

DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDONESIA

Report of the 1999 Election Observation Mission
25 May - 10 June 1999

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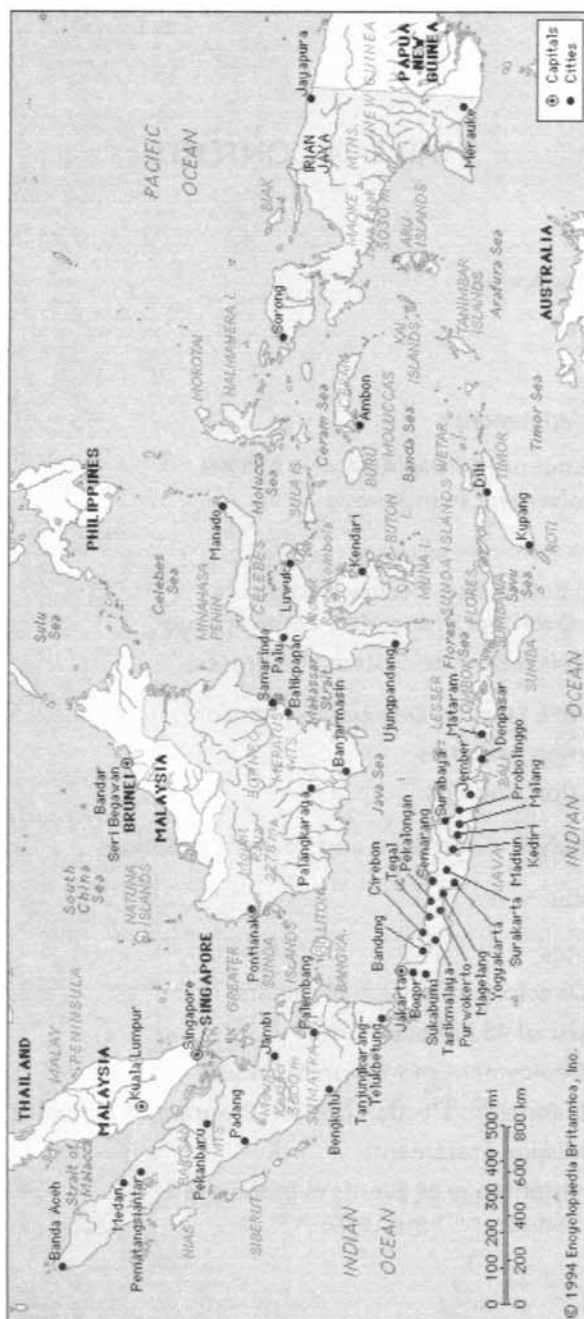
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Acronyms

ABRI	Indonesian Armed Forces
DPR	House of Representatives
DPRD I	Provincial Legislative Council
DPRD II	Regional Legislative Council
KIPP	Independent Committee for Election in Indonesia
Kontras	Commission for Missing People and Victims of Violence Acts
Kopassus	Special command of TNI responsible for training the militia and other operations involving human rights violations
KPU	National Election Commission
LPU	General Elections Institute
MPR	People's Consultative Assembly
Panwaspus	National Election Supervision Committee
PPI	National Election Committee
TNI	Indonesian Armed Forces (new acronym after the police were separated from the military)
TPS	Polling station

Indonesian Words Used

Provinsi	Province
Kabupaten	Regency
Kotamadya	Municipality
Kecamatan	District
Kelurahan/desa	Village or sub-district
Kokar	Departmental association of employees
Korpri	Civil servants corps
Dharma Wanita	Civil servants' wives
RT/RW	Neighborhood
Wanra	Armed militia groups formed by ABRI in East Timor

PREFACE

Indonesia's geopolitics since the end of Soeharto's 32-year rule has significantly changed the Asia-Pacific region. The once 'Big Brother' of Asia buckled down to both domestic and international pressure, for immediate change of rule and eventual transition to democracy.

The 1999 general elections served as the first exercise of the Indonesian people's new found freedom. Indeed it was the first time political parties, media, NGOs, workers, farmers, students, professionals and other members of civil society openly exercised their right to participate, without much fear and restrictions compared to the Soeharto period. The proliferation of more than a hundred political parties, the mushrooming of media outfits, the groundswelling of student protests and support from almost every sector of Indonesian society attest to the people's long repressed desires and struggles for freedom and peace.

The consequent referendum in East Timor and the events that followed, leading to the sending of multinational peace-keeping contingent to the territory had forced Indonesia's pull-out and resignation from its stronghold on the island.

The dramatic turn of events leading to the election of Abdurahman Wahid as president and Megawati Sukarnoputri as vice-president is a product of political compromise and powerplay that would hopefully, even temporarily, provide space for a more peaceful and sustainable solution to Indonesia's economic, political, social and cultural problems in the long run.

FORUM-ASIA and ANFREL's contribution, no matter how small, to the changes that have taken place in Indonesia and East Timor over the recent period reflects, to some extent, the region's concern and involvement in the area of human rights and development in Indonesia and East Timor. Though the opportunities for actual involvement were limited, it was evident that given

more opportunities, there are great potentials for capacity-building in Indonesia and East Timor using resources from the region itself. The partnerships that were forged and the solidarity that developed among various sectors that were mobilized in the process have actually raised the level of consciousness of peoples in the region on issues of human rights, development, self-determination, democracy and peace. It will never be the same again in Indonesia, East Timor and the rest of the region.

Now, many people are looking for the next episode of the big Asian drama. Burma? Malaysia? Singapore? Aceh? Irian Jaya? Whichever, there are more lessons, especially from Indonesia and East Timor to learn from. FORUM-ASIA and ANFREL will continue to strive to be part of the process of creating a more humane society in Asia - where people can live with dignity and exercise the rights enjoyed by their fellow human beings elsewhere in the world.

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Background of FORUM-ASIA and ANFREL Involvement in Indonesia

One of the basic tasks of an election monitoring body is ensuring an environment that is conducive to holding of a free and fair election. The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), in trying to contribute to the creation of this environment prior to the general elections in Indonesia, has mobilized its network in Indonesia and has forged new partnerships with some local organizations in carrying out its various programs and activities. The creation of a democratic space is a prerequisite to allow the people to exercise their rights, particularly their right to free expression and to freely participate in the electoral process, basic rights denied them in the past by the Soeharto regime. ANFREL, together with other FORUM-ASIA's projects focusing on Indonesia, undertook series of activities in preparation for the election. A Campaign Against Violence was conducted, involving various sectors in the region to engage their counterparts in Indonesia in dialogues and discussion on how to address violence in the country. Meetings with President Habibie, General Wiranto and other key government officials in the Parliament, Human Rights Commission, National Election Commission and other government agencies were arranged to create pressure to stop the violence occurring in the run up to the election. Representatives from trade unions, political parties, ethnic and religious groups, academics, military and students from different countries in the region were mobilized to contribute towards this effort.

Through ANDI, the Asian Network for Democracy in Indonesia, a number of activities were conducted to develop local capacities in organizing their own national and regional human rights campaigns. These activities include a speaking tour of local activists to some selected Asian countries and publication of a book and its launching to generate regional awareness and support on the over-all situation and the particular human rights

condition in Indonesia. The book: **Indonesia: Post Soeharto** was published in both Bahasa and English and disseminated widely to popularize the human rights situation in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto.

ANFREL, the Asian Network for Free Elections, organized a comparative study of election laws in Asia, with specific focus on Indonesian election laws. A seminar-workshop on the election laws in Indonesia was held in November, 1998, participated in by election experts from selected Asian countries. The critique and the recommendations of the seminar-workshop was submitted to the Indonesian authorities for consideration in finalizing the election law. A statement was also sent to the authorities to pressure them to adopt reforms in the election law. (Appendix A). Meetings with Indonesian embassy in Bangkok were initiated by ANFREL leaders to convey the Asian peoples' concern for meaningful reforms as a pre-requisite for a free and fair election in Indonesia.

Recognizing the role of the media during elections, another seminar-workshop was held for journalists on: ***The Role of Journalists on Elections.***

The event provided venue for journalists in the region to share their experiences with their Indonesian counterparts to help them improve their role during the election. It also served as an opportunity to organize their ranks and to plan ways on how they could support each other and work together on a regional level. Two separate reports on these activities have been produced and are available.

The Indonesian Election System

Overview of the 1999 Political Laws

The new political laws, designed to provide the framework for the holding of the 1999 general elections were passed by the parliament (DPR) on January 28, 1999 and signed by President

Habibie on February 1, 1999, barely less than five months before the actual elections. After Soeharto came into power in 1966, elections were held every five years since 1971. The New Order Government had to rely on elections to show to their own people and the international community the legitimacy of the government.

Five political laws were passed in 1985 that gave the Soeharto government full control over the elections: general elections law, the composition and status of MPR, DPR and Regional House of Representatives law, political parties and functional group law, referendum law and mass organizations law. Many outspoken intellectuals, NGO activists, and students denounced the five political laws which obviously favored the ruling party, Golkar. Political observer Muhammad Hikam of LIPI affirmed that the new political laws favor the ruling party Golkar and gave too much power to the government (Hikam 1999).

Only two political parties and one functional group were allowed to contest in the past general elections. The right to elect and to be elected of the former members of the banned Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was not guaranteed. Seventy-five (75) seats in the DPR were reserved for the military. All the election procedures were controlled by the General Elections Agency (LPU) which was headed by the minister of Home Affairs. Social pressure came from virtually all government and private organisations and strong community and family ties. All the civil servants were forced to vote for the ruling party. Village heads and community leaders exercised their power in ensuring that everyone in their respective villages would vote for Golkar.

The move to amend the controversial five political laws was seen in the latter part of the New Order regime. Upon a request from the former President Soeharto in February 1995, a working group composed of researchers from the government think tank, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) was formed to review the election system. The research report was submitted to the

government in early 1996. However, the proposed system was not put into law nor used for the 1997 general elections. The need to amend the political laws became a major issue when then President Soeharto stepped down in May 1998 and the new government took over. An urgent need to implement general elections under a new system was seen by the new government as a requirement in order to make the election process credible and its results legitimate.

One of the achievements of the Habibie government is the promulgation of the new political laws and the implementation of democratic elections on June 7, 1999. But in the process of passing the new laws in the DPR, there were disagreements over the provisions of the proposed laws, among them were the issues of the military's (ABRI) unelected DPR seats, electoral districts, and the role of civil servants in politics. Assessment of the New Political Laws

A number of improvements have been noted on the new political laws:

Establishment of Independent Election Bodies

General elections under the New Order regime were far from democratic and fair. Elections were implemented by the government under the leadership of the President (Article 8 sub-article 1 of Law No. 1/1985 on General Elections). The President had the authority to appoint the Home Affairs Minister as the head of the national election body to supervise the planning and implementation of general elections (Article 8 sub-article 2 and 3 of Law No. 1/1985). This organisation was called the General Election Institute (LPU, Lembaga Pemilihan Umum).

The LPU was under serious criticism during the New Order regime for its independence and impartiality. Because it was headed by the Minister of Home Affairs and its members included justice, information, financial and other ministers who were known as Golkar leaders. Under the LPU were the National

Election Committee, Provincial and Regency Election Committees, Vote Collection Committee, and Poll Workers Group. Ministers, governors, mayors, district chiefs and village chiefs, most of whom had nepotistic relations with the President or the government, were appointed heads of these national, regional and local level election committees. Government's involvement in every aspect of general elections was conspicuous and greatly affected the implementation of democratic elections during the New Order regime. Therefore, the establishment of a new and independent election commission was an imperative for holding a free and fair election for the first time in 44 years in Indonesia.

The establishment of the National Election Commission (KPU, Komisi Pemilihan Umum) on March 10, 1999 was aimed to indicate a breakaway from the old election system which had manipulated the election process and allowed massive election fraud in the past. The inauguration of the KPU was delayed because the Military (ABRI) reportedly demanded a seat in the Commission until the last moment. However, the final composition of the KPU is 53 members excluding a representative from the military: five government representatives and 48 political parties representatives. Former Minister of Home Affairs Rudini of the MKGR Party was elected as chairman by KPU members. As Minister of Home Affairs, former Army chief of staff Rudini once directed the general elections held in 1992. Because of his populist attitudes during his ministerial position, Rudini became a progressive and outspoken government critic.

Major tasks of the KPU are: planning and implementing general elections, forming the National Election Committee (PPI), setting the number for DPR, DPRD I, and DPRD II seats, deciding the final results, leading the phases of election activities. The organisational structure of the election bodies in the new system is similar to that of the old election system; the KPU is the supreme election body and there are national and regional election bodies under the KPU. However, the degree of

independence of the Commission from the government has been much improved by two changes in the new General Elections Law. One is the composition of its members. Under the new law, the chairmen and vice chairmen of the KPU and other election bodies are chosen democratically by their members, whereas under the old system the chairmen and vice chairmen of election bodies are determined by government decrees. The other is the transfer of authority of implementing elections from the government to the independent election body. According to Article 8 sub-article 2 of Law No. 3/1999 on general elections, the general elections are implemented by the KPU. In the old system elections were held under the sole leadership of the President and the preparation and implementation of elections were assisted by Ministers of Home Affairs, who were tasked by the President.

According to Article 9 sub-article 2 of Law No. 3/1999, the government representatives have equal representation with the party representatives in the decision making process within the KPU. Each of five government representatives has votes worth nine while each political party representative has one vote in a KPU ballot. For example, in deciding whether ministers can campaign for political parties in late March, the KPU voted in favor of banning government officials, including ministers, from campaigning for political parties. With nine KPU members including two government representatives absent, 46 votes (one government representative and 37 political party representatives) out of 68 total votes support the ban whereas 22 votes (two government representatives and four political party representatives) were cast against it.

The Neutrality of Civil Servants in Politics

Soeharto's strong hold of the civil servants made it possible for him to control the process and results of elections. Before the 1971 general elections, the New Order government

encouraged the setting up of a departmental association of employees (Kokar) affiliated with Golkar in order to ensure their votes for Golkar (Nishihara 1972). Later these departmental associations were forged into the Civil Servants Corps (Korpri). All civil servants were forced to join the Corps and to show allegiance to the New Order government and to Golkar. In addition, their wives were also mobilized to join the organization of civil servants' wives (Dharma Wanita) and similarly forced to vote for Golkar in elections.

However, in the first general elections after the New Order regime, government employees and their spouses are no longer obliged to vote for Golkar with the advent of new regulations concerning civil servants' role in politics. In January 1999, the Habibie government issued the government regulation No.5/1999 on Civil Servant Membership in Political Parties; in order to clarify further the status and role of civil servants, Article 7, 8, and 9 of the government regulation No 5 were amended by the government regulation No. 12 on Amendment of Government Regulation No. 5/1999. According to Article 6 of the regulation No. 5, civil servants are entitled to use their right to vote in general elections. But it is important that in carrying out the government duties, civil servants should not discriminate the people. Accordingly, they should be politically neutral and refrain from becoming members or board members of political parties. Although their membership and leadership in political parties is automatically void upon the issuance of this regulation, civil servants who are already members or board members of political parties and opt to maintain their membership and leadership must resign from the civil service (Article 7 sub-article 1 and 2).

It was not only the civil servants who were under pressure to vote for Golkar in elections but also private company employees who had to go to their offices to vote, instead of going to the nearest polling stations in their areas of residence. Many cases of intimidation in relation to this election practice

were reported. A private company employee who lives in Jakarta explained how employees had to vote for Golkar in elections held under the New Order regime. In his office, employees had to wait for their turn to vote arranged by their superiors so that it was easy to identify who voted for which party. And non-Golkar employees, if later found, might lose their jobs. Nevertheless, from the 1999 general elections on, it is stipulated in Law No. 3/1999 that general elections are held on a holiday or on a day off throughout Indonesia (Article 1 sub-article 3). In 1999, June 7 fell on Monday and it was declared a public holiday. Government and private offices as well as schools and universities were also closed.

The Extension of the Right to Vote

Universal suffrage is indispensable to democracy. The first realization of this in Indonesia took place in 1955. The 1955 elections were considered as the most open and participatory ones held not only in Indonesia but also in Southeast Asia at that time. But Soekarno declared martial law in 1957 and stopped parliament democracy. One can say that since then, however, free and fair elections had not been held in Indonesia. After pacifying the turmoil of the communist party upsurge on September 30, 1965 (G30S), Soeharto purged communist elements from the Indonesian political arena. Hence, former members of the banned Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) were forbidden from participating in elections under the New Order regime.

The abolishment of this provision in the General Elections Law was the first priority on which the government had to embark in order to ensure the right to vote for every citizen in the 1999 general elections. Every citizen has the right to vote except those who suffer from mental disorder or instability, those who are serving a jail sentence of more than five years and those who lost their voting rights after receiving a final verdict in a court.

Selection and the Seats for Non-Elected Members in the MPR

The MPR is the highest political institution in Indonesia whose main task is to elect the President and Vice President. Under the old election system, the composition of the MPR is 1) DPR members, 2) regional representatives, 3) group representatives and 4) members of political organizations contesting in general elections³. Under the new law on the Composition and Status of MPR, DPR and DPRD, political organization representatives were phased out and the number of regional and group representatives were reduced. In the Law of 1985, the total number of the MPR membership was 1,000 and non-elected members are 600. Whereas in the Law of 1999, the MPR membership is 700 and non-elected members are 238.

In addition, the methods to select non-elected members in the MPR are also improved. In the old election system, group representatives were appointed by the President with reference to recommendations from recognized social groups regional and representatives were chosen by the Provincial House of Representatives (DPRD I) in each province. However, in the case of selecting group representatives, it is not the President but the DPR that shall decide the category and number of group representatives (Article 2 sub-article 5 of the new Law). Heeding suggestions from recognized social groups, the DPR shall determine group representatives in the MPR (Article 2 sub-article 6 of the Law). Accordingly, the selection of group representatives is now left to the KPU in 1999 and to the DPR from 2004. Although the method of selecting regional representatives is not mentioned in the new Law, it remains basically the same for regional representatives.

Limit of Donations to Political Parties

Money plays a significant role in elections in Indonesia. Money and other commodities have been used to mobilize people

to vote for particular parties. A provision was added to the new law on political parties which limits the amount of donations from individuals and corporations. According to Article 14 sub-article 1 and 2 of the Law, individuals can donate as much as Rp.15,000,000 and corporations and other organizations Rp.150,000,000 per year. It also requires political parties to be responsible for making financial reports by the end of the year, and 7 days before and 30 days after general election to the Supreme Court (Article 15 sub-article 1 of the Political Parties Law). This provision was meant to curb the money politics practices which have been rampant in the New Order era and even in the reformation era.

Extension of Political Activities

The Indonesian people have been depoliticized for 32 years under the New Order regime. The "floating mass" theory which tried to keep ordinary people away from politics was used to justify government's authoritarian rule. People's participation in politics was limited to elections when they have to vote every five years.

In order not to stimulate political awareness among the people in the community, the government prevented political parties from conducting political activities in the village level except for the political campaign period prior to the general elections. The Law of 1985 on Political Parties and Functional Group restricted the establishment of their offices only down to capitals of regencies/municipalities. However, this has been improved in the Political Party Law of 1999. Article 11 of the Law allows political parties to set up offices down to village level (Kelurahan/Desa).

The New Election System and Process

The June 7, 1999 general elections serve to determine the members of the representative councils at three levels: People's

Representative Council (DPR), Provincial-level People's Council (DPRD I), and District-level People's Council (DPRD II). Forty-eight political parties which met requirements set by the 11-member advisory committee (popularly known as Tim Sebelas) competed for seats in these three representative councils. After the general elections, the new President for the 2000-2005 term will be determined by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), which was convened in November 1999.

During the Soeharto regime, only two political parties and one functional group were allowed to contest in elections. After the collapse of Soeharto regime in May 1998, as many as 150 political parties flourished. This number was later reduced to 48 (List of political parties as Appendix B) which qualified according to the rules set by the advisory committee.

Political Institutions

In Indonesia the President is not elected directly by the people. People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), the highest political institution in Indonesia, has the authority to elect the President and the Vice President. The MPR consists of 700 members of three representative bodies: 500 DPR members, 135 regional representatives, and 65 groups' representatives. While 462 members of 700 are elected through the general election, 238 members are appointed or nominated members.(Figure I)

FIGURE I Composition of MPR Members

MPR		Elected	Non-elected	Total
1	DPR	462	38	500
2	Regional representatives		135	135
3	Groups' representatives		65	65
Total		462 (66%)	238 (34%)	700

Regional Representatives

According to Article 1 sub-article 4 of Law No. 4/1999 on the Composition and Status of MPR, DPR and Regional House of Representatives, regional representatives are public figures who are able to present the people's aspirations from their regions, and are elected by the DPRD I in a plenary session as MPR members representing their regions. The method of electing regional representatives of MPR members is determined by the DPR (Article 2 sub-article 4 of the same law). Furthermore, Article 2 sub-article 2 of the Law says that 135 representatives are from each province, meaning that there are five representatives from 27 provinces.

Groups' Representatives

As for groups' representatives, Article 1 sub-article 5 of Law No. 4/1999 stipulates that groups' representatives are those who are from organizations or bodies which are national in scope, independent, and not a part of political parties, and are less or not proportionately represented in the DPR: economic, religious, social, cultural, scientific groups and other collective groups. The categories and number of the groups' representatives are determined by the DPR and the representatives are nominated by respective groups to the DPR for its approval (Article 2 sub-article 4, 5, and 6 of Law No. 4/1999). And memberships of the MPR must be confirmed by a Presidential Decree (Article 3 sub-article 3 of Law No. 4/1999).

However, according to Article 45 of Law No. 4/1999, in the case of the groups' representatives of MPR members as the result of the 1999 general election, the KPU decides the categories and number of the groups' representatives and examines the nomination from respective groups, followed by the administrative approval by the Presidential Decree. Although the President's approval is still needed in determining the groups' representatives of MPR members for the 1999-2004 term, the President's

influence on the selection process of groups' representatives will be of no significance since it is just an "administrative" purpose as stipulated in the Law. In June, 1999 the KPU decided the categories and number of the groups' representatives as follows:

Figure II: Composition of Groups' Representatives

Category		No. of Seats
1	Religion	20
	Islam 15	
	Protestant 2	
	Catholic 1	
	Hindu 1	
	Buddha 1	
2	Veterans and 1945 Independence Fighters	5
3	Economic group	9
4	Woman's group	5
5	Ethnic minority group	5
6	Physically impaired	2
7	Cultural observers, scientists, artists and journalists	9
8	Civil Servants	5
9	Non-governmental organizations, youth organizations, and students	5
Total		65

(Source: Keputusan KPU No. 108/1999 tentang Tata Cara dan Penetapan Jumlah Anggota Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Utusan Golongan)

Seat Allocation

DPRD I and DPRD II

According to Article 5 of Law No. 3/1999 on General Elections, the appointment of seats of the DPRD I is stipulated minimum 45 and maximum 100. The number of DPRD I members in each province is based on the number of population at the provincial level, using the following method.

Figure III: Seat Allocation of DPRD I

Population in the Province	Number of Seats
Less than 3,000,000	45
3,000,001 - 5,000,000	55
5,000,001 - 7,000,000	65
7,000,001 - 9,000,000	75
9,000,001 - 12,000,000	85
More than 12,000,000	100

The appointment of seats of the DPRD II is also based on the number of population in the regency/municipality with minimum 20 seats and maximum 45 seats as stipulated in the General Election Law Article 6.

Figure IV: Seat Allocation of DPRD II

Population in the Regency/Municipality	Number of Seats
Less than 100,000	20
100,001 - 200,000	25
200,001 - 300,000	30
300,001 - 400,000	35
400,001 - 500,000	40
More than 500,000	45

DPR

According to Article 4 sub-article 1 of Law No.3/1999, the number of DPR seats for each electoral area is decided on the basis of the population number in the provincial level, with the stipulation that each regency/municipality (Kabupaten/Kotamadya) will obtain at least one seat. There are 327 regencies (Kabupaten) and municipalities (Kotamadya) in 27 provinces in Indonesia. If each regency/ municipality should be represented by at least one DPR member as stipulated in the Law, 327 seats are automatically allocated to each regency/municipality. And the rest of the seats, 135 are allocated in proportional to the population in each province.

Yet, if we follow this procedure, there will be a large disparity in the relative weight of one vote between a province with less population and a province with more population. Here is an example. The population in Indonesia accounts for 209,389,000 people today. If we divide the population by the number of seats in the DPR, 462, we will have the average number of people which one seat in DPR represents. The answer is 453,222.294; one seat in the DPR is equal to about 453,200 people and the value of one vote is 0.22. However, in East Timor where there are 13 seats and 891,000 people, one seat represents 68,500 people, while in West Java where there are 80 seats and 43,864,800 people, one seat represents about 548,310 people. Here if we define the value of one vote in the national level (0.22) as the standard ($= 1$), the value of one vote in East Timor is 6.59 times as much as the national standard. And the value of one vote in West Java is 0.81. It is obvious that the disparity in the relative weight of one vote is large between East Timor and densely populated West Java.

In order to balance the disparity of one vote between provinces, KPU decided to allocate four seats instead of 13 in East Timor on April 13, 1999. And nine seats which were originally to be given to East Timor were allocated to Aceh (1 seat), Riau (1),

West Java (2), Central Java (1), East Java (1), South Kalimantan (1), South Sulawesi (1), and Maluku (1). By doing so, the value of one vote in East Timor is twice as much as that of the national standard. However, it can be argued that KPU's decision does not comply with the law in that there are some regencies/municipalities which have no representative in the DPR.

Figure V : Population and Number of Seats for DPR, DPRD I, and DPRD II by Province

Province	Population	Regency	DPR	DPRD I	DPRD II
Aceh	4,114,400	12	12	55	365
North Sumatera	11,617,000	19	24	85	700
West Sumatera	4,511,800	14	14	55	465
Riau	4,330,100	8	10	55	285
Jambi	2,613,700	6	6	45	240
South Sumatera	7,776,800	10	15	75	415
Bengkulu	1,566,100	4	4	45	150
Lampung	7,453,400	10	15	75	415
Jakarta	9,704,600	5	18	85	---
West Java	43,864,800	28	82	100	1195
Central Java	30,236,200	35	60	100	1515
Yogyakarta	2,908,000	5	6	45	210
East Java	34,569,400	37	68	100	1560
West Kalimantan	3,892,500	8	9	55	310
Central Kalimantan	1,785,100	6	6	45	190
East Kalimantan	2,744,800	7	7	45	240
South Kalimantan	3,081,300	11	11	55	340
Bali	3,908,600	9	9	55	335
West Nusa Tenggara	4,136,000	7	9	55	280
East Nusa Tenggara	3,754,200	13	13	55	410

Province	Population	Regency	DPR	DPRD I	DPRD II
East Timor	891,000	13	4	45	265
South Sulawesi	7,922,500	24	24	75	785
Central Sulawesi	2,098,100	5	5	45	185
North Sulawesi	2,862,200	7	7	45	250
Southeast Sulawesi	2,424,600	5	5	45	195
Maluku	2,235,700	6	6	45	210
Irian Jaya	2,387,100	13	13	45	275
Total	209,390,000	327	462	1,630	11,785

(The highlighted part suggests that there are some regencies or municipalities which have more than one representative.)

Source:

Keputusan KPU No. 40/1999 Tentang Jumlah Kursi Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Yang Dipilih Untuk Tiap Daerah Pemilihan Dalam Pemilihan Umum Tahun 1999

Keputusan KPU No. 41/1999 Tentang Jumlah kursi anggota DPRD I yang dipilih untuk tiap daerah pemilihan dalam pemilu tahun 1999.

Keputusan KPU No. 42/1999 Tentang Jumlah kursi anggota DPRD II yang dipilih untuk tiap daerah pemilihan dalam pemilu tahun 1999.

The Election Process

The new election system is so unique and complicated that the same election system cannot be found in any other countries. The complexity of the system can be explained by the fact that it is the result of a compromise between the pro-status quo groups and the pro-reform groups amid political vacuum left by the

unexpected collapse of Soeharto's New Order regime in May 1998. Although it is far from perfect and will be likely to be reevaluated in the near future, the new election system must be examined fully and understood properly because it will influence directly the composition of the MPR and the DPR whose decisions will constitute the foundation of democracy in Indonesia.

One of the difficult points to understand in the new election system is Law No. 3/1999 on the General Elections which does not explain clearly the mechanisms to allocate seats to each political party and to elect the members of the DPR, the DPRD I, and the DPRD II. The Law only outlines the basic framework of the election procedure and leaves details to be filled by the National Election Commission (KPU). For instance, Article 1 sub-article 7 of the same law only stipulates that the general elections are conducted using a proportional representation election system based on a stelsel list/ranking list. From this part, although not clear, it can be inferred that in the general election a proportional representation system is used. This can be further confirmed by Article 67 sub-article 3 of the Law, which stipulates that the number of seats in the DPR of a political party is determined on the basis of the results of vote counting of the political party in the provincial level. However, deciding who can be elected is determined not only by the political party list which is usually the case with the proportional representation system, but also by the largest vote in a constituency. This is the unique feature of the new election system: the combination of the proportional representative system and the district system. Article 68 sub-article 3 of the Law states that the assignment of the elected candidates for DPR members from each political party is based on the proposal from the Party Central Committee, considering the largest vote obtained by the political party in the regency/municipality level.

To sum, what we can understand from the above is that the proportional representation election system by province will be used to determine the number of seats in the provincial level for a political party and the district system (the largest votes) will be used to elect candidates who are tied to their electoral areas (the regency/municipality level). Further details of the electing process are determined by The National Election Commission (KPU) through issuing decrees on seat allocation. Important decrees concerning seat allocation are KPU Decree No. 76A/1999 on the Legalization of Elected Members of DPR, DPRD I and DPRD II; KPU Decree No. 88/1999 on the Consolidation of Votes (Stembus Accord) in the General Election for DPR, DPRD I and DPRD II Members; and KPU Decree No. 136/1999 on the Procedures of Determining the Elected Members of DPR, DPRD I and DPRD II Candidates¹.

In examining the entire electing process, it can be divided into two stages. Stage I is to determine the number of seats in the provincial level for a political party. Stage II is to elect candidates based on the number of seats which have been apportioned to each political party in the provincial level. As a general rule the same procedures will be used for the DPR, the DPR I, and the DPRD II².

Stage I: Determining the Number of DPR Seats

According to Article 3 sub-article 2 of Law No. 3/1999, in electing DPR members the electoral area is the provincial level. Therefore each political party competes for votes in the provin-

¹Decree No. 76A/1999 was amended by No. 109/1999. Decree No. 88/1999 was amended by No. 106/1999 and No. 110/1999.

² One major difference is the electoral area. The electoral areas for DPRD and DPRD II members are provincial level and the regency/municipality level respectively.

cial level. Votes, which a political party obtains in a province, cannot be transferred to the same political party in other provinces. Each province has the different number of seats in the DPR in proportion to the size of the population in each province. Political parties can nominate up to twice as many candidates as the number of seats assigned in each province³.

In determining the number of seats for each political party in each province, seats are apportioned in proportion to the number of votes that each political party receives in each province, as is often the case with a proportional representation system. In this seat allocation process, the largest remainder system with a quota will be utilized. In the first step, a political party gets one seat if the party has obtained the number of votes equal to one full quota. In other words, each political party receives one seat for each full quota within the total number of votes and these full quotas are subtracted from the votes (Stage I-1). In the second step, after full quotas are subtracted, if there are still remaining seats, they are allocated to each political party based on the largest remainder system (Stage I-2). In this process, remaining votes of political parties can be combined under "Stembus Accords". Stembus Accords are agreements between two or more political parties in which they combine their remaining votes in order to maximize their votes in order to get extra seats. The determination of seats allocation of Stembus Accords is arranged by political parties which agreed with the vote sharing deals (First Dictum No. 3-e of KPU Decree No. 136/1999). Political parties can make different Stembus Accords for different provinces but the transfer of remaining votes and a full quota between different provinces cannot be made. It is this point that is very unique in the new

³ Candidates must be assigned to a particular regency or municipality (Kabupaten or Kotamadya) in each province. Because of this, the political party candidate lists include the name of a candidate and the regency or municipality which the candidate is assigned.

Indonesian election system. Political parties must report Stembus Accords to the KPU and the PPI seven days before polling day. The KPU acknowledged two Stembus Accord deals (KPU Decree No. 128/1999). One was struck among eight political parties⁴ based on Islamic values while the other is that of three political parties⁵.

However, on August 30, the KPU cancelled the use of Stembus Accords after PPI's efforts to allocate DPR seats with Stembus Accords faced a deadlock situation. The KPU decided to allocate DPR seats without Stembus Accords in order to end the belated seat allocation process (Decree No. 182/1999). Stembus Accords, nevertheless, were applied to some provincial Councils (DPRD I) and district Councils (DPRD II) where PPD I and PPD II finished distributing seats with Stembus Accords before the KPU decision. Therefore, it should be noted that in the following process Stembus Accords are no longer valid.

Stage II: Electing Candidates

After the seat allocation process for each political party is completed (Stage I-1 & 2), the process of electing candidates begins. It is rather complex when it comes to determining which candidates can be elected. In general, candidates are elected on the basis of the rankings list which political parties have submitted to the KPU and the PPI and the number of seats won by political parties in the provincial level. For instance, if a

⁴These eight political parties are the Justice Party (PK), The United Development Party (PPP), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), the Muslim Community Awakening Party (PKU), the Nahlatul Ummat Party (PNU), the Islamic Community Party (PUI), the Indonesian Masyumi Islamic Political Party (PPIM), and the Indonesia Syarikat Islam Party-1905 (PSII-1905).

⁵These three parties are the Love the Nation Democratic Party (PDKB), the Indonesian Unity in Diversity Party (PBI), and the Indonesian Democrats Alliance Party (PADI),

political party has obtained five seats in a province, top five candidates on the list in the province will be elected. However, in the 1999 general elections this is not the only way to determine elected candidates. There are three ways to elect candidates: those who fulfil a full quota in the regency/municipality level, win the largest votes (or plurality) in single-member districts, and are nominated by Central Boards of political parties. Since full quota seats and largest remainder seats are treated differently, we will divide the electing process into two phases.

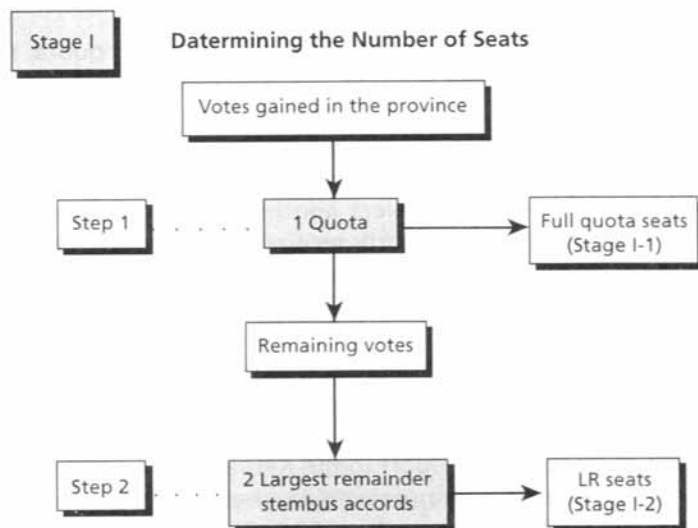
Stage II-1: the allocation of full quota seats. There are three ways to determine elected candidates. First, if a political party obtains votes in the regency/municipality level equal to a full quota, the party can elect its candidate in that corresponding regency/municipality (First Dictum No. 6 of KPU Decree No. 76A/1999). The party must elect the candidate who won a full quota vote in his or her regency/municipality regardless of his or her ranking in the party list and cannot elect another candidate using this full quota. Secondly, if a party receives the "largest votes" in single-member districts (regency/municipality), the party's candidates from the areas can be elected (First Dictum No. 5 of KPU Decree No. 76A/1999 and First Dictum No. 4-b of KPU Decree No. 136). The "largest votes" means either the largest percentage of votes or the largest number of votes of each political party. Political parties can use different criteria in different provinces but must report to the KPU and PPI which criteria they will use in each province seven days before polling day (First Dictum No. 4 of KPU Decree No. 76A/1999). Third, if the party still has unfilled quota seats remaining, they will be apportioned to the next best performing party. The process of electing candidates for full quota seats are based on these methods until they are all filled.

Stage II-2: the allocation of largest remainder seats. If a political party receives one or more additional seats from the largest

remainders (including those seats obtained by combined votes under Stembus Accords), the party central board has the authority to allocate these seats to its candidates at its discretion (First Dictum No. 7-e of KPU Decree No. 76 A/1999 and First Dictum No. 4-d of KPU Decree No. 136). Chart I below summarizes the electing process that we have analysed.

Chart I

The Process of Allocating Seats for Political Parties



(Source: Law No. 3/1999 on General Elections and KPU Decree No. 22/1999 on the Number, Duties, and Obligations of KPPS.)

The Election Observation Mission

The Observation Mission was planned and conducted in two parts: the pre-election and actual election missions. The pre-election mission covered the voter registration and the campaign period and the actual election covered the actual polling and counting process. The pre-election mission was held following the seminar-workshop of journalists, allowing the participants direct experience in monitoring the process. A separate report was also produced on this mission and is available.



ANFREL observers pose in front of Hotel Indonesia before deployment to their respective assignments.

The actual election mission started on May 25 up to June 10, 1999. A small team arrived in advance on the 25th for the preliminary mission work. The bulk of the observers arrived on the 30th for the June 1st general orientation. The mission was composed of 82 participants from 18 countries, mostly coming from Asia and a few from friends of Asia from Finland, Australia and

Canada. ANFREL was one of the largest of 14 international election observer groups duly accredited by the National Election Commission (KPU). The 82 observers were deployed in 22 areas namely 7 different areas in the West, Central and Eastern Java, 5 different areas in Sumatra; 5 islands in Nusa Tenggara, North and South Sulawesi, Ambon area and the Kalimantan and Jakarta. They covered 190 polling stations. (List of Deployment of Observers as Appendix C).

Mission Activities

A Program of Activities was worked out for the observers for the period of observation. (copy as Appendix D). They included the following:

Orientation

A one-day orientation for mission members was conducted on June 1, 1999. Topics included in the briefing were:

- an overview of Indonesia's social, economic and political situation
- election situation, scenarios
- election system (election laws and structures including the role of the National Election Commission (KPU) and the military
- political parties, their role and dynamics
- the role of domestic and international monitoring groups
- monitoring and reporting procedures
- some security briefing



KIPP officials brief ANFREL observers about their work and mechanics for coordination.

Some inputs were given by experts in the field and which were used for discussion and further analysis. The evening was spent for preparation for deployment. Teams were organized and briefed about their areas of assignment. Medical/first aid kits, T-shirts and caps were also distributed.



UNDP chief security officer briefs ANFREL observers on security during elections.

Deployment

From June 2-6, the mission members traveled to their respective designated areas and met with local KPU officials, political party local representatives and other international observer groups. They also started conducting interviews with local voters and village officials. They conducted ocular survey of the polling station locations.

Senior members of the mission assigned in Jakarta arranged meetings, on one level, with authorities of Indonesia to convey ANFREL's concern for a free and fair election. It was able to meet with President Habibie, General Wiranto and other members of the cabinet, the KPU officials, the Human Rights Commission and members of the diplomatic community. On another level, ANFREL met with concerned NGOs, academics and other members of civil society, including leaders of major political parties to express its solidarity and to share its experiences on processes of democratization in their respective countries. It met with KIPP, the local monitoring body, FORUM-RECTOR and other monitoring groups. It also met with YLBHI, with AJI. It also met with media and other sectoral groups such as women, religious groups, etc. It met with Volunteers for Humanity, an organization working for victims of human rights violations and had the opportunity to talk with some of the victims themselves.



ANFREL Senior observers inspect a voters' list during ocular visit the night before the election.

A group of observers also met with Xanana Gusmao, leader of East Timor on house arrest in Jakarta and Budiman Sudjatmiko, detained leader of People's Democratic Party (PRD), one of the 48 political parties accredited by the government to contest in the elections.



ANFREL Observers visit Xanana Gusmao, East Timor leader on house arrest in Jakarta.



People's Democratic Party leader Budiman Sudjatmiko poses with ANFREL observers in Cipinang prison where he is detained with other PRD leaders and members.

Press Conferences and other media activities

Two press conferences were called during the mission. The first was at the opening on June 1 and the second was on the last day on June 10. The Mission Statements (copy as Appendix E and E-1) were read in both occasions. TV, radio and print media attended both conferences. Press releases were also issued (Appendix E-2 - E-3)



ANFREL spokespersons speak to the media at the opening of the mission.

Some of the meetings conducted were covered by the media, locally and internationally. Radio, TV and print media interviews with ANFREL monitors were given and saw print in newspapers and other media outlets like BBC, CNN and Thai media.

General Assembly

On June 10, 1999, ANFREL held its general assembly with the theme: ***The Indonesian Elections: The Challenges Towards Democratization in Asia in the Next Millennium.***

KPU's deputy chairperson, Mr. Adnan Buyung Nasution delivered the keynote address based on the said theme. Six ambassadors from Asian and European countries attended as well as other representatives from the diplomatic community and development aid agencies. Representatives of local NGOs joined the ANFREL members during the assembly.



Adnan Buyung Nasution, KPU vice-chair addresses the ANFREL general assembly.

Mission Findings

A. Campaign Period

ANFREL observers arrived at their places of deployment on the last part of the campaign period, a few days before the actual elections.. They were able to visit and interview some political party candidates and supporters, local election monitoring organizations and a few international observers deployed in the area, local polling officers and police officers. They conducted ocular survey of polling stations and observed some campaign rallies and motorcades.



The last day of the campaign when all parties paraded at the main roads in Jakarta.



PPP in a show of force during the campaign.

In Jakarta and other town centers, campaigning consisted mostly of massive show of force in forms of transport caravans, rallies and marches. Political parties took turns in the streets with their colorful party costumes and campaign paraphernalia. Party flags lined up along the main roads and posters and banners posted on billboards and walls. It was observed though that majority of those who joined these activities were young boys and girls who are not eligible to vote.

Generally, the campaign process was conducted in an orderly manner except in some areas with some history of conflicts. Some of the election-related incidents and irregularities reported were clashes between political party supporters where there were reports of deaths and serious physical injuries, burning of houses and motorcycles, destruction of houses and public buildings; vote buying through direct offer of cash and material items such as basketballs or footballs, shirts and caps and promises of farm equipment (tractors) and land. Some were also reported to have been promised jobs and other benefits. Others were being pressured to vote for Golkar or lose their identity cards. Some were wrongly informed to pay 1,000 rupiah for the identification card instead of just 7,000 rupiah during the voting period.

The use of government facilities i.e. vehicles, communication network, printing, etc. by Golkar in their campaigning was also widely reported. An allegation of the use of social safety net funds was circulating around and became a big issue during the campaign. **Yellow rice** under subsidized price was reported to be distributed only to Golkar supporters.

An NGO, the Urban Poor Consortium, with the Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association complained to the Election Supervisory Committee about Golkar and PDR's use of social safety net funds provided by World Bank. They claimed the two parties used \$80 million intended for the poor to boost their campaign by distributing money under the political parties' names.

In some areas especially in the interior parts, people were not properly informed of the different parties contesting. Others when interviewed said: "we thought there are only three parties contesting. No one told us there were more." Others also said: "in the past, we were told to vote for one party, now, no one comes and tell us that we can choose ..."



Party banners lined up along the main thoroughfares of Jakarta.

Campaign materials in the form of balloons bearing the color symbol and names of political parties were flown within the 200 meters from the polling stations even during election day. These were seen in some TPS in Jakarta i.e. in TPS No. 4 JL Perjuangan, Kel. Haragan Barce, Kel.Bekasi, Utara, Kab. Bahasi, and Java Barrat. Children claimed that they were paid 1,000 rupiah per balloon. This also happened in Ambon, West Kalimantan and Surabaya. Others distributed stickers and leaflets during actual election. The political parties involved in these violations of election rules are Golkar, PAN , PDI-P and PPP.

In Jakarta, the visit of President Habibie to a number of polling stations with his wife and bodyguards during polling day was seen as a form of campaigning and a violation of election rules. In South Sulawesi, Golkar came out with a big ad in the local newspaper on the day of the election, thanking the people for their support during the campaign. In West Nusa Tenggara in Mataran, Golkar leader performed his task as election officer clad in his Golkar T-shirt and cap.

Open attacks of supporters of one party against another party, putting up road blockades and stone throwing during the campaign period was also observed. This happened in some parts of Jakarta and Bali during campaign rallies between Golkar and PDI-P.

In Medan, the government gave 600% bonus to all Golkar leaders and supporters in the civil service, required them to attend party-sponsored rallies and meetings and threatened them with dismissal and/or suspension if they did not vote for Golkar. Workers in the plantation were given a wage raise from 175,000 Rp. to 252,000 Rp. in return of Golkar support.

In some universities in key cities, a respectable high number of intellectuals especially amongst the students and teachers (around 25-67%) campaigned for non-participation or **golput** during the election. Those interviewed said they believe that the electoral process is not truly democratic, because all the political, social and economic structures supporting the old regime continue to exist and create pressure on the people. They said that the same structures will remain whoever wins in the election.

One group interviewed said that the election is not fair because some parties were not allowed to register and join the election. And among those allowed, 27 out of 48 are Golkar sponsored. They said they will join the **golput** movement as a protest to the continued detention of their leaders and colleagues who are supposed to be candidates for the election.

Campaigns were generally characterized as populist and party leader-oriented. In almost all cases, the candidates were named before the election, thus leading voters to vote on the basis of personalities rather than based on political programs.



ANFREL observers visit Aceh protesters in front of KPU headquarters.

Groups and individuals supporting Aceh staged a hunger strike in front of the KPU headquarters to call the attention of the election authorities on the situation in Aceh. They demanded for the immediate pullout of the military as a prerequisite for a free and fair election in this war-torn province.

B. Polling and Counting

For the polling and counting, the findings were grouped into four main headings:

- a. peoples' participation in the polls
- b. management of polling and counting process
- c. role of the political parties, their supporters and party agents
- d. role of the local and international observers

a. Peoples' Participation in the Polls

Participation of the people on the polling day was generally remarkable as seen in the high voter turnout. Generally, polling took place in a peaceful and relaxed manner in majority of the areas. The mood was festive in most areas. In many polling stations, people who have voted stayed behind and patiently watched the process. Women were evidently present during the voting day. They wore their best clothes and came in groups.

However, in some areas, some problems were recorded :

- ❑ In Aceh, participation of the people was affected by the violence that erupted prior and during the voting period. The call for boycott of the Free Aceh Movement seemed to have had following as few people showed up in most polling stations in areas believed to be strongholds of the Movement. Elections in majority of the areas in Aceh were suspended due to the violence and the high level of tension it has created.
- ❑ There was also a campaign for non-participation by some universities' faculty and students that could also be a factor for low voter turnout like in some parts of Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Aceh and other cities.
- ❑ Reduced voting turnout can also be attributed to the riots prior to the election. This happened in North Borneo, where a number of voters who were not registered especially those who fled during the riots were afraid to be caught up by possible riot. Around 20% of the 40,000 displaced people were not able to register. Only those who stayed in refugee camps were able to vote but those who stayed with relatives and friends had difficulty in registering. The instructions from election authorities allowing them to vote came late so most of them failed to vote. In Bali, participation of

voters reduced from 95% to 88.83% due to similar reason. In Solo, the voting reduced because of fear that the riot that happened earlier will be repeated during the polling day.



A ceremony marking the opening of polling day in a station in Central Java.

- ☐ Low voter awareness in some areas was also observed. Many people did not know the process and the choices they have. Because of 32 years of repressive rule, most people were used to being told what to do, whom to vote, etc.

b. Polling Management

Management during the polling day can be characterized as generally good. In all regencies, polling stations were established with a minimum of 5 polling staff while some have more especially in big polling stations. Polling stations were usually located in makeshift structures provided by the communities. Some were empty buildings and houses. In Jakarta, some stations

were not strategically located, making it difficult for observers and media to locate them. Some stations were poorly lighted that made it hard for polling staff to continue working when counting extended till after 5:00 PM. Generally, polling officers and staff went through with their tasks smoothly.

However, there were many lapses observed in the process in some polling stations in many areas. KIPP, a major citizen-monitoring group in Indonesia observed close to 80,000 polling places or 25% of the total 320 polling stations. They recorded 19,504 violations during actual polling, excluding Aceh and East Timor and found the most common violations in the forms of use of fake ink, multiple voting and late ballot counting.

ANFREL observers reported the following weaknesses in several areas:

- Late opening and closing of polling stations

Many stations opened late due to lack of materials, lack of staff and long opening ceremonies. In Mataran at Sekekteng village, voting began at about 12:00 noon because the materials had not arrived. It closed at 7:00 PM. In Semarang, Central Java, stations opened late and closed from 5:00 to 6:00 PM. In Sumatra Selatan at Lempuing village, the ballots and ink arrived towards the closing time. In Belitung, the voting has to be postponed due to non-delivery of election materials.

In Kupang, Pekan Baru as well as in Western Sumatra, polling stations also opened late due to the delay in the arrival of polling materials.

- Inexperienced and lack of polling staff

Some polling staff did not know what to do. Many were observed to fail to check the polling materials before the start of the voting e.g. if the ballot boxes were empty, not counting the

ballots before distributing to the voters, not putting hologram stickers, etc.

In some areas, the polling staff were asking the observers what to do. In many areas, there were no proper checking of registration cards, no checking of the ink and no proper reconciling of the number of ballots and the number of votes. In some stations, the materials like ballots and tally sheets were scattered around, open for anyone to touch and have access. In one instance in Ujung Padang, the election officer brought home the ballots and asked his family to fold them. In another instance, the counting was done in a closed door with only three of the election officers present. In another instance, the election officer brought home the ballot box 'for safekeeping'. In some stations, there were only 3 out of the 5 required minimum number of staff per polling station. In South Sulawesi, the security was performing polling tasks like checking the ballot boxes. In Manado and Minahasa in North Sulawesi, some voters forgot to be inked and nobody minded. It was also observed in these particular stations that anyone who came who were not previously registered could freely register and vote, raising concern for the possibility of double or even triple voting for a number of voters.

- Non-Delivery/Late Delivery of polling materials

Many polling stations like in Bandung, West Java, in Yogyakarta, Kupang, Aceh, Mataran, Sumatra Selatan, Central Java complained of not having received complete materials like ballots, C-2 sheets, hologram stickers and ink. In some places in Aceh and especially the hot and remote ones, the materials did not come at all, leaving the local officials no alternative but to postpone the election until the materials have arrived.

- Poor quality election materials

In many polling stations especially in remote areas, it was observed that the ink was easily removed. Some observers

actually tried and wash their hands after and found the ink completely gone. The paper used for the ballots was also of substandard quality. In Pontianak, West Kalimantan, many ballots were considered spoiled because there were pinholes in the paper, large enough to cause confusion over the punch made by the voter. In some areas, the ballots had to be discarded totally because of its poor quality. The ballot boxes were also complained of not having safety features. Some of the locks are destroyed. In Kupang, observers complained of defective ballot box seals but local polling officials could do nothing. It was observed that even those not destroyed can easily be opened.



Ballots and ballot boxes were observed to be of poor quality, with low-grade paper and defective locks used respectively.

The gray and white colors of the ballots are also confusing. Many ballots were declared invalid because they were dropped at the wrong box. In some stations like in Manado and Minahasa, North Sulawesi, the boxes had to be opened to retrieve ballots that were mistakenly dropped.

- Election funds management

There were also complaints of unequal distribution of election funds. Complaints of some officers controlling the funds were common. People interviewed said it depended on the available budget and the capacity of the local community. Some polling stations had good facilities like colorful tents, tables with covers, chairs for voters and electric fans while some were bare and empty, without proper lighting and ventilation. Some stations in well-to-do communities had flowers and imported table covers and curtains for the booths. Some polling stations even offered snacks for observers and polling staff. In some urban communities observed in Jakarta, they made ethnic artwork and decorations around the polling stations.

- Not neutral location of polling stations

The most common complaint about polling stations was its location. Some were situated near military camps and in the village heads' houses, putting in question the neutrality of the place. In Medan for example, a polling station was located within the plantation just in front of the village head's house who is a well-known Golkar campaigner and who is supervisor of the plantation. The station is also next to the army camp in the area.

In a station in Yogyakarta, the station was set-up in the village head's house.

In Madura, one station was located inside an army hospital.

In Aceh, more than 50% of the polling stations were situated within or near army compounds.

- Unclear election procedures and rules

Some last minute decisions of the KPU caused confusion among polling staff and voters. First, the use of A-2 form that allowed its holder to vote anywhere. In some areas, like in

Mataran, voters with this form were able to vote but in other areas like in Bandung, West Java, they were rejected. This opened opportunity for people to vote more than once at different polling stations. Multiple voting was also made possible by allowing unregistered voters to register and vote anywhere like in Kupang and Aceh.

The checking of the registration forms and the presence of ink in the finger was supposed to be strictly implemented to avoid voters voting more than once. In many areas, polling staff were very lenient in doing these. It is unclear though if these were done on purpose or due to negligence.

- Secrecy of the ballot

Secrecy of the ballot should always be guaranteed. In one public hospital in Jakarta whose director was known to be a Golkar supporter, a mobile polling station was set up for the patients and their relatives and friends. The voting was done so fast that in some instances, the patients voted openly with many people around and in other instances, the process was done without the presence of the party witnesses and observers.



A patient casts his ballot through a mobile polling station set up in a public hospital in Jakarta.

In some areas, they used transparent curtains so that people around could see clearly the person voting. In some stations, people outside the booth could directly see the voter voting. In one station in Jakarta, the booths were located opposite the windows where people could directly see what the voter was voting.



ANFREL observer shows used ballots thrown in the paddy by angry voters.

- Disenfranchisement of voters

In some areas, eligible voters were not allowed to vote for a number of reasons.

In Tangerang, about 300 out of the 550 registered voters at TPS in Raza Indah were not allowed to vote due to the failure of the election officials to register them during the registration period. Out of frustration and as an expression of protest, the voters burned the ballot boxes, destroyed the tents and the booths and threw about 350 ballots in the puddle.

In Pontianak and West Kalimantan, many of the refugees who fled from Kabupata Sembasdua and staying in

Pangsuma Sports Center did not know where to register and thus were confused where to register and vote at the same time during the polling day.

Also in Bandung, West Java, a number of eligible voters were not allowed to vote because the memorandum regarding the use of A2 Forms came late.

In West Kaliangot and Talango in Madura, 200 and 400 of their respective voters failed to vote.

- Presence of unauthorized persons in the polling station.

In two polling stations in Makareri in Mataran, uniformed policemen and army personnel were seen inside the polling station, intimidating voters and polling officials. In one polling station in South Sulawesi, the security assigned to the station was doing polling tasks like checking the ballot box and directing voters to the booths. In Solo, Central Java, two guards in a station were the ones putting the ballots to the boxes.

In Yogyakarta, some polling stations had two to three Golkar observers instead of only one as allowed.

Counting was conducted in most areas on time. It was generally smooth and observed by the voting public. However, in some areas, some weaknesses were observed:

- Counting sheets were incomplete and some of the staff did not know how to fill them up.
- Poor lighting conditions which affected the pace and accuracy of the counting was also observed.
- Large and unruly crowds surrounding the counting area affecting the counting process and confusing the tabulators were observed in many places.
- Some counting centers are not conscious in reconciling the number of ballots and the number of votes. Errors in tabulation were observed but were not corrected.

- ❑ In some areas, counting went very slow and dragged through the night. Some stations had no light and in some areas, witnesses had already gone home while the counting was going on.
- ❑ In some areas, ballot boxes were transported unsealed because of the earlier problem of incomplete polling materials. Some boxes were transported without any escorts.



Children and adults stayed near the polling station to watch the counting of ballots.

Report on East Timor and Aceh

There was widespread apathy toward the elections in East Timor. The August referendum was generally seen as more important. Only 43% of the eligible voters registered in East Timor, the lowest within the country. What voting did take place appeared to be a result of fear and intimidation, rather than a genuine desire to participate. Virtually every person of Timorese descent ANFREL observers interviewed felt that the upcoming referendum originally scheduled for 8 August was the more important event for the future of East Timor.

Evidence of general apathy was the unusually high rate of invalid votes cast. One station recorded that 87 out of 387 total ballots (22.5 %) cast in the DPR box were invalid. In another polling station, about 15% of all ballots were 'invalid'. Invalid consisted of ballots that were punched multiple times for multiple parties, ballots left blank, and ballots cast for nonparticipating parties. While there could be other reasons why there may be invalid ballots such as lack of proper voter education, 20% is still a very high number. The turnout during the August referendum clearly confirmed the real sentiments of the East Timorese people. Some observers felt the atmosphere at booths was one of 'get it over with' without interest in the parties and issues at hand. Counting of ballots was often conducted quickly and apparently without care on the part of the chairman. Party observers and other witnesses were often not paying attention to the count. There also seemed to be very little evidence of widespread campaigning. There were only occasional banners in the streets. ANFREL observers saw virtually no leaflets, no campaign trucks and no campaigners.

To the extent that people did care about the election, it was in order to reject the status quo of Indonesian military troops in East Timor. In party terms this was clearly represented by rejecting Golkar. Instead, there was widespread feeling that it was important to support Indonesia in its process of democratisation. As noted, no one ANFREL interviewed felt the outcome of this particular election would heavily influence the future of East Timor. This then might partly explain the curious popularity of PDI-Struggle the party of Megawati Sukarnoputri, the most vocal party candidate against East Timorese independence.

The military and police had a strong presence in the lead up to elections and on election day in East Timor. While ANFREL observers did not witness any use of force in the lead up to the election, persons ANFREL interviewed made claims that the

military was resorting to all kinds of threats of force and pressure. ANFREL observers were told of bribes being offered to villagers, illegal searches conducted in residences of people who did not register to vote; physical intimidation, threats of consequences if people did not vote. ANFREL received allegations that some people were threatened with the job loss as well if they did not participate in the elections. As incentives, people were allegedly given wage increases and food aid in exchange for registering and voting for a particular party.

ANFREL Observers noted that military and police presence were quite high during polling. At one polling station, in addition to the four guards posted in the station, four to five policemen were sitting immediately outside the polling station for the entire day. Military and police officers sometimes entered the polling stations to confer with electoral officials for unknown reasons.

ANFREL observers also visited an area outside of the capital Dili on election day called Liquisa. On the road to Liquisa there were Indonesian flags on makeshift flagpoles outside virtually every residence. ANFREL observers were told that military and militia forces have threatened residents that they will face harsh consequences if they do not display these flags. At the actual polling station itself, there were armed guards standing outside the stations. The atmosphere in these areas was noticeably more tense and more regimented. ANFREL members themselves were approached by a plain clothed person who claimed to be a member of the military. This person asked ANFREL observers their names and their ages and wrote them down on a piece of paper. ANFREL observers were prevented from interviewing a voter outside the polling station by the local police official and told to ask any questions regarding the election only to the polling station chairperson.

ANFREL observers did not see, or hear any reports of violence or flagrant intimidation on election day at the polling

stations ANFREL visited. There were the usual procedural errors found in the electoral process elsewhere. Those witnessed by ANFREL observers include: No counting of ballots before use; ballots left to someone other than the voter to put into the ballot boxes; improperly folded ballots. Also once the ballot boxes were opened for counting the vote, ballots were not counted or reconciled.

Among the seven polling stations visited by ANFREL observers (4 in Dili and 3 in Liquisa), there was a great degree of variety in the atmosphere among them. For example, at one polling station surrounded by three walls of a partially built structure, partly enclosed by a defunct dump truck, pure chaos reigned. Lines were disorderly, registration forms were passed from person to person, ballots for others were claimed by individuals. In other areas there was more order as lines extended outside the polling area but the general atmosphere was still generally relaxed and loose. As noted, in Liquisa, lines and movements were disciplined and orderly, the atmosphere was quiet and tense. Military men with guns stood in place of journalists with cameras.

It is probably accurate to say that Dili's election atmosphere should not be taken as a barometer for the whole of East Timor. Dili was teeming with foreign journalists like Reuters, AP, Kyodo, etc. There were international observers as well as domestic observers. In addition, the United Nations had just recently opened up headquarters in Dili. Areas outside lacked all of these safety mechanisms. To our understanding, ANFREL was the only international election-monitoring group in all of East Timor and the national Indonesian election group did not send observers outside of Dili.

In Aceh, during the pre-election period, few voters registered voluntarily. During the first round, only about 13% showed up. A second round of registration had to be conducted, with

registrars going door to door to register eligible voters. This brought the number of registered voters to over 50% according to electoral authorities. However, the independent election monitoring group claimed it was probably more like 30%. Some people withdrew their registrations due to fear of reprisals by the Free Aceh Movement, which was calling for a boycott of the elections so it was difficult to know the real figure of registered voters in Aceh. Due to widespread fear of violence between the Free Aceh Movement and the military and other armed groups sympathetic to Jakarta, people were hoarding food and other commodities. Some people reported plans to stay off the streets during the days prior to and just following the elections. Children were not expected to go to school during this time. Clearly no election in which the people can participate freely can be undertaken in the security environment prevailing in Aceh. However, electoral authorities did open several polling stations. Some of the safeguards for the election process were suspended for Aceh. People were allowed to vote even without having registered. The use of indelible ink was also suspended to avoid identification by conflicting parties. However, while this may have saved some people from retribution, it also raised the suspicion that people could have voted more than once.

Five different armed organizations under the government were mobilized during the election period. While ABRI was expected to respond to the armed resistance, the other armed units were responsible for responding to "non-armed conflicts". Both stationed and mobile units were deployed on polling day. Shops were closed for the day, and few people were to be found on the streets. Key materials, such as ballots and ballot boxes were not available at some polling stations, as neither public nor private vehicles would carry them due to fear of attack. Local Indonesian volunteer election monitors did not show up in many places as well.

In the polling stations where ANFREL observers were present during polling day, some irregularities were observed such as: no counting of ballots received, ballots did not have hologram stickers attached, not enough ballots received, multiple voting, etc. Also the number of votes recorded on the tally sheet kept by the electoral officials was higher than the number read out and recorded by observers.

c. The role of the political parties, supporters and party agents

There were 48 political parties that contested during the election, a significant development after the Soeharto fall. Aside from the old political parties, a huge number of new political parties mushroomed and have shown their interests in participating in the political process. Many of these new parties were widely known to be backed by Soeharto. From more than one hundred parties, the KPU reduced to only 48 those that would contest in the elections.

During the actual polling and counting, party representatives were present in almost all polling stations. Some of them were observed to be active in playing their role but quite a number of them were observed to be 'timid', 'passive', 'inactive' and 'seemed unaware of their role'. Some instances were reported where the party agents did not know what they were supposed to do. In many areas, there were no party representatives in the polling stations.

Violations of laws and regulations related to campaigning and voting e.g. flying banners and stickers of political parties, wearing T-shirts and other party paraphernalia inside polling stations, intimidating voters, vote buying were observed to be practiced by a number of political parties. In Medan, one party tore down other party posters.

In a few areas, party leaders were observed to have no control of their supporters. The clashes that took place in various places in the country resulted to several cases of deaths, serious injuries and destruction of public and private property.

One common criticism observed was the lack of clear political and economic platforms by the political parties. ANFREL interviewed some of the major party representatives and found that neither one of the parties had even a basic economic as well as political program. At the most, they all spoke in general terms like 'economic recovery', 'poverty alleviation', 'prosperity', 'moral recovery', etc. PKB and PDI-P had specific agenda for putting Soeharto into trial.

It was also observed that in Indonesia, campaigning is not used as a venue to discuss and debate about economic and political issues and how the political parties would respond to these issues, but rather, they were used more to show their force through numbers and to pressure voters to vote for them using various forms of tactics. The campaign forms appealed to the general mood for change but in a very general and superficial way. The platforms could have been used to educate the people on the deeper meaning of democracy, human rights and peace.



Children and young people formed the majority of campaigners.

d. The role of observers - domestic and international

There were fourteen domestic election monitoring organizations and international observer groups that participated in the elections. From one citizen monitoring group during the 1997 elections, this rose to at least five this election, making it possible to cover a broader scope of the country.

The presence of observers, both local and international had in one way or the other provided encouragement and confidence for people to go out and vote, especially in conflict areas like Ambon, Madura, Aceh and East Timor. In some polling stations, observers were asked some advice on matters that needed to be corrected during the polling and counting. Observers were welcomed in the areas and even inside polling stations. Polling officers welcomed them and had been cooperative in terms of answering questions and openly showing them the process. There were cases though where the international observers were harassed and given a hard time. In Denpasar, the observers were assigned two intelligence police who escorted them everywhere they went.



KIPP volunteers brief ANFREL observers.

In some areas, the observers were not allowed to observe the counting. Some staff of STMP, the Mutual Help Group for Labor, an initiative from 15 companies who helped monitor the elections were threatened. Their office was thrown stones and checked by the military. A staff was also interrogated at the police station.

ANFREL found the work of KIPP, its member network in Indonesia as impressive and significant. They have the widest network among all the other local monitoring groups and many of their volunteers during the elections were respectable figures in their respective communities. Being the primary local monitoring group, KIPP hosted a number of foreign observer groups, including ANFREL. ANFREL's monitoring would not have been possible without KIPP staff and volunteers' assistance.

The contribution of the other newly-set-up monitoring groups like the Forum Rector, UNFREL, is also commendable. The fact that they represent different sectors like academe, students, religious, labor, made the peoples' participation more active, broadly based and more meaningful. Also, the fact that there was least competition, but rather, some degree of coordination was observed among them, made it possible to cover more areas which could prevent and minimize irregularities during the election.

Some Analysis, Conclusion and Recommendations

The mission findings reveal very positive trends of peoples' enthusiasm to participate in the electoral process in particular and in the democratization process in general. This growing enthusiasm of the people to take part in politics signifies a good start in the free exercise of their rights as citizens of their country.

In the process of the election, attempts of the ruling party to manipulate and control the process did not fully materialize. The New Order regime, in its effort to make the election credible gave in to pressures to create a National Election Commission composed of five respectable figures acceptable to all sides and representatives of the 48 political parties. It also gave in to the pressure to limit the role of the military by cutting the number of military in the DPR from 100 to 37. The role of the civil servants during elections was also clarified by President Habibie, making it not compulsory anymore for them to vote for Golkar although in many cases, there were reports of threats of loss of jobs, demotion, withdrawal of benefits, transfers, suspension, termination etc., and intimidation to pressure them to vote for Golkar. Despite all the reported threats and intimidation, bribery, numerous irregularities and other forms of violations of election rules, the majority of the people managed to make their voice heard and their choice expressed.

By international standards, the 1999 election process may not be perfect and quite far from being truly democratic and fair. But it was so far the first democratically held election in Indonesia, the freest ever in its long history.

Although the preparation was short, the resources lacking and the conflicts compounded to the run up of the election, as well as the numerous irregularities observed during the process from registration of voters, campaigning, actual polling and counting, the elections pushed through with quite an impressive voter turn-out and results.

One important aspect that needs to be developed and strengthened is the political awareness of the people. Election is only one of the essential steps in the long process of democratization. How to sustain the democratically-elected government and to keep the momentum for democratic reforms is the more crucial question the Indonesian people have to face.

Specifically, ANFREL would like to propose some points to improve the process and to guarantee that the peoples' will is respected.

- Election policies, rules and guidelines should be disseminated as widely as possible ahead of time so confusion arising from conflicting and delayed relay of directives and other information as experienced in this election will be avoided.
- Complaint mechanisms and procedures should likewise be clearly disseminated especially to local officials and party representatives. Prosecution of cases of major violations should be conducted to punish those responsible for the violations. Clear line of responsibility and accountability and the corresponding structure should be established to pinpoint actual liability for violations committed.
- Further training for officers administering the polling and counting should be undertaken to ensure better management of the electoral processes.
- Further training for political party observers and monitors should also be undertaken to equip them with knowledge and skills in monitoring elections and sharpen their analysis of the election in the context of the over-all political situation.
- Voter education programs focusing not only on the election process, but also on good governance and democracy have to be conducted on a massive scale to make voters aware of their rights and obligations and to ensure that the vote cast is an informed choice and reflect the true will of the people.
- Voter should have access to information about candidates, parties and the process . It is crucial that a well

organized, non-partisan voter information program be in place prior to the election. The information should be multi-lingual and using multi-media for dissemination. It should be culture, religious and gender sensitive.

- Political parties are accountable to the people. They ought to be transparent as regards their political platforms, sources of funds and other activities. They should respect each other by providing equal opportunities for fellow political parties to present their respective platforms. The use of violence to eliminate or undermine political opponents is not only against election rules but violates the principles of fairness and justice. Political parties should give utmost respect for peoples' right to choose based on full knowledge and understanding of the options available to them as voters.
- The participation of citizen monitoring groups from important sectors like labor, students, indigenous groups, women, etc. should be encouraged and supported. Indonesia is a big, multi-ethnic society, impossible for any one or two groups to monitor. Such broad participation of various groups made a difference in this year's election.

Specific to the new laws, according to Article 11 of the General Elections Law, the KPU will evaluate the election system at the latest three years after the holding of the general elections. The following points are put forward for review of the KPU:

Reserved Seats for the Military in the DPR

The military is entitled to 38 seats in the DPR and to 10% of seats in the DPRD I and the DPRD II without contesting in the elections (Article 11 sub-article 3 of the Law on the Composition

and Status of MPR, DPR and DPRD). These 38 military seats in the DPR accounts for 7.6% of the total representatives in the DPR and considering that there are 130 million eligible voters in the last general election, this is equal to 9,880,000 votes in the election. After the election results were announced in July, the military's 38 seats places the faction in the fourth after the National Awakening Party (PKB) which won 51 seats, followed by Amien Rais's National Mandate Party (PAN) which won 35 seats in the DPR. With 38 seats in the DPR, the military still played a decisive role in the nomination of the new President at the MPR in November.

Consequently, military's dual function is not yet completely abandoned even in the era of reformation. High ranking military officials, including Minister of Defence and Security/ Armed Forces Commander Gen. Wiranto and Chief of Staff for Territorial Affairs Lt. Gen. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, have stressed in many occasions that the military's role in politics must be reduced in order to show its commitment to democratization and reformation. But they are of the opinion that military's withdrawal from politics should be gradual in stages without threatening national security and integration.

Authority and Responsibilities of the KPU

To what extent can the KPU exercise its authority and how applicable and effective are its decisions vis-a-vis government decisions? This is a test for the election organiser which should serve as an autonomous and independent organiser, free from the influence and/or direct or indirect control of, either one or some political parties, the government or another side (Article 1 sub-article 2 of KPU Decree No. 2/1999). According to Article 8 sub-article 2 of Law No. 3/1999 on General Elections, general elections are implemented by the KPU. And yet, Article 8 sub-article 1 of the Law makes the KPU's authority rather unclear

and complicated. The provision stipulates that the President is responsible for general elections, leaving some room for government interventions in general elections.

There are two examples where the roles and decisions of the KPU became ambiguous. The first example is about the ban on government officials from campaigning for political parties. During election campaigns in the New Order era, government officials, especially ministers, took advantage of their positions and used government facilities for the campaigns of their political party. In fear of the repeat of such campaign practices, the KPU voted on March 24 in 1999 in favor of banning government officials, including ministers from campaigning for political parties. But this decision could not satisfy the government as well as some ministers who were also the chairmen of political parties and wish to campaign for their political parties, namely State Secretary/Minister Akbar Tandjung of the Golkar Party and Minister of Investment Hamzah Haz of the United Development Party (PPP). On the following day, the government expressed its reluctance to accept the KPU ruling and asked for a legal assessment of the ruling from the Supreme Court. On March 26, the Supreme Court concluded its assessment and sent it to the minister of Home Affairs, stating that the KPU had no legal right to regulate the role of ministers and other state officials and that the final decision remained with the President who is in charge of general elections. The government reaction to this matter clearly undermines the decision and authority of the independent national election body.

And yet, amid the dissatisfaction of the government side, the KPU enacted on March 31 a decree under which political parties are prohibited from involving the state officials, including ministers, as campaign participants and speakers (Article 19 sub-article 2 of the KPU Decree No. 13/1999). It was rumored that even after the enactment of the degree, the President might issue a government regulation which allows ministers to

campaign for political parties under some conditions. The long argument was finally put to an end when KPU's plenary meeting of May 7 unanimously decided to uphold the KPU Decree No. 13/1999 and ruled that ministers could campaign for political parties if they resigned from ministerial positions. Accordingly, both Akbar Tanjung and Hamzah Haz resigned from each ministerial positions on May 10 and 18 respectively after having submitted their requests to President Habibie.

The other example revolves around the process of endorsing the elections results. It is clear from Article 65 sub-article 1 and 2 of the General Elections Law that the total result of vote counting is endorsed by the KPU with signatures from at least two third of its members. However, it was feared that the KPU might not be able to endorse the elections results since some of the members would refuse it defending their own political interests. Shortly before polling day, the government issued on May 19 the government regulation No. 33/1999 that intended to avoid such a deadlock situation. Article 33 of the regulation stipulates that in the case that the members of the KPU, PPI, PPD I or PPD II cannot endorse the elections results by its deadline, the sound reasons for the refusal must be submitted in writing to the KPU, PPI, PPD I, PPD II as well as the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwas) at the corresponding levels (sub-article 1). Then, the supervisory committee has the authority to investigate the validity of the reasons for the refusal and completes its investigations within seven days (sub-article 2 and 3). The decisions of the supervisory committee are legitimate and cannot be denied (sub-article 4). Even though it still remains with the KPU that has the authority to ratify the total result of vote counting, the Article 33 of the government regulation No.33/1999 virtually gives the supervisory committee the authority to approve officially the results of vote counting.

What happened was that the KPU failed to endorse the final vote count twice and turned to the President to legalize the

elections results. First, on July 26, 27 KPU members from small political parties rejected the elections results citing that cheating and irregularities were rampant in the June 7 general elections while 22 KPU members, including five government representatives, endorsed them and four members were absent. After failing to endorse the final elections results, Chairman Rudini told he would let the President decide whether or not the election results were valid. Later on the day Rudini visited the President at the Istana Palace and handed over the rejected elections results. Upon receiving the rejected election results, the President ordered the supervisory committee to investigate the reasons for the refusal within one week. The supervisory committee investigated objections raised by 12 out of initial 27 political parties that succeeded to meet the deadline of reporting on July 29 set by the committee. On August 1, 25 members of the National Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaspus) reported the decision of their plenary meeting of July 31 to the President that the reasons for the refusal from 12 political party representatives were unspecific, not empirically proven and not affecting the vote count. After hearing the decision, President Habibie ordered the KPU to legalize the final vote count at the KPU plenary meeting scheduled for August 2. And yet, despite the ruling from the supervisory committee, the KPU failed to endorse the elections results again at the meeting. While two political party representatives finally yielded to signing them, 25 other representatives still refused to do so citing that poll cheating and irregularities were not properly investigated by the supervisory committee. Following the KPU's failure to endorse the elections results, it was hinted by State Secretary/Minister of Justice Muladi that the President would issue a decree which would legalize the election results in order to avoid a chaotic situation. On August 3, President Habibie declared the June 7 poll results legitimate and on the following day issued Presidential Decree No. 92/1999 formalizing his endorsement of the elections results.

Through these two examples, the authority of the KPU, to some extent was undermined. Who has the final say about the election process is blurred by Article 8 sub-article 1 of Law No. 3/1999. It is so vaguely defined that it can be interpreted that the President is responsible for every aspect of the election process. In the case of endorsing elections results, even though Article 65 sub-article 1 clearly stipulates that the KPU determines the result of the vote count, when it faced the impasse, it had to turn to the President to decide on the matter.

Restriction on the MPR/DPR membership

The right to vote was extended to all the people and is now guaranteed by the law. But the right to be elected is still limited and under the influence of New Order ideologies. According to Article 3 sub-article 1 of Law No. 4/1999 on the Composition and Status of MPR, DPR and DPRD, former members of the banned Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and its affiliated mass organizations and those directly or indirectly involved in the 30th September Movement (G30S) or other banned organizations are prohibited from being elected as MPR/DPR members.

The Role of the Non-Elected MPR Members

It is not the DPR members who are elected through general elections but the MPR members who are the mixture of elected and non-elected members that shall choose the President. 700 MPR members consist of 500 elected DPR members including 38 appointed military personnel, 135 Regional representatives, and 65 Group representatives. In other words, 238 members (34%) of the MPR are not elected directly by the people. Even though the selection of the MPR members are now relatively free from government influence, a fundamental problem remains unresolved, that is, the role of the non-elected

members in the MPR in electing the President. It has been argued that former President Soeharto used these appointed MPR members as his political tool to maintain power for 32 years.

The objective of regional representatives and group representatives in the MPR is to accommodate aspirations of minority groups that are not reflected by existing political parties. However, now that multi-party elections are assured by laws, the need for these non-elected representatives is not seen as significant anymore as before. This view is common among political experts and NGO activists. Ichlasul Amal, rector of the Gadjah Mada University, was the first who suggested that regional and group representatives be elected directly by the People. This idea gained more support from most sides especially when the KPU lost its credibility as an independent election organisation and was criticised over its partial selection of 65 group representatives. Minister of Home Affairs Syarwan Hamid also expressed the same opinion, saying that group representatives should be phased out from the MPR. However, such change would only be made possible if the 1945 Constitution were to be amended. Article 2 sub-article 1 of the 1945 Constitution stipulates that the MPR consists of DPR members, regional representatives and group representatives.

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Perwakilan Rakyat, dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

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Appendix B

LIST OF 48 POLITICAL PARTIES

NO.	NAME OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES	CHAIRMAN/SECRETARY GENERAL
1.	Partai Indonesia Baru-PIB (New Indonesia Party)	H. Spiful Anwar Akmad Kornaruddin
2.	Partai Kristen Nasional Indonesia- KRISNA (Indonesian National Christian Party)	Mrs. Laura Sitompul Mr. Didik Soegito
3.	Partai Nasional Indonesia - PN1 (Indonesian National Party)	Mrs. Hj. Supeni Mr. IM. Sunarka
4.	Partai Aliansi Demokrat Indonesia - PADI (Indonesian Democate Alliance Party)	HM. Bambang Sulistimo Haryaganda
5.	Partai Kebangkitan Muslim Indonesia - KAMI (Indonesian Moslem Resurgence Party)	Drs. H. Syamsahril, SH.
6.	Partai Ummat Islam (Moslem Community Party)	Prof. Dr. Deliar Noer Mr. Fahmi Rahman
7.	Partai Kebangkitan Umat - PKU (Community Resurgence Party)	KH. Yusuf Hasyim Drs. H. Asnawi Latief
8.	Partai Masyumi Baru (New Masyumi Party)	Ridwan Saidi
9.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan - PPP (United Development Party)	Mr. Hamzah Haz Mr. Alimawar Hanan
10.	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia - PSII (Indonesian Moslem United Party)	H. Taufik R. Tjokroaminoto H.Barno Soemantri
11.	PDI Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party 'Struggle)	Mrs. Megawati Soekarnoputri Mr. Alex Litaay
12.	Partai Abulyatama (Abulyatama Party)	
13.	Partai Kebangsaan Merdeka (Nation Freedom Party)	KH Zaini Ahmad Noer
14.	Partai Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa-PKD13 (United Love Democraton Party)	Prof. Dr. Manasse Malo Mr. Selo Harianto
15.	Partai Amanat Nasional - PAN (National Mandate Party)	Prof. Dr. Amien Rais Dr. Faisal Basri

NO.	NAME OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES	CHAIRMAN/SECRETARY GENERAL
16.	Partai Rakyat Demokratik-PRD (Democratic People Party)	Budiman Sudjatmiko Petrus Haryanto
17.	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia - 1905 (Indonesian Moslem United Party-1905)	Dr. H. Bustaman, SH. Drs. Danu Ismail
18.	Partai Katolik Demokrat - () (Democrat Catholic Party)	Drs. Marcus Mali
19.	Partai Pilihan Rakyat - PILAR (People' Choice Party)	Mr. R.O. Tambunan
20.	Partai Rakyat Indonesia - PARI (Indonesian People Party)	Mr. Agus Miftach Mr. Rahmat Hidayat
21.	Partai Politik Islam Indonesia Masyumi (Masyumi Indonesian Moslem Political Party)	Ir. Abdullah Hemahua
22.	Partai Bulan Bintang - PBB (Crescent and Moon Party)	Prof. Dr. Yusril Ihza Mahendra Mr. Ms. Ka' Ban
23.	Partai Solidaritas Pekerja - PSP (Labour Solidarity Party)	Dr. H. Dedi Hamid, SH.
24.	Partai Keadilan (Justice Party)	Dr. Ir. Nur Mahmudi Ismail HM. Anis Matta
25.	Partai Nahdlatul Ummat (NU Party)	KH. Sjukron Ma'mun KH. Ahmad
26.	PNI-Front Marhaenis (Indonesian National Party-Marhaenis Front)	Mr. H. Probosutedjo
27.	Partai Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia - IPKI (Indonesian Freedom Supported Party)	Letjen (Ret) R. Soeprapto Mr. Rusli Dahlan, SH.
28.	Partai Republik (Republic Party)	Drs. H. Syarifuddin Harahap Drs. Andi Syarifuddin
29.	Partai Islam Demokrat-PID (Moslem Democrat Party)	Drs. Andi Rasyid Djalil
30.	PNI - Massa Marhaen (Indonesian National Party-Marhaen Community)	Mr. Bachtiar Oscha Cahliq
31.	Partai Musyawarah Rakyat Banyak- MURBA (People Deliberation Party)	Dr. Handidojo

NO.	NAME OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES	CHAIRMAN/SECRETARY GENERAL
32.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party)	Budi Hardjono Buttu R. Hutapea
33.	Partai GOLKAR (Golkar Party)	Ir. Akbar Tanjung May.Gen. Tuswandi
34.	Partai Persatuan (Unity Party).	Prof.H.J. Naro Drs. H. Asnawi Latief
35.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa-PKB (United resurgence Party)	H. Matori Abdul Djalil Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar
36.	Partai Uni Demokrasi Indonesia - PUDI (Indonesian Democratic Union Party)	Dr. Ir. Sri Bintang Pamungkas Dr. Akbar Lubis
37.	Partai Buruh Nasional - PBN (National Labour Party)	Mr. Tohap Simanungkalit Mr. Robikin E.
38.	Partai MKGR (MKGR Party)	Mrs. Hj. Mien Sugandhi Mrs. Kristiya Kartikan, SH.
39.	Partai Daulat Rakyat (People party)	Baharuddin
40.	Partai Cinta Damai (Peace Love Party)	H. Iskandar Zulkarnain, SH. Drs. H. Syarif Malik
41.	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan (Unity and Justice Party)	Gen. Edi Sudradjat Hayono Isman
42.	Partai Solidaritas Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia - SPSI (All Indonesian Labour Solidarity Party)	Dr. H. Rasyidi
43.	Partai Nasional Bangsa Indonesia - PNBI (Indonesian National Party)	Ir. Endro
44.	Partai Bhinneka Tunggal Ika - PBI (Indonesian Bhinneka Turiggal Ika Party)	Nurdin purnomo Maruto
45.	Partai Solidaritas Uni Nasional Indonesia - SUNI (Indonesian National Union Solidarity Party)	H. Abu Hasan, MA H. Ansori Anwar
46.	Partai Nasional Demokrat (National Democrat Party)	Mr. Edwin Henawan Soekowati Mr. Eddy Sjafuan
47.	Partai Umat Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesian Moslem Society Party)	H. Anwar Yunus, SH.
48.	Partai Pekerja Indonesia (Indonesian Labour Party)	Mr. H. Fuad Hilmi M. Mr. Rasyid A.

Appendix C

DEPLOYMENT OF MISSION MEMBERS

DESTINATION	FULL NAME
Bandung-West Java	Mr. Jaakko KANGAS Ms. Shinobu NISHIZAWA Prof. Tagayasu NAITO
Madura-East Java	Ms. Rumika SEYA Mr. Santos A. LAMBAN Ms. Brenda A. ESCALANTE
Yogyakarta	Mr. Frans Van DIJK mr. Moh. Herizal bin HAZRI Dr. Gothom ARYA
Solo-central Java	Ms. Taina JARVINEN Mr. Aizawa NOBUHIRO
Surabaya-East Java	Mr. Je Seong JEONG Mr. Jong Jin BAE Ms. Milagros A. CAOINETTE
Semarang-Central Java	Mr. Hiromichi HARA Mr. Masao TANAKO
Ambon-Moluccas	Ms. Simona POWELL Dr. Withaya SUCHARITHANARUGSE Mr. Jakarin NARATION
Ujungpandany-South Sulawesi	Ms. Barbro GUSTAFSSON Mr. Hiroyuki MORI
Manado-North Sulawesi	Mr. Noor R.S. BIN HARON Mr. Kitpon PRAIPHAISANKIJ
Pakanbaru-RIAU	Ms. Satoko SUZUKI Mr. Sinapan SAMYDORAI
Padang-West Sumatera	Ms. Masjaliza HAMZAH Mr. Yeshua MOSER
Palernbang-South Sumatera	Ms. Yukiko TAHIRA Mr. Otto MIETTINEN

DESTINATION	FULL NAME
Medan-North Sumatera	Ms. Eunsook JUNG Ms. Aranya PAPAPHAT Ms. Kati JAASKELAINEN Ms. Anurat MANIBHANDU
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Appendix D

INDONESIAN ELECTION MISSION PROGRAM OF ACTIVITIES

25 May 1999	Advance team of Observers
1 June 1999	Arrival of Observers - Registration - Welcome Dinner
2 June 1999	Briefing/Orientation
3-4 June 1999.....	Travel to Deployment Areas Jakarta team - meetings with KIPP, AJI, YLBHI, KPU, political parties and diplomatic community Provincial teams -meetings with local KIPP, local KPU And local political party groups
5-6 June 1999	Preparations for Election Ocular visits to polling stations/ Interview with local election officers, local political parties, and voters
7 June 1999.....	ELECTION DAY (Actual Observation)
8 June 1999	Counting of ballots Assessment; preparation of report and submission
9 June 1999	Return to Jakarta for debriefing and preparation of statement ANFREL executive committee meeting
10 June 1999	PRESS CONFERENCE ANFREL General Assembly

Appendix E

Press Statement

2 June 1992

ANFREL TO MONITOR ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA

The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), a regional network of election monitoring groups and human rights organisations in Asia is deploying some 82 international observers from 18 countries in the region and other parts of the world to monitor the upcoming election in Indonesia.

Of the 82 observers, 58 are Asians: 20 from Japan, 14 from Thailand, 7 from Philippines, 4 from Malaysia, 3 from Cambodia, 3 from Korea and others from Burma, Bangladesh, Nepal, Hongkong, Sri Lanka and India. Seventeen come from the Pacific, North America and Europe. Observers include experts in elections, peace and conflict resolution, human rights and democracy and other fields, academics and student activists.

ANFREL observers will be deployed in 20 provinces including Aceh and East Timor. A team of senior observers will be in Jakarta to try to meet with President Habibie, General Wiranto and other key government and non-government officials to discuss ANFREL's concerns for a free and fair election and the peaceful transition to democratic rule in Indonesia. A four-member team for East Timor has been organised to monitor the election in East Timor.

ANFREL and FORUM-ASIA's involvement in Indonesia date back to 1995 when it sent its first mission on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence. Another mission was sent to monitor the 1997 general election. Several trainings and consultations involving NGOs, journalists and other sectors were conducted and a number of publications have been

disseminated as part of the campaign for democratisation in Indonesia.

ANFREL and FORUM-ASIA strive to promote, on the basis of global perspective, development and peace in the region through the collaboration of human rights and development groups and peoples' organisations. ANFREL and FORUM-ASIA network members in Indonesia include the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), Association of Independent Journalists (AJI), SAMIN and the Asian Network for Democracy in Indonesia (AJI), another FORUM-ASIA project with a local secretariat in Jakarta.

For more information, contact ANFREL Secretariat at Ruang Lombok, Ground Floor (Bali Side), Hotel Indonesia, M.H. Thamrin, Jakarta, tel. no. 2301003(direct line); 2301008;3906262 extension 1588;mobile phone no. 0816-1165301.

Appendix E-I

ANFREL Statement on the June 7 Polls 10 June 1999

The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), the Asian Network for Democracy in Indonesia (ANDI) in collaboration with Indonesian partners, the Independent Committee for Election Monitoring (KIPP) and Association of Independent Journalist (AJI) have been monitoring the election process in Indonesia including vote registration. ANFREL deployed 82 observers from 18 countries in 20 provinces. Observers monitored both political campaigning as well the polling process of June 7.

This election represents the first democratic exercise after more than 50 years of autocratic rule. ANFREL observers believe that, with the exception of East Timor and the province of Aceh, the Indonesian June 7 elections were conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner. The high turn out in most areas manifested enthusiasm for participation. The people of Indonesia have freely expressed their will in a process that went smoothly without major incidents of irregularities.

There were a number of minor irregularities that gave reason for concern, although none were deemed to fundamentally effect the overall legitimacy of the elections.

There seems to be general confusion amongst voters, election officials, party witnesses and local electoral monitors, which may be attributed to a lack of public education of electoral training, and a lack of the necessary managerial and technical skills.

Insufficient materials for the election were noted in almost all provinces. This problem was further aggravated by poor management and understanding of the process. Examples include:

shortage of ink; low quality ink; shortage of holographic stickers; of forms; insufficient funds allocated for TPS construction and KPPS training.

The counting process was cumbersome and slow. This led counting continuing into the early hours of the following day by exhausted KPPS workers and local observers.

The electoral processes were not followed in most of the polling stations visited by ANFREL observers in relation to: the checking of ink on potential voters; delays in opening and closing polling stations; and guards or other persons placing ballots in the boxes (rather than by the voters themselves).

In light of the above observations, ANFREL would recommend that the following activities be undertaken to make future elections more orderly and efficient:

Massive voter education should be undertaken to increase the public's awareness of their rights, duties, and the choices available to them, allowing them to make an informed decision.

Electoral authorities should address pre-election polling violations to maintain the credibility of the election bodies.

Comprehensive training for election committee members and volunteers is needed to develop their capacity to undertake their important roles.

More training and better coordination for local election monitoring groups is also needed for them to perform a more effective and efficient job.

ANFREL is not in a position to conclude whether the elections were free and fair in East Timor and the province of Aceh. Several factors do not allow for this conclusion in Aceh: violence and human rights abuse in the province; elections postponed in some polling stations, low turn out of voters and irregularities in the polling stations where elections, since the August 8 referendum was viewed as more important, and voting

may have been undertaken as a result of force and intimidation rather than a genuine attempt to participate in the elections. ANFREL believes that situation in these two places requires serious attention.

ANFREL expresses concern over the slow pace of the vote tally delays, creating speculations among political parties and the public in general. This situation must be hastened to avert any suspicion and other unnecessary speculations.

ANFREL joins with the Indonesian people in this noble achievement and hopes that the election has been the first step on the way towards a peaceful transition to democracy.

ANFREL will continue to watch with great interest the developments in Indonesia until the government, which if formed from this election, is installed and the new presidential process is completed.

Appendix E-2

Press Release

4 June 1999

ANFREL MEETS WITH WIRANTO

Representatives of the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), a regional network of election monitoring bodies and human rights organisations in Asia now here in Indonesia to monitor the election met today with General Wiranto at his Jakarta office.

The seven-member delegation, representing ANFREL's 82 observers from 18 countries in Asia, Europe and North America called on the armed forces chief to express concern over the election in general and the human rights situation in particular.

During the one-hour meeting, Wiranto opened with an assurance that the over-all situation is very good. He emphasised the military's role as neutral and committed to see a free and fair election. When asked about the dual role of military in Indonesia, he said it is part of Indonesian tradition and the people have accepted the role of the military. On the 38 seats allotted to them in the parliament, he said it was a big step towards the democratic process in the country. He stated that like any citizen, the military has a right to be in the parliament.

On the situation in Aceh and the possibility of having no election there and in other critical areas, he said the incidents of violence are only in isolated areas in Aceh but for East Timor, Ambon, the situation is good.

Mr. Ariff from Bangladesh remarked that the leaders of opposition like Xanana Gusmao and Budiman Sujatmiko and other political prisoners are still languishing in jail, when they

should be outside campaigning. Wiranto said Xanana and the other political prisoners are criminals and for those still in prison, their release may create a "messy" situation. Ulla Anttila, a parliament member from Finland also asked about the situation in East Timor, citing a recent case in Attara where some people were killed allegedly by the military. Wiranto explained that the problem is complicated because of the conflict between the pro-integration and pro-independence groups but he is hopeful the recent peace agreement would work out. The delegation likewise expressed hope that a free and fair election will pave the way towards peaceful transition to democratic rule in Indonesia.

The delegation was composed of General Saiyud Kerdphol, head of the mission from Thailand, from Philippines, Bangladesh, Finland, Japan and Indonesia. The mission has deployed its observers in 20 provinces on June 3 and will monitor until June 10, 1999.

For more information, call up the ANFREL Secretariat at Hotel Indonesia, Jl. M.H. Thamrin, tel. 2301003 or 3906262 ext. 1588; fax no. 3101508.

Appendix E-3

Press Release
9 June 1999

XANANA TO BE FREED AFTER 8th AUGUST - HABIBIE

A five-member Asian delegation from Thailand, Cambodia, Nepal, Japan and the Philippines belonging to the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), met today with President Habibie at the Presidential Palace. The delegation is among the 82 international observers deployed by ANFREL to 20 provinces during the June 7 election.

Asked right away about the release of political prisoners like Xanana Gusmao, East Timor opposition leader and Budiman Sudjatmiko, president of PRD, one of the political parties contesting in the election, he said that upon his assumption as president, he already released a number of political prisoners based on five criteria including the prisoner's allegiance to the constitution. He said that Xanana has been accused of criminal offence and sentenced to life imprisonment, then it was reduced to 20 years so he has 13 years more to serve. The delegation asserted that he should be freed before the August 8 referendum so he could participate freely in the negotiation process. Habibie committed to the group that Xanana would automatically be released on August 8 when the people of East Timor vote for their independence.

Asked how his government intends to address the post-election scenario like the possibility of violence and instability, he assured the group that everything is on the pipeline until the next president, whether it is a ùhe or a sheù will be elected. Asked if there is possibility to elect the new president earlier than November as demanded by the opposition political parties, he

said "that is against the constitution" and he will not do anything against the constitution. He said democracy is just a technique so this election only serves this function towards a long-term democratisation process. The post-election challenge he considers important is the socialisation of the values of democracy where the lessons learned of the past will be experienced by everyone.

Expounding on East Timor, he said it is something that will have to be decided by the people and he hopes that whoever wins in the election will respect the will of the East Timorese people. He emphasised the role of the MOU signed by Portugal, Indonesia and East Timor under the auspices of the UN- that this is binding as far as the parties involved are concerned.

Habibie narrated his administration's accomplishments as far as human rights are concerned. He mentioned Indonesia's ratification of the ILO conventions and how, through the decrees and laws passed during his short time as president he was able to address the economic issues of the country. He cited the increase in currency exchange from a low of 16,000 to a dollar to the current 7,800 to a dollar and the positive change in the interest rate.

The meeting was attended by his cabinet including General Wiranto and nine other ministers and advisers.

For more information, call up or visit the ANFREL Secretariat at Hotel Indonesia, M.H. Thamrin, Jakarta, tel. no. 2301003 or 3906262 ext. 1588.

Appendix F

Chronology of Events in Indonesia (January to June 1999)

January 5

While President Habibie was presenting the 1999/2000 draft state budget to the legislature, students from Bandung Institute of Technology staged a peaceful demonstration inside the grounds of the House of Representatives. The students demanded the withdrawal of the Armed Forces from politics and a ban on civil servants from political party membership.

January 7

The Independent Election Monitoring Committee (KIPP), first set up to monitor the 1997 Election announced it currently has volunteers in 62 cities in 22 provinces and has begun to monitor the sessions in the House of representatives, including the bill on elections. Last month UNFREL the University Network for a Free and Fair Election was established as another election monitoring group.

January 11

The Indonesian Institute for an Independent Judiciary was established by a group of legal experts who are lobbying for an independent judiciary with a free and more professional system of justice. The group wants to abolish a law which brings judicial matters under two roofs, one the Supreme Court and the other, the Governmental Ministry of Justice which is in charge of administration and financial matters including judges' salaries and promotions.

January 12

Australia made a sudden policy shift on its stance regarding East Timor. Australia announced that the federal

government would now recognize East Timor's right to self-determination. Until now Australia along with the US were the only Western countries to recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.

January 15

A group of senior Golkar figures including former ABRI retired commander General De Sudradjat separated themselves from Golkar by officially launching the Justice and Unity Party (PKP).

Five hundred students demonstrated outside of the Aceh regional assembly calling for a referendum expressing disappointment with the central government's failure to settle human rights violations in Aceh. No action has been taken on the part of the government to bring to trial the military personnel who murdered, tortured and raped Acehnese, and committed other brutalities during the DOM (Military Operational Zone), occupation from 1989 to 1999.

It was reported that 130 million Indonesians live in poverty, which is a dramatic increase from the reported 80 million from last year and 20 million from two years ago. More than 6 million children dropped out of school last year due to the economic crisis.

January 17

Golkar Chairman Akbar Tandjung apologized to the public for past mistakes including uncompleted tasks and wrong doings. His apology was later dismissed by observers as being, "too little too late", while rival politicians commented that the apology was only a ploy to salvage Golkar's poor reputation.

January 16

During the one month Muslim Idul Fitri celebrations Indonesian police said that they had shot 41 highway robbers and arrested 362 others along the northern Java Island Coast.

Brigadier General Togar Sianipar said 23 of the 41 shot died of their wounds, claiming that "they had to be shot because they were resisting arrest."

January 18

On January 9 four seriously injured men, along with 16 other less critical cases were brought to hospital following torture by about 50 soldiers on some 40 civilians detained by security authorities in Lhokseumawe during anti-rebel raids. The death toll has now been brought to five as another man died in hospital. An Indonesian army major was charged for the torture of the villagers and faces four years in jail and dismissal from the army.

January 19

In Maluku, the communal clashes that would last months and claim over 350 lives leaving 80 000 people homeless began. After hearing rumors that nearby churches and mosques had been set on fire, groups of armed Muslim and Christians took to the streets. The official story reports that the clash was triggered by an argument between a Christian minibus driver and Muslim youth.

January 20

East Timorese activist in self-exile, Jose Ramos Horta stated that the release of Australian classified documents on East Timor would reveal their complicity to the atrocities, which have happened in the province since 1975. He hoped that a full disclosure of the records would help the international community from committing similar mistakes in the future. It is estimated that up to 10 000 army personnel and over 100 000 civilians have lost their lives in East Timor since Indonesian's occupation.

January 21

In West Kalimantan, 4 people were killed in brutal warfare, as ethnic Malays and Dayaks attacked migrants from Madura, a small island off of East Java. Official reports claim that clashes were triggered by an attack on a thief allegedly caught by villagers. Angered by the attack 200 villagers from the victim's home took revenge on the Madurese. Tensions between different ethnic groups have long existed in West Kalimantan and in 1996 hundreds of people were killed in fighting between Dayaks and Madurese.

January 22

Since May of 1998 more than 137 political parties have been formed, which have been classified by the Jakarta Post according to their different values and social basis as follows: Political Parties with: 1) Religious values as their basis/ 38, (of those 33 are Muslim) 2) functional and interests group basis/54, 3) nationalist-democratic basis/30, 4) pursuing social-democratic ideology/15.

January 25

About 80 religious and community leaders meet in Jakarta to discuss the problems of increasing violence in the country. They stated that they supported General Wiranto's campaign to expose the masterminds of the rioting and asked the people not to take the law into their own hands. There have been many allegations that the recent riots were engineered to disrupt the election and the ongoing investigation into the former president's wealth. Many point the finger at the military believing that they are behind the provocation of the violence in an attempt to legitimize and guarantee their position of power.

January 26

The House passed bills on general elections, political parties and the composition of the People's Consultative

Assembly. The laws were to become effective as soon as they were signed by Habibie, awaiting a one-month "socialization" period. ABRI was given 38 seats in the House and 10% representation at the provincial level. Many political parties and students were outraged by this decision saying that the military were not an elected body and should not be in the House as democratic reforms could only start when the military were no longer involved in politics.

The question regarding whether the 4.1 million government workers will be allowed to join political parties persists. If passed executives who want to join political parties will have to give up their government positions. There is some dispute over the terms of the agreement, such as a proposed 3-month decision period to make an official decision and the possibility of receiving "waiting" money for up to one year. The Union of Justice Party, (PKP) complained that the new legislation left civil servants open to possible manipulations during the elections. And that it would allow them to keep their jobs for an ample amount of time also permitting the abuse of state facilities for their party ahead of the election.

January 30

Eleven student organisations, grouped under the umbrella organisation, Committee of United Students, stated that they planned to appeal to the general public to join in demands for a transitional government. They hoped to set up command posts, disseminate information and organize street rallies to communicate their ideas on the importance of democratic government for carrying out reforms. Some critics complain that the Habibie government is actually illegally in power according to the Constitution, and power should have been handed over to the opposition when Soeharto stepped down.

Both Gus Dur and Megawati stated that they rejected the government's proposal for East Timor to leave the Republic.

Megawati said in a press release that the Habibie government was a transitional government and not a government elected by a general election so therefore it has no authority to make that decision. She continued that, "East Timor's integration into Indonesia is politically and constitutionally legal as it represents the expressed wish of the East Timorese people as respected in Law No 7, 1976."

February 1

The General Election Agency, a team of 11 non-partisan respected public figures will be replaced by the General Election Commission (KPU) at the end of the month. During this time they will help the government decide which political parties are eligible to contest the election. The KPU is made up of 53 members, five are government representatives who have a 50% vote in the commission, and the other 48 representatives come from political parties who have the other 50%.

February 2

General Wiranto acknowledged that the military had long ago set up armed militia known as "Wanra", to help it maintain security in East Timor. He was quoted as saying, "the civilian resistance groups whose members are given a monthly stipend have long been established, and they have been stationed in military districts to maintain security and fight against the local separatist movement." He added that it was impossible for these "resistance groups" to abuse their weapons and terrorize people because their activities were supervised by the local military and closely watched by local religious and social leaders. However he denied supplying ammunitions to the province to terrorize pro-referendum East Timorese and to protect pro-integration forces and instead accused separatist "disturbance groups of being behind the recent killings and terror." Xanana Gusmao's lawyer Johnson Panjaitan claimed that the biggest problem in

East Timor is the arming of about 20,000 civilians by the Indonesian military.

February 3

Violence which involved some 20,000 people erupted in Durul Aman subdistrict in Aceh. According to the Legal Aid Office at least 12 people died of gunshot wounds to the head, chest and back. The military on the other hand claims that there was only one death, which occurred at a gathering in which Free Aceh activists instigated the violence.

February 4

Based on human rights monitoring and complaints filed by victims in the last two months (December 1998 - January 1999) in East Timor, Yayasan HAK Rights Foundation has verified 21 deaths from extra-judicial executions, 17 detained and tortured, and 6 forced disappearances. 7,608 refugees have been forced to leave their homes to seek safety from terror, intimidation, destruction and arson. HAK concluded that human rights violations are rising in East Timor. They partially blame this on a Reformation in Jakarta which has led to demands for a consultation, thus pushing the status quo supporters to intimidate people and the use of violence against innocent villagers and supporters of referendum, in order to protect their political interests.

HAK claims that the perpetrators of human rights violations are the military and civilians who are being armed by the military. The militia has not been sanctioned and in fact acts of violence and human rights violations by these groups have been tolerated. The lack of legal sanction is in contempt of Indonesian law in East Timor. According to Yayasan HAK this situation gives rise to suspicion of who is behind these acts of provocation.

February 5

Traditional funding sources for Golkar have been curbed by a new law on political parties. Firstly, the 4.1 million civil

servants are no longer automatically Golkar members and obliged to pay monthly and annual dues which are deducted directly from their salaries. And, although Golkar and other political parties can still solicit money from individuals and corporations, their contributions are no longer automatic. Lastly, the new law bars state and private companies, which have received contracts from the government from making financial contributions to Golkar. However, Feisal Tamin, the Secretary General of Ministry of Home Affairs drew attention to the fact that even if Golkar is deprived of these traditional funds they could still depend on the huge amount of funds they accumulated last year.

Bishop Belo and Xanana Gusmao asked ABRI to withdraw around 100 guns, which it distributed in East Timor to gangs supportive of integration with Indonesia.

A senior Australian politician stated that passing control of the Timor Gap oil resources to the Timorese would be a good stepping stone towards self-determination there. Australia and American oil companies operating in the Timor Gap have a huge vested interest in the future of the province. According to some sources the Soeharto family has made preparations to venture into the Timor Sea reserves. Last year, a new oil company was set up in Perth, called Genindo Western Petroleum Pty. Ltd., which is partly owned and directed by Soeharto's middle son.

February 7

General Wiranto announced that a special task force would be created to deal with the violence occurring around the country. Wiranto stated that, "the task force, with members from numerous departments and agencies will take preventative action including repressive steps", in riots and other incidents of violence. (JP) Human Rights organisations have asked ABRI to reconsider its shoot-on-sight order against rioters. The National Commission on Human Rights said the order must not be implemented arbitrarily, while Amien Rias claimed that it was against the law.

February 10

Yusuf Bioyarta Mangunwija popularly known as Romo Mangun died shortly after addressing a seminar on the role of books in society's progress. He was very well respected by both the Muslim and Christian community and served in as an architect, social worker and Catholic priest. Romo Mangun took special interest in defending the rights of the oppressed.

Xanana Gusmao was moved from the Cipinang Prison to a special detention house in Central Jakarta.

February 11

President Habibie stated that he wants to see an independent East Timor by January 1st. He was quoted as saying "we do not want to be burdened by the problem of East Timor after January 1st, 2000" (JP)

February 12

In Jayapura, Irian Jaya the Irianese have demanded that President Habibie keep the promise for a "national dialogue" which he made in a meeting held in Jakarta. The Irian leaders feel that a failure to keep his word would be an insult to the people of the province and might drive them to take, "arbitrary actions."

Indonesian police opened fire on thousands of workers staging a protest in East Java, wounding four people. Around 3,000 workers at PT Sinar Indo Megantara in Surabaya held a protest to demand the personnel manager to resign. Thousands of workers from a nearby sister company, PT Polinesia, joined the protest in front of the factory.

General Wiranto, has ordered security forces to get firm on law violators, including protesters who fail to seek police permits for rallies.

February 14

In a PDI-P ceremony in Jakarta attended by about 120 000 supporters, Megawati Soekarnoputri was nominated as the party's presidential candidate.

February 15

ABRI admitted that they were not making any progress into their 3-month investigation into the fatal shooting of protesters at Semanggi, Central Jakarta on November 13. They are still unable to determine who opened fire on the demonstrators, killing 14 and injuring 195 people.

President Habibie publicly commented for the first time on Prabowo's actions on May 21, 1998. He stated that, "troops under the command of somebody whose name I will not-hide-general Prabowo- were concentrated in several places including near my house" Prabowo was subsequently reassigned to a less significant position in Bandung on May 22 and discharged in August after admitting to his involvement in the abduction of political activists. Critics believe the incident was mentioned by President Habibie in order to help General Wiranto's image, and that Prabowo is still very active and powerful.

February 17

In Surabaya as part of a 7 day protest about 25,000 workers from Giant Electronics Manufacture PT Maspion staged a street demonstration demanding that the company provide enough compensation to offset the ongoing economic crises. Riot police dispersed the crowd by using a water cannon spraying yellow liquid, 9 people were detained.

President Habibie ordered 6 ministers to visit Aceh in preparation for his proposed visit in March. He claimed that this was a bid to alleviate the negative impact of the 1989-1998 DOM military operation hoping to restore social and political security and to heal psychological wounds.

Amien Rias called for Muslim parties to unite saying that a coalition of Muslim parties was needed to separate from the status quo and old regime.

February 18

An alleged telephone conversation between President Habibie and Attorney General Andi M. Ghalib was published in *Panji Masyarakat* magazine. In the apparent conversation Habibie was directing Ghalib to investigate 2 prominent critics of the government Panigoro and Wanandu. Also discussed was the investigation into former President Soeharto. The conversation was to have taken place on December 10, a day after Soeharto was summoned by government attorneys to answer questions about corrupt practices during his rule. The National Commission on Human Rights said that if the transcripts were real it was an obvious abuse of presidential power to eliminate political opponents before the election. The conversation suggested a coherent political strategy to protect Soeharto from being tried in a people's court and that inquiries into Soeharto's wealth are only attempting to quiet down angry people's demand for Soeharto's trial. Month's later Ghalib admitted to the conversation. The "Indonesian Observer" quoted one of Soeharto's lawyers O.C. Kaligis as saying that, "If the Soeharto probe continues, President Habibie will become the next suspect because he is also a former minister of the Soeharto cabinet."

February 22

In capital of Ujung Pandang in South Sulawesi the National Police Chief General Roesmanhadi said that General Wiranto's order to shoot on sight must be obeyed by all military personnel. He stated that, "the shoot on the spot order is a must for all police officers in Indonesia, as it will boost the National Police's dignity," Roesmanhadi claimed that "demonstrators and rioters need to be shot because they tend to damage public facilities, burn down police stations and threaten political stability." (JP)

February 23

A military court in Banda Aceh sentenced 4 low ranking Army officers to 2 years in jail regarding an incident in January when they battered and tortured villagers leading to the eventual death of 5 people. General Wiranto blamed the political elite's use of money politics for the current unrest. It is believed by some that the scapegoating of young officers is typical and that Wiranto's comments were made only to diffuse the issue and move the focus away from the military.

ABRI insists on its need to watch over national interests by having its own seats in the legislature. However they agree to being phased out of the Lower House and no longer be present in the bureaucracy forcing about 4000 military officers to decide whether to return to military service or continue civilian jobs.

During a 3-day meeting in Bandung, 163 student leaders from 63 universities agreed to support the upcoming general election. Although they have considered the election to be unfair as it is based on defective political laws, they also believe that to call off the election would lead to more trouble. Some students have decided to boycott the elections due to disappointment and absence of actual reform and lack of political platforms on the part of the political parties.

February 24

Kontras has claimed that the military trial of officers from the Kopassus special forces for allegedly abducting nine pro-democracy activists in the last months of the Soeharto regime was conducted in order to avoid prosecuting Lieutenant General Prabowo, Soeharto's son-in-law who was head of the force during the kidnappings. Kontras commented that, "from the ongoing trial process it is evident that the judge and the prosecution have not carried out their functions as tools of the law,"

February 25

Cancio Lopes de Carvalho and Eurico Guterres, pro-Indonesian East Timorese militia leaders sent a letter warning Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer that the 13,000 to 15,000 pro-integration paramilitary group were ready to kill Australian diplomats and journalists. The letter stated that, "It is better to sacrifice an Australian diplomat or journalist to save the lives of 850,000 East Timorese," it also stated, that "the paramilitary group is willingly looking forward to meeting and facing any Australian hypocrites, deceivers and political mercenaries including the pro-independence Australian peace-keeping force — DAY and NIGHT,"

February 26

Irian Jaya leaders told President Habibie that they wanted to be masters of their own land. Irian Jaya Governor Freddy Numbering expressed demands for wide-ranging autonomy and for strategic bureaucratic positions to be given to Irianese. For 35 years Irianese people felt ignored, with positions for regents and heads of government agencies given to outsiders. Tom Benal chief of the Amungme Tribe asserted that the Irianese wanted to establish their own state, having received no benefit from Indonesia but instead become targets of government exploitation. The leaders also protested the FTP Freeport Indonesia gold and copper mining, which has caused excessive local environmental and cultural destruction with plans to increase its production.

In Ambon 700 people marched from the provincial military headquarters to the Maluku police headquarters, demanding that security personnel stop, "reckless shooting" of civilians which has so far claimed at least 18 lives. The military and police have been accused of shooting "innocent people" and not searching out those that are guilty of violence.

February 28

Traditionally, villagers are slower than city dwellers to take law into their own hands, however recently there has been a sweeping phenomenon of plundering plantations and farms by villagers in the countryside that suggests social breakdown. Everything from cocoa plantations, chicken and shrimp farms to teak forests has been raided in recent months. Local owners are hiring military protection. One priest in central Java has complained that every plantation in his parish has been plundered.

March 1

According to the Berita Buana newspaper, Budi Hardjono, the head of the Indonesian Democracy Party (PDI) was severely beaten up and briefly kidnapped by Megawati supporters during a visit to Lampung on the island of Sumatra. In 1996 Megawati was ousted from the leadership of the PDI in an effort by the government to undermine her popularity, support a state-backed political maneuver which provoked rioting in Jakarta.

A new party, the Indonesian Democracy Struggle Party (PDI Perjuangan), with Megawati as the chairperson has been established and will contest the upcoming election.

General Wiranto launched a special highly trained force of 3,333 men for rapid deployment to deal with the violence unfolding in the country. He commented that the force would arrest rioters and their masterminds as well as reveal the causes of the riots. Many local people believe that it is the military themselves that are provoking the situation.

As violence continues in Aceh 10 people were killed 6 of whom were tortured to death, and in a separate incident 4 others were killed as the police opened fire near a mosque.

The government continues to recruit thousands of people for the People's Security (Karma) or civilian militia in Jakarta.

The Indonesian House of Representatives abolished the 1985 law made by Soeharto that required a referendum to be held to determine whether amendments to the Constitution might be made. The much-criticized law has been a barrier for more than a decade in amending the country's 1945 Constitution.

Suyanto, spokesman for the Indonesian Democratic Party faction, said the law on referendums was a piece of "constitutional engineering" to give the president the ability to abuse his power, as it is difficult to hold such referendum.

March 2

Germany's Human Rights Commissioner Gerd Popepe urged President Habibie to release 5 political prisoners, including elderly former communist prisoners, citing humanitarian reasons, and Budiman Sudjatmiko of the Democratic People's Party (PRD). In 1997 Budiman was sentenced to 13 years in jail for subversion. The PRD was outlawed during Soeharto's regime, however is now an official political party contesting the General Election. The release of Dita Indah Sari is also being discussed. President Habibie has released 109 of the country's 232 political prisoners and detainees.

March 3

Lt. General Agum Gumelar, a senior military officer warned separatists groups on the outer islands of Indonesia particularly Aceh and Irian Jaya that they were an integral part of the country and a push for independence would not be tolerated. He was quoted as saying, "Don't even try it.... separatist movements are a serious threat to the nation and must be cracked down upon." (JP)

March 4

The team of 11 was disbanded as the National Elections Committee (KPU) was established. Out of the 105 political parties wanting to contest the June 7 Election, 48 parties qualified.

In Jakarta 200 students demonstrated calling for the resignation of President Habibie. Violence occurred when police and soldiers clashed with the group. Police and soldiers injured dozens of students, 3 photographers and one reporter, while 32 others were detained and charged for staging a rally without giving prior notification. The Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association (PBHI) and the Alliance of Independent Journalist (AJI) both condemned the brutality of the security forces. PBHI planned to issue a lawsuit against the Jakarta Military Commander and City Police Chief for their excessive actions.

In Jakarta about 2,000 Muslim students demonstrated, demanding a holy war against Christians in Ambon and accusing the military and Christians of ethnic cleansing.

March 5

Diplomats said that it is expected that Madeleine Albright, US secretary of state, will offer a renewal of US military aid to Indonesia if the armed forces halt human rights abuses in East Timor and other parts of the archipelago, diplomats said. The US embassy confirmed that Ms Albright, had requested a rather unusual one-hour interview with General Wiranto, commander of the armed forces, in addition to her meetings with President B.J. Habibie, the Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao and several opposition leaders. Mr. Gusmao asked the US to stop training, selling weapons and ammunition to Indonesia and to push Gen. Wiranto to withdraw military intelligence officers associated with the militia from East Timor.

March 6

People's Democratic Party issued a statement: The PRD will be running for coming election along with 48 other political parties. In fact there are still many obstacles that will face the PRD and other political parties under the new undemocratic electoral laws. Although the number of appointed People's Consultative Assembly members is significantly less than 575 appointees in previous elections, 238 members will still be appointed by the president. Only 462 members will be elected directly by the people. Thirty eight seats will also be given to the armed forces which represents around 9-10 million votes, and is proof that the dual social and political role of the military remains. Although the PRD will sit on Election Commission next Monday, this is still an undemocratic body.

March 7

At a gathering of 200,000 people in Jakarta, Golkar officially declared itself a political party. According to some sources, many people admitted to being paid between RP 10,000 to 50,000 for attending the gathering, while the Executive denied that thousands of civil servants were forced to join the gathering.

In Jakarta thousands of Muslims demonstrated against the military's inability to control the communal violence in Maluku.

March 8

On International Women's Day police arrested more than 200 protesters in separate incidences. At one demonstration outside the local UN office the police rounded up 59 women protesting against violence against women and other human rights abuses. No one was hurt and the protesters were driven off singing protest songs. Police accused them with not having a permit to hold a rally. In another protest the military removed 150 students and other protesters at the back entrance of the Defence Ministry. The crowd was reported as shouting, "Stop

the violence against women ... investigate all the cases of violence against women in Aceh, Ambon and East Timor," the group said in a statement, referring to troubled areas where many rapes are blamed on the military.

March 10

In Banda Aceh, 150 students on work experience from Syiahkuala University, protested against Mobil Oil Indonesia. Besides receiving nothing back from Mobil, the company allegedly supported DOM (military operational zone). The students held up environmental banners and made speeches demanding that Mobil Oil take full responsibility for the environment issues, for the work force and community development. The students were warmly received by hundreds of local people who accused Mobil Oil of cheating them over land compensation, which the company had appropriated.

In East Timor fear of violence over the direct ballot has convinced many non-Timorese to move out of the province. Traditionally transmigrants tend to hold most of the skilled jobs, own most of the shops and hold most of the funds. Some fear that with their exodus the economic infrastructure will collapse. For example the hospital in Dili has no surgeons left, and only half as many doctors, with very little medicine available. Some 2,950 of 3,660 state high school teachers have asked for a transfer. Half the shops have closed and there are fewer and fewer goods as ships are not stopping in the province.

Golkar has named 5 presidential candidates, Habibie, Akbar, Wiranto, Yogyakarta Governor Sultan Hamengkubuwono X and co-ordinating minister for Economy Finance and Industry Ginanjar Kartasasmita.

March 11

The World Food Program (WFP) reported worsening food shortages in Ambon. They stated that food imports had dropped by 75% because ships were reluctant to stop in Ambon and stores

had stopped keeping food as they were frequently being burnt down. WFP commented that there was major concern for the health of children as there hadn't been any milk in over a month as 100% of it is imported from Java.

Two KPU members refused to be sworn in by President Habibie who was legally in charge of the General Election as they claimed that Habibie did not have the authority as he is not legally in power. Bambang Sulistemo from the Indonesian Democratic Alliance Party later succumbed to pressure from his party while Sri Bintang of the Indonesian Unidemocracy Party (PUDI) was more persistent.

March 15

The House of Representatives began its deliberations on the clean governance bill, which if passed could force all state officials to declare their assets as well as allowing the public access to information on state administration.

The KPU set up the PPI, a seven member National Elections Committee. The selection of members was democratic including representatives from PDI P, PAN, PPP, PKU, PNI, Solidarity for All Indonesian Workers Party (SPSI) and a Government Representative. Their main tasks are to establish offices in provinces, regencies and mayoralities, to draw up a list of legislative candidates, to run the elections and to count ballots.

Leftist author Pramoedya Ananta Toer hailed by international critics as Indonesia's leading modern novelist but restricted from talking until the fall of Soeharto, is to travel abroad for the first time in 40 years.

March 16

Time magazine published an investigation into the alleged accumulated wealth of former President Soeharto. The Magazine claimed that Soeharto and his 6 children amassed \$15 billion fortune in his 32-year reign. Time released a press release saying Soeharto's wealth was tallied in a 4-month investigation covering 11 countries. Soeharto plans to sue Time.

British newspapers report that the Labor government is exporting more guns and other military equipment to Indonesia than the Tories. There has been an increase in sales of small arms, licenses for the sale of howitzers, mortars and flame-throwers have been approved even though Indonesia continues its illegal occupation of East Timor.

March 17

In an ongoing flip flop debate the KPU decided to allow its members and members of the PPI to be involved as both party activists and legislators. Some of the KPU government officials were against the decision fearing a conflict of interests by being referees and players, however they were forced to accept the decision as it was made democratically.

March 22

Indonesians from 54 of the archipelago's different ethnic groups, many in native costume, grouped under the Alliance of the Indigenous People, and rallied at the national parliament in Jakarta. They demanded more control of their lands and respect for their birthright and said they had been "marginalized", "colonized" and their lands and natural wealth had been taken by the central government.

March 23

In Aceh 40 political prisoners were released days before Habibie's planned visit to the province. They were forced to pledge allegiance to the state ideology "Pancasila" and the 1945 Constitution. Those released included Hussein Ali A Habsyi who was sentenced to life in 1991 for allegedly masterminding a series of bombings, which according to the government was part of a plot to establish an Islamic state, and Hasbi Abdullah who was jailed 17 years for subversion.

The KPU tries another angle and indirectly bars ministers from campaigning, stating that political parties will not be allowed to recruit government officials including, ministers in campaigning the polls.

UNICEF has issued a warning about the dangers of a mentally deficient generation in Indonesia caused by malnutrition, which is currently, affecting infants and pregnant women. Before the economic crisis 8 million pre-school children were malnourished and 12 million suffering from vitamin A deficiencies. It is likely that this figure has greatly increased in the last 2 years.

In Ujung Pandang in Sulawesi Indonesian troops opened fire to disperse a crowd of around 200 students who were protesting the acquittal of an MP charged with embezzling. The students protested outside of the courthouse after Nurdin Halid, an MP for the ruling Golkar Party, was acquitted on charges of embezzling 12 million dollars from farmers' compulsory deposits at a local cooperative, 12 people were injured.

March 24

The Malaysian government donated medical and food supplies to 400 stranded Madurese refugees in West Kalimantan but denied them entry into Malaysia's, Sarawak province.

The KPU issued the following election regulations for political parties and their supporters during the campaigning period, including; barring campaigners and supporters from debating the 1945 Constitution, attacking individuals, religion, ethnicity, race and other parties, inciting violence, bringing guns, issuing threats of violence, in inciting supporters to commit subversion, campaigning in streets and damaging party banners and flags installed in permitted sites. Political Parties were barred from recruiting government and military officials, and ministers for campaigning during elections. The KPU also simplified the

requirement for registration. People lacking identity cards would for the first time be allowed to show citizenship letters from their neighbourhood chiefs or other forms of identification cards to vote. In the past the issuing of identity cards has been discriminatory.

According to Lusa news agency from Lisbon, Jose Ramos Horta claimed that former President Soeharto, a military commander and the foreign ministry were secretly funding much of the recent violence in the territory. Horta, a Nobel Peace laureate, told a Portuguese parliamentary commission that Soeharto, "who has a lot of money," was primarily responsible for the current "destabilization campaign" carried out by anti-independence militias. He said funding for the paramilitary groups was being channelled through the military commander of the Bali region, Gen. Simbolon, of which East Timor is a part. Gen. Simbolon was "the person directly involved in the manipulation and delivery of money and arms to the militias", Ramos Horta said.

March 26

Over 10,000 Madurese from Sambas regency have fled to Pontianak and surrounding areas to escape the violence with local Malays and Dayaks, which has claimed over 200 lives.

A demonstration of thousands of people asking for a referendum awaited Habibie on his one-day visit to Aceh. The security forces dispersed crowds with tear gas and warning shots, 11 injured and 3 shot.

Indonesia will release 10 ageing political prisoners, including ex-Colonel Abdul Latief, all of whom were sentenced to death more than 30 years ago for alleged involvement in the 1965 coup.

March 29

In West Kalimantan at least 30,000 refugees are sheltering in Pontianak, with 8,000 on the coast. The refugees are ethnic

Madurese who have been fleeing the violence which has been going on in their villages. Madurese comprise about 2% of the total population of 4 million and before the massive evacuation they comprised about 8% of the Sambas population of 800,000.

March 30

Pro-independence Timorese leaders said that if the province becomes independent they plan to seize millions of dollars' worth of properties in East Timor acquired by Soeharto and his family during his 32- year rule.

The properties include part-ownership of a textile factory in the East Timorese capital of Dili, as well as hundreds of hectares of land that was believed to have been acquired illegally by Soeharto's children.

March 31

The National Police and the Armed Forces become separate with a 2-year transition period to sever links. The Police will change from being under the command of the ABRI Commander, to that of the Minister of Defence and Security, both posts are currently held by General Wiranto.

April 2

The KPU extended voter registration to May 4 from the official deadline of April 29.

Golkar supporters claimed to have been harassed for the second time in two days as they attempted to attend a political rally. They accused the PDI-P of the harassment.

In Yogyakarta 500 000 people from 36 political parties joined in a rally aimed at promoting peaceful elections. Before the rally commenced the Sultan of Yoga and the local heads of the participating parties accompanied by Sultanate soldier in traditional dress released a pair of white doves to symbolize peace.

It was reported that more 1,100 child workers are being exploited physically and sexual in fishing structures in certain areas on the East Coast of North Sumatra.

The number of regency seats has been changed to 327 based on a population ratio. East Timor will now be allocated 4 seats, rather than the previous 11, due to its relatively small population of 800,000.

April 6

Pro-Indonesian militiamen shot and beat villagers when they invaded a church complex where 2000 people were taking refuge in Liquisa, East Timor. Religious leaders claim that at least 25 people died and dozens were wounded. Witnesses say that hundreds of Indonesian police and soldiers were present and rather than trying to stop the violence they allegedly participated, military commanders denied this accusation. A Dili-based human rights group, Yayasan Hak, estimated from witness accounts that 52 people were killed, their bodies dumped at sea or in a nearby lake. Another group, Solidamor, released a list of 42 dead. Among them were 23 children.

In a dramatic escalation of violence in East Timor, the jailed resistance leader Xanana Gusmao called on his supporters yesterday to take up arms and fight Indonesian-backed militia groups.

Indonesia on Friday threatened to put East Timor guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao back in jail unless he retracted a call to arms within a week. Xanana Gusmao said that he supported peace in East Timor but that he could not let the East Timorese be victimized, "I am obliged to continue to ask the defenceless people of East Timor to refuse to allow themselves to be slaughtered like animals, as long as I know that the Armed Forces will continue to support the militias." (JP)

A military court charged 11 soldiers from the Army's Special Force (Kopassus) for abducting 9 political activists in the last month of Soeharto's regime. They were sentenced between one year and 22 months.

During the last few days over 55 people have been killed in Maluku in communal conflict, 4 of whom were shot when police opened fire on a group of Muslim youths attacking a Christian neighborhood.

Last Month—A 5 day Jakarta Congress of Indigenous People's was held in Jakarta with more than 200 chiefs and prominent members of tribal communities from Indonesia in attendance. The Chief of the Kubu tribe, a forest people from Jambi in South Sumatra expressed his people's suffering by saying that they have lost 9/10 of their previous ancestral territory, their land was seized by the government to be used for numerous development projects. JP Rahail, Chief of the Ohoi Wut in Southeast Maluku complained that his people were suffering serious problems because of the government's rural development projects and an undermining of the tradition societal system by being coerced into adjusting to "modern" values. Also present at the meeting was L.B. Dinggit Chief of the Dayak Bentian tribe in East Kalimantan, who in 1997 won the Goldman Environment prize in San Francisco for his struggle to preserve the forested areas in his homeland. The Indonesian government did not recognize his achievement but instead accused him of forging a list of signatures and charged with a criminal offence sentencing him to 6 years in prison. He was exonerated in 1998. In Indonesia, there is very little protection for indigenous land, access is almost unrestricted.

April 7

After 34 years, the House of Representatives finally ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All

Forms of Racial Discrimination. One of the main tenets of the ratification is the elimination of all racially discriminatory policies, which have traditionally targeted Indonesian Chinese.

April 8

General Wiranto met with 300 business people from Asia, Europe and the U.S. in Jakarta. He assured them that the military would maintain security and appealed to them not to stop business in Indonesia.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) announced the contribution of US \$36 million to 24 Indonesian organizations for the elections. The biggest contribution was donated to the General Elections Committee, receiving \$30 million for technical help, election materials and infrastructure support. KIPP received \$315 000, UNFREL RP 5 billion, and \$9 million was donated for other monitoring groups.

Sri Suharjo, 71 and Buyung Kenek, 59, allegedly members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) were released from prison after serving 33 years. They were among the 10 political prisoners recently pardoned by Habibie, who more than 30 years ago were sentenced to death or life imprisonment for their alleged participation in the 1965 coup.

April 10

A group of Chinese-Indonesians recently formed a new association (INTI) stressing that they did not want to be marginalized to the business sector only. INTI considers Indonesia to be their priority and are dedicated to working with other Indonesians to build a better society.

Amien Rias of PAN decided to resign as a university professor adhering to the new law on civil servants involvement in political parties. Amien said it would be a loss of income but his wife's income from running a small restaurant and a small

company producing educational toys as well his compensation from public lectures would maintain him.

April 11

Amien Rias has accused Soeharto of deliberately helping to provoke the recent violence and bloodshed in the country as a political tactic to delay or disrupt the national election. He also claimed that Soeharto and Golkar were pumping out huge amounts of money to neutralize political opponents and to bribe voters. Amien continued demanding the resignation of General Wiranto for alleged working with Soeharto.

According to sceptics, General Wiranto is still tied to Soeharto as all the army charities that are under Wiranto's patronage, are co-shareholders of many of the Soeharto family's timber concessions and telecommunication companies.

April 12

Former President Soeharto's youngest son "Tommy" Hutomo Mandala Putra appeared in the South Jakarta District Court. He faces a maximum penalty of 20 years or a RP 30 million fine for alleged involvement in a land scandal that has cost Indonesia US \$10.9 million.

After a 7-day hunger strike Budiman Sudjatmiko from the Democratic People's Party (PRD) was admitted to the hospital suffering complications. Other jailed members of the PRD also joined the hunger strike, an action that was aimed to ensure that the elections would be free and fair, and that the government would soon release the PRD activists who are still in jail.

The Institute of Riau Cultural Studies, a Sumatran non-government organization went to court to demand US\$23 billion in compensation for the province after 46 years of oil exploitation. They threatened to sue Habibie if he did not

follow through on his promise to return 10% of oil revenue that was earned from the province. The institute also issued a lawsuit against the Minister of Home Affairs, state oil company Pertamina, American Oil Company Caltex and the governor of Riau.

April 14

Rallies were held all over Java protesting the June 7 election. In Jakarta 9 students were injured and 62 arrested when students grouped under the Indonesian University Big Family (KBUI) clashed with police.

In Bandung, in a rally held by United Society Co-ordination Forum, 4 students were badly injured when the police blocked 200 students from entering a RRI State Radio Station.

In Buton Island in Sulawesi, 39,000 Maluku refugees that fled the recent violence are living in squalid conditions and have not received any form of assistance from the central government.

In Jakarta a group of 19 Acehnese leaders warned Habibie to keep his promise to punish human rights violations in Aceh. In Lhokseumawe, a group of students staged a protest, after unidentified military officers tore down their banners demanding a referendum, which occurred despite Habibie's promise to them that their activities would not be disturbed.

A group of 400 workers from PT Tae Yung Indonesian, a garment factory in Tangerang went to the Minister of Manpower demanding that the government convince the management to accept the presence of an independent labor union in the factory. They wanted the company and the government to respect the ILO Convention provision No. 87 on freedom of association.

The House of Representatives passed a bill abolishing the 1963 subversion law, and replaced it with six new articles of the criminal code, the Bill on the State's Safety and Security. The

subversion law carried a maximum penalty of death and was widely used under the Soeharto government to crush dissent and unrest. The expanded criminal code now provides up to 20 years in jail for violations of the 6 new articles. Under the subversion law, suspects could be detained for a year while the criminal code restricts the period for questioning to 60 days.

The new articles include, crimes endangering the state ideology, a ban on the spread of Marxism/Leninism, and act of sabotage against either state or military installations or the distribution of basic essentials. The coordinator of Independent Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (Kontras) has said that the bill on the state's safety and security is even more of a threat to the public than the 1963 subversion law. The bill was said to have been inspired by Malaysia's much criticized Internal Security Act. According to Kontras the government's proposal to include "crimes against the state" in the Criminal Code is extremely counterproductive to reform development. The law would also be the basis for the establishment of the unarmed militia.

April 15

A bomb exploded at the Jakarta Hayam Wuruk Plaza, fortunately no one was injured. However a few minutes later there was an armed robbery attempt at a nearby bank where a security guard was killed and another person was seriously injured. 21 people were arrested for the bomb blast and 3 of those also for the armed robbery.

Soeharto was quoted by Japan's Yomiuri Timber newspaper that he doubted that the elections would be fair. He said the increase in the number of political parties from three during his rule to 48 now would cause problems. The Deputy Chairperson of the election committee, Adnan Buyung Nasution refuted Soeharto's comments by saying that they show that he does not

believe in democracy. "His political concept is based on authoritarianism."

April 16

Indonesia was given until mid-July to implement ASEAN's "zero-burning policy" requiring the prevention of re-igniting the forest fires. In 1997-1998 there was an environmental and health disaster when fires blazed and destroyed much of the forest. The fires were largely caused by logging and plantation practices and the subsequent environmental changes and degradation.

April 19

At 3:20 PM in Jakarta a bomb exploded at the largest mosque in the region, Istiqlal Grand Mosque. There were no fatalities, but 4 people were injured.

At Bank Indonesia about 200 former employees of private banks closed by the government rallied demanding severance pay 10 times what they were receiving. There are approximately 20 million people unemployed in Indonesia.

April 20

The People's Democratic Party has nominated three missing people as parliamentary candidates for the June General Election. The three missing students include, Petrus Bima Anugerah, Herman Hendrawan and Suyat who were reported to have been kidnapped by the military under Soeharto's rule.

April 21

In Irian Jaya a ban was placed on the dissemination of information from a recent meeting held between community

leaders and President Habibie. During the National Dialogue a desire to separate from the rest of Indonesia was expressed.

April 22

Megawati justified her refusal to take part in presidential debates by saying that Indonesia is run on a political system where debates do not determine the favorability of a presidential candidate.

A group of 1,000 or more of Jakarta's urban poor, grouped under the Urban Poor Coalition staged a mass demonstration in Jakarta accusing the government and the World Bank of abusing social safety net funds. The crowd wore colourful hats and held posters made of recycled trash while they sang, danced and shouted slogans, handing out leaflets challenging the World Bank to reveal its fund disbursement criteria, and accusing officials of taking money. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have set aside millions of dollars of a 34 billion dollar bailout for Indonesia for the growing number of poor, who are hardest hit by the current economic crisis.

April 23

The DPR approved a new law, in which resource rich provinces will get revenue from government reserves, 15% of the government's reserve from oil, 30% of gas receipts, 80% from forestry and fisheries and an undetermined percentage from mineral resources. The law will not be implemented for another 2 years.

Kontras claimed that although the police have officially stated 18 deaths in West Java it is actually 50. Over the past 4 months hired assassins have been killing alleged practitioners of black magic, those who were "arrogant" and individuals who criticized Soeharto.

April 24

Human rights activist R. Herlambang of the Legal Aid Foundation reported that 11 protesting farmers were injured in East Java when police opened fire on the crowd. The attack was carried out by 3 platoons of local police and 200 hoodlums. Farmers were protesting government owned plantations' occupation of 477 hectares of their land without proper compensation, an issue that under Soeharto's rule perpetually plagued poor landowners all throughout Indonesia.

April 29

In Bali 175 kiosks on famed Kuta Beach were burned to the ground. Over the past weeks the police and community leaders had been trying to impose restrictions and taxes on the 2 500 makeshift kiosks.

May 1

To celebrate Labor Day over 400 workers and students held a protest at the University of Indonesia, demanding the release of jailed Labor defender Dita Sari, a member of PDR, and other political prisoners. During Soeharto's regime Labor Day was not allowed to be celebrated as part of the New Orders anti-Communist policy.

May 2

In Dongos Village in Central Java, Muslim political parties, PPP and PKB clashed during campaigning leaving 4 people dead with 12 injured.

A public meeting on educational reform was held by the Institute for Education and Social Economic Research on National Education Day in Jakarta. PDI-P, Golkar, PKB, PPP, and PAN agreed that sweeping educational reforms were needed in the

Indonesian system. Among the demands were to have a more decentralized and more democratic atmosphere in education, improvement in quality and welfare of teachers and revision of the national curriculum. The educational system in Indonesia has often been criticized for being too authoritarian.

May 3

Perhaps the worst massacre in Aceh to date occurred when soldiers with automatic weapons opened fire on several thousand Acehnese who were protesting abusive treatment by the army. The shooting went on for 30 minutes, according to eyewitnesses, killing 41 villagers and wounding more than 100. Medical workers say at least 15 people were shot in the back.

May 4

Voter registration was extended due to technical difficulties and security disturbances, which has limited people's opportunities to register.

The law barring civil servants from joining political parties has changed again as KPU decided to exempt government Ministers Akbar Tandjung, chairman of Golkar and Hamzah Haz the PPP chairman from the ruling thus allowing them to keep their government job and join their respective political parties.

May 5

The National Development Planning Board reported that 13 Indonesian provinces suffer from food shortages with 5 of those being categorized as having very poor food security.

Indonesia, Portugal and the UN signed an agreement to hold a consultation on the issue of integration or separation of East Timor with Indonesia. The UN sponsored ballot that was

originally scheduled for August 8 is an unprecedented opportunity to allow people to determine their own future. The people of East Timor will be asked to choose between two questions in the territory's direct ballot, as follows; Do you accept the proposal that East Timor have special autonomy within the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia? or Do you reject the special autonomy proposal for East Timor, the consequence being that East Timor will separate from Indonesia? Each question will be printed in Indonesian, Tetun (the main language of East Timor) and Portuguese. Ballots will also be marked with symbols clearly indicating the choice of one or the other option. Those eligible to vote must be at least 17 years old and born in the territory. If born outside the territory they must have at least one parent from East Timor. Spouses of those meeting the above requirements will also be eligible. A rejection will automatically return control over the territory to Portugal, to continue the decolonization process aborted by the Indonesian invasion more than 23 years ago.

In Irian Jaya 30 separatist rebels attacked a transmigration settlement killing 4 residents and taking 11 hostages inside Papua New Guinea. The hostages were eventually released on May 31.

The Urban Poor Consortium stated their intention to coordinate Jakarta's poverty stricken, including becak (pedicab) drivers to back PDI-P in order to win at least one seat in the City Council. In return PDI-P would give a written guarantee to allow becaks to operate in the city again.

The Governor and the City Military Commander of Jakarta said that they were not able to ensure the security of Jakarta during the campaigning due to the limitation of security personnel and expected supporters' involvement in the campaigning.

May 7

Women activists and scholars are concerned with lack of awareness towards women in politics. They urged women to vote for parties which had platforms on women's issues, although very few political parties actually address women's issues. It is estimated that 52% of the voters are women and yet few women issues are focused on politics. They also demanded that 30% of DPR seats be allocated to women, as there has been very limited representation in the past. In November 1997 only 108 out of 1000 seats were held by women.

May 9

Golkar party supporters faced difficulties in recent campaign activities as they were attacked allegedly by PDI and PKB members. In Jember eastern Java 50 Golkar members were forced to remove their uniforms and in one location Chairman Akbar Tandjung had to be emergency rescued.

In Jakarta a box with 100 ballots in it was stolen from the back of a truck.

May 11

The 48 political parties agreed to stop pre-campaign activities as at least ten people have been killed and 50 seriously injured in recent clashes among political party supporters.

The political parties, PUDI, PBB, PAN, PKB and PKP stated that the 1945 Constitution left too much leeway for the abuse of power and must be amended. They agreed that in order to foster reformation and to have a true democracy it is necessary to safeguard, so that the same manipulation of the constitution that happened in the past cannot legally occur again. Under Soeharto it was considered an act of subversion to discuss amending the document.

The Dili based Newspaper Suara Timor Timur was forced to stop publication again when the militia threatened to attack its premises. On April 17 the office was attacked and severely damaged by the militia who destroyed all the newspaper's computers and threatened to kill several of its journalists.

May 13

All over Indonesia thousands of students gathered to stage peaceful protest in commemoration of the one-year anniversary of the Trisakti tragedy. An incident, that left four students dead from fatal gunshot wounds and which eventually led to the riots that forced Soeharto to step down. The students requested the DPR to fly the national flag at half-mast in memory of the victims to the reformation movement and the House complied.

In Ambon representatives of the Muslim and Christian communities signed a peace accord with 10,000 people in attendance.

In East Timor 600 hundred Catholic nuns and priests walked in two lines through the city in a show of peace, protesting the recent violence.

May 14

President Habibie was named as the Golkar presidential candidate.

Threats and attacks by pro-Jakarta militias are preventing aid agencies from sending tons of urgently needed rice and other supplies to thousands of villagers outside the East Timor capital.

May 18

Amien Rais, Megawati and Gus Dur signed a joint agreement pledging the intention to facilitate a free and fair

election and to beat the status quo forces. One of the many agreements signed on the part all parities, before the MPR session to elect a new president.

May 19

The official campaigning period began with a carnival like atmosphere, with food stalls, trucks decorated like parade floats and bands. Campaigning in Indonesia is referred to as, çfestivals of democracyé. Many people, particularly the ethnic Chinese and citizens from other countries have been leaving the country in fear that the campaign would be violent.

Out of the 130 million Indonesians eligible to vote electoral officials have said that 85% have registered but in some areas that have been recently affected by violent clashes, voters will be able to register up to and on election day.

May 21

As President Habibie celebrated one year in power, hundreds of students lay down on the street near his residence to block security personnel in a rally demanding that Soeharto appear in court and condemning Habibie's nomination for presidential candidate.

Soeharto condemned the Time Magazine for its report that he and his family had amassed \$15 billion during his 32-year reign. The magazine claimed that his fortune was tallied over 4 months. Soeharto allegedly owns 8.8 million acres of real estate, as well as a significant equity in at least 564 companies in Indonesia.

PPP, PK and PAN endorsed a strong coalition agreeing not to nominate President Habibie as the next president They also welcomed other pro-reform parties to join them and insisted that the presidential and vice presidential elections be held 3 months after the general election.

Mochtar Masoed of Gadjra Mada University commented on the voter population referring to a recent study, saying that, people outside of Java and rural Java are unable to differentiate Golkar from the military, and most of them don't know about the new political parties, even major ones. He said "remember, only Golkar has an infrastructure which can reach even the most remote areas".

In Surabaya thousands of Indonesian students took to the streets, marking the one-year anniversary of Soeharto's fall. The students said the reforms, which they fought for had not taken place despite the passage of a year and vowed to continue with their fight. "The bureaucrats have killed the students' demand for reforms," stated one student activist.

May 24

The United Development Party, (PPP) held a rally with about 1,500 hundred people in attendance. Hamzah Haz leader of the PPP who until a few days ago a Minister in Habibie's government is now trying to distance the party from Golkar, claiming that PPP had been victimized under Golkar. PPP was one of the three former parties allowed to contest the vote under the Soeharto regime.

Several people were injured in Sumatra, when PDI-P members attacked a local Golkar headquarters in Medan, fighting between party supporters followed injuring 3 people.

May 25

UNAMET plans to have about 5,000 staff for the consultation in East Timor. The staff will include 241 international staff, 20 civilian police officers, 420 UN volunteers and 4,000 local staff. Ian Martin, a British human rights activist was named as the head of the UN Mission.

May 26

Although Golkar is being heavily criticized for using money politics, the chief of the Jakarta chapter openly admitted the party's practices. "Money politics is something normal for a political party. We give staple foods, we give money to the poor people. But I don't force these people to choose Golkar." (JP)

May 27

In East Kalimantan along the Mahakam River, hundreds of Dayak farmers have been occupying the base camp of an oil-palm plantation company since November. Recently two of the protesters have been detained and allegedly beaten by local police and several have gone missing. The company arrived in 1996 as part of a plantation expansion project supported by the International Monetary Fund. Huge fires were lit to clear the land robbing the traditional people of their land and income, causing a huge environmental disaster.

May 28

KIPP reminded political parties that the use of arms by civilian security guards goes against a 1951 law on civilian society, asking that political party security guards be disarmed.

May 29

The leader of the CNRT, pro-independence group in Dili, left police headquarters after hiding there for 40 days following threats and violence carried out by pro-integration militia.

May 30

In Aceh 30 heavily armed rebels from the Free Aceh Movement allegedly killed 9 security personnel in an ambush.

Eight Muslim parties announced an agreement to share extra votes amongst them. The parties involved were PK, PPP, PBB, PKU, PNU, PUI, PPIM, and PS11-1905.

While Soeharto's lawyers filed a lawsuit against Time Magazine, two senior cabinet members travelled to Switzerland and Austria to investigate the accusations that the family had amassed a \$15 billion fortune. They will investigate an alleged \$9 billion that was transferred from a Swiss bank to an Austrian bank a few days after Soeharto stepped down. They will only look into assets held in Soeharto's name and does not include his 6 children's assets. Many believe the investigation is only a farce.

South East Asia Council for Food Security and Fair Trade, a Bangkok based group accused the government of abusing international food aid, to gain political support for some political parties, rather than using it for humanitarian purpose.

May 31

Wardah Hafidz of the Urban Poor Consortium along with Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association approached the Election Supervisory Committee accusing Golkar and PDR of abusing funds provided by the World Bank social safety net program. They claimed that the two parties used US\$ 80 million set aside to help the poor to boost their campaigns and distributing the funds under the political parties' name.

In East Timor, Indonesia is replacing some army battalions with police. The government has also agreed to the UN plan to employ unarmed foreign military personnel to monitor the actions of Indonesian soldiers.

Dayak landowners of South Kalimantan were awarded RP150 million in a lawsuit against Salim Group. The widely diversified company was found guilty of devastating traditional Dayak farming areas by burning in order to convert the land into oil palm plantations in 1997.

June 1

The Indonesian military announced a major reform move, forcing thousand of officers holding positions in the civil service

and legislatures either to leave the armed forces or leave their civilian posts.

June 2

Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) with 82 observers from 18 countries arrived in Jakarta. It was collaborated with KIPP and AJI to deploy their members to observe the process of June election in 20 provinces including Aceh, Ambon, East Timor and West Timor.

June 3

In East Timor UNAMET officially opened its office in Dili, raising the UN flag.

In Ujung Pandang, at least 11 were injured and 16 homes of Golkar supporters were destroyed during a clash involving supporters of the National Mandate Party (PAN), Golkar, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) and students of the Indonesian Muslim University (UMI).

June 4

ANREL representatives led by Gen.Saiyud Kerdphol met General Wiranto to assure the overall situation for free and fair election. Gen.Wiranto emphasized the dual role of military as part of Indonesia tradition and the people accept the role of military.

In Jakarta the streets were a sea of red in the biggest political rally yet, while over a million Megawati supporters jammed the roundabout surrounding the city's freedom monument.

About 200 anti-riot troops fired shots at a crowd ripping up flags of Indonesia's ruling Golkar party in Jakarta. Five people were injured, when the crowd of less than 100 people started throwing rocks at the military who then fired towards the crowd. No casualties were reported.

The KPU put a \$14 million spending limit on political parties for campaigning and all parties were to be audited before the election. However the KPU missed the deadline to audit all parties. For the parties that were audited the KPU found that almost all-leading ones, including Golkar, PAN, PKB and PDI-P had broken the rules, exceeding the amount of donations they were allowed. The Election Law states that parties are to receive annual maximum contributions totalling RP 15 million from individuals and RP 150 million from a corporate organization.

June 7

POLLING DAY

June 8

The election caused a good reaction by the Indonesian financial markets, as the Jakarta stock exchange peaked to 14%, reaching its highest level in 2 years. The rupiah also increased in strength by 4% to the US dollar and the IMF announced that it was releasing an additional \$450 million from its \$43 billion bailout package.

June 9

Five ANFREL delegates, General Saiyud Kerdphol, Mr. Sushil Pyakurel, Prof. Nobuhiko Suto, Mr. Thun Saray and Ms. Evelyn Serrano, accompanied by representative of Thai embassy met President Habibie at the Presidential Palace. Pres. Habibie said that Mr. Xanana would be released after the people of East Timor had voted for their independence. For the post election, he considered important the socialization of the values of democracy where the lessons learned of the past would be experienced by everyone.

June 10

ANFREL released a statement on the June 7 election saying that the polling process was conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner, except for some conflict areas like Aceh and East Timor. The high turn out in most areas manifested enthusiasm for participation. There was no major incident or major irregularities.

Rudini said that he was unable to predict when a final result would be available from the counting of the ballots. He blamed the slowness on the meticulous work by the people processing the ballots in the thousands of villages. Delays were expected as the election was prepared for in 3 months compared to the 3 years of preparation in previous elections.

According to the credit rating firm Standard and Poors, Indonesia is experiencing the world's worst banking crisis since the 1970s and may need to spend \$87 billion to revive the sector. Rejection of the poll results is coming in from all over the country. In Southeast and Central Sulawesi the dissatisfied parties have demanded a repeat of the polls.

The National Police chief General Roesmandhad announced in a news conference in Jakarta that there were 5,618 cases of violations of election rules during the polls compared to 9,087 in 1997. 2,749 cases of vandalism of party's property with 11,357 in 1997 and 13 incidents of vandalism of public property compared to 727 in 1997.

KIPP who had monitors in approximately 79,000 polling places or 25% of the total 320,000 polling stations in Indonesia recorded 19,504 violations during the balloting, excluding East Timor and Aceh the found most violations in the form of the use of "fake" ink, late ballot counting at booths and multiple voting.

June 11

The UN launched a campaign in East Timor in order to inform the population of their options for the future of the territory regarding the August ballot. UNAMET will published a page of information in English, Portuguese and Tetum (native language) in the East Timor's main daily, "The Voice of East Timor" every day until the ballot day.

In Manado, Sulawesi at least 600 people demonstrated outside of the governor's office to protest alleged vote rigging by Golkar.

June 13

KIPP said that demands to repeat the polls have been voiced in 46 regencies in 12 provinces and that they expected more demands to be filed.

June 14

President Habibie approved Attorney General Andi M. Ghalib's request to step down from his Cabinet position while investigations into his alleged taking of bribes from business people continue. Ghalib is expected to return to service with TNI.

Many reports of irregularities and violations hold back the very slow vote tallying by the KPU. Some of the problem areas include North Sumatra, West Nusa Tenggara, East Timor, Central Sulawesi and South Sulawesi.

June 15

At the national leadership meeting of the PPP they recommended that the president must be Muslim, stating that the Indonesian president is the best Muslim son. Muslim groups have also stated concerns over a possible deflection of their aspirations if PDI-P wins in the polls as the party has many non-Muslims legislative candidates. The NU and the Association

of Islamic Students emphasized that whichever party was successful in the polls it should heed Muslim aspirations.

In Central Java thousands of Kedungpring villagers near Boyolali who lost land to a Soeharto, World Bank mega-project in the 1980's voted at the polls. In 1997 they boycotted the election but said that they now had renewed faith in a change of government. They have been living in makeshift shelters for the past 11 years. Nearly 10,000 farmers and residents were forcibly evicted from their land receiving Rp250 or one quarter of one US cent for each square meter of land in compensation. One village commented that, "we were intimidated, kidnapped and accused of being communists."

The Indonesian government's Task Force for the Implementation of the Consultation in East Timor, in collaboration with the Indonesian Ministry of Information, has set up a Media Centre to handle all information relating to the Consultation. The primary purpose of the Centre will be for co-ordination and consultation of all media representatives in East Timor.

June 16

The military has said that it will support an elected president whether male or female as long as they are in line with the military's interest which include the unified nation, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Amnesty International annual report claimed that the government had failed to charge anyone in the brutal rapes of at least 66, mostly ethnic Chinese women during the 1998 riots. Nor had they found the people responsible for the killing of the four students at Trisakti in May 1998. Amnesty also commented that although Habibie had freed 179 political prisoners, another 172 remained in jail and at least 358 more were arrested in 1998.

According to the Sydney Herald, it received documents signed by East Timor Governor Abilio Soares that showed that

local authorities in East Timor planned to use \$A7 million in poverty alleviation funds to promote pro-autonomy actions.

June 17

Senior Australian police officer, Alan James Mills has been appointed civilian police commissioner of UNAMET in East Timor. The first group of 39 UN police is planned to arrive on June 19. The UN has also established a staging post and supply centre in Darwin.

Jose Ramos Horta reiterated that he wanted to come to East Timor for the direct ballot but was prepared to abstain as long as Xanana was released from house arrest.

In a preliminary report UNFREL stated that the elections were successful despite alleged vote rigging and intimidation. UNFREL was represented by approximately 105,000 observers at 50 000 polling stations in 2,200 subdistricts in 22 provinces. They announced that 97% of voters cast their votes in free conditions, 97% of the ballot boxes were secured and 86% of tallies were correct. They also reported that they witnessed about 10% of instances of alleged intimidation, mostly by security officials and 14% of procedural violations.

June 18

Two groups including Xanana Gusmao's CNRT and prointegration's Forum for Peace, Democracy and Justice grouped under the KPS Commission for Peace and Stability signed an agreement to stop enmity or violence. According to the May Agreement it is the police who are responsible for security for the August ballot. General Wiranto commented on the KPS agreement saying that it was only a moral guarantee. Also the UN reported that its officers saw soldiers directing pro-Jakarta militiamen burning houses and beating an old man. Wiranto denied this statement.

During a visit to Liquica, Ian Martin and Steve Polden, an Australian Federal police officer, came across an illegal militia training session and discovered a cache of home-made weapons.

June 19

In a troubling series of delays Hasbalah M Saad, Deputy Chairperson of the National Elections Committee reported that the June 21 deadline for announcement of final results would have to be delayed as the provinces had not met their June 17 deadline.

During a rally held by parents and relatives of kidnapped activists and students who were killed during demonstrations, the emotional group demanded that the Military Police be disbanded if they could not seriously investigate the cases. The protest was held in front of the Military Police Headquarters, which was commemorating its 53rd anniversary.

The KPU agreed to begin the national ballot count before final poll results had come from the provinces. They did not want complaints to halt the entire process. Buyung Nasution claimed that June 21 was the first day of the national vote count, not the official deadline for announcement of the final results. The endorsement and announcement of the official national vote count was temporarily scheduled for July 8.

There is disagreement over whether voting for the presidential elections in the MPR should be a secret ballot or if it should be open. Chairperson of Golkar, Akbar Tandung said that a secret ballot would be the "most appropriate". Amien Rais of PAN however stated that a secret ballot would be the most democratic method for a presidential election, but he also expressed fears of assembly member's being bribed. Secretary General of PKB also commented that a secret ballot "contains a weakness in the possibility of money politics involved and that an open ballot clearly shows that a legislator represents their constituency rather than themselves."

June 21

In a protest outside of Tangerang's Women Penitentiary by the National Front of the Indonesian Labor Struggle rallyists were demanding the release of jailed labor activist Dita Indah Sari when a group of young people arrived and disrupted the peaceful process. Several busloads of youth identifying themselves as the Tangerang Youth Forum arrived yelling Allah Akbar (Allah is great), accusing the demonstrators of being communist, anti-constitution and anti-Muslim. The youth group then proceeded to beat and chase the protesters mostly women, toward police, who loaded them onto trucks charging the demonstrators with protesting without a permit and attempting to see a prisoner on a Sunday.

The National Elections Committee (PPI) stated that they will investigate the situation surrounding the 2.7 million invalid ballots that have been tallied to date, whether the ballots were found before or after the election.

In the village of Waab, Maluku up to eight people may have been killed and dozens others injured when hundreds of people in at least 14 traditional long motorized canoes attacked the village.

June 22

About 100 student protesters of the Student and People's Committee for Democracy were arrested by police in Jakarta. The students were calling for new elections to be held under true democratic terms rather than the recent one carried out by followers of the of the New Order. They also charged that the military's dual role had been "the cause for violations in human rights as well as democracy." (AFP)

June 23

The General Election Commission agreed to begin the national ballot count before final poll results came in from all of

the 27 provinces. Article II of the 1999 General Election Law stipulates that official reports and complaints should not halt the entire election process.

The Rupiah was at 6,800 to the US dollar, its highest level since February 1998.

UNAMET announced the delay of the ballot in East Timor from August 8 until August 21. The registration of about 400 000 eligible voters has also been postponed due to security concerns.

June 24

Two government representatives from the KPU were removed from the commission's plenary session, when they claimed that parties that did not gain 2% of the vote would not be eligible to contest the next general election and therefore should no longer be allowed to sit in the commission. There is concern that the smaller parties will create disturbances if they continue to sit in the commission. However according to the law on elections all KPU members including those from the smaller parties are entitled to serve full term on the commission until 2003/4.

June 25

General Wiranto warned that authorities would crack down on any political parties mobilizing the masses or conducting shows of force since the campaign period is long over. Some believe that his comments were aimed at the PRD that initiated many rallies after the election protesting against election fraud conducted by Golkar.

Students from several universities grouped under the OREBS staged a street mock trial in which Soeharto was tried by a judge and prosecutor during a rally at the Hotel Indonesia traffic circle.

Disputing factions in East Timor plan to begin peace talks on the weekend. The talks, called Dare II, are the second set after a similar meeting was held in West Dili last September. Both pro-integration and pro-independence camps will attend. Dare II is scheduled to take place for three days in Jakarta. The event is being sponsored by Dili Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo and Baucau Bishop Basilio de Nascimento. In the talks last September, the warring camps agreed to recognize their differences and refrain from violence. However, despite efforts for peace talks incidents of violence have been increasing.

June 27

Gus Dur of PKB, Amien Rais of PAN, Nur Mahmudi Ismail of PK and Hamzah Haz of PPP agreed that Indonesia may not be ready to accept a women president. They stated that their organizations respected an Islamic ruling that women cannot become heads of state. Amien Rais assessed that Indonesian support is being divided into two, one for Megawati and one for Habibie, and has been quoted as saying "there's this image that if Megawati is elected people will rebel, and if Habibie is elected, there will also be rebellion."

Ramos Horta met with Xanana Gusmao after 23 years of self-exile. He arrived in Jakarta, after being granted permission from the Indonesian government to attend the DARE II peace talks between pro-independence and prointegration factions.

June 29

In Maliana, East Timor 100 militiamen attacked an unarmed UN office, slightly injuring 12 people. The attack lasted about 2 hours with the mob belting the office with stones. Diplomatic sources have said that a newly created pro-Jakarta militia group known as "Dodarus" was responsible for the attack. Indonesia said an attack on United Nations offices in East Timor on Tuesday

was the result of a brawl between supporters and opponents of Jakarta's rule and denied any deliberate attack on the UN.

Hundreds of activists and professionals are calling the recent condemnation of a woman as president by Muslim groups a violation of human rights and unconstitutional. The Forum for Equality for Humanity condemned the stated bar to women in positions of political leadership. "We condemn such harassment and insults and urge the political elite and those in power to stop these political tricks and debates which focus on women to gain power." Antara

The KPU has decided to cancel the elections in Pidie and North Aceh due to security concerns and escalating tension and the possible risks if the elections were to proceed.

(The sources of the above chronology come from Jakarta Post, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Solo Post, Agence France Presse, Associated Press, Reuters, Antara, Lusa News Agency, Asia Week, Reports of Amnesty International, New York Times, Far Eastern Economic Review, CNN, Kompas, The Nation and The Australian.)

