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## **The essence of the 1999-2002 constitutional reform in Indonesia: remaking the Negara Hukum. A socio-legal study**

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The Essence of the 1999-2002 Constitutional Reform in Indonesia

*Remaking the Negara Hukum*

A Socio-Legal Study



The Essence of the 1999-2002  
Constitutional Reform in Indonesia

*Remaking the Negara Hukum*

A Socio-Legal Study

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*door*

Jakob Tobing

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# Acknowledgements

On 10 August 2002, the plenary meeting of the 2002 Annual Session of People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia ratified the final changes to the 1945 Constitution, marking the completion of a four years long reform process.

Many people have commented on these changes and the amendment process, but not always adequately. That is why – as one of the actors in this process – I considered it necessary to write this PhD-thesis; as a form of accountability to history. It shows how my colleagues and I, without draft changes prepared in advance and guided by our nation's fundamental values discussed the amendment proposals for four years, struggling for a democratic constitution based on the rule of law.

It explains the difficulties we faced because concepts such as rule of law and constitutionalism were comprehended differently by the different actors involved. It also addresses how we managed an open process that interacted with challenges as the anger of people in some areas who felt unfairly treated by the central government, the desire to change the unitary state into a federal one, the desire of certain Muslims to introduce Islamic law, and so on. The process also interacted with those who did not agree to change the Constitution.

Coming from different backgrounds and positions, we went through a winding and tripping, time-consuming and tiring process, but with respect for each other and always trying to reach a consensus. Thus the deliberation process created a sense of ownership and shared responsibility of each faction for the success of constitutional reform. Indeed, every change made in the 1945 Constitution, except for one, about the appointed members of the People's Consultative Assembly, in the end were achieved through consensus.

And I wanted to write about this process not in the form of a practical, political book, but in the form of a doctoral dissertation. During the colonial period Leiden was the center of activity for Indonesian students in the Netherlands who were fighting for Indonesian independence. Influential figures in the history of legal development of the Netherlands Indies such as Cornelis van Vollenhoven and Snouck Hurgronje were professors at Leiden University. Besides that, Leiden University hosts a rich library of the Dutch East Indies and of modern Indonesia.

Thus, I decided to apply to Leiden University and I was fortunate to be accepted as a doctoral student at the Van Vollenhoven Institute for Law, Governance and Society (VVI) with Prof. Dr. Jan Michiel Otto, professor of Law and Governance in Developing Countries and director of the VVI as my supervisor.

His extensive knowledge and deep understanding of development issues of law and governance in developing countries with a broad diversity of norms and traditions, and particularly with a predominantly Muslim population, helped improve my perspectives. Moreover, his carefulness, patience and friendship were very supportive and encouraged me to complete my thesis through a long and often difficult period.

I am also very grateful to Prof. Dr. Adriaan Bedner, professor of Law and Society in Indonesia, and currently the chair of the VVI, who co-supervised my thesis, and who enriched my views with constructive comments.

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Thus, for several years, I was involved in many academic activities at the Van Vollenhoven Institute. Doing library research, writing the draft of my thesis, obtaining assistance from my supervisors, engaging in seminars and discussions, and so on. This even included off-campus activities, such as cycling together in a park in North Amsterdam.

Finally, but not least, I want to thank my beloved wife Adriana, my tough and reliable children, in-laws and grandchildren: Tumpal, my beloved son who passed away on 4 April 2021, Putri, Ruhut, Dewi, Sarah, Diky, Erika, Anezka, Prudence, Claudio, Bianca, Kiara and Kaleb. Your prayers, attention, understanding, support and patience have enabled me to realize this dream. Therefore, I dedicate this dissertation to my wife Adriana, to my children, my in-laws and my grandchildren and in memory of my beloved son Tumpal.

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## Abbreviations

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| ABRI                  | <i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> – Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia  |
| AIPI                  | <i>Akademi Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Academy of Sciences   |
| APII                  | <i>Asosiasi Ilmu Politik Indonesia</i> – Association of Political Science of Indonesia   |
| ASPRI                 | <i>Asisten Pribadi</i> – Personal Assistant  |
| B.F.O.                | <i>Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg</i> – Federal Consultation Meeting  |
| B.J. Habibie          | Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie   |
| Balitbang<br>PDI-Mega | <i>Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Mega</i><br>– Research and Development Body of the Indonesia Democratic Party – Megawati Soekarnoputri   |
| BBC                   | British Broadcasting Corporation   |
| BIG                   | <i>Badan Informasi Geospasial</i> – Geospatial Information Agency  |
| BKR                   | <i>Badan Keamanan Rakyat</i> – People’s Security Agency  |
| BP-7                  | <i>Badan Pembina Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila</i> – Board of Trustees of Education of the Implementation of Guidelines for the Comprehension and Application of Pancasila |
| BPH                   | <i>Bendoro Pangeran Haryo</i> – a high ranking noble of Javanese society   |
| BPK                   | <i>Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan</i> – Audit Board  |
| BPKPK                 | <i>Badan Penolong Keluarga Korban Perang</i> – Agency for Helping the Family of the War Victims  |
| BP-MPR                | <i>Badan Pekerja Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> – Working Body of the People’s Consultative Assembly   |
| BPS                   | <i>Biro Pusat Statistik</i> – Central Statistic Bureau   |
| BPUPK                 | <i>Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan</i> – Investigating Commission for Preparatory Works for Independence  |
| BPUPKI                | <i>Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia</i> – Investigating Commission for Preparatory Works for Independence of Indonesia   |
| CBE                   | Commander of British Empire  |
| CETRO                 | Center for Electoral Reform  |
| CIDES                 | Center for Information and Development Studies   |
| CINAPS                | Centre for Indonesian National Policy Studies  |
| CSIS                  | Centre for Strategic and International Studies   |
| DDI                   | <i>Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah</i> – Council of Islamic Mission   |
| DDII                  | <i>Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Islamic Missionary Council  |

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| DI          | <i>Darul Islam – House of Islam/The Islamic State</i>   |
| DPA         | <i>Dewan Pertimbangan Agung – Supreme Advisory Council</i>  |
| DPAS        | <i>Dewan Pertimbangan Agung Sementara – Provisional Supreme Advisory Council</i>  |
| DPD         | <i>Dewan Perwakilan Daerah – Regional Representatives Council or Council for Representation of the Regions.</i>   |
| DPR         | <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat – People’s Representatives Council</i>   |
| DPRD I      | <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Tingkat I – Provincial People’s Representatives Council</i>   |
| DPRD II     | <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Tingkat II – District/City People’s Representative Council</i>  |
| DPR-GR      | <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong – Collaborative People’s Representatives Council</i>   |
| DUD         | <i>Dewan Utusan Daerah – Council of Regional Delegations</i>  |
| ELS         | <i>Europese Lagere School – European Elementary School</i>  |
| ELSAM       | <i>Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat – Institute for Research and Policy Advocacy</i>   |
| F-ABRI      | <i>Fraksi Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia – Faction of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.</i>  |
| FKIK        | <i>Forum Kajian Ilmiah Konstitusi – Forum for Scientific Study of the Constitution</i>  |
| F-KKI       | <i>Fraksi Kesatuan Kebangsaan Indonesia – Faction of Unity of Indonesian Nationhood</i>   |
| F-KP        | <i>Fraksi Karya Pembangunan – Faction of the Functional Group</i>   |
| FKPPI       | <i>Forum Komunikasi Putra Putri Purnawirawan dan Putra Putri TNI Polri – Communication Forum of Sons and Daughters of Retired Military and Police and Sons and Daughters of Military and Police</i> |
| FMI         | <i>Front Mahasiswa Islam – Muslim Student Front</i>   |
| FOKO        | <i>Forum Komunikasi Purnawirawan TNI dan Polri – Communication Forum of the Retired Indonesian National Armed Forces and Indonesian National Police</i>   |
| F-PBB       | <i>Fraksi Partai Bulan Bintang – Faction of Crescent Moon and Stars Party</i>   |
| F-PDI       | <i>Fraksi Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Faction of Indonesian Democratic Party</i>   |
| F-PDIP      | <i>Fraksi Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan – Faction of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle</i>  |
| F-PDKB      | <i>Fraksi Partai Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa – Faction of Democracy and Love the Nation Party</i>  |
| F-PDU       | <i>Fraksi Partai Daulatul Ummah – Faction of People’s Sovereignty Party</i>   |
| F-PG        | <i>Fraksi Partai GOLKAR – Faction of GOLKAR Party</i>   |
| FPI         | <i>Front Pembela Islam – Islamic Defender Front</i>   |
| F-PPP       | <i>Fraksi Partai Persatuan Pembangunan – Faction of United Development Party</i>  |
| F-REFORMASI | <i>Fraksi Reformasi – Faction of Reformation, a faction in the MPR which was a combination of members of the National Mandate Party and the Welfare Party</i>                                       |

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| F-TNI/Polri | <i>Fraksi Tentara Nasional Indonesia/ Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia</i> – Faction of Indonesian National Military Forces and Indonesian Police |
| F-UD        | <i>Fraksi Utusan Daerah</i> – Faction of Regional Delegations   |
| F-UG        | <i>Fraksi Utusan Golongan</i> – Faction of Delegations of Functional Groups   |
| GAM         | <i>Gerakan Aceh Merdeka</i> – Free Aceh Movement  |
| GAMA        | <i>Universitas Gajah Mada</i> – University of Gajah Mada  |
| GBHN        | <i>Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara</i> – State Policies in Outlines   |
| GERINDO     | <i>Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia</i> – Indonesian People’s Movement  |
| GMNI        | <i>Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia</i> – Indonesian National Student Movement  |
| GOLKAR      | <i>Golongan Karya</i> – Functional Groups   |
| GPII        | <i>Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia</i> – Indonesia Muslim Youth Movement   |
| HMI         | <i>Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam</i> – Muslim Students Association   |
| IAIN        | <i>Institut Agama Islam Negeri</i> – State Institute for Islamic Studies  |
| ICMI        | <i>Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals   |
| IFES        | International Foundation for Electorate System  |
| IKADIN      | <i>Ikatan Advokat Indonesia</i> – Union of Indonesian Advocates   |
| IPB         | <i>Institut Pertanian Bogor</i> – Bogor Agricultural University   |
| IPKI        | <i>Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia</i> – Association of Supporters of Indonesian Independence  |
| IPPNU       | <i>Ikatan Putera-Puteri NU</i> – Association of Son and Daughter of NU  |
| IRI         | International Republican Institute – a USA based NGO  |
| ISEI        | <i>Ikatan Sarjana Ekonomi Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Association of Economist   |
| ISPI        | <i>Ikatan Sarjana Pendidikan Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Association of Educationist   |
| ITB         | <i>Institut Teknologi Bandung</i> – Bandung Institute of Technology   |
| JABODETABEK | <i>Jakarta – Bogor – Depok – Tangerang – Bekasi</i> – Areas of the Greater Jakarta  |
| K.H.        | <i>Kiai Haji</i> – the venerated haj  |
| KAMI        | <i>Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Student Action Union  |
| KAPI        | <i>Kesatuan Aksi Pelajar Indonesia</i> – Indonesian High School Student Action Union  |
| KAPPI       | <i>Kesatuan Aksi Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Student and Youth Action Union   |
| KIPP        | <i>Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilu</i> – Independent Committee of Election Observers  |
| KISDI       | <i>Komite Indonesia untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam</i> – Indonesian Committee for Solidarity of the Islamic World                                      |
| KMA         | <i>Koninklijke Militaire Academie</i> – Royal Military Academy  |
| KMB         | <i>Konperensi Meja Bundar</i> – Round Table Conference  |
| KNIP        | <i>Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat</i> – Central Indonesian National Committee  |
| KNPI        | <i>Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia</i> – National Committee of Indonesian Youth  |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| KOMNAS HAM | <i>Komisi Nasional Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia</i> – National Commission for Human Rights   |
| KOSGORO    | <i>Kesatuan Organisasi Serbaguna Gotong Royong</i> – Union of Mutual Cooperation Multifunction Organizations                                |
| KOTI       | <i>Komando Operasi Tertinggi</i> – Supreme Operation Command  |
| KOWANI     | <i>Kongres Wanita Indonesia</i> – National Council of Woman of Indonesia  |
| KPPSI      | <i>Komite Perjuangan Penegakan Syariat Islam</i> – Committee for the Struggle of Enforcement of Islamic Sharia                              |
| KPU        | <i>Komisi Pemilihan Umum</i> – General Election Commission  |
| KRMT       | <i>Kanjeng Raden Mas Tumenggung</i> – a high ranking noble title which is conferred by the palace of Jogja to men outside the palace family |
| KWI        | <i>Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia</i> – Bishops' Conference of Indonesia   |
| KY         | <i>Komisi Yudisial</i> – Judicial Commission  |
| LEMHANNAS  | <i>Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional</i> – Institute for National Resilience   |
| LIPI       | <i>Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia</i> – Institute of Sciences of Indonesia  |
| LPTP       | <i>Lembaga Pengembangan Teknologi Pedesaan</i> – Institute for Development of Rural Technology  |
| LSM        | <i>Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat</i> – Non-Governmental Organization   |
| Lt. Gen.   | Lieutenant General  |
| MA         | <i>Mahkamah Agung</i> – Supreme Court   |
| MASYUMI    | <i>Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Muslim Shura Council   |
| MIAI       | <i>Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Islamic Council  |
| MK         | <i>Mahkamah Konstitusi</i> – Constitutional Court   |
| MKGR       | <i>Musyawarah Kekeluargaan Gotong Royong</i> – Mutual Assistance Families Association   |
| MPR        | <i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> – People's Consultative Assembly  |
| MPR-RI     | <i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia</i> – People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia                      |
| MPRS       | <i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara</i> – Provisional People's Consultative Asssembly   |
| MUI        | <i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> – Indonesia Ulema Council  |
| NAMFREL    | The National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections – an NGO for election watchdog based in the Philippines                                  |
| NASAKOM    | <i>Nasionalis-Agama-Komunis</i> – Nationalist – Religious – Communist   |
| NDI        | National Democratic Institute – a US based NGO  |
| NGO        | Non-Governmental Organization   |
| NKRI       | <i>Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia</i> – Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia  |
| NU         | <i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> – Association of Muslim Scholars   |
| OPM        | <i>Organisasi Papua Merdeka</i> – Organization of Free Papua  |
| ORBA       | <i>Orde Baru</i> – New Order  |
| ORLA       | <i>Orde Lama</i> – Old Order  |
| PAH        | <i>Panitia Ad-Hoc</i> – Ad-Hoc Committee  |
| PAM        | <i>Pasukan Pengamanan Masyarakat Swakarsa</i> – Self-initiated Public Security Forces   |
| SWAKARSA   |   |
| PAN        | <i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> – National Mandate Party  |

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| PARKINDO         | <i>Partai Kristen Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Christian Party  |
| PARMUSI          | <i>Partai Muslimin Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Muslim-followers Party  |
| PBHI             | <i>Perhimpunan Bantuan Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Indonesia</i> – Association of Legal Aid and Human Rights of Indonesia |
| PBI              | <i>Partai Bhinneka Tunggal Ika</i> – Unity in Diversity Party   |
| PDI              | <i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i> – Indonesia’s Democratic Party  |
| PDI-P            | <i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i> – Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle                                     |
| PDR              | <i>Partai Daulat Rakyat</i> – People Sovereign Party  |
| PEPABRI          | <i>Persatuan Purnawirawan Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> – Union of Indonesia’s Armed Forces Veteran.         |
| PERADI           | <i>Perhimpunan Advokat Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Advocates Association   |
| PERMESTA         | <i>Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta</i> – Universal People’s Struggle  |
| PERTI            | <i>Pergerakan Tarbiyah Islamiyah</i> – Islamic Education Movement   |
| PETA             | <i>Pembela Tanah Air</i> – Defenders of the Fatherland  |
| PGI              | <i>Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia</i> – Council of Churches in Indonesia  |
| PHI              | <i>Pelajar Islam Indonesia</i> – Indonesia Muslim Student   |
| PII              |   |
| PIR Wongsonegoro | <i>Persatuan Indonesia Raya-Wongsonagoro</i> – Greater Indonesia Unity-Wongsonagoro                                       |
| PK               | <i>Partai Keadilan</i> – Justice Party  |
| PKB              | <i>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</i> – National Awakening Party   |
| PKI              | <i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> – Communist Party of Indonesia  |
| PKP              | <i>Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan</i> – Justice and Unity Party  |
| PNI              | <i>Partai Nasional Indonesia</i> – Indonesia National Party   |
| PNI-FM           | <i>Partai Nasional Indonesia Front Marhaenis</i> – Marhaenist Front Indonesian National Party                             |
| PNI-MM           | <i>Partai Nasional Indonesia Massa Marhaen</i> – Mass Marhaen Indonesian National Party                                   |
| PNU              | <i>Partai Nahdlatul Ummah</i> – Congregation Awakening Party  |
| POLRI            | <i>Polisi Republik Indonesia</i> – Police of the Republic of Indonesia  |
| PP               | <i>Partai Persatuan</i> – United Party  |
| PPD I            | <i>Panitia Pemilihan Daerah Tingkat I</i> – Election Committee of Provincial Level  |
| PPD II           | <i>Panitia Pemilihan Daerah Tingkat II</i> – Election Committee of District/Municipality Level                            |
| PPI              | <i>Panitia Pemilihan Indonesia</i> – Indonesia Election Committee   |
| PPMI             | <i>Persaudaraan Pekerja Muslim Indonesia</i> – Brotherhood of Indonesia Muslim Workers                                    |
| PPP              | <i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> – United Development Party  |
| PPTI             | <i>Partai Politik Tarikat Islam</i> – Islam Sufism Political Party  |
| PRD              | <i>Partai Rakyat Demokratik</i> – People’s Democratic Party   |
| PRI              | <i>Partai Rakyat Indonesia</i> – Indonesian People’s Party  |
| PRIM             | <i>Partai Republik Indonesia Merdeka</i> – Independent Republic of Indonesia Party  |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| PRN     | <i>Partai Rakyat Nasional</i> – National People’s Party   |
| PRRI    | <i>Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia</i> – Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia |
| PSI     | <i>Partai Sosialis Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Socialist Party   |
| PSII    | <i>Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia</i> – Indonesian United Islam Party                                      |
| PSII    | <i>Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia</i> – United Islamic Party of Indonesia                                  |
| PSII    | <i>Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Islamic Association Party                               |
| PSMTI   | <i>Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Chinese Clan Social Association               |
| PUDI    | <i>Partai Uni Demokrasi Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Democratic Union Party                                   |
| PUTERA  | <i>Pusat Tenaga Rakyat</i> – People’s Power Centre  |
| PWI     | <i>Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia</i> – Journalists Association of Indonesia                                  |
| R.      | <i>Raden</i> – a noble title among the Javanese and Sundanese   |
| R.A.    | <i>Raden Ajeng</i> – a noble title for a woman in Javanese culture  |
| R.M.    | <i>Raden Mas</i> – a noble title for man in Javanese culture  |
| RIS     | <i>Republik Indonesia Serikat</i> – United Republic of Indonesia  |
| RMS     | <i>Republik Maluku Selatan</i> – Republic of South Moluccas   |
| SDAP    | <i>Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij</i> – Social-Democratic Workers’ Party                            |
| SESKOAD | <i>Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat</i> – Army’s School of Staff and Command                         |
| SMK     | <i>Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan</i> – Vocational School  |
| SMP     | <i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i> – Junior High School  |
| SOKSI   | <i>Sentral Organisasi Karyawan Swadiri Indonesia</i> – Central Organization of Indonesian Workers           |
| SPSI    | <i>Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia</i> – All Indonesian Workers Union                                     |
| TA      | <i>Tenaga Ahli</i> – Group of Experts   |
| TII     | <i>Tentara Islam Indonesia</i> – Indonesia’s Islamic Armed Forces   |
| TNI     | <i>Tentara Nasional Indonesia</i> – National Military of Indonesia  |
| TNI     | <i>Tentara Nasional Indonesia</i> – Indonesian National Armed Forces  |
| TRITURA | <i>Tri tuntutan rakyat</i> – Three the People’s Demands   |
| UBK     | <i>Universitas Bung Karno</i> – University of Bung Karno  |
| UI      | <i>Universitas Indonesia</i> – University of Indonesia  |
| UKI     | <i>Universitas Kristen Indonesia</i> – Christian University of Indonesia                                    |
| UN      | United Nations  |
| UNAS    | <i>Universitas Nasional</i> – National University   |
| UNDP    | United Nations Development Programme  |
| UNFREL  | University Network for a Free and Fair Election   |
| UNPAD   | <i>Universitas Pajajaran</i> – University of Pajajaran  |
| UNPAR   | <i>Universitas Katolik Parahyangan</i> – Parahyangan Catholic University                                    |
| UNTAG   | <i>Universitas 17 Agustus</i> – University of August the 17 <sup>th</sup>                                   |
| UNTEA   | United Nation Temporary Executive Authority   |
| US      | United States   |
| USA     | United States of America  |
| UUD 45  | <i>Undang Undang Dasar 45</i> – 1945 Constitution   |

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| UUD NRI 1945 | <i>Undang Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia tahun 1945</i> – 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia |
| UUD RIS      | <i>Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia Serikat</i> – Constitution of the United Republic of Indonesia                      |
| UUDS 1950    | <i>Undang Undang Dasar Sementara 1950</i> – Provisional Constitution of 1950  |
| WALHI        | <i>Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia</i> – Indonesian Forum for Environment   |
| WALUBI       | <i>Perwakilan Umat Buddha Indonesia</i> – Representatives of Indonesian Buddhist  |
| WANTANNAS    | <i>Dewan Ketahanan Nasional</i> – National Resilience Council   |
| WANTIMPRES   | <i>Dewan Pertimbangan Presiden</i> – President’s Advisory Council   |
| WW II        | World War II  |
| YKPK         | <i>Yayasan Kerukunan Persaudaraan Kebangsaan</i> – The Foundation of Harmony of National Brotherhood                          |
| YLBHI        | <i>Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia</i> – Indonesia’s Legal Aid Foundation.  |



