more or less intact at the national level. The gradualist reform process was guided by the principles of consensus politics and driven by fears of further chaos on the one hand, and a return to the extreme polarization of the 1950s on the other. By waiting for all power players to accept Indonesia's new path (constitutional reform was only completed in 2002), violent responses from the elite were minimized.[375] These lowered stakes enabled Indonesia's elites to make an enormous compromise: devolving budgetary and administrative authority to the sub-provincial (either regencies, *kabupaten*, or municipalities/cities, *kotamadya*) level, through Law no. 22/1999 and Law no. 25/1999. This decentralization of central command explains much about the haphazard and contradictory nature of democratic nationalism. It also explains why the post-Reform era has featured so many alternative visions of the Indonesian nation, with doubt about the nationalist project clashing with reactionary, mass-based appeals to the nation.

Decentralization exacerbated both domestic and international fears of a Balkanization of Indonesia.[376] In many ways, decentralization is a direct contradiction of Mansfield and Snyder's prescription of strong institutions as a pre-requisite of democratization. Indonesian national unity appeared so fragile that only a state centralized to the point of authoritarianism could hold the archipelago together – ironic, considering how much effort Sukarno and Suharto put into instilling their respective nationalist visions from the top-down. But the Reformasi movement effectively demanded that decentralization accompany democratization. Calls for regional autonomy, based on the premise that excessive centralization had created all of Indonesia's

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[375] Horowitz 2013, 159.

[376] Cribb 1999, 169.

sociopolitical problems, were even heard in Java: "It has to happen, not just for East Timor, but all regions must be given autonomy before they demand it."[377] Habibie embraced decentralization because its proponents framed it as an important democratic reform, and the Islamic party PPP called decentralization a move to "strengthen the pillars of democracy to strengthen the unity and integrity of the nation."[378]

Sub-provincial governments were to maintain an income by taxing locally-generated wealth, except where oil and natural gas were concerned. The number of regencies and municipalities has subsequently "blossomed" in an attempt by local communities to gain greater autonomy, from around 300 in 1999 to 560 in 2013. A proposal for full federation was rejected; in the final estimation, after all, decentralization was a risky top-down attempt to maintain national unity. These decentralization laws were, in Kingsbury's estimation, "the very least" as well as "the very most" that the state could have offered without giving up on the very idea of the Indonesian nation.[379] Provincial governments were bypassed in order to discourage provincial separatism and so preserve the nation-state – on the other hand, provinces were allowed to elect governors, and in an attempt to discourage provincial separatism further, provinces were allowed to retain a portion of their petroleum, natural gas, and mining and timber export earnings (15%, 30%, and 80%, respectively).[380] Since 2004, sub-provincial heads have been directly elected along with provincial and national leaders, further increasing popular sovereignty at all levels.

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[377] Smith 2008, 222.

[378] Smith 2008, 225, 227.

[379] Kingsbury 2005, 138-139.

[380] Horowitz 2013, 72; Case 2003, 75.

Decentralization has created its own new problems: bureaucratic red-tape has increased while government capacity has arguably decreased, and the corruption plague has spread. There is much confusion surrounding the administration of decentralization: the average sub-provincial government receives most of its revenues from central government subsidies, and over 60% of the government's domestic tax revenue funds provincial and sub-provincial administrations; the legality of sub-provincial taxes is unclear; and the national police, newly independent of the military, are still answerable to the central state although sub-provincial governments are ostensibly responsible for their own "law and order."[381]

However, Rieffel argues that the increased accountability brought about by decentralization outweighs this unfortunate side-effect as far as good governance is concerned – besides which, local corruption is easier to detect and has been met by local judiciaries and public condemnation.[382] For better or for worse, grievances expressed through mass-action have been chiefly contained to the local site of the grievance and failed to cohere into a larger social movement. Potentially more threatening to the Indonesian nation are regional rivalries for resources, and diminished national solidarity between resource-rich and resource-poor districts.[383] In extreme decentralization, after all, the nation and other members of the central state cease to matter at all. But decentralization has held the immediate dangers at bay: separatist conflict, competing ethnic nationalisms, and a polarized national debate regarding the relative secularism or Islamism of the state.

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[381] Horowitz 2013, 128, 129, 155; Kingsbury 2005, 162; Green, Keith. "Decentralization and good governance: The case of Indonesia." Munich Personal RePEc Archive, February 28 2005. http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/18097/1/MPRA_paper_18097.pdf

[382] Rieffel 2004, 109; Horowitz 2013, 129.

[383] Lane 2008, 274-275.

Central state power has also been dispersed through re-definitions of the roles of assorted state actors that have generally strengthened previously weak actors and weakened the strong. The president is now elected directly and separately from Parliament, Parliament itself has had its powers realized, and the judiciary branch (particularly through a new Constitutional Court) has been strengthened.[384] The fear of appearing authoritarian has also aided the decentralization of power by creating what Horowitz calls "factional equilibrium," a domestic balance of powers in which all the elite factions previously under Suharto's thumb prevented each other from seeking "authoritarian advantage" and so drove the democratic reform process forward.[385] After the initial wave of reform, however, this hesitation has led to gun-shy leadership, even after a landslide victory such as that enjoyed by Yudhoyono in 2009.[386] Likely the most transformative and "revolutionary" president of the Reform era has been Habibie, who finally allowed East Timor to vote for independence and freed both the press and political prisoners. It was a bold attempt to win democratic credentials in time for the 1999 elections, but surrendering East Timor meant losing the other marker of legitimacy in the Reform Era: the appearance of being a nationalist. The majority of politicians have tried to cultivate a combined image of nationalism and democracy through populist, "pro-people" rhetoric.

Popular empowerment has come in other forms as well: a free press with no qualms about reporting the state's bad behavior, strong (albeit assailable) human rights provisions, the legitimization of street demonstrations, an overall reduction of what Liem calls the "republic of fear," a greatly lowered cost of collective action, boosting civil society participation.[387]

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[384] Horowitz 2013, 20, 170.

[385] Horowitz 2013, 263.

[386] Amir 2010, 284.

[387] McGregor 2012, 261; Case 2003, 60-61; Liem 2002, 214; Lane 2008, 199.

Critically, Habibie placed a high priority on holding the state's first free elections in over forty years quickly – far quicker than the democratization literature would recommend based on the early election of ethnically exclusivist politicians in Bosnia. But these 1999 elections gave the subsequent constitutional and other democratic reforms a stamp of legitimacy, while forcing reluctant elites to stop dragging their feet or be left behind by the democratic process.[388]

Democratization and decentralization have substantially reduced state terror as a viable option. The military has been forced to give up *dwifungsi* along with its place in Parliament and has taken on a "nonhierarchical" quality in part due to infighting – although it has merely contracted out much of its anti-separatist violence to paramilitaries and *preman* (gangsters), and retired military officers are active in politics.[389] In other cases, the state has appealed to civilians to assist with public order in the face of weakened law enforcement – not by joining the military or police, but by forming their own neighborhood watches or *satgas* (task force) for the good of "society."[390] This initiative has often led to young men in military garb and links to a political party patrolling the streets with ambiguous and capricious authority. It has also led to the crude monetization of political violence: it only cost 2 million rupiah to have someone killed in 2002.[391] The most controversial *satgas* has been the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), which seeks to enforce sharia law through vigilantism.

Democracy has forced Indonesian leaders to become more responsive to the people they are now elected to represent. Years of suppressed political thought and artificial "festivals of democracy" also mean that elections are open-season for political parties seeking to amass

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[388] Horowitz 2013, 1, 10.

[389] Nordholt 2002, 49-50; Case 2003, 73; Liem 2002, 218.

[390] Van Dijk 2002, 295.

[391] Nordholt 2002, 49.

support. The fact that Indonesian voters have de-aligned from political parties has encouraged all parties – save for the most conservative Islamic parties, who are perhaps the only ones still committed to ideology – to move toward a vaguely-defined center in an attempt to appeal to all available voters. Supported by electoral laws that place a premium on coalition-building in order to cobble together broad-based nation-wide appeal, such as an absolute majority and at least 20% of the vote in at least 50% of the provinces for a candidate to win presidential election, this voter fluidity has done much to prevent polarization and a dangerous "winner-takes-all" mentality.[392]

Party politics are undoubtedly more competitive now than they were during the transition to authoritarianism – elections are meaningful now, and three different parties have held a majority in Parliament since 1999. Yet the stakes of power seem noticeably lower than they were during Guided Democracy and the New Order. Deep fears of repeating the Konstituante's stalemate of the 1950s led legislators to a flexible, gradualist constitutional reform process that encouraged incremental rather than total change, and allowed the legislature to delay discussing difficult topics. The final constitutional amendments were enacted in 2008, nine years after the process was initiated – the problematic and dictatorial 1945 Constitution had finally been transformed, resulting in a document that was 83% new or amended.[393] Indonesia's first-ever functional legislature had also pre-empted the need for authoritarian or military intervention.[394]

Fifteen years later, consensus politics is starting to seem more like a drag; parties have arguably come to function more like cartels in power coalitions than ideological competitors. This political culture may hinder forward progress, but it also discourages high-stakes

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[392] Horowitz 2013, 162, 173.

[393] Horowitz 2013, 2, 154-155.

[394] Horowitz 2013, 2, 26.

polarization – a danger that could prove fatal for a fledgling democracy. Incremental reform has also allowed elites and masses to slowly cultivate mutual trust, an element that was missing throughout Guided Democracy and the New Order. The 2004 direct presidential elections were held despite fears that the population would mobilize along fragmentary religious or ethnic lines, but a moderate centrist with nearly universal appeal and a penchant for democracy promotion (Yudhoyono) was elected instead.[395] However, announcements that sub-national identities were "dead" were quite premature.

After the collapse of the New Order and the subsequent decentralization by the central state, social forces that had been previously subdued re-emerged: ethnic, religious, regional and even village-level identities that had been suppressed found expression and reinvigoration. The loss of national pillars brought about by regime transition – even though these pillars were authoritarian – often creates the perception of societal chaos that can be mitigated by elevating the importance of religion and the otherworldly, eternal hope and certainty it brings. A transition toward openness also presents another opportunity for sub-national groups to attempt to remake the nation-in-flux in their own image – or break away from a weak nation.[396]

The proliferation of Islamic political parties (and a few Christian ones as well) in the Reform Era is one manifestation of sub-national identities rising to the top of Indonesians' sense of social self. The most pressing question Indonesia faces regarding its national identity is whether the nation-state will have a religious or secular character. Nearly ninety percent of Indonesia is Sunni Muslim, but the state and other international representatives of the nation have always been quick to stress that Indonesian Islam is "moderate," i.e., non-fundamentalist,

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[395] Case 2003, 178; Horowitz 2013, 197.

[396] Kingsbury 2005, 91; Gayatri 2010, 198-199.

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non-violent, and not to be associated with repression and terrorism conducted in the name of Islam in the Middle East. When Jema'ah Islamiyah threatened this view of Indonesia's Muslim identity, state law enforcement reacted with surprising speed and competence. On less desperate issues, however, the state has not resolved any questions about the nation's Islamism. In some cases, draconian bills with rural, conservative support – such as the 2008 anti-pornography bill – acquire their own momentum and become laws over the better judgment of party leaders.[397]

The New Order had kept Indonesia's Islamic identity under very strict control, and mostly enforced its modern moderate character; as aforementioned, women were not allowed to wear *jilbab* during the New Order. The end of the New Order freed Indonesia's ideologically diverse devout Muslims to not only express their religious identity, but exercise this identity in the "wild west" of democracy. The decentralization laws had the unexpected effect of empowering local communities to introduce Islamic regulations, while making local authorities – having learned from the mass actions against unpopular actions taken during Reformasi – reluctant to intercede. Islamic political parties enjoyed record-high results in the 2004 legislative elections, but their fortunes have steadily declined since. Kingsbury interprets this as indication of growing acceptance of the separation between mosque and state in a modernized Indonesia.[398] Horowitz notes that it may only reflect the increased Islamization of the secular-nationalist parties who are hesitant to alienate such a substantial voting bloc.[399]

The Indonesian state has shown no interest in institutionalizing a dominant Islamic identity among Muslim citizens. Two Islamic charitable taxes/endowments, *wakaf* and *zakat*,

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[397] Horowitz 2013, 252; Ramage 2007, 150.

[398] Kingsbury 2005, 91.

[399] Horowitz 2013, 256.

became part of Indonesian law in the Reform Era, although participation is not required for Muslims.[400] A 2003 proposal to definitively end the debate by declaring Indonesia an Islamic state was just as definitively rejected by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR).[401] But the state has also been very reluctant to stop Indonesians from expressing their Islamic identity, even when this expression jeopardizes the rights of other Indonesians. Groups such as FPI, Laskar Jihad, and the Indonesian Ulama Council promote an Islamic agenda by administering vigilante justice on bars, discotheques, and video game parlors – with a nearly non-existent state and police response.[402] Conservative Muslims have tried to deny Ahmadi Muslims the freedom to worship on the pretense that the Pancasila does not recognize "deviant" religions, and the conservative Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Attorney-General's office have issued support for such logic.[403] Blasphemy prosecutions of Christians and Ahmadis have increased substantially after being unheard of during the New Order.

There will likely be further consequences for Indonesia's foreign relations and economy. Conservative Islamic identity also fuels most anti-American sentiments in Indonesia today. U.S. support for Israel and its wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have occasionally made it difficult for Indonesian leaders to cooperate with the United States. The wars also offended Indonesia's veneration of national sovereignty, but it is doubtful that domestic protestors would have demanded that American citizens be deported and American goods embargoed had the United States preemptively struck a predominantly Christian country.[404] One of Indonesia's biggest

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[400] Horowitz 2013, 246-247.

[401] Bertrand 2008, 443.

[402] Kingsbury 2005, 13; van Dijk 2002, 280.

[403] Horowitz 2013, 255.

[404] Murphy 2010, 371, 381.

tourist attractions is Borobudur, an enormous 9th century Buddhist temple and UNESCO World Heritage Site located in central Java. Indonesia's largest tourist destination is the island of Bali, which is 85% Hindu and makes the most of this unique cultural heritage. It is no coincidence that terrorists and radical Islamists have attacked both Borobudur and Bali. Such actions have been widely condemned, however, and the state has begun to provide heightened security for Borobudur during Islamic holidays.[405]

Under bottom-up democratic nationalism, Indonesia is likely to become what Horowitz calls a "religiously engaged state" that is unlikely to fully accept vocal atheists into the nation, but there would appear to be room for religious minorities – even those who fall outside the five "official" religions.[406] Religious pluralism has been embedded in Indonesia's national identity since the creation of the religious but nondenominational Pancasila, and the amended Constitution contains provisions that would safeguard the rights of religious minorities. President Yudhoyono has consistently released statements calling for the need to respect Indonesia's religious diversity and stressing the "tolerant" aspects of the Pancasila.[407] But on matters of national identity, the state seems to prefer inaction until a majority consensus emerges out of the discord. In Indonesia's noisy democracy, the squeaky faction seems to get the grease.

Another consequence of re-invigorated sub-national identities has been inter-communal conflict. Van Dijk estimates that unusually frequent and intense outbursts of communal violence were picked up as a media issue starting in 1995, when other aspects of central state control

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[405] Suherdjoko, "Borobudur Temple security tightened: Police." *The Jakarta Post,* August 6 2013. http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/08/06/borobudur-temple-security-tightened-police.html

[406] Horowitz 2013, 249.

[407] Ramage 2007, 150.

began to fail.[408] Violence tends to take place especially in those conflicts where economic

grievances had been brewing, religious differences pit entire villages against each other, and

outside state and non-state actors had interest in instigating conflict. The Muslim-Christian

conflict that killed over 8000 in Maluku between 1999 and 2002 is a good example of all three:

years of competition for lucrative civil service jobs in which Christians had traditionally been

favored led to escalating skirmishes and the eventual involvement of the militant Islamic group

Laskar Jihad, which Indonesian soldiers either failed to quell or actively supported until Laskar

Jihad's leader was finally arrested in 2002.[409]

Bertrand has blamed the New Order's divide-and-rule manipulation of ethnic groups for

destabilizing the balance in divided communities, and the very limited channels through which a

sub-national group can gain resources, voice concerns, or express identity for raising the

stakes.[410] Indeed, suspicion of clandestine outside involvement by powerful actors with

conspiratorial motives – including smearing political Islam, distracting from economic woes, and

destabilizing the government – has run high in many cases, a distrust that can be traced back to

the New Order's policies. Madurese migrants warring with the indigenous Dayak people in

central Kalimantan worried that the military was waiting until their conflict became sufficiently

dire that an intervention would cast the military as "the country's saviors," as had happened

during the authoritarian transition, or that the conflict had been instigated by military generals

angry about an investigation into the misuse of oil pipeline funds by Suharto's daughter.[411]

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[408] Van Dijk 2002, 285.

[409] Kingsbury 2005, 46.

[410] Bertrand 2002, 58.

[411] Kingsbury 2005, 140.

The solution for communal violence is equally complex. Nordholt argues that a new conception of the nation as plural rather than monocultural, such that even groups that were previously victimized and ostracized are accepted into the national community, is the only solution.[412] Bertrand agrees that only democratic guarantees of individual and collective rights can reduce sub-national conflict by providing "national security" to all groups.[413] The Indonesian Constitutional Court itself has used this logic to justify regulating Islamic heterodoxy, warning that the alternative is vigilante violence.[414] The democratic state has done little to address the phenomena, perhaps due to lack of pressure from desensitized voters who no longer see the nation as enough of an "organic unity" to justify concern about violence in far-away provinces. Indeed, intellectuals, NGOs, and local leaders have advocated for a "local cultural" solution in which a local community essentially takes care of its own unrest by addressing local particulars that slip between the cracks of a bureaucratic government program, building self-confidence in local culture and regional identity, and cultivating respect for mutual rights.[415] On the other hand, Heryanto blames the sanctification of these socially-constructed identities for precipitating violence in the first place, and to reduce such sanctification, Horowitz encourages cross-stream coalition-building even in local elections, so as to discourage a race wherein candidates and parties perfectly match the district's cultural groups.[416]

Meanwhile, agents and symbols of the central state that have served as propagators of Suharto's regime-sustaining nationalism no longer command or receive veneration and back-

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[412] Nordholt 2002, 54.

[413] Bertrand 2002, 62.

[414] Horowitz 2013, 259.

[415] Morrell 2001, 439.

[416] Heryanto 2006, 32; Horowitz 2013, 198.

bending respect: for example, peasants whose land was confiscated by the military in decades past have demanded it be returned. Notably, a significant faction of the military – the reformists and most of the self-reliant *mandiri* group – has accepted the ideological shift requiring them to surrender control over politics to civilians, and as ethnic conflicts in Maluku, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi have burned out thanks to government-sponsored peace deals and communal conflict fatigue, the military has also had less ideological justification for exercising its national guardianship duty on Indonesian civilians.[417]

Finally, local cultural groups are demanding an end to their appropriation and homogenization by state nationalism.[418] The chance to create new districts and provinces has sometimes invited competitions between ethnic groups seeking to claim "indigenous status" in a region, inviting populations to define themselves ethnically.[419] Local politicians with newfound power – and newfound pressure to win popular elections – have in some cases used appeals to short-sighted populism or the dominant local ethnic identity as a shortcut to popular legitimacy, even when such strategies defy the wishes of national party headquarters.[420] All this reflects the fact that the construction of the nation, nationalism, and national identity are in the process of decentralizing along with the state.

Understanding Indonesian Nationalism

An analytical reassessment of several flashpoints in the history of Indonesian nationalism – Konfrontasi, armed rebellions of the 1950s-'60s, the mass killings of 1965 and the Petrus

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[417] Horowitz 2013, 216, 220; Liem 2002, 219; Fealy 2008, 390.

[418] Morrell 2001, 448.

[419] Horowitz 2013, 128.

[420] Barker 2008, 537; Mizuno and Phongpaichit 2009, 9. Since 2008, candidates for local office no longer need to be affiliated with a political party at all (Okamoto 2009, 162).

killings, the Reformasi riots and political transition, and separatism in East Timor, Aceh, and Papua – further demonstrates this most plausible explanation for the development of democratic nationalism in Indonesia.

Konfrontasi Against Malaysia (1963-1966)

Sukarno's 1963-1966 campaign of *Konfrontasi* (confrontation) against the newly-declared neighboring state of Malaysia is likely the most famous expression of post-colonial Indonesian nationalism. It is also frequently misunderstood as a deliberate strategy on Sukarno's part to distract from political unrest and a failing economy.[421] Missing in this analysis is Sukarno's deep devotion to his ideology of anti-colonial nationalism, his tendency to view the world through this lens, and Indonesia's long-lasting fear of foreign intervention. Sukarno's belief that the Federation of Malaysia was a British neo-colonial project, designed to undermine the sovereignty of nearby New Emerging Forces such as Indonesia, was undoubtedly sincere.[422] Likewise, his 1962 attempt to seize the territory of Irian Jaya from Dutch control should be understood as an honest attempt to fulfill the mission of national unity.

Konfrontasi also reflects the two Janus faces of Indonesian foreign policy that have more or less persisted to the twenty-first century: entitlement and vulnerability. Sukarno worried that foreign-backed and archipelagic Malaysia, created without prior consultation with Indonesia and thus signaling "disrespect," would threaten Indonesia's mandala-based claim to innate regional leadership as well as "encircle" Indonesia.[423] The "Crush Malaysia" campaign included excluding Malaysia from the post-colonial and non-Western movement to reduce the new state's

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[421] Sutter 1966, 525.

[422] Emmers 2005, 649.

[423] Clark 2011, 294.

nationalist credentials, organizing low-level insurgencies in Sabah, Sarawak, and Brunei, holding

mass anti-Malaysia rallies, exploding small bombs in Singapore, and invading the Malaya

peninsula via paratroopers who were all killed or captured.

Konfrontasi was, nevertheless, a colossal national failure. If distraction from domestic

problems had been its purpose, it was terribly-planned; the autarchic policies demanded by

Konfrontasi all but sank the economy completely.[424] This failure probably would not have

prevented were it not for Guided Democracy, and Sukarno's centralization of the state with

himself at the isolated peak. He had surrounded himself with Sukarnoist yes-men who were

equally blinded by his ideology – moderates and intellectuals with doubts about the project's

viability and legitimacy had been cowed into silence, and Islamists nodded along with Sukarno

despite their reluctance to confront another Muslim country because it was the "patriotic thing to

do."[425] Sukarno was indeed "living dangerously," as he famously exhorted Indonesia to do on

Independence Day in 1965, primarily by making himself the sole arbiter of nationalism.

The Dar'ul Islam, Madiun, RMS, and PRRI-Permesta and Rebellions (1950-1962)

From 1950 to 1962, several armed rebellions based mainly outside of Java directly

challenged the established government in Jakarta. Most of these rebellions were deeply invested

in the idea of "Indonesia" itself, even in a united Indonesian nation – even the rebels believed

that "Indonesians" were better off together – but had a different conception of this nation's

identity-values from that posed by Sukarno's central state.[426] As the state increasingly

centralized control, these alternative nationalisms became increasingly threatened and desperate.

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[424] Emmers 2005, 649.

[425] Sutter 1996, 524, 527.

[426] Cribb 1999, 177.

Dar'ul Islam, a fundamentalist and militant Islamic group, mobilized against the central state in 1948 after Sukarno and Hatta were considered to have "betrayed" the cause of national independence by negotiating territory with the Dutch (by 1950, all disputed territory was under Indonesian rule).[427] Nonetheless, Dar'ul Islam remained loyal to the Indonesian idea: its highly-amorphous proposal of an Indonesian Islamic State was an attempt to transform Indonesia into an Islamic theocracy, not an attempt to leave the Indonesian polity. The only separatist movement to emerge out of this period was the South Maluku Republic (RMS), spearheaded by Indonesians who had served in the Dutch colonial army. It was also a direct response to a reduction in regional autonomy: it was established on April 25, 1950 in anticipation of Indonesia's transition from a federation to a unitary state. Immediately after the transition was formalized on August 15, the Madiun rebellion in South Sulawesi was launched – when this movement was suppressed, its leaders joined the short-lived RMS.[428]

Likewise, the PRRI-Permesta rebellion in Sumatra and North Sulawesi was a direct response to Sukarno's 1957 announcement of the advent of Guided Democracy, which the rebels felt would further alienate the outer islands politically and economically. Over-centralization was explicitly cited as a complaint. PRRI's concerns and demands for a less left-leaning cabinet and a more equitable center-periphery financial arrangement went entirely unheeded by Sukarno, leading to escalating declarations of revolutionary councils, then a revolutionary government.[429] The rebels asked for the return of true consensus politics that would take outer island voices into account – they were aggrieved that their representative, Sumatra-born Mohammad Hatta, had

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[427] Kingsbury 2005, 51.

[428] Kingsbury 2005, 45. RMS was shut down just a few months later by the national armed forces.

[429] Kingsbury 2005, 45. RMS was shut down just a few months later by the national armed forces.

been unceremoniously removed from the vice presidency in 1956. By then Sukarno had moved decisively toward power centralization, and he unsympathetically and robotically recited the plan for increased unity under Guided Democracy.[430] The fact that the rebels were indeed provided some military support by the United States inflamed Sukarno's anti-colonial nationalism; it is not surprising that he concluded there could be no room for a vision of the nation other than his own dogmatic view, for fear that colonial sympathizers might attempt to seize power.

In each rebellion, the armed forces played a crucial role as the coercive arm of the central state, cementing their role as the guardians of national unity with a rightful say in the debate over the nation's future. But the state's treatment of rebels, and the nation's understanding of rebellion, underwent a marked change after centralization began. A 1948 rebellion by Communists seeking to establish the Indonesian Soviet Republic in Madiun, Central Java, was quickly and brutally crushed by the state apparatus, but Communists remained accepted members of the Indonesian nation – they were back in Parliament in 1950.[431] Christian Ambonese were also a part of Sukarno's cabinets in spite of defiance of the RMS.[432] On the other hand, PRRI-Permesta was shut down during Guided Democracy, and its regional military commanders were dismissed despite their contributions to the revolution against the Dutch; the appointment of Javanese commanders in their place confirmed that a mono-cultural centralization of the nation was taking place.[433] During the even more heavily-centralized New Order, rebellious provinces – including the previously "forgiven" islands of Maluku – were kept

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[430] Kingsbury 2005, 48, 51.

[431] Anderson 1999, 7.

[432] Bertrand 2002, 63.

[433] Elson 2008, 205.

under even stricter military oversight, were appointed Javanese military officers as governors and regents, and accused of being separatists if they complained.[434]

The Mass Anti-Communist Killings (1965) and the Petrus Killings (1983-1985)

Guided Democracy had significantly reduced channels of dissent through which critics of the government could voice concerns about the direction of the nation or challenge the official understanding of national identity.[435] It seemed that change could only be effected through violence, and within the state that violence was the domain of the military. Given the military's growing displeasure with Sukarno's policies and heightened insecurity that the Communist Party would create a "fifth force" of civilians to challenge the military, a coup appears inevitable in hindsight. What could not have been predicted were the mass killings of up to 2-3 million suspected Communists, the complete erasure of Sukarnoism and Communism from the annals of Indonesian ideology, and the use of state terror to secure state authority and national unity.

As it happened, the victors of this ideational struggle for the Indonesian nation promoted a dogmatic divide between those "who defended their identity, that is, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution" and Communist immorality.[436] The mass killings themselves functioned as a perverse project of national unification, initiating the entire Indonesian population into the new Indonesian nation (for Communists were from that moment forever exiled from the nation) through a massive blood-letting. Islamists, nationalists, paramilitaries, all took part in the capture and killing of alleged Communists who until that moment had been their neighbors and

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[434] Bertrand 2002, 63.

[435] Elson 2008, 197.

[436] Elson 2008, 239.

fellow Indonesians.[437] Even more damning, the New Order made it clear that this extermination

had been an "emanation of the people's saving will."[438] Along with extremely tight controls

over free information on the part of the central state, shock and shared guilt had a silencing effect

on Indonesians.[439] A policy fitting Cohen's description of "organized forgetting" in Communist

regimes of Eastern Europe – with its distortive effect on a history that would later be rendered

meaningless[440] – was instituted across Indonesia. The killings also sowed the seeds for the

extreme consolidation of central state authority that would take place during the New Order: they

demonstrated the massive organizational potential of the state apparatus, which processed,

tortured, and executed hundreds of thousands of detainees, and Suharto legitimated the politicide

through legal procedures, official authorizations, and kangaroo-court trials.[441]

The New Order made anti-Communism an enormous part of the Indonesian national

identity, and the central state built numerous monuments celebrating its defeat and numerous

institutions to guard against its return. Ironically, if the New Order was to be immortal, the

demon of Communism would need to be immortal as well.[442] Suharto's regime rarely rates

among history's most totalitarian governments, except where Communism is concerned: on this

front, loyalty to a very narrow conception of the nation was enforced absolutely. Hammer-and-

sickle iconography was banned, even on candy wrappers; Chinese Indonesians were forced to

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[437] Kammen and McGregor 2012, 14-15. Indeed, in some cases "alleged Communists" were little more than unpopular neighbors.

[438] Elson 2008, 240.

[439] Heryanto 2006, 21.

[440] Cohen 1999, 15, 21, 39-40.

[441] Kammen and McGregor 2012, 7-8, 16-17, 19.

[442] Heryanto 2006, 140.

change their names to "something less Chinese," and even the popular Chinese martial arts of *tai chi* and *wai tan kung* had to adopt Indonesian names to be allowed to continue (*senam tera* and *senam sehat*); anyone could be ordered to produce proof of being "clean" of Communism; and those suspected Communists and their families who had survived the purge were periodically interrogated, denied jobs and schooling, and marked as ex-TP (ex-political prisoners) on their identification cards.[443]

The tellingly-named Sacred Pancasila Monument, built in 1969, features seven dead generals ostensibly killed by bloodthirsty Communists standing in front of an enormous Garuda bird, which symbolizes the Pancasila; every 1st of October, Suharto held a ceremony wherein all Indonesians pledged their loyalty to the Pancasila.[444] A propaganda film depicting the institutionalized narrative of evil Communists vanquished by a heroic Suharto, and Indonesia saved from chaos by being brought to order, *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (The Treachery of G30S/PKI), was mandatory viewing for students.[445] Symbols of the nation and its enemies were accorded tremendous power; only a highly-centralized state would have been able or tempted to exert such control over national identity.

Echoes of the 1965 mass killings can be found in the 1983-85 extrajudicial executions of roughly 10,000 suspected common criminals. They were called the Petrus (*Penembakan misterius,* mysterious shootings) killings, although as Heryanto notes "they were never mysterious to anyone," and indeed the state proudly took credit.[446] Again, the Indonesian nation was forced to serve as witness to mass executions by the state. In this case, criminals were either

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[443] Heryanto 2006, 17, 32; Suryadinata 2000, 62; Lane 2008, 49-50.

[444] Ashton, Brahmantyo, and Keaney 2012, 88-91.

[445] Heryanto 2006, 7.

[446] Heryanto 2006, 21.

shot to death in front of their unsuspecting families, or mutilated corpses were left in bus terminals, schools, roadsides, theaters, and markets – or most ominously, delivered directly to critical journalists. Nordholt and Siegel describe the Petrus killings as an attempt to re-centralize state authority, both over criminals and the population at large. Heryanto too describes them as a demonstration of the state's "seemingly unlimited destructive power." Suharto simply called them "shock therapy."[447] The Indonesian population responded with renewed silent obedience, and the psychological defense of a terrorized people: "bitter and familiar ironic smile[s]."[448]

These two incidents reflect Suharto's willingness to exclude errant or ideologically-opposed Indonesian citizens from his regime-sustaining nationalism; exclusion was irredeemable, as it almost always authorized death at the state's hands. Even "good" Indonesians, however, were liable to run "amok" and could not be trusted with sovereignty or empowerment.[449] They could not live up to the unattainable standard set by the dead generals in *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*: innocent, apolitical, wealthy, devoutly religious, worthy members of the harmonious Indonesian family.[450] Suharto, the great shepherd, had to take strong control of his nation of sheep. And for the military, "overkill" became standard operating procedure.

Reformasi Total (1998)

The tumult surrounding Suharto's forced resignation is a vivid illustration of the devolution of a highly-centralized state. In the midst of the Asian Financial Crisis, the failure of the New Order's national vision was so severe that an early 1998 poll revealed that 98.25% of

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[447] Nordholt 2002, 48; Heryanto 2006, 21.

[448] Heryanto 2006, 19, 22-23.

[449] Elson 2002, 182-183.

[450] Heryanto 2006, 15.

middle class professionals – whose support Suharto had painstakingly cultivated – felt economic and sociopolitical reform was necessary.[451] Public demonstrations were growing in frequency and control over the "floating mass" was unraveling.[452] As early as January 1998, a reformist newsletter was claiming to speak for the people's will, a prerogative that had been Suharto's for over thirty years: "President Suharto's proposal to listen to the voice of the people about his candidacy to the presidency has been answered. The people have spoken: reject Suharto!"[453]

The New Order was as deaf to this popular dissatisfaction as Sukarno had been to non-Javanese discontent in the 1950s. Extreme centralization of power had insulated the New Order from realizing the depth of this opposition, and the only strategy available to regime-sustaining nationalism is to entrench the regime's control of the nation further. During the 1997 elections the New Order simply embarked on a "yellow-ization" program, literally painting buildings and trees Golkar's color as if to paint over the growing cracks in the system, epitomized by new outbreaks of violence across Indonesia.[454] Golkar won especially resoundingly that year in spite of unprecedented mass mobilization among the opposition, but by overshooting its target, the party machine had only enhanced the perceived fraudulence of the election. When it came time for Suharto and Habibie to be officially re-elected, even the pretenses of democracy were abandoned: public demonstrations were banned, 25,000 troops marched into Jakarta, and no alternative candidates were even proposed to the MPR.[455] In other words, Suharto responded to

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[451] Case 2003, 61.

[452] Lane 2008, 161.

[453] Menayang, Nugroho, and Listiorini 2002, 150.

[454] Case 2003, 51.

[455] Case 2003, 59.

crisis exactly as Sukarno had: by digging in deeper, ignoring alienated elites, and replacing

ministers whose loyalty he questioned – with his business partner and his eldest daughter.

As the crisis intensified, the New Order attempted to redirect popular anger away from

the regime, first toward PDI (whose headquarters were burned), then the small and hapless leftist

party PRD (several members of which were tortured and murdered), and finally toward the

Chinese-Indonesian community, which was suddenly ordered to repatriate $80 billion in offshore

holdings.[456]   The latter group, never accepted into the Indonesian nation despite being citizens,

had been cast as scapegoats for so long that they suffered the brunt of Reformasi's violence –

much of which was blamed, probably rightly, on military instigation.

Yet for all his emphasis on "organic unity," Suharto suffered from the same affliction as

Sukarno: a perceived estrangement from the common people.[457]   The sickness of KKN

(corruption, collusion, and nepotism) was perceived to have started in the central state and spread

to the entire country. A movement begun by university students found resonance with urban

workers frustrated by rising costs of electricity and transportation, and farm workers thrown off

their land and destabilized by price distortions. In the Javanese sense, Suharto had lost his *jasa*,

his moral right to rule. PPP and PDI supporters had joined forces under a "Mega Star" banner

(for Megawati, the informal leader of PDI, and the Islamic star of PPP) in the interest of

dethroning the New Order.[458]   After four students from Trisakti University were killed by

soldiers, a nation-wide *rusuh* began in earnest. Elites were so terrified of the previously-passive

"floating mass" that none would join Suharto's "reform council," a much-belated attempt to

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[456] Case 2003, 59.

[457] Antlöv 2000, 216.

[458] Lane 2008, 162.

address demands for change – one nominee famously responded to the council invitation by saying, "Are you crazy? The people will burn down my house."[459]

Suharto was not the only leader whose tenure was brought to an end by Reformasi: an estimated 300 government officials at the village and sub-provincial level who were thought to share the New Order's sins – corruption and oppressiveness – were forced out by their constituents between May and July 1998.[460] Civil servants and other administrators were held "hostage" by demonstrators and called to task for their own KKN activities and their affiliation with the New Order.[461] Demonstrations against army commands across Indonesia endured for weeks following Suharto's resignation. Demonstrations were held against every repressive law in Indonesia's history, whether colonial, Sukarnoist or Suhartoist. All authority was subjected to *aksi* (mass action). As General Wiranto lamented, "everything was questioned." [462] Understanding these dynamics explains why the transitional government had no choice but to formalize a decentralization program. The Indonesian masses were forcibly taking power back.

The idea of Indonesia, however, was never in as much jeopardy as outside observers feared. Much of the language of "reformasi total" was framed around rescuing the Indonesian nation. Opposition leader Amien Rais explained that "Suharto was on his way to ruining the country."[463] Even the military, guardians of national unity, stopped fighting students who were

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[459] Case 2003, 62.

[460] Lane 2008, 203.

[461] Van Dijk 2002, 292.

[462] Lane 2008, 175.

[463] Case 2003, 56.

occupying Parliament – as clear a sign as any that control over the nation had informally transferred away from the New Order.[464]

Separatism in East Timor, Aceh, and Papua (1999-present)

Separatism has posed the largest threat to national unity in the Reform Era. It is such a powerful piece of rhetoric to use on a decentralized state that political discontent has led to half-hearted calls for separatism in regions with very little history or cause to leave the nation: East Java, Madura, South Sulawesi.[465] Yet it must be recalled that separatism is a threat that the Indonesian state itself created. Anderson describes the New Order's approach to Aceh, for example, as "How wonderful it would be if Aceh were emptied of the Acehnese."[466] Separating from a large state in the hopes of surviving as a much smaller, weaker entity is a big gamble, one that other provinces (such as Riau and Maluku) have decided against taking. But East Timor was forced into this repressive, centralized authoritarian state, and petitioned for independence as soon as decentralization policies cracked open the fortress door; meanwhile, state repression and over-centralization tipped the cost-benefit analysis in favor of separatism for Aceh and Papua.

East Timor's case for a separate nationhood was obvious to everyone, including other Indonesians. Its absorption into Indonesia was never legalized, the East Timorese have a distinct cultural identity (many are Christians and ethnically distinct from western Indonesians), and their desire for independence from Indonesia was uniform and unceasing: they even rejected a compromise of "special autonomy." The colonial administrative nationalism that began to bind the rest of Indonesia did not touch East Timor, which was colonized by Portugal. And from the

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[464] Case 2003, 62.

[465] Aspinall and Berger 2001, 1009, 1010.

[466] Anderson 1999, 4.

central state's perspective, East Timor had no natural resources to offer while being ungrateful

for the opportunity to be part of the Indonesian nation and enjoy its financial support.[467] Only

the outdated logic presented by anti-colonial nationalism – geography-as-destiny – kept

Indonesia attached to East Timor. Habibie's decision to allow East Timor a referendum on

independence was in and of itself a cost-benefit analysis, not only for Indonesia but for his own

credentials as a democratic leader who respected human rights. The military's rampage on East

Timor following the people's vote for independence can be seen, as Kingsbury argues, as a

response to a "betrayal" by the East Timorese.[468] The similarity between the military's response

to East Timor's desire for independence and an empire's response to a colony's desire for

independence should be lost on no one. It reflects the similarity between colonial administrative

nationalism and regime-sustaining nationalism, both of which aim to solidify the ruling regime's

authority by controlling the nation.

The western half of New Guinea, a Dutch territory, was annexed by Indonesia in 1969

through a vote of very dubious legitimacy, the "Act of Free Choice." It was given a name

appropriate for the anti-colonial nationalism of the time, "Irian Jaya" (IRIAN being an acronym

for *Ikut Republik Indonesia, Anti-Nederland*, or Join the Indonesian Republic, reject the

Netherlands). In this thesis, "Papua" refers to the entire region of New Guinea administered by

Indonesia, as the separatist movement seeks independence for both the Papua and West Papua

provinces. Papua's separatist movement, begun in earnest after the beginning of the New Order,

is incited by military abuses committed during the New Order and distrust of the Indonesian

state's reasons for keeping Papua in the nation. Far from believing that Papua belongs

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[467] Anderson 1999, 8-9.

[468] Kingsbury 2005, 159.

"naturally" with Indonesia (the other half of the island is independent Papua New Guinea), Papuans believe they are only wanted for their natural resources.[469] The Irianese are often considered by other Indonesians to be "primitive" and "obedient" tribespeople.[470] Resource-driven transmigration and the mining industry itself (personified by the much-reviled American company, Freeport) has had a highly-destabilizing influence on Papuan life.[471]

Aceh's relationship with Indonesia is the most complicated of the three because it is ethnically and religiously indistinct from Java.[472] This makes its claim to "not belonging" with Indonesia harder, but also lessens cultural alienation from the center. Together with its long history of independence and revolution, Acehnese identity looks like an extreme version of the militant, conservative aspects of Indonesia's identity – perhaps this is why Indonesia has been loath to relinquish it. At the time of independence from the Dutch, Aceh had willingly joined Indonesia – the only separatist region to do so – but as Anderson writes, desire for independence from Indonesia flourished when the central state's civilian rule over the province was replaced by military rule, the exploitation of Aceh's oil and natural gas resources became extreme, and Acehnese "los[t] any hope and confidence that they had a share in a common Indonesian project."[473] Despite high demand for independence at the grass-roots level, Aceh never received a Timor-style referendum on independence; Acehnese elites believed that greater autonomy from

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[469] Aspinall and Berger 2001, 1015.

[470] Anderson 1999, 5.

[471] Kingsbury 2005, 152-153.

[472] Kingsbury 2005, 141.

[473] Anderson 1999, 4.

the central state could avert the trauma of separation.[474] The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) was

thus treated as an insurgent group rather than a movement representing the people's will.

State centralization by the Suharto regime had enforced a repressive vision of regime-

sustaining nationalism wherein provinces were expected to give all they had to the nation. State

decentralization was an attempt to mitigate the harm done by this approach to nationalism. But

the first major decentralization initiative – giving East Timor a referendum on independence –

traumatized the central state and the national project: the idea of Indonesia was rejected, and part

of the nation was lost. After an initial period of defensive "digging in" by the central state, a

strategy of "special autonomy" for Aceh and Papua was enacted in the hopes of forestalling any

further disintegration.

The GAM insurgency intensified in 2003 after the conservative Megawati sent the

national military to declare martial law in Aceh and crush secessionist sentiment.[475] But after the

2004 tsunami forced the diminished rebels to negotiate, the central government offered a peace

deal – amnesty for a ceasefire – and institutionalized Aceh's autonomy through the 2006 Law on

the Governing of Aceh. This affirmation of decentralization was a product of the new

democratic system – the Law had been debated and passed by the democratically-elected DPR,

which agreed that increasing Aceh's autonomy was the best way to maintain national unity, and

the democratically-elected president Yudhoyono was committed to a nonmilitary solution.[476]

When pro-GAM candidates swept the 2006 Aceh elections, including the governorship, the

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[474] Aspinall and Berger 2001, 1017.

[475] Kingsbury 2005, 140-141.

[476] Ramage 2007, 138; Fealy 2008, 390; Humfrey 2010, 14.

central state accepted this popular choice. Since then a peaceful existence within the Indonesian nation has largely been maintained.[477]

Similarly, the first popular local elections in Papua proceeded smoothly, and placed native Papuans in senior political and bureaucratic positions.[478] The separatist movement – persuaded by the substantial increase in local government revenue following special autonomy status – shifted away from secession toward a re-negotiation of terms.[479] It is clear that Papua remains further separated from the Indonesian nation than Aceh: while Aceh received the right to be represented by its own parties in the DPR, contrary to the law requiring that all parties in the DPR have nation-wide representation, Papua asked for the same privilege and was denied.[480] As Horowitz notes, "Papuans have had greater difficulty than Acehnese in accepting and finding their place in Indonesia,"[481] and so has the state had greater difficulty accepting and finding a place for the Papuans.

Just as central state repression had created incentives to secede, decentralization and democratization have created a new set of incentives for these previously marginalized and disempowered populations to stay.[482] Whatever Indonesian nation results from these decentralization initiatives, we can be sure that it will be constructed from the bottom-up. Learning to accept the choices made by the populations of discontented regions is a crucial element of democratic nationalism. This must be maintained even if the choice is to leave. If

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[477] Kingsbury 2007, 156; Ramage 2007, 138.

[478] Fealy 2008, 391.

[479] Kingsbury 2007, 159; Fealy 2008, 391.

[480] Gayatri 2010, 191; Horowitz 2013, 141.

[481] Horowitz 2013, 141.

[482] Bertrand 2008, 444.

separatists in Aceh and Papua continue to sincerely use the language of anti-colonial nationalism while criticizing the central state, then no amount of concessions and reforms will be enough; Indonesia should recognize this inevitability from its own history of uncompromising anti-colonial nationalism. On the other hand, if democratic nationalism provides the Acehnese and Papuan populations with the opportunity to see themselves as fellow Indonesians, there is hope that the borders of the Indonesian nation will remain in place.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

Indonesia's post-independence national project contained all the necessary elements for building cohesive national unity: the nationwide adoption of the practically-constructed Indonesian language, the shared bond of anti-Dutch revolution, and the broad foundation of the Pancasila ideology.[483] State centralization of power helped cement a "centralization" of the nation under two top-down constructions of nationalism: Sukarno's anti-colonial nationalism and Suharto's regime-sustaining nationalism. This does not mean alternative national narratives were destroyed, and during early parliamentary democracy they were allowed to contest the nation's future. Geertz calls the ideological disarray of the 1950s an "abyss" that was later clouded by a "wash of nationalist clichés" during the authoritarian regimes of Guided Democracy and the New Order.[484] But Elson argues that faithfulness to the Indonesian nation – that it "must be one" – developed through this disarray.[485]

Under these authoritarian regimes, no deviation from this ideology was permitted, and any criticism of the government was implied to be a criticism of Indonesia itself. Those that fell

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[483] Liddle 1996, 93.

[484] Geertz 1972, 331.

[485] Elson 2008, 197.

beyond the bounds of the nation, whether intentionally or by disagreeing with the regime, were mercilessly eliminated. It was a "republic of fear," which can only engender genuine loyalty at a shallow level. Despite intensive indoctrination efforts, the speed with which the New Order's nationalist ideology lost legitimacy indicates that it was never thoroughly embraced. What Indonesians did learn from decades of authoritarian rule was the language of violence.

In the Reform Era, the state is relying on the decentralization of state authority, both through formal devolution to sub-provincial governments and increased horizontal and vertical popular empowerment, as well as a general de-militarization of the state. The hope is that decentralization will enable the Indonesian population to "enjoy the benefits of the large-scale nation" without "suffering deprivation on account of its conceits," and participate to a greater extent in the national project.[486] That is, that national loyalty will be secured through the people's genuine investment and love of the nation, not through fear and helplessness.

Alternative explanations attributing this change to the different personalities of Indonesian leaders or different international conditions are indeterminate. Indonesia has had both mild-mannered autocrats and hotheaded democrats. Indonesian leaders have all valued economic development and regional leadership, and how they have pursued these goals has depended on the type of nationalism they espoused. Notably, these common alternative explanations each fit the Sukarno era fairly well, but fail to explain both the Suharto and Reform periods. As remarkable and important of a leader as Sukarno was, analysis of Indonesia cannot remain mired in the early Cold War. The Reform period, in particular, requires further study.

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[486] Elson2008, 313.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Horowitz and van Dijk note an interesting similarity between Indonesia's parliamentary democracy of the early 1950s and the liberal democracy of the Reform Era: both occupied a contested turning point between the centralization and decentralization of state authority, though in each case the state turned in a different direction.[487] This thesis concludes that it was this decision – whether to cement centralization or devolve the central state's power – that encouraged the development of either regime-sustaining nationalism or democratic nationalism.

Ideology is a complicated force that encompasses both meaning and action, is constantly socially-constructed and re-constructed, and both impacts and is impacted by material considerations and external realities. Undoubtedly, Sukarno's and Suharto's egotistical views, economic hardships and successes, and geo-political environments have affected the nationalist ideology promulgated by the state apparatus. But these alternative explanations would not have had a significant effect on nationalism if they were not accompanied by a consolidation or decentralization of central state authority. The origin of the urge to centralize state authority under a pyramidal top-down structure cannot be fully explained here – whether it stemmed from the post-colonial preoccupation with national unity, the repressive colonial government, or the search for authentic tradition is unclear. What is clear, however, is that Sukarno's anti-colonial nationalism and especially Suharto's regime-sustaining nationalism reflected this centralization of the unitary state.

For Indonesian society, the price of these nationalist ideologies underpinned by the highly-centralized state was severe: state terror. This weapon was eventually wielded against

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[487] Horowitz 2013, 22; van Dijk 2002, 293.

Indonesians whose "separatist" behavior – whether regionally or ideologically – was considered an affront to the nation's rightful leaders as well as a wholesale threat to national unity. Both top-down nationalists and autocrats have a preoccupation that borders on preoccupation with anxiety, fear, and insecurity; the most common terror involves disintegration of the fortress they have built, that is, the body of the nation-state. Both require mass consensus to survive, but dread the day when obedient crowds become mobs, and new nationalists steal and remake the nation. These anxieties compel the state to use violence to hold the center firm.

This violence, along with the martial law conditions that typically herald its arrival, spread the state's terror to citizens. As Heryanto argues, "the state-in-terror helps engender state terrorism."[488] Ironically, many splits and fractures within the Indonesian nation can be attributed to the negative consequences of these desperate attempts to keep the nation under control. Kingsbury writes that the "lack of choice about what it means to be Indonesian" has always strongly contributed to Indonesia's socio-political tensions.[489] Aspinall and Berger put it even more bluntly: rather than creating sustainable order and stability, top-down iterations of nationalism with their pursuit of unity through coercive centralization essentially birthed separatist nationalism.[490]

Twentieth century history has demonstrated the poor results of attempting to centralize and monopolize power in Indonesia. The authoritarian experiment lent weight to nationalists who, taking their cue from colonial administrative nationalism, sought to exile "troublemakers" and "unnecessary outsiders" rather than trying to reconcile differences in national visions

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[488] Heryanto 2006, 173.

[489] Kingsbury 2005, 162.

[490] Aspinall and Berger 2001, 1019.

through debate and contestation if necessary.[491] Sukarno's anti-colonial nationalism began to take on these exclusionary characteristics when the state intensified its centralization policies; like the old colonial administrative nationalism, Suharto's regime-sustaining nationalism was intended to control the nation and legitimize the state's high centralization and consolidation policies. The twenty-first century present is still recovering from the damage they wrought.

Just as the state is shifting from centralized authoritarianism to decentralized democracy, national identity in the Reform Era is undergoing a shift from the mass passivity, unity-through-hierarchy, and exclusivity of the New Order. The national commitment to democracy at both the mass- and elite-level, even at the expense of personal power and advantage, explains much of these changes.[492] Polls have consistently revealed Indonesians' strong support for democracy, and their belief that voting in elections gives them a voice in the national decision-making process.[493] But it also reflects a commitment to the idea of Indonesia, and an acknowledgment that a pseudo-colonial center-periphery pattern, a depoliticized population, and obedience to paternalistic authoritarian rule have been wrong for the Indonesian nation.

The way forward isn't yet clear, but some trends have emerged: the masses want accountable, effective, and responsive leadership; elites have become "born-again reformists" and mostly tried to ride the democratic wave; and while Indonesian belonging is increasingly a given, the merits and morals of the Indonesian nation are neither clear nor a certainty.[494] Both Sukarnoist and Suhartoist dogma have been delegitimized by modern Reformasi, so a re-invention of what it means to be Indonesian will need to take place. To the state's credit, it has

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[491] Elson 2008, 316.

[492] Horowitz 2013, 44-45.

[493] Sukma 2011, 121.

[494] Antlöv 2000, 220.

repeatedly signaled that it both wants the input of citizens, and is sensitive to international opinion and global norms of democracy and human rights.

Theoretical Implications

This thesis has introduced a new typology of nationalism based on the ruling regime's motivation for promoting its national vision. This typology uses the intent of state actors because it concerns the nation-building projects often found in post-colonial states, not state-building projects. By focusing specifically on the diverse reasons that states construct nations, this typology is able to explain real-world variations of "official" or "governmental" nationalism.

Colonial administrative nationalism arises from the need to better control a foreign territory. It is not concerned with legitimacy, but while it does not intend to create a national community, its administrative categories, institutions, and networks (Anderson's "Census, Map, Museum") provide the foundations to one anyway. *Anti-colonial nationalism* is intended to provide the fire necessary to oppose oppressive geo-political forces, and as such prioritizes national unity – though it is often style over substance. Its high-stakes ideology and battle-ready rhetoric encourage polarization and a zero-sum view of the nation, as befitting the only type of nationalism that stands in fundamental opposition to an enemy other. *Regime-sustaining nationalism* has one purpose: legitimizing the ruling regime by equating subservience to the regime with love for the nation itself. Its masses must be kept internally divided, depoliticized, fearful of state terror, but satisfied with economic gains. *Democratic nationalism*, finally, is intended to legitimize the state and the nation, but not the regime – reducing the stakes of national contestation. It assumes that providing the masses across the nation with the opportunity to voice their vision for the nation will increase the chances of long-term, voluntary

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buy-in to the national project. The regime does not impose a national vision on the masses, even at the cost of chaos – particularly passive regimes must be reminded to protect their citizens.

These four types of nationalism can be compared and contrasted further. Regime-sustaining nationalism and colonial administrative nationalism approach nationalism from a pragmatic, instrumentalist perspective, practice unequal treatment across social groups and regions, and create a highly-centralized administrative capital from which all power dissipates: the mandala, in ancient terms. Democratic nationalism and anti-colonial nationalism approach nationalism from an ideological, socio-cultural perspective, and see the nation as a space for the contestation of national visions and values – although the zero-sum nature of anti-colonial nationalism makes this contestation more dangerous and dogmatic. Colonial administrative nationalism is the only one of the four to disregard the importance of popular legitimization. Democratic nationalism is the only one of the four to be constructed from the bottom-up instead of the top-down; the three other types are elite machinations that discourage mass participation, typically because of the masses' supposed ignorance.

It is worth noting that colonial administrative nationalism, anti-colonial nationalism, and regime-sustaining nationalism all carry the seeds of their own demise. Colonial administrative nationalism empowers a new nation with the capacity and awareness to overthrow the foreign colonists; anti-colonial nationalists often transform, in desperation, into oppressive regime-sustaining nationalists; regime-sustaining nationalism modernizes a nation without providing any outlet for dissent short of violent mass action. Democratic nationalism, on the other hand, assumes that the nation and the state will outlive any particular regime, and has a strong chance of longevity. It is built to adapt to change and respond to popular aspirations, and perhaps most

importantly, it assumes that the nation is a flexible social construct in constant need of improvement instead of a distant ideal or an ancient truth.

This thesis confirms that nations are socially-constructed, political, and ideological, but downplays the ethnic and primordialist view of nationalism. It strongly contradicts two common perceptions about nationalism: that nationalism is made extinct when nation and state become congruent, and that nations must precede states to maximize chances for success. This thesis suggests that the characteristics of nationalism depend less on leaders' personalities, political competition, geo-political threats, or economic stress – and more on the level of popular inclusion in the national project, and the balance between top-down state control and bottom-up local autonomy.

This finding has significance for the link between the nation and the state, and the significance of inclusion or exclusion in the national project. It defies a common belief about nationalism: that it is most likely to be exclusionary (along ethnic, religious, or political lines) when control of the state is most open to contestation, especially in plural societies where nationalism can theoretically be used to divide a voting base rather than unite it. In Indonesia's case, the most exclusionary type of nationalism – regime-sustaining nationalism – has instead reflected a society that is closed to contestation, dissent, and political disagreement.

Democratic nationalism is most suited for a state that practices democratic governance, since it requires the free exercise of political rights, and is most successful when accompanied by liberal protections for minorities. As the democratic norm becomes more potent worldwide, democratic nationalism is also likely to become more prevalent. Regime-sustaining nationalism is particularly suited to fascistic regimes, given its equivalence of the government with the state and the nation, assumption of an all-encompassing and mechanical organic unity, and

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paternalistic hierarchy. Anti-colonial nationalism can appear in regimes that lie anywhere on the spectrum from liberal-democratic to autocratic, but the more polarized its ideological debates are, the more likely it is to take on authoritarian characteristics. Colonial administrative nationalism is only present in territories that are governed by an external authority. As such, it is more of a historical phenomenon than a modern one, although it underlies many modern states.

The thesis also suggests that efforts to strengthen central state authority and monopolize power in a time of political crisis can foster the development of regime-sustaining nationalism. Thus transitions to authoritarianism are more prone to regime-sustaining nationalism than transitions to democracy. A deeply-embedded, regime-sustaining nationalism provides an authoritarian state with a way to legitimate itself and connect itself to its population. It also requires violence either against foreign nationals or – more likely – the state's own citizens who fail to adhere to the top-down requirements for national belonging set out by the regime in power. Decentralized democracies – who simply do not have the capability for state terrorism – support a very different type of nationalism: that is, democratic nationalism, a true people's project that invites maximum input into the national identity.

Indonesian democrats have always existed, from Muhammad Hatta to Amien Rais, but only decentralization has pulled back the curtain of the central state far enough to reveal them. Indeed, those interested in forestalling the development of repressive or divisive top-down nationalism in a political transition from autocracy to democracy should look to decentralization – whether through administrative devolution, demilitarization, free and fair elections, or all of the above – as a possible resource. Decentralization guarantees the rights of all the nation's citizens to "participate voluntarily, enthusiastically, equally, and without fear in the common project" of

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nationalism.[495] It does not necessitate putting national unity in peril, but if some in the nation leave when the choice is presented to them, they must be allowed to depart. Even more so than a state, nations cannot be forced on those who do not want to belong to them.

Finally, Indonesia's experience contradicts the famous "Asian values" argument that Asian societies fare better under the strict guidance of a benevolent dictator than under popular sovereignty – if anything, because Indonesians ultimately proved unwilling to accept this pay-off, and because Indonesia has so deeply embraced its new political system that it now gradually and cautiously promotes democracy in other ASEAN countries, partly through the demonstration effect. For a state that once embraced integralism, this evolution is remarkable, and exemplifies Bourchier's understanding of political culture as "a realm full of competing and often contradictory impulses."[496] Indonesians have imagined a new reality for themselves, one that has decisively changed state-society relations, governance, civil liberties, citizenship, territory, and cultural expression – as well as nationalism.

Prospects for the Future

Twenty-first century Indonesia has curiously resuscitated some patterns found in the 1950s' era of parliamentary democracy: restless and conflict-ridden provinces, a lack of national consensus, a slow revival of ideological *aliran*. But there is no sign of a return to isolationism and confrontation in foreign policy, nor a campaign to eliminate ideological opposition; that is, democratic nationalism is unlikely to result in systematic violent attacks on those exiled from the nation. This does not mean Indonesia will be free of conflict – the identity of the nation is again up for debate and previously repressed factions are contributing to the national trajectory in a

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[495] Anderson 1999, 9-10.

[496] Bourchier 1997, 179.

wide variety of ways, some of which are violent – but that the state is very unlikely to demand that national belonging be paid for in blood, or to enforce national unity with force.

Government elites have proven surprisingly adroit at avoiding a repeat of the 1950s' polarized stalemate and thus preventing an authoritarian intervention into the democratic process. Democratic reforms to strengthen the legislative and judicial branches at the expense of the executive were checks against resurgent authoritarianism. An incremental, consensus-driven reform process was designed to avert the violence that had occurred during the last government transition. Special autonomy for rebellious provinces may also have been a lesson learned from the costly forceful annexations of East Timor and Papua.

Moving forward, some of the same policies that have held the nation together have stalled attempts at further reform. Grass-roots agitation against Malaysia and the United States for dubious reasons is harmless as long as the target remains abstract, and indeed such political demonstrations are a part of democracy (as soon as foreign nationals are targeted, however, the government must step in). But the government's reluctance to exclude any Indonesians from the national project or impose its own ideology on a nation in flux has also created reluctance to put a decisive stop to groups such as FPI, which suppresses the basic rights of other Indonesians while claiming to speak in the name of Islamic Indonesia. Avoiding mass distrust of the state by restricting crackdowns is a worthy and important goal, but the masses can also learn to distrust a state that passes the buck on protecting its people.

The most headline-grabbing result of the central state's decentralization of power has been what appears to be a sudden epidemic of mob justice, often grotesquely violent and disproportionate to the petty offense that first enraged the mob, and widely-reported by the sensationalistic free press. This sub-category of *rusuh* is the "neighborhood watch" taken to a

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perverse extreme – burning accused criminals alive, chopping them to pieces, beating them to death and applauding the corpse.[497] In almost all cases, the mob's victim has committed an offense against the community, and usually the weakest and poorest members of the community.[498] Vehicles that run over street vendors, motorcyclists, or children are apt to be burned and their drivers lynched.

Conservatives blame excessive political reforms for giving people too much freedom: if all that was forbidden is now allowed, then surely it is permissible to "drive through a red light yelling 'Reformasi.'"[499] But the gleeful euphoria at suddenly being free of repression is quite divorced from mob justice, which strives to enforce a populist order. Reformists blame the New Order for socializing Indonesians to solve their problems and make political statements through violence, and law enforcement for failing to prevent it out of laziness or a desire to sabotage the democratic decentralization project.[500] Police officers blame a weak economy, inequality, and high unemployment for both increasing crime and increasing fear of crime.[501]

Certainly, mob justice is linked to perceptions of the central state's diminishing capacities. State law enforcement has outsourced its work to local communities, and there is a widespread perception that there is a very low risk of prosecution for either stealing a motorcycle or participating in mob violence, partly because the vastly-outnumbered police are too afraid to interfere in the work of a mob that no longer seems willing to listen to state authority. As one

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[497] Van Dijk 2002, 280-281; Colombijn 2002, 324.

[498] Van Dijk 2002, 281.

[499] Van Dijk 2002, 284.

[500] Colombijn 2002, 302-3; Nordholt 2002, 51; van Dijk 2002, 295.

[501] Colombijn 2002, 303.

mob yelled, "Just kill him, it's useless to bring him to court."[502] Indonesia's legal system has

always been corrupt, but only after democratic governments have attempted to publicly

investigate graft did corruption become outrageously visible. Likewise, distrust of the system

originated with the New Order, but has found expression in the Reform Era.

This begs the question: has decentralization gone too far? Encouraging self-help among

the citizenry may be a natural extension of the decentralization of state power, but "violent self-

help" at the communal level runs the risk of not only killing the innocent, but exacerbating

identity-driven inter-group tensions – which does little to support the national project, especially

if the nation-state haplessly stands by. The desire for nationwide justice is palpable, as

demonstrated by the speed with which the community responds to the cry of "*Maling*! (thief)"

but the decentralized state appears too inert to provide it. Indonesians are frustrated with the

state, as most citizens of democracies are, but would likely welcome a state attempt to take more

responsibility – particularly to correct past injustices and protect Indonesia's "little people." At

the very least, Liem suggests that the military's impunity must come to an end, such that no one

appears to be above the law and the law appears powerful enough to punish even the strong.[503]

Accordingly, Antlöv argues that the future course of Indonesia's nationalist ideology will

depend less on the "authenticity" of particular values and more on whether their proponents can

solve national problems.[504] Indonesians are beginning to long for a leader who will re-introduce

some form of order on the nation, and some relics of the New Order – generals-turned-

politicians, by in large – have stepped up to fill this gap. For example, one of the front-runners

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[502] Van Dijk 2002, 281.

[503] Liem 2002, 211.

[504] Antlöv 2000, 220.

in the 2014 presidential elections is former lieutenant general Prabowo Subianto, who is suspected to have been responsible for disappearing political activists and inciting riots during 1998's Reformasi.[505] Indonesians should be cautioned that centralized authority requires checks, strong leaders require leashes, and national glory need not stem from violence.

In addition to determining the components of its national identity, Indonesia's greatest challenge moving forward is coming to terms with its national history. Indonesians are struggling to come to terms with their authoritarian past, the costs of which have become clearer in the Reform Era, with some embracing an irreverent shame or apathy, while others adopt a defensive posture of national pride. Benedict Anderson, who had been banned by the New Order for twenty-six years, returned to Indonesia in 1999 and promptly urged Indonesians to adopt a new national motto, "Long Live Shame!" He argued that true nationalists should feel shame and stigma when their nation-state commits violence in the name of the national project, against foreigners and fellow citizens alike – indeed, nationalists should protest against the regime to protect the nation's integrity and reputation.

But Indonesia's public history, particularly of the revolution against the Dutch, the early years of parliamentary democracy and real ideological debate, and of course the "30th September Movement" and the mass killings of suspected Communists, remains highly problematic. The New Order's manipulation of this history has only complicated the process of memory retrieval and historical reassessment. Furthermore, few Indonesians are eager to reverse their "organized forgetting" of the nation's dark past. It is all well and good to look forward to a brighter future of plural, participatory democracy that respects collective and individual rights, but nationalism also employs a shared history to build a sense of belonging. When some members of the nation

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[505] Case 2003, 62.

have been systematically victimized by the nation itself, public history must acknowledge this to be considered trustworthy.[506] If nationalism is to be truly inclusive, the victims' stories must be written too. Anderson's speech indicated that even he recognized the virtues of bottom-up nationalism: the "wager" of the Indonesian national project can only be won if the nation is "large-hearted and broad minded enough" to accept its own "variety and complexity."[507]

Since arising from the structural skeleton of colonial administrative nationalism, several aspects of the Indonesian nation have remained unchanged through the varying permutations of anti-colonial nationalism, regime-sustaining nationalism, and democratic nationalism. The Pancasila is still the nation's foundation, and thanks to its high degree of openness to interpretation, it is likely to remain so for generations to come – even though democratic nationalism, in contrast to its predecessors, no longer requires adherence to the Pancasila. Economic nationalism continues to play a role thanks to lingering post-colonial fears of foreign domination and a desire to appeal to populist sentiments; Indonesia is still considered a religiously and ethnically plural nation despite being based on a Muslim-Javanese core *ethnie*; and the approval of the masses (whether called the "little people," "floating mass," "Marhaen," or simply the voting public) remains ideologically important.

Most importantly, the sense that the people of Indonesia "belong together" as a nation, for better fortunes or worse, has endured. Some of these crucial foundations of the nation have actually been strengthened in the Reform Era: the masses have gained the ability to directly express their approval for leaders instead of having this approval indirectly relayed through a mandate or divine will, and decentralization has provided space for a more dynamic and sincere

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[506] Nordholt 2002, 53.

[507] Anderson 1999, 3.

expression of plurality. If the nation hangs together without the iron fist of a militarized state, then it will truly have earned the population's love and loyalty – what Elson calls "meaningful belonging."[508] Since young nationalists took the Sumpah Pemuda pledge of belonging to the new Indonesian nation in 1928, Indonesia has been constructing its national project for eighty-five years. Despite the high-flying ambitions of anti-colonial nationalism and regime-sustaining nationalism, it is democratic nationalism that is likely to safeguard Indonesia's national unity at last. Through decentralization and democratization, the state has finally invited the Indonesian people to help build their own nation: little by little, brick by brick.

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[508] Elson 2008, 319.

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