

Law and Justice — Indonesia 20 years after 'Reformasi'

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The Internet in Indonesia and the downfall of the Soeharto regime

Waruno Mahdi

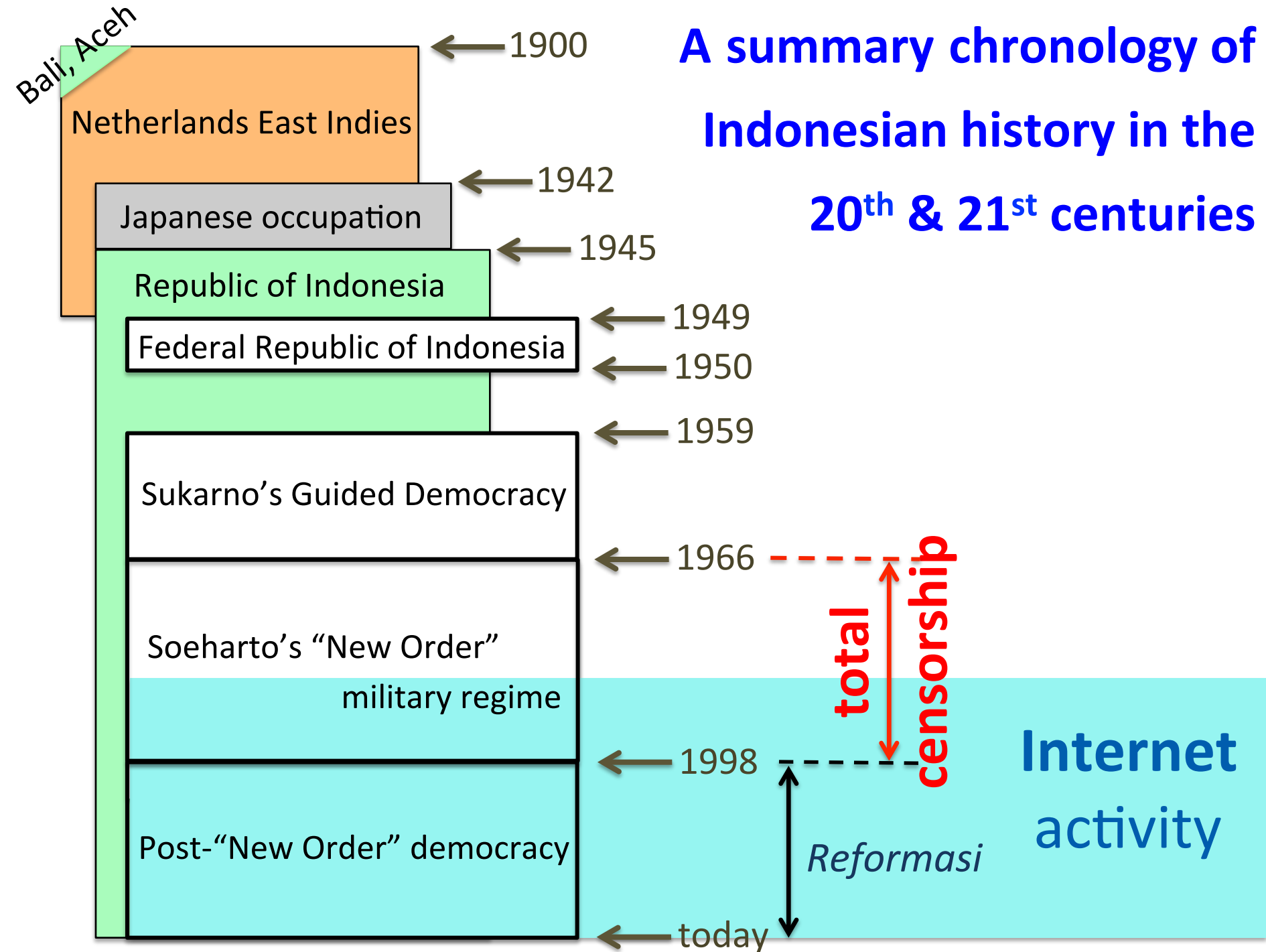
Fritz Haber Institute,
Berlin



Some Bibliographic References on the Subject

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A summary chronology of Indonesian history in the 20th & 21st centuries



Not everything was bad under Soeharto's "New Order" regime.



- It increased (not only foreign) capital investments;
- It led to a significant growth of retail trade, and that led to a **rapid growth of the middle class**.

However:

- Widespread nepotism and corruption of the Soeharto clan, and collusion with capital investors;
- Strict authoritarian rule, total lack of freedom of expression,

resulted in a **rising opposition of that growing middle class**.



BBC NEWS

Thursday, 25 March, 2004

Suharto tops corruption rankings

Former President Suharto of Indonesia tops the all-time corruption league table, an anti-graft group says.

Transparency International (TI), in its Global Corruption Report, uses the list to show how political corruption and private bribery hurt development.

Suharto's alleged haul of \$15-\$35bn in 31 years of rule, TI said, demonstrated how abuse of power "undermines the hopes... of developing countries".

The First Revolution to be Ushered in through the Internet

A “revolutionary situation”:

- the people can no longer endure the regime;
- the rulers are no longer capable of upholding it.

The Internet provided the medium.

“First the walls of total censorship were breached, then the military cordons protecting palace and parliament from the people”



Introducing Information Technology (IT)

Indonesia's introduction to information technology (IT) resulted from the policies of the then State Minister for Research and Technology, **Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie.**



Having been in the upper management of Messerschmidt-Bölkow-Blohm GmbH (MBB), he learned how success of modern industrial economy depended on technological progress and free flow of information.

As State Minister, he then actively promoted the **Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Teknologi (IPTEK)** agency

Meanwhile, after studying computer sciences in the United States since the early 1970s, Indonesian graduates took up work at the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta. One of them, **Indro S. Suwandi**, set up the

Pusat Ilmu Komputer (PUSILKOM)

The beginnings of digital networking

Universitas Indonesia (UI)
in Depok (a suburb of Jakarta)

1984 — Ulnet



JUITA

= *Jaringan UI TerpAdu*
(Joint UI Network)



1992 — — — — —

Paguyuban
(community)

UI - complex
Depok

BPPT & LAPAN
Bogor

ITB
Bandung

BPPT = *Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi*

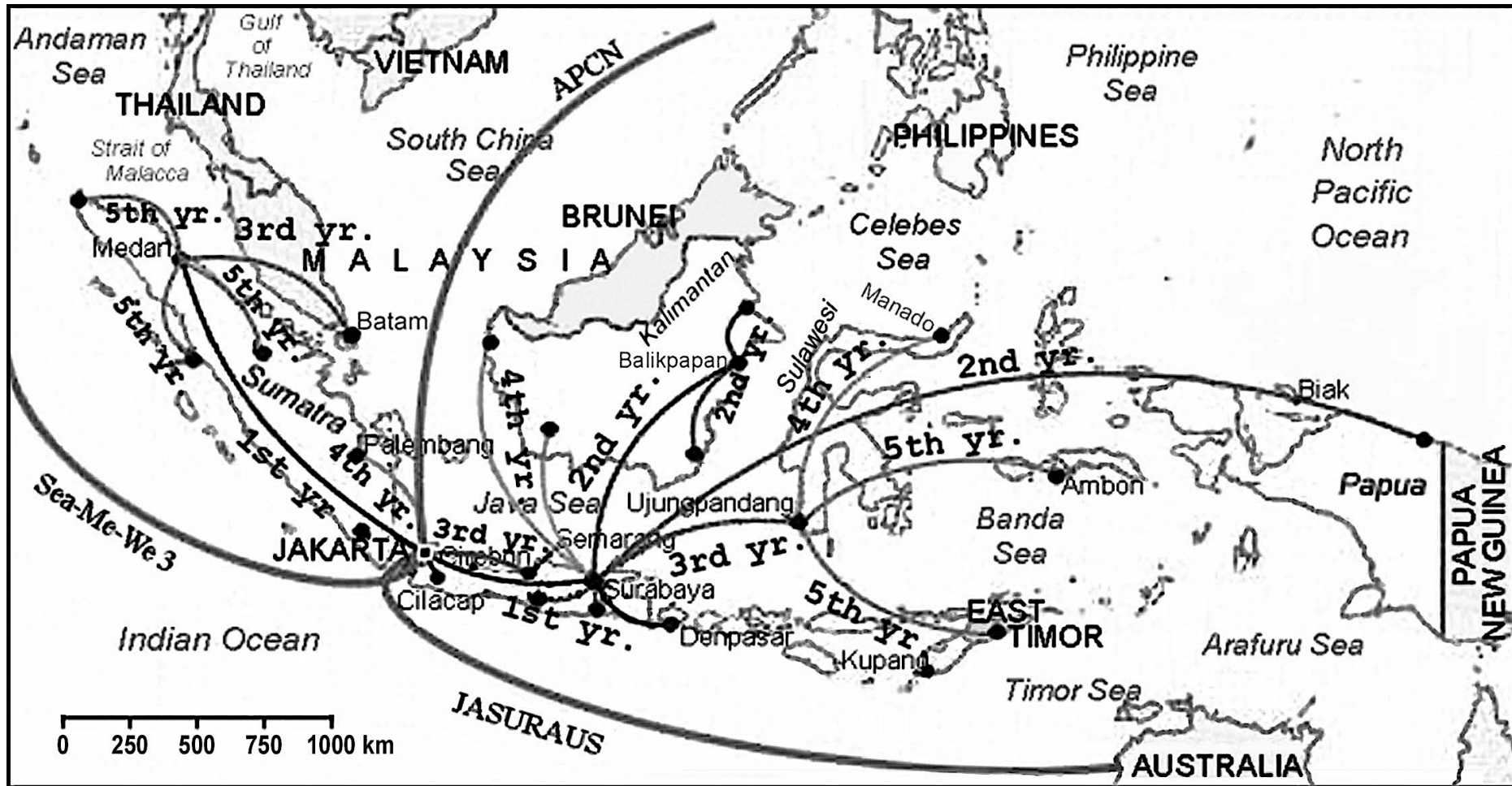
LAPAN = *Lembaga Penerbangan dan Antariksa Nasional*

ITB = *Institut Teknologi Bandung*

Connecting to the World



Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia



Five-year IIX logical network backbone build-up project

Early Indonesian mailing lists

- 1988 — **IDS** (*Indonesian Development Studies*)
<ids@suvn.bitnet> → <ids@listserv.syr.edu>
set up by **Wyn W. Purwinto**, Syracuse University
- 1989 — **JANUS** <Indonesians@janus.berkeley.edu>
- 1989 — **UKIndonesian** <... ..>
- 1991 — **PAU-Mikro** <pau-mikro@ee.umanitoba.ca>
set up by **Budi Rahardjo** at University of Manitoba
for *Pusat Antar Universitas Bidang Mikroelektronika*, ITB
- 1991 — **INDOZ-Net** <indoz-net@cc.utas.edu.au>
set up by **Yos Ginting**, University of Tasmania
- 1991 — **ParokiNet** <paroki@uiuc.edu> → <paroki@parokinet.org>
Indonesian Christian community (*paroki* = “parish”)
- 1992 — **Isnet** <is-lam@macc.wisc.edu> → <isnet@isnet.org>
Indonesian Muslim community

ID@WWW

1995 — Academic Web sites on domestic & foreign domains

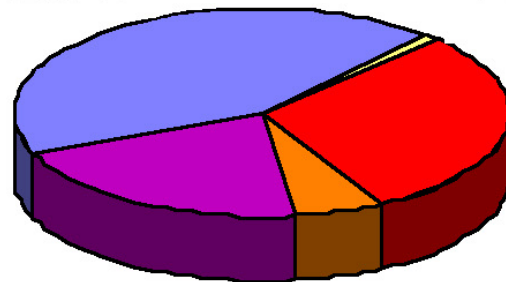
Institution	domain	Institution	domain
Institut Teknologi Bandung	ac.id	Inst. Teknologi Nasional	iii.net
Institut Teknologi Surabaya	go.id	Universitas Gajah Mada	umanitoba.ca
Universitas Hasanuddin	go.id	Universitas Padjadjaran	unb.ca
Universitas Indonesia	ac.id	Universitas Parahiyangan	u-tokyo.ac.jp
Universitas Kristen Petra	ac.id	Universitas Sam Ratulangi	carleton.ca
PAU Mikro	ac.id	Cendana High School	tamu.edu
		Gunadarma High School	cyberspace.org
		Pangudi Luhur High School	mit.edu
		IPTEK info base	uec.ac.jp

— 1995 —

Internet utilization
in various sectors

Commercial
42.8 %

1% NGO



29.5 %

20.9 %

5.8 %

■ **University**

■ **Research**

■ **Government**

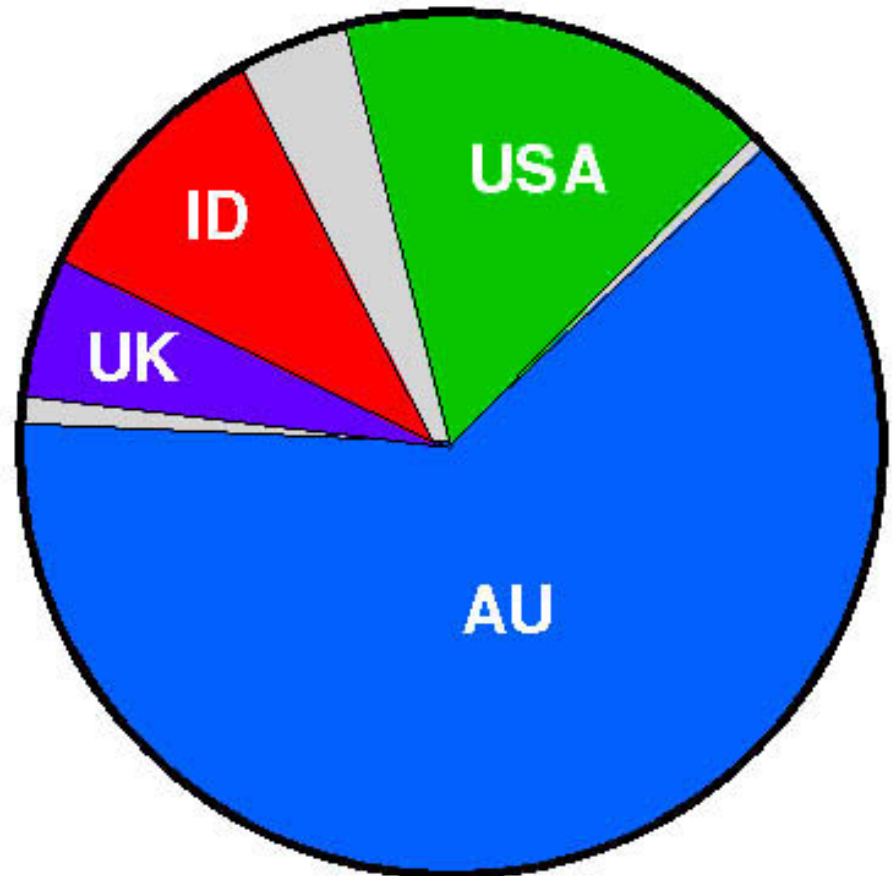
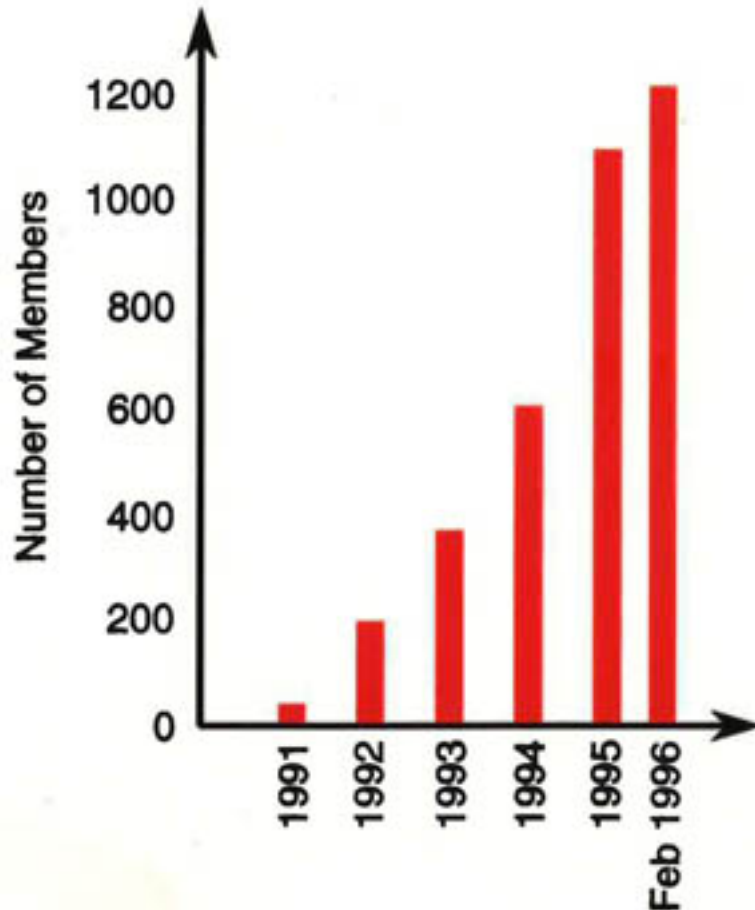
■ **Commercial**

■ **NGO**

Discovering freedom of speech abroad

1995 — *PAU-Mikro*: inputs from Indonesia = 10-20% of all mails,
the rest was from compatriots outside Indonesia
(Budi Rahardjo)

1996 — *INDOZ-Net* member distribution:



Internet Service Providers (ISP)

1994-96 — *IdOLA* (*Ind*onesia *On-Line* *A*ccess) → 17 cities

1995 — *IndoNet* → 5 cities;

1996 — *WasantaraNet* → 22 cities;

and: *MegaNet*; *RADNet*; *Sistelindo*; *MelsaNett* a.o.

1997 — *CakraWeb*; *IndoGlobal* a.o.

1998 — 32 Internet Service Providers with ca. 100,000 users.

 not including users of providers on *dotcom* domains

E.g. *Kompas Cyber Media* <www.indomedia.com>

that, in turn, hosted Web sites of the newspapers:

Waspada (Medan, Sumatra);

Pos Kupang (West Timor)

and the news portal *Serambi Aceh*

Internet access for the common people

1996 — *Warnet* = *warung internet* (Internet café)
provided by: *WasantaraNet*



Bandung, West Java
(Merlyna Lim, 2003)



Padang, West Sumatra
(Padang daily "Haluan", 13 Jan. 2016)

since 2002 — email service in several middle schools,
e.g. at the *SMKN-6* Yogyakarta, and at the *SMKN-1* Ciamis

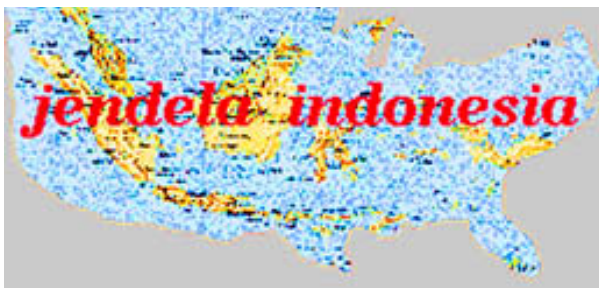
Websites for passive news-acquisition

(one did not need to reveal oneself as member of a mailing list)

1994 — **Budi Rahardjo's** *Indonesian* page at **Univ. of Manitoba**
<www.cc.umanitoba.ca/Indonesian> → <indonesia.elga.net.id>

1994 — **Roby Nataatmadja's** *Indonesia* page at **Uni. Stuttgart**
→ *Indonesia Daily News Online* <www.indo-news.com>

1995 — **Syafedi Syafei's** *Jendela Indonesia* page
at **Illinois Inst. of Technology**
<www.iit.edu/~syafsya/>



1995 — **Yos Adiguna Ginting's** *Sedipti* page at **Univ. Tasmania**



Sentra Data
Ilmu **P**engetahuan
dan **T**eknologi
Indonesia **Au**stralia

<www.chem.utas.edu.au/students/yos/sedipti>

Online support by exiles

1997 — regular contributions to mailing lists by
Ibrahim [Bramijn] Isa <i.bramijn@chello.nl>
(passed away early 2016)



1999 — *Wahana* <wahana@centrin.net.id>
run by ex political prisoner **Hardoyo**

2004 — → *Wahana-news*
<wahana-news@yahoogroups.com>
(passed away in 2006)



True professional journalism on the Net

<u>Whose</u>	<u>journal</u>	<u>when</u> <u>banned</u>	<u>and</u> <u>then → underground as</u>
Goenawan Mohamad's (left image)	<i>Tempo</i>	1994	1996 → <i>Tempo interaktif</i> <www.tempo.co.id>
Budiono Darsono's (right image)	<i>DeTIK</i>	1994	1998 → <i>Detikcom</i> <www.detik.com>
Aliansi Jurnalis Independen's	<i>Forum</i> <i>Wartawan</i> <i>Independen</i>	1995	1995 → <i>Suara Independen</i>



Underground Activists and Journalists

1989 — **PIJAR** (***P**usat **I**nformasi dan **J**aringan **A**ksi untuk **R**eformasi*
Information Centre and Action Network for
Democratic Reform)

led by **Bonar Tigor Naipospos** (left image)



1997 — *Kabar dari PIJAR* goes online as **KdP-Net**
<kdp-net@sparklist.com>;
<kdpnet@activist.com>; <pijar@usa.net>

1996 — **ISAI** (***I**nstitut **S**tudi **A**rus **I**nformasi*
Institute for Information Flow Studies)
SiaR <SiaR@mole.gn.apc.org> →

→ <siar@minihub.org>

led by **Stanley Prasetyo** (right image)
supported by **Andreas Harsono** (left)
and **Goenawan Mohamad** (prev. slide)



The Hub of News Mail Distribution

1990 — *Apakabar* by **John Macdougall**

<reg.indonesia@igc.apc.org> →
→ <apakabar@igc.org>;
 <apakabar@clark.net>;
 <apakabar@radix.net>



1995 — *Indopubs* news portal by **John Macdougall**

1996 — *Joyo News Service* <Joyo@aol.com> by **Gordon Bishop**
<JoyoNews@aol.com>; <joyoindonews@aol.com>



1998 — *Indonesia-Act* <indonesia-act@igc.org>
by **Carmel Budiardjo**

→ <indonesia-act@igc.apc.org> →
→ <indonesia-act@igc.topica.com> →
→ <indonesia-act@lists.riseup.net>

The news reaches the common people

White-collar workers downloaded the alternative news from their office's access to the internet and distributed that among themselves.

Photocopy operators stole some copies and brought them to friends.

The **friends** brought the material home and disseminated it to neighbours.

The **neighbours** would give the copies to **relatives**.

Children selling newspapers sold such copies **on the streets** at low prices .

Security officers temporarily arrested children selling such copies

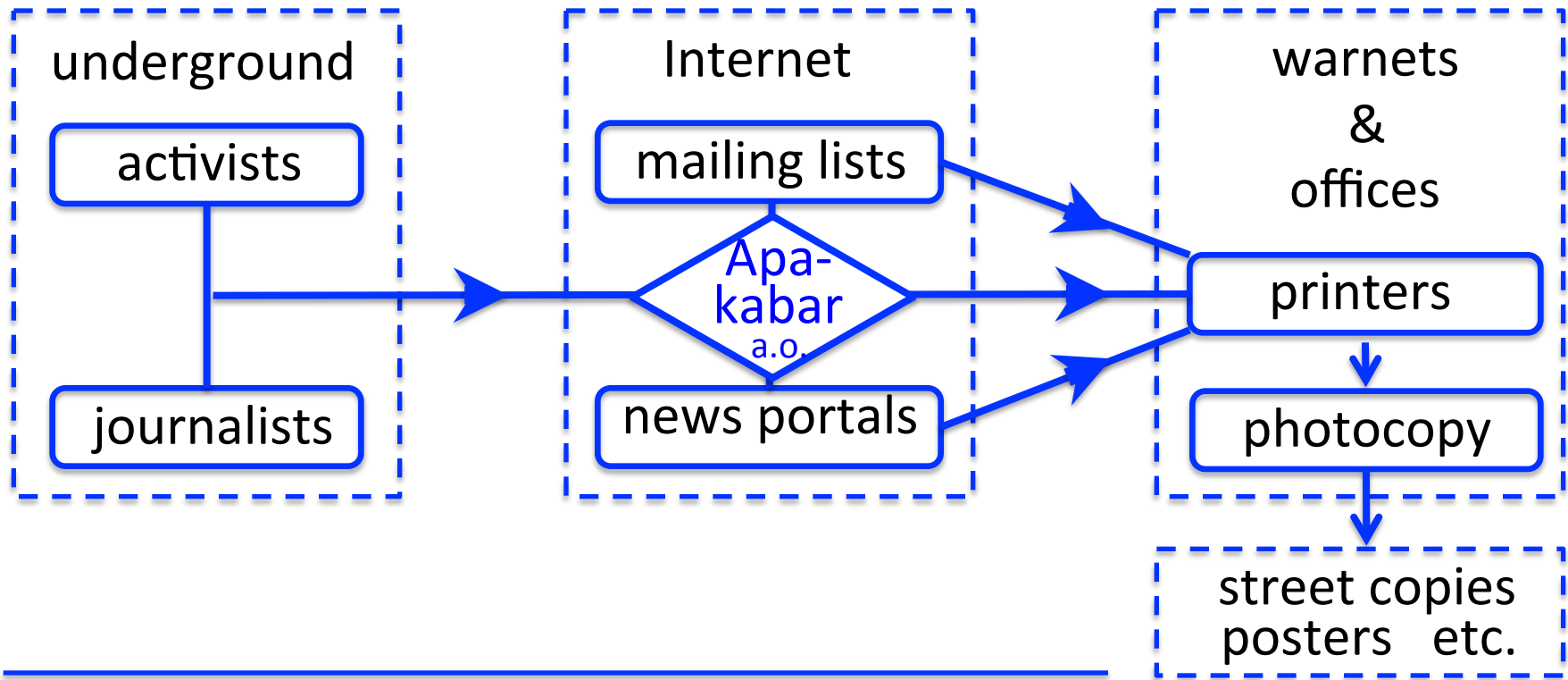
To the surprise of the children, the army soldiers took the copies for their own purpose.

Tedjabayu Basuki, paper at Third "Next 5 Minutes" Conference,
Amsterdam, 1999.

Downloaded **printouts** of news reports were also **faxed** to **provincial offices** where the non-censored messages were **plastered on walls**.

Andreas Harsono, "Indonesia: From Mainstream to Alternative Media",
September 1996

Indonesians and the world were interconnected



May 1993 Carmel Budiardjo, posted on *Apakabar* about the murder of the female labour activist **Marsinah**.

Soon, fax machines of the Indonesian Ministry of Labour were jammed with hundreds of sheets of protest from around the world.

This changed **“a young and unknown village girl from East Java into a workers’ heroine known worldwide”** (Tedjabayu Basuki, 1999)

The finishing sprint

1996 — the year cyberspace opened to Indonesian society

The “New Order” goes amuck:

1996 — ransacking of oppositional *PDI* headquarters —

1997 — mysterious abduction of activists —

— killing of *Trisakti* Univ. students —

— marauding of Chinese shops &
& rape of Chinese girls —

But it was all of no avail:

1998 — student occupation of the parliament —

— Soeharto's resignation —

Storming the Internet for uncensored news

July 1996 — at the ransacking of the *PDI* headquarters:

The *Indonesia* Internet portal at [Universität Stuttgart](#) caused a crash of the university server

May 1998 — at student occupation of the parliament:

At *Jendela Indonesia* portal, frequency of visits caused the server of the [Illinois Institute of Technology](#) to crash again and again.

The computer center considered closing down *Jendela Indonesia*.

But realizing that frequency of use demonstrated its usefulness, and the Indonesian movement for democracy worthy of support, the head of the center, [Michael Hites](#), invested \$35,000 to step up the server's efficiency

The Aftermath

End of censorship → revival of free press

KdP-Net & *SiaR* stop operations

Apakabar/Indopubs is (temporarily) deactivated

Activity on some mailing lists recedes → zero

At the same time, ...

Tempo reappears as print magazine

Detikcom → most successful Indonesian news portal

2004 — 19,324,829 individual users

Activity on some mailing lists grows, and successful new lists appear.

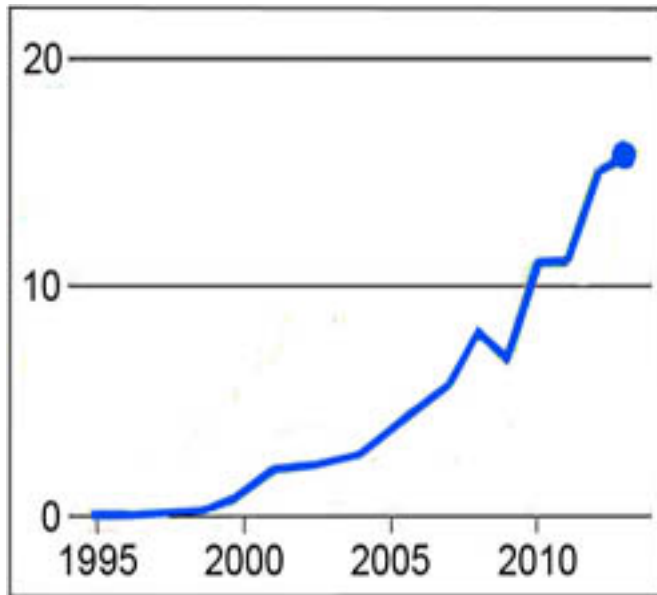
Indeed, the cause of reestablishing and supporting democracy goes on.

The Internet was there to Stay

TheJakartaPost

Wednesday, May 18, 2016

Number of RI Internet users increases to 71.19 million in 2013: APJII
(Asosiasi Pemakai Jasa Internet Indonesia)



number of Internet users as
percentage of population

Wed., January 15, 2014 / 05:35 pm
thejakartapost.com

Meanwhile:

- ♦ the Internet provides a secret medium not only for politics, but also for various forms of cybercrime;
- ♦ the Internet is now also being used by so-called “Islamist” terrorist groups;
- ♦ the so-called “dark net” offers opportunity for various criminal activities;
- ♦ the younger generation is more often consulting other sources, particularly Youtube, Smartphone Apps, etc.

Acknowledgements:

I am particularly thankful for help around 2002 to:

Elizabeth Coville (*Hamline University*, St. Paul, MN);

Andreas Harsono (*ISAI* and *Pantau*);

Karl Mertes (then at *Westdeutscher Rundfunk*, Cologne,
now chairman of *Deutsch-Indonesische Gesellschaft*);

Hok An (*IMBAS—Initiative für die Menschenrechte aller
BürgerInnen der ASEAN-Staaten*, Frankfurt am Main)

for sharing some relevant bibliographic references,

and to

Stanley Adi Prasetyo, Budi Rahardjo, Yos A. Ginting, Martino Tangkar,
Roby Nataatmadja, Johnson Chandra, and Muhammad Syukri

for information on the history of their Internet activity,

and to my former Department chief, Prof. Gerhard Ertl, for the generous permission to use office facilities in my participation in Internet activities of those days (particularly 1995–2002).



Thank you

Vielen Dank • Terima kasih