

Changing World Order, Student Movement and Radicalism

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Abstract

The development of ideology influenced the Indonesian student movement from period to period. By looking at the history of the movement in Indonesia, we can see that students are the motor of the movement. Students become agents of change who can change the direction of a change, bring down the ruling regime and create regime change. This paper tries to see the influence of the world order on the student movement. How does a foreign policy or an ideology spread and enter Indonesia? This paper looks at the student movement since the ethical politics that developed in the Netherlands led the Dutch to establish high schools and thus start the Indonesian student movement. Then how do these student movements continue to develop so that, in the end, youth have an essential role in realizing Indonesian independence? Do not stop until the achievement of independence. The student movement tried to realize the ideals of Indonesia through various criticisms of various regimes. In the end, this paper looks at how the existence of the internet and globalization affect the student movement. This research shows that changing times can spread ideas. The spread of this idea is getting faster and unstoppable in the age of information technology. Therefore at this time, good ideologies and destructive ideologies such as radicalism can spread without being seen by the eye. Currently, various stakeholders need various efforts to direct students so that they do not fall into radicalism.

Keywords

world order; student movement; radicalism; Indonesian history



I. Introduction

Changes in the world order, be it politically or economically, influence not locally but globally. Each period is marked by the spirit of the times that developed in that period. An event that occurs in one part of the world will affect other parts. One of the themes of this research is how changes in the world order affect student movements in Indonesia and how these movements are affected by radicalism.

The importance of this study is that students are agents of change. The future of a nation is determined by its current young generation, who will become the nation's next leaders. When the younger generation is exposed to radicalism, it is not impossible that when he has a position of power, he will change the direction of the state and not enforce it (Adnan & Amaliyah, 2021).

One of the things that can be gained from looking back at history is reflecting on what has happened, especially in Indonesia. An event does not just happen, but there are drivers and causes for the event. Changes in the political regime in Indonesia from the colonial era to the present cannot be separated from the struggles of various levels of society, one of which is students. However, students have a unique position because students at various historical events have a function as a trigger, namely a mover from other levels of society to change.

This study looks at how political changes in the world affect the student movement in Indonesia. This political change started from the era of the rise of Europe after the First World War with its ethical politics. Then the changes that occurred in the world because of the Second World War, the Cold War that occurred after the Second World War and then the Southeast Asian Economic Crisis and the 9/11 incident, which rocked America and changed the world's political map.

II. Review of Literature

The election of the era of ethical politics as the beginning of the period studied in this study was because it was in this era that modern universities were built in Indonesia. This does not mean that previously Indonesia did not have a high school, but not with the form as it is known today. There have been schools for studying religion but not for knowledge such as health, law or engineering. Moreover, before the era of ethical politics, there was no student movement because students, especially those from religious schools, focused on spreading religion (Izudin, 2021).

The Rise of Political Ethics in Europe

Europe in the early 19th century was the centre of the world. At that time, the United States did not have the political dominance it does today. The background of the colonization of various countries, including Britain, France and Germany in the United States, made the United States take some distance from Europe and focus on its development, especially after the civil war in the United States.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there was a development of thought in Europe regarding ethical politics. In the previous century, Europeans enjoyed increased wealth from trade. However, this increase in trade will not be significant without colonialization and monopoly. Colonialization and monopoly allowed European nations to obtain exclusive resources, increasing selling prices and increasing their profits. The British government controlled most of mainland Africa and Asia, including India, which became a source of both cheap labour and various resources such as tea. France controlled various areas in Africa and Asia.

The Netherlands, although small in territory, was able to control a larger Indonesia, which at that time was the largest producer of spices and sugar in the world. At that time, the Europeans felt that after various wealth was brought into Europe, they also had to give back to their colonies. One of them is starting education (Azhari et al, 2022). The Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands responded to political pressure in its Kingdom by establishing a medical and law college. In Indonesia, the colonial government had concerns that this education could backfire on the colonial government itself. Therefore, higher education was limited by only allowing certain circles that received recommendations from Dutch officials to be allowed to enter. The existing higher education was mainly devoted to meeting the colonial government's needs. Medical schools are expected to produce indigenous doctors who can treat Dutch people in Indonesia. Meanwhile, law schools are expected to produce administrative experts who can assist the Dutch government, especially in administration and deciding cases related to the *Bumiputera* problem (Samsudin, & Ibrahim, 2021). According to Astuti et al (2019) Education is an obligation of every human being that must be pursued to hold responsibilities and try to produce progress in knowledge and experience for the lives of every individual.

Although the education provided in high schools is related to health sciences, this cannot stop students' critical thinking. These students then began to gather, discuss and spread the spirit of nationalism. Furthermore, after these students graduated, these medical students were sent to various parts of Indonesia (Marihandono, 2021). Furthermore, this student became one of the spreaders of the spirit of nationalism even though it was still local, which was marked by the establishment of various youth organizations such as Jong Java, Jong Sumatra and Jong others. This youth organization agreed to unite in the Youth Congress, which produced the Youth Pledge.

Apart from education organized by the colonial government, religious education was also established by religious leaders in Indonesia. Although they did not reach university, the students who graduated from these Islamic boarding schools migrated abroad to deepen their religious knowledge. These students then returned to Indonesia. Apart from teaching where they used to study in Indonesia, they have also started to get involved in political organizations with religious views (Nalle, 2021).

III. Results and Discussion

3.1 The Era of the Second World War and the Rise of Asia

At that time, fascism also developed in Europe. Mussolini in Italy and Germany with the superiority of the Aryan race. This change in thinking made Germany not only satisfied to colonize nations outside mainland Europe. The Germans began to colonize the European countries that became their neighbours.

At the same time, there was a change in the world political map. The Japanese nation, which was included in the Asian nation, previously seen as inferior to the Western nation, has now risen. Even in terms of military power Japan has strong military power. This power was demonstrated by Japan's ability to dominate China, an enormous empire in terms of area and population. The rise of Japan is fueling the spirit of Asian revival. One of the critical moments was the Pearl Harbor incident, where Japan suddenly attacked the American military base in Hawaii.

At the same time, there was also a change in colonialism. Japan colonized Indonesia. Unlike the Dutch, who came to trade and then colonized using their military power, Japan came with the motto that Japan was the older brother of the Indonesian nation. Japan wants to instil the same taste as Asians. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor certainly caused retaliation from the United States, which lost one of its military centres. The United States then retaliated by dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Boeke, 2021).

The Emperor of Japan declared surrender to the Allies after the bombs were dropped. This means that every colony from Japan automatically surrendered to the allies. Therefore, it is the right time to declare political independence. The youths represented by Wikana youth, Soekarni youth and friends kidnapped Soekarno-Hatta. They encourage these figures to immediately declare Indonesia's independence without the need to do many political calculations and use the existing momentum.

3.2 The Era After the World War and the beginning of the Cold War

The defeat of Japan allowed Indonesia to declare independence. However, Indonesia's declaration of independence did not receive international recognition despite Indonesia's support from various countries. Finally, the Kingdom of the Netherlands again tried to carry out military aggression, and in the end, it ended in recognition of Indonesian sovereignty at the Round Table Conference (Kwon, 2021).

At the beginning of independence, the students who went into politics have now become politicians who play essential roles, such as Ir. Soekarno, Drs. Mohammad Hatta, Hamengkubowono and various other student figures. The existence of political movements driven by students turned into political parties in the era of independence. There were parties with the flow of nationalism, Communism and religion (Iswahyudi, 2021). These three ideologies are ideologies that are difficult to reconcile with one another. As the president of Indonesia, Soekarno tried to reconcile these three ideologies through the *Nasakom* ideology, which stands for Nationalism, Religion, and Communism. However, each of these ideologies could not be united in the end. Sekarmadji finally carried out a rebellion through the Indonesian Islamic Army rebelled and tried to establish an Islamic state. Likewise, the Indonesian Communist Party tried to clear its opposition by carrying out the September 30 Movement of the Indonesian Communist Party.

In this period, Europe was losing its power after the Second World War. The nations of Europe began to rebuild. One of them is the Netherlands, which has several cities razed to the ground, such as Rotterdam's most significant trading city. The world powers were divided into two axes: the axis of Communism, which was commanded by the Soviet Union and the Axis of the Allies, led by the United States (Safranchuk & Lukyanov, 2021). Each axis seeks to spread its influence and prevent the influence of the other axes from spreading. As a result, it seems as if the world's countries have to choose a side. At this time Indonesia through Ir. Soekarno held a Non-Aligned Movement to avoid conflicts of interest that could spread to the Southeast Asian region. Even with an even larger scale, Ir. Sukarno held the Asian-African Conference (Fauzy, 2022).

The United States had concerns that the communist movement could influence Indonesia. Communism is a radical movement that uses violence to achieve its goals (Lodgard, 2021). The United States' concern was based on the domino effect theory, which said that if Vietnam fell into communist hands, other Southeast Asia would fall into communist hands (McMahon, 2021). The Soviet Union and China, affiliated with Communism, actively assisted Indonesia. During this period, the Indonesian Communist Party and radicalism developed in Indonesia. In fact, because of the significant influence of the Indonesian Communist Party, this party even wanted the fifth generation, namely arming the workers and peasants. The end of the rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party was the kidnapping of the generals in the September 30, 1965, Movement (Besman & Sjachro, 2021).

After the Indonesian Communist Party movement that took the lives of the army generals, the students called for *Tri Tura*, namely the three demands of the people. The three demands of the people consisted of a request to dissolve the Indonesian Communist Party, a reduction in the price of necessities and the disbandment of a cabinet consisting of 200 ministers. The background of this *Tripura* is the suffering of the people that occurs due to uncertain economic conditions. Ir. Politics guided Sukarno as commander in chief. A significant movement or revolution needs to be done quickly to make significant changes for the Indonesian people. This great change requires sacrifice. The hope is that economic stability will follow when there is political stability. One of the back altars is a cabinet that is so large that it has 200 ministers because of President Soekarno's efforts to include the interests of all parties. However, this leads to the swelling of the state's burden. At the same time, the people's suffering is due to the increase in the price of necessities.

Students view the revolution as going in the wrong direction. Evidence of this wrong direction is political instability which results in economic instability. Therefore, the student movement in that era was known as the counter-revolutionary movement. This act was not

to fight the revolution but against the revolution's ideals, which did not create prosperity for the Indonesian people.

3.3 The Era of the Rise of Japanese Industrialization and the Oil Boom

The bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki cost lives and paralyzed Japanese industries centred in these two cities. Therefore, Japan is trying to rapid industrialization to replace its production capacity. Japan's industrialization requires raw materials for production and markets for production. This is where Indonesia's important role. The Indonesian nation is a producer of natural resources needed for industry. In addition, Indonesia's large population can be a potential market in the future for Japanese-produced goods. Japan, which is slowly recovering, is trying to re-establish relations with Indonesia.

In the same period, dissatisfaction began to arise with General Suharto, who later became President Suharto. President Suharto, who had a military background, had an authoritarian and centralized style of government. The military role overlaps with the civilian role with the dual function of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia. A militaristic system manages the Indonesian state.

At the beginning of the Suharto administration, after political parties were simplified and further stabilized, the pressing problem was economic. To solve economic problems, President Soeharto left economic affairs to economists. These economists are students pursuing higher education at the University of California Berkeley, United States. Furthermore, these economists worked as economic bureaucrats known as the Berkeley mafia (Supriyanto, 2022).

One recipe for economic stabilization is through foreign investment. At that time, the Japanese government, trying to recover from the Second World War, was making rapid changes in its industrial sector. Japanese capital goes to Indonesia, and factories with Japanese capital in Indonesia. Of course, to attract foreign investors to be willing to invest, incentives need to be given. Several privileges are given to foreign investors (Lumbangaol, 2021). At the same time, economic stability does not reach the lower classes, where the lower classes are left behind in development efforts. This is where the students began to move again to conduct demonstrations. The climax was when Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka visited Indonesia in January 1974.

The New Order government realized how the student movement could have the potential to overthrow a regime (Metera, 2021). Under the Minister of Education in the 1980s, namely Daud Joesoef, a campus normalization program was implemented. This action did not only happen in Indonesia but also in China, where the Chinese Communist Party held absolute power. The student demonstration centred on Tiananmen Square ended in military retaliation from the Chinese Communist Party. Students in Indonesia also reject the same thing. This rejection is manifested through physical movement, namely by demonstrating. Non-physical movements are also carried out through student organization movements, student press movements and various discussion forums. After various campus normalization movements and substantial government control over universities, there was no longer a large mass gathering until 1998.

3.4 The End of the Oil Boom and the Southeast Asian Monetary Crisis

The New Order government was based on political and economic stability. Not only student movements are trying to be controlled, but all movements that lead to ideologies other than Pancasila ideology. One of the incidents where the New Order conflicted with the Islamic movement was the Tanjung Priok incident on September 12, 1984. This

movement occurred because brochures were circulating at the mosque in Tanjung Priok. The Government knew this and carried out a repressive movement.

Movements criticizing the New Order were like small fires trying to ignite the husks. The husks are the people of Indonesia. However, most Indonesians consider this to be reciprocity when there is economic stability. On the one hand, there are authoritarians, but there are no economic problems. This condition changed in 1998. Several things caused this change. Among other things is the decline in Indonesia's oil reserves. Oil and gas revenues are the primary engines for the state to subsidize in all fields and create price stability. When the fuel economy, namely oil money, goes down, economic stability begins to be disrupted. This condition is compounded by Indonesian entrepreneurs who borrow many foreign funds to get cheap interest rates. Interest rates in Indonesia are higher to continue increasing savings from the public and maintaining economic growth. The consequence of a high-interest rate should be a weakening of the value of the Rupiah. When the value of the Rupiah decreases, inflation will occur, Gupta (2021).

Meanwhile, the value of the Rupiah is pegged by the Government. Thus, the value of the Rupiah currency does not reflect the actual value. George Soros, an international arbiter, saw this and bought up the dollar currency in Southeast Asia. At that time, the first affected was the Thai Bath and not for a long time like a domino effect. This spread to other currencies in Southeast Asia. With the fall of the Rupiah currency, the Indonesian economy was disrupted. The fall of the Rupiah currency directly affected various companies in Indonesia. Companies that owe foreign debt have more significant debt than their assets, so they have negative equity. Subsequently, these companies went out of business. Banks that lend to domestic companies soon see their assets evaporate. From the customer's side, customer distrust arises. When customers do not trust the banking system, there is a rush or massive withdrawal of customer funds. All of these events are a recipe for economic collapse. This condition is the perfect moment for students. With the support of the people, the students occupied the People's Consultative Assembly Building and demanded a regime change.

The ruling regime used the same recipe to stop students from the repression that claimed the lives of Trisakti students. However, this action did not succeed in suppressing the student movement as happened in Tanjung Periuk but instead ignited the spirit of the students. The climax was when President Suharto, who was abroad at that time, returned home and held an extraordinary meeting in front of the People's Consultative Assembly. Then-President Suharto declared his resignation on national television. The student struggle has once again succeeded in bringing down the ruling regime (Sari et al, 2021).

3.5 Post World Trade Center Era

During the reform era, the Indonesian government changed from an authoritarian government to a democratic government. President BJ. Habibie held a democratic general election in which Gus Dur was elected President. During this period, student activities in various organizations such as the People's Democratic Party and the city movement entered into established parties. There are figures such as Budiman Sudjatmiko and Adian Napitupulu who joined the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. Fadli Zon, a student activist, later joined Prabowo's Gerindra (Nasution et al, 2021).

In the early 2000s, there was also a change in the attitude of the United States towards Muslim countries. This was motivated by the terror attack on the World Trade Center in New York. This attack shocked the United States of America because this was a great terror in the heart of the economy that occurred on United States soil. The

consequence of this is that radicalism is equated with other terms such as fundamentalism and terrorism (Lasmawati et al, 2021).

In Indonesia itself, reform has provided an era of openness marked by the freedom to voice opinions. This freedom is new, mainly because the freedom of expression is minimal, and the Ministry of Information controls information. Community organizations began to be free to run organizations according to their ideology.

There are at least four community organizations that have different value emphases. There is an Islamic Defenders Front that puts forward the eradication of immorality. The Indonesian Mujahideen Council by prioritizing political issues, especially those related to the influence of Western countries. Hizbut-Tahrir has issues similar to the Indonesian Mujahideen Council, namely the magnitude of the influence of the United States in Indonesia. These mass organizations are relatively new compared to those originating from established religious institutions such as Banser, a mass organization belonging to Nahdatul Ulama (Utari & Wardhani, 2021).

3.6 Internet and the Information Globalization Age

The rapid development of the internet makes information can be disseminated quickly and cheaply. However, for the internet to develop, it is necessary to have adequate telecommunications infrastructure. This infrastructure consists of an optical cable network and a tower that transmits the internet and its receiver. In developed countries, there are developments where users of information technology start by using desktop computers and then switch to smartphones. There are still gaps in internet access and the high price of desktop computers in Indonesia (Sanjaya et al, 2022). The internet just started to spread in Indonesia in the 2010s. In this era, there was a leap. Namely, Indonesian internet users did not start from desktop computers and switched to smartphones but directly used smartphones. Several factors causing the rapid adoption of smartphones are the entry of cheap smartphone products from China and a wide range of choices. In addition, the level of internet adoption is also influenced by demographic composition, where most of the Indonesian population is under 35 years of age.

The students in this millennial generation are digital native students, namely students born in the internet era. Since childhood, they have been accustomed to the internet, so this generation is at the forefront of the adoption of information technology. Seen from the positive side, the sources of information for students studying are abundant. However, along with the amount of information circulating, new problems arise, such as information that spreads lies (hoax) and content with harmful content, one of which is content related to radicalism. The spread of radicalism has shifted from visible physical gatherings to virtual spaces. Radical content can quickly spread throughout Indonesia and to every student who has an internet connection.

On the other hand, students remain critical of various issues related to politics. One example is the massive demonstration in Yogyakarta, known as Gejayan Calling, in September 2019. This movement is a response to various political issues that occur in Indonesia. What differs from this movement is how quickly it was formed and the large number of people who came to the demonstration site on Gejayan street in Yogyakarta. This movement is mainly formed through the internet, with information being disseminated through Whatsapp groups (Saud & Margono, 2021). In this incident, the demonstration was carried out peacefully. However, there may be organized actions on the internet to gather the masses and end up in chaos.

IV. Conclusion

There is a term butterfly effect which says that the fluttering of a butterfly's wings in one place will affect conditions in other parts of the world. Regardless of the degree of truth of this opinion based on historical reflection, it can be seen that ideas spread to various corners of the world. The existence of the internet makes ideas spread not only faster but in real-time. Unfortunately, the ideas that are spread are not all good ideas. There are destructive ideas, one of which is the idea of radicalism. Students as educated young people are vulnerable to being influenced by ideas of radicalism. Young age is when a person has many dreams and wants to achieve a goal. Meanwhile, the idea of radicalism promises a utopia that can be achieved by employing violence.

Judging from history, changes in the world order influence the student movement in Indonesia. They started from the first generation of students who got higher education because of ethical politics. These students then formed political organizations that carried various ideologies. But from the outset, these ideologies were not all unified. Some ideologies allow violent means to achieve their goals. The era of President Soekarno is proof that opposing ideologies cannot be united. Competition for political dominance from the superpower countries in Indonesia, and these countries directly try to influence the political direction of Indonesia. In the end, the dominant communist movement emerged, which led to bloody events, culminating in student demonstrations and popular movements that led to the new regime.

The new regime realized that students had the potential to change the political landscape and overthrow the ruling regime. The New Order regime ordered the Minister of Education to carry out a campus normalization movement. This movement aims to monitor student movements and create peace on campus (Jannah, 2021). The hope is that the campus will become a special place to get an education and not achieve political aspirations. However, this cannot be avoided because a person's mindset will be formed with education. Someone critical cannot be asked to be silent and not express his opinion. The New Order regime took advantage of the Oil Boom era and used funds obtained from oil to finance development and provide subsidies for the people. However, during the Oil Boom era and the 1998 Monetary crisis that ended economic prosperity since the 1980s, students used this momentum to conduct large-scale demonstrations that led to the end of the New Order regime.

Furthermore, the changes that occur are no longer political events but changes in the world order due to the globalization of information through the internet. Dissemination of information no longer uses physical means but through invisible networks. Individuals no longer have to gather physically but can gather through virtual networks. On the one hand, abundant information provides various benefits to people who need information, such as students who need the latest information for their studies. On the other hand, this condition can create pockets of radical students that are not easily detected. And these pockets of students can spread their influence so that more and more people are exposed to radicalism (Azizi et al, 2021).

This research shows that changes in the order of the times' impact society. And one of the layers of society that are most sensitive to information is students. On the other hand, students in Indonesia have a role as a lighter. Movements made by students can expand and create change. If this movement aims to create good change, then good changes will occur. But when this movement is driven by radical understanding, changes that occur can be contrary to the ideals of the Indonesian nation. In the future, the world's challenges will always change, and these changes will affect the condition of the

Indonesian people. One way to deal with it is not to shut yourself up but to prepare yourself to adapt to these changes. If today's students can adapt to changes in the world order, they can later become Indonesian leaders in facing changes in the world order.

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