

Civil Society Participation in Efforts to Uphold Democracy Under Authoritarian Regimes: a Case Study of Thailand and Indonesia

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Abstract

This article explains the similarity of military involvement in government in Indonesia, the conditions of government in Indonesia when President Suharto served as president, the longest presidential term in Indonesia reached 32 years, as president with a military background in his administration highlighting authoritarian leadership styles, with authoritarian leadership styles that had a high tenure impact, until 1998 as a good point for democratic enforcement reform. The era of President Suharto, which was almost similar to the government in Thailand, was similar when community participation in Indonesia occurred during the leadership of President Suharto (Student Trisakti) Student Case and the coup in Thailand, there was a case of the redshirt massacre. Both of these cases provide an understanding of people's participation in achieving democracy. Enforcement of democracy is one of the rights of citizens, discussing the effort to transition to democracy is an effort of the people's desire to change the order of the government as a balance of power, so that the people themselves can control the performance of the government, so that the interests of the state are the interests of citizens, the government reflects the lives of citizens. The journey of government in Thailand also experienced ups and downs of the government system based on other literature reveals that

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political expectations in Thailand occurred a populist namely Thaksin Shinawatra. When the success of reforming a country is the most difficult thing to provide reform to all things and maintain, not only as an update but also must provide benefits to all levels of society. The citizen must be given space as a form of participation to the government so that a fair and prosperous democracy occurs.

Keywords: Democracy, Authoritarianism, New Order, Indonesia, Redshirt.

Introduction

Indonesia is a country that one of them uses a democratic government system, the form of government system in Indonesia allows all citizens to have the right to participate in governance mechanisms. many countries have used this form of the democratic system as an effort to stabilize government power, democratic efforts in Indonesia have experienced a transition from the old order (Indonesia's first IR president. Sukarno) who advocated presidential, parliamentary democracy, liberal democracy and guided democratic government systems. IR's first presidential system. Sukarno used a presidential government that had a dual executive and legislative function, then liberal democracy 1950-1959 the things that underlie liberal democracy were characterized on 17 August 1950 - 5 July 1959 President Sukarno decided to use a temporary constitution, as long as the transition to this government did not last long because President Sukarno issued a presidential decree on July 5, 1959, which re-established the 1945 Constitution as the basis for the state and dissolution of constituents. In 1959-1968 the direction of the state leadership became guided democracy which was stated at the opening of the constituent assembly on November 10, 1956, the turning point of the event caused a major conflict because this year the " Pancasila " state base was often identified. With NASAKOM (Nationalist and Communist Religion) President Sukarno's closeness to the Soviet Union often led to public opinion that there was a good relationship that resulted in a change in the government system.

The involvement of the two countries, Indonesia and the Soviet Union led to the pattern of presidential leadership at that time. The existence of this problem was a turning point for the replacement of Indonesia's second president, Suharto, who had experienced a change in a more authoritarian system of government, seeing the background of Indonesia's second president from the Military position as a military commander. Commander of the Operational Command for Security and Order. Suharto's election was also an effect of the SUPERSEMAR letter (March Eleven Order), this letter was signed by President Sukarno, as an effort to handle cases that were sufficient to cause unrest in the society. Public unrest that led to the case of G30SPKI. This effort was launched as a protection for citizens, Suharto's success in fighting conflict about communism, according to some literature, there were 1,334 people related to the PKI who were arrested in the Jakarta area on October 16, 1965, and an estimated 400,000 members and supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) died in the period 1965-1966 was the point where the face of Suharto was known by the public, this also resulted in populist leaders, according to (Goodhart & Lastra, 2018) the birth of populism increased public dissatisfaction over the status quo, which means this dissatisfaction was economic injustice or social rights that not fulfilled. According to (Inglehart & Norris, 2016) conditions such as state dissatisfaction are a legitimate attempt to blame the government for reducing welfare, populists themselves according to (Mudde, 2004) are often stopped by charismatic leaders and care for the community.

Suharto's official election as the second President of Indonesia had a long journey. During the Sukarno administration, from 7 to 8 February 1967 President Sukarno agreed to give up his executive power to Suharto, but Suharto rejected him as head of state, then on February 22, 1967, Indonesia's first President gave up power, and on March 12, 1967, through MPRS Decree No. XXXIII stated in 1967 that it revoked Sukarno's power as the country's leader and appointed Suharto as the official head of the Indonesian government. Until Suharto's leadership reached 32 years, as the longest-serving president in Indonesia known for his authoritarianism,

until 1998 as a turning point for demonstrators for the Indonesian state as a reform and an end to Suharto's authoritarian rule. Then there are similarities with the existing government system in Thailand, the process of change from a military regime to democracy, the focus of this writing is mainly on the turmoil of the people who want to move the regime to democracy.

As one example that can be taken is the Thai military atrocities against the demonstration to coincide with the Thai New Year's Day. These events are often heard as "Bloody Songkran". The impact of the involvement of military forces that are too strong gives a bad experience during the administration which should prioritize human rights as a form of concern for citizens participating in governance. Discussing the effort to transition to democracy is an effort of the people's desire to change the order of government as a balance of power so that the people themselves can control the performance of the government. The history of government in Thailand also experienced ups and downs to the government system based on other literature reveal that political expectations in Thailand occurred populist Thaksin Shinawatra who became a minister in 2006, Thaksin's popularity was based on closeness to the public and was well-known among farmers, this raises concerns for the military because the military is the protector of the kingdom.

Literature Review

A. Definition of Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism said that Hannah Arendt was part of a nation that possessed the total dominion of all human life and wanted a single ruler, to hold fully the power of a nation based on the power of power control. The government carries out total control over society over all aspects of political, economic, social and cultural life. To regulate the government community requires strong laws and rules, strong rules of law itself requires military power, the totalitarian system requires a strong system, regulated in many ways there are rules and the

establishment of military force, of which the military is superior. The variable in a totalitarian system is:

1) Censorship: anything that is published will be filtered first, whether in the form of films or books, so that everything must be following regulations, so it must match the vision and mission of the government. So that information needs are supplied by the state, any information to accentuate the country program.

2) Propaganda: propaganda itself is an effort to strengthen power with the supply of information provided by the government so that the information provided by the government itself is an attempt to replicate and the community must remain convinced that the vision of the country is the best.

3) One leader: a leader, a leader intended to be a totalitarian support person, a charismatic leader is needed, the existence of a role model who is not only in charge of rules but also has charisma characteristics to lead.

4) Rules compliance system: rules are made to regulate the community in compliance, the people are expected to obey all the rules that have been made by their leaders.

5) Terror: the last thing as perfecting the totalitarian system is needed terror, fostering fear, this is because fear is a stimulant so that people are subject to all the rules of the leadership. It develops a fear of others so that someone will not dare to oppose it.

From these five variables, there is an action from the leadership to begin to regulate and begin mastery of everything in life, so that citizens are forced to submit to the ideals of the government on behalf of the state and the state can be compared to the voice of the people so that the interests of the state are also referred to government interests, sometimes the interests of governance (elite politics) are not for the state but for their groups, carried out by a group of people who have occupied the government system so that the community must support the state program, logically the people must sacrifice interests for the state, the interests of the state are the interests of the government, so the democracy of the

small community voiced, so they must think of the state, the interests of the state should be the interests of the people but the people must not be selfish so they think of the state, so the point of defense is the interest of the state.

B. Participation

Participation is an effort that is interpreted as the involvement of citizens actively and comprehensively during the activity, the participation of voluntary people involvement. The purpose of this participation is aimed at community efforts still concerned with the circumstances around them. Post-participation has 3 forms of concepts as participation in democratic development, namely:

1) Political Participation

This participation is more oriented towards influencing and it is hoped that people's representatives will submit to government bureaucrats.

2) Social Participation

This social participation is a process of strengthening social networks as a process of learning and the process of social mobilization.

3) Citizen Participation

Citizens' Participation is more towards determining public policies concerning the lives of citizens so that the community still has an active role in determining government policies.

C. Leadership style.

Leadership style of a leader needs to be analyzed so that it needs to be described, the following definition of leadership definition is as follows, leadership is an individual's ability to influence and can motivate, make other people contribute, this opinion according to House in (Gary Yukl, 1989), so leadership can be said is an attempt to influence others to want to contribute. Leadership is an effort to get others to work hard to meet the needs of the group, this opinion means that an ability to invite others to work together to achieve goals. The leadership style can be divided into 3 parts:

1) Authoritarian Leadership

This leadership is the authority or authority most absolutely held by the leader, the decision making of the data and the policy is determined by the leader himself, subordinates do not have the right to oppose or provide advice, ideas on decision making.

2) Participatory leadership

Leadership in a persuasive way can create very good cooperation, foster loyalty and participation of various classes, leaders usually motivate their subordinates.

3) Delegative leadership

This leadership style is the style of a leader who delegates his authority so that his subordinates can make decisions in every job. At this writing there are two indicators with an authoritarian system and leadership style can be used as a basis for thinking journal writing.

Articles Objectives

This article is intended to explain the equality of military involvement in the government in Indonesia, during President Suharto's era which is almost similar to the government in Thailand, especially when the big coup in the new year of Thailand is known as Bloody Songkran. And this article looks at the involvement of community participation as the spearhead of reform.

Methods

This writing method uses the literature review method, it is used to get information related to the theme of this article, the use of literary review also comes from blogs, journals, web, books, and the internet.

Result

History of Suharto's appointment as president and Appointment of prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra.

Suharto was a person with a military background, his popularity was inseparable from participation in the 1930 G30SPKI conflict (September 30, 1965 Movement) the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) movement was led by D.N Aidit. Aidit was the chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, an introduction to Marxism, Aidit through the Dutch East Indies social-democratic association, at this forum began to recognize Indonesian political figures Bung Karno (Ir, Sukarno), Bung Hatta (Moh Hatta) and many others, viewed records Aidit's footsteps entered the PKI lecture commission, his task of translating the communist party manifestations created by Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, and starting in 1954, was elected as a permanent member of the PKI central committee, Aidit's leadership had a major impact on the Indonesian Communist Party which made the PKI the third-largest party in the PKI the world after China and the soviet union. Until finally in 1965 on September 30, Aidit was killed. The explanation is that this effort is aimed at saving the Indonesian state which is linked if the PKI continues to exist then the direction of the state that Pancasila will move to communism, according to (SETNEG RI, 1994: 168) PKI's goal to change the direction of the Indonesian state and also carry out its international goals by turning Indonesia into Communist. Suharto as a leader with the SUPERSEMAR letter (March Eleven Warrant), Suharto dissolved the PKI and issued a presidential decree number 1/3/1966 on May 12, 1966, this letter was also endorsed by Suharto himself. According to (Wardaya, 2007: 77-88) the existence of the takeover of this power is a form of a coup that has been transferred from the leadership of President Sukarno to Suharto. This takeover had a political impact in Indonesia, politics changed drastically, Suharto with the military in full power without parties to match him in all sectors of government.

Power began with President Suharto and the military in his government circle. Suharto advanced to the government by joining the Golongan Karya (Golkar) party which was later won by the party year after year. According to other literature, there is a desire to apply the Golkar party to Indonesian politics that utilize several groups, the group is indicated as a military group, this is done as an

effort to minimize the defeat of the next election. In 1970 the Golkar party entered politics. The Golkar Party won with several votes reaching 34,348,673, this number mobilized Golkar to include its members in the DPR and DPRD as much as 236 government seats, while the other Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) party was in the second position with 10,213,650 votes. The most votes won by the Golkar party were easily Suharto and his ranks proceeded to the second period as president in March 1973. Then Suharto was appointed president again in 1978, to be able to control the Golkar party, Suharto was appointed chairman of the Board of Trustees, this position was higher than the party chairman. In this position allows full control of controlling the party with the general chairman under him, then during the new order, the Golkar party won by a percentage in the box :

| Election Year (general election) | Win percentage |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| General Election 1997 | 62% |
| General Election 1982 | 64% |
| General Election 1987 | 73% |
| General Election 1992 | 68% |
| General Election 1997 | 74% |

An absolute victory was won by the Golkar party and the many members of the Golkar party who sat as the DPR (House of Representatives) made a victory and facilitated the repeated presidential elections won by Suharto, this led to a pattern of imbalance and tended to lean towards the President (Executive heavy). The function of the DPR which was supposed to be the president's supervisor, the DPR lost that function became compliant with all policies made by President Suharto (Top Executive).

Seeing the state of Thailand as a country that still adheres to the kingdom and parliamentary government, the track record of the government focused on the leadership of Thaksin Shinawatra. Thailand is an absolute monarchy but in 1932 it

was a history of regime change from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy, seeing events in the past of the first coup began when Thailand's first minister Phraya Manopakorn Nititada, a leader of the people's party. A less than 1 year leadership period of around 358 days, the coup was carried out by the military Phraya Phahonphonphayuhasena as a military leader and a politician, this coup succeeded in making him the second Prime Minister of Thailand for 5 years. 14 years later, there was another coup d'etat, at which time the 8th Prime Minister Rear Admiral Thamrongnawasawat, a military coup led by a great general Phin Choonhavan in 1947, but for a long time the lead lasted only 2 days later handed over to Democratic Party founder Khuang Aphaiwong, this period gave a strong military role in Thai politics. In 1951 there was a coup by a military group aimed at dissolving parliament as an effort to restore the form of constitution in 1932, which had the aim of gaining a civilian role in the government environment which was considered by military officers as a distraction. Often referred to as the "Quiet Coup" which ultimately strengthened the position of government in Thailand, namely the great general Phibunsongkhram, this great general was also a "Four Musketeer 1932". Parliamentary elections in 1957 followed mass protests in Bangkok, this was because Phibunsongkhram was still in power, this caused King Bhumibol to be angry, then an attack carried out by big general Sarit Thanarat gave a new path to the replacement of the 9th Prime Minister Pote Sarasin who was once is a former Foreign Minister. Looking at the background of the previous prime minister who had a military background, making the leadership of Pote Sarasin last 102 days. Then in 1958 the great General Sarit Thanarat still held the highest military power in Thailand to coup Pote, the great General Sarit Thanarat was in power for 5 years, then replaced by General Thanom Kittikachom as the leader of Thailand in this era marking the era of Authoritarian rule. Thanom, who was once the deputy prime minister and then concurrently became the minister of defense in the Pote era, Thanom's leadership continued the policies made by Sarit, namely: Anti-communism, nationalism and opening up to the global. Anti-communist nature is

because at that time passive communists grew up in northern Thailand near the Laos border, in 1971 Thanom staged his coup d'etat as an inauguration of himself as chairman of the National Executive Council whose tenure for 10 years. The coup in Thailand did not stop, the coup Again in 1976, the military staged a coup d'état to the Prime Minister of the Arts Pramoj, in this case, the military commander Admiral Sangad Chaloryu was responsible for this conflict, then formed the National Administrative Reform Council, then the Prime Minister was handed over to Thanin Kraivichien with a Judge background. In 1991 the prime minister Chatichai Choonhavan on his way to meet the king in an attempt to ask a new deputy defense minister, but was arrested by the military, this was considered an attempt to threaten by general Sunthorn Kongsompong, then power was led by Surthon Kongsompong, in the end, there was a bond with the parties the politician was handed over to Anand Panyarachun who had a political background.

As the discussion above sees the leadership of a person who is not from a military background has an impact on a relatively short period of power. The period of Thaksin Shinawatra's leadership, figures like Thaksin Shinawatra populist because it is known by the Thai community various classes such as traditionalists, Thanksin founded the Thai Rak Thai party (TRK) this party was founded in 1998, the party campaigned against corruption charges, then in 2001 February on 1 Thaksin was appointed Prime Minister, this victory brought about change that was good enough for the poor, the party was also able to complete a 4-year leadership period and the party also won the 2005 general election, the general election in 2005 the TRK party won 364 out of 500 parliamentary seats. Thaksin's victory resulted in a turmoil between the King and the Military, seeing the King as a supreme leader in Thailand and someone who had influence, unconsciously attempting to use Populism to challenge the King who was then held by King Bhumibol, this trend saw the popularity of Thaksin being able to attract Thai people from various backgrounds, this also makes the military worry because the people who usually take refuge in

the power of the king see Thaksin as a formidable and alternative figure, his popularity could overtake the king.

This conflict led to two groups opposite the Yellow shirts group which was an anti-Thaksin anti-government movement, then the Redshirt group of this group tended to be pro-Thaksin and pro to change to democracy. The Yellow shirt led to a coup that occurred in September 2006 on the 19th, the following year the Constitutional Court tried the TRT party and declared the party to be dissolved. To return to political order, Thaksin re-established the PPP (People's Power Party). This party did not live long enough because the Constitutional Court dissolved it again, on this issue the military had an important role of persuading the government faction to support the Democratic party, this resulted in his appointment Abhisit Vejjajiva became prime minister. On this issue, the red shirt group felt under this Abhisit government that he was a puppet of the government elite.

A. Conflicts over Regime Change

In Indonesia after the existence of strong control held by President Suharto as explained above, shows a cycle of political power to determine who has the right to continue leadership given the victory of the Golkar party victory continues until the end of 1997, the community as a group of people who inhabit a country, of course, they are an object that can participate in the sphere of government, people who want to enter the political order if they do not have a party base as a vehicle to deliver politics are certainly very difficult unless a person is populist and independent, the tragedy that is almost the same in both cases is a tragedy of 1998 in Indonesia as a context of the role of the community in the struggle for democracy and the role of the Thai people in the struggle for democracy in the bloody Songkran case, orchestrated by the pro-group Red Shirt group.

The tragedy of 1998.

This tragedy is a form of participation of Indonesian citizens in the struggle for power to immediately end Suharto's authoritarian regime, a regime that has

been in power for 32 years a permanent leader and within the majority, the government is part of the Golkar party and military forces. During the Suharto government at the beginning of the New Order the enforcement of community institutions focused on economic prosperity, as time went by many social institutions emerged in the field of civic rights (civil rights), this condition led to the growth of active campus activism and led to strong counter-discourse thus suppressing the authoritarian politics of the New Order. The movement that still demands the resignation of Suharto since the beginning of 1998, made many elements of the public take to the streets to reform politics because the regime that lasted for 32 years contained KKN (Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism) insistence from these various elements aimed at one demand namely Suharto must go down. in this journal focuses on the 1998 case of the TRI SAKTI case, democracy related to the prosecution of Suharto stepped down from the president's throne, resulting in many regions in Indonesia taking action demonstrations, Trisakti Campus is a private campus which at that time was still considered as an ordinary campus that is different from famous campuses in Indonesia. The Trisakti student action of around 6,000 people gathered at A Trisakti campus, the main target of this goal was to ask Suharto to step down from the presidential position, in this activity students burned the statue of Suharto as a form of protest, then held a long march to the DPR / MPR complex while the activity was apparent in the presence of by the authorities, then the activities were diverted in the West Jakarta Mayor's Office area, this activity also distributed roses to the military apparatus. At 17.00 students resigned hurrying back to campus, but at the time of the difference was not so big around 17.20 hours there was a shooting of students from the direction of the mayor's office in west Jakarta, students certainly did not accept so they responded with stones to protect themselves, from the shooting of these students were victims of Trisakti students: Elang Mulia Lesmana, Hendriawan Sie, Heri Hartanto, Hafidhin Alifidin Royan.

Tragedy Bloody Songkran

The tragedy is quite reminiscent of the need for human rights in various countries, during the period 2006 to 2014, the conditions of government supported by Thaksin, the vote won by democratic means. The conflict that occurred was a struggle for leadership between the Yellow shirt as a pro against the kingdom (the royal family) and the Redshirt of the pro community towards the direction of democratic change. crackdown of the entire Redshirt group until the following year 2010, data obtained there were 91 people killed and 1,800 people injured, this incident was a collaboration with the military, the military spent the US \$ 100 million, the amount of this fee was used to controlling demonstrates and mobilizing around 67,000 troops, costing the US \$ 23.3 million for 25,000 police personnel, bullets used by more than 117,932, this number does not include 2,120 sniper rifles and 6,620 rubber bullets. The number of protestors alone reached 1,857 imprisoned and intimidated. Seeing this condition in line with network monarchy because power tends to be threatened by the presence of new people, new people in the Thai government that Thaksin refers to as a leader who uses a populist style. The populist leadership style presented by Thaksin received a poor response from the Thai Royal Family, if raj is the center of all politics, the monarchy together with the military sets up the political system and when there is a new and has a large populist base, the position of the structural leader has been arranged. Will be threatened. Then this is also almost the same as the condition in Thailand as above that the practice of attachment between one leadership leader makes another group push for control of state power, such as the explanation above in the Thai government a person who is not from a military background then has a period of leadership relatively short, even though it was won by a valid election.

Conclusion

So the governments of Indonesia and Thailand have entered into a phase where the community is an important part of a country, holding a participation in strengthening democracy as a form of concern for citizens to demand that their

leaders grant that there is no overpower and abuse of power. The existence of community participation proves that their rights must also be protected, the state should be a place of refuge and a place to complain so that human rights are fulfilled, government officials must also improve themselves to receive input from the community. When the success of carrying out reforms of a country is the most difficult to provide renewal of all things and maintain, not only as an update but also must have an impact on all levels of society. So in conclusion, the community must be given space as a form of participation to the government so that a fair and prosperous democracy occurs.

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