

DEFENSE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT
DOCUMENTS FROM THE RECENT TRIALS

In *Indonesia*, 25 (April 1978) the editors offered readers a translation of the "White Book" prepared largely by students at the prestigious Bandung Institute of Technology in the spring of last year. The main reasons for publishing the text were three: Substantively, the "White Book" offered the most elaborate and cogent criticism of the New Order's policies and ruling personnel so far prepared within Indonesia. In terms of context, the "White Book" was produced by and also served as a guide to the thinking of a substantial element of Indonesia's young educated elite. The fact that its circulation was forbidden by the authorities was an additional argument for its translation and inclusion in *Indonesia*, whose readers would otherwise perhaps find access to it rather difficult.

Essentially the same reasons have persuaded the editors to print the three texts that follow: their intrinsic importance, their political significance, and their enforced inaccessibility.

All three documents are texts prepared for presentation at trials on charges of insulting President Suharto, of leaders of the 1978 protest movement, which opened in late January 1979. The first and second documents are so-called *excepties* (demurrers) presented to the court by top student leaders Lukman Hakim (who in early 1978 was Chairman of the Student Council of the University of Indonesia) and Heri Akhmadi (who at that time held a comparable position in the Bandung Institute of Technology). In the Dutch legal tradition, which in attenuated form is the primary legal tradition of independent Indonesia, an *exceptie* is a document arguing for dismissal of a case usually on grounds that the court has no jurisdiction or that the charges are self-evidently inapplicable. In political trials such as these, no one expects these *excepties* to be taken seriously by the judges, and so, as here, they are often used to express the accused's views on the conditions of his pretrial detention, the circumstances under which his trial is being held, and the sincerity and impartiality of his judges. Both *excepties* have important and valuable things to say on these subjects, and go beyond them to provide the accused's views of the social and political environment that formed the background and cause for the protest movement they headed.

The last and longest of the documents presented to the court which are translated here are the useful chronology and detailing of the various phases and emphases of the student movement from the aftermath of the 1977 elections to the critical early weeks of January 1978. (A few sections of these documents are omitted covering details of committee meetings which are likely to be of less interest than the excerpts translated here.) These show not only how the students perceived the relationship between their varied activities, but also how they undertook to build and sustain student solidarity across the entire country.

The political importance of the documents lies in the character of their authors and in the circumstances under which they were written. As mentioned above, at the time of their arrest in February 1978 Lukman Hakim and Heri Akhmadi were the elected leaders of the student bodies of the two top educational institutions in the country, and in that sense can be taken to represent the thinking of the country's younger intellectual elite. The context in which the documents were written is important to understanding them. Along with hundreds of fellow students, these two young men were originally detained by Kopkamtib on suspicion of offenses against the notoriously broad and vague Law on Subversion. As a result of a variety of pressures, perhaps particularly from international opinion, these charges were changed in the fall of last year to "insulting the Head of State," an offense for which an Indonesian can serve as many as six years in prison. Not only Lukman Hakim and Heri Akhmadi, however, have been accused of the offense. In a coordinated campaign, the government has brought virtually identical charges against a total of at least 29 other student leaders in six different cities. For the record, these defendants are: (1) *Jakarta*: Lukman Hakim, Ibrahim Gidrach Zakir, Drs. Dodi Suriadiredja, Hudori Hamid, Haryono S. Yusuf, Nizar Dahlan, Nazmi Ali Imran, Rosmel Jalil and Indratjahja Kadi. (2) *Bandung*: Heri Akhmadi, Abdurrohim, Ramles Manampang, Moh. Iqbal, Al Hilal, Irzadi Mirwan, Rizal Ramli, Iskadir Chotob, A. Tarsono, Teuku Iskandar, and Lala Mustafa. (3) *Medan*: Drs. Irwan Bachrum, Yose Rizal Nasution, Fauzi Yusuf Hasibuan, and Chatib Usman. (4) *Palembang*: Cholid bin Nangnur, Achmad Damiri, and Yoilas Rafli. (5) *Surabaya*: Harun Al Rasyid, Mohammad Sholeh, and Ismail Ghazali. (6) *Yogyakarta*: Maqdir Ismail.

Finally, as the documents themselves explain, the government, with the cooperation of the judges, has gone to considerable lengths to make sure that unfavorable repercussions do not arise from these trials. The Indonesian press is under strict orders not to report on the trial proceedings in any but the most laconic way. Tape-recording of the proceedings has been forbidden. And the courtrooms have been packed with official spectators to minimize the chance of the students' supporters attending in any significant numbers. Under these circumstances, it is impossible for our readers to get much of a picture of what is taking place at these trials through the press and other media. The translations that follow may serve partially to fill this bibliographical vacuum.

EXCEPTIE¹ OF LUKMAN HAKIM
TO THE COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE, CENTRAL JAKARTA
FEBRUARY 21, 1979

Honorable Judges of the Court,

Before opening this *exceptie*, I would like first of all to express my gratitude to the court for its permission, for giving me the opportunity to read aloud this *exceptie*.² Another thing that encouraged me (us?) very much was the statement issued by the Chairman of the court at its opening session on Wednesday, February 14, 1979 to the effect that: "I hereby open this session and declare it open to the public" --as he rapped with his gavel. Why was I (were we?) so encouraged? Because this gave an initial impression of the court's determination to treat the sessions here as an arena for testing the truth, and, accordingly, the public should be given the broadest possible opportunity to follow the course of the proceedings. The court has thus declared as a matter of principle that these sessions are open to the public. But is the reality before us in full accord with the basic meaning of the term "an open trial"????????????

All of us who attended this court a few days ago, and who are present here today, as well as many members of the public outside, feel that in reality the term "open trial" is humbug. Outside these sessions the hands of those in power have sunk their claws deep into the mass media, forbidding all newspapers to make any mention of the present proceedings; and the court itself has imposed limits on the possibilities for the students to follow the sessions at first hand. Indeed, students are regarded as less entitled to follow the proceedings than any other group. So let us ask ourselves honestly, let each

¹"Demurrer" is the technical English translation for this Dutch legal term. [In the Dutch (continental) legal tradition, the defense is entitled, at the start of a trial, to present a document arguing that the case be immediately dropped, whether because the court has no jurisdiction, because of pretrial irregularities, or because of the circumstances of the alleged offense. This document is what is known as an *exceptie*.]

²Here, as elsewhere in these texts, the sentence follows the hesitations of the speaker's thought rather than the rules of polished syntax. The translators have tried to be as faithful as possible to the original Indonesian even where this leads to some awkwardness in the English. The same sentence reveals another real difficulty in crystallizing the speaker's meaning throughout the text: the words "I," "my" and "me" correspond in the sentence to "*saya*," "*saya*," and "*kami*." The problem arises from the fact that though *kami* is most commonly used to mean "we (excluding the speaker's interlocutor)," it is also used in officialese (from which even protesting students are not free) simply as a grander form for "I." There are places in these *excepties* therefore where it is almost impossible to be sure whether *kami* should be translated as "I" (the defendant) or "we" (the defendant and his fellow-defendants, the defendant and his fellow-students or fellow-Indonesians). In this particular sentence, *kami* clearly means "I." But in the next, it is highly ambiguous.

person here in this courtroom ask his conscience why he has been able to obtain one of the seats reserved for spectators? Is it in accord with his conscience if his presence here is only to deny students the possibility of attending? So as to create the impression that the students themselves have little interest or concern for this trial? I will not insist on an answer to these questions, for I feel that I have been able to touch the consciences of you all.

Honorable Judges of the Court,

The principle affirmed by the court that these proceedings are to be open to the public brings with it consequences which are grave, but which the court must nonetheless guarantee. Above all, the court must resolutely overcome all attempts by those in power to diminish the impact of this trial by restrictions on the press and other actions such as I have outlined above--for the sake of maintaining the authority of this court as an arena for the testing of truth.³ Repression of the press is clearly not in harmony with the principle of a state based on law, which is precisely one of the ideals for which we are fighting, and therefore something about which I will have more to say later in this session.

Honorable Judges of the Court,

The holding of this trial is an event that we ought to record as a unique occurrence. A trial of this kind is a rarity, if one is not to say that this is the first time it has occurred in legal history. For along with me, my comrades-in-arms from various parts of the country are being tried simultaneously, and in the same capacity, namely as student leaders on their respective campuses. Though their activities have been various and their actions very different from one another, the charge against them is uniformly the same--that they have insulted the Head of State--and this is one reason why I say that this trial is unique. This trial must be recorded as a precedent, for we can place it in the chronology of our struggle, the chronology of "The Indonesian Student Movement," in 1977, 1978, and thereafter. And of course it is no accident that we who are on trial are the younger generation, while those who prosecute us before this court are the older generation, who, so it is said, greatly desire to bequeath everything there is in this country to the younger generation.⁴ We will all record these proceedings, for we will be able to use what is debated and tested here as a measure of the sincerity of our individual concern, of our collective concern for the interests of the nation and the masses of the people. We all want to record this trial so that it can always be looked back on in future days, so that we can avoid falling into the trap of repeating the past, something that usually causes us to regress. I would like to record it for eternity, since I want, by means of the events of this day, to urge my whole generation not to become hypocrites, now or in the future. This is something

³The term for arena here, *ajang pantuk*, is Sundanese.

⁴A sarcastic reference to the fact that although the so-called Generation of '45 (of which the top generals are the most prominent members and spokesmen) have for a decade been promising to make way for younger men, in the military and in public life as a whole, in fact nothing has changed. Students have long felt that this "rhetoric of bequests" is simply a device for dampening their unrest.

that we all needed to be reminded of, for as a nation we have all at one time or another been hypocrites. We can all draw this lesson from how we have evaluated a certain Bung Karno. Doesn't this show how hypocritical we have been? For, at bottom, Sukarno and his Struggle, then and now, have always been the same. What has changed has been only our subjectivities. Or, still worse, our tastes. A while ago he was denounced as the ruin of the nation, after being exalted for so long before that. And now, they are trying to build him up again, to the point of even "redecorating" his grave in fancy style. Is all of this in harmony with Bung Karno's deepest feelings while he was alive?⁵

Honorable Judges of the Court,

I am confident that everyone, even including the Prosecutor, knows very well that what the campuses have been saying all this while has been for the sake of the masses of the people. Among all the various aspirations expressed during the "Student Movement" of 1977-78, can you find even one which represents a struggle for the exclusive interests of the students, let alone the interests of particular individuals? Our whole mission has been oriented towards the interests of society as a whole. For we are deeply aware that we are a tiny segment of that society, and one enormously fortunate by comparison with the great majority of our fellow-countrymen. For more than 55 percent of our fellow-countrymen the day-to-day problems are finding something to eat, somewhere to take shelter, and freedom from fear. Not only are they unable to overcome these problems themselves, but they are no longer even in a position to protest or complain. In what way can we be blamed, from a moral point of view, if we students act as their spokesmen, spokesmen of their misery and poverty? No matter with what threats we are menaced, we will not turn away from our moral responsibility towards the problems of society, the problems of our fellow-countrymen. That we are often criticized for our methods in this struggle seems to us perfectly reasonable. What we can not understand is when our good intentions are called into question. Is it really likely that there is anyone who feels he has more rights in this country's future than our generation? Is it really likely that we, as the inheriting generation, are prepared to see this country destroyed, let alone that we, the inheritors, would destroy it ourselves? We will not be downhearted by our trial before this court; nor will our feelings of love for our country and its people diminish because of this trial. Especially if we can be convinced by this court that what is done here is purely a search for truth, not a confirmation of error, not a legitimization of suspicions, let alone a pure ratification and

⁵Sukarno frequently stated his wish to be buried very simply in the Priangan area of West Java, writing: "When I die, bury Bapak in accordance with the Islam religion, and on a plain little stone write simply: Here lies Bung Karno, the mouthpiece of the Indonesian people." He was adamantly opposed to an ornate tombstone listing his titles, saying "If that happened my spirit would return to walk the earth, for it could surely never rest quietly under all that. Please, no big imposing monument for me." (Cindy Adams, *Sukarno An Autobiography* [Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965], p. 312.) After his death the military had him buried alongside his mother in Blitar, East Java, placed a golden umbrella over the tomb, and restricted public access to the site. Recently, in an attempt to rally former Sukarno supporters to its side against the alleged "threat" posed by the Islamic opposition, the government announced plans for the construction of an elaborate mausoleum for the President it overthrew and imprisoned.

immortalization of power. Long before this trial, and now as it takes place, the authority of the court has been challenged to undergo the test. Does the court have the courage to exercise its powers and set aside those outside influences that have always, from way back, bestridden our judicial institutions?

Honorable Judges of the Court,

This New Order regime was originally established by the moral force of the Younger Generation of the Students of Indonesia, along with other social forces and the military. Yet for some time now, all of us have been aware of the attitude of the legal powers-that-be towards the Younger Generation, especially the students. Because these legal powers-that-be know very well how devastating the moral force of the Younger Generation is in the face of tyranny and abuse of power, they have taken the students as the prime front that they must face. Campuses and students are kept under constant surveillance. Six brigades of troops have been fully equipped and prepared for this task. We may note in addition that today it is the government that most frequently clashes with the students--in a series of continuous arrests beginning in 1969, through 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974, and most of all, at the beginning of last year. The number of students that have been arrested and have been "dealt with" by the responsible authorities is hard to calculate. I feel it is very ironic that the *Orla* (Old Order)⁶ power-structure which the students regarded as their enemy, in fact was never as hostile to the students as the present government. Encadrement models launched from above have created a new compartmentalization among the students and the Younger Generation between those who espouse idealism and those who hunt for payoffs.⁷ Internal suspicions are fostered, cadre-forming is forcibly imposed from above, and the growth of idealism is poisoned by material comforts. What can be hoped for if paranoia is fostered rather than trust? If speech becomes a crime? If bans are more common than suggestions? If official statements can not be disputed? If dialogue and opportunities for "Differences of Opinion" are closed down? Only the strengthening of the wall dividing the Establishment [*sic*] from the New Participant Generation. The accumulation of dissatisfaction. The swelling up of new ideals.⁸ To the point that eventually those in power act with violence on the pretext of maintaining order and public security.

⁶"Old Order" refers to the regime of Guided Democracy under the leadership of President Sukarno (c. July 1959 to c. March 11, 1966).

⁷This is a reference to the KNPI (Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia--Indonesian National Youth Committee), a government-inspired organization originally intended to absorb and supersede all existing youth organizations, and so put them firmly under state control. Many of its appointed leaders are former activists of the 1966 student movement who have become wealthy operatives of Gen. Ali Murtopo's Special Operations political intelligence apparatus. In fact, the KNPI, modeled on corporatist notions, has been much less successful than similar organs set up to control other groups such as workers and peasants, mainly because of strong student opposition.

⁸The Indonesian word here--*membengkak*--usually refers to the puffy swelling around a wound. A vivid phrase in the context.

Honorable Judges of the Court,

The man before you today is only one of hundreds of comrades and younger brothers and sisters⁹ who were arrested around the beginning of 1978. Those arrests, carried out with violence, have damaged our long-standing image of the military. While we were given no chance to learn why we had been arrested, we were still interrogated with violence. Almost all the schoolchildren and students jailed along with me have been subjected to beatings, electrical torture, and isolation in cells. For months and months we have been pent up with criminals, whose cultural traditions--beatings and other violence--we did not fail to experience too. But aside from all this suffering I feel that I have gained one thing from my imprisonment--namely, I have become more concretely aware of the real importance and meaning of Basic Human Rights.

During the arrest operations the officers in charge smashed up the campuses, causing chaos and panic. They acted with cruelty, as if we were really armed gangs whose hideouts had to be frontally attackedwhereas in fact, as usual, we were all merely attending lectures, reading in libraries, working in laboratories. Yet we were indiscriminately attacked. In the panic that ensued a girl student barely escaped being raped by the officers in charge of the assault on the campus. To say nothing of those wounded by bayonets and rifle-butts. And amid our confusion and bewilderment, the public was given completely distorted "explanations" to the effect that we were the ones causing the chaos. We can only ask who really caused all the chaos? We students or the officers in charge? We know that the officers who came to the campuses and acted the way they did were certainly following the orders of their superiors. We are confident that they were not expressing their own inner feelings, but rather the despotism of those in power. Such barbarous acts are an ominous precedent in the experience of students and universities, and are absolutely intolerable under the law, let alone to the ethical sense of our Pancasila nation. For the sake of the people's peace of mind, for the sake of upholding the law, for the sake of justice, and for the sake of truth before history, I (we?) request the court to demand an accounting for all the actions taken against the students, high school children and campuses at that time. All these actions should be laid now before this court, along with me. Those in power often use radio and the state television system to allege to the public that their actions were taken because there were indications (naturally on the basis of *intel* reports) that the students were about to take to the streets.¹⁰ This conclusion--which resulted in such a brutal attitude--was thus clearly caused by faulty intelligence reports. But should such fatal reports mean that the matter ends just there??? My purpose in raising this matter here is not to scratch old wounds, but for the long term, for the sake of the future, and for determining how we ought to act so as to be in harmony with the spirit of humanity, the spirit of the educational philos-

⁹Literally, *adik2 pelajar*--meaning younger-sibling highschool-students.

¹⁰*Intel*--an abbreviation of *intelijen* originally military argot, has been adopted by society at large to refer to the army of informers, snoopers and spies which various government agencies and cliques employ. It has clear overtones of contempt.

ophy Tut Wuri Handayani.¹¹ And so I ask all of us here to ask ourselves whether the path we have been taking in settling the problems of our country is the correct one? Even before this trial all kinds of accusations were brought against us (me?). In the presence of the people's representatives in Parliament, a spokesman for the government directed false allegations against us (me?), claiming that we (I?) had plotted revolution, that we (I?) had exploited the concerns of a tiny group, that we (I?) had undermined the authority of the government, that we were (I was?) manipulated by a "certain political force,"¹² that we were (I was?) about to organize demonstrations, and so forth. Are such statements in themselves not in direct conflict with the ideal of a state based on law, which requires that no one be convicted before a decision of the courts? And the irony is that this type of abuse is frequently practiced precisely by the legal powers-that-be, who ought to safeguard the authority of the judicial institutions.

Honorable Judges of the Court,

As for the Student Councils, which have a long history and which were formed by the students themselves, they were high-handedly abolished last year, at the same time as the mass arrests and the muzzling of the press. The offices of the Secretariat of the University of Indonesia's Student Council, as well as those of other Student Councils throughout our country, were broken into and all their files seized, without any clear legal warrant. It is only too clear that this type of action seriously obstructs the proper course of this trial, since the authentic documentary evidence that we had has been snatched away, and we have no idea even against which agency we should make a complaint. I stand on trial before this court as the Mandatory of the students of the University of Indonesia who elected me to be their leader--a fact that brings with it consequences that I must bear. And since I am the sole mandatory of the students of the University of Indonesia, then all the activities of the University of Indonesia's Student Council should be my sole responsibility. I therefore take this opportunity to request that this court immediately free all those comrades of mine who are now or will later be brought before this court along with me: namely: Mr. Ibrahim G. Zakir and Mr. Dodi Ch. Suriadiredja (both of them my deputies in the University of Indonesia's Student Council), and possibly other staff members of the University of Indonesia's Student Council.

¹¹Tut Wuri Handayani--a Javanese phrase meaning "guiding from behind"--was the motto of the celebrated nationalist educationalist Ki Hadjar Dewantoro and the school-system Taman Siswa that he founded in the late colonial era. The meaning is that children should not be ordered about or forced to swallow the teacher's ideas in an authoritarian, brutalizing atmosphere. The good teacher should rather give the children their head, relying on their creativity and spontaneity, only following along from behind to make sure they do not injure themselves through inexperience.

¹²Mengatasnamakan--translated here as "exploited"--literally means "to claim falsely to be acting on behalf of someone or some group." "A certain political force" is a cliché that once had a rather clear meaning: the PKI, or Communist Party of Indonesia. In the course of the New Order, however, the cliché has become deliberately ambiguous, and may refer *simultaneously* to any number of (even mutually antagonistic) groups thought to be opposed to the government (e.g., committed communists and committed Moslems).

Honorable Judges of the Court,

The Prosecutor has read aloud his charges. In general terms he has laid out the facts very well. But I can not accept the essence of his charges. He has brought these charges simply because he lacks any correct understanding of the meaning of life under a state, of Law and Democracy, of the Citizen's Political Rights, or of the Campus and its Three Duties.¹³ He has completely misinterpreted all the activities of the students. In preparing his charges, the Prosecutor has been swept along by the tide of the powers to which he is subjected. The proof of this is that the charges leveled against all the students on trial in every corner of our country--Medan, Palembang, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Malang, Ujung Pandang and Jakarta--are *identical*. What this means is that the Prosecutor has debased his position to the level of a screw in an old automobile. The Prosecutor always claims to be no more than a tool, and as a tool he hopes to be able to avoid a far greater responsibility, his responsibility as a human being. This indeed is a sinister symptom of our power-apparatus, which is becoming less and less human all the time. Fundamental matters in our Constitution, for example those regulated by Article 28, which reads "Freedom of association and assembly, and freedom of written and oral expression shall be determined by law" have been disproportionately "counterposed" by the Prosecutor to the prestige of the head of state--which in essence is the prestige of the Crown in the articles of the criminal code by which we have been charged.¹⁴

Honorable Judges of the Court,

I hope that at the same time that the court investigates me it will also investigate the real intentions of the Prosecutor. For isn't a distortion of the status of the head of state more dangerous than any insult?¹⁵

Honorable Judges of the Court,

When I was arrested on February 16 last year, I was accused of being a subversive. It was on this basis that I was interrogated up until October 26, 1978. At that point, the interrogation was con-

¹³The phrase "life under a state" (*kehidupan bernegara*) is somewhat obscure. It appears to mean a social and political system subjected to impartial laws and regulations, and is thus implicitly opposed to a social and political system subjected to the private whims of a despot or despotic clique. The Three Duties (TriDharma) of Indonesian Universities (Research, Teaching and Social Service) was a slogan launched by Mashuri, a former Minister of Education under the New Order. The slogan is mentioned here by the defendant because it officially justifies student concern for and involvement in the solution of society's problems.

¹⁴A sarcastic reference to the fact that Indonesian criminal law has been taken over with little change from the Dutch colonial criminal law code, under which "insulting" the Queen/King was a punishable offense.

¹⁵*Iktikad* has here been translated as "real intentions," because the defendant's meaning is that the Prosecutor's "real intentions" are to follow his superiors' orders to "get" the student leaders by whatever means. The Prosecutor's exaggeration of the privileged status of the head of state of a republic is, the defendant feels, simply a tactic to get the required results.

sidered complete and I was given a written release, meaning that after so many months' detention I was freed from the menace of being thought a subversive. Unfortunately, my release remained release on paper, for it turned out that I remained under arrest under a new warrant. By the terms of this document I was to be detained on charges of violating the criminal code--and so, for the purpose of further interrogation, I was to be held until the end of the year. In fact, after my interrogation on charges of subversion, I was never interrogated again. This shows very clearly that my arrest was completely arbitrary, and that pretexts for my detention could be dreamed up in the twinkling of an eye. What a terrifying picture of power all this provides!

I therefore return all the charges against me to the court, whose duty it is to evaluate their truth. But does the court have the courage also to investigate the real intention of the people who acted against the students, who wounded the students and the high school children, and who wrecked the campuses? Is it not possible that they are guilty of abuse of power? Or do we really live in a culture where the powers-that-be are always right, and law is an instrument of power, not of justice?

Honorable Judges, your task is difficult but glorious. May God give you his guidance. May you carry out your functions free from all pressure from those in power. And may Allah SWT give you all the chance to make your decision according to your own consciences.

Jakarta, February 21, 1979

Lukman Hakim

EXCEPTE OF HERI AKHMADI
BANDUNG COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE
FEBRUARY 5, 1979

Honorable Judges of the Court,

At the opening session of this trial, on Wednesday, January 31, 1979, the Public Prosecutor read the statement of charges against me, which in essence accused me of actions insulting to the President, the Vice-President, and institutions and agencies of the government. On these grounds I am charged with violating articles 134, 136 bis, 137, 207, and 208 of the Criminal Code, with the aggravating charge of violating Law No. 5/PNPS/1959. All the actions for which I am charged are intimately connected with my position as General Chairman of the Student Council of the Bandung Institute of Technology [BIT] elected by a democratic procedure which involved all the students of the BIT. This procedure took the form of a General Election among the Family of BIT Students. In other words, I received a mandate from all the BIT students to represent them in carrying out the functions of the executive within the framework of the policy laid down by the BIT Students' Consultative Council. In line with the existing rules and regulations of that organization, my actions were thus actions of the Body/Institution of the Family of BIT Students. Accordingly, my actions can not be separated from the actions of all the students of the BIT. The accusation that I abused my influence as General Chairman of the BIT Student Council shows how very little the Public Prosecutor knows about the democratic life of Campus society. It is an organizational life that is totally unlike government agencies or our state at this time.

The task of determining whether I have deviated or abused my office is wholly within the authority of the Students' Consultative Council, on the basis of the Constitution, the Rules, and the Broad Outline of Policy of the Student Council, which have been decided on democratically. Let me repeat once again that I acted as General Chairman of the BIT Student Council, not on my own whim and not arbitrarily. Not at all! Everything was determined by the BIT students themselves via the Students' Consultative Council, molded by the Constitution, the Rules, and the Broad Outline of Policy of the Student Council. Furthermore, tight control was exercised over every action taken by the Student Council, both directly by the students and indirectly by the Students' Consultative Council. The Judges of the Court should know that the BIT Student Council for 1977-78, on which I sat as General Chairman, has presented an official accounting--both oral and written--of all its acts to the students of the BIT via the Consultative Council, and this accounting has been favorably received. The Student Council is not afraid to prove that the students of the BIT approve the accounting of the BIT Student Council on the matter of

the BIT Students' Declaration of Position and the White Book,¹⁶ by referendum if need be.

Accordingly, I sit here not to prove the falsity of the charges laid against me personally, but to prove the falsity of the charges laid against the student movement, the position of the BIT students as a body, as well as other student associations.

It is very clear that in this trial history is repeating itself. If Sukarno, Hatta and their comrades were once brought before a Dutch colonial court as representatives of the People of Indonesia who had the opportunity to liberate this country from colonialism, we today are brought before a court of Independent Indonesia as representatives of the students who have agreed to use their rights as citizens for the preservation and survival of the ideals of freedom for the Indonesian people, as formulated in the Preamble and the contents of the 1945 Constitution.

Honorable Judges of the Court,

If we look at the character and substance of the charges brought by the Public Prosecutor, it is very clear that what are alleged to be criminal actions are actually actions grounded on the political rights and the academic responsibilities that belong to every student.... political rights that are natural to every state that follows the principles of democracy in its political and state life. The charges brought against me by the Public Prosecutor are based on the contents of the White Book and the BIT Students' Declaration of Position, which as a whole form a manifestation of the feelings, an expression of the political position taken by the students of the BIT, and an analysis of actual conditions in our society as an expression of the BIT students' academic responsibilities.

The realities of our country's deterioration at the present time have not only been broached by the students; research by experts points to many of the same conclusions, which have also been remarked on by leaders of our society. Among other facts I can mention here, for example:

1. The lop-sided character of our society's social existence, typified by one group that gets richer by the day without having to perform any meaningful work, alongside millions of unemployed people who are forced to sell their dignity as human beings simply to avoid starvation. Social justice is far from a reality.

2. Our present development, with its stress on economics, is of no benefit for the masses of the people, and is incapable of overcoming the danger of famine, even though rice imports total 2,400,000 tons a year. Unemployment grows every year even though it is claimed that factories are being built with foreign capital--which in the last analysis divert the riches of our nation into their [foreign capital's] hands. The living standards of our society are still far from our hopes, even though our forests have been logged bare and pawned off,

¹⁶Translations of these important documents have been published in *Indonesia*, 25 (April 1978), pp. 151-82.

while the contents of our motherland's belly steadily flow away from her oil-womb.¹⁷ The patent result of "development" today is: an increasingly ostentatious, not to say greedy, life-style on the part of a small band of thieves of the state treasury, traffickers in the nation's wealth, generally referred to by the terms corruption, abuse of power, and so forth. The development of our economy has also sacrificed the economic potential of native citizens while fattening the bellies of foreign and non-native (read: Chinese) businessmen.

3. Our political life is frozen and our political dynamic is flaccid, as a result of a concentration of power which has made political bodies and state institutions incapable of functioning properly. Most people are afraid to express their opinions freely because they are terrified of being "dealt with" by the all-powerful Kopkamtib, which can even put citizens to forced labor, bypassing any form of legal procedure, in addition to the massive infiltration of *intel* agents who feel entitled to take any steps they like to spy on the citizens of our beloved Republic.

4. Our cultural life today is characterized by *aji mumpung*,¹⁸ the craving to get rich quickly without doing any work, and the revival of feudalistic attitudes in a certain sector of society. These attitudes in their everyday manifestations cause incalculable harm to the state. Because "they" want to get rich quick, "so long as they happen still to be in power," they rip-off state funds, they sell their offices and positions to build houses, buy up company shares, etc. Some of these practices, particularly when done by little and medium-sized fish, have been exposed by Opstib¹⁹--but what about the big fish? In the eyes of the public the case of Pertamina is still murky, as is Palapa²⁰ and various other giant projects, whereas it is precisely in these quarters that we find "termites" gnawing calmly away at the state.²¹

¹⁷The Indonesian here--*isi perut bumi tanah air kita semakin tipis dari kandungan minyak*--is syntactically obscure. The general idea, however, is clear: that Indonesia's oil reserves are rapidly dwindling.

¹⁸It is not clear in which of its senses--"magic spell," "King," or "value"--*aji* is here employed. But in any case the key word is *mumpung*, a Javanese term meaning "so long as [one] has the chance." The term entered Indonesian political parlance with a famous statement made by Mrs. Suharto on December 15, 1971, in defense of the Indonesia Mini Project. Since then, *mumpung*-ism has come to mean greedy opportunism ("so long as I'm lucky enough to be in power, why not make the most of it?") among the powerful.

¹⁹Operasi Tertib (Operation Discipline)--an anticorruption drive launched by Kopkamtib in the fall of 1977.

²⁰Although Pertamina, the state oil corporation, went bankrupt with debts of over \$10,500,000,000 in 1975, and had long been notorious for corruption, none of its executives were ever put on trial. Its long-standing director, General Ibnu Sutowo, was eventually dismissed, but the real story of Pertamina's collapse has never been disclosed to the Indonesian public. Palapa, Indonesia's satellite communications system, also gained notoriety when the *New York Times* broke the story of the multi-million dollar "commissions" demanded of American contractors by General Suhardjono, then Director-General of Posts and Telecommunications. See *New York Times*, January 25, 1977.

²¹The language here, i.e., the terms *rayap* and *menggerogoti*, is deliberately reminiscent of certain speeches by the late President Sukarno.

5. It is precisely many of our state leaders who give the worst example to their people, who must perform the tasks of development--development which is no longer an optional matter, but one of life and death. It is among these leaders that we find the "pioneers" of luxury-sports such as golf, shopping abroad, and costly "tours" of the provinces. To make way for the construction of golf-courses much land and many houses belonging to the people have been bulldozed and the inhabitants abandoned.

Honorable Judges of the Court,

There are other facts that I could bring up here relating to the bitter realities of the lives our people lead today, but of course it would take much too long to present them all here. But if the Judges of the Court still feel unconvinced of these realities, I am certain that the hundreds and thousands of students outside this room, who are being burned by the heat of the sun, or those who are concentrating on their study duties on Campus, will be able to add thousands upon thousands of other bitter realities until the court is convinced of what I have just stated. In fact we can all very easily witness these realities for ourselves, by visiting the north coast of West Java (Indramayu, Krawang, etc.²²) or places much closer at hand, like around the River Cikapundung and the poverty-stricken *kampung* here in Bandung.

These realities the public knows about and feels deeply. That is why they were made the basis of the BIT Students' Declaration of Position and their White Book. The Students of BIT feel themselves called upon to lay them bare, not merely because they have the political right to do so, but because it is also their duty as academics with an honest-critical-scientific attitude to formulate them and also to publicize widely to the public all threats to the survival of our nation. It was thus in their Declaration and White Book that the students fulfilled their rights and their obligations. These texts represent simply the expression of the disappointment, the alarm, the aspirations, the restlessness, the desires, the hopes, and the demands for justice of the students of the BIT, as a part of the Indonesian Younger Generation, on the eve of the General Session of the MPR²³ in March 1978.

The Republic of Indonesia, which was built by the blood and the lives of our national heroes, is a democratic state based on the 1945 Constitution and the Pancasila. As a democratic state, the entire

²²A biting reference to the famine that struck the rich rice-bowl of Krawang-Indramayu, not far from Jakarta, in the fall of 1977. An area known for its high percentage of absentee landlords, its troubles were the result of natural disasters compounded by an incompetent and corrupt local administration--to the point that many inhabitants were reduced to eating water hyacinths, traditionally regarded as fit only for pigs.

²³MPR--Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)--formally the highest political institution in Indonesia under the 1945 Constitution, in practice firmly under the control of the executive. One of the legal functions of the MPR is to select the President, and the General Session of March 1978 was convened basically for this purpose. Only one candidate--General Suharto--was proposed, and, in due course, "elected." A major thrust of the student movement in late 1977 and early 1978 was to forestall Suharto's candidacy, or, if that could not be prevented, at least to make sure that he had some serious competition.

people, both collectively and as individuals, must be given the opportunity and have the right to express all their frustrations, their anxieties, their aspirations, their desires and their hopes. The entire people, both individually and collectively, must be given the opportunity and have the right to put forward their ideas and proposals on what they think would be good for the future of this country.

Thus we come to the conclusion that the charges presented by the Public Prosecutor are completely out of place. Out of place, because charges of this kind, namely that the White Book and the Declaration of [our] Position were an insult to the President, the Vice-President and the Institutions of State, prove that the Public Prosecutor does not recognize the political rights of the citizens of the Republic of Indonesia which are explicitly laid down in our Constitution. This in turn means that the Public Prosecutor indirectly refuses to acknowledge, or at the least has doubts about, our national compact, the 1945 Constitution. Common sense tells us that a trial aimed at punishing the political aspirations of students, the political aspirations of citizens, also means a trial wholly out of place. Out of place, because the responsibility for judging the political aspirations of citizens ought to lie with the existing social-political forces, or the political institutions established for this purpose, e.g., the People's Consultative Assembly, in which each citizen is represented. Out of place, because this trial means the denial, indeed the betrayal of the ideals of a democratic country which were the foundation on which this Republic of Indonesia of ours was originally established.

Honorable Judges of the Court,

At the first session of this trial, on Wednesday, January 31, 1979, the Judges of the Court explicitly stated that this trial would be open to the public, meaning that society would be given the widest opportunities to observe, to watch, to evaluate, and to test the legal principles employed in this trial. Open in the sense that society would be given the widest opportunities to join actively in obtaining all the facts revealed in this trial. But what happened at the first session showed that society was not given a real opportunity to follow the course of this trial. Neither reporters nor the general public were given permission to tape the proceedings of the court. Permits for entry into the courtroom were not distributed fairly, so that the available seats were dominated by a small social minority--in this case government officials and the security apparatus (*intel* people and so forth). Meanwhile, hundreds or thousands of would-be spectators had to wait outside the courtroom barrier under the surveillance of enormous numbers of police and intel types. The mass media, too, both the press and the radio, were given inadequate opportunities, indeed were sharply restricted in communicating to the public all the facts arising in this trial. It is thus quite plain that what has happened is in complete contradiction with the real meaning of an "open trial" as proclaimed by the judges of the court.

This trial has also been termed an "impartial trial." But the facts show that the judges of this court have not yet made this a reality. My lawyers and I were given just three days, I repeat, just three days, to study the charges against me and at the same time prepare this *exceptie*. By contrast, the Public Prosecutor has had almost one year to prepare his case in the course of my detention and interrogation.

This should also be compared with the opportunity the judges themselves have had to study the documents in this case. And during that extremely limited grace-period of three days I have mentioned, we were not even allowed to get an official copy of the charges. We were prevented from photocopying them, and even from taking them outside the courtroom. We were simply permitted to read them and make notes in this room, while the guard with the statement of charges waited. All these facts have forced us to the conclusion that the principle of an impartial trial has already been violated by this court itself. Accordingly we see rather we are very skeptical about the real openness and impartiality of this court. We are therefore also very skeptical as to its legitimacy.

We still believe that in this trial the law will continue to be upheld, even though we are not convinced that it will be truly upheld, as we all hoped when we founded the New Order, and as was expressed in the spirit of the Law Seminar ("Exploring a New Course") of the Generation of '66.²⁴ Accordingly, we ask the help of the judges of the court to confirm our faith by putting into practice what is meant by an open, free and impartial trial. For, if these conditions are not fulfilled, the course of this trial will have no validity.

We do not yet believe the conviction of some people who say that the New Order today is more rotten than the Old Order. But I am sure that after observing the decisions of the judges in handling this trial I will be able to make a firm determination on this question,--whether the New Order is more rotten than the Old Order, or vice versa. I am also not yet ready to believe those who say that judges have become tools for safeguarding the interests of the executive or of people in the government. Therefore, please help us, so that we and perhaps all who are here following this trial, do not reach negative conclusions in evaluating it. Let the court's handling of the case not obstruct our efforts precisely to batter down the defects and the dishonesty of the legal tradition in this country.²⁵

Only by firmly maintaining justice--right from this very moment--in the matter of procedure, in the matter of openness, in the matter of freedom, and in the matter of impartiality, will this negative picture be erased. But if it turns out actually to be true that this trial is being conducted simply for interests that have nothing to do with the search for truth, then we pray that in the heart of each of us we still have the desire to uphold the law free of the power of a clique or a group of people who treat courts and the law as their playthings.

²⁴The defendant is referring to a series of seminars on different topics held at the University of Indonesia in the first months of 1966, which generated the initial ideological rationale for the New Order.

²⁵The Indonesian--*mendobrak kelemahan2 dan kepalsuan tradisi hukum*--is no less clumsy than the translation.

MAP OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF INDONESIA'S STUDENT COUNCIL (UISC)
IN CARRYING OUT SOCIAL CONTROL

- April '77 We were installed as the new officers of the UISC. As mandatories, and armed with the UISC's Broad Outline of Policy (BOP) from the Students' Consultative Assembly (SCA), we drew up a program, produced in a Working Session, to lay out the tasks of the UISC during our term of office. Reading between the lines, all our later actions were already visible in this Work Program which was a reflection of the UI students' aspirations.
- May '77 We offered comments on and evaluations of the 1977 Elections. Our position, as people not involved in that competition for power, was clearly sufficiently distanced and undisturbed that we could assess everything sincerely, objectively, and without siding with any one of the participating contestants. On the issue of the Elections, we expressed our views on the nation's current situation, on democratic life, and on political education.
- June '77 By means of the Seminar on a Students' Code of Ethics, we did our best to foil the Government's efforts to constrain the students by the provisions and regulations wrapped up under the name of "Students' Code of Ethics." The Government made these efforts because at that time Decree 028²⁶ was meeting resistance everywhere. Our campaign was successful, in that by the seminar's end the planned Students' Code of Ethics never got formulated.
- July '77 We made an issue of the rise in city bus fares. We gave concrete expression of our orientation towards the little people²⁷ via this issue of city buses. Another reason was that the issue of the Elections, which has a more political tone to it, had begun to die down. We also hoped by this new issue to seize a moral position in

²⁶The reference is to the Decree issued by Minister of Education General Sjarif Thajeb in the wake of the political crisis of January 1974, sharply restricting student activity. By the terms of the decree, students were forbidden to undertake political activity off campus; and on campus all activities had to have prior permission from the Rector.

²⁷At various points the text wavers between the terms *rakyat* (the people, or the People), and *rakyat kecil* (the little people), as here. It is probably indicative of the students' elite position in society and their relatively advantaged backgrounds that formulations such as "little people" come so unself-consciously to their lips.

society; so that we could more forcefully make issues of all the problems in which the little people are involved.

August '77 The oppressive atmosphere caused by the behavior of the authorities²⁸ beforehand meant that channels of communication [between students and the government] became blocked. The Government itself was aware of this, and so it formed a "Team of Seven Ministers," under the leadership of Prof. Soemitro,²⁹ to go down to the campuses and hold dialogues there. For the UISC, dialogue with the Government was actually a routine matter by that time. Since June, it had carried on a *limited dialogue* in closed sessions--even though limited to those [ministers] who were technocrats from the University of Indonesia itself. In fact, we felt that this type of dialogue was really much better. Being limited, the discussions could be more frank. But what was done later was quite different; simply to try to create the general impression that the Government in reality had "already" carried on a dialogue.³⁰

September '77 We instituted the "Provisional Parliament" campaign as our critique of the legislature. Those who participated, from the University of Indonesia, the Bandung Institute of Technology [BIT], and the Bogor Agricultural Institute [BAI], did so under their own personal names. Even though, formally speaking, we were the leaders of the student councils of these three campuses, we did not use the names of these institutions--purely for tactical reasons. By this move we began the consolidation of student movements/activities by setting up coordination networks in each city. After our arrest, it became clear that real student solidarity had been achieved--indeed throughout the country. Opinions for and against

²⁸The term *penguasa* is not always easy to translate. It really means "power-holders" or "those with power," and implies a rejection of their moral authority. If it is translated here as "the authorities," this translation should be taken in its most narrow, technical-legal sense.

²⁹Prof. Dr. Sumitro Djojoaningrat, who in the early 1950s had been Dean of the University of Indonesia's Economics Faculty, was at this time Minister of Research. Because of his academic background, the government believed he would be better able than some of his ministerial colleagues to make a good impression on the students. In fact the "Team of Seven Ministers" tour was a complete fiasco. The ministers were everywhere heckled and criticized for refusing to listen seriously to student complaints. Eventually Prof. Sumitro lost patience and brought the tour to an abrupt end.

³⁰While the language here is not very clear, the point being made is simple. From then onwards, a number of technocrat ministers who had once taught at the UI came to the campus to participate in discussions on development policy. These discussions were fruitful because attendance was restricted to UI people, the press was not admitted, and people felt they could be frank. The "Team of Seven Ministers," however, was a publicity stunt to demonstrate the government's "openmindedness" to the newspaper-reading public--while in actuality no real exchange took place.

our original campaign were submerged in an ever-deepening student solidarity. Our ideas were then taken up by the Student Councils/Student Senates³¹ of Jakarta, Bogor, and Bandung.

- October 77 Increasingly the need was felt for a meeting of students from all over Indonesia. Bandung expressed its willingness to act as host. The meeting produced the Indonesian Students' Vow. The UISC collected money to help the famine-stricken population in Krawang.³²
- November 1977 In line with the agreement reached in Bandung that we would utilize every occasion, parades were held in various cities on November 10.³³ In Jakarta itself, we adopted the theme "Heroes, to you we bring our grievances." We wanted to revive the idea of street demonstrations but with full discipline. Everything, naturally, to be on the basis of proper preparations in the organization of the masses.³⁴
- December 1977 We made this month "Human Rights Month." We aimed our criticisms at the judiciary: among other things, at their handling of human rights (especially with regard to prisoners), the judicial system and the position of judges (as the ultimate pillar of strength for people seeking justice).

We delivered our reaction to the Statement of the Armed Forces of December 16 one day later.³⁵ Here we issued an appeal to the Armed Forces not to side with

³¹In Indonesian universities, each faculty has its own student governing body, known as a senate. Student councils, however, are university-wide bodies.

³²See note 22.

³³November 10 is Heroes' Day, a commemoration of the thousands who died in the Battle of Surabaya between the British and the Indonesian Republican Forces, that opened on November 10, 1945.

³⁴The reference is to the lesson learned from the events of January 14-15, 1974, when initially orderly student protests against the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka turned into widespread rioting--with the result that the government banned all street demonstrations. Responsibility for the riots has remained a controversial matter. The authorities, and some students, blame student leaders either for poor organization or for instigating the riots to bring down the government. Many others believed the riots were instigated by government agents provocateurs as part of a campaign to discredit student protests and justify greater repression.

³⁵In response to the mounting campaign of criticism of the government, and of President Suharto in particular--a campaign to which several prominent generals seemed to feel sympathy--the authorities summoned a meeting of top military leaders in Jakarta in December 1977. Eventually, on December 15, the so-called Armed Forces' Statement was issued. The character of this document suggests that it was a compromise designed to reunify military opinion. Alongside threats that "drastic action" would be taken against trouble-makers, there was also emphasis on improving the military's dedication and sincerity, in accordance with the traditions of the Army of the 1945 Revolution.

anyone (any political group). We then took the initiative to hold a closed-door conference between [representatives of] various campuses. The meeting was held at Darmaga (campus of the BAI), and attended by the BAI, the Surabaya Institute of Technology (SIT), the University of North Sumatra (UNS) in Medan, and the University of Indonesia (UI). The BIT was not able to attend, but participated in the series of meetings that came afterwards.

At this meeting, the discussions focused on the students' activities in general, to permit evaluations, consolidation, and organization of subsequent activities. Bearing in mind various developments then going on, we also began to rethink our style of activities up to that point: i.e., that we only set mass actions in motion when we had ironclad guarantees of security, to forestall manipulations (chaos stirred up from outside),³⁶ and clashes with the Armed Forces. To make our aspirations felt, we decided also to try a new style--direct dialogue with the leadership of the nation.

January 1978 A series of meetings to follow up the Darmaga session, held in Kuningan and Cibulan.³⁷ When [the government's] promise to receive us within the timespan we had specified was not fulfilled, we headed for the Bina Graha and afterwards to the Supreme Advisory Council.³⁸

A visit of the Indonesian Students to the People's Consultative Assembly [PCA] to read the "Consequences of the Indonesian Students' Vow." The contents were, more or less, that "We, the Students of Indonesia, will remain consistent in our stand, always ready and prepared for every eventuality that may occur in this country." The core of the message was (for us): 1. To continue to maintain the solidarity of Indonesian students in carrying out their moral campaign. 2. To remind the

³⁶Cf. note 34 above. In student circles it was widely believed that the "chaos" of January 14-15, 1974 had been engineered by agents of Gen. Ali Murtopo's Special Operations political intelligence apparatus.

³⁷All this refers to a series of interuniversity strategy meetings held in December 1977 and January 1978. The first took place on the BAI campus in Bogor on December 27; the second early in January at the new student conference center (Graha Wisata Mahasiswa) on Jl. Kuningan in Jakarta; and the third shortly after that in Cibogo, a resort area just south of Bogor.

³⁸The Bina Graha ("Development House") is the President's operational headquarters. It is located in the front part of the old Hotel der Nederlanden (later Hotel Dharmanirmala), close to the northern side of the Palace. According to the 1945 Constitution, the Supreme Advisory Council is supposed to give the President advice on whatever matters he requests. It has never had much real influence, but since it is usually stocked with prestigious retired or semiretired national figures, it is a reasonable place for publicity-minded student groups to bring their complaints. At this period, the chairman of the SAC was General Alamsjah, a long-standing presidential intimate.

PCA always to express the real feelings of the people.
3. A Show of Moral Force [*sic*--in English] by the Students.

Inside UI: We composed "Our Resolve" and the "Basis of the Struggle," the gist of which was: the views, proposals and desires of the UI students; and the UI Students' "Resolve" to serve the interests of society. "Our Resolve" and the "Basis of the Struggle" were signed by the core day-to-day leadership of the UISC, including the various Student Senates in the UI, and then announced to the entire UI student body.

The Dharmaga Group³⁹ from the UI, the BIT, the SIT, the UNS, and the BAI went to Bina Graha and the Supreme Advisory Council.

City Buses (July 16-September '77)

For the people of Jakarta city buses are a vital means of communication, used by more than 2,000,000 inhabitants; those who use this public transportation system on a regular basis are the low-income groups. Observing and feeling the consequences of the government's jacking up of bus fares, the UISC felt itself summoned to study the matter and make an issue of it. On the basis of views held in student circles, the UISC taped opinions current among the public; these tapes were then brought up for marathon [*sic*--in English] discussions of UISC's day-to-day executive, held over several days in the wake of the fare increase. The UISC then issued a statement outlining its basic thinking on the city bus problem, which then became the point of departure for the UISC in airing this problem.

Various strategic considerations were developed in relation to the city bus question, namely:

1. The city bus problem must be linked to the income of the little people.
2. The city bus problem must also be linked to the concept of "living simply." More particularly to the pattern of the ownership of public transportation, and consumption patterns among the city's population--both of which are part of the problem of energy utilization.
3. The city bus problem should be connected to city planning in general.
4. The city buses are a "public utility" [*sic*--in English] and so their management should be under tight supervision of the government and society.

On the basis of its survey, the UISC called attention to serious mismanagement of the Jakarta city bus system. This kind of mismanagement [*sic*--in English], which has caused real harm and brought real deteri-

³⁹At the Dharmaga meeting (BAI campus in Bogor) in late December it was agreed that student representatives would try to meet directly with Suharto to discuss their grievances.

oration to city bus services, should not be dealt with by a short cut, such as a rise in fares. Emil Salim, Minister of Communications, who found the time to come to the UISC to explain the Department of Communications' policy in raising bus fares, tried to harmonize the government's rationale and the comments of the UISC. But in the question-and-answer session between the UI student leadership and the minister and his staff on that occasion, there were a number of points where agreement could not be reached. The minister's approach was felt to put too much emphasis on technical considerations, while the UISC tended rather to approach the question from the aspect of "a sense of justice." For [we felt] it was extremely unfair to place the burden of the management's losses on the customers, who, nota bene [*sic*], are the low-income groups in society. Nonetheless, we noted down a number of statements by the Minister of Communications at that meeting for future reference--especially because there were clear differences in the technical data used by the minister and the UISC. The most important of these were:

1. The minister claimed that a rise in the price of spare parts had increased operating costs.
2. The minister stated that the buses cost Rp. 15,000,000, whereas our calculations put the figure at only about Rp. 7,000,000.
3. The minister said that the increase in fares was to be used to improve service.
4. The minister stated that with the old Rp. 30 fare, the city bus companies were permanently in the red, and could not pay back their bank loans.

With these statements by the Minister of Communications in hand, the UISC's city bus campaign went ahead. In line with what was decided at that meeting, the UISC formed teams with the task of ferreting out more data about the city bus problem. These teams consisted of:

1. A team to survey customer opinion. It would carry out a mini-survey with 2,000 people at various bus terminals. Coordinated by the Student Senate of UI's Psychology Faculty.
2. A team to survey various bus companies. This team would gather data on the management of city buses. Coordinated by the Student Senate of UI's Economics Faculty.
3. A team to study the problem of the city buses' loans from the Bank Bumi Daya. This team coordinated by the UISC leadership itself.
4. Other data were collected from news items in the mass media and direct complaints (N.B. many citizens, drivers, and bus-conductors had continuously brought their complaints about the city bus system to the UISC). Aside from all this, many other hands were proffered in voluntary assistance. This help mainly came from people expert on the problems: experts in land communications, UI's Management Institute, accountants, and consultants to the city bus system. This participation came on an individual basis.

With this data and existing facilities, the UISC formed a core committee, including the above-mentioned volunteer experts, to draw up a report and some conclusions about this problem, which we intended at a later point to make the UISC's recommendations to the Government. The UISC did not bring up this city bus problem with the arrogant belief

that it could solve the problem completely by its own efforts. We were fully aware that we were not the apparatus competent and authorized to tackle it--indeed, we were well aware of and fully respected the institutions formed and given authority for that purpose.

Nonetheless, summoned by the Minister of Communications' challenge, and our own desire to demonstrate the correctness of our line of thinking, we took the opportunity in August '77 to meet with the Chief of Staff of Kopkamtib, Admiral Soedomo, with the sincere intentions of asking for legalization of the core committee we had formed. At the very least to forestall mistaken prejudice on the part of the authorities, who often obstruct the development of our social participation. But our intentions did not get the reception that we had hoped for. Rather, the Chief of Staff of Kopkamtib suggested that we join the team being formed by the Minister of Communications, where we'd get a very satisfactory remuneration. Of course we rejected this out of hand because it was in direct contradiction to our conscience and to our initial purpose in making an issue of the city bus system. That the Government had taken the easy way by increasing bus fares was very evident later on, when the Minister formed a team, composed of accountants and consultants, to study the management of the city buses. For the formation of this committee showed that the Government itself was uneasy about the truth of its own initial claim that the fare increases were necessary because the bus companies were running at a loss.

It may be worth adding a short note on the team actually formed by the Government. This team was paid very high consultant's fees, and given the task of preparing a report within a given time limit. We also were offered places on the team. The fact of the matter is, of course, that the UISC had already put together a team of exactly this sort, and its report, prepared without anyone asking for high fees, was then almost complete. But what could we do? The power of money induced several experts, who had earlier helped the UISC voluntarily, to let themselves be "drawn" into the team formed by the Department of Communications. As of this writing, the Government's team still hasn't produced its report, so far as we know. Meanwhile, as of the end of 1977, the blocked credits still had not been released. But the new Rp. 50 fares had then been in effect for 5 months. And only society can say whether the Government's promise to improve service has been fulfilled or not.

Conclusions:

The UISC raised the issue of the city buses as part of its campaign to give expression to the feelings of the little people. The UISC deeply regrets the actions of the Government, which have scarcely defended the interests of society at all. Just how unfair the government is can be seen from the fact that while the bus owners, who have been given all kinds of "remissions," still have suffered severe losses because of "mismanagement" [*sic*] (among other things by utilizing the "remissions" they received to shift their main focus of energy from primary to secondary activities),⁴⁰ while society, already suffering severely, has to be further burdened to compensate for management's losses.

⁴⁰The point here seems to be that the government tried to make things easier for the bus companies by letting them off various required payments, or even by providing subsidies. But the companies, rather than using these resources to put the bus services on a sound economic footing, diverted them to more profitable sidelines.

The UISC brought up the city bus problem because the many different aspects involved in it mean that it must be tackled as a complex whole, with many factors needing to be considered.

The UISC brought up the city bus issue with the aim of reminding people of long-standing disorders in the bus companies' operations, while we also have to bear in mind that the loans these companies have taken out are being paid for with the people's money.

The UISC raised the problem of the city buses as material for study. The involvement of the UISC in the city bus problem will draw the students closer to the real problems of the little people. That is why we absolutely do not understand why our efforts, which arise directly from our consciences and involve the pursuit of no interests of our own (except participation in the struggle for the people's welfare) have to be brought before this Honorable Court.

The DPRS
(September 13-October 1, 1977)

The Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia is the legislative body at the national center. Along with other high-level institutions it exercises power in our country. Accordingly, its presence is an essential condition for a democratic state. The Provisional Parliament appeared as a consequence of the dissolution of the official legislature (the Parliament produced by the 1971 general elections), at a time when no new legislature had yet been installed. Observing all this, we felt called on to act in accordance with our consciences at that time. [We felt that] it was not possible for the executive to function without the legislature (see the proclamation of September 1977 signed by 6 of us). The legislature, one of whose functions is control [of the executive], had been dissolved precisely at a time when it still had much work to do, and many hopes were riding on its performance.

It was really very difficult to understand why technical problems of protocol were treated by the 1971 Parliament's leaders as more important than the fundamental principles for which the legislature is responsible. The facts that we noted were:

- The Speaker's speech at the final plenary meeting, which closed the period of the 1971 Parliament's sessions.
- Farewell celebrations for the members of the 1971 Parliament enlivened by artists and artistes of the capital city.
- The bestowal of tokens of appreciation and thanks on the members of the 1971 Parliament.
- The issuing of one-way tickets to members of the 1971 Parliament coming from the provinces.
- The opinions and comments of the mass media in the capital city.

Observing all this, we decided spontaneously to announce ourselves as a "Provisional Parliament." The basic idea was that we did not want the democratic state we love so much to become anarchic-totalitarian.

Strictly from the point of view of time, the vacuum of power may not seem very long--only three weeks. But from the point of view of constitutional law, this "gap" could form a most unfortunate precedent

for the future of a democratic state. Our intention was quite clear--that with the formation of the Provisional Parliament there would be no legislative vacuum. Once the Provisional Parliament had been proclaimed, naturally we tried to act as an ideal legislature should. From the very beginning we stated that we were not assuming the status and the privileges of Parliament, but simply its duties and responsibilities. This is extremely important, [we feel], to ensure that society's aspirations continued to have an outlet as required by the Constitution.

Given the short period of time involved, naturally we also took up matters of lively current concern, which, we felt, had not been attended to properly by a Parliament which had dissolved itself with undue haste.

Manipulations of rice by Bulog,⁴¹ credits blocked in the Bank Bumi Daya--these were problems which were being widely discussed at the time that Parliament dissolved itself. Matters of active concern to society which we also took up in the Provisional Parliament included: the Law on Subversion, the Basic Agrarian Law, the Basic Press Law, and the Basic Law on Education.

At the same time, the entire mode of operation of the Provisional Parliament bore a moral message criticizing the way Parliament itself has functioned up to now. As can be seen from the debate between the views of various groups on the Provisional Parliament, which arose in the press at that time, all our activities proceeded from the internal rules of Parliament's procedures.

With the above-mentioned motivation, we drew up a program for the Provisional Parliament as follows:

1. To draw up the Proclamation of September 77 and announce it.
2. To announce the Provisional Parliament's agenda of business.
3. To carry out this agenda, by discussions of each topic in open hearings, and publicizing these hearings in their entirety.
4. To recess, so as to draft the Provisional Parliament's final memorandum.
5. To convey this memorandum to the Parliament of 1977.
6. To dissolve itself.

The key issues that we took up in the Provisional Parliament included:

I. *The Basic Agrarian Law*, and its connection with the problem of land-ownership. We noted that because the present Basic Agrarian Law is not sincerely enforced, more and more rich, nonfarming city people own tracts of land far in excess of the maximum legal hectareage specified by this law. At the same time, a very large number of peasants can not acquire even the minimum the law lays down. (Twenty percent of the agricultural land in Krawang is owned by city people.) Many fundamental matters regulated by the Basic Agrarian Law are in fact violated by officials of the government themselves who have been buying up the people's land--something clearly in contradiction to the spirit

⁴¹Bulog, an acronym for Badan Urusan Logistik (Nasional), National Logistics Agency, is a monopolistic, monopsonistic state corporation operating in the field of food staples. Its directors have always been close political associates of Suharto.

of the Basic Agrarian Law. In fact, the Old Order government did more than this one to put the Basic Agrarian Law into real effect.

On the basis of the hearings that we held, we (the Provisional Parliament) concluded that the existing Agrarian Law is basically all right. But as the Legal Foundation of National Land Policy, this law needs to be put into effect consistently, justly, and equally throughout the territory of Indonesia.⁴²

II. *The Basic Press Law.* A healthy press, capable of carrying out its functions properly, must naturally be protected by a legal foundation that makes this possible. One major obstacle to a healthy press till now has been the Basic Press Law No. 11/1966, [especially the part] dealing with Printing Licenses and Publishing Licenses. Law No. 11/1966 said that Publishing Licenses would be required [only] for a transitional period. But it has continued to cause repeated ups-and-downs in the life of our press, for reasons that are quite unacceptable. With the Publishing License and the Printing License as its weapons, the government has freely muzzled the press, summoned reporters for interrogation, and banned the publication of news items. And resolutions of the ensuing problems have very often not been resolutions according to the law. We believed that it was important to discuss this problem because we were of the opinion that a press capable of effectively discharging the press's function is a press that is permitted to develop without fetters such as we have endured for so long. The function of a healthy press is to disseminate objective information, channel the aspirations of the people, and exercise social control. Aside from its informative function, the press should also have a preventative one: this means that, aside from the freedom to report something, there should also be the freedom not to have to report something, whatever the pressure. Fears of an irresponsible press actually are unwarranted if we all remember that we are equals before the law: in other words, that anyone, including the press, can be brought to account for all his actions before a court of law.

The muzzling of the press and other arbitrary acts against journalists that have gone on till now make it very difficult to distinguish our present condition from the situation under the Old Order regime. The endless extension of the "transitional period" is in fact in conflict with the President's own statement that: "The period of transition is the period from the outbreak of the September 30th Movement affair up to the formation of a People's Consultative Assembly on the basis of elections." This means that Publishing Licenses should have disappeared after 1971 when the 1971 PCA [MPR] was formed; and that the muzzlings that have taken place since then are no longer in harmony with the spirit of the Basic Press Law itself. Such actions have been in fact nothing but arbitrary actions of the authorities, and are in

⁴²The word translated here as "equally" (*merata*) is perhaps deliberately ambiguous. It may be understood as linked to "consistently" and "justly" and mean "without favoritism to officials and the rich." It may also be understood as linked to "throughout the territory of Indonesia." Since the Basic Agrarian Law of 1963 did in fact set differential maximal landholdings for different zones of Indonesia (partly in recognition of great differences in population pressures, partly in deference to "traditional" landowning systems persisting in regions of the Outer Islands), the students may have been urging an end to this pattern of discriminatory standards.

fundamental conflict with the principles of a democratic state. We have heard that as long ago as September 1968, a committee to draft a new Basic Press Law completed its task after 6 months of work. But nothing whatever has come of this draft since that date. After more than 9 years, we feel that the time has come for Publishing Licenses to be abolished, for we believe that the best prospect for our struggle for justice and truth rests on the foundation of a free press. The Provisional Parliament came to the above conclusion after studying the matter in hearings with representatives of the press and of society.

III. *The Basic Law on Education.* Education is one very important field of endeavor in our pursuit of the ideals of freedom, as epitomized in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution in the sentence: "...to promote the general welfare and to raise the cultural level of the nation..... Education is the right of every citizen, and in carrying out its educational function, the government is to develop and organize a national system of education, regulated by law." The essential aim of the 1945 Constitution is thus to guarantee that every citizen enjoys education and instruction. Yet, all this time, we have felt that the intended system of national education has never been effectuated, and thus that Education remains a problem that needs to be tackled. It is clear that all along we have dealt with basic educational problems in a patchwork manner. The tackling of educational problems in their various aspects will not produce much in the way of results so long as there is no overall Educational Strategy in the form of a Law. What in fact is our educational ideology? What kind of Indonesian human beings is it intended to produce? What is the relationship between education and manpower problems? The reality that we have experienced all along has been that our educational system has been inadequate quantitatively (i.e., with regard to its absorptive capacities), and qualitatively (i.e., the quality of its products is still very low). Aside from education in the narrow sense (schooling), it is also true that in the problem of Education in the wider sense, there is still no clear sheet-anchor to which we can hold fast.⁴³ Fundamentally, an overall strategy for tackling our educational problems needs to be drawn up promptly in the form of a Basic Law on Education in which would be reflected an orientation, a strategy, and an educational mission for the welfare of Indonesian society.

IV. *The Law on Subversion.* The point of having a law of this type should be to guarantee a feeling of security for the entire People against the threat of subversion, from within and from outside. But when the facts show that what most of society feels is insecurity and fear, then it is logical for people to start asking what exactly this Law on Subversion really is. Does it truly protect the people?????????

We feel that the Law on Subversion, or Presidential Decree No. 11/1963, is a law that has caused disquiet in our society. If we study its history from the moment of its formulation, we will see that its terms are open to such broad and varied interpretation that it has been applicable at any moment to any one at all. How many victims has this law claimed over the years! Its victims absolutely do not feel any

⁴³The Indonesian--a *pedoman* (compass) which can become a *pegangan* (something to hold on to)--is awkward, so some license has been taken in the translation.

breath of justice emitted by this law. Indeed the law is in flagrant contradiction with the 1945 Constitution, since it clearly conflicts with the sense of justice and fundamental rights of the citizenry as contained in the 1945 Constitution's Article 28. It is also in conflict with Article 22 of the Constitution, such that [even] in its formal structure Presidential Decree No. 11 is not recognized by the 1945 Constitution. Article 22 specifies that under emergency conditions the President has the right to lay down government regulations.

It can no longer be denied that this Law on Subversion is a product of the Old Order, and was for a long time a principal prop of that order. Its exploitation at the present time in every situation is incompatible with the ideals of the New Order which aims at the development of a democratic way of life.

V. *Parliamentary Procedure*. The internal working procedures of Parliament strongly affect its capacity to carry out its tasks. We noted that the malfunctioning of Parliament partly stems from weaknesses in its daily operations and a low degree of emphasis on the function of carrying out its responsibilities. Many of Parliament's rights can not be exercised because of existing internal procedures. This means that many aspirations alive in society can not be taken up, since they do not conform with existing bureaucratic requirements, as determined by standard procedures. Basically, procedures should be a means for expediting the functions and responsibilities of Parliament, not obstructing them.

VI. *Miscellaneous*. Many of the other problems that attracted the attention of society at that time were closely related to the tasks of the 1971 Parliament. We felt that these problems were not adequately dealt with by the old Parliament, and that there was no guarantee that the new one would pursue them. Inter alia: manipulations in Bulog, the blockage of credits in the Bank Bumi Daya, Pertamina, manipulations of fertilizer supplies, and Palapa.⁴⁴ We hoped that if the Provisional Parliament aired these problems, they would draw enough attention so that they could be rapidly solved.

Such then were the issues raised by the Provisional Parliament. We were fully aware of our limitations in functioning as a Provisional Parliament. Precisely for that reason, from the very beginning we had no pretensions to being able to solve all the problems we raised. Our plan was to turn over to the incoming Parliament our considerations on these problems and various other perspectives that had emerged, with the idea of making them an agenda not to be forgotten in the rush of new business. Our aims were not achieved in their entirety. Barely had we tackled the question of the Law on Subversion when we were arrested on the basis of this very law. Our arrest ended with the following statement by Maj. Gen. G. H. Mantik Commander of Kodam V Jaya (Jakarta) on the occasion of our release: "Legal prosecution can not be undertaken against you since there is no evidence of criminal offenses in the activities of the Provisional Parliament. The actions we took were taken purely on the basis of security considerations." We were released unconditionally, including the right to explain our actions in the Provisional Parliament as widely as we wished.

⁴⁴See note 20.

Basic Human Rights
(December 10, 1977-January 10, 1978)

Basic human rights have been a continuing theme of our struggle, because, although Indonesia, as a member of the UN, has formally signed and is therefore bound by the Charter of Human Rights, in reality there are still many situations that we run across in everyday life where basic human rights are ignored.

The very purpose of government, of the state, and of power, is, in essence, to contribute to the protection and fulfillment of the basic rights of every citizen. But ironically enough, it is "power" itself that most frequently violates basic rights. History shows that everywhere basic human rights have had to be struggled for with immense sacrifices in the face of tyrannical power. It is for this reason that the theme of basic human rights has been unceasingly raised at every opportunity by the students' struggle.

The UISC utilized the occasion of Human Rights Day, which fell on December 10, 1977, to organize activities in the framework of promoting this question to society's attention. In connection with the implementation of this program, the UISC made December 1977 "Human Rights Month," during which we brought up and made an issue of various phenomena in society related to the implementation of these basic rights. Our activities in this regard were as follows:

1. Gathering and classifying complaints from society, and then studying them and trying to establish the motivations behind them all. For this purpose a group was formed with the task of drawing up conclusions and making public past and future activities in responding to these complaints from society.
2. Visiting the Supreme Court to carry out a "Dialogue of Conscience" with the Supreme Court leadership and the members.
3. Visiting prisoners, with special emphasis on political prisoners accused of subversion. The aim was also to have heart-to-heart talks with the prisoners without getting involved in their individual legal cases. The idea here was to try to measure how far prisoners still feel they have any basic human rights.

From the main ideas and problems that we raised, it is clear that many violations of basic human rights still occur--even though such rights are primary rights which inhere in every human being and are absolutely guaranteed by⁴⁵ authorities everywhere. Freedom of expression, freedom from fear, freedom from poverty--actually these are not extravagant demands. Take the case of the peasants from Subang who fled to the UISC not only because their basic rights in regard to poverty were not fulfilled but because they were scared--to the point that they left the land on which they were born because they felt so threatened by the local authorities. The village authorities had put great pressure on the people, who could not pay back the Bimas⁴⁶ loans because the harvest had failed.

⁴⁵The Indonesian text reads "mutlak dijamin oleh penguasa dimanapun" which makes no sense. Presumably some such word as "harus" (must) has been omitted inadvertently.

⁴⁶Bimas, an acronym for Bimbingan Massa (Mass Guidance), is a government scheme

To make a complaint about a problem is in fact the right of every citizen, and for this he needs a channel. If the authorities are no longer the people to whom complaints are brought, one can be quite sure that they have become a source and locus of fear, and no longer a shelter where anyone can come to get protection.

Another aspect that we noted is the problem of detention. Detention for detention's sake is done so easily that a suspect, by no means yet certainly guilty of anything, frequently has to suffer removal from society beforehand. Worse still, methods of investigation used often involve violence. Such things are completely in conflict with Laws No. 13 and 15/1959 (On the Police, and On the Public Prosecution), which state that: "in carrying out their tasks [they] must always deeply respect the People's rights and the Laws of the State." The principle of "presumption of innocence" [*sic*--in English] has been violated over and over again, especially by officials, who in effect sentence suspects.⁴⁷ The subject of our special concern was arrests carried out by Kopkamtib. Here anyone can be detained at any time for at least a year, without any clear justification, simply because they are suspected of violating⁴⁸ Presidential Decree No. 11/1963. And this type of detention is not counted as part of the total prison sentence in cases where the person being interrogated is ultimately sentenced by a court.

The principle of justice under the law has still not been consistently put into effect, when a little man like Wasdri is convicted by the courts over a matter of Rp. 50,⁴⁹ while in other cases the decisions of the court have been miles away from society's sense of what is just --above all in cases involving officials. Thousands upon thousands of people have undergone detention outside any legal procedure. Such prisoners have been detained for more than a decade, without ever being tried. In the matter of basic human rights, we can not make distinctions between human beings on the basis of race, nationality, or religion. Nor can we discriminate between the rich and the poor, the rulers and the ruled, and even the free and the imprisoned. Every human being has basic human rights so long as he lives. Basic human rights are those that most need to be fulfilled by every ruler and every government that protects its people.

Similarly, in our "heart-to-heart talk" with the Supreme Court, we intended to touch the hearts of the judges, to make them continuously aware that judges are the last pillar of strength on which the hopes of every seeker of justice rest, and the prisoner's life or death

for supplying peasants with a variety of "agricultural inputs" at low cost--for the purpose of raising productivity.

⁴⁷I.e., before these suspects have been legally tried and convicted.

⁴⁸The text reads "diduga melakukan Penpres 11/1963" which makes no sense. Probably *melakukan* (carry out) is a misprint for *melanggar* (violate).

⁴⁹This is a reference to a small-scale cause célèbre in Jakarta in late 1977. On December 3, a group of film-workers met to protest the rejection by the Director of Film Guidance at the Ministry of Information of a script for a film entitled *Wasdri*. This script was taken from real life, and was about Wasdri, a villager who was abused by local officials and ended up in detention where he suffered further brutalities.

depends. Accordingly, judges have to be responsible not only to the People, but also to God. Is this responsibility borne in mind however every time the gavel is rapped in deciding cases???? A free and independent judicial power is a prime precondition for the preservation of a democratic state. Therefore, independent and honest courts must be free from every pressure from the power-holders. But is this in fact always the case with our judges??? These are questions which continually haunt society as it follows each judicial trial.⁵⁰

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The National Army Is an Army of the People
(December 16, 1977)

The moral foundation of the TNI, as implanted originally by Panglima Besar Sudirman⁵¹--that the TNI is an Army of the People--makes us convinced that the essence of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia's struggle and service is for the interests of the entire People of Indonesia; that at bottom all ABRI's⁵² interests are also those of the People as a whole; that ABRI has no private interests of its own; and that the service and dedication of ABRI is aimed at guaranteeing the security and achieving the welfare of society.

Because of our deep awareness of ABRI's mission, we will never have doubts about ABRI's sincere good intentions towards the Nation and the State. We will always be able, in an honest spirit, to distinguish between ABRI's true mission and the narrow interests of a few elements within ABRI. The various revolts involving ABRI elements which have occurred from time to time, do not automatically destroy our faith in ABRI as an institution. As members of society we too have an interest in the unity and integrity of ABRI; as members of society we too share in guarding the purity of ABRI's struggle in accordance with the ideals implanted by Panglima Besar Sudirman.

For this reason we of the UISC, together with the Student Councils of the BIT and the BAI felt it necessary to welcome and support the "ABRI Statement of December 15"⁵³ immediately after its publication. Along with our support, we also expressed the hope that various views conveyed in that statement were in accordance with the wishes and the hopes of the People. It was for just this reason that we hoped for a

⁵⁰The section that follows here, a detailing of a series of strategy sessions by shifting clusters of student leaders, has been omitted by the editors as of relatively low substantive interest.

⁵¹TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Army) is currently the official name of the Indonesian armed forces, and is a revival of the term in official use in the latter part of the Revolution. Panglima Besar (something like Commander-in-Chief) Sudirman, the first officer to be appointed to this position, held it throughout the Revolution and up to his untimely death in January 1950. A genuine hero of the Revolution, Sudirman is one of the few leading figures of modern Indonesian history whose memory is revered in almost all quarters.

⁵²ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia).

⁵³See note 35.

community of perspective between the Students and ABRI. We gave our support because we were aware that the ABRI Statement of December 15, 1977 was aimed at a certain sensitivity in ABRI with regard to the situation at that time. We made known our views with respect to a number of things referred to in the ABRI Statement, as follows:

1. It is the responsibility of every Indonesian citizen to make a success of the [coming] General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly.⁵⁴ And "success" here must mean that the General Session is a forum for the channeling of the aspirations and the dynamic life of society, not an arena for clashes of personal or group interests; a place where real decisions, not manipulated decisions, are made.
2. The "continuity of National Leadership" that it is desirable to maintain does not mean giving rise to, or preserving, the status quo or the "establishment" [*sic*] with robot-discipline.⁵⁵ Rather, it means an effort to create an atmosphere which can give birth to a political structure and a political culture that truly reflect democratic life as it should be.
3. It is the duty of every citizen to carry out introspection and correction of all his/her actions, so that every social change and every aspiration to be achieved is continually orientated towards the interests of the People, and also takes into account the future life and interests of our beloved country.

And to demonstrate that we students were not prejudiced against ABRI, and because we hoped to prevent differences in aspirations from developing because of insufficient communication, we requested a dialogue with the ABRI leadership at that time. Strangely enough our request met with no adequate response, even though much noise was made beforehand about ABRI being "always open." While we requested a dialogue, the answer we got was Briefings. The Minister of Defense gave Briefings to the Regional Security Authorities,⁵⁶ and the Regional Security Authorities gave Briefings to the University Rectors. The Minister of Defense evidently believed that matters would be appropriately settled by these means. Nonetheless we students are constantly trying to make sure that misunderstandings with ABRI do not arise. We also continually try to convince ourselves that there is a commonalty of good intentions towards the Nation and State between the Students and ABRI. This commonalty has consistently been a prime consideration in all our activities following the ABRI Statement of December 15, 1977.

⁵⁴This was the session (eventually convened in March 1978) held to elect a person to the presidency, since Suharto's five-year term was up. In the event, Suharto was reelected unopposed.

⁵⁵The Indonesian is *disiplin mati*--"corpse discipline."

⁵⁶The Minister of Defense at the time was General Maradean Panggabean. The so-called Regional Security Authorities are actually the Territorial Commanders in their capacities as provincial arms of Kopkamtib.