

## MENGENAL SEJARAH HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL

### A. Pengertian Hubungan Internasional (*International Relations*)

Hubungan antar bangsa, Relation (s), karena:

- relasi tidak hanya satu kali
- relasi dalam berbagai bidang (ekonomi, politik, sosial, budaya, agama, dll)
- relasi terjadi lebih dari satu negara

International / Internasional = (Inter=Antar dan Nation=Bangsa), istilah ini pertama kali dipakai Jeremy Bentham (1748 - 1832), seorang sarjana hukum Inggris dalam bukunya *Introduction to The Principles of Moral and Legislation*.

Sebelumnya internasional disebut sebagai *Intergentes* oleh Francisco de Vittoria (1480-1540), guru besar teologi di Universitas Salamanca dan Zouche (1590 – 1660), guru besar Hukum Perdata di Universitas Oxford.

### B. Kaitan antara Sejarah dan Hubungan Internasional

- Sejarah ialah ilmu pengetahuan tentang peristiwa-peristiwa atau kejadian-kejadian pada waktu yang telah lampau, sebab-sebabnya serta hubungan antara peristiwa yang satu dengan yang lain
- Sejarawan mengatakan bahwa hubungan inter-nasional adalah sejarah masa kini
- Unsur sejarah merupakan latar belakang dari faktor-faktor lainnya dan juga menjadi sejarah dari kejadian-kejadian internasional yang baru terjadi
- Jadi sejarah hubungan internasional mempelajari tentang peristiwa atau kejadian yang terjadi diantara bangsa-bangsa, dalam berbagai aspek baik ekonomi, politik, sosial, budaya, dll
- Bahan-bahan dan keterangan yang didapat dari sejarah hubungan internasional digunakan untuk menemukan pola-pola ulangan yang dapat membantu menemukan sesuatu yang berguna bagi masa depan

### C. Bagaimana Hubungan Internasional menjadi suatu bahan kajian studi di Eropa?

Disiplin ini muncul di sekitar Perang Dunia (PD) I ketika manusia berusaha untuk menyusun tertib dunia melalui organisasi Liga Bangsa-Bangsa (*League of Nations*). Hal ini memberikan kesempatan untuk meneliti secara sistematis tentang disiplin ini. Sejak PD I, banyak buku-buku baku (textbooks) telah mencoba dan berusaha untuk mengadakan integrasi dalam subyek ini dibawah judul seperti: *International Politics* (Politik Internasional), *International Relations* (Hubungan Internasional), *World Politics* (Politik Dunia), *International Organizations* (Organisasi Internasional), *International Government* (Pemerintahan Internasional) dan *International Psychology* (Psikologi Internasional).

Pada tahun 1922, *International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation* dari Liga Bangsa-Bangsa menghadapi suatu problematika yaitu menemukan metode-metode yang baik bagi pendidikan dalam soal-soal internasional (*education in international affairs*). Pada tahun 1926, komite ini memerintahkan kepada *International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation* di Paris untuk kemungkinan mengadakan suatu koordinasi organisasi diantara organisasi-organisasi nasional dan internasional yang ada yang bekerja dalam lapangan pendidikan tentang soal-soal internasional. Pada tahun 1928, akhirnya terbentuklah *International Studies Conference*.

Dalam periode setelah PD I beberapa perhimpunan telah didirikan untuk mempelajari hubungan internasional, antara lain: *The Royal Institute of International Affairs* di London, *The Council of Foreign Relations* di New York, *The Conference of Teachers of International Law* yang didirikan oleh *Canargie Endowment for International Peace*. Sehingga, masalah studi hubungan internasional yang kebanyakan dipelajari saat ini adalah berasal dari dunia Barat (Eropa).

#### D. Ruang Lingkup Hubungan Internasional

Hubungan Internasional dapat berwujud:

1. Hubungan individual, misalnya turis, pelajar, mahasiswa, sarjana, pedagang, dll.

2. Hubungan antar kelompok (*intergroups relations*), misalnya lembaga sosial keagamaan atau perdagangan dan sebagainya, dapat mengadakan hubungan yang bersifat insidental, periodik ataupun permanen
3. Hubungan antar negara, biasanya berkaitan dengan para birokrat dan berkaitan dengan kebijakan-kebijakan dan politik luar negeri suatu negara

Studi hubungan internasional antara lain mempelajari:

a. Hukum Internasional

Melalui hubungan praktis diantara negara kota di zaman Yunani kuno, spekulasi ahli filsafat dan teologi di zaman abad pertengahan dan komentar-komentar ahli di Itali dalam abad 13-14, maka hukum internasional lahir sebagai suatu disiplin melalui karya Francisco de Vittoria pada abad ke-16. Sebagai guru besar universitas Salamanca, beliau tertarik pada subyek ini karena melihat problematika sebagai akibat dari hubungan antara Spanyol dengan kebudayaan Mexico. Beliau menggunakan spekulasi/pikiran2 abad pertengahan tentang perang yang adil dan hubungan antara bangsa-bangsa dengan kebudayaan yang berbeda-beda dengan jiwa yang realistik.

Awal abad ketujuhbelas, Hugo de Groot (Grotius) mengembangkan hukum internasional secara sistematis dengan didasarkan pada pokok-pokok teori etika dan praktek antar negara. Abad ke-19, di Eropa telah berkembang suatu keseimbangan kekuatan yang stabil dan hukum internasional telah kuat kedudukannya sebagai dasar dari perjanjian-perjanjian, praktek diplomasi dan putusan-putusan yudisiil.

b. Sejarah Diplomasi

- Karya di zaman kuno yaitu oleh Thucydides dan Polybius
- Zaman Renaissance: karya Nicollo Machiavelli
- Abad ke-17: karya Leibnits yaitu Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus
- Abad ke-19: karya Rymer, Dumont, Garden dan Martens. Pemerintah2 di Eropa mulai menerbitkan korespondensi diplomatik dan perjanjian-perjanjian secara lengkap

- Sejarah diplomasi cenderung menitikberatkan soal-soal formalitas, strategi dan taktik dari para negarawan dan diplomat.

c. Ilmu Kemiliteran atau Seni Perang

Meliputi sejarah militer, pokok2 tentang strategi dan taktik, organisasi militer, teknologi militer dan soal-soal tentang disiplin dan moral.

Karya yang terkenal antara lain: Sun Tzu dari Cina berdasarkan ajaran Confucius, karya Kautilya dari India Kuno, abad ke-17 yaitu Turanne dan Vauban, abad ke-18 yaitu Marshall Saxe, abad ke-20 yaitu Clausewitz. Dilanjutkan oleh orang2 militer seperti Van de Goltz, Bernhardi, Foch, Maurice dan Fuller; juga para pelaut seperti Mahan dan Fiske dan para ahli sejarah seperti Delbruck dan Winston Churchill.

d. Politik Internasional

- Il Principe, karya Machiavelli tahun 1511
- Abad ke-17 : Sir Francis Bacon, Lisola, dan Sir William Temple
- Abad ke-18: Boling broke, David Hume dan Alexander Hamilton
- Abad ke-19 yaitu Montague, Bernard dan Treitschke
- Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau, de Tocqueville dan Bryce, meskipun membahas soal2 politik dalam negeri juga membahas politik internasional sebagai suatu aspeknya
- Setelah PD II, disiplin ini menjadi subyek hubungan internasional, dengan menggunakan buku baku dari Hans J. Morgenthau "Politics Among Nations"

e. Organisasi Internasional

- Diawali karya Emeric Cruce, berjudul Le Nouveau Cyhec terbit pada tahun 1623—yang mengembangkan suatu rencana organisasi internasional yang luas

- Konferensi-konferensi<sup>2</sup> perdamaian di Den Haag tahun 1899 dan 1907 atas prakarsa Tsar Nicholas II, mulai mencurahkan banyak perhatian tentang organisasi internasional
- Setelah PD I, organisasi internasional menjadi disiplin yang diakui menggunakan buku-buku Peter Rappard, Eagleton, Mander yang memiliki kecenderungan: (1) menghubungkan lembaga<sup>2</sup> organisasi internasional dengan politik dan hukum internasional (2) menggunakan cara analogi menghubungkan mereka dengan pemerintah nasional atau federasi. Selanjutnya banyak menyelidiki secara mendalam tentang LBB, PBB dan badan<sup>2</sup> khusus organisasi internasional.

#### f. Perdagangan Internasional

- Emeric Cruce, selain mempelopori penelitian tentang organisasi internasional, juga orang pertama yang memandang perdagangan bukan sebagai instrumen atau alat dari politik nasional tetapi, menurutnya perkembangan perdagangan akan mempersatukan bangsa-bangsa di dunia dan menjamin kerjasama diantara mereka
- Selanjutnya muncul penulis<sup>2</sup> seperti Adam Smith, David Ricardo, J.S. Mills, dll.

#### g. Pemerintah Jajahan

- Menurut orang Yunani Kuno, suatu jajahan (koloni) akan menjadi negara merdeka
- Menurut orang Romawi kuno, jajahan akan tetap merupakan wilayah dari kerajaan besar
- Abad pertengahan, jarang yang menulis tentang hal ini
- Abad ke-19 dibahas kembali terutama karena hal ini berkaitan dengan hukum internasional yang didalamnya terdapat hubungan konstitusional antara jajahan dengan negara induk, statusnya terhadap negara-negara lain, proteksi (perlindungan) dari hukum internasional dan organisasi internasional terhadap rakyat jajahan, beberapa wilayah jajahan yang

memperoleh kemerdekaannya menurut hukum internasional melalui cara kekerasan, perjanjian, atau persetujuan.

#### h. Pelaksanaan Hubungan Luar Negeri

Dengan berkembangnya sistem diplomatik dan konsuler, maka abad ke-18, muncul penulis2 tentang praktek diplomasi seperti Wicquefort dan Callierres yang membahas perquisitites (hak-hak istimewa) dari para diplomat menurut hukum internasional dan juga hubungannya dengan pemerintah mereka sendiri.

Menurut Sumarsono Mestoko, secara umum ada empat periode sebagai patokan sejarah hubungan internasional :

- a. Periode kuno yang berlangsung sampai berakhirnya Imperium Romanum
  - Di Abad keempat belas sebelum Masehi di daerah Timur Tengah, Imperium Mesir dan kerajaan-kerajaan di Asia telah terjalin hubungan internasional yang bersifat perdagangan dan komersial. Pada saat yang sama, Fir'aun Mesir berusaha mengenyahkan pemujaan terhadap satu Dewa (monoteisme) dan memperkenalkan Dewa-Dewa Mesir yang banyak (politeisme)
  - Bangsa Yahudi membina hubungan internasional dengan bangsa-bangsa yang bukan merupakan musuh bebuyutan. Mereka tukar-menukar duta dan saling menghormati perjanjian di antara mereka. Orang-orang asing di daerah Yahudi mempunyai kedudukan yang sama di hadapan hukum. Tetapi sebagai bangsa yang menganut kepercayaan monoteisme sama sekali tidak mentoleransi bangsa-bangsa berkepercayaan politeisme.

- Bangsa Yunani hidup di kota-kota merdeka yang jumlahnya banyak. Mereka menyusun suatu masyarakat dengan pola umum yang sama dan saling mengadakan kontak. Negara-negara kota (*city states* atau *polis*) memiliki persamaan kepentingan baik bersifat ekonomis maupun strategis, sehingga mereka menggabungkan diri dengan hubungan yang agak longgar. Gabungan *city states* ini akhirnya merupakan pelopor bentuk sistem federasi.
- Hubungan antar bangsa dalam naungan bangsa Romawi memiliki pola:
  1. *Amicii Populi Romawi*, bangsa lain yang masih mempunyai otonomi penuh dalam ikatan dengan bangsa Romawi
  2. *Socii Populi Romani*, bangsa lain mempunyai ikatan pertahanan dengan bangsa Romawi tetapi dalam masalah hubungan luar diserahkan pada bangsa Romawi sepenuhnya
  3. Bangsa-bangsa Dediti yang sepenuhnya tunduk pada bangsa Romawi

b. Periode abad pertengahan yaitu pada abad pertengahan sampai dengan abad keenam belas

Bangsa-bangsa Eropa mengadakan hubungan dengan konsepsi yang berlandaskan ajaran Kristen. Gereja merupakan lambang kesatuan dan Paus (Pope) adalah lambang pelaksana kehendak Tuhan. Konsepsi ini berangsur-angsur pudar karena adanya tantangan dari raja-raja dan penguasa-penguasa dunia.

Sementara di sebagian wilayah Asia dan Timur Tengah, bangsa-bangsa mengikatkan dirinya dalam konsepsi islam, dengan hubungan dengan bangsa-bangsa lain yang diatur berlandaskan hukum islam antara lain yaitu:

- a. dengan bangsa/negara yang memiliki perjanjian, disebut sebagai negara *mu'ahid*. Perjanjian ini dapat berupa bertetangga yang baik, perdagangan/ekonomi, sains, teknologi dan hubungan diplomatik (pembukaan duta besar/ konsulat)

b.dengan bangsa/negara yang tidak terikat dengan perjanjian apapun disebut sebagai *harbi hukman*. Terhadap negara/bangsa yang seperti ini pemimpin wilayah islam saat itu akan bersikap waspada dan tidak membina hubungan diplomatik.

c.dengan bangsa/negara yang melakukan konfrontasi dan peperangan dengan wilayah islam disebut sebagai *harbi fi'lan*. Bangsa/negara inilah yang diperangi.

Meskipun terjadi peperangan besar antara Dunia Barat dan Islam, terdapat pula perjanjian-perjanjian yang disebut sebagai *Capitulations* misalnya pada abad keenambelas perjanjian berlangsung antara Sultan Sulaiman II (Dinasti Utsmani, 1520 – 1566) dengan raja Francois I dari Perancis mengenai hubungan perdagangan.

Pada abad kelima belas, bangsa Portugis, Spanyol, kemudian diikuti oleh bangsa Belanda, Perancis, Inggris, dan Eropa Barat lain menjalin hubungan internasional dengan seluruh dunia. Dengan demikian perlu adanya satu konsepsi yang harus diakui oleh semua negara sehingga memunculkan konsep Hukum Internasional. Konsep ini dipelopori oleh ahli hukum katolik yaitu St. Thomas Aquinas (1226 – 1274).

c. Periode antar negara modern (*Renaissance*) yaitu abad keenam belas sampai dengan akhir abad kesembilan belas

Ciri-cirinya:

- Pembentukan negara-negara besar

Negara besar di Eropa mulai berkembang sejak abad keenambelas dimulai oleh Charlemagne yang membentuk imperium pusat di Perancis dan puncaknya dicapai Frederick III, Kaisar Jerman (1440 – 1493). Masa Renaissance menimbulkan konsepsi dan pemikiran baru dalam hubungan antara bangsa di dunia. Penguasa-penguasa dunia di Eropa tidak lagi tunduk pada gereja dan melaksanakan kehendaknya sendiri atas daerah yang diperintahkan.

- Gagasan mengenai asas kedaulatan

Dengan terciptanya imperium di Eropa, terutama setelah perdamaian Westphalia (1648) maka terciptalah doktrin kedaulatan. Doktrin ini memperkenalkan suatu asas bahwa seorang penguasa memiliki kedaulatan dan kekuasaan mutlak di daerah atau negaranya masing-masing sehingga bangsa/negara lain harus menghormati integritas tersebut. Salah satu penganjurnya adalah Jean Bodin.

- d. Periode abad kedua puluh yaitu periode evolusi menuju ke arah tingkat supra negara (*Super State-Stage*)

Periode ini merupakan periode Revolusioner dalam hubungan internasional. Dua konferensi perdamaian di Den Haag, Belanda pada tahun 1899 dan 1907 merupakan tonggak konsepsi hubungan antar bangsa yang baru, sampai terjadinya PDI. Sesudah perang selesai, bangsa-bangsa di dunia berusaha mencegah peperangan dengan melembagakan dan memberikan dasar tertulis pada masyarakat dunia, sehingga dibentuk LBB. Antara tahun 1919 dan 1933, LBB berusaha menciptakan tata tertib dunia sesuai dengan kebutuhan masyarakat bangsa-bangsa. Usaha ini gagal karena Jepang menyerbu Manchuria, terjadi perang saudara di Spanyol, penyerbuan Italia ke Ethiopia, dan terjadi perang dunia II. Setelah PD II dimenangkan pihak sekutu kemudian dibentuk PBB sebagai wadah kerjasama antar bangsa.

## EMPAT TIPE SISTEM INTERNASIONAL

### 1. SISTEM NEGARA INDEPENDEN (*INDEPENDENT STATE SYSTEM*)

Mencakup entitas politik yang mengklaim bahwa dirinya berdaulat dengan hak membuat kebijakan luar negeri dan dalam negeri. Tidak ada kekuatan superior yang diakui. Negara-negara sekedar mengakui kedaulatan negara lain. Secara mudah, dengan berinteraksi dengan unit lain (dalam sistem), terjadi interdependensi yang menghasilkan sejumlah paksaan pada tindakan suatu negara. Negara-negara dianggap setara dalam makna klaim akan kedaulatan, meskipun mereka berbeda kapabilitas dan kekuatannya. Kekuatan yang menonjol dan ambisius dapat dilihat sebagai ancaman oleh negara lain yang menyebabkan munculnya formasi koalisi atau aliansi imbang. Kekuatan yang menonjol dibatasi oleh tindakan negara lain dan sebagai anggota aliansi mengalami batasan kebebasan dalam manuver untuk menyetujui kerjasama atau mencegah negara ambisius dan memunculkan perimbangan kekuatan (*balance of power*).

Negara mengakui adanya pengendalian seperti dengan keberadaan aturan-aturan perang. Beberapa aturan berusaha mengurangi perang dalam sistem misalnya dengan sejumlah praktek diplomasi.

Salah satu contoh *independent state system* adalah sistem negara kota Yunani kuno sebelum perang melawan Persia pada abad ke-5 SM. *Independent state system* selanjutnya muncul pada periode sejarah dimana negara-negara terbebas dari kekuatan hegemoni.

### 2. SISTEM NEGARA HEGEMONI (*HEGEMONIC STATE SYSTEM*)

Hegemoni bermakna bahwa satu atau lebih negara mendominasi sistem, membuat “aturan main” dan memiliki tingkatan pengaruh langsung pada urusan eksternal negara-negara anggotanya. Hegemoni terdiri dari tiga varian:

- a. Unipolar yaitu satu negara yang dominan seperti Amerika Serikat pada saat ini dan sejak runtuhnya Uni Sovyet pada awal 1990-an
- b. Bipolar yaitu dua negara yang dominan seperti Athena dan Sparta pada pertengahan kedua abad ke-5 SM atau Amerika Serikat dan Uni Sovyet pada Perang Dingin
- c. Multipolar atau hegemoni kolektif yaitu tiga atau lebih negara mendominasi hubungan internasional seperti lima kekuatan Eropa setelah tahun 1815 (Inggris Raya, Perancis, Rusia, Austria dan Prussia)

### 3. SISTEM NEGARA IMPERIUM (*IMPERIAL STATE SYSTEM*)

Imperium mencakup unit kemasyarakatan yang terpisah yang terkait dengan interaksi reguler tetapi satu diantara unit tersebut memaksakan supremasi politik dan yang lain secara formal menerima klaim ini. Perbedaannya dengan hegemoni yaitu dalam suatu imperium, negara yang dominan berusaha mengelola koloninya atau urusan-urusan unit teritorial, menunjuk pejabat lokal, dan mengatur sistem transportasi untuk meningkatkan interdependensi ekonomi, militer dan politik. Contoh imperium yaitu: Assiria, Persia, Macedonia dan Roma.

#### 4. SISTEM FEODAL (*FEUDAL SYSTEM*)

Feudal merupakan suatu sistem dimana kekuatan diklaim oleh sejumlah unit pemerintah yang mencakup asosiasi perdagangan, jaringan pemilik bank dan baron lokal. Contohnya yaitu Eropa Barat pada abad pertengahan sekitar 9 – 14 abad M.

<b>Independent</b>	<b>Hegemonic</b>	<b>Imperial</b>	<b>Feudal</b>
Tidak ada kekuatan superior ( <i>No superior power</i> )	Dominasi oleh satu atau lebih negara ( <i>Dominance typically by one or more state</i> )	Supremasi dari satu kekuatan ( <i>Supremacy of one power, as in an empire</i> )	Dominasi oleh unit kelompok pemerintahan yang beragam ( <i>Dominance of diverse group of governmental units</i> )

## SEJARAH SISTEM INTERNASIONAL

### 1. Imperium Persia

Persia merupakan salah satu contoh organisasi imperial di dunia kuno. Berpusat pada tempat yang saat ini disebut Iran, Persia didirikan di atas reruntuhan imperium Asiria (sekitar 1100 – 600 SM), tetapi lebih luas, mencakup sebelah timur Mediterania selatan sampai Mesir menuju perbatasan Barat India. Orang-orang Persia secara parsial mengadopsi dalam asimilasi budaya lokal yang mengurangi ekspansi dan kontrol efisien dari imperiumnya. Jaringan jalan Asiria, sebagai contoh, diperluas, dan keunggulan Mesir dalam administrasi dan ilmu pengetahuan juga diadopsi. Dalam rangka berkomunikasi secara efektif dengan penduduk setempat, mereka menggunakan Aramaik sebagai bahasa sehari-hari.

Jalan yang baik dalam memvisualisasikan aspek politik dari imperium Persia adalah sejumlah lingkaran konsentris. Inti terdalam secara langsung dikelola, tetapi sebagaimana seseorang melintasi lebih jauh dari ibukota Persepolis (pada zaman sekarang merupakan wilayah Iran), kontrol lebih terdesentralisasi. Dalam wilayah luar, unit teritorial klien merupakan quasi-otonom. Ancaman kekuatan militer imperial selalu ada, garrison dikembangkan pada wilayah-wilayah kunci dan pasukan lokal dilatih dan dipersenjatai. Tetapi Maharaja Persia lebih menyukai untuk menjalankan persuasi dalam mempertahankan penguasaan. Selanjutnya, catatan sejarah menunjukkan moderasi relatif dari kekuasaan Persia terhadap rakyat. Pemerintah lokal yang disebut *satraps* merupakan orang-orang Persia yang berasal dari luar atau anggota bangsawan lokal. Dibantu oleh dewan penasihat, penguasa-penguasa politik memiliki yurisdiksi yang terpisah dari panglima garisun lokal dan perwakilan pasukan intelijen imperial. Untuk mengakomodasi perbedaan regional dan kultural di sepanjang imperium yang luas, budaya administratif lokal secara umum diadopsi tanpa perubahan substansial. Struktur administrasi dibawah level imperial terdiri dari pendeta, raja, bangsawan pemilik tanah atau keluarga pedagang tergantung pada budaya setempat.

Penguasa Persia cukup sukses dalam mencegah konflik diantara elemen yang berbeda dalam imperium. Setelah kegagalan penaklukan ke Yunani, bangsa Persia memasok uang dan kapal untuk berkoalisi dengan orang-orang Yunani dalam membendung negara kota Yunani yang terkuat. Pada masa kepemimpinan Cyrus dan Darius, bangsa Persia memperluas otoritas terhadap kota-kota Yunani dan Phonesia sepanjang Mediterania.

Pendekatan imperium Persia yaitu menyediakan otonomi internal pada unit teritorial konstituen untuk mengurangi biaya militer, administratif dan keuangan selanjutnya dikembangkan pula oleh pemimpin Macedonia dan Roma.

### 2. Yunani Kuno : Sistem Negara Independen dan Hegemoni

Yunani kuno pada abad keenam dan pertama SM terdiri dari entitas politik berbentuk negara kota dengan corak populasi yang kecil, wilayah terbatas, kedekatan antar negara kota yang serupa dengan sistem negara kota Italia zaman Renaissance. Negara kota ini sebagaimana dinyatakan oleh Plato dan Aristoteles mencakup monarki, despotisme, aristokrasi, oligarki maupun demokrasi (partisipasi hanya dibatasi bagi orang kaya yang disebut warga negara).

Beberapa negara kota secara alami lebih kuat dibandingkan yang lain dan mendominasi negara kota yang lebih lemah dan seringkali meminta kompensasi atas perlindungan militer. Praktek diplomasi bersifat sederhana, hanya mencakup delegasi yang datang ke negara kota lain dalam rangka memecahkan perseteruan atau negosiasi perdagangan.

Meskipun negara kota menginginkan untuk menjadi independen pada abad kelima SM, munculnya Sparta dan Athena menyebabkan sistem negara independen berubah menjadi hegemoni ganda. Pada pertengahan enam abad SM, negara kota Sparta yang bercorak aristokrasi melakukan ekspansi kekuasaan sampai Semenanjung Yunani Selatan Athena yang disebut sebagai Peloponesia. Ekspansi ini bertujuan untuk mencegah negara-negara yang bertetangga dari masalah yang muncul disebabkan kelas yang lebih rendah yaitu *helots*. Fokus pada keamanan domestik ini membatasi ambisi Sparta di Semenanjung Peloponesia. Negara kota yang beraliansi dengan Sparta dapat melaksanakan urusannya sendiri, namun mendukung militer Sparta pada waktu tertentu.

Sparta memainkan peran kecil dalam membendung invasi Persia ke Yunani Selatan pada 490 SM yang berakhir dengan kemenangan Yunani pada perang Maraton. Pada dekade selanjutnya, dengan memukul mundur Persia, Sparta memiliki pengaruh terbatas di Peloponesia. Kemudian Athena mencegah Persia melancarkan serangan ke berbagai wilayah Yunani dan mengusulkan pembentukan *Delian League* yang tergabung dari negara-negara kota di bawah tekanan Persia mencakup pantai barat Asia Minor (saat ini Turki) dan pulau-pulau Aegean. Dalam rangka melindungi negara-negara kota dan mengusir Persia dari Yunani Utara, Athena memperbesar pasukan angkatan laut dan elemen militer lain.

Setelah beberapa kemenangan melawan kekuatan Persia, negara-negara kota yang tergabung dalam *Delian League* berjumlah sekitar 200. seperti yang terjadi dalam aliansi, ketika kekuatan asing dapat diatasi, masalah antara anggota negara kota bermunculan. Hal ini terjadi akibat kebencian dan ketakutan terhadap dominasi Athena. Meskipun secara formal merupakan unit politik yang otonom, negara-negara kota ini dipaksa untuk membayar upeti kepada Athena yang mendominasi politik luar negeri dan dalam negeri mereka.

Kemunduran relasi Athena dan Sparta menyebabkan munculnya perang pada 457 SM. Athena mendominasi Yunani Tengah dengan kekuatan lautnya dan Sparta mendominasi Semenanjung peloponesia dengan kekuatan daratnya. Pada tahun 454 SM, terjadi konflik bersenjata antara Athena dan Sparta, sedangkan gencatan senjata berlangsung pada 451 SM.

Perjanjian perdamaian Yunani-Persia berlangsung pada 449 SM yang diikuti perjanjian perdamaian Athena dan Sparta. Selanjutnya sistem internasional Yunani tetap didominasi dua kekuatan Athena-Sparta meskipun Corcyca, Thebes, Argos dan Corinth juga memiliki peran penting.

Kekalahan Athena pada 404 SM menyebabkan Sparta menjadi kekuatan dominan. Corinthia yang awalnya mendukung Sparta untuk melawan Athena, kemudian bergabung dengan Athena, Thebes dan sebagainya melawan Sparta. Imperium Persia mendukung aliansi baru melawan Sparta ini. Selanjutnya berlangsung perjanjian perdamaian antara berbagai pihak yang bertikai.

Sparta, Athena dan Thebes tetap memiliki ambisi hegemoni. Sistem internasional Yunani ini bersifat hegemoni dari beberapa negara dan mengadakan aliansi untuk

menyeimbangkan kekuatan, meskipun tetap terjadi perang. Sehingga ada semacam kesamaan dengan sistem perimbangan kekuatan di Eropa modern. Munculnya kekuatan *Philip* dari Macedonia dan *Alexander The Great* menyebabkan Persia dan Yunani dikuasai oleh Macedonia.

### **3. India: Sistem Independen dan Imperium**

Pada abad keenam SM, subkontinen India terbagi menjadi sejumlah unit politik independen. Beberapa unit politik lebih kuat dibandingkan yang lain, peperangan dan ekspansi merupakan hal yang biasa terjadi. Beberapa wilayah dipimpin pemimpin terpilih, namun sebagian besar dipimpin raja yang didukung oleh kasta Ksatria yang berjumlah cukup banyak yang tugasnya adalah memimpin dan berperang.

Sebagaimana Persia melakukan ekspansi ke arah Timur sampai wilayah yang sekarang disebut sebagai Pakistan, konsep Imperium mulai dikenal pemimpin India dan kasta terdidik. Chandragupta Maurya berusaha merubah konsep negara independen menjadi imperium. Chandragupta didukung oleh Kautilya untuk mengembangkan rencana imperium Maurya dan berhasil menjangkau sebagian besar wilayah India. Chandragupta tidak menuruti nasehat Kautilya sehingga kekuasaannya memunculkan banyak musuh. Ia menjadi terisolasi dan mengundurkan diri dengan perlindungan sejumlah pengawal pribadi.

Pembangunan imperium dilanjutkan anak cucunya. Cucunya yaitu Asoka mengembangkan imperium dengan cara brutal meskipun akhirnya sadar. Setelah kematiannya wilayah imperium semakin berkurang dan akhirnya runtuh.

### **4. Imperium Romanum**

Roma pada awalnya berbentuk negara kota yang tidak berbeda dengan tetangganya di semenanjung Italia. Selama beberapa abad Roma secara bertahap memperluas pengaruhnya pada semua arah: utara dan barat ke Jerman, Inggris, Spanyol dan Perancis, selatan ke Afrika Utara dan Mesir, timur ke Iran. Aspek penting dari Imperium Romanum tidak terletak pada luas wilayahnya tetapi pada otoritas legitimasi oleh masyarakat yang beragam.

Selama dua abad, berawal dari Augustus (63 SM – 14 M), stabilitas internal cukup terjamin di wilayah Imperium Romanum. Roma memberikan kontribusi terhadap pembentukan pemikiran dan praktek tentang negara, hukum internasional dan masyarakat internasional.

Pada masa awalnya, Roma dipimpin oleh raja-raja, dengan berkembangnya kekuasaan bangsawan muncul Senat dengan otoritas eksekutif yang bertanggungjawab dalam dua konsul. Kelas yang lebih rendah, atau *plebeian* memilih tribun untuk mengawasi kepentingannya. Meskipun terjadi pertentangan internal, kekuasaan dan kekayaan Roma berkembang. Meningkatnya kekayaan yang dikombinasikan dengan kekuatan yang mampu memperkuat kekuatan Senat.

Kepentingan Roma terhadap Sisilia mendorong kontang dengan kota perdagangan Phonesia yaitu Chartage (sekarang adalah kota Tunis, ibukota Tunisia). Sekitar tahun 250 sampai 200 M, Roma dan Chartage merupakan kekuatan supremasi di Mediterania barat. Roma dapat mengalahkan Chartage pada perang Punik. Roma kemudian berusaha memperluas wilayahnya ke Yunani dan Macedonia. Ketika Yunani dan Macedonia, tidak mampu membentuk koalisi anti hegemoni, Roma akhirnya menguasai wilayah tersebut.

Wilayah Imperium Romanum dibagi menjadi provinsi-provinsi yang dipimpin dan harus membayar pajak pada gubernur Roma. Selama provinsi tersebut menunjukkan loyalitas, Yunani dan Macedonia mendapatkan otonomi, kebudayaan lokal pun dihargai.

Imperium Romanum pada abad pertama dan kedua M menunjukkan kekuasaan tak langsung, penguasa lokal cukup dominan, budaya lokal dikembangkan. Berdasarkan hukum Roma, jaringan ketergantungan terbentuk akibat standarisasi mata uang, standar timbangan dan ukuran. Perdagangan di seluruh Roma dapat dilindungi oleh angkatan laut dari serangan bajak laut. Kualitas kehidupan kota—perumahan, kebersihan, makanan dan keamanan individu—mencapai suatu standar yang tidak terlihat lagi hingga abad ke delapan belas.

Masalah muncul di abad ketiga, tentara Sassanid Persia menyerang wilayah Roma, pasukan Roma di Jerman ditarik mundur, wilayah utara Imperium menjadi terbuka akan serangan. Mengikuti kematian Kaisar Konstantin pada 357 M, sebagian wilayah barat imperium bermasalah, meskipun wilayah Timur dengan ibukota Konstantinopel masih bisa dipertahankan. Secara formal, Imperium Romanum berakhir pada 476 M ketika diserang Jerman.

Awal era Islam pada abad ke-7 M mendorong perubahan dramatis di wilayah Timur. Islam dengan sistem yang komprehensif telah berpengaruh terhadap jutaan manusia pada waktu itu. Ketika Eropa berada di masa kemunduran, dunia Islam mengalami kemajuan.

## **5. Eropa Abad Pertengahan dan Sistem Feodal**

Selama zaman kegelapan, kekuasaan gereja dominan. Meskipun gereja Eropa Barat memproklamirkan pesan universal, kekuatan politik sekuler terfragmentasi dalam berbagai aktor legitimasi. Tahta Suci Roma (*Holy Roman Empire*), diprakarsai oleh Charlemagne pada awal abad ke-9 dipusatkan di Jerman yang menurut Voltaire, Roma merupakan kekaisaran yang tidak cukup suci dibandingkan dengan Caesars atau Byzantium sampai ke Timur. Selanjutnya pengganti Charlemagne menunjukkan karakter sekuler terbatas pada kekuasaan gereja yang berkembang. Selanjutnya doktrin nasrani, membolehkan pemisahan kekuatan kepausan dan imperial. *Holy Roman Empire* akhirnya runtuh karena kelemahan internal dan serangan *Saracen, Magyar, Norsemen*. Kerajaan-kerajaan konstituen masih ada tetapi secara administratif kerajaan tersebut memiliki birokrasi yang kurang efisien dan pasukan militer permanen. Sebagai hasilnya, raja-raja seringkali memiliki sedikit kekuatan terhadap baron lokal. Selanjutnya mengembangkan kontradiksi antara keragaman aktual institusi abad pertengahan dan penekanan religius dan filosofis terhadap kesatuan antara kaisar dan Paus.

Kekuatan baron lokal yang direfleksikan dalam feodalisme, bentuk pre-eminen dari otoritas yang muncul dan menjadi prominan pada abad ke-10. Karakteristik yang teridentifikasi dari feodalisme adalah otoritas publik yang ditempatkan di tangan privat. Sebagai hasil kekacauan Eropa pada abad ke-9, tuan tanah memiliki kekuasaan yang lebih besar dibandingkan raja-raja. Pengadilan dianggap sebagai hak milik pribadi tuan tanah. Otoritas politik pada masa feodal selanjutnya, diklaim oleh koleksi yang berbeda mencakup baron lokal, pendeta, raja-raja dan Paus. Lebih jauh lagi ini merupakan masa pedagang kelas menengah atau borjuis dari kota-kota yang menjadi kekuatan politik, seringkali memberikan dukungan pada pemimpin religius atau sekuler sebagai hasil piagam-piagam yang memungkinkannya mengembangkan masyarakat bebas

# Indonesia, Republic of

## I INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, Republic of, island republic of Southeast Asia, constituting most of the Malay Archipelago. Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country after China, India, and the United States. More than half the people live on Java, where Jakarta, Indonesia's capital and largest city, is located. Although the islands are home to more than 100 ethnic groups, most Indonesians are of mixed Malay origins and practice Islam.

Several of Indonesia's islands hosted powerful trading kingdoms between the 5th and 16th centuries AD. The Dutch took control of the islands in the early 1600s and for three centuries profited from Indonesia's economy, largely at the expense of the local population. Dutch authority over the islands peaked in the early 20th century before growing Indonesian nationalism led to an armed struggle and the declaration of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. The country enjoyed tremendous economic growth in the 1980s and much of the 1990s, partly due to Indonesia's abundant natural resources and increases in the manufacturing and services sectors. As a result, Indonesia's middle class grew considerably, but poverty remained widespread. Indonesia plunged into an economic crisis in 1997 that led to significant political changes, including the resignation of President Suharto, who had been in office for more than 30 years. Democratic elections held in 1999 installed a new government.

## VII HISTORY

Fossil remains of *homo erectus*, an ancestor of modern man (*homo sapiens*), have been found in the Solo and Brantas river valleys in Central Java. These fossils, known as Java Man, are estimated to be about 1.8 million years old; however, few traces of human life from the more recent Paleolithic and Mesolithic times (Old and Middle Stone ages) have been excavated. Some crude stone implements, such as a rectangular ax, and rock paintings in caves of the eastern islands have been found.

Throughout history the peoples of Southeast Asia migrated extensively, giving the Indonesian archipelago a mix of more than 100 ethnicities and languages. Within this mix there has been a wide cultural gap between the coastal peoples, who probably developed irrigated wet-rice cultivation (*sawah*) about 2,000 years ago, and the inland peoples, who depended on shifting, slash-and-burn agriculture (*ladang*) until recently. The coastal regions probably developed sawah because irrigation was easier to develop near the coast and because the larger coastal populations made ladang difficult. Later, coastal peoples developed differently from inland peoples because the former were more exposed to outside influences. In time, three distinct types of Indonesian societies evolved. On the coast were the trade-oriented, deeply Islamic coastal peoples. Hindu-influenced, wet-rice cultivators developed further inland. Still further

inland, typically in remote mountainous regions, were tribal groups who practiced shifting cultivation and indigenous religious beliefs.

Bronze was introduced to the archipelago in about 300 BC from northern Vietnam, Thailand, or China, and from that time on metalworking with bronze and iron was practiced. About the 1st century BC, many of the Indonesian people lived in political groups that were rarely larger than family-based tribal units. Cultural expressions like wayang theater, gamelan orchestra, and batik date from this time or earlier.

Trade between Indonesia and India's Bay of Bengal most likely began in the 1st and 2nd century AD. Although most historians no longer believe earlier theories that Indians conquered parts of Indonesia or settled it extensively, Indian culture exerted a powerful influence on the states that developed in the archipelago. Direct communication with China probably began between the 3rd and 5th century, as Indonesia exported cloves, tree resins, and camphor. In the early 5th century Faxian, a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, and the princely monk Gunavarman from Kashmir each wrote of direct voyages between western Indonesia and China.

## A Early Kingdoms

Rock inscriptions on Java dating from the 5th or 6th century tell of Taruma, an extensive Javanese kingdom that was centered near present-day Jakarta. The people of Taruma observed Hindu religious rites of India and promoted irrigation works. By the beginning of the 7th century Java was home to several important kingdoms, and a harbor-kingdom was also apparently well established on the southeastern coast of Sumatra. The kingdoms of this time fell into two main types of political units: the seafaring trading states along the coasts of Sumatra, northern Java, Borneo, Sulawesi, and some of the other eastern islands; and the rice-based inland kingdoms, particularly of eastern and central Java. The greatest maritime empire was Sri Vijaya, a Mahayana Buddhist kingdom on Sumatra's southeast coast. In the late 7th century Sri Vijaya was a center of trade with India and China and for the next five centuries controlled much of China's trade with the western archipelago. Little archaeological evidence of the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya remains on Sumatra.

In contrast, the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of central and eastern Java left extensive temples, buildings, and inscriptions. These monuments and artifacts show Indian culture had vast influence on the religion and state organizations of the Javan kingdoms. The central and eastern kingdoms relied on wet-rice agriculture and had a complex hierarchy headed by a god-king. Inscriptions reveal that under the Sanjaya family the Hindu kingdom of Mataram flourished on the Dieng Plateau in the early 8th century. In the second half of the 8th century a new Buddhist kingdom under the Sailendra dynasty developed in the nearby Kedu Plain; Mataram declined as the Sailendra kingdom rose. The Sailendras built the massive temple monument of Borobudur in the mid-9th century.

Also by the mid-9th century, rulers claiming descent from King Sanjaya (ruled 732-778) of central Java founded a new kingdom of Mataram, whose rule extended from central to eastern Java. In the early 10th century, for unknown reasons, the kingdom's center shifted to the east, where Hindu influence on the state weakened. First under Sindok (ruled 929-947) and later under Airlangga (ruled 1019-1042), who united the eastern kingdom with Bali, Mataram became increasingly interested in overseas trade. A period of division followed, after which the new kingdom of Singosari was founded on Java in 1222. Its founder and first ruler was Angrok (ruled 1222-1227), a commoner. Under the Buddhist king Kertanagara (ruled 1268-1292), Singosari controlled many of the Sumatran areas formerly ruled by Sri Vijaya. Kertanagara's successor, Vijaya (ruled 1293-1309), repelled a Mongol invasion of Java and in 1293 founded Majapahit, the greatest Javanese empire. Majapahit, under Hayam Wuruk, claimed sovereignty over much of what is now Indonesia and Singapore and parts of Malaysia.

## B The Coming of Islam

Islam arrived via overseas merchants, initially from southern India and Gujarāt in western India. By the late 13th century the coastal states of northern Sumatra were beginning to accept the new religion; the first Muslim ruler in northern Sumatra was Sultan Malik al Saleh of Pasai. Islam spread slowly until the rise of the sultanate of Malacca (Melaka) on peninsular Malaysia's western coast in the early 15th century. Malacca had become a major spot on the trade route between the Moluccas (Spice Islands) and Europe, which increasingly sought Moluccan spices. As a result, Malacca gained commercial and political power and also became the major center in Southeast Asia for the spread of Islam.

Malacca's gain came at the expense of Majapahit. Merchants from Majapahit in northern Java traveled to Malacca to trade Javanese rice for Moluccan spices, and many merchants converted to Islam. They became important in Malacca's population. Malaccan princes in turn became powerful from their trade connections and began exerting commercial and military pressure on Majapahit. By the early 16th century, Majapahit had virtually disappeared.

Meanwhile, Portuguese traders captured Malacca in 1511. The European intrusion changed the existing patterns of trade and led to the growth of several strong Muslim states, each competing with the others for trade routes in Indonesia. One of the most powerful of these states was Aceh in northern Sumatra. During the 16th century Aceh launched frequent attacks against Portuguese Malacca, either alone or with other local Muslim states. Under Sultan Iskandar Muda, Aceh controlled all of Sumatra's pepper-trading ports except those in the extreme south, and its influence extended to parts of the Malay Peninsula. Another important trading state of the period was Makassar. Situated in southwestern Sulawesi, Makassar and its people converted to Islam in the early 17th century. Bantam, in western Java, was the Muslim successor to the Hindu kingdom of Sunda. Bantam controlled southern Sumatra and thus the vital Sunda Strait. In the late 16th century a new Muslim kingdom of Mataram arose in central Java and began to absorb many of Java's maritime principalities.

## C The Development of Dutch Influence

The Dutch East India Company (*see East India Company: Dutch East India Company*), founded in 1602, competed with the Portuguese and the English for the archipelago's trade. The Dutch governor-general Jan Pieterszoon Coen arrived on Java in the early 17th century and established Batavia (now Jakarta) as the Dutch headquarters. Through direct force and alliances with native leaders, Coen tried to stop the interisland network of traders from engaging in international trade. In 1629 the Dutch clashed briefly with Mataram, then settled into a period of coexistence. The Dutch captured Malacca in 1641, but Malacca no longer had complete control of the spice trade to Europe. To gain a trade monopoly, the company allowed cloves to be grown only on the island of Ambon and nutmeg and mace to be grown only in the Banda Islands. The company destroyed the spice trees in other places. In 1678 Mataram was forced to cede the Priangan region of western Java to the Dutch company.

During the 18th century the Dutch East India Company introduced coffee and other new crops to Java. It also started a system of forced deliveries of crops that relied heavily on cooperation from agreeable Javanese aristocrats and from leaders of the growing local Chinese population, whose immigration the Dutch promoted. Dutch interference in Mataram's affairs led to the kingdom's division, in 1755, into the principalities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. In the Moluccas, the Dutch extended their trading rights into political control. Elsewhere in the eastern islands, most local rulers retained their internal autonomy but were drawn into special relationships with the Dutch. Financial mismanagement and a decline in trade brought the East India Company to bankruptcy, however, and in 1799 it was dissolved. The Dutch government then assumed control of the company's Indonesian possessions.

## D The Consolidation of Dutch Control

Britain occupied Java briefly (1811-1816) during the Napoleonic Wars. Both the British and later the Dutch tried to centralize and reform Java's administration. The Dutch wavered between opening the area to individual enterprise and reverting to a monopoly system. From 1825 to 1830 the Javanese prince Diponegoro led a guerrilla revolt against the Dutch. The wars, which left as many as 200,000 dead, cost the Dutch huge sums of money and they ultimately decided for a government monopoly. The Dutch annexed large areas of central Java and in 1830 introduced the Culture System, under which peasants had to devote part of their land (officially one-fifth, but usually far more) to cultivating government-designated export crops instead of rice. Extremely profitable for the Dutch, the system was blamed for widespread famine in parts of Java in the 1840s and 1850s.

As the Dutch penetrated Javanese society more deeply, they also expanded their control to other regions. By 1837 they had imposed their rule over parts of the Sumatran interior, and in

1858 they annexed the northeastern coastal principalities. Dutch rule beyond Java, however, was sometimes indirect.

In the mid-19th century Dutch liberals campaigned against the Culture System, and by the 1870s some of the system's harshest aspects were removed. The new Liberal Policy gave farmers more freedom to grow crops they wanted. Oil, tin, and rubber later began to replace coffee, sugar, and tobacco as the main exports to Europe. These products came largely from outside Java, and the Dutch took control of the islands where they were produced. In the late 19th century the Dutch were engaged in a 30-year war with Aceh and Bali, which ended in 1908 in the former and 1909 in the latter. By this time, Sulawesi, the Moluccas, the Lesser Sunda Islands, and most of Borneo had also been brought under firmer Dutch control.

## E The Growth of Nationalism

At the beginning of the 20th century the Dutch introduced the Ethical Policy, under which farming and limited health and educational services for Indonesians were developed. Railways, roads, and interisland shipping were also expanded. The policy helped create two new social elements: a few Western-educated Indonesians and a smaller group of Indonesian entrepreneurs, who began to compete with a predominantly Chinese commercial class. The newly educated and somewhat prosperous Indonesians grew resentful of the colonial structure that denied them a role commensurate with their education and abilities.

The first important vehicle for the anti-Dutch nationalist movement was the *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union), established in 1912. Growing out of a protective association for batik merchants, the Sarekat Islam by 1918 claimed a membership of more than 2 million people throughout the archipelago. The Dutch were initially conciliatory toward Sarekat Islam, and in 1916 they established the *Volksraad* (People's Council). In the Volksraad, selected representatives of major population groups could deliberate and offer advice to the government. After World War I (1914-1918), however, and especially after an abortive Communist-led insurrection in 1926 and 1927, the Dutch government adopted a more repressive policy.

In the 1920s the Indonesian nationalist movement was headed by leaders who were not primarily Muslim, notably Sukarno, an advocate of complete independence who founded the Indonesian Nationalist Party (*Partai Nasional Indonesia*, or PNI) in 1927. Despite the Dutch arrests and exiles of Sukarno (1929-1931, 1933-1942), Muhammad Hatta (1934-1942), and other nationalist leaders and the banning of the PNI and other noncooperating parties, the nationalist movement maintained its momentum. Only after Germany overran The Netherlands during World War II (1939-1945), however, did the Dutch even hint at a postwar transfer of political authority.

## F The Japanese Occupation

In 1942 the Japanese invaded and occupied Indonesia. Anxious to mobilize Indonesian support behind their regime, the Japanese gave Sukarno and his associates symbolic political freedom. The Japanese regime was repressive, however, because they had strategic concerns about Indonesian resources, particularly petroleum, and because they feared Allied counterattacks. They forced tens of thousands of people into conscripted labor and many did not survive.

In September 1943 the Japanese established militias in Java, Bali, and Sumatra, giving thousands of young men military training and forming the nucleus of the postwar independence army. In October 1944, in order to muster support against anticipated Allied attacks, the Japanese promised eventual Indonesian independence and subsequently offered limited self-government. Throughout most of the occupation, however, Japan's harsh behavior and the growing economic hardships alienated Indonesians.

## G The Postwar Struggle for Independence

On August 17, 1945, two days after Japan surrendered to the Allies, Sukarno and Hatta declared an independent Republic of Indonesia and were selected as its president and vice president. By the time British troops landed on the islands in late September, a functioning republican administration was already established in many parts of Java and Sumatra. The British withdrew in November 1946 and persuaded the Dutch and the young republic to sign the Linggajati Agreement, which recognized the authority of the republic in Java and Sumatra and specified plans for a federal Indonesia.

In July 1947, however, the Dutch launched attacks, claiming that Indonesians had violated the agreement. The attacks extended Dutch control to about two-thirds of Java and to many of the large estates and oil fields on Sumatra. Several members of the UN protested the Dutch attacks, prompting the creation of a UN Good Offices Commission. The commission oversaw the signing of the Renville Agreement between the two sides in 1948. The agreement recognized Dutch control of the areas it had taken in 1947 but promised those areas a vote to determine their future. Meanwhile, the Dutch had blockaded the republican territory, inflicting intense economic hardship and building support among Indonesians for fighting the Dutch instead of negotiating with them. The popular sentiment was one cause for a failed Communist-led uprising in September 1948 at Madiun against the republic's leadership.

In December 1948 the Dutch defied a UN cease-fire and again attacked the republic. The republic's capital, Yogyakarta, was captured and most of its top leaders, including Sukarno and Hatta, were arrested and exiled. The Dutch were initially successful, but guerrilla resistance and pressure from the international community gradually motivated the Dutch to accommodate the Indonesians. In 1949 at a conference in The Hague, The Netherlands agreed

to transfer sovereignty over all of Indonesia, except West Irian (now Papua), to the federal Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI) by the end of that year.

## H The Sukarno Regime

In August 1950 the Unitary State of Indonesia replaced the RUSI. The government's first task was to create a viable state from Indonesia's many people and cultures; but it also had to quell sporadic uprisings of Muslim groups in West Java and Aceh as well as Dutch-led antirepublican movements in Sulawesi and the Moluccas. The nationwide elections of late 1955 gave none of parliament's parties a majority, and only one party, the Masjumi, had a significant following outside Java. Both before and after the elections the government was criticized for being factional, corrupt, ineffective, and for maintaining few ties to the regions it was supposed to represent.

In 1956 President Sukarno called for reforming the party system and replacing liberal democracy with what he eventually called "Guided Democracy," which would give the president wider government authority. It took Sukarno three years to implement Guided Democracy. In the meantime, the outer islanders grew increasingly resentful of the central government. They were especially upset over the small funding they received for economic development, despite contributing a large share of Indonesia's export earnings. These and other factors prompted military coups on Sumatra and Sulawesi from December 1956 to March 1957, all of which were eventually put down. On February 15, 1958, army dissidents in Sumatra, supported by counterparts in Sulawesi and by several leaders of Masjumi, proclaimed the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia. The rebels received covert aid from the United States and Taiwan but the forces of the central government soon defeated them. Guerrilla actions continued, however, until 1961.

In 1959, with his Guided Democracy in place, Sukarno pursued an active foreign policy. He demanded The Netherlands surrender West Irian (which, following a brief period of UN administration, was finally turned over to Indonesia in 1963), and he opposed the formation of the Federation of Malaysia. Domestically, the economic decline continued and both the army and the Communists (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, or PKI) increased their power, with tension growing between the two groups.

## I Suharto's Rise to Power

The situation culminated in a coup attempt on September 30, 1965. Led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung of the palace guard, the usurpers brutally murdered six top generals before being suppressed by General Suharto, head of the army's strategic command. Suharto took control of the army and increasingly the state; he eased Sukarno out of effective power by March 1966. Although the identity and motives of the coup's instigators remain controversial, the

army alleged the Communist PKI was responsible. In response, army units and many Muslim groups, particularly in the countryside, began massacring Communists and their supporters in late 1965. Between 300,000 to 1 million people were killed in the Communist crackdown. The PKI, essentially erased in the executions, was banned on March 13, 1966. The government also arrested hundreds of thousands of people accused of involvement in the coup attempt. Of those arrested, only about 800 received a trial.

## I1 The New Order

Suharto instituted a "New Order" (*Orde Baru*) regime, which espoused a largely pro-Western policy. Indonesia ended confrontation with Malaysia and became a major promoter and participant in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which was founded in 1967. Suharto was officially inaugurated president in 1968. Elections were held in 1971, but they were tightly controlled by the government. The government-backed Golkar party secured most of the seats in the House of Representatives, as it would in each of the elections held at five-year intervals thereafter. Similarly, the People's Consultative Assembly routinely returned Suharto to the presidency, unopposed, at five-year intervals.

In 1975 the state-owned oil enterprise, Pertamina, was unable to meet debt repayments amounting to \$10.5 billion, and the crisis threatened Indonesia's financial structure. Only by canceling projects, renegotiating loans, and receiving help from the United States and other Western governments did Indonesia salvage the situation. The rise in world oil prices helped Indonesia's economic recovery. When oil prices stagnated in the early 1980s, Suharto shifted economic policy away from a reliance on oil exports. As part of the changes, he introduced greater openness (*keterbukaan*), promoting foreign investment in Indonesia and greater integration of Indonesia into the world economy. He also introduced reforms across a wide range of sectors to cut production costs and improve the competitiveness of Indonesia's commodity exports. Although this policy brought about solid economic growth, the reforms did not reverse the nation's growing economic and social inequalities, particularly among the rural Javanese. A large slice of Indonesia's wealth came to be concentrated in the hands of the president's family and their associates. The economic inequalities were exacerbated by the growth of the population, despite a relatively successful family-planning program in Java.

## J Post-"New Order" Indonesia

Opposition to Suharto's rule grew steadily in the late 1980s and early 1990s, although many Indonesians were afraid to express their views openly. Suharto's most vocal opponents were Islamic radicals and university students alienated by the government's corruption and human rights violations. In early 1978 widespread student demonstrations prompted the government to restrict activity on college campuses and freedom of the press. In the early 1990s many dissidents gave their support to Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of former president

Sukarno. When she was deposed as chair of the Indonesian Democratic Party by political rivals in mid-1996, protesters rioted in Jakarta. Although Megawati did not have the support of a large part of the Indonesian population, she was the first figure in many years to pose a challenge to the incumbent president.

Ultimately, it was the economy that posed the greatest threat to Suharto's rule. In mid-1997 an economic crisis developed when the value of Indonesia's currency plummeted. The economic crisis was particularly acute for Indonesia's urban middle class and the poor, as the cost of basic goods and services skyrocketed. In early 1998 riots broke out in several Indonesian cities, and in March, after Suharto was reelected unopposed for a seventh term, students staged protests on university campuses across the country. In May peaceful protests as well as violent riots escalated, and government troops killed hundreds in an attempt to contain the chaos. The growing unrest prompted Suharto to resign on May 21, and his handpicked vice president, Bucharuddin Jusuf Habibie, assumed the presidency.

In his brief term in office, President Habibie introduced processes of reform (*reformasi*) and tentatively set about dismantling some of the most repressive measures put in place by Suharto. Provinces were given greater control over their finances. Some of the economic privileges given to the former president's family were revoked, but Habibie avoided any direct confrontation with Suharto, his mentor since his youth. Habibie's popular support, which was never very strong, eroded rapidly during his term as president as a result of his failure to deal rigorously with Suharto's legacy, as well as his involvement in a bank fund misappropriation scandal.

Indonesia held elections for the 500-seat House of Representatives in June 1999. The large number of small parties, many of which disputed the vote-counting process, delayed the declaration of results. Megawati's new Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle received the largest number of votes (33.7 percent), but it did not gain a majority, winning only 153 seats. Golkar, which had dominated previous elections under Suharto, followed with 22.4 percent, followed by the National Awakening Party (12.6 percent), the PPP (10.7 percent), and the National Mandate Party (7.1 percent). When the People's Consultative Assembly convened in October to choose the next president, it unexpectedly elected Abdurrahman Wahid of the National Awakening Party. For vice president it elected Megawati Sukarnoputri. A Muslim cleric, Wahid enjoyed a large and devoted following as head the Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia's largest Islamic organization with about 40 million members. Although neither leader had any previous experience in government, the pairing satisfied the widespread need felt in Indonesia for political change. The new administration faced many problems, including a need to reform governance and administration, remove the Suharto legacy of inefficiency and corruption, and address the continuing economic problems of the country.

In mid-2000, however, Wahid became implicated in two multimillion-dollar corruption scandals. Although an investigative inquiry did not prove Wahid was directly or indirectly involved in the high-level graft, the scandals intensified criticisms of the president's inattention

to the country's severe social and economic problems. In February 2001 and again in April, the House of Representatives delivered censures against Wahid alleging corruption and incompetence. Wahid rejected the allegations as baseless and ignored calls for his resignation. The legislature then voted to begin impeachment proceedings against Wahid in August. The political crisis came to a head in late July, when Wahid issued an emergency decree to suspend the legislature in an attempt to hold onto power. Police and military officials refused to obey his decree, however, and on July 23 the People's Consultative Assembly convened in an emergency session and voted to remove Wahid from office. Vice President Megawati was chosen to replace him as president.

## K Conflict in the Regions

### K1 East Timor

Meanwhile, many of the country's regions were embroiled in ethnic, religious, and political upheaval. The first major challenge during Wahid's truncated tenure was a popular movement for secession in East Timor, located in the southeastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. In 1975, when Portugal withdrew from its colony of East Timor, the *Frente Revolucionária do Timor Leste Independente* (Fretilin), a leftist group that had sought independence, promptly declared independence. Indonesia responded by invading East Timor shortly thereafter. Portugal and the UN condemned Indonesia's invasion, but Indonesia later annexed the area as a province.

Many Timorese died during the annexation and during a famine that resulted from a forced resettlement program in the late 1970s. However, many Timorese continued to seek self-determination for the region, and armed guerrilla groups operated from bases in the highlands of Timor. Xanana Gusmão led the armed resistance movement in East Timor until his arrest by Indonesian forces in 1992. In 1996 two Timorese dissidents, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta, were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their nonviolent efforts to resolve the conflict.

At the urging of the Timorese and their supporters within the international community, in early 1999 President Habibie agreed to allow the East Timorese to vote on whether East Timor should become independent or an autonomous region within Indonesia. In May, Indonesia and Portugal, which had never recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, signed an accord detailing the autonomy measure for East Timor. The vote was held in August 1999, and the East Timorese voted overwhelmingly in favor of independence.

Backed by the Indonesian military, Timorese militia groups that had favored autonomy reacted violently to the outcome of the vote. The militia went on a rampage throughout East Timor, destroying much of the infrastructure, murdering pro-independence supporters, and forcing large numbers of East Timorese to flee. After weeks of bloodshed, a UN peacekeeping mission

intervened to stabilize the region. The UN administered East Timor until the territory gained full independence in May 2002, with Gusmão as president. The Indonesian military has come under governmental and UN scrutiny for its involvement in atrocities committed in East Timor.

Ever since the Republic of Indonesia was formed in 1945, the Indonesian government has struggled to prevent secessionist movements from splitting apart the nation. The demise of the authoritarian Suharto administration and the example of East Timor have encouraged independence groups in other parts of Indonesia to increase their demands.

## K2 Aceh

Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, was an independent sultanate until late in the 19th century, when it was conquered by the Dutch after decades of fierce fighting. After Indonesia declared independence, Aceh became an Indonesian province. A staunchly Muslim region, Aceh had a strong sense of identity and quickly became disillusioned with Indonesia's leadership during the 1950s. The Darul Islam movement, which sought an independent Islamic state, was strongly supported in Aceh in this period. The Indonesian government gave Aceh a distinct status as a "special region" in 1959. The Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM; Free Aceh Movement), formed in 1976, and the National Liberation Front Aceh Sumatra, formed in 1989, have spearheaded the Acehnese independence movement in recent years. Between 1989 and 1993 about 2,000 Acehnese were killed in fighting with Indonesian troops, and hundreds more disappeared.

Soon after becoming president, Habibie sought to reduce the military's presence in Aceh. Beginning in August 1998, hundreds of government troops withdrew from the region. However, this did not placate the Acehnese, who continued to press for independence. The resolution of the conflict in Aceh became one of the key concerns of the Wahid government. Peace talks that began in June 2000 failed to prevent the conflict from escalating, however, and clashes between government troops and Acehnese secessionists continued through most of that year. In December 2002 the Indonesian government and GAM secessionist leaders signed a peace agreement that provided for an immediate cease-fire in Aceh. Under the terms of the peace deal, designated "peace zones" would be demilitarized by both sides, GAM would fully disarm, and Aceh would have autonomy and free elections. The agreement failed to address GAM's ultimate goal of Acehnese independence, however, and it broke down during the disarmament phase. The government imposed martial law in the region in May 2003, following the collapse of last-minute talks to salvage the agreement. The Indonesian military immediately launched a major offensive against GAM forces in Aceh in an attempt to end the secessionist movement.

## K3 Papua

Regional conflicts simmer in other parts of the archipelago, prompting further concerns about national unity. In Papua (formerly Irian Jaya), the easternmost province, the separatist group *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (OPM; Free Papua Movement) has been fighting for independence since the 1960s. A special autonomy package for the province, approved by the Megawati government, took effect in January 2002. Under the measures, the province has much greater control of its own affairs—excluding only defense, foreign affairs, monetary affairs, the police, and the courts—and retains most of the revenues generated from its natural resources. The province was also allowed to change its name from *Irian Jaya* to the locally preferred *Papua*. Some Papuans, including the OPM, continued to demand nothing less than an independence referendum, however.

## K4 Moluccas

In other parts of Indonesia conflicts continue to emerge within communities. In the mid- and late 1990s sporadic violence between Muslims and Christians occurred throughout West Java, Ambon, and other parts of the Moluccas. Social conflicts led to the internal displacement of hundreds of thousands of people in the island chain. By some estimates, three years of sectarian fighting had resulted in as many as 5,000 deaths and 750,000 refugees in the Moluccas. In 2002 representatives of Muslim and Christian factions signed a peace agreement intended to end the fighting.

## K5 Kalimantan

Kalimantan (the Indonesian section of Borneo) has been the scene of especially violent and recurring ethnic violence in recent years. The indigenous Dayak people have long resented the influx of Madurese who migrated to Kalimantan as a result of the government's transmigration policies. Until the transmigration program was suspended in 2000, these policies provided incentives for Indonesians to relocate from populous areas to less developed lands. Violent conflicts in Kalimantan in 1997 and 1999 caused the deaths and displacement of thousands of Madurese. Brutal attacks against Madurese again occurred in early 2001, causing hundreds of deaths and leading the government to evacuate thousands of Madurese from the island. Indonesia's social and regional conflicts, in addition to the nation's economic problems, are the major issues confronting the post-Suharto governments of Indonesia.

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