

The fourth is the military. The military is still an all too significant force in Indonesia politics. There is a newly passed law, and from what has been reported, it appears vague and uncertain about the military's future. It is uncertain whether territorial command will stay. The military is still under the authority of the President, and not under the Minister of Defense, so it is not clear yet as to how much civilians will have authority over the military. It still allows for military personnel to occupy civilian roles. It also legitimizes some of the military's business practices although it appears there is a planned phasing out of the role of the military in business over the next five years. It will be interesting to see how that happens.

And terrorism also remains a fundamental issue that several speakers have already mentioned.

I want to spend the rest of my remarks on the issue of national unity. The problems in Aceh and Papua are extremely significant to Indonesia's future and a great challenge to its incoming President. In the words of scholars of democracy, there cannot be democratic consolidation without first solving the problems of "stateness." What they mean by stateness is consolidating boundaries and having recognized legitimacy for a regime in place. This is an issue that is quite problematic in both Aceh and Papua.

So let me turn to this, as this is my area of research. What is the current situation in Aceh and Papua? In Aceh, unfortunately there appears to be no solution in sight. Megawati promised no new bloodshed but then approved a military emergency and an expanded military solution against the Free Aceh Movement since April 2003. There have been no significant negotiations since then. If we take a look at the recent polls, we see that the Acehnese gave only 22% of their votes for Megawati, which was well below the national support for her. This should probably not be seen as support for SBY, but rather a rejection of whoever is in power, and in particular a rejection of the policies of the Megawati government in Aceh.

We don't have the time here to go fully into the issue of the human rights abuses, but we can try to understand where Aceh is at now. The human right abuses in the late 1980s and the subsequent emergency period can be seen as one of the main reasons for the support of the Free Aceh Movement in the late 1990s after *reformasi*. And for the support for a referendum on independence of Aceh after the fall of Suharto after 1998. I stress this because we often times hear in international media about the role of Islam in Aceh, which as far as