
THE INDONESIAN FREE BOOK PRESS¹

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Introduction

Indonesia has been known for decades as an authoritarian state that bans books that are critical of the government, imprisons controversial authors as political dissidents, and indirectly subjects everything in print to heavy censorship. But even during the most oppressive years of the New Order era, it would have been an exaggeration to say that nothing that the government did not like got printed. The weekly news journal *TEMPO* emerged during the early Suharto era and was allowed to be increasingly critical of the government until, as an abrupt demonstration of ultimate authoritarian power to silence voices of opposition, the regime's officials shut the magazine down in 1994 (along with *Editor* and *Detik*).² At that time, as in previous decades, one overwhelming criterion was used to determine whether or not to honor the notion of free expression and to what extent the illusion of a free press should be

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² Dedy N. Hidayat, "Mass Media: Between the Palace and the Market," in *Indonesia: the Challenge of Change*, eds. R. W. Baker, et al. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), p. 191.

allowed to persist—maintaining *national stability* was the yardstick by which almost all repressive state acts were measured or, at least, justified.

Ironically, when it came to literary texts, it was just such suppression of the printed word that put Indonesian literature on the world map. The Indonesian author best known internationally is Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Through the work of translators and publishers outside Indonesia, the novels of Pramoedya's banned Buru Quartet were made available in English beginning in the 1980s. Pramoedya's name became synonymous with Indonesian literature for the Western world, something that would not have happened so readily had it not been for Pramoedya's history of imprisonment and internal exile—the story of which was related in the jacket copy, afterword, or first recto page of each book. Biographical details of Pramoedya's imprisonment and the banned status of his books constituted an indispensable part of the narrative power of those texts for non-Indonesian readers. The popularity of authors such as Mochtar Lubis and Ahmad Tohari with foreign readers was enhanced in much the same way by stories of their resistance to the regime—the former had been repeatedly imprisoned for his uncompromising views on the freedom of the press and the latter famously censored for his portrayal of local deprivation following Suharto's rise to power. Tohari is still criticized for depicting the erstwhile cultural practices of his home village in the Banyumas region of Central Java in a way that transgresses Islamic values as they are currently interpreted by the dominant religious factions.

In the first half decade following the departure of former President Suharto, no major restrictions have been imposed on book publishing by the central government. As an indication of the new freedom of the print press, *TEMPO* resumed publication in October of 1998. Most of the current trends in publishing industry-government interaction are rather positive or, simply, neutral. A new freedom of content as well as an increase in the total number of books published has followed the demise of the New Order. Most of Pramoedya's books—long available only underground—have been reprinted. Pramoedya's equally persecuted publisher, Hasta Mitra, finally got the wide respect that was long overdue for its steadfast dedication to free expression through book publishing.³ An expatriate, Mark Hanusz, established Equinox press in Indonesia, a major English-language publisher that would like to secure the translation rights to the Pramoedya books that are not already held by others. In 2003, Ahmad Tohari's *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* trilogy was republished by Gramedia with the restoration of the

³ In April of 2004, Joesoef Isak, director of Hasta Mitra press was awarded the 2004 "Jeri Laber International Freedom to Publish Award" for his "commitment to world literature in the face of political obstacles over the last twenty-five years." See *The Jakarta Post*, April 15, 2004, p. 1. This is only the second year in which this annual award from the Association of American Publishers has been offered, but it is still of note that no similar award was forthcoming to anyone in the Indonesian journalistic press. The international acknowledgment that most nearly equaled such recognition for the journalistic press was the World Press Photo of the Year 2003 honorable mention, awarded to Indonesian photographer Tarmizy Harva for his photograph—taken a couple of months after the Indonesian army intensified operations in Aceh—of a nearly decapitated Islamic teacher, still slumping from the tree to which he had been tied when assassinated. Also in the frame are women family members who were afraid to lay the deceased to rest as TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, the Indonesian National Armed Forces) often accuses those who bury the bodies of slain Acehnese of being affiliated with separatist GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, The Free Aceh Movement).

portions of the text that had been censored for twenty-two years.⁴ New import bookstores, such as Aksara and QB World Books, have popped up in Jakarta offering a wide selection of previously largely unavailable import books. Books on Marxism have appeared by the dozens, when for years no one in Indonesia dared be associated with Marxist thought or ideas for fear of being labeled a Communist, an atheist, and an enemy of the state.

Despite the dissolution of past censorship rulings, literary fame for the world's fourth most populous country will not come from the printing of formerly banned books, but from the opening up of the publishing industry to a multitude of new voices and perspectives. The industry is experiencing a renaissance of fiction and nonfiction books both by and about formerly oppressed and marginalized minorities, as Indonesian culture shifts from following a monolithic cult of nationalism to fostering a new multicultural respect for the vast diversity of the archipelago, thereby broadening the concept of Indonesian-ness. Indonesia's ethnic Chinese have returned as authors and subjects to an extent unparalleled since the heyday of *peranakan* literature—written in pre-standardized Bahasa by Chinese Indonesians—from the turn of the last century to the 1930s. Literature by women has not only greatly surpassed that of their male counterparts in innovation and popularity, but feminist writing has captured the critical acclaim of the nation and garnered honors from abroad. The most high-profile new authors have all been women: Ayu Utami, Dewi Lestari, Djenar Maesa Ayu. The promotion of diverse voices is poised to put Indonesia on the world literary map with greater force than ever before.

In the nonfiction arena, liberal Islamic presses such as LKiS (Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial, The Institute for Islamic and Social Studies) in Yogyakarta—which published what seems to have been the first Indonesian-language book explaining the philosophy of Nietzsche—and Mizan, in Bandung, have redoubled their efforts to publish books in Bahasa Indonesia that meet local needs and demand, rather than simply importing Western books.⁵ A steady supply of how-to books, such as the very popular gardening and fish-raising guides by Agromedia, continues to offer a plethora of titles in what is a quite profitable nonfiction market niche. Most other successful publishers concentrate their nonfiction titles predominantly in the bestselling pop genres, such as management and self-help books, while the academic presses continue

⁴ The irony is that on the jacket copy of the book Gramedia now proudly boasts of restoring the bowdlerized passages, but it was Gramedia itself, as publisher, that originally censored the text—not any government authority. This situation is emblematic of the dominant form of censorship in Indonesia for the past four decades. That is, self-censorship—rather than direct state intervention—by authors, publishers, and editors in both the media and the book industry has prevailed. After the disappearances and imprisonment of authors and journalists in 1965 and subsequent years, no rational person would unduly risk offending the authorities—so that, though several books and newspapers were banned, direct censorship, which would involve excising passages from texts, did not develop to sophisticated levels.

Also recently available is an English translation of the Tohari trilogy by René T. A. Lysloff, who has conducted research in the Banyumas region, where he met Tohari. The translation was published by the Lontar Foundation under the title of *The Dancer* (2004).

⁵ Liberal Islamic presses currently benefit from outside funding from such sources as the Asia Foundation, which also subsidizes some print media. The Nietzsche book, titled simply, *Nietzsche* (1996), was written by St. Sunardi, an Arabic-speaking professor of history at Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta. St. Sunardi, *Nietzsche* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1996).

to offer one of the outlets for titles that are not expected to make a substantial profit—though university libraries remain underfunded. Nonfiction contributions by Indonesian authors and publishers to a global audience remain small in number, and their appeal is at least somewhat contingent upon the development of a larger national publishing industry. Nevertheless, nonfiction books have enjoyed a recent renaissance in both the variety of topics addressed and the sheer number of titles published.

But the book publishing renaissance in Indonesia is still subject to and limited by economic pressures. One of the greatest barriers to the creation of a significant reading culture in Indonesia—and a concomitant increase in the quality and quantity of books published—has been the price of books, which is out of range for most of the 84 percent of the population that is literate. And it is the high price of books that makes photocopying a book cheaper than purchasing it and drives most readers to other forms of published material, that is, periodicals from newspapers to magazines to tabloids and everything in between.

The State of the Journalistic Press

Newspapers can shape public opinion as much as they reflect it. Marshall McLuhan, Walter Lippman, George Seldes, and Noam Chomsky have all criticized the extent to which the American media are influenced by political power, advertisers, and commercial decisions.⁶ A distrust of the media⁷ is fairly global at this time following a series of journalistic scandals—caused by blunders and the outright fabrication of facts in many cases—but in Indonesia a general distrust of journalism is particularly acute.⁸ Some have attributed the perception of an irresponsible media to culture shock at the

⁶ See Marshal McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1964); Noam Chomsky, "Media Control," Lecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 17, 1991 (excerpted from the *Alternative Press Review*, Fall 1993; accessed online at <<http://www.zmag.org/chomsky/talks/9103-media-control.html>> [1 April 2004]); Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 2002); *Tell the Truth and Run: George Seldes and the American Press*, video, written by Rick Goldsmith and Sharon Wood, 1996; Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, NY: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997 [first published 1922]).

⁷ Generally I will use the term "media" to indicate the "mass media" or the journalist press or periodical publications, but not book publishing. I have eschewed the usage of the term "media" as a general reference to printing, as this would conflate books with periodicals and newspapers.

⁸ Thang D. Nguyen says of the media throughout the world that they have become a "weapon of mass deception" by failing to report "accurate facts and objective information in a timely manner." Nguyen blames both the dominance of the media by government and, paradoxically, the greater freedom experienced by the media for making the press irresponsible. Nguyen cites the Asian Bird Flu outbreak as a case in point, as throughout Asia and Southeast Asia nearly every government denied the presence of the bird virus in order to avoid a panic and to protect the national economy, particularly the broiler and tourist industries, while local media failed to expose the truth of the extent of the outbreak in a timely manner. Nguyen believes the Thaksin Shinawatra government in Thailand was especially influenced by large agro-business interests in this case and that the Thai media was afraid to take on the government, while in post-Suharto Indonesia, where government coercion constituted a less palpable threat, an irresponsible media was to blame. See Thang D. Nguyen, "Controlled Media Could Cause Mass Deception," *The Jakarta Post*, March 8, 2004, Opinion and Editorial section. All references to articles in *The Jakarta Post* that do not have page numbers were accessed online at <<http://www.thejakartapost.com>>.

new methods of reporting introduced following decades of sedate news coverage during the New Order era.⁹

In December 2003, Bill Kovach—an internationally recognized advocate of responsible journalism as one of the keys to democracy¹⁰—visited Indonesia. Kovach argues for the importance of good journalism to national prosperity, contending that prosperity depends on the citizenry's ready access to news and knowledge that enable them to make informed decisions. Though arguing for reforms within journalistic institutions, Kovach is quick to point out external limitations on the press that inhibit important freedoms; for example, he criticized the government policy that prohibits foreign journalists from entering Aceh. The growing problem of corruption among Indonesian journalists, Kovach argued, would be diminished if journalists' salaries were increased. For the present, the temptation to extort money in return for biased coverage—either by offering to promote a person, company, or institution in print or by offering to withhold negative portrayals—remains too great for many journalists to resist.¹¹

Rather than citing the explosion in the number of new print publications as proof of democratization in news reportage, both Ardimas Sasdi and Kovach identify it as part of the problem. The ease with which a publishing permit can be obtained¹² has led to the acquisition of presses by people who know nothing about journalism but who see these investments merely as contributions to a diversified portfolio.¹³ Their entry into the field accentuates the media's profit-oriented approach, to the detriment of ethical principles, specifically journalism's code of ethics.¹⁴ The failures of journalists and publishers to regulate themselves, evidenced by failures to get the facts straight and a tendency to misquote sources, has led to a significant breach of trust with the public.¹⁵ Additionally, the number of new journalists has increased at such a rate that the industry is now faced with a labor glut—in 1997 there were only five thousand

⁹ See Ardimas Sasdi, "Verdict on 'Koran Tempo' Daily a Deathblow to Media," *The Jakarta Post*, January 8, 2004, Opinion and Editorial section. Sasdi argues that the use of more critical pieces, more controversial headlines, exposes, and caricatures offended people's sensibilities. Affiliation with powerful political groups and the extent of ownership of large media groups by ruling elites further add to the distrust of the media in Indonesia.

¹⁰ See Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and The Public Should Expect* (New York, NY: Three Rivers Press, 2001).

¹¹ Bill Kovach, interview on *Metro This Morning*, MetroTV, December 16, 2003.

¹² In June of 1998, then-Minister of Information Yunus Yosfiah decreed new rules simplifying the process and requirements to obtain a newspaper license and downgrading his ministry's right to revoke a license to the right to temporarily suspend the license. In September of 1999, President Habibie further liberalized the media by signing a new Press Law (Law No. 40/1999) from the House of Representatives (DPR, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat). According to Alfons Taryadi, "Now, there are 1,342 holders of press publication licenses, for 384 magazines, 328 dailies, 619 tabloids, and eleven bulletins." Alfons Taryadi, "Three Decades of Book Publishing in Indonesia," *ABD (Asia/Pacific Book Development)* 30,3 (2000): 6-7.

¹³ Bill Kovach, interview on *Metro This Morning*, December 16, 2003. See also Hidayat, "Mass Media: Between the Palace and the Market," p. 186.

¹⁴ A short list of journalistic ethics would include covering all sides of a story, maintaining some measure of objectivity, attributing one's sources honestly, and covering newsworthy events.

¹⁵ Sasdi, "Verdict on 'Koran Tempo' Daily a Deathblow to Media."

journalists in Indonesia, but by 2003 that number had tripled to 15,000¹⁶—a situation that depresses wages and makes corruption a more tempting source of income to journalists.

In the absence of other checks, the courts have stepped in, especially by taking up libel suits, but Sasdi points out that the courts too are corrupt and exploited by profiteering lawyers and their clients. These legal abuses threaten to reverse post-Suharto reforms broadening freedom of the press and pressure the media to begin censoring itself again, a tendency that still maintains a great deal of momentum. The Tempo Group, for instance, is less likely to report on public scams and scandals after incurring the expense of legal fees and court judgments in several recent libel cases decided against it. In January 2004, for example, the South Jakarta District court found *Koran Tempo* guilty of defamation of character (just one of seven cases filed against the Tempo Group by Sino-Indonesian business tycoon Tomy Winata) for suggesting that Tomy was linked to a fire that destroyed the Tanah Abang textile market because he had plans to renovate it;¹⁷ the court ordered the newspaper to pay US\$1 million in damages.¹⁸ *TEMPO* is currently appealing the case before the Supreme Court. The newspaper had published Tomy's denial, giving coverage to both sides of the story, but the court decided that it was not *equal* coverage.¹⁹

The numerous civil cases against the print media, the dearth of investigative reporting, and the unethical and unprofessional practices of many journalists are signs of a press in danger. But the woes of the media are not the woes of book publishers.

The Book Publishing Sector

Books are susceptible to many of the same forces as newspapers. Book publishers can also be shut down by the central authorities, courts, or financially influential businessmen and corporations trying to protect their images. But since the fall of

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ On March 25, 2004, Tebyan A'maari, chief director of urban developer PD Pembangunan Sarana Jaya, officially proposed to Jakarta Governor Sutiyoso a US \$698 million development project involving the construction of malls, business complexes, and apartments in the Tanah Abang area, for which he assured city officials that there would be no shortage of investors. A sixteen-storey, three-basement mall is already in the process of construction in the Blok A area where the old textile market was destroyed by fire on February 19, 2003. See "Tanah Abang to have New Look in Five Years," *The Jakarta Post*, March 26, 2004.

¹⁸ A week after *TEMPO* lost the case, Ardimas Sasdi cited a ruling by the South Jakarta District Court in favor of another business tycoon, Marimutu Sinivasan, that ordered *TEMPO* to print an apology—for libelously criticizing his business—in advertisements in forty-one media outlets. See Sasdi, "Verdict on 'Koran Tempo' Daily a Deathblow to Media." Sinivasan also sued *Kompas* daily and settled out of court. Furthermore, Sasdi notes the sentencing of the editor of the daily *Rakyat Merdeka* to a five-month suspended jail term for printing a caricature of House of Representatives Speaker and failed presidential candidate, Akbar Tandjung.

¹⁹ The courts continue to disregard Press Law in civil libel suits, opting to apply the stricter criminal code instead in cases involving the media. In one of the Tomy vs. *TEMPO* cases, the criminal code is being used as the basis for the civil suit, where Article 14(1) of the 1946 Criminal Code is being invoked to try *TEMPO* chief editor Bambang Harymurti and journalists Ahmad Taufik and T. Iskandar Ali for "deliberately disseminating rumors and publishing a report that could provoke public disorder." See M. Taufiqurrahman, "'Tempo' Commemorates Attack as Members Stand Trial," *The Jakarta Post*, March 9, 2004.

Suharto, no book publisher has suffered any of these fates. Book censorship, other than self-censorship, is absent in the *Reformasi* era, as the censorship board (the Lembaga Sensor Film) that censors and rates all films does not censor books, and as the Attorney General's Office—or any other government agency, including the Information and Communication Agency—does not excise sections of (read: censor) books. No book has been banned since the *Reformasi* era began,²⁰ though the central government still could reserve the right to do so. On the contrary, the central authorities once or twice protected books from “sweepings” by groups of extremists who found their content objectionable.²¹ And there was even brief talk of adding a Freedom of the Press amendment to the Constitution.²²

The book publishing industry is currently enjoying a renaissance of unprecedented proportions. As with newspapers and periodicals, there has been a flood of new publications since *Reformasi* legislation has made getting publishing permits²³ easier.

²⁰ Ignatius Haryanto, “Kebebasan Baru dan Eksperimen Lima Tahun,” *Matabaca* 1,12 (August 2003): 23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24. Book “sweepings” were banned by the Ministry of Justice (*Menteri Kehakiman*) in response to arson and vandalism that took place in May 2001, at which time other government agencies failed to protect books, bookstores, and book publishers from “sweepers” who threatened to destroy and burn their stock. In fact, at that time, “protection” appeared in the form of proactive police “sweepings” in Yogyakarta, as undercover police seized nineteen titles of “Leftist” books from local bookstores, allegedly as a “preventative measure” against the threat of “sweeping” raids by self-identified anti-Communist groups. See “Polda Sweeping 19 Buku Kiri: Antisipasi, Pengedar Tidak Diberi Sanksi” *Jawa Pos*, May 5, 2001 (accessed online at <<http://www.ias.nl/host/inis/INL/docs/Kamis10.05.doc>>). Police later cited New Order prohibitions of “extreme Left” and “Communist stream” books by the Attorney General's Office as the legal basis for the raid. “Polda Razia Buku Kekiri-kirian” *Bernas*, May 10, 2001 (accessed online at <<http://www.ias.nl/host/inis/INL/docs/Kamis10.05.doc>>). At that same time, the central authorities in Jakarta offered little or no protection to bookstores when the Islamic Youth Movement (Gerakan Pemuda Islam, PMI) group, a member of the Anti-Communist Coalition (Aliansi Anti-Komunis, AAK), held a rally burning “Communist” books and then threatened to “sweep” bookstores to remove and burn all “Leftist” books. Gramedia was among bookstore conglomerates that decided to remove temporarily such books from their shelves to avoid violence or destruction of property. See “Gramedia Bookstores Remove ‘Leftist’ Titles from Shelves,” *The Jakarta Post*, May 4, 2001. Ikapi (Ikatan Penerbit Indonesia), the Indonesian Publisher's Association, took a neutral stance on the issue when the Anti-Communist Coalition first threatened to “sweep” books from bookstores—failing to stand up for freedom of the press, the free expression of ideas, and tolerance of books with potentially controversial topics. Arguments and actions on both sides appealed to the notion of “national stability.” The book “sweeping” mobs argued that “Communist” books threatened stability, as the nation remained traumatized by the events of 1965 and the subsequent purge of Communists, in which as many as one million people were accused of affiliation with the Communist Party and murdered. The removal of books by bookstores and police was also done to prevent confrontation with fundamentalists that might lead to riots and social instability. Among the books seized by police in Yogya were: *Jadilah Komunis yang Baik*, by D. N. Aidit and almost any book with the words “Communism” or “Marxism” or the names “Marx” or “Mao Tse Tung” in its title. Also removed were *Bumi Manusia*, *Anak Semua Bangsa*, *Jejak Langkah*, and *Rumah Kaca* (aka, The Buru Quartet), by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. The Franz Magnis-Suseno book that I mention later in this section when discussing freedom of the book press in 2004 was one of the books burned and temporarily removed from the shelves of many bookstores in 2001.

²² Kurniawan Hari, “Commission Scraps Articles on Press Freedom, Human Rights,” *The Jakarta Post* (April 27, 2004), p. 4.

²³ The *Surat Izin Usaha Penerbitan Pers* (SIUPP, Press Publication Business License) has historically been required for media, and the First Secretary of the Indonesian Publisher's Association (Ikapi) Yogyakarta Branch is quoted as saying that new publishing houses need only secure one permit specific to (book) publishing, which he identifies as the “*Surat Izin Usaha Penerbitan* (SIUP).” See I Puja Raharja, quoted in

The general mood of *Reformasi* lessened the fear of persecution among those who aspired to publish alternative views, and the wide range of topics and controversies addressed in these publications is proof of the newfound freedoms enjoyed by the publishing industry. Perhaps one of the most poignant examples of this new freedom is the profusion of Marxist books that have emerged, despite the long-standing persecution of Communist sympathizers and thought. In fact, a 1966 law still stands on the books, technically making the teaching or dissemination (which would include publishing, particularly in the media, to whom this prohibition was reiterated in a 1966 Press Law) of Communist, Marxist, or Leninist ideas (doctrines) illegal. But in regard to book publishing, the law is effectively defunct, as the appearance of titles dealing with socialism and Marxism attests. Two such books—*Pemikiran Karl Marx: Dari Sosialisme Utopis ke Perselisihan Revisionisme*, from a mainstream press, and *Karl Marx, Revolusi, dan Sosialisme*, from an NGO (non-governmental organization)—have been prominently displayed in bookstores.²⁴

One aspect of the book publishing renaissance has been the emergence of many small alternative presses (*penerbitan gurem*, or *penerbitan kaki lima*).²⁵ Yogyakarta, for example, because it is a university town, has a high proportion of readers and offers relatively cheap production and labor costs. As a result, there are over fifty publishers in DIY (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, the Special District of Yogyakarta) for a population of just over three million (about 250,000 of whom are students), making Yogya one of the four most important book publishing cities in Indonesia, along with Jakarta, Bandung, and Medan.²⁶

Another facet of the book publishing renaissance has been the flowering of new literature. Fiction and literary criticism represent the greatest number of books printed

Sulistyo Budi Nurcahyo, "Puja Raharja tentang Penerbit 'Gurem'" (Puja Raharaja on Small Presses), *Kabare Yogya*, April 2004, p. 8. But the acronym SIUP (one "P") usually stands for the general Trade Business License (*Surat Izin Usaha Perdagangan*) that all businesses of a certain size must apply for. In the Suharto years, the SIUPP (two "P"s) could easily be revoked to shut down a publisher, and this was precisely the method used on *TEMPO*, *Editor*, and *Detik* in 1994. The 1999 Press Law makes no mention of new media publishers having to apply for a publishing license; the law only requires that a new publisher announce publicly a "responsible person" (who is legally liable) and list the name and address of the printer in the publication (Article 6, Section 12).

²⁴ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Pemikiran Karl Marx: Dari Sosialisme Utopis ke Perselisihan Revisionisme* (Marxist Thought: from Socialist Utopianism to Revisionist Quarrels) (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2001). Ken Budha Kusumandaru, *Karl Marx, Revolusi, dan Sosialisme* (Karl Marx, Revolution, and Socialism) (Yogyakarta: Insist Press, 2003). It is mostly college students and their professors who are buying the books on Marxism, usually out of intellectual curiosity. Some readers are affiliated with NGOs and other organizations and read these books in a more politically engaged manner, but most of the people with whom I talked, who had read any of these books, were more detached. One author who wrote a book on Marx tells me that he is not at all sympathetic to Communism in practice, but that the forbidden nature of the topic (he began the book in the 1990s, though he did not publish it until 2003) made it all the more enticing on an intellectual level.

²⁵ Both of these terms denotatively refer to "small presses"—which need not necessarily be politically or socially alternative—but the terms are used interchangeably with "*alternatif*," largely to indicate publishers that fall under this rubric and figure as alternatives to the big, established publishing houses.

²⁶ Sulistyo Budi Nurcahyo, "Puja Raharja tentang Penerbit 'Gurem,'" pp. 8-9. See also the editorial introduction to this and other articles on page 7 of the same April 2004 edition of *Kabare Yogya*.

with subsidies from non-governmental agencies.²⁷ New literary genres have emerged, such as the genre some have referred to as Emancipation Literature (*Sastra Emansipasi*)²⁸ or Liberation Literature (*Sastra Pembebasan*),²⁹ in which women authors, such as Ayu Utami, Dewi Lestari, and Djenar Maesa Ayu, break with expected norms, shocking their readers, especially on the topics of gender, sex, and other taboos, and claiming to write for themselves first and not for an imagined ideal reader, who represents the accepted social mores of society. This trend, and the fact that these books seem to be untouched by censorship, was made possible by a sharp *Reformasi*-minded turn toward freer expression and greater formal tolerance of alternative views. The strong sexual content of fiction by women has been titillating enough so that these titles dominate fiction sales. Unfortunately, the trend threatens to pigeonhole the better works to the category referred to somewhat dismissively as *Sastra Wangi* (perfumed literature), a term that partially conflates female authorship with the romance novel genre and low-brow writing.

Unlike their peers in the journalistic press, the authors of nonfiction books are not widely perceived as conveying information in an irresponsible manner. The Indonesian public does not generally assume that a great many Indonesian authors are accepting bribes to write biased books; in fact, there is a general misperception that books pass a more rigorous editorial examination than they do. It is well known that many books are written with a particular bias,³⁰ but the extent of Indonesia's vanity press is underestimated by readers. The fact is that any author who wants to get published can, though it may be with a very small press lacking effective distribution and though the author may have to pay the bulk of printing and production costs. To take an example from the fiction genre, Dewi Lestari not only self-published her novel, *Supernova*, which is one of the top-selling fiction books of the *Reformasi* era, but started up her own publishing house to do so.

Part of the impetus for the book publishing renaissance resulted unexpectedly from the financial/political crisis of 1997–98. *Krismon* (*krisis moneter*, the monetary crisis) took a harsh toll on the book publishing industry; the vast majority of publishers shut

²⁷ Humanities and activist titles are the most likely to be subsidized—in line with the sympathies of the funders—while the bestselling books in Indonesia are, in order of sales: Textbooks, Children's Books, Religious Books, and Management Books (this last category includes most popular financial and economics titles as well as self-help, New Age psychology, and get-rich books).

²⁸ Kartini, the famous Indonesian feminist, is often referred to as the first champion of "*Emansipasi Wanita*" (Women's Emancipation)—thus the term "*Sastra Emansipasi*" has added connotation when applied to writing by women. This use of the term to refer to writing by women can be viewed as a new appropriation of the concept of "liberation" from its earlier reference to the long struggle against colonialism.

²⁹ Rachman uses both terms interchangeably when speaking of fiction by Ayu Utami, Dewi "Dee" Lestari, Djenar Maesa Ayu, Fira Basuki, Nova Riyanti Yusuf, and other women writers of the new generation. M. Fadjoel Rachman, "*Mahadewa Mahadewi* Merayakan Perbedaan, Merayakan Pembebasan," *Matabaca* 1,11 (July, 2003): 40-42.

³⁰ Such as the sunny biographies available on the 2004 presidential candidates—the bestselling nonfiction titles in bookstores in the last weeks before the July presidential election—and the numerous books put out by non-governmental organizations, which usually convey the organization's political bias.

down or went dormant in the first few years of the crisis.³¹ As it happened, these dilemmas contributed to the liberating effects of the post-Suharto reforms on the industry. The economic crisis shook up the industry and pruned away publishers who were slow to adapt or who lacked the capital to pull through the crisis. Had the crisis not devastated the book industry, the publishing conventions and editorial attitudes of the Suharto era would have carried on into the *Reformasi* era with greater institutional and cultural momentum. What happened instead was that a tidal wave of emergent small presses swept in as the economic crisis slowly subsided—something that could not have happened without the new publishing freedoms and financial pressures that have allowed upstart small or alternative presses to challenge the hegemony of existing large publishing houses. The result is a much wider selection of titles and topics for readers to choose from.

In the early years of the economic crisis the future of the book publishing industry was very uncertain, but in response, financial support came from various charitable and cultural foundations.³² The most important support has come from the Ford Foundation, which has invested over one million dollars to increase the number of what are commonly called “serious” books published in Indonesia. Between 1998 and 2002, the Ford Foundation subsidized 445 titles—less than a fifth of which were translations from other languages—giving priority to locally authored books. The situation is very different for unsubsidized books; Taryadi estimates that 60 percent of all such books in Indonesia are translations. Literature, anthropology, and art are the main categories of books published with outside funding. The Ford Foundation is currently trimming funds for the program and redirecting a greater share of the aid to publishers in the Outer Islands, where the support of local governments (*pemerintah daerah*) has been almost completely missing,³³ and the decentralization of budgets has victimized social projects of all stripes.³⁴ Most laudable of the conditions stipulated by the Ford Foundation is that three hundred copies of each book published with its support are to be sent to school and public libraries throughout the archipelago.³⁵

³¹ Sasongko estimates that only 10 percent of publishers survived the years following the 1997 monetary crisis and the downturn in the economy that followed. Sasongko Iswandaru, Interview with Executive Secretary of the Yogyakarta branch of Ikapi. Yogyakarta. March 4, 2004.

³² See Taryadi, “Three Decades of Book Publishing in Indonesia,” pp. 6-7, and Haryanto, “Kebebasan Baru dan Eksperimen Lima Tahun,” p. 24, on the subsidizing of book publications through such projects as Program Pustaka, which began in September 1998 and has been managed by Yayasan Adikarya, a branch of Ikapi, and funded by the Ford Foundation. Subsequent information on subsidized and unsubsidized publishing in the paragraph where this footnote occurs was taken from these same two sources.

³³ Silvester G. Sukur, “Toko Buku Luar Jawa, Hidup Enggan Mati Tak Mau,” *Matabaca* 1,12 (August 2003): 43-44.

³⁴ Decentralization has also made it more difficult to enforce the existing law that 20 percent of the budget be allotted for education.

³⁵ Sending free copies of important new books to libraries will offset the Ephemera Effect (as it applies to books, especially, since slow-selling titles, after they have been purchased or removed from the bookstore shelves, are rarely available to readers in any systematic or easily accessible way). The Ephemera Effect refers to the effects on societal communication and other sequelae that follow from the tendency of certain populations to rely on ephemeral and disposable periodicals for information and entertainment, seldom turning also to books, which tend to offer more sustained arguments and to provide information and analyses that can be cited and double-checked and which are more likely to remain in public discourse for longer periods of time, in part because they are accessible for more than a day or a few days.

The alternative presses typically distinguish themselves from other presses by claiming to be less profit-oriented. They are more interested in *what* they are printing than in how much money they can make from a particular book. Money from the Ford Foundation—interested in printing “quality” books, though they do not get directly involved in book selection—predominantly ends up funding alternative presses who not only are the most in need of support but offer the kinds of titles most likely to be perceived as having social value. The Ford Foundation subsidy covers 80 percent of “production costs” (which excludes the cost of marketing, royalties, translation, and overhead) of original works, but for translations part of the money can be used to offset some of the cost of securing permission (proof of an agreement with the foreign publisher must be provided before the final disbursement of the subsidy is made) from whichever party holds the international copyright. But since alternative presses are most interested in the dissemination of important books with significant content, they tend to be the least likely (barring inducements such as the Ford Foundation subsidy) to honor copyright, as copyright applications involve hassle, time, and expense such small operations can ill afford. What’s more, most alternative presses are newcomers to the industry, and they often suffer perpetual cash flow problems that may force them to wait for each new book to bring in profits before they can afford to print another. As with any business, most of the small publishing houses exist to make at least some profit, but they may partly measure those profits in terms of the success with which they proliferate important ideas. Aside from being affected by some market pressure to maintain sustainable profitability for the publishing house, all business decisions are made according to their own prerogatives (and important decisions are often made by a single founding individual, rather than by committee or some more democratic method within the publishing house) and limited by few other considerations, in the absence of oversight, regulation, incentives, and disincentives.

Thus a small publisher, like J—, in Yogyakarta, will make its publishing decisions in something like the following manner: We feel it is important to make the ideas of Roland Barthes available to the Indonesian public. As a small and emergent press, we cannot afford to pay a local author to write an original book about Barthes, and we feel it is better to translate an existing book on Barthes than to publish nothing at all.³⁶ We will apply for Ford Foundation money through Yayasan Adikarya, which administers Ford subsidy monies, to cover the “production costs” of publishing the translation. If we receive this subsidy, we will have to apply to Oxford University Press for permission to translate Jonathan Culler’s *Barthes: A Very Short Introduction*. If Yayasan Adikarya does not subsidize the project, then we will translate the book anyway, but

The literary and cultural journal, *Horison*, remains solvent and in print mainly because nearly 90 percent of all copies sold are purchased by the government (The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religion, depending on the school) to send to school libraries, in recognition of which *Horison* routinely includes creative writing or class projects by junior high school and high school students.

³⁶ Note that the publisher’s concern with making previously published books available in Indonesian does not necessarily carry over to any commitment to producing a quality translation. Most translators are poorly paid and their translations are not carefully edited. Translators are usually under pressure to finish quickly and paid by the page or per character so that the incentive is to lengthen the translation rather than to make the extra effort to produce a translation of greater quality. Particularly with the small presses, the translations are apt to be of poor quality, produced by amateurs assigned the task because of their affiliation with or employment at the publishing house rather than for their talent as translators.

we will not take the trouble to follow through on securing a translation agreement with Oxford University Press. We are not strictly in violation of the *spirit* of intellectual property rights by doing so since we are not “stealing” the ideas of the author, as we always identify the original author and the source title that the translation is based on prominently on the cover of the book. We feel that it is more important to have the ideas in the book available in Indonesian than it is to leave the book untranslated because of the logistics and legal overhead costs required to get permission from Oxford University Press. The wealthy publisher, Oxford University Press, disproportionately benefits if we rigidly follow copyright law in this case. In comparison, the author is better compensated by having his ideas translated and more widely disseminated than he would be by receiving the insignificant royalties due to him if the book were only available as mandated by restrictive international copyright laws. The purpose of copyright law is to stimulate creativity and access to ideas—not to stifle it. In the current arrangement, wealthy and powerful corporations tend to use their disproportionate influence to maximize their own profits and attempt to exercise control over publishing and profits in emerging markets. This concentrates wealth and access to ideas and technology in the hands of a few to the detriment of most people and to the developing world in particular. As we are running a business, of course we are motivated, in part, by self-interest and a desire for profit, and we realize that in regard to books there is no enforcement of international copyright law in Indonesia and that we will have a larger profit margin if we pirate a translation rather than print a legal translation.

Hairus Salim, director of LKiS—a left-of-center liberal Islamic press and NGO that won the Prince Claus award for “publishing tolerant Islamic books”³⁷—advocates the establishment of a government subsidy to encourage alternative presses to obtain legal permissions from international copyright holders, a process that can be prohibitively expensive in the Indonesian economic context for emerging publishers.³⁸ But some would argue that already many publishers have become too reliant on income from subsidies, to the point where some even build their business models around this source of income. In order for emerging alternative publishers to remain solvent, they will have to fill a niche that the mainstream presses do not and find a way to earn profits without relying on assistance from outside agencies—whose funding is now drying up. Presses such as LKiS, Mizan, and Galang—which were all established before the monetary crisis of 1997, and survived it—seem to be on track for such a business model (though Salim and other publishers are still lobbying for subsidies) and are among the most successful of the alternative presses. As for the multitude of younger alternative presses, it is too early to tell.

Salim has also called for paper purchases to be subsidized, which might simply involve a government regulation to control the price of paper, as is done with many commodities. Indonesian consumers are protected from price gouging and wild price fluctuations of basic necessities such as rice, gasoline, kerosene, and public

³⁷ Haryanto, “Kebebasan Baru dan Eksperimen Lima Tahun,” p. 25

³⁸ Nurcahyo, “Puja Raharja tentang Penerbit ‘Gurem,’” p. 9. There are several alternative presses—all of which shall remain anonymous—in Yogyakarta that to date have only secured international rights for translations from English when such costs are indirectly funded by the Ford Foundation through Yayasan Adikarya.

transportation by such regulations, and any savings in the cost of paper for publishers would ideally be passed on to consumers in the form of more affordable books.

Much more important than any assistance gained from government subsidies will be the organization of small publishers into a body that can bring profiteering distributors into line and cooperate to confront threats and obstacles that face the industry as a whole. Distribution is the main expense that consumes profits for small and new presses that, lacking distribution networks and resources, are forced to offer huge discounts—50 to 70 percent off the cover price—to distributors. Ade Ma'ruf of Jendela Press has worked hard to establish the Aliansi Penerbit Independen (The Independent Publishers Alliance, or API) as a trade association that better serves the specific needs of these groups³⁹ (like Salim, he cites the high cost of paper as a factor that could sink many small publishers). More effective industry cooperation or organization has the potential to create an entity that could function not only as a domestic publishers' lobby to work together with government on industry regulation, but also as a group that could pressure booksellers to deal only in titles offered by publishers and distributors who practice fair trade, as well as negotiate with the nation's seven big paper companies to keep the price of paper down.

³⁹ Ibid. See also Nurhadi Sucahyo, "Penerbit Jendela Diawali Ketidakpuasan: Lahir Untuk Bekerja," *Kabare Yogya*, April 2004, p. 11. In the Sucahyo article, Ma'ruf claims that API is not yet official, but as early as August 2003—and by November of 2003 in print—other members of the Yogyakarta publishing community were already referring to API as an existing organization. See Haryanto, "Kebebasan Baru dan Eksperimen Lima Tahun," p. 26; and Amien Wangsitalaja, "Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (LKIS): Dari penerbit gerakan ke penerbit profesional," *Matabaca* 2,3 (November 2003): 19. Partly due to the advantages of former government affiliation and having benefited from past government policies, Ikapi has long existed as the only important trade association in the industry. At the time of Taryadi's article, Ikapi had claimed 478 active members, but only 95 publishers are listed in the *Ikapi Daftar Buku 2002* (2002 Book Catalogue)—a version of which is searchable online at the Ikapi website. The *Daftar Buku 2002* lists 8,154 titles (about half of which were reprints and, as the information was self-reported, the books were not all printed in the same twelve-month period), many of which are not included in the quarterly bibliography of new titles-in-print put out by the National Library.

Akhmad Fikri, of LKiS, criticizes Ikapi for playing too small a role as a trade association. He cites the fact that Ikapi does not even have an office in Yogyakarta (in Wangsitalaja, "Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (LKIS): Dari penerbit gerakan ke penerbit profesional," p. 19), one of the top four publishing cities in Indonesia. (The Yogyakarta branch of Ikapi operates out of the publisher Kanisius's facilities and employs two moonlighting Kanisius staff.) Rather than consistently exercising leverage as a trade organization or lobby group, Ikapi frequently claims that its status is merely that of a "coordinating institution," which gives it no authority to enforce intellectual property rights or to fight unfair trade practices by book distributors. Neither does Ikapi refuse membership to publishers who break intellectual property laws. Nevertheless, Ikapi officially lobbies in support of copyright law and its enforcement by government and even has an anti-piracy team; I Puja Raharja, First Secretary of the Ikapi "office" in Yogyakarta, says that the police and Attorney General's office need to step in and enforce copyright in accord with recent copyright legislation (No. 19/2002). See Nurcahyo, "Puja Raharja tentang Penerbit 'Gurem,'" p. 8. Ikapi also provides some practical training for publishers, such as how to assign ISBN numbers, and it hosts the important—as there are so few significant book-promoting events—annual Jakarta Book Fair in May or June of each year. Akhmad argues that members of Ikapi (forty-two members in the Yogyakarta Special District) should also be able freely to join API or Asosiasi Penerbit Alternatif (APA, The Association of Alternative Publishers). See Wangsitalaja, "Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (LKIS): Dari penerbit gerakan ke penerbit profesional," p. 19; see also Haryanto, "Kebebasan Baru dan Eksperimen Lima Tahun," p. 26, for more information on API.

NGOs have long published their own titles independently of strict market considerations and mainstream publishing networks. These books consistently lack good distribution and are often available only in the library-showrooms⁴⁰ of the NGOs themselves; for example, Insist in Yogyakarta displays many shelves of titles not available in bookstores (though newer Insist books are frequently available in bookstores). Insist is a self-described NGO for NGOs that wields largely autonomous control over its own funding, which comes from various sources such as the Ford Foundation and Oxfam, as well as donors who grant funds on the condition of anonymity. In addition to publishing titles through its own press, the organization has provided subsidies to help underwrite the publication of a diverse range of books, often in cooperation with relatively more profit-oriented presses, such as Bentang. The books that Insist has been involved with range from anthologies of literature from emerging local (Yogyakarta) authors to an Indonesian translation of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*.

While many recent titles have been published with outside funding and written with more consideration for the book's significance than for its potential sales value, the vast majority of new titles—often from the alternative presses who also publish “serious” books—have been oriented to satisfy the market. Publishers soon learned that sex sold better than anything in the era of *Reformasi*. The topic of sex now dominates book sales—or, at least, book promotions—in offerings that range from Moammar Emka's daring *Jakarta Undercover* laundry list of high-priced sex services in the capital to the fiction of the women authors of Generation 98 and Islamic books on sex *suci* (pure, holy).⁴¹

The number of published books and new publishers continues to increase each year as the industry, the *rupiah*, and the nation continue to recover from the economic crisis. Pamusuk Eneste reports only twenty (excluding poetry collections, which are largely self-published) or so new works of fiction published each year for most of the

⁴⁰ Setting up their own showroom is savvy. Jendela Press offers a 40 percent discount on all books purchased directly in their Yogyakarta showroom, which occupies the lobby area of their printing press and business offices; they also offer undiscounted books from other publishers. By passing the discount directly on to consumers, they cut out the distributors, so that both the publisher and readers save money. Additionally, the showroom builds brand loyalty, as customers can easily become familiar with other quality titles offered by the publisher. Kanisius, a mainstream publisher, has long had its own Yogyakarta showroom, though on a much larger scale, but it offers either no discount or a much smaller discount on most titles and as a result reports that only 3 percent of book sales come from its showroom.

⁴¹ Though specific locations are never identified, Emka lists everything from the members-only 150-person “Nudies Basement Party”—with six-month membership starting at Rp.50 juta (\$6,000)—to an SUV rental service that comes complete with a driver, a privacy partition, and a woman who joins the customer in back for a three- to four-hour “rolling tour.” The Emka book was followed by a slew of imitators: *Krisis Orgasme Nasional*, *Sex in the Kost*, *Pengakuan Pelacur Jogja*, *Garis Tepi Seorang Lesbian*, *Antara Cinta*, *Sex dan Dusta*. Two fiction titles include: *Jangan Main-Main (dengan Kelaminmu)* (Don't Play [with your Sex]), by Djenar Maesa Ayu and *Ode to Leopold von Sacher Masoch*, by Dinar Rahayu. And among the religious-clinical titles are: *Islam dan Homoseksual*, *Kebebasan Seksual dalam Islam*, *Bimbingan Seks bagi Remaja Muslim*, and *Pendidikan Seks untuk Remaja*. Emka's *Jakarta Undercover* was the first major seller for Galang Press, a Yogyakarta press that began as a mere graphic design business in the 1990s and weathered a transition to book publisher that took place during the monetary crisis. Galang is a press that prints both “serious” titles and money-making books (often with sex as the topic) and is actively trying to expand into a larger publishing house.

1990s (pre-1998),⁴² while the Khatulistiwa selection committee identified more than seventy new works of fiction (including some collections of poetry) that were eligible for its 2002-2003 literary award for best work of fiction in book form.⁴³ Nevertheless, despite nearly a century of existence, the Indonesian book publishing industry is still immature in many respects due to a continuous history of dominance by the state or by monolithic publishing houses, from Balai Pustaka (which originated as a restrictive colonial propaganda enterprise), to Pustaka Jaya (a publishing house founded in 1971 by literary figure Ajip Rosidi and others, as well as the members of the Jakarta Arts Council, with the intention to publish only literature),⁴⁴ to the commercial giant Gramedia (which has expanded in the last three decades in tandem with an increase in the size of Indonesia's educated middle class).

While Indonesia's middle class has grown, the demographics of the reading audience are still only vaguely defined, so that the Indonesian book publishing industry remains a jumble where the categories assigned to books, especially fiction, may be more arbitrary than informative and easily identifiable genres have not fully emerged. New fiction that would be classified as popular literature in the romance novel genre in other countries is simply sold as "literature" in Indonesia, though the romance category exists for popular imported fiction by authors such as Danielle Steel.⁴⁵

Richard Oh is perhaps the single most important behind-the-scenes figure in the contemporary Indonesian book world. As the owner of the nation's biggest import bookstore, QB World Books, he is above all else an innovator. He has assiduously worked to set the stage for the export of Indonesian books, in English, to greater Asia. His own press, Metafor Publishing, prints *The Jakarta Review of Books*, the only significant periodical dedicated to the review of books, though it is printed in English.⁴⁶ The Khatulistiwa Award was initiated by Richard Oh, who continues to seek out new donors to contribute to the prize purse with the aim of providing support to Indonesia's most talented writers so that writing can truly become a viable

⁴² Pamusuk Eneste, *Bibliografi Sastra Indonesia* (Magelang: Yayasan Indonesia Tera, 2000).

⁴³ "Khatulistiwa Literary Award 2002-2003," *Matabaca* 2,2 (October 2003): 36.

⁴⁴ The financial capital to launch Pustaka Jaya came from then-Governor of Jakarta Ali Sadikin through the Jaya Raya Foundation. "Penerbit Tua, Bertahan karena Idealisme," *Kompas*, July 19, 2003. All references to articles in *Kompas* that do not have page numbers were accessed online at <www.kompas.com>.

⁴⁵ For fiction authors, the lack of categorization is both a blessing and a curse. For now most authors are content to avoid the vagaries of genrefication; many new authors especially appreciate the lack of distinction between popular and literary fiction. Dewi Lestari's *Supernova*, for instance, would have been classified as a science fiction title or possibly even a romance novel in a book market rigidly categorized by genre. The procrustean injustice of such categorization would have made the novel ineligible for high-brow literary prizes, though the book was good enough to win the runner-up position for the nation's best work of fiction, chosen by the jury of the 2000-2001 Khatulistiwa award. But the lack of categorization also hurts authors who would potentially benefit from increased sales to readers who know what genre they like, but are reluctant to take a chance on a book that has not been categorized.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that book reviews of varying quality, on books selected by various methods, are available in many periodicals, from the trade journal of the publishing industry, *Matabaca*, to the men's magazine *Matra*, as well as the mass circulation Saturday edition of *Kompas*, which offers reviews of half a dozen or so books each week in its Pustakaloka section.

professional occupation.⁴⁷ Scores of new authors acknowledge Oh's guidance and support even when choosing other publishers.

Modeling the industry on what he has seen in the West, Oh would like to see categorization by genre. He lays the task of developing a greater reading culture in the nation at the doorstep of publishers themselves. Editors must become a far more professional class than they presently are. They must give priority to books of notable quality, instead of simply gauging prospective commercial success. At the same time, publishers must be savvier in their promotional tactics by promulgating clearly defined book categories and marketing books with reference to those categories, so that book buyers who know what they like will be able to find appealing titles. He sees disadvantages in the fact that most English translations of Indonesian books are the labor of a few foreign academics. What is needed, Oh argues, is the creation of a professional class of translators so that Indonesian books, including nonfiction, can consistently be made available to the Asian and global English-language markets. Though his import book store necessarily⁴⁸ targets top-end buyers, Oh recognizes that high prices impede the development and expansion of the national reading culture. He cites the proliferation of used bookstores in the West and the availability of lower priced used books in other countries as worthy of emulation. Finally, he advocates organizing greater numbers of book fairs to promote books and reading to the general public.⁴⁹

As Oh points out, though there are used book markets in Indonesia, they are inadequate. Because sales volume is very low, used booksellers keep their prices relatively high (partly because of strong demand for titles no longer available for purchase as new books). The majority of the stock consists of books in poor condition, haphazardly selected. The used book markets do little to advance the reading culture or to make quality books available (with a time lag) to economically disadvantaged readers. They perform a useful role in maintaining the flow of books no longer in print—though the best books stay out of circulation and remain frozen in the private libraries of selective collectors and readers—and by producing the occasional rare historical book. Unfortunately, most quality books that go out of print after the first

⁴⁷ Consider the current professional plight of one Indonesian author who has received a good deal of international critical acclaim in recent years. Ayu Utami made less money from the first four years of royalties received for the Indonesian sales of her critically acclaimed novel, *Saman*, than she did in collecting the honorarium of twenty thousand Euros as the youngest winner of the Prince Claus award in 2000. Since its publication in 1998, *Saman* has sold about 100,000 copies, enough to qualify it as a breakaway bestseller in Indonesia. Only a handful of authors have sold that many copies of a single book, meaning that the majority cannot support themselves as professional authors; this situation has hampered the emergence of a class of professional writers, especially of nonfiction.

⁴⁸ Import books are comparatively expensive due to higher production costs abroad and price markups by import booksellers. Many Indonesians try to find cheaper foreign books by ordering directly from Amazon.com or other online booksellers where the buyer is disadvantaged by not being able to browse the book before purchase and the need to use a credit card, which many Indonesians, particularly college students, who are interested in online books, don't have. It is also risky to use credit cards online, as credit card fraud in Indonesia is among the highest in the world.

⁴⁹ Richard Oh, "Melawan kutukan 3.000 eksemplar buku: sekilas tentang penerbit, penulis, dan pembaca buku dalam dan luar negeri," *Matabaca* 1,8 (April 2003): 8-10.

run⁵⁰ don't make it in significant numbers to the used book market and remain effectively lost to both posterity and present-day readers.

Recent marketing trends by publishers and booksellers have concentrated on sales to the wealthiest Indonesians, who buy the most books. The bulk of Indonesia's middle-class readers turn to the much cheaper periodicals as their main source of reading material and/or rely on pirated photocopies, which provide them with affordable books. Whether the impetus comes from the industry, public demand, or government, an important first step toward the emergence of a mass reading culture will be to bring down the price of books relative to the disposable income of the majority of Indonesians. A city bus driver in any major First World city enjoys much more book-purchasing power than a bus driver for Jakarta's new city-operated TransJakarta Busway, who, earning a respectable Rp.2.000.000 (\$240) per month, would have to spend over 6 percent of his gross monthly salary to purchase Remy Sylado's new, hardcover novel at Rp.130.000 (\$15.30).⁵¹ The average factory worker, making only Rp.717.000 (\$86) per month in late 2002,⁵² would spend about one-sixth of her salary if purchasing the book. Even a more privileged Indonesian—a university lecturer with five years' teaching experience and a master's degree from a foreign university—receives only a meager salary of Rp.2.500.000 (\$300) per month if working outside of Jakarta. The lecturer would pay an average of Rp.25.000–30.000 (\$3 to \$3.60) to purchase the Indonesian equivalent of a paperback, so that if she purchases ten books a month—almost *de rigueur* for her profession, as university libraries acquire so few new books—she will be spending 20 percent of her salary. A dishwasher at an American restaurant, making the federal minimum wage, which would total about \$900 per month, and working fewer hours per week than the Indonesian lecturer, can buy twelve mass paperbacks with a mere 10 percent of his salary. The equivalent of a dishwasher—a maid—in Indonesia would spend half of her salary for the same number of titles.

Knowledge Transfer

Among university faculty and students (part of the class of people in Indonesia who do read but can't really afford to buy many new books), as well as businesses, there is a widely accepted concept—certainly not uniquely Indonesian—that I will refer to as Knowledge Transfer. Knowledge Transfer is the transfer of information

⁵⁰ Most books see an initial run of three thousand copies or less and are never reprinted.

⁵¹ Editions of Remy Sylado's recent books are symptomatic of the tendency of publishers to aim at the top-end buyers. As the author's popularity has increased—thanks in large part to the film adaptation of *Ca-Bau-Kan* (1999), a novel eulogizing the historical role of the ethnic Chinese community in securing Indonesian independence—his books have tended to increase in quality of production and cost: *Ca-Bau-Kan* was published by Gramedia (KPG) as a book of approximately four hundred pages in dimensions and paper quality akin to that of a trade paperback that currently sells for Rp.45.000. The six-hundred-page *Kerudung Merah Kirmizi* won the 2001-2002 Khatulistiwa award and is priced at Rp.60.000—half the price of the new hardcover *Sam Po Kong* (2004), which runs over a thousand pages. None of the books are available in a thrifty newsprint edition (*edisi hemat*); only in rare instances is an Indonesian book available in both a "quality" edition and a more affordable edition using cheaper paper.

⁵² Data from the National Labor Force Survey reported in Badan Pusat Statistik (hereafter BPS), *Statistik Indonesia 2002* (Jakarta: BPS, 2002), p. 77.

from those who have it to those who need it. It is considered a right and not a privilege, as citizens of the developing world realize that in the Information Age exclusion from new information, methods, and technology threatens them with exploitation and subjugation. The knowledge divide is exacerbated by the technological divide, and one such technology, though centuries old, has to do with book production and distribution. As the information gap can seriously disadvantage, disenfranchise, and lead to the disaffection of large portions of the population, constructing bridges across this gap is of critical importance for most developing nations.

An important conduit for knowledge transfer is opened through access to English-language books, which not only tend to be the primary vehicles of new ideas and information from outside Indonesia but which also tend to cost much more than Indonesian-language books. The parents of university students not only pay for university fees and lectures but also for their children to attend supplemental English-language courses at other schools. College reading material is largely accessible only to readers of English, and the content of books available in Indonesian is frequently outdated. Though cheap newsprint textbooks offered to students up through the high school senior level comprise the nation's bestselling books, there is virtually no college textbook industry and almost all such textbooks are imported.

If we again take Dewi Lestari's novel *Supernova* as an example, we find that none of the titles listed in her bibliography of books influential in the writing of the novel are available in Indonesian and all of them were read by her in English. The novel was hailed for its many references to recent scientific theories, largely because the popular nonfiction books that had presented those tropes and ideas to general readers much earlier in English-speaking and European countries had yet to be published in Indonesian, as well as most other non-European languages.

Not only do many Indonesian writers and academics choose to write in English in order to reach a wider audience, but English is also the vehicle whereby Indonesians get their information about scholars who thought and wrote in other languages. Any quotation from Plato, Kant, Sartre, or Borges will almost invariably come from an English translation of the text (this often happens even if an Indonesian translation is available, which will itself, almost invariably, be based on the English translation), as if it were the original, rather than from the source-language text in Greek, German, French, or Spanish.

Hence an important part of knowledge transfer in Indonesia completely bypasses publication of texts in Indonesian; knowledge is transferred instead through important scholarly or informative texts imported either legally or through the indispensable underground book circuit. English-language textbooks brought to Indonesia by traveling students or ordered online are simply photocopied *in toto*—a practice that is not economically feasible in the United States, where buying the book would in most cases be cheaper than photocopying it. If one person purchases the book, at least two more will make a copy of it, as photocopiers provide two copies much more affordably than a single copy when laboriously reproducing a book without destroying the original.

Photocopiers such as S— not only copy entire books but gluebind the replica, complete with a laminated cover and their own insignia boldly stamped on the inside cover.⁵³ This effectively makes the photocopiers publishers, though such books remain in the informal economy and most are not sold for a profit at all, though one pays for the cost of reproduction. Frequently the books most in demand for such photocopying are foreign books that are not available in the formal Indonesia book market. Many of these copies ultimately constitute a large proportion of the new acquisitions of university libraries, without which their holdings, as well the education of university students, would be greatly impoverished.

This kind of book piracy is done mostly with the best of intentions. Even after photocopying, the books are still not widely available in Indonesia, though they are crucial for educational purposes. Most consist of textbooks, fiction, and books from academic presses as well as biographies and books on theory, including cultural studies and literary criticism. Importing books at foreign prices is simply not a viable option given the limited budgets of most institutions of higher education and their students. University education is invariably funded by a student's parents, as there are no government-sponsored (or government-guaranteed) school loans, and even students willing to work their own way through school are not able to earn enough income from the jobs available to them as unskilled laborers. With increased privatization of the universities, tuition and student fees have ballooned disproportionately to the cost of living. The cost of education, including primary and secondary schooling, has increased almost twofold since 1996,⁵⁴ while wages remain depressed. Whether the massive increase in university revenues from tuition and fees is being entirely used to make up for lost government subsidies, or administrators have taken advantage of the situation to line their own pockets, it remains true that a university education costs a great deal more than it used to, with no concomitant improvement in university resources, particularly the libraries.

Though cultural attitudes and a sense of educational entitlement may help perpetuate the book pirating industry, these are only proximate causes of the widespread practice. The underlying, ultimate causes are economic forces. If the cost of foreign textbooks was more affordable relative to the average student's budget, as it is for students in more developed nations, then students would prefer the original edition to a photocopy one. If the cost of quality books more nearly equaled the cost of a meal at a roadside food stall, then more students could afford the crucial mental food needed for educating themselves. Photocopiers do not make much of a profit from photocopying textbooks, and more sophisticated printers who consciously produce pirated editions to make a profit—rather than for their own personal consumption, as in the photocopier-student dyad—are able to do so, to some extent, because authentic editions of books are priced far out of range for most readers.

Printers who produce counterfeit books are very different in spirit from the photocopiers. The counterfeiters, like their legal counterparts, are strictly profit-

⁵³ And other photocopiers, let us say C—, can produce a copy of a book that is almost indistinguishable from the original, right down to a color reproduction of the cover. Such copies bear no insignia from the photocopier because customers for such replicas value an authentic-looking simulacra, and identification as a photocopied imprint would betray this endeavor.

⁵⁴ BPS, p. 457.

oriented, lacking all sense of extra-profit social goals. Some more sophisticated book pirates can reproduce a very authentic-looking counterfeit, which they boldly distribute to bookstores themselves or, to a greater extent, sell through informal sector kiosks or hawkers who peddle the book in areas like that in front of the Sarinah department store on the corner of Wahid Hasyim and Husni Thamrin streets in Jakarta. Counterfeit books are very rare at mainstream bookstores, but smaller bookstores and book stalls in more traditional markets are likely to carry them. Reference books, such as Wolff and Collins's third edition of the Echols and Shadily *Kamus Indonesia-Inggris*, are thrust upon foreigners by aggressive peddlers in the tourist shopping areas of central Jakarta. The counterfeit books are recognizable only by their inferior quality: the pages are thinner and marred with more ink splotches. In such books, one commonly finds a few pages missing or out of sequence, or an odd-numbered page that opens on the left side, or other similar breaches of publishing convention. But in some cases, pirated books are indistinguishable from legitimate books, the book's printer or supplier having secretly run off additional, unauthorized copies to sell to agents in either the formal, informal, or government sectors.⁵⁵

There has been an almost complete lack of enforcement of existing piracy laws by the Indonesian government or by local authorities. Some argue that this is a matter of policy and that the Indonesian government fails to protect intellectual property rights because they see such piracy as undermining the economic and political domination of the West, where many titles that are pirated in Indonesia come from. Others even go so far as to argue, conspiratorially, that the present administration would like to continue the Suharto-era policy of intellectual suppression—as the masses kept in ignorance are easier to control and dupe⁵⁶—by allowing the book publishing industry to fail. In actuality, there is growing political will in Indonesia to enforce copyright and honor intellectual property laws; this is more than just a response to American pressures brought to bear through trade treaties, as many government officials recognize the national interest in protecting intellectual property. Particularly in regard to domestic book piracy, it is Indonesian authors, publishers, and society who suffer in the long run by allowing piracy to flourish.

Minister of Justice and Human Rights Yusril Ihza Mahendra argues that there is a lack of commitment from police and prosecutors to fight piracy, partly because of their poor knowledge of existing legislation.⁵⁷ There is also a lack of coordination between agencies, legislators, and law enforcers, so that the failure to protect the book industry from the estimated US\$30 million in losses in 2002⁵⁸ was not the result of a conspiracy

⁵⁵ See "Pembajak Buku, Bukan Hanya yang Berkedok 'Penerbit' tetapi Juga Pedagang," *Kompas*, July 10, 2001, for an account of how increased regional autonomy and other factors incline many government offices to direct or indirect complicity in perpetuating the book piracy trade, rather than working to eradicate it.

⁵⁶ Jaka Eko Cahyono, "Pajak Royalti Tidak Adil bagi Penulis," *Matabaca* 1,12 (August 2003): 22. Even if the government had adopted a policy to keep the citizenry in ignorance, it would have only limited effect. The genie is already out of the bottle, as some of the dominant traits of the *Reformasi* era are an increased demand for transparency and an overall attitude that advocates consciousness-raising, particularly in regard to government policies and actions.

⁵⁷ Abdul Khalik, "Yusril blames police and prosecutors for continued IPR piracy," *The Jakarta Post*, April 27, 2004, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

by the central government (most branches of which would like to bring book publishing into the formal sector, where it would generate more tax revenues), but a sign of the lack of government integration. At present, it is law enforcers, particularly local law enforcers, who have dropped the ball, and one suspects that their efforts are often hobbled by the reluctance of local authorities to dedicate portions of their budgets to something like copyright enforcement. But even if the political will to combat this problem were strong, it would be an uphill battle, because of rampant corruption, which extends from initial police contact with the complainant to the filing of cases by prosecutors to the judgment of cases by the courts.⁵⁹

Despite the apparent lack of activity furthering protection of intellectual property, there are stirrings. Enforcement of the most recent copyright legislation (Law No. 19, 2002) began in regard to electronic media in the last half of 2003, when the government cracked down on the production and distribution of pirated VCDs, CDs, and DVDs by making public spectacles of the destruction of such goods.⁶⁰ Increased American pressure—such as that from the US Trade Representative (USTR) and often working less directly through the American Chamber of Commerce—has generated extra political will to compensate where the lack of governmental coordination presents barriers to enforcement. In March 2004, the Indonesian government announced that it would phase out pirated software in all government offices and begin using licensed software if software providers offered discounted prices to make the transition economically feasible.⁶¹ One source estimated that 89 percent of all Indonesian computers use pirated software, making Indonesia the fourth-highest ranked nation for computer software piracy.⁶²

It may be only a matter of time before the photocopying of books used primarily for educational purposes will be targeted as an aspect of copyright infringement that needs to be contained. The question will be how to bridge the sometimes seemingly contradictory goals of, first, protecting intellectual property rights so as to stimulate innovation (more authors, producing more books), and second, overcoming the economic disadvantages that deprive Indonesians of one of the principal vehicles (education and access to updated textbooks) for development and greater integration into the global publishing economy.⁶³

⁵⁹ Transparency International has ranked Indonesia as the fourth most corrupt nation in the world.

⁶⁰ "Government destroys 19,000 pirated VCDs," *The Jakarta Post*, September 3, 2003.

⁶¹ "Government Plans to Shift to Legal Software," *The Jakarta Post*, March 23, 2004. Such a price reduction appears to be forthcoming.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Dina N. Malhotra cites "the ideal of free flow of information" as promulgated by UNESCO and argues that "the citizens' 'right to read' has to be expanded and protected if we are to bring to par all the people of the world." Malhotra—an Indian publisher who took the lead in making inexpensive editions of books in the vernacular languages widely available in India—insists that, "Protection of copyright can never become an obstacle in the way of dissemination of knowledge and information. As a matter of fact, it leads to encouragement to writers and publishers to bring out more books for the education and enlightenment of their people." Malhotra lists international trade organizations, such as the International Publishers' Association (IPA) and the International Publishers' Copyright Council (IPCC), which publishers can join. Additionally, the Association of American Publishers (AAP) often extends its role to the international arena by helping publishers fight copyright violations abroad. Malhotra also makes reference to important international treaties, agreements, organizations, and conventions, such as the World Intellectual Property

In regard to legal publishers, there is also a need to recognize gradations of copyright infringement. Many small presses simply cannot afford and do not know how to secure permissions from foreign copyright holders. The smallest presses simply don't have sophisticated or specialized administrative staff, and often the founding editor must handle all jobs in the office—sometimes inadequately. Small alternative presses such as Jendela and Bentang tend to print intellectual books or books useful to students, including Jendela's translations of Karen Armstrong's *A Short History of Islam*, books from the Oxford University Press's "A Very Short Introduction To . . ." series, and parsed chapters from T. Z. Lavine's *From Socrates to Sartre*. (Jendela has divided Lavine's book into smaller books on individual philosophers to create an introduction-to-philosophy series.) Such alternative presses usually credit the original author in name, though they may be unable to forward royalties, even had they some inclination to do so, as the process of securing copyright permissions is too time-consuming (it takes over a year in most cases) and costly.⁶⁴

Amien Wangsitalaja argues that alternative publishers who fail to secure reprint rights from foreign copyright holders but do give full intellectual credit to the original author do more good than harm when they commit various infractions of copyright law in order to disseminate important ideas to the public.⁶⁵ For now, this sentiment remains dominant among not only Indonesian scholars and social organizations but among Indonesians in general. But there is also an increasing awareness of the costs of failing to protect the intellectual property rights of authors—at least local authors—as this stifles the "professionalization" of Indonesia's authors⁶⁶ and consequently limits the number of locally produced titles available. Ultimately this cycle suffocates any real

Organization (WIPO), the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement, the Berne Convention of 1886, and the Universal Copyright Convention of 1952, along with India's role in the "1971 Paris Act which recognizes the needs of developing countries" and offers special conditions to that end. See Dina N. Malhotra, "Protection of Copyright and Free Flow of Information," *ABD* (Asia/Pacific Book Development) 31,2 (2000): 3-4.

⁶⁴ The issues of securing legitimate rights to translation or reprinting (of books previously published abroad) are still complicated, with no agency taking responsibility actively to investigate compliance with international copyright law. Another Yogyakarta publisher, Jalasutra, came out with a translation of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* in September 2003, months before Penerbit Bentang Budaya launched their licensed translation in January 2004. Indonesia's largest bookseller, Gramedia, carries both editions of the book, though they must know that at least one of the translations is not legal as there is legislation in Indonesia that allows only one publisher to secure translation rights. (This law seeks to reduce negative competition between publishers so that they will not undermine each others' profits as the book publishing industry continues to develop; it also hopes to provide greater diversity in translated titles by discouraging overlap.) Both books used the same English translation as the source for their Indonesian translation. The widespread practice of basing translations to Indonesian on an existing translation in another language (rather than on the original text) must also complicate application for translation rights.

⁶⁵ Amien Wangsitalaja, "UU Hak Cipta dan Penerbit Buku Alternatif," *Matabaca* 2,2 (October 2003): 19-20.

⁶⁶ That is, their economic autonomy, which the central government, arguably, hampers more directly by taxing a flat 15 percent on gross royalties received. Many argue that the tax should be abolished to help make writing a self-supporting occupation. Cahyono argues that since most authors make less than Rp.25 million (about US\$3,000) per year from royalties, they should be put in the lower 5 percent tax bracket, which applies to earned incomes under Rp.25 million. He argues that wealthy Indonesians, at the other extreme, collect tax exempt dividends (read: royalties) from their retirement portfolios, which are protected from loss by government-funded recapitalization. Thus, he concludes, author royalties should also be tax exempt (p. 22). See also Haryanto, "Kebebasan Baru dan Eksperimen Lima Tahun," p. 26.

growth of Indonesia's reading culture, as readers are less likely to stumble across books that interest them.

Conversely, overly rigid enforcement of copyright law could represent the next censorship threat (and most frequent form of *Reformasi*-era censorship) by denying access to books otherwise available to the Indonesian reading public. The 1987 Indonesian copyright law was written largely in response to American trade pressure and enforced along the same lines, so that Western products (the focus was primarily on pirated American video and music cassettes) were vigorously protected, at least briefly, while Indonesian artists and their products were left comparatively unprotected.⁶⁷ The lesson seems to be that copyright legislation and enforcement initiated by economic pressures (originating chiefly from businesses and interest groups that have the most resources to lobby for their own interests), rather than the goal of stimulating innovation, risk transforming copyright policy into protectionism.

Wangsitalaja suggests that the government institute training for small presses on the proper securing of legitimate reprint and translation rights and—as Hairus Salim also urges—offer a subsidy to cover the costs of securing such rights. He sums up the Indonesian notion of the right to Knowledge Transfer when he warns against contravening the “people’s right to gain access to learning and knowledge”⁶⁸—a notion that is summed up popularly in the chiasmus that reverses the term “copyright” to make the slogan “right to copy.”

Conclusion

The Indonesian book press is currently freer than the print media, and book publication is not prone to the same degree of risk that the culture of corruption creates for journalists. There is always the potential threat that some powerful political force might abruptly restrict freedoms enjoyed by both the print media and the book press, but this is less likely now that decentralization has created obstacles to the concentration of political power at the national level. Under pressure from influential political factions—or perhaps even lobby organizations or large public demonstrations—a bureaucratic agency or ministry might attempt suddenly to claim jurisdiction over a branch of the periodical or book publishing industries and attempt to impose regulations that do not exist in legislative law. A ministry might even attempt to close down an objectionable magazine or publisher (as with *TEMPO*, *Detik*, and *Editor* in 1994)⁶⁹ by simply revoking a publishing or business permit. Perhaps more likely in the *Reformasi* era would be a decision handed down from a district court or the Supreme Court which suddenly altered the interpretation—or the level of enforcement—of existing law. This happened when one district court applied pornography laws in the slander case brought against *TEMPO*. Books have so far

⁶⁷ Elisabeth Uphoff, *Intellectual Property and US Relations with Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1990), p. 35.

⁶⁸ “[H]ak masyarakat untuk memperoleh ilmu dan pengetahuan.” Wangsitalaja, “UU Hak Cipta dan Penerbit Buku Alternatif,” p. 20.

⁶⁹ Hidayat cites evidence that “the order to close down the three publications came directly from the president” though it was effectuated through “ministerial authority.” Hidayat, “Mass Media: Between the Palace and the Market,” pp. 197-98.

proven less susceptible to civil lawsuits, as those who file such lawsuits against print media have been exclusively concerned with newspapers and periodicals, which are more widely read than books.

President Megawati Sukarnoputri brought back the Ministry of Information⁷⁰ after it had been abolished by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) in 1999, but the revived ministry has so far not reverted to censoring books or the press, which was frequently its role throughout Suharto's reign. Following decentralization, regional threats to free and open publication may present more of a real danger than central government censorship or bans. Institutions such as the Provincial Public Prosecutor's Office and local police are more likely to constitute a censorship threat in proportion to pressures from regional constituents, perhaps in certain cases by an extremely powerful, vocal, or active minority.⁷¹ Fortunately, such censorship or persecution would be limited to a specific region and would be undermined by the greater freedom of expression in neighboring provinces. For example, with the official transition to Islamic *Syariah* law in Aceh, the power to curtail free expression in this province where greater transparency and freedom of information is so badly needed may soon shift from the Indonesian military—Aceh was under martial law for half of 2003 and 2004—to the provincial authorities and *ulama* (Muslim religious teachers, leaders, and scholars). Yet this transition from one sort—or source—of censorship to another would not affect publishing in other provinces.

The influences of alternative presses partially balance out the strictly profit-oriented practices of mainstream publishers. The alternative presses provide a model whereby commercial ambitions can be made more compatible with social goals, such as the dissemination of ideas and information, and the expression of controversial views. While a lack of capital forces most new alternative presses to ignore, at least at first, international copyright law, their sheer numbers and lower printing runs afford them a level of anonymity and, so far, a lower level of government scrutiny that allow them to publish books that push the boundaries of what various political or lobby groups consider "socially responsible" or not. To date the small presses have been much bolder overall than mainstream publishers in pushing such limits.

⁷⁰ Under the new name of Information and Communication Agency (Badan Informasi dan Komunikasi), headed by Minister of Information and Communication Syamsul Muarif.

⁷¹ When Jakarta Governor Sutiyoso's mass transportation project was not supported by the Transportation Minister, the Jakarta (Special Capital) Regional Governor claimed provincial jurisdiction and not only created a special Busway "Management Body" to administer the project, but also appointed his own City Transportation Head. See Edy Budiyo, "Sutiyoso's Grand Dreams," *TEMPO* (English Edition), January 6-12, 2004, pp. 22-23; and "Interview with Governor Sutiyoso," *TEMPO* (English Edition), January 6-12, 2004, p. 32. This is a sign of how decentralization has undermined not only the power of central government—Sutiyoso pulled off his Busway coup at the provincial level—but also that of the military. (Part of the conflict was spurred by the fact that the Transportation Minister was Sutiyoso's superior through his military rank, though his ministry position left him mostly subordinate to Sutiyoso as regional governor.) It also reveals how the bureaucracy is frequently rendered ineffective when the various agencies and officials compete with each other for funding, jurisdiction, and ego. Though the Busway is still criticized from many quarters, most Jakartans—especially those who do not own cars—consider it a major success.

There is currently tension between First World publishers and developing nations. Poorer nations are disadvantaged by the enforcement of international copyright law, but could stimulate local authorship and innovative ideas by enforcing copyright protection for their own writers in the domestic market. The Indonesian government is showing signs of bowing to American pressure on copyright enforcement in the areas of digital media and computer software, but has so far not effectively enforced copyright law to protect Indonesian authors. Foreign publishers might find greater profit in making translation agreements (or local editions) quicker and easier to apply for and building reputations with local publishers and readers than in lobbying through trade negotiations for the rigid enforcement of bilateral and multilateral copyright agreements. The right to information and the protection of intellectual property are two sides of the same coin, the value of which is determined by measuring how much innovation is fostered and how much access everyone has to those new ideas and technology.

