

Acknowledgments

Many people assisted with the preparation of this book and the Ph.D. dissertation upon which it is based. In Indonesia, I owe a debt of gratitude to many individuals and groups who generously shared their time, insights, and experiences with me, allowed me to access their archives, and invited me to witness or participate in seminars, meetings, and other activities. Without their support, this study would not have been possible.

Laksamana Sukardi gave me time and office space and helped to arrange interviews with many PDI leaders and others. Bondan Gunawan was a source of much insight into nationalist politics and introduced me to many useful contacts. Among NGOs, I spent much time at the YLBHI office in Jakarta, and many of the then directors and staff there were most generous. Among those to whom I owe particular thanks are Adnan Buyung Nasution, Mulyana W. Kusumah, Hendaridi, Rambun Tjajo, Teten Masduki, and Tedjabayu.

I spent much of my time with activists who were either students or recent graduates from student politics. They not only informed me about the student activist scene but also provided many of the crucial building blocks of knowledge about Indonesian politics on which this study is based. Among those to whom I am most grateful are Harry Wibowo, (the late) Harry Priyadi, Item, Daniel Indrakusumah, Standarkiaa, I. Gusti Anom Astika, Djatih Waluyo, Wilson, and Mahmud. Members of Yayasan Geni, DMPY, Yayasan Arek, the *Ganesha* group at ITB, and various branches of the PRD were not only generous with their experiences and archives but also let me stay at their offices or homes, sometimes for weeks at a time.

In Jakarta, I was lucky to share a house with Colin Rundle and James Balowski, who provided many interesting discussions and a pleasant home environment. Kirsty Sword shared her home with me during an eventful two months in late 1995.

In Canberra, the Department of Political and Social Change in the Re-

search School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University not only supported me during my years of postgraduate study but also provided me with a research fellowship during which I completed most of the revisions to this manuscript. In the department, I owe thanks to Beverley Fraser and Claire Smith for their support. Allison Ley provided much help in editing the manuscript. David Reeve and other colleagues in the Department of Indonesian and Chinese Studies at the University of New South Wales were also very patient as I struggled to complete my Ph.D. while learning the ropes of university teaching. More recently, colleagues at the University of Sydney have also been very generous. Kathy Ragless put me up during many visits to Canberra, proof-read the manuscript, and has been a great friend.

My supervisor, Harold Crouch, shared with me his wide-ranging and detailed knowledge of Indonesian politics and contributed greatly to the design of this study. R. William Liddle, Ben Kerkvliet, Marcus Mietzner, and Ken Ward also read the Ph.D. or book manuscript in whole or in part, as did the two anonymous reviewers for Stanford University Press. They provided me with many valuable comments and saved me from many errors (any remaining ones are my own responsibility). Meredith Weiss, Kit Collier, and Kyaw Yin Hlaing provided helpful comments on Chapter 9 at very short notice. Muthiah Alagappa of the East-West Center supported the publication of the manuscript and offered invaluable advice. Siobhan Campbell, Elisabeth Jackson, and Sally White provided editorial and research assistance. Tony Hicks at Stanford University Press carefully saw the book through to publication.

I also thank Glenn Flanagan, who has been a constant source of support and inspiration. Finally, my parents, Donald and Anita Aspinall, introduced me to Indonesia and provided much encouragement and assistance through my years of study. I dedicate this book to the memory of my father, whose life was a model of scholarly integrity.

Sections of this book draw on previously published material. Parts of Chapter 5 draw on "Students and the Military: Regime Friction and Civilian Dissent in the Late Suharto Period," *Indonesia* 59 (April) 1995: 21–44. Passages in Chapter 8 use material from "Opposition and Elite Conflict in the Fall of Soeharto," in *The Fall of Soeharto*, ed. Geoff Forrester and R. J. May (Bathurst, New South Wales: Crawford House Publishing, 1998), 130–53; and "The Indonesian Student Uprising of 1998," in *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, ed. Arief Budiman, Barbara Hatley, and Damien Kingsbury (Clayton, Victoria: Monash Asia Institute, 1999), 212–38. Many of the ideas expressed in this book were first explored in "The Broadening Base of Political Opposition in Indonesia," in *Political Oppositions in Industrialising Asia*, ed. Garry Rodan (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 215–40.