

STANDARD
bangkok
magazine
1 MARCH 14, 1971

Newsstand price



3.50
bath

FREE to Bangkok
World subscribers



«Indonesia explored»

INDONESIA:

putting the pieces together again

INTRODUCTION:

AFTER the fall of Sukarno in 1965, Indonesia disappeared from the limelight in Southeast Asia.

While Sukarno strutted and fretted through his brief moment on the stage of life he held the attention of the world.

The great Pan-Asian Bandung Conference in 1955, the dispute with the Dutch in 1962 over West New Guinea, the "Confrontation" with Malaysia in 1963, Indonesia withdrawal from the U.N. in 1965 and Sukarno's angry announcement that he was going to launch a rival international organization called NEFO (New Emerging Forces) - one headline followed another until the last great headline on Oct. 1, 1965: "Communists Attempt Coup d'Etat in Indonesia."

Sukarno's brief moment was over. Indonesia returned to page two in the world's newspapers.

Under President Suharto the country has turned its attention inward, to its own economic and social problems. But no country as big and potentially important as Indonesia can escape the attention of the world for long.

Today Indonesia is well on the road to putting the pieces of her shattered society and economy back together again and the '70's will undoubtedly see Indonesia's return to the limelight.

In order to find out what is happening in Indonesia today, the "Bangkok

World" sent the writer-photographer team of A.A. Maytree and John Dornbierer on a two-week factfinding trip through Java, Sumatra and Bali.

During their visit they talked with everyone they met - soldiers, businessmen, students, government officials, artists, journalists, and the "man in the street" - about the state of the country today.

The results of their trip to Java are printed here. Next week we will present Part II: Sumatra and Bali.

"It was a fascinating trip," writes A.A. Maytree, "but much too short. It would have been impossible without the help of Garuda, Indonesia's national airline, which runs a fleet of DC-8 and DC-9 jets between all the major cities in Indonesia."

"(My compliments to the chef. The 'Supremes de Volaille au Parmesan' was superb!) Of course, even if we spent two years there instead of two weeks we couldn't do justice to a country as vast and beautiful as Indonesia. It's as big as the U.S. but unlike the States it's not "homogenized" yet. Each island is different - their language, their customs, their culture."

"Generalizations are dangerous about any country, but in Indonesia they're murder! The only real answer is to see it with your own eyes. But until you do, we hope this report will give you an idea of what Indonesia is like today."

DJAKARTA

A little big city grows up

THIS city is a site for international "intercourse," declares strong willed Governor Ali Sadikin, mayor of Djakarta, "so it has to meet the demands of an international way of life."

Gov. Sadikin is a man who knows what he wants. As mayor of Djakarta since 1966 he has pushed through all sorts of changes - popular and unpopular -- in the capital.

The demands of an "international way of life" include nightclubs, discotheques with Western rock music, first class movie theaters, horseracing -- a Pandora's box of evil according to his critics.

According to a recent column in the "Djakarta Times," a delegation of the Women's Association of Indonesia appealed to police to save nightclub hostesses from becoming

prostitutes.

Gov. Sadikin countered, with a bit of pique, that he, not the police chief, was responsible for the virtue of the hostesses and any complaints should be addressed to him.

The daily newspaper "Abadi" sided with the enraged ladies against the idea of hostesses and nightclubs. It accused General Sadikin and the government of introducing "the Sutan culture" to Djakarta. Perhaps, but the tourist in Djakarta still has a devil of a time trying to find a little sin.

There is a limit to what a strongly religious, conservative Moslem country like Indonesia can be expected to offer foreign tourists bent on eternal damnation.

Not even Gov. Sadikin wants Djakarta to become another Manila.

has some of the rawest entertainment in Southeast Asia. You don't have to increase the number of vices to improve the situation in Djakarta today. A good city map is hard to find. I used a magnifying glass to read the street names on the map issued out by the Djakarta City Development board.

Tourists flying into Djakarta from Singapore are immediately aware of the difference in price and quantity between the services provided tourists by the two cities.

The downtown Djakarta office of the government-run tourist information can offer you a fine view of Paris, but is out of Djakarta.

Compared to Bangkok, Djakarta has a long way to go.

The best hotel in town is the Hotel Indonesia. Fifteen stories and 435 rooms, it can't compare in beauty with the Dusit Thani or the Siam-Continental here in Bangkok.

It is the first international class hotel in Indonesia. Several other excellent hotels have appeared; more plans for more.

Not far from the Presidential Palace is one of the new discotheques called the "Minidisco," open from 10 a.m. on weekdays and four hours on weekends.

Admission is a 1000 rupiah (\$2.50) a beer goes for 400 rupiah. It plays Western hard rock music and go-go girls.

Djakarta's massage parlors are another thing. One offers three classes of service: a) "Executive" (2500 rupiah) which includes sauna, massage and a steak dinner afterwards, b) "Ambassador" (3000 rupiah) which includes the "executive" plus a massage and c) "Complete" (3500 rupiah) which gives you a pedicure and manicure besides.

Djakarta boasts the biggest drive-in theater in Southeast Asia and has more than 70 movie theaters, but none are of international standard.

First-run foreign films aren't too plentiful yet. The day we arrived, the movies advertised were "Love Factory," "Dragon Wall," "Pussy-cat Kill Kill," "What's Good for The Goose," and "Glegg."

TV fare, for those unadventurous tourists who travel around the world to spend their evenings watching TV in their hotel rooms, is about the same as Bangkok: "Highway Patrol," "Flipper," "Bonanza," and "The Woody Woodpecker Show."

Djakarta's equivalent to Bangkok's Central Department Store is the 15 story Sarinah Department Store. It offers everything from color T.V.'s to pre-shot, stuffed monkeys (only 36,000 rupiah in the Gun Dept. upstairs) for the hunter who's too lazy to shoot one himself.

Last May Djakarta opened its first bowling center and the magnificent, beautifully designed Djakarta Theater on Djalan Thamrin, pride of metropolitan Djakarta, offers a wide and exciting selection of photo exhibits, Indonesian and foreign plays, and Indonesian national dances.

Djakarta could learn a lot about the tourist trade from Singapore but her own cultural heritage of drama, dance, music and art is perhaps the richest and most exciting in Southeast Asia.

Djakarta's "Wayang Orang" dramas, held every evening from 8 p.m. to midnight are immensely enjoyable. Live actors perform stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharat epics to the music of the Javanese "gamelan" orchestra.

The costumes are magnificent and the predominantly Javanese audience, many of whom know the tales by heart, clap, cheer and hiss from their chairs.

Wayang Kulit shadow plays from Central Java and Wayang Golek puppet plays from Western Java are also presented at the National Museum.

Many tourists, however, unfamiliar with these art forms and uninspired by the one-line



Monument to Independence in West Irian (west New Guinea). The Dutch transferred their authority over the stone-age tribesmen of West Irian to Djakarta in 1963.

INDONESIA: putting the pieces together again

(Continued from page 9)

descriptions presented in the inadequate tourist brochures, skip them completely which is unfortunate.

Djakarta has many things in common with Bangkok, like narrow streets, traffic jams and polluted canals. A taxi trip through the noon rush hour from the Hotel Indonesia to Old Djakarta and Chinatown north of the present center of the city is an exercise in frustration and frayed tempers.

Unlike Bangkok, which outlawed pedicabs in the city ages ago, the streets of Indonesia's are clogged with "betjaks," the Indonesian equivalent of the Thai pedicabs.

Last year there was a grand total of 94,650 "betjaks" in the city which makes driving in Djakarta a chore.

The Dutch colonialists originally separated the Chinese in Djakarta from the rest of the community and put them in a special quarter which became known as Chinatown.

The Chinese community in the capital officially numbers 130,349. Relations between the Indonesians and the Chinese are sometimes marked by envy on the part of the Indonesians towards the more prosperous Chinese.

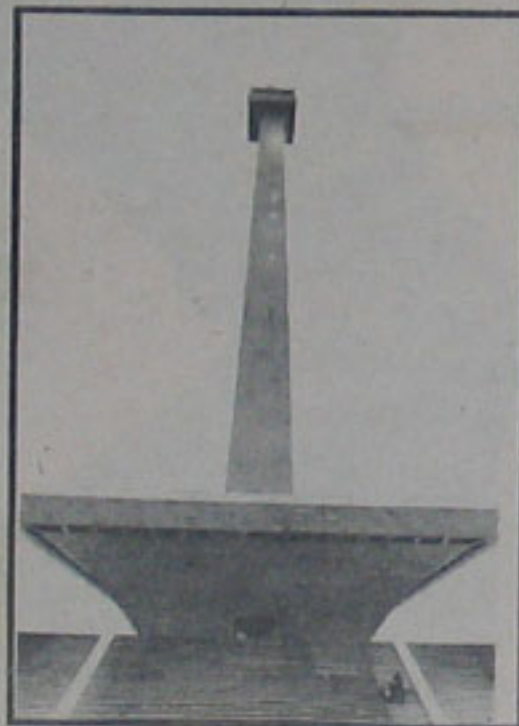
President Suharto admitted in a newspaper interview recently that the members of the minority Chinese community control a disproportionate amount of the nation's wealth but said, "We must make use of the one and one half million Indonesian Chinese because according to the Constitution they have the same rights as other Indonesians. Besides that they have a large amount of capital."

Chinese money and business skills are playing an important role in the development of the country but the Indonesian government is encouraging native Indonesian entrepreneurs to learn from the Chinese.

In 1945 the population of Djakarta was only 623,000 people. But like Bangkok it has experienced a post-war period of phenomenal growth.

In 1950, the population had jumped to 1,500,000. In the next ten years the population doubled to 3,000,000 by 1960. Today it is estimated at about 5,000,000 people.

The "Djakarta Bulletin," published by the city and the best source of

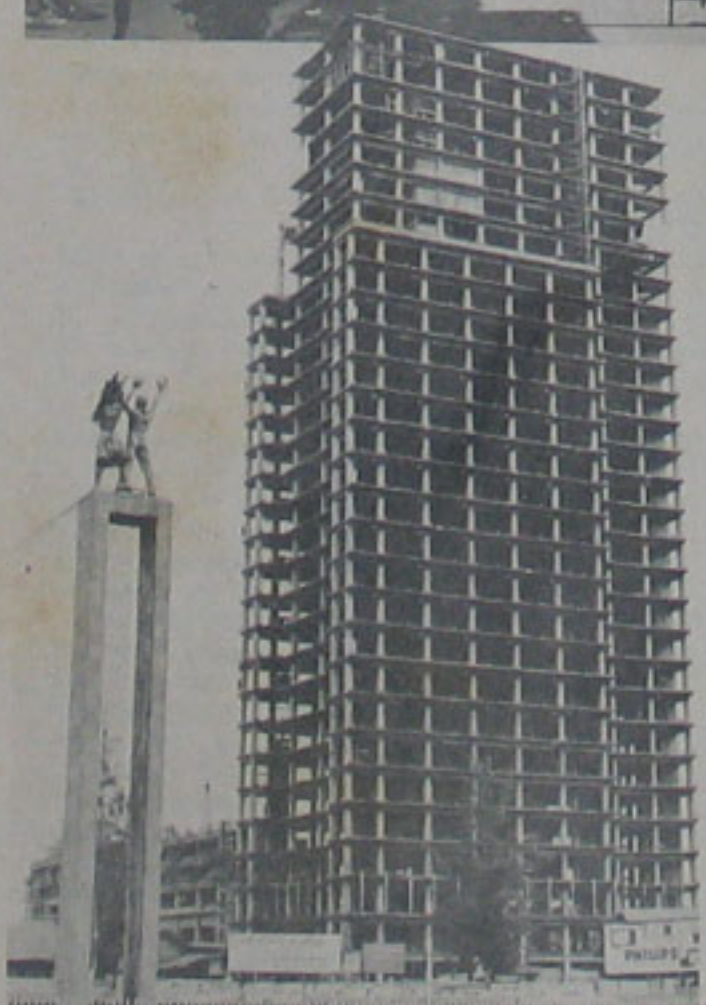


1. Politicians love monuments like little kids love candy. Sukarno built this monument to the Indonesian people--and himself--in Merdeka Square. In the shape of a torch, the flame is plated in pure gold.

2. Djalan Thamrin, Djakarta's main street.

3. Betjak driver peddles down a street in the capital.

4. Djakartans: Reaching for the sky, but the job is still unfinished.



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SUHARTO:

The morning after



Urbanization comes to Indonesia. A shack in Djakarta.



information on Djakarta today, recently ran a story on Gov. Sadi-
k's "ban on urbanization."

Sadi-
k is attempting to limit the
flow of country people into the city.
Between 1961-1971 there were 825
people a day moving into Djakarta.
The social and economic problems
caused by this rapid, uncontrolled
urbanization are plain to see in
Djakarta.

At night, doorways to shops and
streets are filled with men, women
and children without homes.
The lucky ones have mats; the un-
lucky ones have nothing -- no
blanket, no mat, not even a piece
of plastic to protect them against
the rain. Betjak drivers are lucky.
They can sleep in their pedicabs at
night.

Stacks of wood and tin line the
banks of the river. The government
is faced with a limited budget and
Djakarta must compete with press-
ing economic needs elsewhere in
Indonesia for the scarce rupiah.
Djakarta itself is vastly overpopu-
lated. Two-thirds of Indonesia lives
on this tiny island while huge
areas of Indonesia, especially Ka-
liantan and Sumatra, remain un-

derpopulated.

The government devised a
generous transmigration scheme
to relieve the problem. People can
report themselves to the authorities
where they receive money, tools,
seed and a free ticket to Sumatra
and other islands -- but no one
wants to go.

Said one government official,
"They like to stay in Djakarta
even if they have to sleep in the
road. It's more fun here. Who
wants to live in the jungle?"

So Djakarta continues to expand
and grow. And rather than decreas-
ing, the lure of city life is probably
going to increase as time goes on.

As for the future of tourism in
Djakarta, the city, despite its size,
is still in a state of transition
from a big little Indonesian town
to a cosmopolitan, international
city.

With the whole magnificent cul-
tural heritage of Java to draw from,
perhaps Djakarta will some day
even rival Singapore and Bangkok.

But it's going to take a little more
hustle, imagination and planning on
the part of the Djakarta Tourist
Board bureaucracy.

SUKARNO is a hard act to follow.
Everyone loves a show and his
sense of showmanship was superb.
The charismatic, charming and
gregarious Father of Indonesia was
the personification of Indonesia and
a god to the masses of Indonesians,
most of whom, while recognizing
Sukarno's faults, still think of him
as a national hero.

He played on the emotions of the
Indonesian people like a pianist on
a piano. Only the founder of a nation
could ever make his people suffer
so much and still command their
admiration.

But the wild party is over now. It's
the morning after, the host is gone,
the house is in a shambles, and the
guests must pay the bill out of their
own pockets.

To President Suharto has fallen
the miserable but necessary job of
cleaning up the house and putting it
back in shape.

Sukarno left the country divided
and deeply in debt. When Suharto
took over the government as acting
President in March 1967 (Congress
stripped Sukarno of his title "Pre-
sident for Life" in July 1966, but
he wasn't dismissed from the Pre-
sidency until March 1967) he faced two
herculean tasks: the restoration of political stability and
the resuscitation of the economy.

The contrast in styles of action
between Sukarno and Suharto is
enormous.

Sukarno was a flamboyant, emo-
tional politician, glib with the
tongue, with a great zest for pomp
and ceremony, crusades and beau-
tiful women.

Suharto is a pragmatic, deter-
mined administrator, a career
soldier with a military man's devo-
tion to order and detail.

The Indonesian people are not
awed by Suharto like they were by
Sukarno but there seems to be a
genuine respect for him and the
job he is doing. Few men would
like to trade jobs with him.

Suharto was born in central Java,
near Jogjakarta. He became a ser-
geant in the Dutch army, served un-
der the Japanese while they occu-
pied Indonesia, and used the
knowledge gained from both to help
defeat the Dutch when they re-
turned to Indonesia after World
War II.

During the War of Independence
he was a Lt. Col. in command of
the Diponegoro Division in Java.

When the Sept. 30th coup occur-
red in 1965 he was Major General
Suharto, commander of KOSTRAD,
the Army Strategic Command, in
Djakarta.

By a stroke of luck, his name was
not on the assassination list pre-
pared by the coup organizers. He was
considered "not important." It was
a fatal mistake for the plotters.

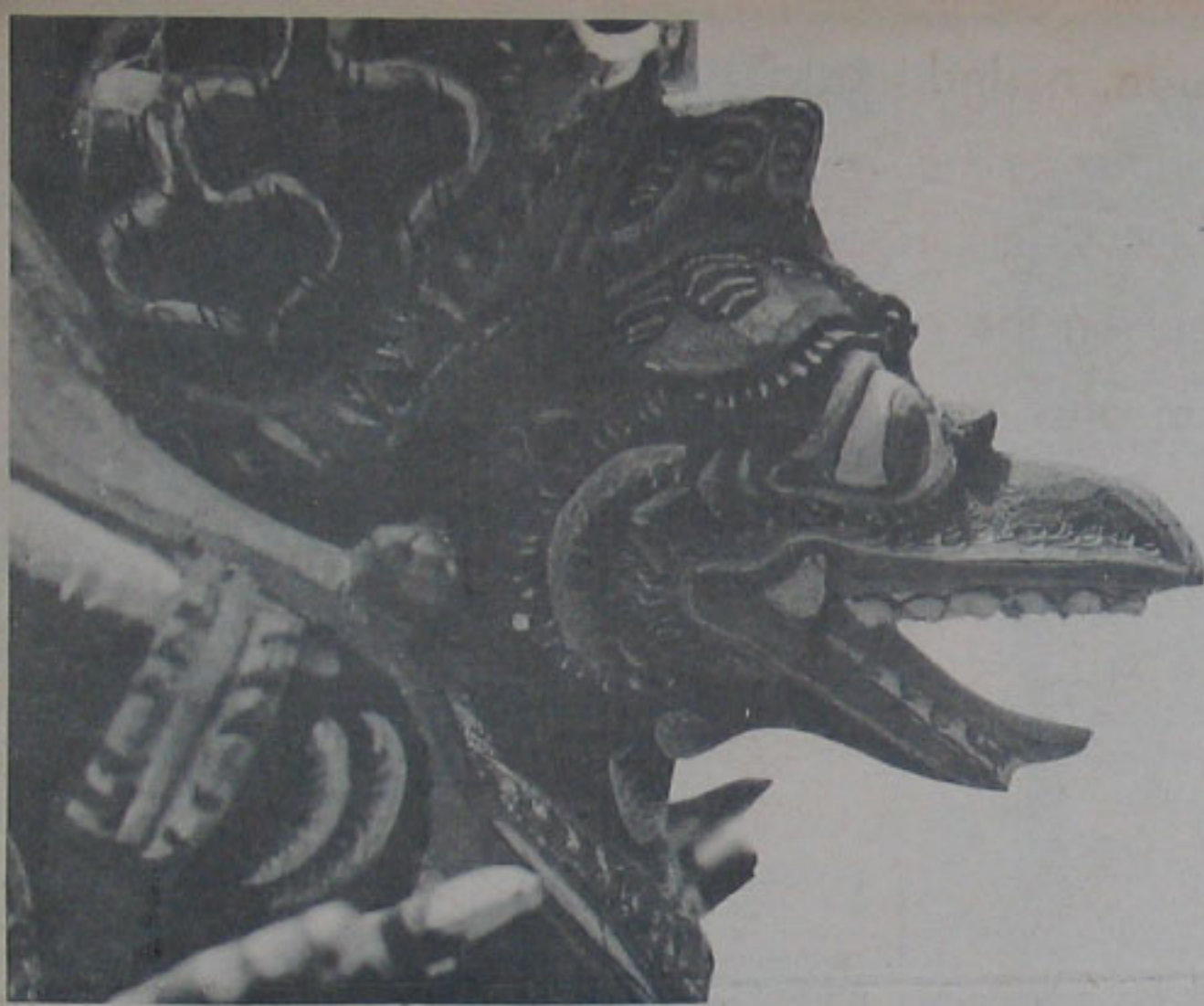
After the massacre of the In-
donesian army's top generals
Suharto took command of the army
and crushed the rebellion.

In the end, Sukarno's only
philosophy was Sukarno himself.
He was a one man show, an un-
healthy state for a democracy to
be in.

Suharto has wisely begun to re-
educate the Indonesian people in
their own almost forgotten national
philosophy, the Pancasila, or Five
Principles.

In almost every major speech he
hammers home again and again the
same message: Indonesia is not
based on a person, it is based on
a shared philosophy -- belief in
God, a just and civilized humanity,
the unity of the Indonesian people,
democracy guided by wisdom and
unanimity arising from delibera-
tion among representatives, and
social justice for all the people of
Indonesia.

There is no personality cult
growing up around Suharto and
unlike Sukarno he isn't seeking to
create one, but in the future history
books of Indonesia he may find him-
self in the higher place.



Garuda, n.,
a mythical bird from
the Ramayana Epic.
A statue made of
wood, stone, ivory.



Garuda, n., Indonesia's
national airline. DC-8
and DC-9 jets made of
steel on the outside,
warm and friendly on
the inside.



BATIK:

The beautiful art of Indonesia and its Islands

THE island of Java is world-famous for its batik cloth. The batik making process, first introduced into Indonesia by Hindus from Persia and Egypt, was originally done wholly by hand.

Today, the first pattern applied to the cloth is normally done by a copper stamp called a "tjap."

The "tjap" is dipped into molten wax and pressed on the cloth, leaving design. Then the cloth is dipped in colored dye.

The dye cannot penetrate the waxed parts and when the wax is scraped off by hand part of the cloth is un-

touched by the dye.

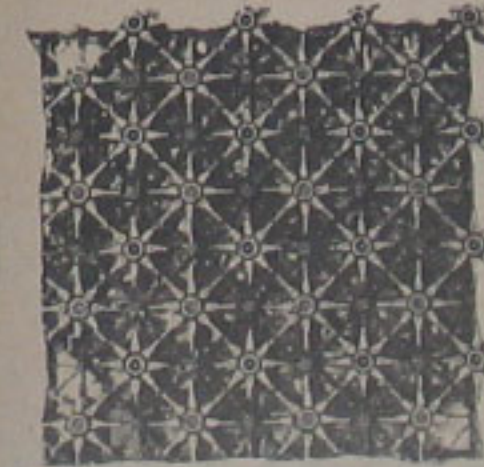
After this, the just dyed area is covered by hand with wax and the cloth is dipped into a second color.

Then all the wax is removed.

Each district in Java has its own special colors and designs. Among the most famous and popular are batik-Jogja, batik-Solo, and batik-Pekalongan.

Today the batik stamps themselves have become prized collectors items.

The "tjaps" shown here are part of a collection at the Batik Research Center in Jogjakarta.



The artist and his work (opposite page) and the tools of his trade. The three copper and zinc stamps (left and below left) are intricately fashioned to produce complex geometric or figurative designs. Others, adopting a more modern mode are used to create batiks such as the one below.



The military: "First we must have order"

On October 1st, 1965, the Indonesian army, reacting to an attempted Communist coup d'état, took control of the government. Six years later the army still rules the nation, but elections are scheduled for April.



A recent story making the rounds in Djakarta goes like this: A soldier writes home a letter to his wife, "I have now been made a corporal which is my first step up the army's ladder of success; but for time being, dear, please speak to the neighbors as usual and don't under any circumstances move to a larger house or buy a piano."

Becoming a soldier in Indonesia, as in most of Southeast Asia today, is a smart move for an ambitious man seeking success, wealth and power.

The President of Indonesia is an army general, around two-thirds of the provincial governors are military officers and the administration of the country from the capital, Djakarta, down to the village level is almost entirely under the control of military personnel.

Balancing this is the fact that many of the cabinet members are civilians and President Suharto has made good use of such capable civilians as Foreign Minister Adam Malik and Minister of Trade Dr. Sumitro.

But since the abortive '65 coup the army has virtually run the country. How are they doing?

The armed forces have their factions and cliques but still manage to maintain their Suharto-given role as a stabilizing and unifying factor.

After talking with Indonesians from all sorts of backgrounds and social classes, in Java, Bali and Sumatra, it seems that most agree on one thing -- the "role of the generals" during this transition period has been beneficial to the country.

The widespread anarchy, killings, and violence that erupted like a volcano after the '65 coup all over Indonesia have left most Indonesians thirsting for peace and order.

The whole country seems to be aware of the divisions, feuds and unsettled blood debts that lie just below the surface of Indonesia today. In the chaos following the coup many innocent persons were killed or jailed and their families will seek revenge if chaos comes again.

Politicians come in for a lot of criticism from the ordinary Indonesian for worrying more about ideology and their own political skin than about what's good for the country.

"I think when you are a politician you never speak the truth, isn't it?" says one Sumatran.

"When you say 'yes' it's not 'yes', it's 'no'."

Another man in Medan says, "I would rather have the military run the country and have order than civilians who fight with each other and make disorder. Besides, a military man knows more about organi-

zation and we need good organization now to bring us forward."

Suharto seems honest in his determination to "de-militarize" the government and turn the country over to the civilians. The only question is how soon.

The elections coming up in April will perhaps mark the beginning of the end for the "transition" period which saw the army playing a dual role as both civil and military authority.

Some army generals within the present government perhaps feel a bit nervous about handing the country back to the politicians so quickly.

The country of Indonesia consists of over 130 million people scattered over 3,000 islands, a hundred and thirty different ethnological groups speaking 200 different dialects. It takes a strong hand to keep the whole country together.

Western observers of the Indonesian scene, coming as they do from countries with a long tradition of parliamentary democracy, are often too harsh in their criticism of the role of the military and too unrealistic in their political expectations.

Pakistan's Aslam Siddiqi, in his article, "The Role of the Military in Asia," perhaps reflects the feelings of the average Indonesian more accurately when he states, "Asians are confronted simultaneously with economic, political and social revolutions."

"They feel the intense pangs of transformation but have no political philosophy to tackle the desperate situation."

The Communist party of Indonesia had a political philosophy but it was totally unacceptable to the majority of Indonesians, most of whom are fervent Moslems.

Sukarno's political philosophy was more or less a personality cult based on his own sloppily formed dreams.

And as a political philosophy the Pantjasila is a bit broad and comprehensive.

Siddiqi continues, "Such a dangerous situation cannot last long in any society. Somebody has to take control. The Asian nations have, in fact, to select elites (leaders) in the economic, political and social fields, insure their circulation and discover a position of balance."

"This is not easy to accomplish. The parliamentary system has already failed to produce leaders of the prerequisite caliber."

"In their desperation they behave like Le Bon's crowds: 'The type of hero dear to crowds will always bear the resemblance of a Caesar. His insignia attracts them, his

Even after the April elections the military will continue to play a key role in Indonesia.



authority overawes them, and his sword instills them with fear." "Finally, Siddiqi concludes, "The military leaders of Asia only symbolize the urgent need of providing steadiness to the Asian societies in the course of economic, social and political transformation." President Suharto is aware of the criticism leveled at the military's administration of the country. Charges of graft, corruption, and sheer incompetence are frequently voiced against the generals who run Indonesia now. The best military administrators have already begun to seek the help and advice of independent scholars, technocrats and other civilians in solving complex social problems they themselves cannot tackle with their limited knowledge. Siddiqi contends that it is wrong to conclude that military leaders are afraid of ideas or their expression as such. "Their strong point, in fact, is their familiarity with new ideas and new techniques. They are the apostles of modernity, often ahead of their people. "What they resent is that some ideas which are vigorously propounded are hardly relevant to the national situation, create confusion in the public mind and tend to lower the national morale." It is all a question of how you put it, declares ex-student leader Cornelis Zebua, one of the editors

of the weekly "Mahasiswa" in Jogjakarta and part-time advisor to the local military commander. "Many generals, especially those who are still relatively young, are open-minded and will accept criticism and suggestions. The problem is only in how you put it. If you put it directly in front of his nose, he will refuse it. But if you offer it in a round-about way he will accept all the advice you give him. "But a special requirement is made by them. They only want to accept scholars who are independent, not those who are supported by, or are members of, a political faction. "If you can convince them that you have ideas and are creative and independent -- then they will accept your ideas and advice." The results are interesting and encouraging but as the nightmare of 1965 fades and the country approaches normality again the Indonesian people will increase their demands for a return to complete civilian rule. "During the transition period," explains one Indonesian teacher in Djakarta, "the aim of the military government was to reorganize the political and economic chaos in our country. "After 1965 there is disorder in our political situation. So first, we must have order. But after the elections it should be like in every country, yes? The people have the right to rule the nation themselves."



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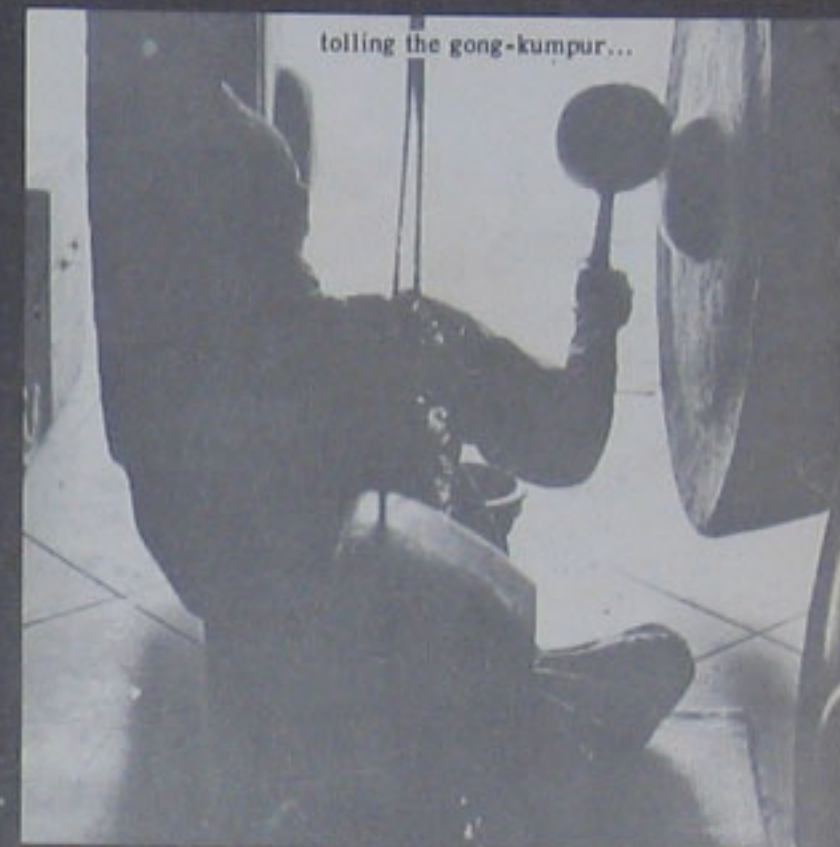
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tolling the gong-kumpur...



sweeping over
the gambang...



and plucking the rabab to create
the music called Gamelan.



MUSICIANS OF INDONESIA

striking the trompong barangan

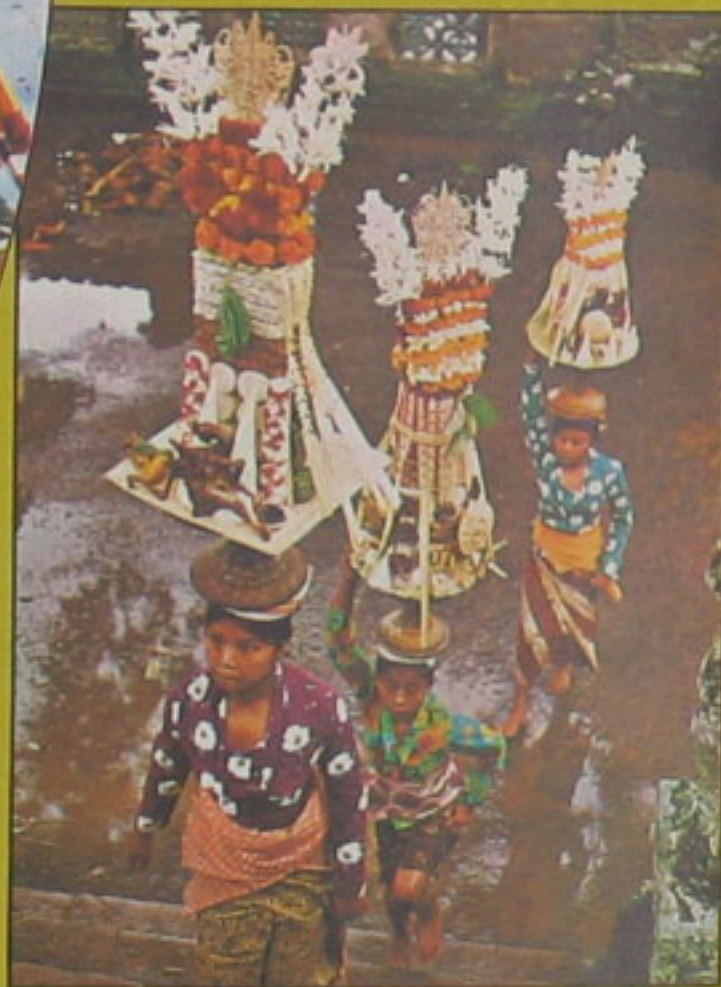
Indonesia:

Idylls and Idols

Photography by
John Dornbierer



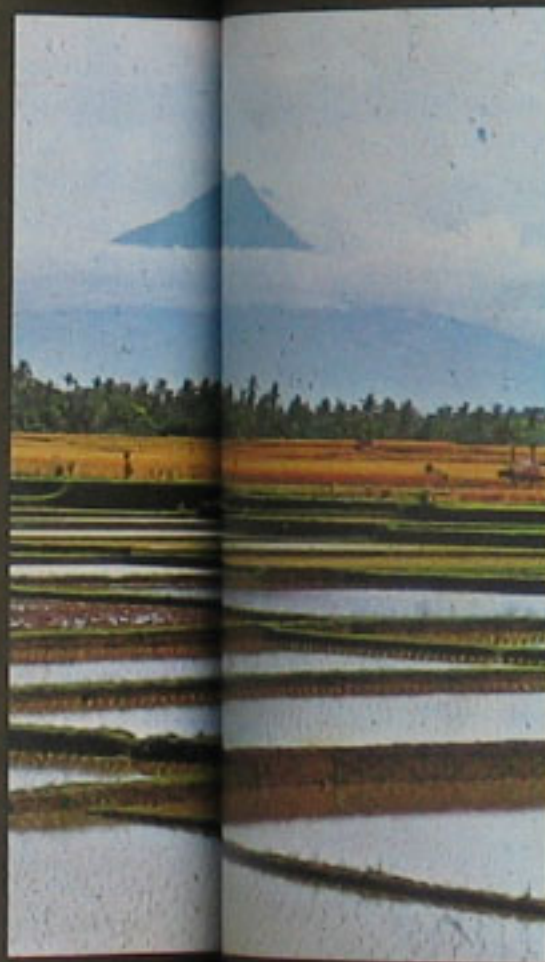
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- 1 A procession carries a cremation tower to the sea
- 2 Balinese women taking offerings to the temple
- 3 Pageantry surrounds a Balinese cremation
- 4 Balinese girls at a tooth filing ceremony

- 5 Volcano and paddyfields in East Java
- 6 Fishermen return home with the day's catch
- 7 Dancers perform the Wayang-Organ classical Javanese drama

A nation of smiles



KOTAGEDE, a sleepy village just outside Jogja was once the capital of the Islamic kingdom of Mataram. Now it is most famous for an ingenious, well-traveled silversmith named Tom and his psychedelic red and blue signs scat-

tered around Jogjakarta announcing, "Only 1 Km. To Tom's Jogja Silverworks."

The silver shops in Bangkok and Chiang Mai could learn a few tricks from Tom.

CREEPING COMMERCIALISM COMES TO JOGJAKARTA:

Tom's Silver Village

We were in Tom's the other day, enjoying one of his free cigars and leafing through a 1967 copy of "L'Orfeo Italiano nel Mondo" trying to choose a design for a silver beer mug when in came Quinby.

Quinby was a blond-haired, 27 year old art teacher from Sydney and she was on a tour of Asia.

Following Quinby in the door were 15 more Australian art teachers and one guy with an official "Bali Hai Golden Tours" hat made out of palm leaves.

"We have twenty minutes here," he shouted. "Twenty minutes!"

They didn't need any encouragement. Like escapees from a reducing salon attacking a chocolate cake they rushed over to the counter and began buying up all the little silver "betjaks" -- a steal at 2250 rupiah.

One lady spied a genuine silver pony cart for only 12,000 rupiah and was just about to buy it when her friend rushed over holding a ashtray with the whole Ramayana on it. A cruel choice.

Meanwhile, Tom had thrown open the door to the workshop and the little of Tommie's little hammers rattled out the door driving the tourists mad.

They rushed into the workshop with their Kodak Instamatics blazing and shot everyone they could find then rushed back out to the counters.

Meanwhile, Tom had hauled down all his coffee sets, tea sets, cigarette holders, filagree broaches, earrings, trays, cups, salt and

pepper shakers and spread them out on the counter.

"Ten minutes!" shouted the tour director, waving his watch.

Quinby couldn't make up her mind whether to buy a cigarette holder or a pair of salt shakers so she grabbed one of those brochures with the title "Welcome to Tom's" which Tom had wisely scattered around the room and, sure enough, right inside it said, "Tom is ready to send your order to any country in the world!"

With a look of relief Quinby tucked it in her purse and sat down.

"There's no rush now," she said cheerfully. "I can order something by mail."

Meanwhile, one of Tom's little helpers was explaining to an awestruck lady all the pictures on the wall.

There was a shot of Tom on a camel in Arabia, Tom standing in front of the Eiffel tower in Paris, Tom in New York under the Statue of Liberty, Tom feeding pigeons in Trafalgar Square.

"Sukarno used to buy his silver here," he assured the old lady. "And when the Pope visited Indonesia last year --"

But before he could finish his story the tour director jumped up on a chair and clapped his hands three times.

Everybody started shouting, "The bus is leaving! The bus is leaving!" and the herd of tourists rushed out the front door and boarded their air-conditioned coach.

I never heard from Quinby again, but I think Tom did.

The Economy:

Do you believe in miracles?



THE economy is the key to everything," declares a Djakarta businessman. "If we can achieve economic stability we will find the social and political stability we are looking for."

Sukarno's parting gift to Suharto and the Indonesian people was an economy on the brink of collapse. Under Sukarno, the economy had taken a back seat to politics.

By 1966 the rate of inflation was almost 650 per cent a year, the rupiah was worthless, the black market was flourishing, unemployment was staggering, and even their future was mortgaged, to creditors in Russia, Japan, China, Europe and the United States.

Graft and corruption was rampant. Foreign investors were unwilling to

invest another cent in the bankrupt nation.

That was 1966.

Four years later the "Far East Economic Review" was writing in its 1970 Yearbook: "After years of rapid deterioration the Indonesian economy showed remarkable signs of recovery."

"Runaway inflation was brought under control and the cost of living index and exchange rates were stabilized. This achievement was considered an 'economic miracle' in a country with a tradition of galloping inflation and price explosions."

The government of President Suharto has placed top priority on stabilizing the economy and regaining the confidence of foreign investors in the future of Indonesia.



It's a hard pull ahead. One miracle is not enough.

"We are a rich nation," says one Indonesian pointing to the ground he stood on, "in the earth." But the problem they face is attracting the necessary capital investment to exploit their natural resources and the technical help to execute it. Japan and the United States are two major investors in Indonesia. A few Indonesian businessmen fear a "second reoccupation" of Indonesia, this time by Japanese businesses; the United States, however, is less of a worry. Says another businessman, "The Americans don't care what you do, or how you do it, so long as you're anti-Communist." Problems remain. It will take time to pay off Sukarno's crippling legacy of debt which in 1969 totaled almost \$3 billion. Unemployment is still a major headache for the Suharto government. There are too many people and too few jobs. In Java alone, unemployment is estimated at 3-4 million with 15 million "underemployed."



Selling hats in Djakarta. Life is hard but no one is ready to transmigrate.

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AFFANDI:

ONE of Indonesia's best known modern painters is an extremely charming and witty 60 year old gentleman from Tjirebon named Affandi.

He started his career painting movie billboards after his father, a no-nonsense businessman, refused to send him to Europe to study art in Amsterdam.

In those days no one made a living as an artist.

"My father got angry," recalls Affandi with a chuckle today, "and said he was not going to spend his money so his son could be a poor artist." Which only proves that father doesn't always know best.

Today he owns his own gallery, lives in a beautiful big teak and stucco house just outside Jogjakarta, and drives an orange Mustang with a TV in the back seat.

As we walked in, he was sitting at a table planning a three month, all expenses paid, around the world painting tour -- a gift from one of his benefactors.

Not that it's the first time. Last year it was Expo '70 in Osaka. But now that he has fame and fortune, is he really happy? You bet he is.

Q. Mr. Affandi, how did you get started as a painter?

A. From the beginning I liked art very much. At that time I was in primary school. As soon as I finished high school I asked my father to send me to Europe to study art but my father said 'no'.

Well, I decided to learn it myself so I left school and started painting movie billboards -- large sizes. This may be the reason why, until now, I am used to making big paintings.

At that time, I had to learn everything myself. Now, at present, in Indonesia there are art schools which are founded by my generation. In fact, I am one of the founders of the Academy of Fine Arts in Jogjakarta.

I used to teach there but I don't anymore. I want to spend my last days in my life only for art -- for painting.

Q. When did you hold your first exhibition?

A. In London in 1951, in a private gallery. Then came another exhibition in Amsterdam, and one in Brussels. In 1953 I exhibited at the Biennale in Venice and in 1955 I went home.

Q. When did you begin to be recognized as an important artist in Indonesia?

A. Well, gradually the people came to -- what shall I say -- recognize me as an artist but it is mostly because I have been abroad and made exhibitions. I had good critics and when I came back to Indonesia the appreciation for my paintings became better.

Q. Where else did you exhibit?

A. After returning to Indonesia I received an invitation from the American government to visit the States. I exhibited in New York and other cities. My last exhibition in the States was in Hawaii, at the East-West Center in Honolulu. I also did a big mural for them. I also exhibited in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Q. Who buys most of your paintings?

A. I have many admirers in Indonesia who collect my paintings. A Chinese art dealer who lives here in Java has more than 200 of them. The former Brazilian ambassador to Indonesia also has more than 100 of my paintings. And an art collector in Washington.

Q. What artists do you yourself admire most?

A. I like mostly the impressionists and the expressionists. When I was in Paris, I saw a whole room full of Renoirs. Oh, so beautiful! I also like Picasso and Van Gogh.

Q. What do you think of modern art?

A. What we need today is good art. If Pop Art is done by a young man who is just beginning to learn, it is not so good. But, you know, I admire the quality of a painting. I don't admire the "ism." I never mind if it is Impressionism or Pop Art or whatever.

Q. Times have changed. Is it easier to become an artist in Indonesia now?

A. Oh yes, yes. If you compare with the Dutch time or the Japanese time. In fact, I think the Indonesian art world may be much better than the European art world. I mean financially. To make a living on art it is easier for us. There are many tourists and compared to Europe there are not many artists. So the demand is good.

Q. What do you think of the art situation in Bali today? Is the quality keeping up with the demand?

A. Well, it is true that some paintings are being mass-produced now. But you can't help it. Some of the painters are very poor. I mean every artist must be good for his family...

There are Balinese artists who sell for their paintings very cheap -- 2000 to 5000 rupiah only (\$5-\$12.50). But there are others who ask for, and get, nearly a half million rupiah (\$1250). There are good artists who keep the quality high.

Q. How much do your paintings sell for today?

A. Around \$500 U.S. up.

Q. What was the most expensive painting you ever sold?

A. It was nearly \$2500.

You see, in every field, if you get a name it is an easy life. You know, my first painting, it was sold for -- if you count in rupiah today -- it was only 50 rupiah!

Q. Do you still paint every day?

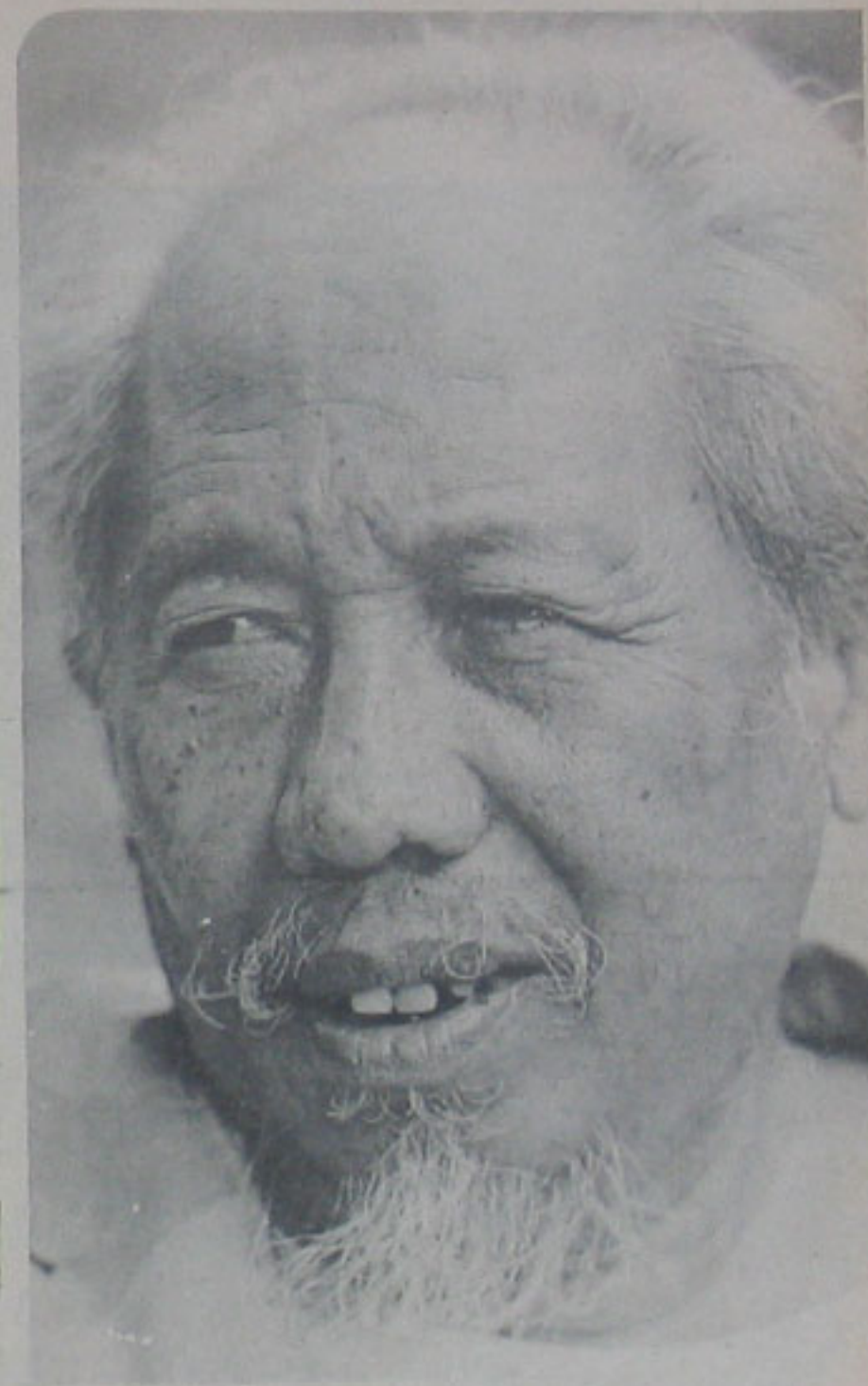
A. I continue to paint. But I can't paint every day because I have so many visitors --

Q. We were just leaving.

A. (Laughs). No, not you. But if I like to paint I must flee away. I like to paint mostly I like to paint in Bali or...mostly I like to paint in Bali. Do you know why? Because it is easier for me -- it is easier. If I am abroad I face only the art; no problems about the situation of my country, about my family, etc. Just art.

The old man in the orange Mustang with the TV aerial on the hood

The painter and the Mustang: The car is fine but the TV programs are boring.



Affandi: Life begins at 60.

Q. Why did you choose a Mustang?

A. (Laughs) I like the "form." There are European cars like the Mercedes...a Mercedes is a good car, with a good engine, but the "form" -- ugh.

Q. What about a Ferrari?

A. I'm not that rich yet! Besides, where would I drive it? The roads in Indonesia are not so good.

Q. You know, it's "de rigueur" for anyone interviewing an old man to ask him what he thinks is "the good life."

A. O.K. Ask me.

Q. What is the "good life?"

A. The "good life" -- for me, the "good life" is now. I've got everything I want. My house, my car, my paintings. I am 60 years old. And in our idea 60 is quite old. Mostly our people die between 40 and 50, but they say if you pass 60 you can live forever.

Q. Now that you're rich and famous, are you still happy?

A. Very happy. What should I say... (laughs). I earned it!



Two paintings by Affandi.

The bike culture of Jogjakarta

JAKARTA, Bangkok, Tokyo, Manila—they're all hopeless. The automobile has already won the war in these cities. But not in Jogja. Here the bicycle reigns supreme. There are more than 100,000 bicycles in this little town.

After four days in Jogjakarta I have come to the conclusion that civilization reached its peak with the invention of the bicycle. After that it has been all downhill.

Take the matter of speed. 10 m.p.h. seems just about right. No one is afraid to cross the street in Jogja. You're not going to get killed if you get hit by a bicycle, which is more than you can say for an automobile. That eliminates the need for costly insurance.

But who ever heard of a guy putting up, dusting off his hat, and walking away after being hit by a ton of steel traveling 70 m.p.h.?

Recently a Japanese cyclist traveled around the world on his bike, effectively eliminating the old motorist's charge that you can't get anywhere going that slow.

It just takes a little more time, and if you're that worried about saving time you deserve your ulcers. When reporters asked him why he

didn't take a jet, he replied, "You can't see anything from 30,000 feet." Falling off a bike is a bit safer too. You don't need a parachute to survive.

Modern man with his network of instantaneous communications is going nuts worrying about the latest coup d'etat in Guinea, the riots in Madrid, and what's going to happen in the Mideast next week when the ceasefire expires.

If bad news had to travel by bicycle it would be so old we wouldn't worry about it. There's nothing more dead than yesterday's newspaper.

Invented in 1839 by a Scotsman, the bicycle is pollution free and simple to fix. The worst that could happen to you would be a flat tire and in Jogja there are plenty of smiling side-walk repairmen who will fix it for a few rupiah.

Scratch the fender of a modern car and it costs you \$20. If the carburetor breaks down it's Humpty Dumpty all over again -- 15 trained mechanics and a thousand dollars worth of tools and machines can't put it back together again.

The people of Jogjakarta are right. It's the rest of the world that's heading in the wrong direction.



Top: Flat tires fixed for a baht. Bottom: The only way to travel: Cheap, pollution-free and healthy.

STUDENTS

A new generation of revolutionaries



Art students being initiated into higher education.

"I love the Bee 'Gees!" Sign painted on the wall in Jogjakarta, central Java.

During the war with the Dutch from 1946 to 1949, Jogjakarta was the capital of Indonesia, the center of rebellion, the cradle of revolutionaries.

It still is.

Today it is the home of Indonesia's new revolutionaries -- her students.

Like the university towns of Cambridge, England, and Cambridge Massachusetts in the U.S., Jogjakarta is filled with books, bicycles and intense young men and women arguing economic theories discussing politics.

Right after the Sept. 30, 1965 coup attempt, Sukarno sought and failed to get the student's support for his policy of accommodation with the Communist elements in Indonesian politics.

Without their support not even Sukarno, the Father of the Nation

could hope to keep control of Indonesia.

Student demonstrations against Sukarno continued in Jogjakarta, Djakarta, Bandung and other towns and cities throughout the country in 1966 and 1967 until Sukarno was removed from the Presidency.

The student dissenters were often encouraged by faculty members within the universities, especially Indonesian teachers trained abroad who had recently returned; and by political party leaders who were opposed to Sukarno and the growing influence of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia).

The students weren't the only group responsible for the downfall of Sukarno but they were in the vanguard.

For several years prior to the Sept. 30 coup, opposition grew to Sukarno's policies of friendship with the local Communists and China, his "confrontation" with Malaysia, and his neglect of the economy.

INDONESIA:

Many politicians, army generals, professors and religious leaders supported Sukarno publicly but privately opposed him.

A few, like journalist Mochtar Libis, editor of "Indonesia Raya," spoke out publicly against Sukarno and ended up in jail.

The abortive Sept. 30 coup was the spark that united and ignited the opposition.

The PKI and Sukarno declared that they were not involved in the murder of the army generals and the attempted coup led by Lt. Col. Untung. But most Indonesians felt differently.

In the following months Indonesia was wracked by anarchy, chaos and massacres. The country seemed to be on the verge of falling apart.

The army, under the direction of General Suharto, had a military solution to the coup itself but it was the students who fully articulated the broader "social dimensions" of the crisis the country faced.

"The students had a broader view," explained one student. "We knew we weren't just facing a military problem, a coup. What about poverty, hunger, inflation, unemployment? A counter-coup against the Communists wouldn't solve the whole problem, only one of them."

The students, through their writings and demonstrations, reminded General Suharto that the work wasn't over when the last Communist was killed.

They became the "social conscience" of the nation, a role they continue to play even today.

Often parents joined the demonstrations and marched along with their children. Fathers and mothers speak proudly even today about the role their sons and daughters played during the '65 crisis.

"They did not hesitate to demonstrate even in front of the Palace, even against the military men," said a proud Djakarta father of three students. "there were several victims among the students

INDONESIA:

will they demonstrated. It is who saved our country."

The unity that marked the student movement between 1965 and 1967 is gone now, however.

The students today are fragmented into many small groups and factions. Differences in tactics, goals and philosophies which were submerged during the fight against the Communists have resurfaced.

Some of the student leaders have become government officials themselves, part of the bureaucracy.

Under President Suharto's open pragmatic -- but firm -- rule students are discouraged from going to the streets too often. There are fewer targets to criticize and causes to rally behind -- an occasional corruption scandal, incompetence on the part of certain military administrators.

Suharto has promised elections in year and is keeping his promise. Most of the students seem

to respect the integrity of Suharto and are willing to give him a chance at solving Indonesia's pressing problems.

The majority of students are still affiliated with political parties but there seems to be a growing number of "independents" who are dropping out of politics altogether and turning their energy and attention towards solving the more basic questions of national economic development.

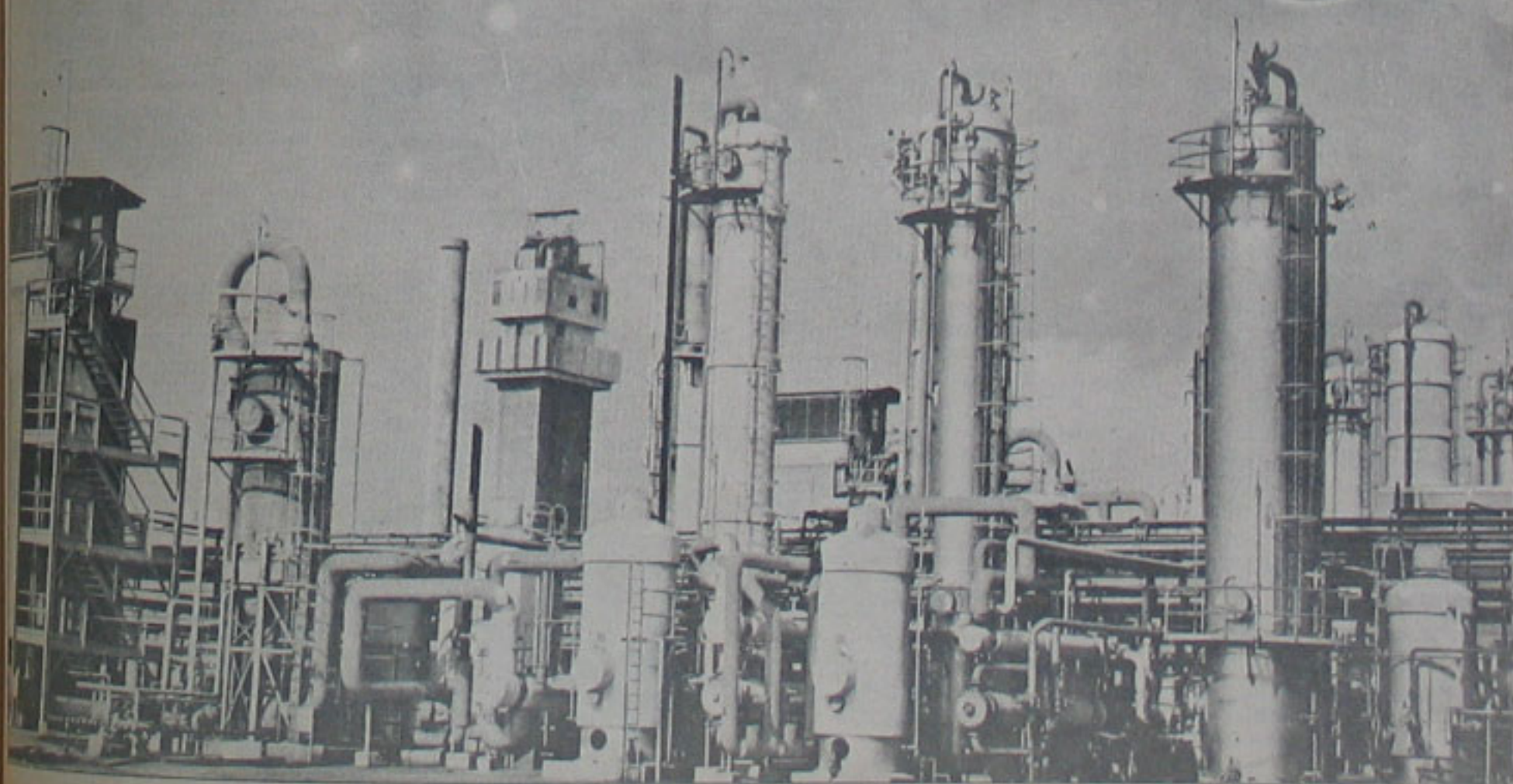
Says ex-student leader Andre Hartjana in Jogjakarta, "It is a kind of historical fact that the political parties in Indonesia have been struggling for nothing. They are struggling for political issues but they have not done anything in dealing with the economic problems."

"We believe that the upcoming elections will not do anything to help national reform or development. For us, the elections aren't important."



Above: Malioboro Street in downtown Jogjakarta. Left: The "Generation of '65": Which way now? Far right: Students practice Javanese dancing in Jogjakarta.

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