



PostScript

Bimonthly Political and Economic Analysis

OBSTACLES TO AN INDONESIA-TAIWAN ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP

3 Editor's Note:
The Fading Indonesian's Solidarity

6 Obstacles to
an Indonesia-Taiwan
Economic Partnership

8 Who Actually Runs the
Government?

15 Habibie, Indonesia,
and Malaysia

The Fading Indonesian's Solidarity

Anarchic demonstrations, more often lately than before, conflicts between villagers, citizens, students and the elements of both the urban and rural societies may indicate the fading of the Indonesians' solidarity among its members. Why does the fading of the social solidarity happen?

This time, the Indonesians are experiencing the multidimensional crisis that is eroding the culture of mutual assistance, the community group work, caring for each other and social gap, while the social solidarity in essence is the Indonesians' self identity. The self identity, according to the Minister for Social Affairs, Salim Segaf Al Jufri, "is something needs rebuilding" by empowering the social solidarity movement by involving various elements that may prevent the brittle of the nation's strength (Republika, 2012).

By the easily breaking of the social solidarity into social conflicts—in many instances without reasonable cause whatsoever—shows one thing: trust between one another is thinning and thinning. Nobody can tell whether the trust will disappear altogether or will endure the test of the time. Nobody actually wants the trust will fade away but there is nobody that is able to promote a solution to the jumble mumble of the situation.

Demonstrations have developed into struggle, often anarchic, to get the

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demonstrators' aspiration through, whether in factories (to get a raise of their salaries) or in the government's institutions (to reach a higher level of the minimum regional wage from about US\$150 a month to a bit above \$200). The word 'sweeping' has become very popular among the laborers and the society as a whole, where laborers who are gathering to demonstrate 'sweep' others factories in which their laborers have no inclination to join the demonstrations. The initiators of the demonstrations asked the colleagues, forcibly if need be, to get them jointo make the demonstrations bigger un numbers.

What can be seen from the demonstrations nowadays are that, thanks to the 'reformasi', the demonstrators are no longer 'afraid' of the security forces, either they are the police, the military let alone the civilian institutions' security apparatus like the Satpol PP, the apparatus of governors or regents.

Conflicts between the security forces and the people in many places have more often broken, prompted by cases of land (plantations), labor(wages and other rights of the laborers) and others—many are the legacies of the New Order's totalitarian government—which have for decades not been deliberately neglected or endeavored to be solved. Concerning the elections of the regional heads conflicts generally break between the supporters of the candidates.

More members of the security forces become the victims of the conflicts, which have spread to many places where the places were tranquil, with no conflicts, during the New Order era. Where there were no conflicts in the old days, nowadays the places are prone to dispute and later, conflicts that often take death toll.

Why?

Mostly people who are involved in a conflict feel that they are neglected by the government, or they feel that there is injustice surrounding them. Wage of the laborers is one acute example about the mass envy. Laborers in many towns and cities demonstrate to demand the raise of their wage, similar to those which is given in Jakarta. All of those are thanks to the communication that has developed enormously spurred by the advancement of the information technology. The demonstrators do not let anybody—especially other laborers—not join their demonstrations, and they do not hesitate to make anarchic

behavior, including injuring their colleagues who are reluctant to jump the bandwagon.

Disappointment have spread out to anyplace in this country, seeing the corruption that the government still unable to wipe it out. The government policy to overtake the responsibility of overcoming the chaos done by the banks during the multidimensional crisis in 1997-1998, is one of the sources of mass envy. The willingness of the government to recapitalize the chaos in the banks, an agreement with the IMF, means that the government deliberately enter the a pitfall, using the money people pay their tax to the government.

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Obstacles to an Indonesia-Taiwan Economic Partnership

**Ibrahim Al-Muttaqi, ASEAN Studies Program Officer,
The Habibie Center**

More often than not, whenever a Taiwanese official pays a visit to Jakarta, there is usually one question on his mind: “Dude... where’s my FTA?”

Though the question is usually couched in a more diplomatic and subtle language, the essence remains the same: with all the potential economic benefits an Indonesia-Taiwan FTA could bring to the table, why has one not been forthcoming? If Singapore can sign an FTA with Taiwan, what’s stopping Indonesia? Indeed a joint study by an Indonesian and Taiwanese think tank found that if tariff barriers between the two countries were removed, trade would increase by as much as US\$334 million; a largely conservative figure given non-tariff barriers are not taken into account.

A suggestion made when a Taiwanese delegation from Prospect Foundation recently paid a visit to The Habibie Center may shed some clues to the questions above. Though the aforementioned joint study may have looked at hard economic data, focusing on facts and figures, it had perhaps omitted an examination of public perceptions among the average Indonesians or the political climate in Jakarta. The discussion at The Habibie Center revealed these two factors to be the biggest present obstacles to an Indonesia-Taiwan FTA; thus attributing little to any notion that maintaining Jakarta-Beijing relations stood in the way.

In developing this point, three things can be said. Firstly, in the past few years the Indonesian public have grown tired of the many economic partnerships Jakarta has entered with very little benefits seen as a result. Indeed a popular feeling among Indonesians is that the costs of various FTAs far outweigh their benefits.

Secondly, on some level the Indonesian Government has failed to communicate effectively with the people to explain the advantages. A case in point was the Government's handling of the ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement of 2002 (ACFTA). Though the Government had eight years to socialize the Agreement to the people, ACFTA instead drew widespread public opposition at the eleventh hour in 2010.

Thirdly, political parties have tapped into this depth of public feeling as a useful stick to beat the Government with. In other words, FTAs have been hijacked as a tool to win political points. To illustrate, although ACFTA was signed by Megawati Sukarnoputri during her Presidency, it was her Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) that would later become one of the most vocal critic of ACFTA against the Yudhoyono Administration.

Taking all the above into account, it is highly unlikely despite the economic sense it makes that Indonesia will commit itself to any new FTAs, any time soon. The public are tired, the Government needs to work on its communication skills, and political parties are sharpening their knives. As was mentioned at The Habibie Center, it was simply not a good time to sign an FTA, and with Presidential and Legislative elections around the corner in 2014, an Indonesia-Taiwan FTA is all the more unlikely.

So where does this leave our Taiwanese friends? A little patience, trust and understanding of the nuances shaping Indonesian politics and domestic environment would a go a long way. As such, greater Track 1.5 and Track 2 activities, like the third Taiwan-Indonesia Dialogue co-organized by The Habibie Center earlier this year, should be further encouraged. In this way can an Indonesia-Taiwan economic partnership be one day realized bringing economic prosperity to the peoples of Indonesia and Taiwan.

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Who Actually Runs the Government?

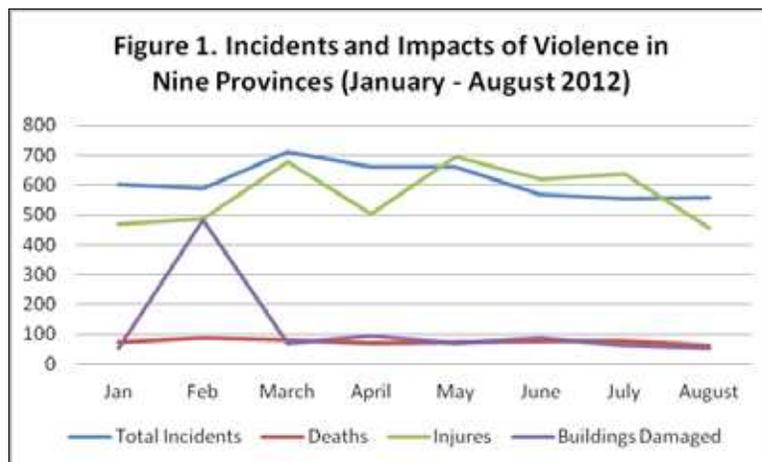
**Inggrid Galuh Mustikawati, Researcher,
The Habibie Center**

We may see and hear continued news about violence that has happened within society. It has become a common and ordinary issue in society and has led to the people's perception that it is ok to use violence for certain purposes.

There is an assumption within the society that if the violence is conducted by mass people, the law enforcement officers will find difficulties to determine the suspect of violence. Unfortunately, what the law enforcement officers have done were always indecisive actions. Therefore, the violence keeps prolonging and this condition raises a question: who actually runs the government? Why is the rule of the jungle able to perform freely under the existing law established by the government itself?

To a certain degree, the absence of the State (law enforcement officers) in the violent incidents has shown the lack of credibility of law enforcement officers themselves. The National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS) database has noted the increasing incidents of violence during January - August 2012 in nine provinces.

¹ There were 4907 incidents which caused 605 deaths, 4541 injuries and 968 buildings damaged, which mostly happened in three provinces namely Greater Jakarta (29.75%), Papua (21.58%), and Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (12.39%).



Source: NVMS Database, 2012

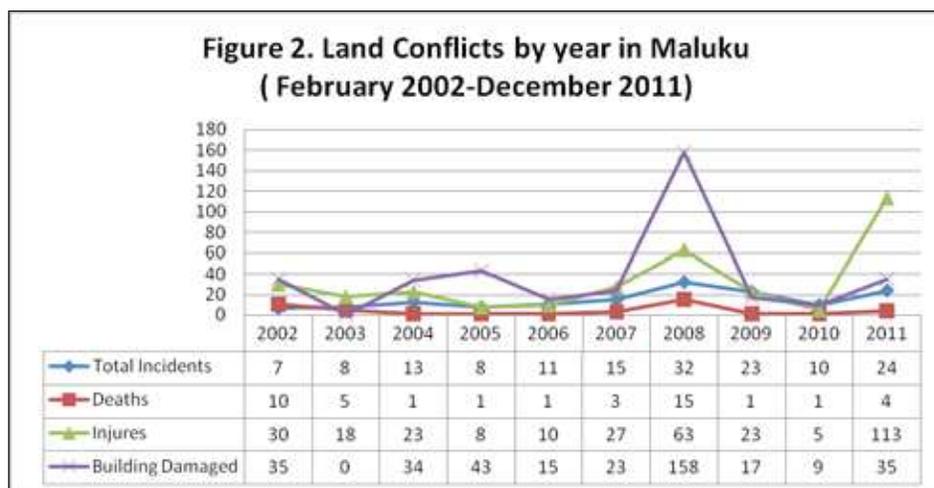
The above figure has shown the trend of violence based on the total incidents and its impacts in nine monitored provinces. Its fluctuation has its own story. For example, in February 2012, we can see that the number of buildings damaged has increased drastically. According to the NVMS data, that increasing number was caused by several incidents of land conflict in Maluku that were due to border issues between villages, the claim of customary ownership, and overlapping issue between customary area and administrative area. Furthermore, in March 2012, we can see the increasing number of incidents and injuries that was caused by several anarchic demonstrations to reject the oil price increases that happened in several regions. For the period of May to August 2012, we may see that there was no drastic fluctuation in the trend of violence but NVMS data has shown the variety of emerging issues. Violence related to identity, natural resources and separatism are the dominant issues which highlighted the trend of violence in that particular period.

This variety of violence has indicated the level of people's frustration and the lack of law enforcement performance. In the light of democracy, freedom of expression has been interpreted as the unlimited freedom so that people can act on what they believe in and unwittingly may cause harm to others. The use of violence becomes one of their major choices to show their frustration on certain problems that they faced. However, the use of violence often causes huge fatalities particularly to marginalized groups such as innocent women and children.

Due to the sensitive issues, people may easily provoke and lead to committing violations of the law. The weakness of law enforcement also contributes to the people’s disappointment on how in practice the law can be played, be distorted and often be dragged to favor the side that has money. Therefore, it is quite understandable if people lose their trust on the law enforcement and come out with their own process of justice. In fact, the weakness and strength of law enforcement performance will influence people’s perception on the existing law, whether it exists and is implemented or not. Yet, law enforcement officers have shown their lack of confidence to perform their own duty.

Huge number of violence that happened within the society is basically the incidents that occurred in the past and it is recurring. It indicates something wrong with the law and its enforcement because these incidents were not fully resolved and likely preserves the violence. NVMS data has shown several recurring incidents that were not well resolved.

First are the land conflicts that happened in Maluku. In the past 10 years, conflicts related to the issue of land-use have always happened every year. The NVMS data has shown that there were 151 incidents of violence which resulted in 42 deaths, 320 injuries and 369 buildings damaged (Figure 2). In the year of 2012, NVMS data has underlined 30 incidents of land conflict that happened in Maluku from January to August which resulted in 4 deaths, 56 injuries and 20 buildings damaged.



Source: NVMS Database, 2012

The above picture has shown the trend of incidents and its impact as a result of land conflicts which occurred in Maluku for 10 years. The majority of deaths and buildings damaged in 2008 had happened due to a single incident of riot between residents of Saleman and Horale.² The analyses of land conflicts in Maluku was highlighted in the first Policy Brief, edition 01/July 2012, published by NVMS-The Habibie Center. The finding has revealed that the recurring land conflicts in Maluku is due to the issues of boundaries between villages/negeri, indigenous tenure claims by different group of residents, and conflict arising from the overlapping of traditional territories and administrative ones. These issues have its main sources of conflict, specifically related to the overlapping systems of land ownership and unsystematic access to and use of land.

The position of local government and law enforcement officers become crucial actors in stopping and building trust in order to avoid conflict from happening. All this time, both actors have intervened in the conflict to not only stop the violence but also continue to build peace between conflicting groups. Yet, these efforts have failed to overcome the conflicts. Due to the ineffective peace agreement, conflict emerges again and again. The position of local government and law enforcement officers is at the weakest level, including customary leaders (*tokoh adat*) because in most of the peace process between conflicting parties, the role of customary leaders was also taken into account. Therefore, a big question comes into existence, who runs the governance then?

Second, inter-ethnic conflict that erupted between Kwamki Lama and Kwamki Baru in Mimika district, Papua. During January to August 2012, NVMS data has noted 19 incidents and caused 7 deaths, 335 injuries and 6 buildings damaged. This inter-ethnic conflict has been occurring for more than 11 years. NVMS data also highlights the inter-ethnic conflict in Papua since 1998 where 73 incidents were recorded and resulted in 62 deaths, 849 injuries and 77 buildings damaged. In fact, it is very unfortunate that there are some who state the opinion that inter-ethnic conflict in Papua is a common phenomenon because it is part of their culture. The paradigm that has to built by everyone including experts is to abolish the statement of 'it is a common phenomenon when violence happen in certain group/community.' There is no justification

when violence happened because it causes damage to humans and properties. People lost their families and properties and have to experience a trauma which needs a long recovery mechanism from a psychological aspect.

Therefore, it is wrong to see what happened in Papua as a common phenomenon because of its cultural aspect. Local government, law enforcement officers and customary leaders hand in hand need to do something to stop the violence that is already inherent in their culture. Ethnic Dayaks, for example, used to have a barbaric culture in the past, named *Mengayau*, that involved cutting off the enemies' heads in order to enhance his dignity. However, this barbaric culture has been eliminated in line with the times and human development itself. Therefore, it is possible too if the inter-ethnic conflicts that happen in Papua can be stopped and be eliminated of its culturally barbarism.

The effort to overcome the long conflict has been done by the local government, law enforcement officers and customary leaders. Through the process of peace building, they have already managed and implemented several attempts. For example, the ceremony of Stone Roasting (*Bakar Batu*) and Arrow Breaking (*Patah Panah*) which have been implemented in order to establish cease-fire and build agreement to stop the violence. Unfortunately, these effort are merely ceremonial, no progress in its development and as a result, conflict happened again. In addition, because the root cause of conflicts are not solved properly, conflict that happen is often triggered by side issue such as resentment, vengeance and vandalism. At the end, the big question comes into existence again, who actually runs the governance when actors who are supposed to be able to stop the violence were not able to do that?

Third, the student violence phenomenon that repeatedly happens has become the major concern from many stakeholders. The story of public transport hijacking by students to the massive brawl which cause the death of students has bleakly colored the education world nowadays. This is a bad condition but both law enforcement and surrounding community have no guts to stop the brawl. Most of the cases were triggered by revenge and offense, identity problem, rivalry between schools and asymmetric relationship between junior-senior inside one school.³ In the last eight years (2005-2012), NVMS database

in nine monitored provinces has noted the occurrence of 1.303 incidents of students violence that caused 100 deaths and 1.286 injuries. The data has shown that 71% of student violence occurred in cities where most incidents happened in Greater Jakarta. A number of solutions and recommendations has been formulated by many experts who are concerned with this issue. However, student violence seem always to come into existence again and again. Therefore, no doubt that the completion of student violence has to be done. However, there is no instant way to resolve the problem that have been going on for a long time. When the recurring student violence happen, where are those who have to be accountable to stop the street fights? The same question may go the same way here, who actually run the governance when the omission of particular violence happen?

The answer is simple but it is seemingly hard in its application. When many people are questioning who is actually running the governance, the proper answer should be the the authority who hold the law and regulation, that is the government because the key is at the hands of the government with the strong law enforcement support no matter how weak the government performance is. Yet, the government should be able to demonstrate their identity, to show their power as a protector of the society, the law enforcement and the leading institution to provide security to its people. The weakness which is embedded in the government can be eradicated as long as the basis of law and regulation is clear and firm. Therefore, the first thing to do by the government is to re-formulate the existing law and regulation in order to build a strong legal basis so that there is no falter for the law enforcement in acting and responding to conflicts. Furthermore, the government should not neglect the capacity of customary leaders. With a good cooperation between the government's policy and the local wisdom, conflict can be reduce. From the past experiences, the capacity of customary leaders in several regions has succesfully reduced conflicts and followed by peace-building mechanism. Therefore, it is compulsory to intensify the capacity of customary leaders, including the government itself in order to be more responsive in handling the conflicts.

As the conclusion, conflict can only able be stopped and managed by proper stakeholder who have been willing to end the human disaster. It is important

to note that there is no way to abolish conflict because the potential of conflict always exist everywhere and in every level of the society. All that we can do is to reduce, manage the conflict so that it does not turn into violence. The level of people's tolerance to any kind of differences is also a crucial concern which may contribute to the conflict to happen or not. Therefore, people need to think twice before making an action towards something that is bothering them. Once violence happen, the effect of it can not be avoided.

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Endnotes

- 1 The NVMS program has covered nine provinces, namely Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Greater Jakarta (Jabodetabek), West Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, Maluku, North Maluku, Papua, West Papua and East Nusa Tenggara. At the next stage, the provinces of Lampung, Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan and West Nusa Tenggara will be added.
- 2 NVMS data has found several regions in Maluku that experienced land conflicts, that is land conflict between residents with the same religion such as Porto-Haria (Saparua, Central Maluku), Mamala-Morela (Leititu, Central Maluku), Hitulama-Hitumessing (Leihitu, Central Maluku), and land conflicts between residents with different religion such as Iha-Luhu (Huamual Belakang, West Seram), Saleman-Horale (North Seram, Central Maluku), Dian Darat-Letfuan (Kei Kecil (Little kei), Southeast Maluku).
- 3 The Habibie Center Peace and Policy Review, Vol. 02/November 2012.

Habibie, Indonesia, and Malaysia

Bawono Kumoro, Researcher, The Habibie Center

For many times, Indonesia-Malaysia relationship has strained. The latest issue was triggered by the publication of a provocative article in Utusan Malaysia daily newspaper on Monday, December 10, 2012.

In the article entitled “The Similarity of BJ Habibie and Anwar Ibrahim,” the former Information Minister of Malaysia, Zainuddin Maidin, stated several tendentious points of view toward the third Indonesian President, BJ Habibie. Zainuddin Maidin accused Habibie as the Indonesian traitor and called him a dog of imperialism.

Furthermore, as the elite member of ruling party, the United Malaysia National Organisation (UMNO), he has stated that Habibie was the cause for Indonesia’s disunity due to his policy on multiple parties which caused a chaotic political situation in Indonesia. The article was published after the presence of Habibie in Malaysia at the invitation of Anwar Ibrahim to give a speech at Selangor University.

Although Zainuddin Maidin had claim that his judgment is his own personal views, his political status as one of UMNO’s elites has led to the perception among the international public that the article is the reflection of the Malaysian

elites' attitude towards Indonesia. It is hard to believe that the performance of democracy in Indonesia for the last 14 years has fostered the sense of worry and feeling of being threatened among the ruling political elites in Malaysia.

It is an open secret that Malaysia is a country with an authoritarian governmental system with one dominant political party (UMNO), just like Indonesia under the New Order regime in the past. Therefore, it is not surprising that if in the past, President Soeharto and Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad developed a good relationship given the similarities of both countries' leaders' character.

However, the emerging reform with the political openness and the rising of democracy which was experienced by Indonesia since 1998 has led to a sense of worry and feeling of being threatened inside the ruling political elites in Malaysia. Furthermore, Habibie as the president at that time has opened the tap of democracy in Indonesia and also built a good relationship with the opposition leader of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim.

This good relation between Habibie and Anwar Ibrahim is feared in that it would have the impact on the openness of political and human rights' awareness in Malaysia. If this happens, it is possible that the wave of democratic demands and political reform for Malaysian will become bigger and threaten the existence of UMNO as the status quo party. The progress of the "Bersih 2.0" group for the last two years against the oppressor power in demanding the performance of clean election had made the ruling elites party overwhelmed in Malaysia.

Spiteful Attitude

In the context of the international sphere where Indonesia has emerged as the largest democratic country in the region, the article of Zainuddin Maidin can be seen as a manifestation of spiteful attitude towards Indonesia's progress in recent years. As we all know, in the past couple of years Indonesia has made a number of important contributions in order to encourage the development of democracy in the world, particularly in Southeast Asia.

The execution of Bali Democracy Forum at the end of every end is one of these contributions. In fact, in every state visit, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) always shares the experience of democratic development

in Indonesia. The success of Myanmar in conducting democratic elections in the April 2012, in fact, cannot be separated from the role of Indonesia.

Soon after taking office as the new leader of Myanmar in March of 2011, President U Thein Sein held a bilateral meeting with President SBY in order to explore Indonesia's experience in performing political transition from an authoritarian regime to democratic regime. Moreover, President U Thein Sein said that he wanted to learn from Indonesia's experience in developing a sustainable democracy.

The achievement gained by Indonesia as the first country in the region of Southeast Asia which manages to escape from the clutches of the authoritarian regime and implement democracy as a political system has prompted President U Thein Sein to put Indonesia as the first country to be visited after the taking of office as the president of Myanmar.

President SBY has utilized this opportunity to use soft power diplomacy to encourage the process of democratization in Myanmar. The bilateral meeting of these two head of states is not in vain. A year after the bilateral meeting, Myanmar successfully conducted a democratic election after more than 20 years under the regime of military.

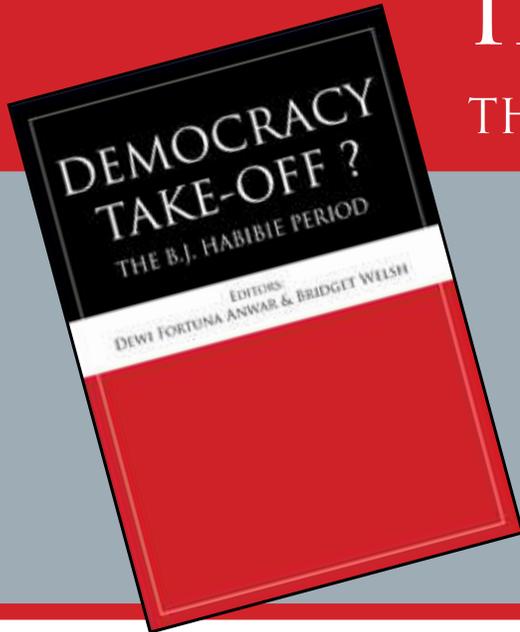
Proportional

In conclusion, the Indonesian people do not need to be too reactive towards the publishing of articles by Zainuddin Maidin, even though it is hurtful. As a great nation, we must continue to promote proportional and elegant attitudes toward all form of spiteful attitude of those who are jealous of the development of democracy in Indonesia.

Sooner or later, the wave of democracy will come over to the neighbor country as happened in Indonesia 14 years ago. All kind of efforts in avoiding democracy which is performed by the ruling political elites in Malaysia will be useless, given the extent of the universal recognition of democracy. Democracy has become a historical will in which the political legitimacy of the state is now measured by the degree of democracy and political openness.

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DEMOCRACY TAKE-OFF ? THE B.J. HABIBIE PERIOD



EDITORS:

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This is the first book that offers a comprehensive analysis of the Habibie presidency. Comprising a collection of writings by experts from Indonesia and overseas, as well as by some people who had known Habibie well, this book provides divergent views about Habibie the man and his important legacy. Though still far from perfect, Indonesia is now well-recognized as the world's third largest democracy, and there is now a growing appreciation of Habibie's role as the "Father of Democracy". Although his government only lasted for 517 days Habibie succeeded in laying down the groundwork for transforming the Indonesian political system from a military dominated-authoritarian regime to become a democracy with an empowered civil society. Yet Habibie is not free from controversy. As an engineer and a close associate of President Suharto many doubted Habibie's commitment and ability to carry out the reform and manage the transition towards democracy. This book contains critical views on the authenticity of Habibie as a democratic reformer, as well as equally convincing arguments about Habibie's democratic credential as a result of his study and long period of living in Germany. Important initiatives undertaken during the Habibie presidency such as freeing the press, introducing wide-ranging regional autonomy and opening the way for East Timor's independence are also discussed in details in this book. With 14 years gone by since the Habibie presidency, there is now sufficient distant for us to give a more objective account of this brief but decisive period in Indonesian modern history.

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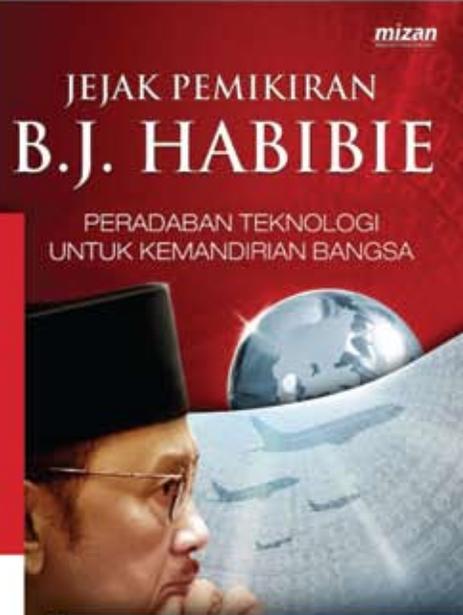
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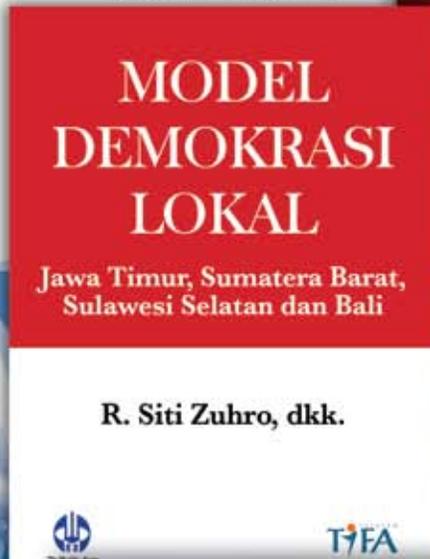
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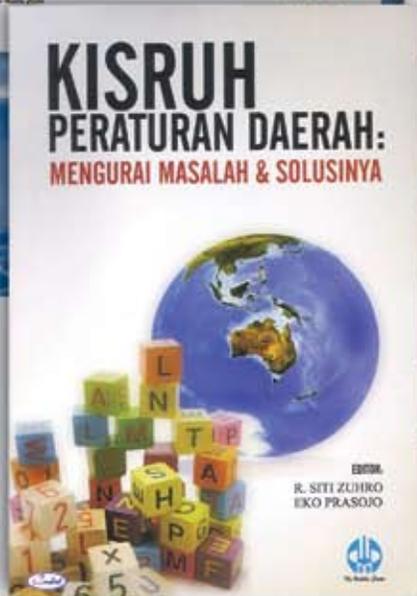


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