abangan  term of reference widely used following the typology of Clifford Geertz for those in Java who are not strict in their observance of Islamic ritual practices

aliran  streams, used to refer to different political and cultural affiliations associated with social groups in Javanese society

asas tunggal  the sole foundation, the set of the five principles of the nation (Pancasila) which the New Order government insisted was to be the sole constitutional basis of all recognized organizations in Indonesia

ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BTI  Barisan Tani Indonesia, Indonesian Peasant Farmers’ Union, founded in 1945 and associated with the PKI

CSIS  Centre for Strategic and International Studies, a think-tank established in 1971 by Soeharto’s close adviser Ali Murtopo and closely associated with New Order policies

DDII  Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia, the Committee for the Propagation of Islam in Indonesia, an influential organization set up in the 1960s and associated with Mohammad Natsir

dwifungsi  dual function, the principle legitimizing the twin roles of the armed forces in defending the nation against external forces and also safeguarding the security of the nation from internal threats posed by dissident groups

G-30-S  Gerakan 30 September, 30 September Movement, the name given to the abortive coup which led to the death of six senior generals and the outcome of which was the fall of Soekarno, the massacre of communists and their sympathizers and the ascent to power by Soeharto and his New Order government. Because of the association of the term with the blame for the coup being ascribed to the PKI, those on the left often refer to the events of that night as Gestok, Gerakan Satu Oktober. The kidnappings and killings were carried out in the early morning of the 1 October, but what is at issue is not the timing but the apportioning of blame. The reference to Gestok challenges assumptions of PKI complicity.

GBHN  Garis Besar Haluan Negara, the General Outlines of National Policy, the statement outlining government policy at the beginning of a new term of office

Gerwani  Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women’s Movement, a left wing organization associated in people’s minds with the PKI

Golkar Golongan Karya, Professional Group, the state party set up by Soeharto and his advisers during the New Order building on an earlier association. Golkar regularly won all the New Order elections with considerable majorities.

HAM hak asasi manusia, human rights

HIS Hollandsch-Inlandsche School, a Dutch-medium primary school for the indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago

HMI Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, Muslim Students Association

IAIN Institut Agama Islam Negeri, government institutes of Muslim tertiary education. Several of these have been elevated to the status of university since 1998, including the IAIN, Jakarta now known as the Universitas Islam Negeri.

ICMI Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslimin Indonesia, the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals, founded in 1990 with B.J. Habibie at its head and with the approval of President Soeharto

IKIP Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Teacher Training College

LEKRA Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat, the Institute of People's Culture, a left-wing cultural organization founded in 1950 and outlawed by the New Order

LIPIA-Jakarta Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab - Jakarta, Institute for Arabic and Islamic Knowledge - Jakarta

Masjumi Muslim political party influential in the 1950s and ideologically in opposition to the NU. It was forced to dissolve itself by Soekarno in the 1950s but remained of symbolic importance to Muslim intellectuals throughout the period of the New Order.

MPR Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, People's Consultative Assembly, the Indonesian Upper House

MULO Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs, Dutch-medium school of further elementary education

NASAKOM Soekarno's acronym for his ideology of a syncretic combination of 'Nasionalisme', 'Agama' (Religion) and 'Komunisme'

NU Nahdlatul Ulama, the Resurgence of Muslim Scholars, the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia with its heartland in Central and East Java

Orde Baru New Order. This refers to the Soeharto government 1966-1998 which took over from Soekarno. Sometimes abbreviated to Orba.

Orde Lama Old Order. The government under Soekarno's presidency especially in the years 1957-1966. Sometimes abbreviated to Orla.

P4 Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila, Guide to the Interiorization and Implementation of Pancasila, a compulsory in-service programme of instruction in the meaning of the five principles of state initiated by the New Order government in the late 1970s

PAN Partai Amanat Negara, Party of the Nation's Mandate, strongly associated since its foundation in 1998 with its first leader Amien Rais

Pancasila the Five Principles of State: belief in one god, a just and civilized
humanitarianism, Indonesian national unity, democracy through consultation and mutual agreement and social justice

PDII Partai Demokrasi Islam Indonesia, the name which was to be given to a party which Hatta hoped to set up in the late 1960s but was not allowed to do so

PDI-P Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan, the Indonesian Democratic Party - of Struggle, the party set up by Megawati, Soekarno’s daughter, after the New Order government had prevented her from retaining her leadership of the New Order-sanctioned PDI

PERMI Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia, the Association of Indonesian Muslims, a radical organization set up in the 1930s which was hostile to the Dutch colonial government

PERSIS Persatuan Islam, a Muslim organization of a strict persuasion advocating close adherence to a literal interpretation of the Qur’an

pesantren traditional Islamic school at which pupils often board

Petisi 50 the Petition of the 50, the name given to a statement put out by 50 leading figures in 1980 setting out their opposition to Soeharto’s policies

PGAA Pendidikan Guru Agama Atas, Education of Senior School Religious Teachers

PII Pelajar Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Muslim Students, a high school organization

PKB Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, Party of National Awakening

PKI Partai Komunis Indonesia, Indonesian Communist Party

PKS Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, the Welfare and Justice Party, formerly the Partai Keadilan but then reformed under its new name for the 2004 elections in which it performed very well, especially in Jakarta

PMII Persatuan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia, Association of Indonesian Muslim Students

PNI Partai Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Party, founded by and forever associated with Soekarno. The post-1945 party of this name which the initials usually refer to, is seen as being linked to the pre-war party banned by the Dutch.

PPP Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, the United Development Party, one of three official parties allowed under the New Order. The PPP was the party which was intended to be the vehicle for Muslim aspirations.

PSI Partai Sosialis Indonesia, the Socialist Party led by Sutan Sjahrir. It was supported by elite Dutch-educated intellectuals but never won much popular support.

santri Term used for Muslims in Indonesia who are considered orthodox and pious. It is used by Geertz as a contrast to abangan, but it can also refer simply to those who are studying at a pesantren.

SBIRI perhaps an earlier acronym for Sarbupri, Sarekat Buruh Perkebunan Republik Indonesia, Indonesian Estate Workers’ Trade Union set up in 1947

SDI Sarekat Dagang Islam, the Muslim Traders Association founded in 1909 by H. Samanhoedi, often regarded as the immediate forerunner of the Sarekat Islam, the first Muslim political party.
SOBSI Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia, All-Indonesia Organization of Trade Unions, set up in 1946

tapol *tahanan politik*, political prisoners, used almost exclusively to refer to those opponents of the New Order who were imprisoned under Soeharto's rule