

spent. And the leftover, whatever money that we had, was spent for the first round of the presidential election in July. So then came the third one, the second round for the presidential election. Not many people knew that there was almost no money left in the coffers. By the third round of elections, I can understand how also in the camp of SBY there was no real money left for campaigning. Luckily the period of campaigning was only three days. We were saved by the rules.

But if you study the rules closely, it was very complex. And I don't understand why our congressmen and congresswomen adopted such complexity. The only reason why I think they were adopted, these very complex rules, is because Indonesian society is a very complex society. We are a complex society; so we like to adopt complex rules as well. If it's too simple, we don't feel good. No fun. Our bureaucrats used to say, if citizens come to their office, "if I can make it complex and difficult for you, why should I make it easy?"

Complexity. If you look at our food, have you ever eaten *gado-gado*? *Gado-gado* is a mixture of everything put onto a plate. We think it's very delicious but it is a complex meal nevertheless.

What I want to say this morning is to give you some kind of background on the political situation. You have seen the outcomes, the new government, the new composition of parties, and the new fragmentation. But I think a lesson that we can learn is in terms of the conventional wisdom regarding political continuity and change. I could discuss several aspects of what we call continuity and change but particularly what I want to emphasize is the question of secularism versus Islamism. By using the term Islamism I do not mean to say that all Islamic political parties are fundamentalists or radicals. All I mean by this term is that there are parties whose base cannot be separated from Islam or from the Islamic political community and, in contrast, there are parties whose supporters are nationalists and secularists in the very broad sense of the word. Besides these two main streams, there is also political fragmentation and a growing number of what we in political science call protest voters. And there is also the related question of whether Indonesian voters are becoming more and more regional. Now if we want to understand properly the voting behaviours and political divisions among the people, we had better look at our history, so here I will give a very brief introduction to the political history.