

Illiberal Democracy in Indonesia

The ideology of the family state

David Bouchier

POLITICS IN ASIA



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'This is an exciting and highly original work that makes a major contribution to the history of Indonesian political thinking. One great strength is the complex link between German organicist and Dutch legal thinking and romantic Indonesian nationalism. Another is the story of the impact of Japanese political thinking from the 1920s to the 1940s. This work is rich and subtle, full of intriguing historical detail and insight. It is particularly relevant now, with the current renewed burst of hostility towards Western liberal democracy in Indonesia.'

David Reeve, *University of New South Wales, Australia*

'At one level David Bouchier has given us a crucial analysis of the ideas and mechanisms behind Sukarno's "Guided Democracy" and Suharto's enduring authoritarian-developmental state, which between them shaped Indonesia over its first half-century. At another it is of much broader significance, in tracing the lineage into Asia of one of the more influential alternatives to parliamentary democracy thrown up by the turbulent nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Despite the undoubted successes of this democracy in Indonesia since 1998, we would be foolish to ignore the disenchantments with it and the continuing appeal of its rivals – in Indonesia as throughout Asia. This exploration of one deep alternative current is as timely now as it ever was.'

Anthony Reid, *Australian National University*

'I am thrilled to see the publication of this book. It is arguably the most important work yet produced on the genesis of modern Indonesian political ideology. While a first-rate analysis of Indonesia, it will be of interest to anyone who seeks to understand the complex ways in which political ideologies are historically formed and reshaped, in varying social contexts, and in response to the shifting requirements of power.'

Vedi Hadiz, *Murdoch University, Australia*

Illiberal Democracy in Indonesia

Illiberal Democracy in Indonesia charts the origins and development of organicist ideologies in Indonesia from the early twentieth century to the present. In doing so, it provides a background to the theories and ideology that informed organicist thought, traces key themes in Indonesian history, examines the Soeharto regime and his 'New Order' in detail, and looks at contemporary Indonesia to question the possibility of past ideologies making a resurgence in the country.

Beginning with an exploration of the origins of the theory of the organic state in Europe, this book explores how this influenced many young Indonesian scholars and 'secular' nationalists. It also looks in detail at the case of Japan, and identifies the parallels between the process by which Japanese and Indonesian nationalist scholars drew on European romantic organicist ideas to forge 'anti-Western' national identities and ideologies. The book then turns to Indonesia's tumultuous history from the revolution to 1965, the rise of Soeharto, and how his regime used organicist ideology, together with law and terror, to shape the political landscape and consolidate control. In turn, it shows how the social and economic changes wrought by the government's policies, such as the rise of a cosmopolitan middle class and a rapidly growing urban proletariat, led to the failure of the corporatist political infrastructure and the eventual collapse of the New Order in 1998. Finally, the epilogue surveys the post-Soeharto years to 2014, and how growing disquiet about the inability of the government to contain religious intolerance, violence and corruption has led to an increased readiness to re-embrace not only more authoritarian styles of rule but also ideological formulas from the past.

This book will be welcomed by students and scholars of Southeast Asia, politics and political theory, as well as by those interested in authoritarian regimes, democracy and human rights.

David Bouchier is Associate Professor of Asian Studies at The University of Western Australia and an Associate of the Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University, Australia.

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**To the memory of Munir Said Thalib and Daniel Lev,
fighters both.**

Preface and acknowledgements

This book was inspired by the struggle against the injustices of the authoritarian regime of President Soeharto in Indonesia, which lasted from 1966 until 1998. It started as a dissertation written at Monash University in Melbourne in the mid 1990s. Over the next two decades (almost) it took on a life of its own, somewhat gallingly, as an 'unpublished PhD thesis'. It informed the work of many other scholars and was also critiqued. In order to respond adequately I would have had to write a much longer book. Suffice it to say that this revised version has benefitted from commentary and criticism by a range of scholars both in print and in personal communication.

As the unwieldy original title, *Lineages of Organicist Political Thought in Indonesia*, was meant to convey, the leitmotif of the book is the history of the metaphor of state as family and how this has been deployed as ideology in Indonesia. Much of the book is about the inner workings of Soeharto's regime, focusing on the legal and ideological institutions it relied on to insulate itself against civil society. On another level the book is an intellectual detective story. Researching the ideology of Soeharto's New Order, I was led to quite unexpected places, including nineteenth-century Germany and Japan. Whatever the success of these forays beyond my disciplinary and linguistic comfort zone, I hope that they cast some light on Indonesia's place within the global flow of ideas and are of interest to students of the history of ideas in the twentieth century. Please note that the use of the term 'illiberal democracy' in the title is broadly descriptive. This book was not written in response to Fareed Zakaria's 1997 *Foreign Affairs* article that popularised the concept or to the debates it generated. The subtitle is a better guide to what the book is about.

Most of the fieldwork for this book was carried out during 1990 and 1991 when my main research was on workers' movements and legal constraints on the right to organise. This is why the book goes into some detail about the history and development of corporatism in Indonesia. After turning my attention more to the ideological underpinnings of corporatism I made several subsequent visits before and after the fall of Soeharto to conduct interviews and gather material. The book's focus on the ruling few in Jakarta may not be fashionable but it reflects the concentration of power during the period

under scrutiny. The historical chapters were based on library research conducted in Australia, the Netherlands and Germany.

If the impetus for writing this book was to contribute to political debates going on in Indonesia in the 1990s, what is its practical relevance to democratic Indonesia? My answer is that much as we would like to think that democracy is consolidated and that the New Order was an aberration, its 'family state' ideology outlived it. It remains embedded in Indonesian political discourse, and, because it is seen as authentically Indonesian, it retains an appeal among those disillusioned with the failings of the democratic system. As in the 1950s, cynicism is rife and politicians are increasingly resorting to old rhetorical formulas of the big family, harmony and consensus. Part of the motivation for publishing this book now was to stimulate debate within Indonesia about the history of these ideas.

Thanks are due to a host of people around the world who have stimulated, supported and shepherded me in the process of writing this book. My most profound thanks go to the late Herb Feith, who did more than anyone to see my original PhD thesis through to completion. His engagement, patience and encouragement, long beyond the call of duty, were an inspiration.

Others whose insights have been especially valuable are Marsillam Simanjuntak, whose scholarship and friendship helped motivate this project; Ben Anderson, whose extensive comments saved me from many a wrong turn; Dan Lev, whose advice helped keep the ideas aspect of this book anchored to social realities; and Karel Bongenaar, whose familiarity with constitutional law in Indonesia and Europe did much to illuminate some dark corners. I would also like to single out my good friends and one-time Monash colleagues Ariel Heryanto and Richard Tanter whose different perspectives both informed my approach.

Peter Burns deserves special mention for his generosity and enthusiasm after discovering that we had arrived independently at similar conclusions, especially regarding the influence of the Historical School of Law on van Vollenhoven and on legal and political thinking in Indonesia. I benefitted greatly from his comprehensive knowledge of the Leiden school of legal anthropology.

Among the many people who helped me in Indonesia with ideas and materials I want to extend my thanks to Aswab Mahasin, Hardoyo, Muchtar Pakpahan, Benny Subianto, Onghokham, Joesoef Ishak, Fauzi Abdullah, Yap Thiam Hien, Abdurrahman Wahid, Nursyahbani Katjasungkana, Sudharmono, Abdulkadir Besar, Slamet Bratanata, Hamid Attamimi, Mulya Lubis, Arief Budiman, Mulyana Kusumah, Arist Merdeka Sirait, Oei Tjoe Tat, Stanley Adi Prasetyo, the Soedijono family and the many helpful people at Yayasan SPES, Yayasan Perempuan Mardika and Yayasan Pijar.

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For helping iron out the errors of fact and style I am again most grateful to Herb Feith. Sue Blackburn, David Chandler, Michael Leifer and Howard Dick also read early drafts and provided much helpful editorial advice.

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For keeping my feet on the ground I am indebted to Pat Walsh, Max Lane and the other good people associated with *Inside Indonesia* magazine where I worked on the editorial team for many years.

A heartfelt thank you to my closest supporters: my mother Ray, her two sisters Alison and Jill, and Elke Kaiser whose love, patience and confidence got me through long days and nights of writing in Melbourne and Perth. And, of course, to my son Jasper for getting me out of the office and helping me see the world anew.

The Centre of Southeast Asian Studies at Monash provided a very pleasant and stimulating environment in which to develop the ideas that led to this book. I am grateful to its research director, David Chandler, for his support over the years, to John Legge and to the many students who made life there so interesting. For their generous support in helping me to turn the thesis into a book I am grateful for periods spent at the Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University, the International Institute for Asian Studies, Universiteit van Amsterdam, the Institut für Asien-und Afrikawissenschaften at Humboldt University and the University of Western Australia.

Thank you also to Stephanie Rogers, Hannah Mack and previous editors at Routledge for their extreme patience and good faith.

Sections of this book draw on previously published material. Chapters 2, 4 and 6 use paragraphs from 'Positivism and Romanticism in Indonesian Legal Thought' in Timothy Lindsey (ed.) *Indonesia Law and Society* (second edition) (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2008), pp. 94–104 and 'Conservative Political Ideology in Indonesia: A Fourth Wave?' in Lloyd Grayson and Luke Shannon (eds) *Indonesia Today: Challenges of History* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001) pp. 112–25. Chapter 8 contains short passages from 'Indonesianising Indonesia: Conservative Indigenism in an Age of Globalisation', *Social Semiotics* (8:2/3 1998), pp. 203–14. Chapter 9 draws on 'Totalitarianism and the "national personality": Recent controversy about the philosophical basis of the Indonesian state' in Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller (eds) *Imagining Modern Indonesian Culture: The State and Cultural Politics* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1996). A section of the Epilogue uses material from 'The romance of adat in the Indonesian political imagination and the

current revival' in Jamie Davidson and David Henley (eds) (2007) *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics: The deployment of adat from colonialism to indigenism* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 113–29.

A note on spelling

As a rule, I have spelt Indonesian words and names according to the current spelling system introduced in 1972. The exceptions are those cases where individuals prefer the old spelling of their names (e.g. Soediman Kartohadiprodjo), where organisations existed only before 1972 (e.g. Masjumi, pangreh pradja) or in direct quotations. In many cases both spellings of names are common, and this has led to anomalies, as in the case of Suharto/Soeharto. Japanese terms have generally been spelt the way I have found them in the English and Indonesian language sources, using a line over the vowel to indicate a long sound.

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