

# Death toll may reach thousands

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THE JAKARTA POST/PALU/JAKARTA

The death toll in the Central Sulawesi earthquakes and tsunami surged to 832 as of Sunday, but the figure is expected to be in the thousands as there were no reports coming in from worst-hit areas due to poor communication signals and blackouts.

Search and rescue teams have reportedly moved to more isolated areas.

Apart from powerful earthquakes and the tsunami, a number of areas in the province, including Petobo subdistrict in South Palu, were also hit by mudslides that followed the 7.4-magnitude quake.

It is feared that about 2,000 people in the subdistrict, which is located 10 kilometers from the sea, are dead.

Yusuf Hasmin, 45, said residents tried to flee from the mudslides, adding that the mud had rolled in like waves. He and his family survived, but he has not yet heard from other relatives.

Mudslides also hit another subdistrict in West Palu district, Palu, where thousands are believed to have died.

Donggala regency, the closest region to the earthquake's epicenter, also remains unreachable. It is home to about 300,000 people.

Meanwhile, seven athletes, who were taking part in the Indonesia Open Paragliding Cross Country Palu Nomoni, are reportedly missing, while around 20 other participants and committee members have been rescued, according to the Indonesian Aero Sport Federation (FASI).

The athletes were competing on Saleña Hill in Palu.

The National Disaster Mitigation Agency (BNPB) said 71 foreign tourists were caught up in the earthquakes and tsunami.

On Sunday, BNPB spokesperson Sutopo Purwo Nugroho said the authorities had found 66 tourists and two, a Singaporean and a Belgian, were flown to

Thousands in worst-hit areas feared dead

Search, rescue teams move to isolated districts

Jakarta.

According to Sutopo, 32 Thai tourists were safe in Palu, 21 Chinese citizens have taken shelter at a hotel in the city, 10 Vietnamese were at Palu's Mutiara Sis Al Jufri Airport camp and a German tourist is reportedly safe and staying at a resort in Donggala.

However, authorities have been unable to locate three French citizens and a Malaysian tourist, while a South Korean is believed to be trapped under the rubble of the Roa Roa Hotel in Palu.

A National Search and Rescue Agency's (Basarnas) team had rescued guests from the collapsed hotel but as of Sunday morning only six guests were confirmed to have survived the earthquake and one has been confirmed dead.

At least 1,400 survivors have been sent to Makassar, South Sulawesi, using a C-130 Hercules military plane.

According to the BNPB, the Central Sulawesi administration has declared a 14-day state of emergency from Sept. 28 to Oct. 11.

Sutopo said Central Sulawesi Governor Longki Djanggola had appointed Tadulako Military Resort commander Col. Agus Sasmita to lead the joint disaster mitigation team, which would be stationed at the military resort command headquarters in Palu.

"There will also be coordination posts in each of the four affected cities and regencies, which will be set up and operated soon," Sutopo said, referring to Palu city and three other regencies: Donggala, Sigi and Parigi Mouton.

After arriving in Palu, President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo asked quake survivors to be patient as they waited for aid to be

distributed, saying that it would take a week to prepare the airport for planes carrying supplies to land safely.

Hundreds of residents in Palu were pumping fuel manually from gas stations around the city as none the city's gas stations are operating.

State news agency Antara reported on Sunday that survivors have been facing difficulties accessing electricity and fuel, as well as other supplies such as food since Saturday.

Without electricity, residents have been forced to dismantle fuel storage units and pump fuel manually with hoses.

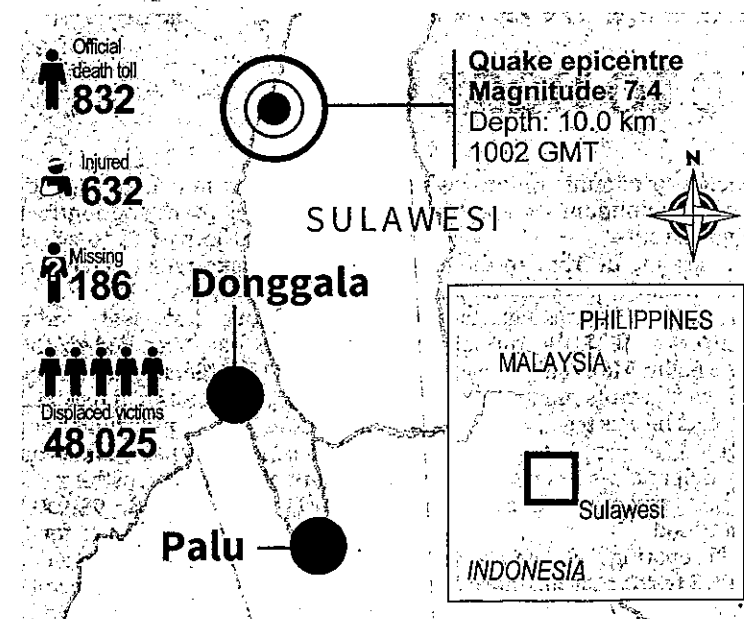
To handle the situation, state-owned oil and gas holding company Pertamina has set up an emergency aircraft fuel post in Palu and an emergency fuel terminal in Donggala.

Residents affected by the disaster are also in dire need of food and medicines as the quake and tsunami have paralyzed activities in the regions.

The government has prepared Rp 560 billion (US\$37.6 million) in relief funds in response to the earthquakes and tsunami.

Finance Minister Sri Mulyani said the relief funds could be increased to meet future needs for aid and infrastructure reconstruction, Antara reported. (ris)

ANDI HAJRAMURNI IN MAKASSAR  
AND NIKEN PRATHIVI IN JAKARTA  
CONTRIBUTED TO THE STORY



Sen. 29. 2018  
J. Post

# Leading 212 Alumni figures join Prabowo camp

Nurul Fitri Ramadhani  
THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

Leading 212 Alumni figures have joined the campaign team of presidential candidate pair Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno, who are challenging President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and his running mate, Ma'ruf Amin, in the presidential election next year.

The 212 Alumni refers to participants of the Dec. 2 protest in 2016, which was organized by Islamists to demand the prosecution of then-Jakarta governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama for blasphemy after he made a public statement insinuating that candidates had manipulated voters using a particular Quranic verse.

Ahok, an ally of Jokowi, lost to Anies Baswedan in the run-off election and was later sentenced to two years in prison.

The 212 figures believed that the rally played a determining role in allowing Anies — who

212 figures assume strategic role as campaigners for Prabowo

Prabowo camp aims to show diversity in campaign team

was endorsed by Prabowo's Gerindra Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) — to defeat Ahok.

The chairman of the 212 Alumni presidium, Slamet Maarif, who is also the spokesman for hard-line group Islam Defenders Front (FPI), has been named the deputy chairman of the Prabowo-Sandiaga campaign team, while Muslim People's Forum (FUI) leader Muhammad Al-Khaththath is listed as the deputy chairman of its consultative board.

The FUI was among the groups that initiated the mass protest.

Abdul Rasyid Abdullah Syafi'i, an executive of the group's eco-

nomic initiative 212 Sharia Cooperative, is the team's advisory board deputy chairman.

Abdul was also an organization committee chairman of an ulema gathering that discussed potential vice-presidential candidates for Prabowo.

Yusuf Muhammad Martak, the National Movement to Safeguard the Ulema Fatwa (GNPF) chairman, was appointed as the campaign team's guiding board member. The GNPF is a political front comprising clerics and Muslim activists who also took part in organizing the 212 rally.

"They became national campaigners to promote the Prabowo-Sandiaga program," said Eddy Soeparno, the secretary-general of PAN, one of the political parties in the Prabowo coalition.

Campaign team spokesman Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak said it aspired to represent all stakeholders. "We want ulemas, religious figures, activists and professionals to take part because we

want to show diversity. We need them. All of us share a common interest."

He denied that the decision to involve ulemas was triggered by the Jokowi coalition's decision to appoint Ma'ruf, a prominent Muslim cleric who is recognized by most of the Muslim groups in the country.

Alumni group executive Eggi Sudjana said the victory of Anies and Sandiaga in the Jakarta election could not be separated from the maneuvers made by the groups. He emphasized that Anies, who was not as popular as Ahok, would not have won the race without the rallies initiated by the network.

Meanwhile, Prabowo's electability and popularity is still below Jokowi's, according to several pollsters. A recent survey by Indikator Politik Indonesia found that 57.7 percent of 1,220 respondents would vote for Jokowi-Ma'ruf and only 32.3 percent would choose Prabowo-Sandiaga.

# Freeport remains in full control

Oct. 1, 2018  
I. B. S.

Stefanno Reinard Sulaiman  
THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

Even though the government, through PT Indonesia Asahan Aluminium (Inalum), will soon become a majority stakeholder in PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI), the full control of the giant gold and copper mining company will remain in the hands of United States-based Freeport-McMoran Inc. (FCX).

It comes as sad news for those who had expected that the divestment deal would be followed by the hand over of operations from FCX to Inalum, the country's holding company for the mining business.

Instead, FCX and Inalum have agreed to maintain the management of PTFI in order to ensure production stability because Inalum "has no experience to manage the giant mining company".

On Friday, Inalum president director Budi Gunadi Sadikin said it would be a partnership.

"It [the state of PTFI after divestment] is similar to husband and wife [relationship]. Even though one of them has a higher salary, one can't dictate to the other, like what to eat and so on."

Budi added that the decision not to change the operation had been made to ensure PTFI's production, which he feared would be affected negatively if both parties start bickering over management issues.

One of the cases of a low production rate occurred in February last year, when the firm halted operations at the Grasberg copper mine in Mimika, Papua, because it ran out of storage space to maintain output following a rule affecting shipments.

Data shows that last year, PTFI's total ore production stood at 140,445 tons per day or around 38 percent lower than their highest achievement of around 238,000 tons per day in 2001 and 2009.

"We relied on loans to realize the deal," Budi said, referring to the company's need to maintain cash flow in a healthy situation.

On Thursday, Inalum inked three documents in one agreement, namely the divestment agreement, sales and purchase agreement of PT Rio Tinto Indonesia, the local arm of Anglo-Aus-

tralian miner Rio Tinto, which holds 40 percent of the participating interest in PTFI and the shareholders agreement.

No deadline on when Inalum will take over

The government stated that Thursday's agreement was the last Freeport deal to be signed, leaving the final part of the divestment process to only administration issues, including payment.

The deadline to wrap up the final process will be in March next year or six months after Thursday's signing.

Inalum is set to disburse US\$3.85 billion to officially increase the government's ownership to 51.23 percent from 9.36 percent.

Inalum head of corporate communications Rendi Witular confirmed that the "mining operation will be fully operated by FCX" with no deadline on when Inalum would take over.

FCX CEO Richard Adkerson emphasized the need to ensure production stability.

"It [control of the operation] will be a partnership between FCX and Inalum.

"We all have an agreement that the operation will continue and that we'll have stability of operations," he said.

When asked whether there would be a management reshuffle after Inalum became the major stakeholder, Adkerson said no, with one of the reasons being that PTFI is converting from open-pit sites to underground mines, which he believed was much more complicated.

Indonesian Mining Association (Perhapi) chairman Irwandi Arif, who is also on the Inalum audit team, acknowledged the complexity of underground sites.

"Operating an underground mine is much harder than open pit as seismic problems could lead to a low production rate.

"The seismic activities could be in the form of small frictions in the cave or [in the form of] earthquakes," he said, adding that there were at least four underground sites being operated by PTFI.

Sep. 29. 2018  
J. Post

## Freeport shifts focus to smelter construction

**JAKARTA:** After reaching a divestment deal on Thursday, gold and copper miner PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) will now focus on a smelter construction plan, which is required for the company to obtain the special mining permit (IUPK) that is needed to operate the Grasberg gold and copper mine in Papua.

"The smelter is part of our agreement. So if the divestment is completed, we will turn to [smelter] construction," PTFI vice president of corporate communications Riza Pratama said in Jakarta on Thursday as reported by *kompas.com*.

He said PTFI had showed a commitment to constructing a smelter through engineering design and land preparation processes at the planned location of the smelter in Gresik, East Java.

After years of negotiations, Indonesia signed on Thursday an agreement with American mining giant Freeport-McMoRan Inc. (FCX), on the purchase of a majority stake in PTFI, which operates the gold and copper mine.

To conclude the deal, however, state mining holding PT Indonesia Asahan Aluminium (Inalum), which represents the government in the talks, needs to settle a payment of US\$3.85 billion to FCX and Rio Tinto Group within six months.

The planned smelter in Gresik would manufacture 60 percent of the total copper concentrate mined from Grasberg, while another 40 percent would be manufactured at the existing smelter in Gresik. — *Kompas*

# Soeharto's children hold screening of anti-PKI movie

Nurul Fitri Ramadhani

THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

At the end of September, every year, the country faces an almost routine debate over the screening of *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (The Treachery of G30S/PKI), a New Order propaganda movie that was broadcast annually on state-owned television until after the fall of Soeharto in 1998.

Proponents of screening the film are either anticommunist groups or individuals who want to keep the Cold War sentiment burning or curious enthusiasts who want to learn about the controversial movie, which has been described as pro-Soeharto propaganda used to justify his take over of the country's leadership in 1965.

Detractors usually oppose the screening because of its one-sided depiction of history and they way it blames the now-defunct Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) as being the culprit behind the political crisis of the time. In fact, the bloody incident that begun with the killings of high-ranking Army generals led to anticommunists purges throughout the country, estimated to have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives.

This year, ahead of the 2019 presidential election, political parties, mostly those supporting presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto, as well as Muslim groups, will hold screenings of the film directed by auteur Arifin C. Noer.

The Berkarya Party, which was founded in 2016 by Soeharto's children, Hutomo Mandala Putra, also known as Tommy Soeharto, and Siti Hediati Herijadi, better known as Titiek Soeharto, was the first party to order its cadres, and to suggest that all people, to watch the film.

*"Basically, the PKI is just a small issue, but some elites exaggerate it,"*

The party held a screening at the Haji Usmar Ismail Film Center in Jakarta on Sunday night. Titiek, the former wife of Prabowo, attended the event.

Berkarya executive Bada-ruddin Andi Picunang said the screening was also to commemorate the late Soeharto, who he considered to be the figure responsible for wiping out the PKI.

"And the Berkarya is the embodiment of Soeharto," he said, adding that the screening would become an annual party event.

Leading opposition party Gerindra, who has endorsed its chairman Prabowo Subianto to challenge President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo in 2019 race, has also ordered its cadres to watch the film.

"We call on all Indonesia people to hold a screening of the film to remember the country's history. Let's ask our families, our neighbors, to watch it together," Gerindra executive Fary Djemi said.

The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has also called for all Muslim groups to hold public screenings.

MUI advisory council leader Din Syamsuddin, who is also a top figure within the country's second-largest Muslim organization Muhammadiyah, was of the opinion that it was important for the young generation to watch the G30S/PKI film so that they would be aware of the dangers of communism.

"We advise all Muslim organizations in particular, as well as other religious groups, to watch it. It takes at least two hours to watch it," Din said.

Analysts have said that certain parties might have deliberately stoked anti-PKI sentiment to attack Jokowi and gain political support ahead of the 2019 presidential election.

Jokowi has repeatedly been accused of being affiliated with the now defunct PKI by his opponents, years after the rumor was first spread during the 2014 presidential election campaigns.

Jokowi's party, the ruling Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), has also been accused of backing the PKI. Some opponents even spread a hoax that most PDI-P members were communists.

PDI-P secretary-general Hasto Kristiyanto said that people should feel free to watch the film if they wanted. However, the party also suggested that people should study the history from various perspectives.

"We are all allowed to watch the film. That's fine. I used to watch it every year, because [years ago] there was only one TV station, TVRI, and it aired the film every year," Hasto said.

Under Soeharto's New Order regime, the movie was made mandatory viewing and was broadcast on public television annually on the night of Sept. 30. The government stopped the annual broadcast in 1998, soon after Soeharto was ousted from power.

However, some of Jokowi's opponents now blame him for not making the film mandatory viewing.

Jokowi's campaign team has emphasized that it was former communications and information minister Yunus Yosfiah who stopped the mandatory viewings. Yunus is, in fact, the advisory board deputy chairman of Prabowo's campaign team.

Rights group Amnesty International Indonesia director Usman Hamid said the PKI was basically not an issue, but that certain political actors exaggerated it to gain support.

"Basically, the PKI is just a small issue, but some elites exaggerate it," Usman said.

"As a consequence, anti-PKI issues can discriminate against the survivors and victims of 1965."

Sen 29. 2011  
J. Post

# As mother, as daughter:

## Seeking closure to 1965

Nani Nurrachman-Sutoyo

JAKARTA

September has become a month of rituals involving interviews, discussions, and seminars on the 1965 tragedy, a dark moment in Indonesia's history. Viewing of the film *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (Betrayal of the Communists) were recommended once again last year for children and adults alike. All this has become routine for me year after year.

But on one September evening this year, my memory of my father and the traumatic time after his death came rushing back. I was with my two sons when the eldest suddenly turned to me, looked me straight in the eyes and asked, "Mum, are you aware that I am as old as *eyang* [grandfather] Toyo [Brig. Gen. Sutoyo Siswomihardjo] was when he was kidnapped, tortured and killed?"

His statement caught me by surprise, not only because it

was true but also because of the comparison of past and present stirring in my mind. My father's life was cut short at the age of 42 by a brutal incident at pre-dawn on Oct. 1, 1965, along with five other generals and two officers. His was at an age that was still considered young, productive and at the top of his military career.

My mother, my siblings and I had not been allowed to see his corpse; we could only have faith that his body had been properly treated and laid inside the coffin draped with the national flag, Sang Saka Merah Putih (the Sacred Red-and-White Heirloom Flag).

The victims were buried at the Heroes Cemetery in South Jakarta with full military honors. The aftermath of the so-called failed coup by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was followed by mass killings and the detention of thousands of alleged members of the PKI and those believed to be connected to the party.

### INSIGHT

And here I was, facing my sons, living healthy and content with their work and social life.

Those *memoria passionis* of 1965 have returned as usual, but this time with new insights. History has afflicted my life, leaving me in solitude to lament the sorrow and bereavement in the aftermath of the tragedy. I have traced my soul's journey through those dark times where my painful memory became immersed in the nation's history, its annual commemorations, its controversies of what really happened, who was behind it and so forth.

It has been more than 50 years now since the tragedy, without signs of closure, let alone the idea of national reconciliation becoming materialized. All discussions center around politics and power, framed by the binary of us-them, right-wrong, winners-losers.

Whether the powerful elites are making the right moves ignores the possibility that the atrocities experienced by both sides lie in the disconnected space between what we know, what we dare not know and don't want to know of what and how it really happened.

After all these years, I realize I was walking through a convergent path of memory and history. For a certain time my personal life was blended into social life following the aftermath of the failed coup. The blurring of the boundary of being myself and being a "victim" has trapped me in ambivalence, a feeling imposed when trying to understand history — history as it actually happened and history as it has been told.

There is no history without tragedy. Tragedy itself is a fateful struggle that cannot be won. Regardless of who we are, we are all victims because of our own ignorance and denial of history.

Erik H. Erikson, the famous de-

velopmental psychologist once said: "We have to pay attention to what children can offer us, as much as to what we can offer them."

He stressed that "[...] a child can make us see what we try so hard not to see". These statements made me smile with a gush of resolution.

Thirty-two years ago, my youngest son, then aged 8, asked me: "Ma, what is a communist? Did they kill *eyang* Toyo?"

He had just watched the film *G30S/PKI* from beginning to end. There and then I froze, speechless that a young boy could ask such a critical question. As a mother I realized that whatever my answer, it would shape his later perception and opinion about anything possibly related to a similar future event.

But his question was also a wake-up call for me. How could I answer his question wisely as a mother while I was still deep in anger, denial and resentment? How could I give my present for

my children's tomorrow? And now more than three decades later, it is my eldest son's turn to ask his question.

I now can answer this question with content. Relieved that I have done my part by seeing their smiles and self-confidence in facing the world, knowing they have caught the imagination of what kind of person their grandfather was, I can feel the warmth of the closure of this episode in my life.

As for history, let it take its own course, afflicting me no more. Let people give something to history to write, as what history has given them. The link lies in the crossroad between memory and history, a meeting-departure point that can always be revisited — not to be haunted by, but to contemplate on.

*The writer is a psychologist and the author of Saya, Ayah, dan Tragedi 1965 (My father and I, and the 1965 Tragedy).*

# Keeping memories of 1965 alive among the young

In December 2015, when my best friend Prodit Sabarini and I founded *Ingat65* (Remember '65), a digital platform for the younger generation to share their reflections on the 1965 tragedy, the darkest period in modern Indonesian history, we were full of optimism.

It was the year after the people had elected Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to the presidency, the first leader that had promised to resolve past human rights violations, including the 1965 tragedy, in which hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people were killed and others were imprisoned or exiled without a fair trial on the basis of their alleged ties to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

Under Jokowi's leadership, Prodit and I were pretty confident that our movement would break the barriers that had stalled reconciliation for the victims of the 1965 tragedy. In urging discussions among the younger generation on a topic that was once considered taboo, our hopes were high that we could help bring justice for the victims and their families that had been deprived of their civil rights through stigmatization, more than 50 years after the tragedy had occurred.

Barely three years since *Ingat65* went online on March 24, 2016, our optimism has faded.

One main reason is that the guy we had counted on had failed to keep his word.

To support his reelection bid in next year's election, Jokowi has betrayed his voters by forming alliances with groups that he counted among his opponents in the 2014 presidential election. His previous campaign on



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pluralism and human rights has become nothing but an empty promise.

Under Jokowi's five-year term, progress has been slow in resolving the atrocities of 1965. Recommendations from a 2016 national symposium on reconciliation of the 1965 tragedy fell on deaf ears, because of the government's lack of political will.

Meanwhile, public discussions on the issue remain discouraging. Every year, a single version of history that justifies the mass killings by the military circulates and dominates discourse in the lead-up to the anniversary of the 1965 tragedy on Sept. 30. Regimes both past and present perpetuate the narrative that the 1965 tragedy refers to the six generals "murdered by the evil PKI".

This has resulted in a general reluctance toward discussing the topic, never mind seeking resolution, with people fearing that the communist ghost of the past might return to haunt them.

The trauma has taken its toll on us. The number of stories *Ingat65* publishes continues to decline from year to year. From 59 stories in 2016, we published 33 stories in 2017. Last year, we were forced to temporarily halt operations when some of us became a target of cyberbullying. This year, we have published a mere 19 stories.

It is as if people are still trapped in the past and refuse to

open their eyes to the victims of other narratives in the 1965 tragedy. Unfortunately, the voices of these victims, most of them now in their 70s and 80s, are fading into silence. One by one, the victims and living witnesses of the 1965 massacres are dying without ever getting justice or even being heard. Without these witnesses, there are serious concerns that the cases of the victims of the 1965 tragedy will be forgotten and never be resolved.

[...] the guy we had counted on had failed to keep his word.

Despite these setbacks, I believe that Indonesia must move forward to resolve the 1965 tragedy.

I recalled my interview with Nani Nurrachman Sutojo, the daughter of slain Sutojo Siswomiharjo, for an article on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1965 tragedy. She said the nation must resolve the 1965 tragedy to avoid risks to the future of the country. Without resolution and reconciliation, Indonesia would be prone to a similar tragedy in the future.

Some analysts believe the violence in 1998 was a result of unresolved issues from 1965; that the May 1998 riots targeting the Chinese-Indonesian community stemmed from the anti-communist and anti-China stigma that followed the 1965 tragedy. If the 1965 tragedy reoccurred in 1998, what's next?

One thing we can do to save this country's future is by sharing our personal stories about the 1965 tragedy. The victims may be

gone or might soon be gone, but their stories can be passed on to future generations. We need to fight the stigma against these victims, knowing that their stories are critical to resolving the 1965 tragedy.

Whenever I have a conversation with people on the 1965 killings, I discover that its effects have been greater than I had thought. It has affected families, colleagues and friends; almost none escaped the tragedy. Most *Ingat65* writers tell how they found out that their families or friends were 1965 victims. By sharing these stories, we can keep the discussion alive and, hopefully, trigger new ideas toward reconciliation and rehabilitation.

Another way to broach such discussions is by opening our minds to alternative narratives of the 1965 killings. Technology and the law guaranteeing freedom of expression enable our unlimited access to reading materials and films on the topic.

Under such conditions and capabilities, it is unfortunate that people still prefer to believe in the old narrative that claims to be the one and only truth.

Politicians may come and go, but until we have a leader that keeps their promise to resolve the 1965 massacres, *Ingat65* won't stop sharing the victims' stories, raising discussions and, hopefully, finding solutions: We want to avoid a repeat tragedy. In fact, we must all continue in our endeavors toward understanding, for the sake of the future of this country and its children.

The writer is managing editor of the *Ingat65* (Remember '65) digital platform.