

Appendix

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I. Members of the Abdurrahman Wahid's "National Unity Cabinet" (Announced October 26, 1999; launched October 29, 1999)

Title ¹	Name	Year of birth	Province of Origin
President	Abdurrahman Wahid	1940	East Java
Vice-President	Megawati Soekarnoputri	1946	Jakarta
Coordinating Ministers			
Political Affairs and Security	General Wiranto ⁴	1947	Yogyakarta
Economy, Finance, and Industry	Kwik Kian Gie	1935	Central Java (Ethnic Chinese)
People's Welfare and Poverty Eradication	Dr. Hamzah Haz ⁵	1940	W. Kalimantan
Ministers			
Home Affairs	Lt. Gen. (ret.) Surjadi Soedirdja	1938	West Java
Foreign Affairs	Dr. Alwi Shihab	1946	S. Sulawesi
Defense	Prof. Dr. Juwono Sudarsono	1942	West Java
Law and Legislation	Prof. Dr. Yusril Ihza Mahendra	1956	S. Sumatra
Finance	Dr. Bambang Sudibyo	1952	Central Java
Mines and Energy	Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	1949	East Java
Industry and Trade	HM Yusuf Kalla	1942	S. Sulawesi
Agriculture	Dr. M. Prakosa	1960	Yogyakarta
Forestry and Plantation	Dr. Nur Mahmudi Ismail	1961	Central Java
Transportation	Lt. Gen. Agum Gumelar	1945	West Java
Maritime Exploration	Sarwono Kusumaatmadja	1943	Jakarta
Manpower	Bomer Pasaribu	1942	N. Sumatra
Health	Dr. Achmad Sujudi	1941	East Java
National Education	Dr. Yahya Muhaimin	1943	Central Java
Religious Affairs	KH Mohammad Tolchah Hasan	1936	East Java
Settlement and Territorial Development	Erna Witoelar	1947	S. Sulawesi
State Ministers			
State Secretary	Dr. Ali Rahman ⁶	1944	Lampung
Research and Technology ⁷	Dr. A. S. Hikam	1958	East Java
Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises	Zarkasih Nur	1940	Jakarta
Environment ⁸	Dr. Sonny Keraf	1958	East Nusa Tenggara
Regional Autonomy	Dr. M. Ryaas Rasyid	1949	S. Sulawesi
Tourism and the Arts	Hidayat Jaelani	1937	West Java
Investment and State Enterprises Development ⁹	Laksamana Sukardi	1956	n/a
Youth Affairs and Sports	Mahadi Sinambela	1947	N. Sumatra
Public Works	Dr. Rofik Boediro Soetjipto	1943	Central Java
Women's Affairs	Khofifah Indar Parawansa	1965	East Java
Human Rights Affairs	Dr. Hasballah M. Saad	1948	Aceh
Transmigration and Population ¹⁰	Al Hilal Hamdi	1954	Central Java
State Administrative Reform	Vice Admiral Freddy Numberi	1947	Irian Jaya
Social Affairs	Dr. Anak Agung Gde Agung	1948	Bali
Attorney General	Marzuki Darusman	1945	West Java
Commander, TNI	Admiral Widodo Adisucipto	1944	Central Java

- Notes: 1. In the formation of this cabinet, the ministries of information and of society were abolished. The following posts were not filled: State Minister for National Development Planning, State Minister for Food, State Minister for Agricultural Land, and State Minister for Public Housing. Finally, the following posts were demoted to state ministers: Development and Administrative Reform; Public Works; Tourism, the Arts and Culture; Cooperatives and Small and Medium Enterprises.
2. For references to the parties of origin, see Appendix V. TNI stands for the Indonesian National Military.
3. Names of persons making recommendations are as follows: W: Wahid; M: Megawati; Wr: Wiranto; Am: Amien Rais; Ak: Akbar Tandjung.
4. On February 13, 2000, President Gus Dur suspended Wiranto from his post due to his alleged involvement in the East Timor violence. Minister of Home Affairs, Surjadi Soedirdja replaced Wiranto's position as Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs and Security and interim.

(cont'd)

Organization of Origin ²	Recommended By ³	Previous Service	Educational Background
NU	—	Chairperson of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	Al Azhar University, Cairo; University of Baghdad
PDI-P	—	President of PDI-P	Dropped out of Bajajaran University; dropped out of University of Indonesia
TNI PDI-P	Wr M	Commander, TNI (Army General) Columnist, Vice-President of PDI-P, Vice-Chairperson of MPR	National Military Academy (1968) Nederlandsche Economische Hogeschools
PPP	W	President of PPP, State Minister for Investment	
TNI (ret.) PKB	Wr W	Governor of Jakarta Special Province (1992 to 97) (Army Lt. Gen.) Vice-President of PKB; Former professor of Harvard University	National Military Academy (1962) Al Azhar University, Cairo; University of Ains Shams (Ph.D)
Scholar PBB Scholar (PAN)	Wr Am Am	Minister of Education and Culture; former Deputy Governor of National Resilience Institute President of PBB; Professor, Faculty of Law of University of Indonesia Professor, Gadjaja Mada University	University of Indonesia, LSE (Ph.D) University of Indonesia; Universities Sains (Ph.D.) Gadja Mada University; University of Kentucky (Ph.D)
TNI	Wr	Chief of Territorial Affairs, Military General Staff Office. (Army Lt. Gen.)	National Military Academy (1973)
Golkar PDI-P	Ak M	Representative, Bukaka Group Deputy Representative of FAO Jakarta Office	Hasanuddin University University of Tennessee; UC Berkeley (Ph.D)
PK	Am	President of PK	Bogor Agricultural Institute; New South Wales University
TNI Non-affiliated Golkar Bureaucracy	Wr W Ak n/a	Governor, National Resilience Institute (Army Lt. Gen.) State Minister for Environment; former Secretary-General of Golkar Chairman of All Indonesian Workers Union (SPSI) Director General, Bureau of Contagious Diseases and Settlement Environmental Sanitation, Ministry of Health	National Military Academy (1968) Bandung Institute of Technology University of Indonesia; New South Wales University
Scholar (PAN) PKB NGO	Am W Am	Attache in charge of education, Indonesian embassy in the U.S. Professor, Malang University of Islam; NU Council member Founder of environmental NGO; chairperson of Consumers Protection Agency (LKI)	Gadja Mada University; MIT (Ph.D) Brawijaya University Bandung Institute of Technology
PKB	W	Vice Director General, State Employees Administrative Agency; executive member of NU	Bogor Agricultural Institute; studied in U.S. (Ph.D)
Scholar	W	Senior researcher, Indonesia Institute of Science (LIPI)	Gadja Mada University; University of Hawaii (Ph.D)
PPP Scholar	W n/a	Representative of PPP parliamentary faction; Vice President of PPP Director of Ethics Development Center, Atma Jaya University	State Institute for Islamic Studies Drijarkara School of Philosophy; Higher Institute of Philosophy Catholieke Universiteit Leuven (Ph.D)
Bureaucracy	n/a	Director General of General Administrative and Regional Autonomy, Ministry of Home Affairs	North Illinois University; University of Hawaii (Ph.D)
Bureaucracy PDI-P Golkar	n/a M Ak	Commissioner, PT Pos Indonesia Vice-President of PDI-P; former Managing Director of Lippo Bank MPR member from North Sumatra Province, former staff member of Ministry of Home Affairs	Padjajaran University Bandung Institute of Technology Gadjah Mada University
Bureaucracy	n/a	Director General of Mining, Ministry of Mines and Energy	Bandung Institute of Technology, studied in the Netherlands (Ph.D) Airlangga University; University of Indonesia
PKB PAN PAN	W Am Am	Member of DPR; Vice-Speaker Member of DPR, activist from human rights watch organization Vice Secretary General of PAN; staff member at National Electric Power Company (PLN)	Syah Kuala University; IKIP Jakarta (Ph.D) Bandung Institute of Technology
TNI PDI-P	Wr M	Governor of Irian Jaya Province (Navy Vice Admiral) MPR member, interest group representatives (elected by IFEA), businessman	Naval Academy (1971)
Golkar	Ak	Vice-President of Golkar, Chairman of National Human Rights Commission	Parahiyangan University
TNI	Wr	Deputy Commander of TNI (Navy Admiral)	Naval Academy (1968)

5. On November 26, 1999, Hamzah Haz, Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare and Poverty Eradication, resigned, citing party needs. Basri Hasanuddin, former Rector of Hasanuddin University (Born 1929 in South Sulawesi Province. After graduating from Hasanuddin University, acquired his Ph.D in the Philippines) was appointed to succeed him.

6. State Secretary, Ali Rahman resigned on February 13, 2000. Bondan Gunawan, Secretary of Government Supervision, replaced his post.

7. Concomitantly Director General of the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT).

8. Concomitantly Director General of the Environmental Management Agency.

9. Concomitantly Director General of the Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM).

10. Concomitantly Director General of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN).

Source: Compiled by Kawamura from, *The Jakarta Post*, *Kompas*, etc.

II. Indonesian National Military's Leadership

	As of end June, 1998
Supreme Commander of TNI TNI Commander in Chief Deputy TNI Commander ¹ Chief, Coordinating Agency for National Stability	President B.J. Habibie General Wiranto — President B.J. Habibie
TNI Headquarters Chief of Staff Chief of General Staff Assistant for Operations Assistant for Territorial Affairs ² Assistant for Intelligence Assistant for General Planning Chief of Territorial Affairs ² Assistant for Socio-Political Affairs	Lt. Gen. Fachrul Razi Maj. Gen. Johnny Lumintang Maj. Gen. Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin Navy Vice Admiral Berty Ekel Maj. Gen. Agus Widjojo Lt. Gen. S. Bambang Yudhoyono Undecided
Central Executive Organ National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas) Director, TNI Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS) ³ TNI Command and Staff Schools (Sesko TNI) Military Academies of the Armed Forces (Akabri)	Lt. Gen. Agum Gemelar Maj. Gen. Zacky Anwar Makarim Lt. Gen. Prabowo Subianto Navy Vice Admiral Achmad Sutjipto
Staff Headquarters of Armed Forces Army Chief Deputy Army Chief Navy Chief Deputy Navy Chief Air Force Chief Deputy Air Force Chief	General Subagyo H.S. Lt. Gen. Soegiono Navy Vice Admiral Widodo A.S. Undecided Air Vice Marshal Hanafie Asnan Undecided
National Police Chief ⁴ Deputy National Policy Chief	Police Lt. Gen. Rosemanhadi Undecided
Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad) Commander, Army Special Forces (Kopassus)	Lt. Gen. Djamari Chaniago Maj. Gen. Shahrir M.S.
Military Regional Commands (Kodam) ⁵ 1. Aceh/N. Sumatra 2. S. Sumatra 3. W. Java 4. Central Java 5. E. Java 6. Kalimantan 7. Sulawesi 8. Irian Jaya 9. Nusa Tenggara 10. Jakarta 16. Maluku ⁶	Maj. Gen. Ismed Y. Chaniago Maj. Gen. Suadi Atma Maj. Gen. Poerwadi Maj. Gen. Tyasno Sudarto Maj. Gen. Djoko Subroto Maj. Gen. Sang Nyoman Suwisma Maj. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy Maj. Gen. Amir Sembiring Maj. Gen. Adam Damiri Maj. Gen. Djaja Suparman —

* Unless otherwise specified, ranks are Army ranks.

Notes:

1. The post of Deputy Military Commander was filled on July 17, 1999, for the first time since the period of Military Commander Moerdani, when Navy Admiral Sudomo served until 1983.
2. The title of Chief of Staff for Socio-Political Affairs was changed in December 1998 to Chief of Staff in for Territorial Affairs. With this change, Assistant for Territorial Affairs to Chief of General Staff came under chief of Territorial Affairs.
3. BIAS was reorganized and expanded in July 1999 from the Armed Forces Intelligence Agency (BIA).
4. The National Police was separated from the military organization on April 1, 1999. Accordingly, the name of the Armed Forces was changed from the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) to the Indonesian National Military (TNI).

(cont'd)

As of end January, 1999	As of end January 2000
Same as the left Same as the left — Same as the left	President Abdurrahman Wahid Navy Admiral Widodo A.S. Gen. Fachrul Razi President Abdurrahman Wahid
Lt. Gen. Soegiono Maj. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto Same as the left Navy Rear Admiral Joost F. Mengko Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah Same as the left Maj. Gen. Sudi Silalahi	Maj. Gen. Suaidi Marasabessy Maj. Gen. Adam Damiri Same as the left Same as the left Maj. Gen. Poerwadi Lt. Gen. Agus Widodojojo Maj. Gen. Yahya Kartawirya
Same as the left Maj. Gen. Tyasno Sudarto Lt. Gen. Agus Widodojojo Navy Vice Admiral Abu Hanifah	Lt. Gen. Johnny Lumintang Air Rear Marshal Ian Santoso Perdanakusuma Lt. Gen. Endriartono Sutarto Same as the left
Same as the left Lt. Gen. Johnny Lumintang Same as the left (promoted to Admiral) Navy Vice Admiral Achmad Sutjipto Same as the left (promoted to Marshal) Air Vice Marshal I. Gede Sudhana	Lt. Gen. Tyasno Sudarto Maj. Gen. Djamari Chaniago Navy Vice Admiral Achmad Sutjipto Undecided Same as the left Same as the left
Same as the left Police Lt. Gen. Nana Permana	Police Lt. Gen. Rusdihardjo Police Lt. Gen. Bimantaro
Same as the left Same as the left	Lt. Gen. Djaja Suparman Same as the left
Maj. Gen. Rachman Gaffar Maj. Gen. Affandi Same as the left Maj. Gen. Bibit Waluyo Maj. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu Maj. Gen. Zainuri Hasyim Same as the left Same as the left Same as the left Same as the left —	Maj. Gen. Affandi Maj. Gen. Soetardjo Maj. Gen. Slamet Supriadi Same as the left Maj. Gen. Sudi Silalahi Same as the left Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusumah Maj. Gen. Albert Inkiriwang Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri Maj. Gen. Ryamizard Ryacudu Brigadier General Tax Tamaela

5. A 5-year Reorganization Program for the Army Regional Commands was announced on May 7, 1999. Kodam will be reorganized as follows: Kodam (1) Aceh (Iskandar Muda), (2) N. Sumatra (Bukit Barisan), (3) W. Sumatra/Riau/Jambi (Iman Bonjol), (4) S. Sumatra/Lampung/Bengkulu (Sriwijaya), (5) Jakarta (Jaya), (6) W. Java (Siliwangi), (7) Central Java/Yogyakarta (Diponegoro) (8) E. Java (Brawijaya), (9) W. Kalimantan (Tanjungpura), (10) Central and S. Kalimantan (Lambung Mangkurat), (11) E. Kalimantan (Mulawarman), (12) N. and Central Sulawesi (Sam Ratulangi), (13) S. and SE. Sulawesi (Hasanuddin), (14) Bali and N. Nusa Tenggara (Udayana), (15) E. Nusa Tenggara and E. Timor (Nusa Tenggara), (16) Maluku (Pattimura), and (17) Irian Jaya (Trikor). For Army Regional Commands 3 to 8 the commanders are Major Generals, and for all the others the Brigadier Generals
6. Maluku was split from the Army Regional Command of Trikora (Maluku/Irian Jaya) as of May 15, 1999.

Source: Compiled by Kawamura, using data from *The Jakarta Post*, *Kompas*, etc.

III. Results of the 1999 General Elections and Voting

Province (Voting rate)	1st Party (Vote acquisition rate)	2nd Party (Vote acquisition rate)	3rd Party (Vote acquisition rate)	4th Party (Vote acquisition rate)	5th and lower parties
Aceh (69.98)	PPP (28.83)	PAN (17.91)	Golkar (15.61)	PDI-P (12.75)	PBB, PKP
N.Sumatra (90.72)	PDI-P (39.72)	Golkar (21.84)	PPP (10.06)	PAN (9.01)	PKB, PBB, PKP, PDKB
W.Sumatra (86.37)	Golkar (23.63)	PAN (22.16)	PPP (20.60)	PDI-P (10.92)	PBB, PK
Riau (87.56)	Golkar (29.73)	PDI-P (27.43)	PPP (13.91)	PAN (10.18)	PKB
Jambi (90.36)	Golkar (34.67)	PDI-P (24.76)	PPP (10.96)	PAN (7.68)	
S. Sumatra (91.18)	PDI-P (39.01)	Golkar (22.11)	PPP (8.48)	PAN (7.90)	PKB, PBB
Bengkulu (88.73)	PDI-P (30.05)	Golkar (28.87)	PPP (8.16)	PAN (7.84)	
Lampung (91.84)	PDI-P (40.24)	Golkar (19.38)	PKB (11.76)	PPP (8.08)	PAN, PKP, PNU
Jakarta (99.32)	PDI-P (39.06)	PPP (16.61)	PAN (16.44)	Golkar (11.15)	PKB, PBB, PK
West Java (94.39)	PDI-P (32.57)	Golkar (23.60)	PPP (15.24)	PAN (7.41)	PKB, PBB, PK, PKP, other
Central Java (95.36)	PDI-P (42.83)	PKB (17.14)	Golkar (13.35)	PPP (11.02)	PAN, PBB, PK, PKP, other
Yogyakarta (96.45)	PDI-P (35.65)	PAN (17.27)	Golkar (14.34)	PKB (14.26)	PBB
East Java (94.22)	PKB (35.48)	PDI-P (33.81)	Golkar (12.66)	PPP (5.18)	PAN, PBB, PKP, other
Bali (98.29)	PDI-P (79.02)	Golkar (10.38)	PKB (1.70)	PAN (1.32)	
W.Nusa Tenggara (91.56)	Golkar (42.18)	PDI-P (13.28)	PPP (11.38)	PAN (4.10)	PBB, PDR
E. Nusa Tenggara (96.31)	Golkar (40.83)	PDI-P (38.42)	PDKB (3.96)	PPP (2.32)	
East Timor (94.03)	Golkar (48.66)	PDI-P (34.61)	PDI (3.26)	PAN (2.78)	
W. Kalimantan (89.21)	Golkar (29.35)	PDI-P (23.27)	PPP (12.04)	PDI (7.57)	PBB, PBTI
Central Kalimantan (84.71)	PDI-P (35.49)	Golkar (27.77)	PPP (11.12)	PKB (5.94)	
E. Kalimantan (88.67)	PDI-P (33.78)	Golkar (29.68)	PPP (10.39)	PAN (6.65)	
S. Kalimantan (90.12)	Golkar (24.04)	PDI-P (21.30)	PPP (16.90)	PAN (9.23)	PKB, PNU
N. Sulawesi (97.28)	Golkar (49.48)	PDI-P (22.19)	PPP (7.47)	KRISNA (3.74)	
Central Sulawesi (96.03)	Golkar (54.61)	PDI-P (14.42)	PPP (10.69)	PAN (2.49)	
S. Sulawesi (95.11)	Golkar (66.50)	PPP (8.41)	PDI-P (6.62)	PAN (3.48)	PKB, PBB, P-IPKI
Southeast Sulawesi (94.12)	Golkar (63.07)	PDI-P (13.69)	PPP (6.71)	PBB (3.64)	
Maluku (109.28)*	Golkar (30.46)	PDI-P (27.72)	PPP (17.84)	PDKB (2.99)	PK
Irian Jaya (86.75)	Golkar (37.30)	PDI-P (32.73)	PDKB (5.41)	PDI (3.38)	PPP, PAN
National Total (93.54)	PDI-P (33.74)	Golkar (22.44)	PKB (12.61)	PPP (10.71)	PAN, PBB, PK, PKP, other

* The voting rate for Maluku Province adds up to more than 100% because of statistical and vote tallying errors.

Note: For party names, see Appendix V.

Source: *The Jakarta Post*, July 16, 1999, p. 2, compiled by Kawamura.

IV. Distribution of Seats among Political Parties in the House of Representatives (DPR)

Party/Province	PD-IP	Golkar	PPP	PKB	PAN	PBB	PK	PNU	PDKB	PKP	PDI	PP	PSII	PPIIM	PNI-MM	PNI-FM	PKU	PBTI	PDR	P-IPKI	PKD	Total
Aceh	2	2	4	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
N.Sumatra	10	5	3	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
W.Sumatra	2	4	3	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Riau	3	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Jambi	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
S.Sumatra	6	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Bengkulu	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Lampung	6	3	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Jakarta	7	2	3	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
West Java	27	20	13	6	6	3	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	82
Central Java	26	8	7	10	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	60
Yogyakarta	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
East Java	23	9	4	24	3	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	68
W.Kalimantan	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9
Central Kalimantan	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
E. Kalimantan	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
S.Kalimantan	2	3	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Bali	7	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
West Nusa Tenggara	1	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
East Nusa Tenggara	5	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
East Timor	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
N.Sulawesi	2	16	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	24
Central Sulawesi	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
N.Sulawesi	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Southeast Sulawesi	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Maluku	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Irian Jaya	4	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
National total	153	120	58	51	34	13	7	5	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	462

Note: For party names, see Appendix V.

Source: *The Jakarta Post*, July 16, 1999, p. 2, compiled by Kawamura

V. Political Parties Which Gained Seats in the General Elections

Registration No.	Party Name	Head of Party	Characteristics
7	Partai Kebangkitan Umat (Muslim Community Awakening Party: PKU)	Yusuf Hasyim	NU-affiliated party. Gus dur's uncle is party chief. Gus Dur's brother is also a member of the party executives.
9	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party: PPP)	Hamzah Haz	Opposition party in the Soeharto era. After the collapse of the Soeharto regime, has strengthened its Islamic character once again.
10	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian United Islam Party: PSII)	Taufiq R. Tjokrominato	A successor to the Islamic League (PSII) established in 1912. Party leader is a grandchild of the founder of 1912-PSII, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto.
11	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle: PDI Perjuangan)	Megawati Soekarnoputri	Megawati faction of the old PDI. Party leader is the eldest daughter of Indonesia's first president, Soekarno. Nationalist party.
14	Partai Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa (Love the Nation Democratic Party: PDKB)	Manasse Maio	Formed by former members of Golkar. Centered around ethnic Chinese Christians.
15	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party: PAN)	Amien Rais	Main support comes from Muhammadiyah. Party leader is a former professor (political science), and a leader of the democratic movement.
18	Partai Katolik Demokrat (Democratic Catholic Party: PKD)	Marcus Mali	Party made up of Catholics. It is not related to the Catholic Party during the Soekarno era.
21	Partai Politik Islam Indonesia Masyumi (Indonesian Masyumi Islamic Political Party: PPIIM)	Abdullah Hehamahua	Fundamentalist Islamic party. Party leader is a former activist of the Islamic University Students' Association (HMI).
22	Partai Bulan Bintang (Crescent Star Party: PBB)	Yusril Ihza Mahendra	Claims to be the successor to Masyumi. Party leader is a professor of constitutional law, and former speechwriter for Soeharto.
24	Partai Keadilan (Justice Party: PK)	Nur Mahnudi	Based on the Muslim Campus Activist Forum which was founded in the 1980s. Its model is the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.
25	Partai Nahdlatul Ummat (Nahdlatul Ummat Party: PNU)	Ismail Sjukron Ma'mun	A party affiliated with the NU.
26	Partai Nasional Indonesia-Front Marhaenis (Indonesian National Party Front Marhaenis: PNI-Front Marhaenis)	Probositedjo	A nationalist party. Led by a half-brother of Soeharto.
27	Partai Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia (Independence Vanguard Party: P-IPKI)	R. Soeparapto	Successor to the IPKI, which was established in 1954. In 1973, was merged into the PDI.
30	Partai Nasional Indonesia-Massa Marhaen (Indonesian National Party-Marhaen: PNI-Massa Marhaen)	Bachtiar Oscha Chalik	A nationalist party.
32	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party: PDI)	Budi Hardjono	An opposition party from the Soeharto era, formed in 1973 as an alliance of nationalist and Christian parties such as the PNI.
33	Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar Party: Golkar)	Akbar Tandjung	The ruling party in the Soeharto era.
34	Partai Persatuan (United Party: PP)	Jailani Naro	Islamic party, formed in January 1999 as a split from the PPP.
35	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party: PKB)	Matori Abdul Djalil	The largest party affiliated with the NU, established by Wahid. Moderate Islamic, but close to the nationalist parties.
39	Partai Daulat Rakyat (People's Sovereignty Party: PDR)	Baharuddin	A party under the influence of Adi Sasono, former Minister of Cooperatives and Small Enterprises, who was said to be "Indonesia's most dangerous man."
41	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan (Justice and Unity Party: PKP)	Edi Sudradjat	Nationalist party formed by retired military officers within Golkar.
44	Partai Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Indonesia (Indonesian Unity in Diversity Party: PBTI)	Nurdin Purnomo	The leader is a former Minister of Defense and Security. A ethnic Chinese-affiliated party.

VI. Major Economic Indicators for Indonesia

	GDP at current		Private Consumption		Gross Fixed Capital Formation		Export (Customs Clearance)		Import (Customs Clearance)	
	1993=100		1993=100		1993=100					
	bil. Rp	%	bil. Rp	%	bil. Rp	%	mil. US\$	%	mil. US\$	%
1991	249,969	8.9	-	8.0	-	12.9	29,142	13.5	25,869	18.2
1992	282,395	7.2	-	3.1	-	3.6	33,967	16.6	27,280	5.5
1993	329,776	7.3	192,958	11.8	86,667	6.6	36,823	8.4	28,328	3.8
1994	382,220	7.5	228,119	7.8	105,381	13.8	40,055	8.8	31,983	12.9
1995	454,514	8.2	279,879	12.6	129,218	14.0	45,417	13.4	40,630	27.0
1996	532,568	7.8	332,094	9.7	157,653	14.5	49,815	9.7	42,929	5.7
1997	624,337	4.7	388,722	6.4	177,686	8.6	53,443	7.3	41,694	-2.9
1998	942,844	-13.2	663,460	-2.8	221,364	-35.5	48,848	-8.6	27,337	-34.4
1997 3Q	163,237	5.3	97,082	5.2	46,516	0.7	13,992	10.0	10,389	-2.6
4Q	169,252	1.1	108,842	10.0	45,824	-1.0	13,941	2.4	9,892	-10.1
1998 1Q	207,200	-4.0	129,760	2.8	52,855	-25.6	12,516	0.9	7,206	-32.4
2Q	214,359	-14.6	153,433	1.5	51,797	-37.8	12,053	-8.0	6,097	-43.2
3Q	263,238	-16.1	184,281	-6.1	61,579	-36.9	12,680	-9.4	6,858	-34.0
4Q	258,048	-17.7	195,986	-6.9	55,134	-41.7	11,598	-16.8	7,177	-27.5
1999 1Q	277,911	-9.4	205,330	-3.3	52,336	-27.9	10,166	-18.8	5,557	-22.9
2Q	283,565	1.8	203,764	-1.9	48,820	-23.7	11,502	-4.6	5,989	-1.8

	Current Account Balance	Foreign Reserve	Unemployment Rate	Price Index WPI CPI 1995=100		M2	Interest Rate SBI 30 days	Exchange Rate Against US\$	Jakarta Stock Exchange Index
	mil. US\$	mil. US\$	%	%	%	bil.Rp	%	Rp/US\$	
1991	-4,392	10,250	2.6	5.1	9.4	99,059	19.5	1,950	247.39
1992	-3,122	11,611	2.7	5.2	7.5	119,053	15.8	2,030	274.34
1993	-2,298	12,352	2.8	3.7	9.7	145,202	11.2	2,087	588.77
1994	-2,960	13,158	4.4	5.4	8.5	174,512	10.3	2,200	469.64
1995	-6,760	14,674	7.2	11.4	9.4	222,638	14.0	2,308	513.85
1996	-7,801	19,125	4.9	7.5	8.0	288,632	13.4	2,383	637.43
1997	-5,001	17,427	4.7	9.3	6.7	355,643	16.3	4,650	401.71
1998	3,974	23,516	5.5	101.8	57.6	577,381	45.4	8,025	398.38
1997 3Q	-1,395	21,187		6.2	7.5	329,074	22.0	3,275	546.69
4Q	-202	17,396		20.2	9.7	355,643	20.0	4,650	401.71
1998 1Q	1,000	16,613		79.6	27.2	449,824	27.8	8,325	541.43
2Q	670	18,769		108.1	49.7	565,785	58.0	14,900	445.92
3Q	1,683	20,475		135.5	74.5	550,404	68.8	10,700	276.15
4Q	621	23,516		86.2	77.5	577,381	38.4	8,025	398.38
1999 1Q	1,353	25,942		27.8	56.0	603,325	37.8	8,685	393.63
2Q	n/a	27,051		14.6	30.9	615,411	22.1	6,726	662.03

Source: Bank Indonesia, *Indonesian Financial Statistics*, various months; IMF, *International Financial Statistics*, various months; BPS, *Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia*, various issues, compiled by Takeda.

VII. Chronology of Major Events (1998 to 1999)

1998

- May 21: President Soeharto announces his resignation. Vice President Habibie is promoted to President.
- May 25: Government releases political prisoners such as Mughtar Pakpahan and Sri Bintang Pamungkas.
- June 5: Government abolishes the publication licenses (SIUPP) system, and institutes a registration system in its place. Journalists are given freedom to form associations. Government ratifies the ILO "Convention on the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize." The organizing of trade unions is liberalized.
- June 10: Astra ceases production of cars.
- July 9: Golkar holds a special national convention, and decides to become a political party. Akbar Tandjung is elected as party leader.
- July 23: The National Awakening Party (PKB) is formed.
- July 29: Government submits a memorandum to the IMF on economic and financial policies.
- August 3: The Indonesian Debt Restructuring Agency (INDRA) is launched.
- August 23: Amien Rais launches the National Mandate Party (PAN), and is elected to be the party leader.
- September 2: Government abolishes subsidies and import tariffs on soybeans, sugar, and wheat flour. On the 8th it abolishes subsidies for cooking oil.
- September 9: Launching of the "Jakarta Initiative," to support workout of private corporate debts.
- September 11: Government introduces a program to use public funds to recapitalize banks.
- September 29: With the stabilization of the rupiah, Bank Indonesia cuts the interest rate on central bank certificates (SBI).
- October 8: The Megawati faction of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) holds a convention in Bali, and decides to form the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), and Megawati is elected leader.
- November 10: Special session of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) is held. Democratization leaders, including Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati, Amien Rais, and Hamangku Buwono X meet, and issue the

Ciganjur Declaration.

- November 29: The United Development Party (PPP) holds a party convention, and decides to return to its status as an Islamic party. Hamzah Haz is elected new party leader.
- December 9: Categorization of banks on the basis of capital adequacy ratios (CAR) is announced.

1999

- January 5: FY1999 budget is announced. It is an austerity budget, 17.3% smaller than the previous year.
- January 28: The House of Representatives (DPR) passes revised "three political bills."
- January 30: Government designates 12 banks for recapitalization.
- February 18: Corporations with total assets of 50 billion rupiahs or more are required to submit financial statements.
- March 4: The team of eleven completes the screening of political parties, and lets 48 parties to participate in the general elections.
- March 5: The DPR enacts anti-monopoly law.
- March 10: The General Election Commission (KPU) is launched.
- March 13: The government announces the decisions to let nine banks join the recapitalization program, nationalize seven banks, and close down 38 banks.
- March 31: The DPR enacts the consumer protection law.
- April 1: The police force is separated from the military.
- April 16: The DPR enacts the revised central bank law.
- April 21: The DPR enacts the regional government administration law. On the 23rd, it enacts the law on balanced budgets between the central and regional governments.
- May 14: Government submits a memorandum on economic and monetary policies to the IMF, revising the economic growth estimates upward.
- May 19: The campaigning for the general elections is launched.
- May 28: Government issues 103 trillion rupiahs worth of bonds for recapitalizing 23 banks.
- June 1: Astra agree to a debt rescheduling accord with foreign creditors.
- The Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency (IBRA) releases the list of 200 large borrow-

- ers from state banks.
- June 7: The general elections are held.
- June 8: The ban on the establishment of holding companies by foreign capital is lifted.
- June 9: IBRA releases an additional list of large borrowers from state banks.
- June 17: Unfrel, an Indonesian NGO for election monitoring, issues a statement endorsing the general elections as fair.
- June 24: Government announces a new automobile industry policy.
- June 26: Abdurrahman Wahid (alias Gus Dur), chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Amien Rais meet, and agree on the need for a third candidate for president.
- July 8: Gus Dur confers with President Habibie, and proposes a meeting with the "Ciganjur Four." Marzuki Darusman, Golkar's deputy leader, demands a review of the party's nomination of Habibie as its presidential candidate.
- July 16: Gus Dur issues a statement on NU's acceptance of a woman president, confirming his support for Megawati.
- July 20: Ex-President Soeharto enters Pertamina Hospital for treatment of a mild stroke. Amien Rais confers with Gus Dur, and proposes that Gus Dur become president.
- July 22: Acting Attorney General Ismudjoko announces a halt to an investigation into Soeharto's personal wealth. Golkar Party forms the "Success Team" for the reelection of Habibie. Government submits a memorandum on economic and monetary policies to the IMF.
- July 24: Four Muslim-based parties agree to form the "Middle Axis."
- July 27: The Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI) holds a session, and approves aid of \$5.86 billion.
- July 29: Megawati declares a victory in the general elections, and announces a policy platform. The National Police announces the suspension of a corruption probe into former Attorney General Ghalib for lack of evidence.
- August 1: The Bank Bali scandal is revealed.
- August 2: Bank Mandiri launches business.
- August 3: President Habibie declares the validity of the general election results. Gus Dur proposes an end to the investigation into Soeharto's personal wealth and the return of his assets to the state.
- August 4: A general strike is carried out in Aceh Special Province demanding a referendum and withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the province.
- August 7: Gus Dur accepts the presidential nomination by the "Middle Axis" group. Coordinating Minister Feisal Tanjung, six other cabinet ministers visit East Timor.
- August 14: Ex-President Soeharto is hospitalized again for intestinal bleeding.
- August 16: The IMF demands the government's thorough investigation into the Bank Bali scandal. PKB leader Matori officially announces his party's support for Megawati's presidential candidacy.
- August 18: 12 Golkar Party branches issue a statement denouncing Marzuki Darusman.
- August 28: Military Commander Wiranto, six other cabinet ministers visit Aceh Special Province.
- August 30: A referendum is held on the acceptance of "wide-ranging autonomy" in East Timor under the management of the United Nations (UNAMET).
- September 1: The KPU announces the distribution of seats in the DPR. Bank Expor Indonesia (BEI) launches business. The result of East Timor's referendum is announced sooner than scheduled, and the rejection of the wide-ranging autonomy proposal exceeds the acceptance. A Bank Bali audit report is submitted to the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK).
- September 5: Pro-integration militias go on a rampage in Dili, East Timor, and 25 people are killed.
- September 7: A military emergency is declared in East Timor. Bishop Belo flees East Timor to Australia. Independence movement leader Xanana Gusmao is freed from a Jakarta prison and takes asylum in the British embassy.
- September 12: President Habibie accepts an international force for East Timor.
- September 16: The Indonesian military starts withdrawing troops from East Timor.
- September 20: The UN International Force for East Timor (Interfet) starts a full-scale deployment.
- September 22: The DPR passes a law to grant wide-ranging autonomy to Aceh Special Province.
- September 23: The DPR enacts the national secu-

- rity law. Opponents hold massive demonstrations in many cities.
- September 26: The "Middle Axis" announces the nomination of Gus Dur as its presidential candidate.
- October 1: The People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) opens its session.
- October 3: PAN leader Amien Rais beats PKB leader Matori in the election of MPR speaker.
- October 6: Golkar Party leader Akbar Tandjung is elected as DPR speaker.
- October 7: The finance minister, the central bank governor and the state enterprise minister are questioned by police on the Bank Bali scandal.
- October 12: Acting Home Affairs Minister Feisal Tanjung appoints the governors of the newly created provinces of West Irian Jaya, Central Irian Jaya and North Maluku.
- October 13: Government issues 103 trillion rupiahs worth of bonds for recapitalizing Bank Mandiri.
- October 14: President Habibie delivers the accountability speech in the MPR.
- October 18: Military Commander Wiranto issues a statement declining President Habibie's nomination of him as a vice presidential candidate of Golkar Party.
- October 19: The MPR votes on Habibie's accountability speech, and the votes of rejection exceed approval.
The MPR adopts the State Policy Guidelines (GBHN), unanimously approves the abolition of the 1978 MPR decision (the decision to annex East Timor), and passes revisions to the constitution.
- October 20: The MPR holds the presidential election. Abdurrahman Wahid beats Megawati to become the new president.
- October 21: The MPR holds the vice presidential election. Megawati beats PPP leader Hamzah Haz to become the new vice president.
- October 26: Vice President Megawati announces the list of the new cabinet.
- October 29: The "National Unity Cabinet" is inaugurated.

(Ed. by Takeda, Kawamura)