558 THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES

Overall, this is a well-written and timely book that deserves to be read by all those with a professional interest in Southeast Asia or those who want to learn more about this region.

OZAY MEHMET

Carleton University

Half-Hearted Reform: Electoral Institutions and the Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia. By DWIGHT Y. KING. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003. xiii, 240 pp. \$65.00 (cloth).

Dwight Y. King has written a highly informative study of the national elections of 1999 in Indonesia based on extensive statistical analysis, comparisons with voting there since 1955, and valuable insights into theoretical and practical issues arising in that country's transition from authoritarian governance. The study is reported in a text in which reference to the statistical apparatus is held to a minimum.

King begins by situating the elections in the literature on democratic transitions. The Indonesian transition began "from the top," with Suharto's unexpected resignation under the pressure of abandonment by key groups in the elite. The process was therefore predictably marked by intense argumentation and extended negotiations, resulting in the "half-hearted reform" of King's title.

The rules of the game for 1999 were intensely debated, and the story is not

without irony. Indonesia's previous national elections, beginning in 1955, had taken place according to the system of proportional representation, under which voters chose a party rather than a candidate. The practice had been borrowed from the Dutch. In 1999 many reformers favored a system of single-member constituencies. They believed a focus on single-member districts would make for stronger ties among members of the legislature and their constituents and thus make the legislature more relevant to

local needs and aspirations. They also aimed to reduce the power of party leaders, who derived much of their political clout from their ability to decide the rank order in which party candidates would be listed for selection when votes were tabulated. Party leaders resisted bitterly. The irony, according to King, is that the modified

proportional-representation system that prevailed by spreading representation widely among a relatively large number of parties might have been critical to enabling Indonesia to carry out the 1999 elections without the violence that many feared. In fact, as he observes, the elections went off more smoothly than anyone expected.

King also identifies a small change in the electoral design that was as contentious as the structure of the overall system. Agreement was reached among party leaders only at the last possible minute that civil servants should be barred from running as candidates for the legislature unless they resigned and should be barred from working as party functionaries during the campaign unless they took a leave without pay. The rule change denied the formerly governing Golkar much of the support that it previously enjoyed from the bureaucracy, the members of which had been obliged to belong to Golkar and ordered to vote for it at polls in their places of work. King judges that this rule change denied Golkar its likely winning of a plurality of seats in the House of People's Representatives. The rule also paved the way for subsequent constitutional amendments that separated the legislature and bureaucracy into

separate bodies with much more clearly defined powers than had been the case previously. The treatment of the political rights of civil servants is a particularly

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