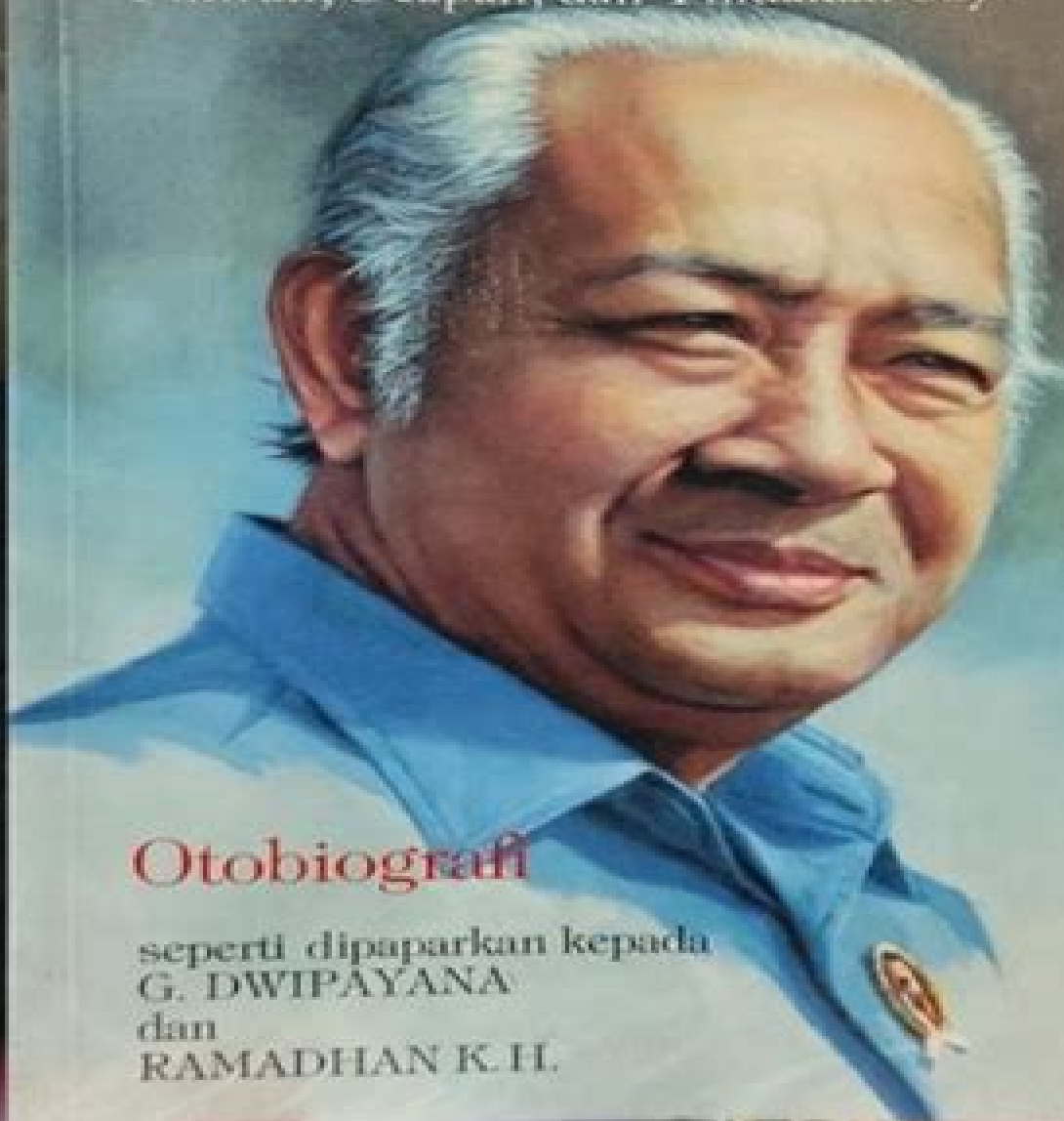


# SOEHARTO

Pikiran, Ucapan, dan Tindakan Saya



Otobiografi

seperti dipaparkan kepada  
G. DWIPAYANA  
dan  
RAMADHAN K. H.

# Soeharto Pikiran Ucapan Dan Tindakan Saya

**Verena Beittinger-Lee**



## **Soeharto Pikiran Ucapan Dan Tindakan Saya:**

**Diagnosis Demokrasi: Menuju Indonesia Emas 2045** S.A. Margono, 2024-12-24 Sejak awal kemerdekaan domain demokrasi Indonesia terasa belum sinkron dengan maksud dan tujuan pendiri negara The Founding Fathers Demokrasi yang mengejawantah berubah wujud menjadi Demokrasi Terpimpin dan Demokrasi Pancasila pada dasarnya belum murni menurut UUD 1945 Demokrasi versi Reformasi 1998 juga tidak berjalan mulus dan bertendensi menurun Fungsi demokrasi pun menjadi kabur dan korupsi serta money politics dianggap hal yang biasa Apabila dibiarkan pemerintah bisa jatuh ke lubang gelap otoritarianisme Di balik itu masih terjadi ketimpangan sosial terutama masalah kesejahteraan dan pendidikan Di sisi lain masalah pendidikan masih cukup mengkhawatirkan Pemahaman demokrasi sejatinya perlu dimulai dari tataran sekolah dasar dan menengah agar nantinya menghasilkan pejabat dan pemimpin demokratis Tanpa upaya penegakan demokrasi dan pelurusan demokrasi pendidikan rasanya bangsa ini tidak akan cepat maju Faktor ekonomi politik sosial budaya dan lain lain akan mengikuti derap langkah dua faktor itu Semua langkah tadi akan berpengaruh pada perbaikan sistem perpolitikan nasional Demi tercapainya tujuan yang diinginkan bangsa ini termasuk Indonesia Emas 2045 remedial agar demokrasi menjadi sehat harus dilakukan sejak sekarang

**Aceh, Indonesia** Elizabeth F. Drexler, 2009-04-06 In 1998 Indonesia exploded with both euphoria and violence after the fall of its longtime authoritarian ruler Soeharto and his New Order regime Hope centered on establishing the rule of law securing civilian control over the military and ending corruption Indonesia under Soeharto was a fundamentally insecure state Shadowy organizations masterminds provocateurs puppet masters and other mysterious figures recalled the regime's inaugural massive anticommunist violence in 1965 and threatened to recreate those traumas in the present Threats metamorphosed into deadly violence in a seemingly endless spiral In Aceh province the cycle spun out of control and an imagined enemy came to life as armed separatist rebels Even as state violence and systematic human rights violations were publicly exposed after Soeharto's fall a lack of judicial accountability has perpetuated pervasive mistrust that undermines civil society Elizabeth F Drexler analyzes how the Indonesian state has sustained itself amid anxieties and insecurities generated by historical and human rights accounts of earlier episodes of violence In her examination of the Aceh conflict Drexler demonstrates the falsity of the reigning assumption of international human rights organizations that the exposure of past violence promotes accountability and reconciliation rather than the repetition of abuses She stresses that failed human rights interventions can be more dangerous than unexamined past conflicts since the international stage amplifies grievances and provides access for combatants to resources from outside the region Violent conflict itself as well as historical narratives of past violence become critical economic and political capital deepening the problem The book concludes with a consideration of the improved prospects for peace in Aceh following the devastating 2004 tsunami

*Shared Hopes, Separate Fears* Paul F Gardner, 2019-05-20 This book traces the often tumultuous history of U S Indonesian relations as experienced by those who witnessed and shaped it

Gardner himself a first hand observer draws on interviews personal papers and recently declassified documents to provide an intimate view of the aspirations insights and acts of courage that built the U S Indonesian Political Change in South-East Asia Michael R.J Vatikiotis,2005-06-21 Political Change in South East Asia takes up the debate between those who resist the pressure for democracy and point to unchanging Asian values and those who believe that the appeal of democracy is universal The author examines the case for both sides and concludes that the strong state will be a fixture of South East Asian politics for some considerable time to come Increasingly close links between the ten states of South East Asia are likely to reinforce perceptions of a common culture and in the end put up more effective defences against external cultural influence *Islam in the Era of Globalization* Johan Meuleman,2005-09-30 Globalization modernity and identity are fundamental issues in contemporary Islam and Islamic Studies This collection of essays reflects the wide diversity that characterises contemporary Islamic Studies The case studies cover regions stretching from China and Southeast Asia to diaspora communities in the Caribbean and Tajikistan There is significant participation of intellectual voices from all areas concerned providing a real contribution to the academic exchange between the Muslim and the Euro American worlds

*The End of Personal Rule in Indonesia* Ayako Masuhara,2015 Motivated by on the ground experiences during Indonesia s period of political turmoil in the early 2000s following the collapse of the Suharto regime this book systematically explains the structure of the Suharto regime while revealing its political dynamism The primary goal is to account for the transformations that Suharto s personal rule underwent during 30 years in power and explain its end The book focuses on the personal rule system that Suharto employed analyzing its transition and collapse in a groundbreaking thesis that draws on archival materials from major political institutions as well as interviews with some of the key political protagonists The concept co opting type personal rule is proposed to address the following questions What concept can best capture the Suharto regime and the diverse array of personal rule systems and better explain the characteristics of each type How can we analyze personal rule regimes that end in relatively peaceful transitions rather than revolution or violent coup Thesis Series Kyoto Area Studies on Asia Vol 24 Subject Asian Studies Indonesian Studies Politics **Realpolitik Ideology** Leonard C. Sebastian,2006 Realpolitik Ideology presents path breaking research on the Indonesian military TNI going beyond traditional scholarship on the TNI s dual function or dwifungsi which has been one of the dominating fields of analysis in Indonesian studies since the 1970s Addressed to political scientists sociologists historians anthropologists and defence practitioners this book interprets security policy in terms of its social roots asserting that the realpolitik behaviour of the TNI has strong socio cultural undertones which in turn shape the development of military doctrine The argument made in the book is that only through a better understanding of the doctrines that reinforced the military s significant presence in Indonesian affairs and their subsequent restructuring can Indonesia s policy makers attempt meaningful reform of the TNI Readable accessible and yet exhaustively researched Realpolitik Ideology examines the origins and development of ideas on

security from the point of view of the TNI and explains why civil military relations are still fraught with uncertainty and why the recent changes in military ideology removal of military posts in the legislature ongoing divestment of its business and other measures still do not guarantee that the military will not intervene in the affairs of state Among its many valuable contributions this book details the background to Indonesian concepts of national security internal operations and the weak infrastructural power of the state with an excellent discussion on the intelligence agencies concepts for external defence according to the TNI including Indonesia's important but little known contribution to UN peacekeeping missions defence and national security planning the most recent laws relating to national security and the role of the military in Indonesia Realpolitik Ideology offers suggestions about how to redefine concepts of national security to increase civil and democratic space and accountabilities and redress the historic imbalances between the civilian government and the military in Indonesia

Indonesia's Foreign Policy under Suharto Leo Suryadinata, 2022-01-24 The book which was first published in 1996 examines Indonesia's foreign policy under Suharto It not only details Indonesia's foreign policy behaviour vis vis Indonesia's neighbours and major powers but also places it in the context of foreign policy analysis Today the book remains as the only full length study on Indonesia's foreign policy under Suharto It is now reprinted with a new postscript which discusses the post Suharto era from B J Habibie to Joko Widodo Indonesia under Suharto had attempted to become a regional power to lead Southeast Asian states and beyond As the largest country and also the richest in terms of natural resources Suharto's Indonesia was held in deference by the ASEAN states However due to its limited capabilities its lack of military strength advanced technology and economic strength the political influence of Jakarta was in fact quite limited During the economic crisis Suharto was forced to step down He was succeeded by B J Habibie who was largely preoccupied with domestic issues who in turn was followed by weak presidencies such as Abdurrahman Wahid Gus Dur and Megawati Only after the ex general Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono assumed presidency did he manage to stabilize the situation and attained economic growth He even became known as the Foreign Policy President Nevertheless he was constrained by the harsh Indonesian reality limited resources a weak military and absence of political influence His successor Joko Widodo has been more concerned with economic matters and domestic politics Indonesian regional leadership declines further **From 'Stone-Age' to**

**'Real-Time'** Martin Slama, Jenny Munro, 2015-04-24 There are probably no other people on earth to whom the image of the stone age is so persistently attached than the inhabitants of the island of New Guinea which is divided into independent Papua New Guinea and the western part of the island known today as Papua and West Papua From Stone Age to Real Time examines the forms of agency frictions and anxieties the current moment generates in West Papua where the persistent stone age image meets the practices and ideologies of the real time a popular expression referring to immediate digital communication The volume is thus essentially occupied with discourses of time and space and how they inform questions of hierarchy and possibilities for equality Papuans are increasingly mobile and seeking to rework inherited ideas institutions

and technologies while also coming up against palpable limits on what can be imagined or achieved secured or defended This volume investigates some of these trajectories for the cultural logics and social or political structures that shape them The chapters are highly ethnographic based on in depth research conducted in diverse spaces within and beyond Papua These contributions explore topics ranging from hip hop to HIV AIDS to historicity filling much needed conceptual and ethnographic lacunae in the study of West Papua Indonesia, Law and Society Timothy Lindsey, 2008 Since the first edition Indonesia has undergone massive political and legal change as part of its post Soeharto reform process and its dramatic transition to democracy This work contains 25 new chapters and the 4 surviving chapters have all been revised where necessary Indonesia Law and Society now covers a broad range of legal fields and includes both historical and very up to date analyses and views on Indonesian legal issues It includes work by leading scholars from a wide range of countries There is still no comparable English language text in existence **A. H. Nasution and Indonesia's Elites** Barry

Turner, 2017-11-17 This is an account of the military political and personal life of Abdul Harus Nasution who was a seminal figure in modern Indonesian history in the years prior to his effective sidelining in the 1960s He was an important commander during Indonesia's struggle for independence who rose to become a key leader of the Indonesian armed forces under the first president Sukarno Perhaps more significantly he developed ideas about guerrilla warfare that developed into a sophisticated and socially conservative doctrine for the mobilising of civilian communities This in turn became the underpinning of the repressive military backed New Order regime of Indonesia's second president Suharto who ruled from 1966 until 1998 and which Nasution initially supported Understanding Nasution's thinking about total people's resistance is therefore very important for understanding the broader trajectory of Indonesian political history That includes both the New Order and the emerging democratic regime that developed after its collapse The new political system that called itself the Reform Era was in many ways a direct reaction to the New Order military's penetration and close control of Indonesian society but it has never dismantled the shadow state structure of the armed forces that Nasution designed and Suharto perfected In other words as this book shows Nasution's legacy still looms large today in Jokowi's Indonesia This is not the first assessment of Nasution's life but it differs from earlier works by its investigation of Nasution's personal life and in particular his relationship with the well off and well connected Gondokusumo family of which he became a member by his marriage to Johana Sunarti Gondokusumo The author's thorough investigation of Nasution's relationship with Sunarti and her father offers important new insights into how Nasution's ideas evolved as does the translations of important extracts from Nasution's own voluminous writing included in the text **Transwar Asia** Reto Hofmann, Max Ward, 2021-12-16 This volume considers the possibilities of the term transwar to understand the history of Asia from the 1920s to the 1960s Recently scholars have challenged earlier studies that suggested a neat division between the pre and postwar or colonial postcolonial periods in the national histories of East Asia instead assessing change and continuity across the divide of war

Taking this reconsideration further Transwar Asia explores the complex processes by which prewar and colonial ideologies practices and institutions from the 1920s and 1930s were reconfigured during World War II and crucially in the two decades that followed thus shaping the Asian Cold War and the processes of decolonization and nation state formation With contributions covering the transwar histories of China Indonesia Korea Japan the Philippines and Taiwan the book addresses key themes such as authoritarianism militarization criminal rehabilitation market controls labor regimes and anti communism A transwar angle the authors argue sheds new light on the continuing problems that undergirded the formation of postwar nation states and illuminates the political legacies that still shape the various regions in Asia up to the present

**Peranakan Chinese Identities in the Globalizing Malay Archipelago** Leo Suryadinata, 2022-02-21 Peranakan Chinese communities and their hybrid culture have fascinated many observers This book comprising fourteen chapters was mainly based on papers written by the author in the last two decades The chapters address Peranakan Chinese cultural national and political identities in the Malay Archipelago i e Indonesia Malaysia and Singapore IMS This book is divided into two parts Part I which is on the regional dimension contains nine chapters that discuss the three countries and beyond Part II consists of five chapters which focus on one country i e Indonesia This book not only discusses the past and the present but also the future of the Peranakan Chinese (Un) Civil Society and Political Change in Indonesia Verena

Beitinger-Lee, 2013-01-11 Un Civil Society and Political Change in Indonesia provides critical analysis of Indonesia s civil society and its impact on the country s democratization efforts that does not only take the classical pro democratic actors of civil society into account but also portrays uncivil groups and their growing influence on political processes Beitinger Lee offers a revised categorization of civil society including a model to define the sphere of uncivil society more closely and to identify several subcategories of uncivil society This is the first book to portrays various uncivil groups in Indonesia ranging from vigilantes militias paramilitaries youth groups civil security task forces and militant Islamic and other religious groups ethnonationalist groups to terrorist organizations and groups belonging to organized crime Moreover it provides the reader with an overview of Indonesia s history its political developments after the democratic opening main improvements under the various presidents since Suharto s fall constitutional amendments and key reforms in human rights legislation This book will be of interest to upper level undergraduates postgraduates and academics in political science and Southeast Asian studies

**Scandal and Democracy** Mary E. McCoy, 2019-03-15 Successful transitions to enduring democracy are both difficult and rare In Scandal and Democracy Mary E McCoy explores how newly democratizing nations can avoid reverting to authoritarian solutions in response to the daunting problems brought about by sudden change The troubled transitions that have derailed democratization in nations worldwide make this problem a major concern for scholars and citizens alike This study of Indonesia s transition from authoritarian rule sheds light on the fragility not just of democratic transitions but of democracy itself and finds that democratization s durability depends to a surprising extent on the role of the media

particularly its airing of political scandal and intraelite conflict More broadly Scandal and Democracy examines how the media's use of new freedoms can help ward off a slide into pseudodemocracy or a return to authoritarian rule As Indonesia marks the twentieth anniversary of its democratic revolution of 1998 it remains among the world's most resilient new democracies and one of the few successful democratic transitions in the Muslim world McCoy explains the media's central role in this change and corroborates that finding with comparative cases from Mexico Tunisia and South Korea offering counterintuitive insights that help make sense of the success and failure of recent transitions to democracy Electrifying Indonesia Anto Mohsin, 2023-12-05 Tells the story of the entanglement of politics and technology during Indonesia's rapid post World War II development In this innovative volume Anto Mohsin brings Indonesian studies together with science and technology studies to understand a crucial period in modern Indonesian history History in Uniform Katharine E. McGregor, 2007 Under the New Order regime 1967-98 the Indonesian military sought to monopolise the production of official history and control its contents The goal was to validate the political role of the armed forces condemn communism and promote military values A detailed examination of the Indonesian military's image making under Suharto **Fluid Iron** Tony Day, 2002-08-31 Fluid Iron is the first extended treatment of state formation in Southeast Asia from early to contemporary times and the first book length analysis of Western historical and ethnographic writing on the region It includes critical assessments of the work of Clifford Geertz O W Wolters Benedict Anderson and other major scholars who have written on early colonial and modern Southeast Asian history and culture Making use of the ideas of Weber Marx Foucault and postmodern and postcolonial theory Tony Day argues that culture must be restored to the study of Southeast Asian history so that the state and historical developments in the region can be returned to their own alternative historical contexts and trajectories He employs a wide range of contemporary scholarship as well as Southeast Asian literary and historical texts inscriptions and temples to explore the kinds of concepts and practices kinship networks cosmologies gender identities bureaucracies rituals violence and aesthetics that have been used for centuries to build states Highly readable and accessibly written Fluid Iron demonstrates that Southeast Asian state building has taken place in a part of the world that has always been a crossroads of cultural and transcultural change Day urges Southeast Asians to learn more about the history of their own state formations so they can safeguard not only human freedom but also the incongruity of their unique region in the years ahead Demokrasi Hamish McDonald, 2015-01-06 Indonesia a nation of thousands of islands and almost 250 million people straddles the junction of the Pacific and Indian oceans Current President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has presided over 6 per cent average yearly growth of its economy to surpass 1 trillion If this rate continues Indonesia will join the world's ten biggest economies in a decade or so just behind the so called BRIC countries The much discussed recent documentary The Act of Killing revived some of its darker past and Barack Obama's reminiscences about the childhood years he spent there briefly shone the spotlight on a country many Americans know little about Yet as Indonesia approaches its



2014 parliamentary and presidential elections its future is wide open Though the largest Muslim nation by population it remains a receiver of wisdom from the Arab world rather than a messenger of multi religious tolerance Its pursuit of trade agreements with Japan and South Korea have burnished its economic ambitions but its diplomacy is long on so called soft power and short on sanctions or force So what does the future hold for this pivotal place Award winning Asia Pacific journalist Hamish McDonald s *Demokrasi* is an accessible and authoritative introduction to the modern history and politics of this fascinating country

*The Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia* Ian Douglas Wilson, 2015-03-24

Gangs and militias have been a persistent feature of social and political life in Indonesia During the authoritarian New Order regime they constituted part of a vast network of sub contracted coercion and social control on behalf of the state Indonesia s subsequent democratisation has seen gangs adapt to and take advantage of the changed political context New types of populist street based organisations have emerged that combine predatory rent seeking with claims of representing marginalised social and economic groups Based on extensive fieldwork in Jakarta this book provides a comprehensive analysis of the changing relationship between gangs militias and political power and authority in post New Order Indonesia It argues that gangs and militias have manufactured various types of legitimacy in consolidating localised territorial monopolies and protection economies As mediators between the informal politics of the street and the world of formal politics they have become often influential brokers in Indonesia s decentralised electoral democracy More than mere criminal extortion it is argued that the protection racket as a social relation of coercion and domination remains a salient feature of Indonesia s post authoritarian political landscape This ground breaking study will be of interest to students and scholars of Indonesian and Southeast Asian politics political violence gangs and urban politics

## Decoding **Soeharto Pikiran Ucapan Dan Tindakan Saya**: Revealing the Captivating Potential of Verbal Expression

In a time characterized by interconnectedness and an insatiable thirst for knowledge, the captivating potential of verbal expression has emerged as a formidable force. Its power to evoke sentiments, stimulate introspection, and incite profound transformations is genuinely awe-inspiring. Within the pages of "**Soeharto Pikiran Ucapan Dan Tindakan Saya**," a mesmerizing literary creation penned by way of a celebrated wordsmith, readers attempt an enlightening odyssey, unraveling the intricate significance of language and its enduring impact on our lives. In this appraisal, we shall explore the book's central themes, evaluate its distinctive writing style, and gauge its pervasive influence on the hearts and minds of its readership.

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sieg der sith über die jedi hat darth vader seinem meister treu gedient doch nach der zerstörung des todessterns ist vader  
beim imperator in ungnade gefallen nun sucht vader den piloten der den todesstern

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oct 3 2014 1 jan 2 2013 has anyone found a solution to the intake manifold flapper motor issue apparently vw does not sell only the motor which is easily removed and replaced they only sell the complete intake manifold the motor looks exactly like the one on the 2 0 gas engine but has a different part number any advice 1 fault found

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regulating flap control unit j808 q removing and installing chapter q if renewed erase learnt values and adapt engine control unit j623 vehicle diagnostic tester guided functions 7 7 nm q self tapping bolt q

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oct 3 2017 quoted 0 post s 2009 golf 1 4 gt tsi fault p10a5 intake air flap control actuator position sensor signal too high and other issues 10 03 2017 10 58 pm so i have the above mentioned car i noticed it was idling rather unevenly and then the eml started flashing and eventually stayed on

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mar 14 2013 volkswagen air intake flap action video and info craig gibson 212 subscribers subscribe 28k views 10 years ago  
i made this video to explain the strange

**mk5 golf intake manifold flap issues uk volkswagen forum** - May 15 2023

feb 13 2018 throttle actuator control motor throttle actuator control motor relay possible solutions check replace fuse s  
check replace all faulty wiring connector s read measuring value blocks mvb when is the code detected power supply for the  
throttle control motor is provided to the engine control module ecm via throttle control motor relay

vw golf 2008 control circuit for intake air regulating flap - Sep 19 2023

dec 19 2014 the v380 is part of the j808 regulating flap control unit and shares the same 5 pin connector it is used to  
regulate the intake air diesel engines do not use throttle body units their engine speed is regulated controlled by the amount  
of fuel injected

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volkswagen golf service repair manual heating air conditioning air conditioner control motors removing and installing front  
air distribution flap actuation unit climatronic removing remove dash panel general body repairs interior rep gr 70 remove  
the air duct for the defroster vent chapter

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remove fresh air recirculated air air flow flap control motor v425 1 from air intake duct disconnect electrical connector 3  
installing installation is carried out in the reverse order when installing note the following note check operation of flaps and  
hinge mechanism before fitting

**1 4 tsi gt p10a4 fault fix uk volkswagen forum** - Nov 09 2022

nov 21 2018 scanning codes gave p10a4 intake air flap control actuator mechanical malfunction more often than not this  
would only happen when cold and the code could often be cleared after it had been run for a while i had a full diagnostic run  
which included running through test cycles of all valves and actuators and this showed nothing up

*p2009 intake manifold air control actuator solenoid bank 1* - Oct 08 2022

apr 30 2017 obd ii fault code p2009 is a generic code that is most commonly defined as intake manifold air control actuator  
solenoid bank 1 circuit low but sometimes also as intake manifold runner control imrc solenoid control circuit low bank 1 or  
less often as intake manifold runner control circuit low bank 1

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**p10a4 intake air flap control actuator mechanical malfunction** - Aug 06 2022

feb 16 2016 searching for fault code p10a4 gets me several vag related forum posts that indicate that the problem is related to a vacuum operated flap in the air intake and that the fault sends you into limp mode which agrees with what you report the fix seems to be to replace the intake manifold which seems a little drastic to me

**victim of vw golf 1 4 tsi gt 160bhp turbo fault** - Apr 14 2023

oct 5 2019 the fault that s caused limp mode is p10a0 actuation regulating flap for intake air electrical which is the regulating flap for the air bypass of the supercharger people commonly misdiagnose the 004256 control circuit for intake air regulating flap error for n75 valves or throttle bodies as its an error specific to the 1 4 tsi

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apr 9 2016 vw golf mk4 fuel cap flap actuator

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intake air control valve what is the best brand for the vw golf v hatchback 1k1 1 6fsi 2003 2008 115hp 85kw the best brands for the vw golf v hatchback 1k1 1 6fsi 2003 2008 115hp 85kw in the category intake air control valve are ridex pierburg febi bilstein topiran abakus

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feb 26 2019 volkswagen tank flap actuator changevw golf 5 variant tank flap actuator changevw golf 6 variant tank flap actuator changevw jetta tank flap actuator change

intake manifold flap actuator cheap fix tdiclub forums - Jul 17 2023

oct 16 2016 i pulled the intake manifold flap actuator and bench tested it by applying voltage across the motor pins and the actuator arm moved appropriately i was convinced that the motor and linkage was operating properly also the linkage and the arm on the manifold operated smoothly without any effort

replacing intake manifold runner control motor flap vw - Sep 07 2022

jan 21 2012 step 1 locate the imrc motor it s on the driver s side of the engine under the hpfp on the side of the intake manifold see the pic below its circled in red step 2 remove the wiring harness that s in the way just unplug all connectors that you see attached to that big harness throttle body hpfp the motor itself etc

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pull off front air distribution flap control motor v426 1 and remove it disconnect electrical connector 3 installing installation is carried out in the reverse order when installing note the following note check operation of flaps and hinge mechanism before fitting make sure levers and shafts are properly fitted in the mounts

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