

# Indonesia Candidate Tied to Human Rights Abuses Stirs Unease

By JOE COCHRAN MARCH 26, 2014

Photo



Prabowo Subianto, front left, the presidential candidate for the Great Indonesia Movement Party, at a rally on Sunday in Jakarta. Credit Adek Berry/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

JAKARTA, Indonesia — [1] Prabowo Subianto, a former special forces commander, kicked off his party's campaign for legislative elections with a rally last weekend that the local news media characterized as "military style." [2] He rode into a Jakarta stadium in a jeep to greet the party faithful, mounted a horse to circle the grounds and paraded before uniformed party cadres standing at attention.

[3] Despite widespread allegations that he took part in some of Indonesia's worst human rights abuses during his time as a military officer, Mr. Prabowo — who has announced his candidacy for president — is not playing down his military credentials in a country that many see as craving a strong leader.

[4] But Mr. Prabowo's candidacy has raised deep concerns among rights activists in Indonesia and abroad. [5] They note that the country's human rights commission

recommended that he be prosecuted in the alleged abductions of pro-democracy activists in the late 1990s, during the final months of the military-backed government of President Suharto, his father-in-law at the time.

[6] Mr. Prabowo's attempt to become the country's second directly elected president has also put the Obama administration in a difficult position.

[8] Mr. Prabowo, who graduated from American military training programs in the 1980s and is an admirer of the United States, has for years made it clear that he would like to meet with high-level American officials. So far, the United States has demurred.

[9] "The sensitivity comes from the extremely close association between the U.S. and Indonesian militaries during the atrocities the Indonesian military committed," said Jeffrey Winters, a professor of political science at Northwestern University, adding that the administration appears to be banking on Mr. Prabowo's losing or on patching up any bruised feelings if he wins.

[10] "Indonesia is far too strategically important to the U.S. to have frosty relations between the countries," Mr. Winters said. [11] It not only has strong economic and security ties to the United States, it also has the world's largest Muslim population.

[12] For the moment, Mr. Prabowo, of the Great Indonesia Movement Party, has been polling behind [Joko Widodo](#), the popular governor of Jakarta who has made his name as a [squeaky-clean leader](#) who tackles popular issues like education and Jakarta's chronic traffic. [13] But the presidential election is still months away — in July, after next month's legislative election — and the charismatic Mr. Prabowo, 62, has many ardent supporters at the grass-roots level, as well as among powerful businessmen and retired military commanders.

[14] Allegations against Mr. Prabowo extend back to his early career, when he was a young officer in the 1980s in East Timor, where an armed movement was fighting Indonesian occupation. [15] Some human rights groups called for an investigation over allegations that he ordered the massacre of nearly 300 civilians. [16] Mr. Prabowo has vehemently denied being on the scene of the massacre or having any involvement in it.

[17] Later accusations center on his time as one of Indonesia's most powerful military men under Mr. Suharto. [18] Human rights groups say Mr. Prabowo, then a three-star general, was responsible for the abduction and torture of 23 pro-democracy activists in 1997 and 1998, and for orchestrating riots in May 1998 — just days before Mr. Suharto resigned as president — that resulted in more than 1,000 deaths and the rapes of at least 168 women.

[19] A government-appointed fact-finding team established by Mr. Suharto's successor reported that Mr. Prabowo had met in his office with military, government and political figures during the riots. [20] That stoked speculation that they had plotted to use the crisis as a way for Mr. Prabowo to take over the crumbling government in a coup. [21] Mr. Prabowo denies any such plot and, in a recent interview, said he could have "taken over if I wanted to."

[22] A member of the fact-finding team, Marzuki Darusman, said, "To be fair, it's all circumstantial, and it's still unresolved."

[23] In 2006, the National Commission on Human Rights released a report saying 11 people, including Mr. Prabowo, should be prosecuted in the activists' abductions. [24] The attorney general's office, which has shied away from most investigations of Suharto-era abuses, declined that request.

[25] The abductions case did end Mr. Prabowo's military career. [26] He was discharged in August 1998 for "exceeding orders" by arresting the activists, some of whom, according to Mr. Prabowo, had bomb-making equipment. [27] While he accepted responsibility as a senior officer for the torture of nine of the activists, he has said he did not order it and has denied any knowledge about the disappearances of the other 14.

[28] "The main thing about Prabowo is, he's never been investigated, let alone prosecuted, for the long list of things he's been linked to," said Matthew Easton, a former program director for Human Rights First, an organization based in the United States. [29] "His actual command responsibility needs to be investigated."

[30] Mr. Prabowo argues that he has been made a scapegoat for the abuses committed by the military during Mr. Suharto's 32 years in power.

[31] "I've never been indicted for anything; it's always innuendos, always allegations," he said, speaking fluent English in the recent interview. [32] "My critics always say I am a threat to democracy, blah, blah, blah. [33] I believe in democracy and in human rights."

[34] The United States — which had worried about Indonesia's stability amid American fears of Communist takeovers in Southeast Asia — had supported Mr. Suharto, but appeared to begin to distance itself from him and figures like Mr. Prabowo after Mr. Suharto lost power.

[35] The State Department denied Mr. Prabowo a visa in 2000 to attend his son's university graduation in Boston, although it has never explained why. [36] And as Mr. Prabowo's political career took off over the last six years, successive American ambassadors have given him a wide berth even as other foreign diplomats have met with him and as his brother, a prominent businessman, made several trips to Washington to appeal for opening a dialogue.

[37] Lower-level United States officials have met with members of Mr. Prabowo's circle, though not with him, according to one of his party's officials.

[38] A State Department spokeswoman recently appeared to suggest that Mr. Prabowo was not being singled out, saying the United States ambassador, Robert O. Blake, "has no plans to meet with declared candidates." [39] And at a recent gathering organized by the Jakarta Foreign Correspondents Club, Mr. Blake said, "Whoever is elected, we will gladly work with."

[40] But the decision not to meet with Mr. Prabowo before the election stands in contrast to the American approach in India, where the ambassador broke nine years of American estrangement with Narendra Modi, whose party is leading in polls, by holding a publicized meeting with him in February. [41] The State Department had revoked Mr. Modi's visa in 2005 over his alleged role in sectarian violence in Gujarat.

[42] Political analysts say generational change and Mr. Prabowo's charm help explain why he is considered a strong candidate. [43] Many of the tens of millions of young Indonesian

voters do not remember much about the Suharto days, while many older voters contend that army commanders were just trying to keep the fractious archipelago intact.

[44] Mr. Prabowo also has won fans in business, in part for his decisiveness. [45] After he spoke at a gathering last year with Indonesian business leaders and Jakarta-based American executives, “half of them wanted to vote for him right there, even the foreigners who can’t vote,” said one American who attended.

[46] As for the chances of a falling-out with Indonesia if Mr. Prabowo wins, analysts say that is unlikely. [47] They note that Mr. Prabowo remains an American supporter despite the cold shoulder. [48] Barry Desker, a former Singaporean ambassador to Indonesia, said he expected the United States to exercise the same pragmatism it has in India if Mr. Prabowo emerged as the front-runner.

[49] The State Department would re-establish direct contacts with Prabowo,” Mr. Desker predicted, “and will not pursue allegations of human rights abuses.”

#### **Correction: April 14, 2014**

Because of an editing error, an article on March 27 about one of the candidates for president of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, a former special forces commander who is running despite allegations that he took part in human rights abuses, referred incorrectly to the next presidency. The winner will be the second Indonesian president directly elected by the public, not its second democratically elected president. (Others have been elected by legislative assemblies.)

Michael R. Gordon contributed reporting.

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<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/27/world/asia/indonesia-candidate-tied-to-human-rights-abuses-stirs-unease.html>

# Early Count in Indonesia Favors Largest Opposition Party

By JOE COCHRANE APRIL 9, 2014

Photo



A man cast his ballot in Banten Province on Wednesday. Credit Mast Irham/European Pressphoto Agency

JAKARTA, Indonesia — [\[1\]](#) Out of power for 10 years, Indonesia's largest opposition party was leading unofficial vote tallies from Wednesday's national legislative elections, as the country's focus now quickly turns to a presidential election in July.

[\[2\]](#) But if the final results from Wednesday are borne out, it will nonetheless be a disappointing showing for the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, according to analysts, who noted that the party had been hoping to ride the coattails of the presumptive presidential candidate, Joko Widodo, the popular governor of Jakarta, to gain as much as 30 percent or more of the popular legislative vote.

[\[3\]](#) The opposition party, known as the P.D.I.P., was garnering 19 to 20 percent of the vote in a 12-party contest, according to independent quick counts of official results conducted by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting, a joint count by the Jakarta-based Center for Strategic and International Studies and Cyrus Network, and Indikator Politik Indonesia.

Photo



Election officials prepared paper ballots for counting at a polling station on Wednesday in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Credit Ulet Ifansasti/Getty Images

[4] The twelve political parties competed for seats in the House of Representatives and in provincial and district legislatures, as well as in the Regional Representative Council, a second national parliamentary body that proposes and advises on bills related to Indonesia's many far-flung regions.

[5] The quick counts also indicated that the Golkar Party, the political vehicle of the autocratic President Suharto, was, as expected, battling for second place with 14 percent of the vote against the opposition Great Indonesia Movement Party, known as Gerindra, with around 12 percent.

[6] The P.D.I.P. has not placed first in any election since 1999, when Indonesia held its first free and fair polls in more than 40 years. Its chairwoman is Megawati Sukarnoputri, a former president and leader of the political dynasty built by her father, Sukarno, the country's revered founding father.

[7] "Obviously it's quite a big disappointment," said Marcus Mietzner, a senior lecturer at Australian National University and author of "Money, Power, and Ideology: Political Parties in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia."

[8] "It is really at the low end of what they hoped for, and what that means of course is they have to completely change the strategy of the coalition they will try to build," he said. [9] "They were aiming for a smaller coalition."

[10] Under Indonesia's complex presidential nominating system, a party must win 20 percent of the 560-seat national House of Representatives, or 25 percent of the popular vote, to nominate a presidential candidate, or it may form a coalition with other parties to reach either threshold. [11] While final official results could ultimately push the P.D.I.P. past the 20 percent threshold on its own, analysts said the party would be forced to try to form a coalition in the coming weeks with a hodgepodge of parties that fared less well on Wednesday — including other secular-nationalist and even Islamic-based parties — to secure 51 percent of the House to have a commanding position before July's presidential election.

[12] President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono cannot seek a third term, meaning Indonesians will be choosing a new leader for the first time in 10 years.

[13] Mr. Joko still holds a strong lead in respected national polls and has promised a “more people-centric” style of government in a country rife with official corruption and poverty.

[14] Indonesia, while belonging to the Group of 20 major economies, still has more than 100 million people living on \$2 a day or less.

[15] However, Mr. Joko, a former mayor in Central Java Province who improbably shot to national political stardom after winning the Jakarta governorship in September 2012, will nonetheless go into the forthcoming presidential election campaign with less luster.

[16] “I think those people who had hoped that he would be given the instruments to implement fundamental reform — and that instrument was a small, coherent coalition — they will be disappointed because he will have to include parties in his coalition that he had no intention to include. [17] That will impact his ability to institute fundamental reforms,” Mr. Mietzner said.

[18] On Wednesday night, Mr. Joko himself acknowledged while addressing reporters on national television that his P.D.I.P. would need other parties, but he warned that they should remember their place: “We don't like the word ‘coalition.’ It sounds like power-sharing.”

[19] Mrs. Megawati, who had harbored presidential ambitions herself, put off officially declaring Mr. Joko, popularly known as “Jokowi,” the party's presidential candidate until shortly before the official campaign period began in March, a delay that analysts said prevented the party from using his popularity for maximum benefit.

[20] “Apparently, it's not so clear whether there was a ‘Jokowi effect,’ ” said Ramlan Surbakti, a professor of political science at Airlangga University in Surabaya, the capital of East Java Province.

[21] He said the initial results appeared to show that the votes were widespread among both secular-nationalist and Islamic-based parties. [22] The Islamic parties were not expected to do well. [23] He said there was a general public dissatisfaction with the performance of the country's democratic system, which remains rife with official corruption some 16 years after the fall of Mr. Suharto's 32-year government in 1998.

[24] This includes a series of scandals during the past five years in the national legislature, Mr. Yudhoyono's own cabinet and even within his governing Democratic Party, which quick counts indicated had crashed from 21 percent in 2009 to only around 10 percent on Wednesday.

[25] “I think the performance of political parties, as everyone knows, is not so good,” Mr. Ramlan said. [26] “The news about corruption leads to perceptions that politicians don’t care. [27] Swing voters are a remarkable 35 percent, so that might explain why P.D.I.P. did not do better.”

[28] Mr. Joko’s main rival in July’s presidential election, opinion polls have indicated, is [Prabowo Subianto](#), a former army general and leader of Gerindra, who, despite criticism from some quarters about his human rights record while serving in the military, is promoting popular grass-roots welfare programs, protectionist economic policies and what he says would be decisive leadership.

[29] Mr. Prabowo, who analysts said should be pleased with the election results given that his party is only six years old, also railed during the legislative election campaign against Mr. Yudhoyono’s government, claiming it had sold out the country to foreign business interests.

[30] The quick counts, however, indicated that Mr. Prabowo may be compelled to form a coalition with other secular-nationalist parties — or even willing Islamic-based parties — that finished lower in Wednesday’s polls just to reach the nominating threshold.

[31] Golkar’s second place showing in the early results also suggests that it may be able to put a coalition together, but its declared presidential candidate, Aburizal Bakrie, is trailing well behind Mr. Joko and Mr. Prabowo, according to respected opinion polls.

[32] After the polls closed Wednesday, Mr. Aburizal posted on Twitter that the elections “went well, smoothly and peacefully,” and said Golkar would accept the final results, which will not be officially released until May.

[33] More than 187 million people were registered to vote at more than 450,000 polling stations on more than 7,000 islands across the vast Indonesian archipelago. [34] Voter turnout was expected to be more than 70 percent, according to analysts.

[35] Voting was orderly on the top floor of a traditional market in South Jakarta that was converted into a polling station for the day, with residents only complaining about the multiple separate ballots for the various races. [36] Sitting at a table smoking a cigarette as he waited for his name to be called to get his ballots, Eko Sukarso, 42, said he would vote for Gerindra.

[37] “I’m hoping for change, something new,” he said. [38] “My heart says support Prabowo. [39] He’s more assertive, strong.”

[40] At a separate polling station in the nearby Menteng Dalam subdistrict, where President Obama once lived as a child, Ruswati, 52, who like many Indonesians has one name, said she would vote for Mr. Yudhoyono’s Democratic Party.

[41] “My husband is a civil servant, so I think it’s best for our family to support continuing the policies for public welfare,” Mrs. Ruswati, wearing a batik dress and a jilbab, or head scarf, said while waiting for a friend to finish voting. Mrs. Ruswati’s pinkie finger was marked with indelible ink to show that she had cast her ballot.



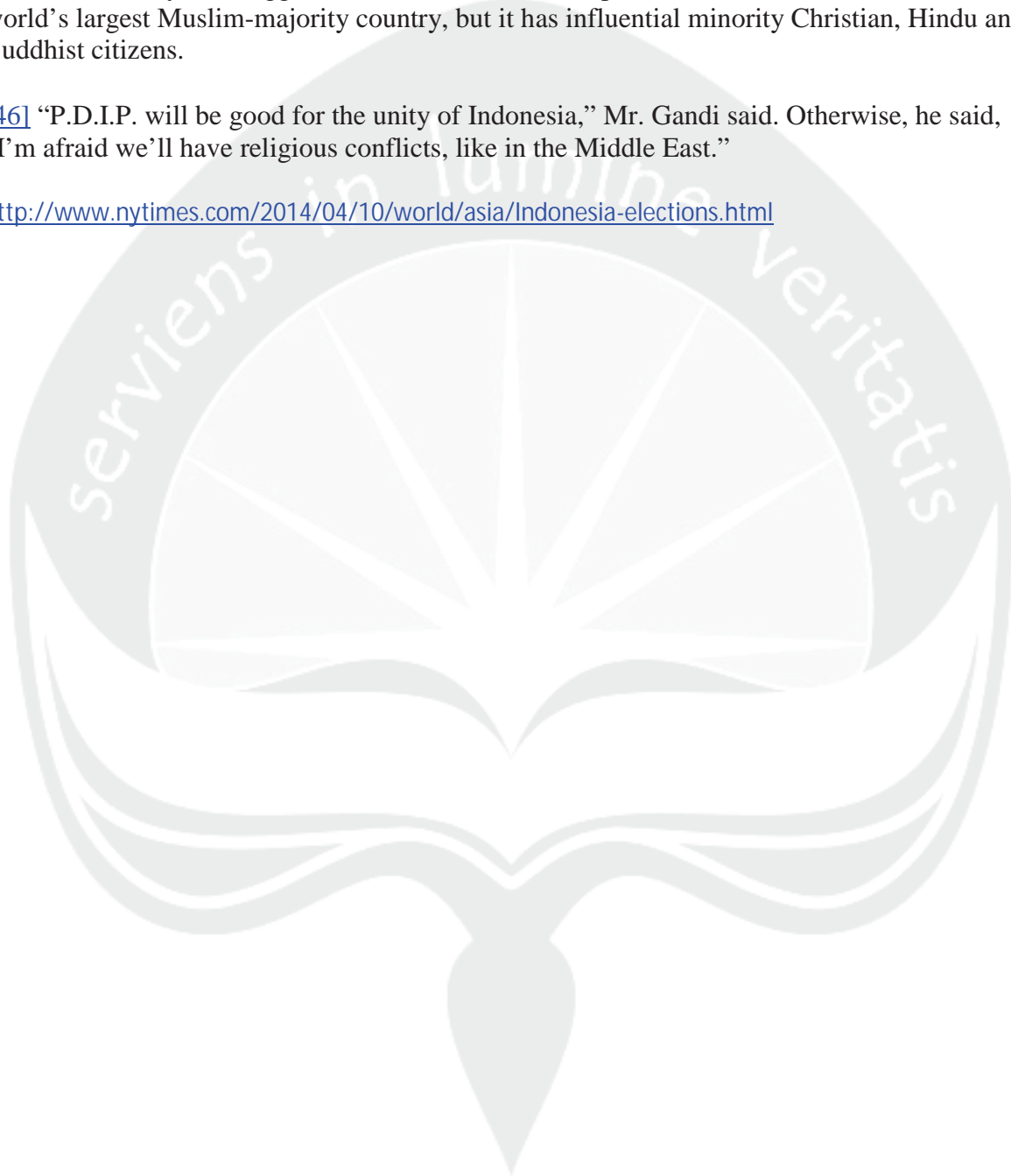
[42] Mrs. Ruswati said she felt so overwhelmed by the numerous photographs of candidates on each ballot that she decided to vote only for women wearing jilbabs.

[43] “I think they represent my religion,” she said.

[44] Gandi Taufik, a 35-year-old carpenter, said he was voting for Mr. Joko’s Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle because of its traditional pluralist values. [45] Indonesia is the world’s largest Muslim-majority country, but it has influential minority Christian, Hindu and Buddhist citizens.

[46] “P.D.I.P. will be good for the unity of Indonesia,” Mr. Gandi said. Otherwise, he said, “I’m afraid we’ll have religious conflicts, like in the Middle East.”

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/10/world/asia/Indonesia-elections.html>



# Political Upstarts Work to Propel Change in an Indonesia Tired of Corruption

By JOE COCHRANE JUNE 21, 2014

Photo



Joko Widodo, known as the leader of a new wave of politicians, at a mosque in Central Java, Indonesia, this month. Credit Mohammad Ali/European Pressphoto Agency

BOGOR, Indonesia — [1] Even as a young man, Bima Arya Sugiarto seemed a sure bet to gain membership into the exclusive club of Indonesia’s political elite.

[2] When he was 26, he helped found a national political party after the country began its transition to democracy following the collapse of the military-backed government of President Suharto in 1998. [3] By his late 30s, Mr. Bima was running one of the top political consulting firms in Jakarta, whispering advice to national politicians twice his age.

[4] This spring, however, Mr. Bima, now 41, left the political machinations of the Indonesian capital and returned home to Bogor, a quaint West Java mountain city, to be sworn in as its new mayor. [5] In a country known for damaging levels of official corruption and waste, he spends his time trying to plug “leakages” that drain as much as 30 percent of Bogor’s budget,

questioning why his predecessor had a \$16,000 clothing allowance, and focusing on issues like health care and local education that many Indonesian politicians ignore.

Photo



Supporters of his presidential campaign in Cirebon on Wednesday. Credit Beawiharta/Reuters

[6] “I’m committed to change the paradigm of what is a leader,” Mr. Bima said in an interview, discussing his decision to run for mayor, rather than for a safe seat in the national House of Representatives. [7] “We are civil servants — we are not the rulers.”

[8] Mr. Bima is one of a small but growing group of political upstarts who have headed out of the capital in recent years to pursue political careers in local government, and who have been encouraged by the recent success of [Joko Widodo](#), who made his name as a wildly popular small-city mayor and is now leading in polls to become president. [9] Although the political mavericks come from different political parties and are not formally aligned, they are united in a belief that 16 years after Mr. Suharto’s rule ended, the Indonesian public is increasingly fed up with the pace of change, the level of corruption and what they see as a lack of accountability.

[10] While the country has shed its authoritarian past, analysts note that most of the country’s current leaders are the products of or holdovers from the Suharto era — including former Army generals — and have never lost an aloof, paternalistic governing style in which citizens’ concerns are something of an afterthought. [11] And in the last five years, dozens of current and former members of the House of Representatives have been convicted of corruption and sent to prison.

[12] The new crop of politicians is trying to set itself apart by pushing good governance and a zero tolerance for corruption, as well as going out and talking to the masses in the streets or at public meetings.

[13] “There is a clear trend right now,” said Ramlan Surbakti, a professor of political science at Airlangga University in Surabaya, whose mayor, Tri Rismaharini, is a member of the group of new leaders. [14] “This new generation is trying to get elected into positions of leadership, but not in Jakarta.”

[15] Part of the move to the countryside, Mr. Ramlan said, is political expediency, a way around the Old Guard whose members still act as power brokers in the capital. [16] But he said many of the younger leaders are also trying out a new style of governing in places where they are less likely to be pressured into following established political rules often more focused on accruing power than meeting basic needs.

[17] “One of the common characteristics among this group is that they are quite independent of the national leadership in their respective political parties, despite being members,” Mr. Ramlan said.

[18] Analysts say the early successes of the group, especially in attracting accolades in the national press, might eventually loosen the grip on power by the Suharto-era politicians — a group that includes the outgoing president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, a retired Army general; former President Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of founding President Sukarno; and Aburizal Bakrie, who leads the Golkar Party, Mr. Suharto’s political vehicle during his 32-year rule.

[19] “If you are a regional-level leader and you have integrity, openness, transparent governance and a focus on anticorruption, you get re-elected and you catch the eye of national political party leaders,” said Doug Ramage, a Jakarta-based political analyst. [20] “And eventually, down goes the political party elite.”

[21] That trend, experts say, would accelerate if Mr. Joko — the standard-bearer for the new-style politicians — is elected president, especially since he would do so by besting [Prabowo Subianto](#), a former Army general and Mr. Suharto’s former son-in-law.

[22] Popularly known as “Jokowi,” Mr. Joko, the former mayor of Surakarta, skyrocketed to national political prominence in 2012 after winning the gubernatorial election in Jakarta as a dark-horse opposition candidate.

[23] Since then, he has followed a pattern that he set in Surakarta. [24] He regularly visits Jakarta’s slums and traditional markets to speak with residents about local issues including education, health care and the city’s notorious traffic problems.

[25] To tackle political corruption, he has come up with creative workarounds, issuing welfare payments on the equivalent of electronic gift cards, for instance, to allow people to pay for health care directly and ensure government officials do not take a cut off the top.

[26] The normally aggressive Indonesian news media has seemed completely mesmerized by his “man of the people” style, helping drive his popularity.

[27] “The idea of getting a clean leader from outside the mainstream appeals to the press,” said Wimar Witoelar, a political commentator and talk-show host. [28] He said that sheen is wearing off on the politicians trying to emulate his style, a group the news media calls “mini-Jokowis.”

[29] Mr. Ramlan, the political science professor, said that a victory by Mr. Joko in the presidential election next month would send a clear signal that Indonesian voters were beginning to reject leaders linked to the Suharto government.

[30] “But I think this trend would continue regardless of who wins,” he said. [31] “I think the people are fed up with the old kind of self-serving leadership.”

[32] Still, no one is betting that this younger generation will completely sweep out the entrenched political elite anytime soon. [33] Even Mr. Joko’s running mate and senior members of his campaign team are either Suharto-era figures or prominent members of the political elite that emerged after his downfall.

[34] Ultimately, however, Indonesia’s power brokers, and their political followers, will face a powerful challenge out of their control.

[35] “Half of the population today is below 29 years old, and most of them cannot relate to older politicians who are above 60, like Megawati, Prabowo, or Bakrie,” said Fauzi Ichsan, a prominent Indonesian economist with Standard Chartered Bank in Jakarta. [36] “The demography is moving in younger politicians’ favor.”

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/22/world/asia/political-upstarts-work-to-propel-change-in-an-indonesia-tired-of-corruption.html>

# After Barrage of Personal Attacks, Indonesian Presidential Election Tightens

By JOE COCHRANE JULY 5, 2014

Photo



Joko Widodo, in Bandung on Thursday, has seen his double-digit lead shrink in a poll. Credit Timur Matahari/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

JAKARTA, Indonesia — [1]The allegations have been flying thick and fast as Indonesia's presidential election campaign nears its end.

[2]One candidate has been accused of lying about his ethnicity, his religious affiliation and even whether he is the biological father of one of his children. [3] The other has been branded a murderous “psychopath,” and has faced rumors that he has been debilitated by a stroke.

[4]Smears have had a place in previous Indonesian elections, but this year's contest, fueled by social media, has hit new lows amid fears that the mudslinging is actually swaying voters.

[5] Indonesians will go to the polls on Wednesday to elect a successor to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who won the country's first direct presidential election in 2004 and then re-election in 2009.

[6] Joko Widodo, 53, the populist governor of Jakarta, is running against Prabowo Subianto, 62, a former army general during the administration of the dictator Suharto, his father-in-law. Mr. Prabowo is popular among urban and middle- and upper-class voters despite widespread [allegations of human rights abuses](#) during his military career.

Photo



Prabowo Subianto, in Central Java Province last week, was a military leader under Suharto. Credit Idhad Zakaria/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

[7] Mr. Joko, a former mayor with no link to Indonesia's authoritarian past, had been leading the race by a comfortable margin over the past few months. [8] But Mr. Prabowo has narrowed the gap in recent weeks, and now the race is too close to call. [9] Though analysts believe Mr. Prabowo has won over many voters because of strong campaign appearances, they say smears against Mr. Joko have also helped. [10] Those analysts, as well as a large study of social media, say Mr. Joko has been the target of most of the attacks during the campaign.

[11] A nationwide survey released on June 29 by [Indo Barometer](#), a respected polling company, found that a 13-point lead Mr. Joko had over Mr. Prabowo before official campaigning began in early June had shrunk to 3 points.

[12] Some of the most damaging accusations — made anonymously online — suggest Mr. Joko is ethnic Chinese and a former Christian, which would turn off many in this Muslim-majority country where resentment of often-wealthier Chinese Christians runs high. [13] Mr. Joko has repeatedly asserted he is Javanese and a Muslim, and Mr. Prabowo has not questioned that.

[14] “Smear campaigning is difficult to detect in surveys, but I have found that people who identify themselves as ‘Muslim voters’ are now equally supporting each candidate, while before the campaign, the majority of them supported Joko Widodo — almost 50 percent to 37 percent,” said Muhammad Qodari, executive director of Indo Barometer.

[5] “Now it’s equal at 44 percent,” he said. [16] “I can’t think of any other conclusion except that Muslim voters are being influenced.”

[17] The poll found that Mr. Joko’s lead among rural Indonesians — his political base — had narrowed to 5 percentage points from 13, Mr. Qodari said.

[18] It is unclear who is behind most of the accusations that have become the topics of daily gossip among many Indonesians. [19] Many of the rumors have been put forward in tabloid news reports, anonymous text messages and countless comments on social media sites slamming the two men.

[20] The rumor about Mr. Joko being a Christian started online in May, when a photograph of a certificate purportedly belonging to him began circulating on social media sites stating that he was of Chinese descent and was a former Christian. [21] A separate message that made the rounds online claimed that Mr. Joko was unable to properly perform Muslim prayers.

[22] In early June, *Obor Rakyat*, a tabloid newspaper that began publishing in April, made similar allegations and later added that Mr. Joko was not the biological father of his first child.

[23] Mr. Joko has denied the stories.

[24] Mr. Prabowo has been a target of negative campaigning as well. In early June, A. M. Hendropriyono, a retired army general who is serving on Mr. Joko’s campaign team and who was once Mr. Prabowo’s superior officer, called Mr. Prabowo a “psychopath” during a news conference and claimed that he had failed a mental health evaluation while in the military.

[25] The military has refused to say if Mr. Prabowo passed or failed an evaluation.

[26] Last month, after rumors spread that Mr. Prabowo had been debilitated by a stroke, journalists peppered his campaign for information.

[27] Mr. Prabowo’s campaign denied that he had had a stroke and that he had failed the mental health evaluation; his campaign team denounced the claims and filed a complaint against Mr. Hendropriyono. [28] Mr. Prabowo, who did have at least one stroke several years ago, has been mentally sharp during the campaign.

[29] Still, Mr. Joko and Mr. Kalla appear to have been the target of most of the personal attacks. [30] *PoliticaWave*, an Indonesian social media study group, examined 24,000 social



media conversations in May and found that the ticket was targeted by a ratio of eight to one, compared with Mr. Prabowo and Hatta Rajasa, his running mate.

[31] The intensity of the attacks, analysts say, has been fueled in part by this year's two-ticket race.

[32] When Indonesia held its first direct presidential election in 2004, there were five tickets. In 2009, there were three. [33] In both contests there were limited instances of smear tactics. This time, with only Mr. Joko and Mr. Prabowo contesting — offering vastly different choices amid a charged political atmosphere — the electorate is polarized, analysts said.

[34] Mr. Joko has been campaigning on the issues that made him a popular mayor and governor, including fighting corruption and improving education and health care. [35] Mr. Prabowo has been more nationalistic, promoting an Indonesia-first approach to foreign investment and elaborate development projects, and promising decisive leadership.

[36] “Like the United States, Indonesia has complex politics with high stakes, so people are willing to do a lot to win the election, including defaming their opponents,” said [R. William Liddle](#), an emeritus professor of political science at Ohio State University, who closely monitors Indonesian and Southeast Asian politics. [37] “If I was an Indonesian, I would be worried about how destabilizing these things could be.”

[38] A pugnacious campaigning style appears to have become the norm in Indonesia, said Effendi Gazali, a Jakarta-based political scientist and communications analyst.

[39] “Our politicians gradually have embraced the spirit of attacking rival campaigns, though they've needed to adjust to what level they think society could stand or accept,” he said.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/06/world/asia/after-barrage-of-personal-attacks-indonesian-presidential-election-tightens.html>

# Indonesian Candidate Masters a System He Is Said to Disdain

By JOE COCHRANE JULY 7, 2014

JAKARTA, Indonesia —[\[1\]](#) For a candidate accused of questioning the value of democracy, Prabowo Subianto appears to be a highly efficient campaigner.

[\[2\]](#) Trailing by more than 20 percentage points in an opinion poll three months ago, Mr. Prabowo, a former army general, has surged in polls before Indonesia's presidential election on Wednesday against Joko Widodo, the populist governor of Jakarta.

[\[3\]](#) Campaigning officially ended on Saturday, and both camps have acknowledged that the race is too close to call. [\[4\]](#) A nationwide survey released on June 29 by [Indo Barometer](#), a respected polling company, indicated that Mr. Joko held only a three-point lead over Mr. Prabowo.

[\[5\]](#) Mr. Prabowo, who said at a campaign event last month that elections run counter to Indonesian culture, has wooed voters with his nationalist message and the vow of strong leadership. [\[6\]](#) He has been accused of human rights abuses as the commander of Indonesia's Special Forces and as head of the army strategic reserve command under the authoritarian President Suharto, his father-in-law.

Photo



Prabowo Subianto, a former army general, has surged in polls before Indonesia's presidential election on Wednesday. Credit Romeo Gacad/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

[7] But analysts say voters are not fearful that the democratization that has occurred since Mr. Suharto's resignation 16 years ago may be rolled back.

[8] "Among voters, this is not a referendum on democracy," said Douglas Ramage, a Jakarta-based political analyst.

[9] "It's more of a referendum on the Yudhoyono years," he said, referring to the departing president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. [10] "Voters are fatigued and are ready to try something else."

[11] Mr. Yudhoyono, who took office in 2004 and is barred from a third five-year term, guided Indonesia to impressive economic growth and nurtured its nascent democracy, but he is widely criticized as indecisive and as having turned a blind eye to violence against religious minorities.

[12] Both candidates represent parties in opposition during Mr. Yudhoyono's tenure and have run on platforms promising change. [13] But the similarities end there: [Mr. Joko, 53, is a former provincial mayor and businessman](#) who has pledged a more "people-friendly" government to help the poor. [14] Mr. Prabowo, 62, who comes from a prominent Javanese political family, has promoted bold infrastructure and agriculture projects and vowed to prevent foreign interests plundering the country's natural resources.

[15] "It's two different visions for Indonesia," said Hashim Djojohadikusumo, Mr. Prabowo's brother and senior economic adviser. [16] "It's two different characters."

[17] Mr. Joko campaigned for better health care and education, speaking at Islamic boarding schools and traditional markets, where he was mobbed by working-class Indonesians who grabbed at his clothes. [18] Mr. Prabowo spoke to stadiums of middle- and upper-class supporters, using booming language tinged with military symbolism, sometimes arriving by private jet and once riding in on a white horse.

Photo



Joko Widodo Credit Dita Alangkara/Associated Press

[19] Mr. Joko has chided his opponent for his privileged background and European education, while Mr. Prabowo's campaign has characterized Mr. Joko as a small-town official not up to leading the world's fourth-most-populous country.

[20] "I think that the country is clearly polarized in two camps," said Thamrin Amal Tomagola, a sociologist at the University of Indonesia, who said there was a prospect of violence if the result was not decisive.

[21] Mr. Joko has categorized the election as a race between the country's rich and poor.

[22] Indonesia has around 100 million people who live on \$2 a day or less, and incomes among poorer Indonesians are rising at a slower pace than those of their more affluent compatriots.

[23] "I'm sure that people want a leader who knows the people, who knows what the people need, who knows what the people want," Mr. Joko said in an interview last week as he campaigned in Banten Province in the West Java region.

[24] Mr. Joko is the first presidential candidate since the country began holding direct elections in 2004 who was not involved in politics during the final years of Mr. Suharto's 31-year tenure, which was marred by rights abuses and corruption. [25] Mr. Joko, a former carpenter and furniture dealer, was first elected to office as a mayor in 2005.

[26] But Mr. Prabowo's campaign has rejected claims that the vote is a choice between a reformer and someone from the country's authoritarian past. [27] "He's not the angel that you guys seem to think he is," Mr. Hashim said of Mr. Joko.

[28] There have been smear campaigns against each candidate, but Mr. Joko has been targeted far more. [29] He has spent much of his time trying to assure voters that he is a Muslim despite assertions that he is a Christian of Chinese descent in a country where many resent the often wealthier ethnic Chinese.

[30] Mr. Hashim asserted that surrogates for Mr. Joko had spread false rumors that Mr. Prabowo is anti-Chinese, anti-Christian and anti-Buddhist. [31] While Mr. Joko has refrained from personal attacks, senior members of his campaign have blasted Mr. Prabowo's military record and questioned his mental stability.

[32] Muhammad Qodari, executive director of Indo Barometer, said Mr. Joko had clearly been hurt more by negative campaigning. [33] "This is a political battle, and the one who fights harder and harsher wins," Mr. Qodari said. [34] "It's not enough to just be considered a nice guy to win the right to run a country."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/08/world/asia/indonesian-candidate-masters-a-system-he-is-said-to-disdain.html>

## LAMPIRAN 6

### Transkrip Wawancara dengan Joe Cochrane, 20 April 2015

**Thankyou for your willingness to be intervied by me.**

Of yes, It's fine. So, what do you majoring in? What's subject?

**It's about Prabowo**

No, but I mean your faculty.

**My faculty is Social and Political Sciences, and I chosen Journalism and Media Studies**

Oh, good for you.

**My thesis is using text analysis.**

Alright

**Okey, may I start with your personal information, so your name is Joe Cochrane?**

Yes

**And how about your place and birthday?**

Yes sure, I was born in Washington DC on September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1968, but I grew up in Virginia which is very close to Washington DC.

**I heard that your wife is Indonesian, so do you have children?**

Yes, I have one son. He is Indonesian and American. He has 2 citizens. He is on Jakarta now.

**How old your son?**

He is free school. He is 5 years old. His name is Seain.

**Okey, and your wife?**

Yuliana, she was born in Jakarta but her father come from Gombong and her mother come from Klaten. So, she grew up in Jakarta.

**So, you have been in Indonesia since?**

1999 (kaget).

**Okey, but when you have work for New York Times?**

Ehmm.. for 2 years old on April 2013

**Alright, may I know about your work experience?**

Okey, I can send you I can email you my CV but I can tell you. Well, when I was 10 years old I wanted to be a journalist for newspaper. I have read newspaper Washington Post as American newspaper. So when I was on high school, I worked for my high school newspaper and then in university I studied journalism, print journalism. Yeah.

My university is in Virginia, my major is journalism and I worked for two newspapers as a student like internship. After that I graduated and I moved to Colorado. I have a scheme to work in a very small newspaper in Colorado. I was 24 years old want to get up money. That how I studied and my fist professionall job. So I did that for about 3 years and then I got tired of working and take a trip. And then I worked for a newspaper for Marican Airland, not too far from Japan maybe 3 hours by plane. I worked for 18 months. And then I get a job as a Associate Editor, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, The Cambodia Daily. Cambodia is in ASEAN. It is English language newspaper for the Cambodia daily. And then I quit. So I worked for Cambodia Bureau Chief, Phnom Penh, Cambodia Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA). I worked for 3 more years, and then 1999 I come to Jakarta when the first free election take in many years in Juni 1999, and I cover that for a month. And then I went to east Timor for the violance. I also take a freelance in Newsweek Magazine so I did that. And I went back to Cambodia for 2 months and I move to Jakarta on January 2000.

**So, why you choose New York Times?**

Oh okey, I will tell you because we still have time. Okey, so I was here in 2000 for DPP and Newsweek for little bit, and then 2 years letter Newsweek asked me for full time job living in Bangkok, Thailand but I cover all Asian. So I travel all the time every 2 month I came to Indonesia so was like I never move, I traveled around Indonesia, Singapura Malaysia, Philipines, Cambodia, Thailand. I also work in Pakistan Afganistan and Irak for the wars. Every 2 months I went to Jakarta. So I did that for 6 years for Newsweek. And then in 2006 Newsweek was having financial problem (no money). They said Okey you can't fulltime job anymore so I back to Jakarta and I worked for DPA again. So I did the same thing because I still worked for Newsweek a little bit. Okey, and then in 2008 I move to Pakistan for 6 months on assigment for DPA. It was war. I had gonna move there

so in Januari 2008 I have been in Pakistan for 2 months and I came back to Jakarta to see my wife and I ask her to marry me. And we are gonna move to Pakistan. But right before we were gonna go I got a job to Jakarta Globe so me and 3 other journalists launched it. I hired 1000 journalists. And I was the deputy of editor in chief for 3 years so I didn't move to Pakistan. So we stay here and then I quite in 2010.

### **Why you quite?**

Because I want to be in the field. For the Globe I was the deputy of editor, so I was in the office all day, everyday. Just telling reporters what to do then editing stories. Then I feel enough and left. So I move to the Economist and I was the contributor. This a journal for you. This is publish every 3 months. And then helping produce it until now. And then in 2013 my friend in Bangkok from New York Times tell me. "I have a job for you. We have money. So be my full time Indonesia correspondent". So I said yes to be Indonesian correspondent for NYT. So, that my career.

### **So you love to travel around Asia?**

I do but I can't travel a lot because I have wife and son. But like this years, so far I have been in Surabaya, Singapura, Hongkong, and West Java. And next month I'm going to Malaysia, and also East Java, and Singapura for work. I have to travel. I can not stay in Jakarta, but I try to do it not more than 5 days and I'm home for a month..

### **Do you have daily reading?**

Yes, when I wake up I read Jakarta Post, Globe, and headline of Kompas. Jakarta Post is one of English newspaper in Indonesia and I get much information from there. But I don't cover breaking news, spot news, or straight news like plane crash, earthquake, sodomi, or Jokowi become president that big news story. I normally write feature, long story about politic, economics, corruption, business for a long story. I cover anything. Long is good story

### **Do you have figure idol?**

Like a hero? Journalist or just anybody?

### **Just anybody.**

I have a influential teacher in my high school teacher, his name is Paul Machandisk and he was the teacher who help us do high school newspaper. So he is so helpful. I had some good teachers in university I guess one professor was

very good and he worked for the newspaper where I entered so he was very helpful. When I move Colorado, my editor is very helpful to grow up my career. He gave me a lot of confidence.

**Maybe you have a principle of life?**

Hahaha.. worked philosophy? For a work just be hungry. Stay humble. Don't be arrogant but be hungry when you work as a journalist. Just work hard. Tell the truth. I worked for the New York Times but I'm not arrogant. I never have a principle of life.

**Now, it's time to discuss about Indonesia and Prabowo. So, why did you write about it?**

Yeah, because it was a huge story. The NYT is read all over the world, not only America. You can buy NYT in Singapore, Malaysia, Europe, Japan, and other and people read every day. So it's about global ideas. Many readers are from Asia. There are 3 versions of NYT such as European version, Asian version, and American version. So it's for everybody. I write about Indonesia election because it is a huge story, the biggest election in 10 years, very historic because we have someone from Soeharto era, Prabowo vs Jokowi who is not from the old government.

**What is the importance of Indonesia to NYT?**

Alright, NYT is very serious to cover all news from over the world, indeed Indonesia. That is why they hire me to cover Southeast Asia. Indonesia is a big country, big economy, a lot of interesting things happen here, includes democratic transition. Many things happen like earthquakes, terrorism, and other. Always something is happening here. It's very important country. I know it is not covered enough globally but it gives much information for American people who doesn't know about Indonesia. When I'm asked what do you think about Indonesia? The answer is where is Indonesia? But it's okay. I just try to educate them, educate NYT readers. So sometimes they send me email to say thank you for covering Indonesia to them. So it is an interesting place I want to report.

**So, why did you choose Indonesia or it's not your choice but your assignment?**

Okay, I was in Cambodia and then in 1999 and it was crazy killing, war, and I had to move. I think I should go to Indonesia and my editor said yes you can go next year. It's your job. You will be perfect. So I was young, I was single, I reported war, so I came to Indonesia for the election and I love it. Yeah, here I am, still.....

**Still love Indonesia?**



Of course. Hahaha.

**Not because your wife is Indonesian?**

Ohh nooo.. I'm lucky because I cover Indonesia for NYT. It's very interesting. You won't believe my story but I have worked 30 years.

**When you should go to other country, will you go?**

Oh yes, that's why I will go to Singapura. I went for the Malaysia election 2 years ago.

**So, your area is South Asia?**

No, my area is Indonesia but I am the back for my friend. In South East Asia, Its me and in Bangkok, Thailand there is Thomas Fuller.

**I read in many article that our article in March 26<sup>th</sup>, 2014 was controversial?**

Last year? About Prabowo?

**Yes, many local and national media wrote about that.**

Yes, well I guess you that it is not something new. Everybody know about the allegation. I have known Prabowo for 20 years and I know his brother Hasyim. Do you know Hasyim? I'm friend with Hasyim. I can show you my last sms with Hasyim. Prabowo now don't want to see me. He is not mad at me. But I interviewed Prabowo for that article by call. He is a nice man but I don't think he is a little crazy but a nice man. And I just have Prabowo in one version and Jokowi in another version. And you know Jokowi won a close election and that was politics. But you know it's not my fault. I don't know why it is controversial. Hasyim, he read NYT every day. But sometimes he yayaayayayayayaya (marah-marah) especially during the campaign. He call me. He like my article. The elections was over, but we are still friends, he ask me did you read the article about Jokowi flip-flop and others. Prabowo he don't answer my phone. He don't want to take interview with me. He just try to stay out. And that's very good. He is not causing problem and his Koalisi Merah Putih is okay. There was no violation. Everybody accept the election so that great. Cayo Indonesia. Hahaha

**Do you ever met Prabowo?**

Yes, many times. Yeah I first met him in 2001. I have interviewed him. For the March 27<sup>th</sup> article, there are me and Jokowi (menunjukkan foto dengan keluarganya bersama Jokowi di HP). Its one week before he is become the candidate. He is still a governor. I'm sorry I can't find Prabowo picture with me.

### **So Prabowo never mad at you?**

Nooooo.. In that article Hasyim said thank you for the article because it's fair. The headline is good. It's very fair. The last time I saw him in the speech when on his campaign. I tried to call him by cell phone but he reply by sms. He just want to stay. He is not mad at me. No reason to be mad at me. He got the news for the local media and its terrible to him.

### **So, what do you think about Prabowo as a bussnismen?**

He is very succesfull, smart man, well educated, smart. He is a funny guy. As a businessman he is good and controversial like Nusantara and other, but as far as I know his bussines is well run

### **And what do you think about Prabowo as a candidate?**

He was very good candidate, he is very charismatic, strong, decisive. It's his strategies. Okay, like Jokowi with blusukan, very humble. And Prabowo with the "I am the leader.. I'm milliter.. Tidak.. Tidak... Tidak..." So that is the campaign strategy. He was a very good candidate, smart, her brother is very smart man. And they did very good campaign and the result was too close. The last week before the election it looked like Prabowo would win but in the end Jokowi pulled his team together so he won.

### **How could you be friend with Hasyim?**

I mean I am friendly with Hasyim. We know each other personally. If I call him, he answered. When he sent sms, I replied. And then sometimes I see him in his office in Jakarta or in journalist club and talk to him. We are like close friend. But I keep the distance when I write about somebody. You have to open. I met Prabowo first on 2001. I meet Hasyim at December 2012, yeah very recently. We have good connection. And he love the NYT and he knew I just want to be fair story about Prabowo and he trusted me. So he say my March 27 article is good. There was nothing new. And Prabowo said "I am not the killer, I hate human rights, you can see I wrote blablablaba" (menirukan gaya Prabowo). So after that I can write about it.

### **Why Hasyim liked your article about Prabowo?**

He liked the story because I laid out the allegations against Prabowo, but stressed that there was no evidence and that Prabowo had never been investigated for human rights abuses. I also gave Prabowo an opportunity to defend himself and explain. The only thing Hashim didn't like was the headline. I think that Hasyim seen a chance for rumors that

Prabowo is the figure that Soekarno defined. Soekarno suggested to choose someone who was feared and maligned. That's why that article give positive poin for Prabowo but local media news was terrible for Prabowo.

**There are 3 dimation of credibility, there are competence. Do you think Prabowo competence?**

Yes, he is competence I mean as a army, very tough, very success for his bussines and for his political party from 2007 and now it was the third biggest party in Indonesia. He worked very hard. He and his brother went around the country to introduce his party. He traveled around very hard and spent a lot of money and he got the national party. They did very well

**Is he trustworthy as president candidate?**

Yes.. I think voters fell the Prabowo is trustworthy. For voter it's not problem. It was about did they like the candidate? Did they think the candidate personaly is a good man. I can give you survey why voters like Prabowo/Jokowi. You should read it. Its very interesting. Jokowi was leading so much but Prabowo push the gap. So Prabowo trust by people in economy. But who get more trust as a good people? Yeah, And Jokowi leads.

**So, do you think Prabowo past about human righ abuses affect the credibility of Prabowo?**

Not at all because among voters don't remember. And the older voters thought that army saved Indonesia. So people saw the the army with uniform saved the country. So it was only an issue for Komnas HAM, Contrass, and human right associations. I do believe that many voters found him trustworthy. I mean he got 41 million votes, and Jokowi 47 millian. I mean in America that not close, but in Indonesia a lot people found him very trustworthy.

**In your article you always said that Prabowo is Suharto son in low. Why?**

Because I mean. Don't forget that the reader never live in Indonesia like me. They read all news around the world. So yo have to give something that they knew figure like Suharto to introduce. I don't want to make Prabowo look bad, jut to introduce him. Just elections about someone from older goverment and someone new. And that is fact. Its not my fault that I say that he is a army general that is what he was. And for the reader you have to tell it detail to understand more about Indonesia.

**Do you know much about Suharto?**

Yes I know. I know the history I never here when he was the president but I mean I know from references, book, and other. About 1965, Suharto.

**Did Prabowo have the same style with Suharto?**

Well, No I think..

**Okay,I will continue the interview. There are three dimention of credibility such competence, trustworthy, and good will. How about Prabowo's good will?**

Hmm.. Goodwill.. Well, I think many of large candidate have goodwill because he was a former of farmer association, he promises for better Indonesia. He spoke to public how farming was stolen in Indonesia eventhough that is not true. That's a lie but every Indonesian politician did that, even Jokowi. I think more people will vote for Jokowi but it dosen't mean Prabowo didn't have goodwill.

**And also goowill?**

Yeah. Goodwill for the better people. Just for your research it about who vote Jokowi and Prabowo. I think more people will vote for Jokowi but it dosen't mean Prabowo didn't have goodwill.

**So, you are Indonesian or still American citizen?**

American.. hahaha

**And your wife?**

Indonesian.

**So, you wife vited for Indonesian election?**

She did.

**If you can vote, which one do you vote?**

No I can not. I will keep that. But All I want to say is the majority voters fell it's time to try to break away from the past, and there was I mean Jokowi was a political fenomenal. Who is he this guy? He give something different. And Jokowi benefit from 10 years of SBY and voters was tired of Yodhoyono and that was natural, like in Amerika, voters are getting tired of Obama, tired of Clinton after 10 years. They want something new and Jokowi was completely new. Not in the ruling class, not a army general, not part of Soeharto, blusukan, so he woook

(menirukan gaya Jokowi dengan bersemangat) like that so many people feel he is new leader.

**You said that Prabowo candidacy make Obama in difficult position?**

Yes.. not so much Obama but the USA department. Yes, it did. It's a fact, because they don't speak to him, like the US ambassador never met with Prabowo. They met with Jokowi. They met a lot and Prabowo was not a lot in USA. That was an issue but the USA ambassador here now whoever win we will work with, just like the prime ministry in India. When he was a candidate, he was bent for going to the US but after he become the president. He met with Obama

**So it's not problem?**

It's potential problem because they never knew Prabowo with it's case. In congress it will very difficult to having good relation for Prabowo. They will got pressure and have to explain how we can have good relation with Prabowo and that would be bad for Indonesia I think

**Okay, do you know much about Prabowo career in military?**

Just from research, reading books, human right report.

**Why American government reject Prabowo visa?**

Hahaha.. There was seven general in Indonesia. There is no blacklist. It's like when you applied a visa. It's cases individualy. Prabowo applied for visa and it was rejected and then he applied again and then rejected again. So because of this was right a year 6 month after Soeharto resign so in American press, they were waiting for this moment. And then in congress they have called the department and say we don't want this guys here, because he is a killer, murderer, kill children, etc. So the state department agree and yeah you know this guys couldn't for any reason. So when Prabowo's son was graduated from senior high school, he couldn't come.

**Why you said that Prabowo is American admirer?**

Oh yesss.. He was a student in USA. He was twice on top of his class. His major in US because it is successful country. It's function well, high standard of living. The military is very good. I don't know the admirer on administration system, but I feel that Prabowo support the country. But there is Jokowi. I mean Jokowi is people-centric and society said look at this guy. Come on, we gotta get Jokowi for the election.

You know swing voters?

**Yes I know..**

Yeah.

**Do you about Trisakti in 1998?**

A little bit I mean I know but just know. Who did it? Well there is no evidence but it is clear the army did it. Who shot the students. I don't have research I mean academic research but there is never be evidence who shot the student.

**But we think logically that Prabowo destroy from Army. Is it because Trisakti?**

I can't say that Prabowo orchestrated Trisakti, but maybe Prabowo destroy from army because there was something wrong, maybe about the mistake in commando process, and Prabowo was one of the commander on that time. So the question is who commanded to shoot the students? It was riot in Jakarta on May 1998 and the China town was moving off. There was.. emm.. he was holding secret meeting with the political military leaders also. There was secret meeting. So I think that there are also basically the plotting that Soeharto resign who will be take over, but he was officially destroy an acting with all voters.

**Okey, I want to know about organization routinity in NYT? Who decided the angle and the topic?**

It's a team. They give me trust. I just say hey, I want to write something about interesting thing. These gonna take 2 week, a week, and I know it's my job. I'm not only give one idea, but two or three ideas. I have free stories ideas. And then they say OK just do it but sometimes they call me or email me and say what do you think about this? There is an interesting thing in Medan. Can you write the story now? Or a plane crash, Air Asia. We need you write it right now. So it's different. I have ideas and they have ideas. Primerly comes from me, but sometimes the idea from my editor. Angle... There is no angle, just write it.

**So you still have editor?**

I have editor ini Hongkong, and one in New York.

**What's the difference?**

New York is take over when Hongkong is too busy. Primerly I'll be with the Hongkong biro but sometimes, in middle of the nigh New York call me and say

Okey, there is a story can you do this with it? They are different version. One for the front edition, and one for the American NYT edition.

**Who edited your article about Prabowo?**

I think, I try to remember.... (mencoba mengingat).... I think the New York one. Sometimes if it really big story and they want to take in the front page of the New York Times page they say, okey we want to edited. I'll be the editor. But they today I mean touch with Hongkong.

**But the editor changed much of your article or how?**

Editor is a spark news, and editor for news like indepth, and bussines, features, sport editors so depending on what you wanna doing. But the main editor of me is the who is the indepth editor because it a spark news. You know JIS? Yeah it's the news editor. It's what happened here. And on the execution I am with the enterprise editor. So that day I will with him. I think they don't change much but like story news. Sometimes yes. Sometimes they send back and say can you rewrite this and then I go ..... And if a big story I have 5 times, I mean take like when wrote about Tupperware the whole process was ten months because it was big story. So it fact report. Sometimes they like like lead but sometimes they rewrite the lead.

**In your article, you use many source. Do you meet them?**

Yeah, I meet them. The analyst via call, email, intervied and also local news source like Jakarta Pos reported. You know you can use many resources and you can say what happen.

**When I search article in NYTimes.com, there are so many article from other media like The Association Press and Reuters. Do they work together?**

No, I mean NYT subscipbe AP and Reuters, Bloomberg. So they pay them. Its like news services. Every moth NYT pay the fee to get the news. Like the NYT it's not just NYT reporter.

**Actually I also want to know about the relation between Indonesia and America? What do you think?**

Okey, I think over all is good relation. I think the important problem is not the political, but the economic situation here with Indonesia. You know economic nationalism. And you know the impack of American business here and it's a problem. But I think overall the relation is good. US have a lot of money in Indonesia to develop.

### **How about NYT think about the relation between Indonesia and America?**

Actually I don't read it lately but there is nothing wrong with it so there is no reason to write it.

### **How about the selection of the selection or the source?**

It depend who be knowledgeable, expertist like political and less. You don't want to use the same one twice, you should use different one. Like economic issue, I will call and ask how was your opinion about this issue. I mean a lot about hundred resources, I get secret information. So I have a lunch with diplomat and having a coffee with some political.

### **So, how many article that you write in a week?**

You know Air Asia its every day. Sometimes one article in 3 week.. sometimes 3 articles in 1 week it depend on spark news or quick news or future. If it a bigger story it takes a lot of times.

### **When you write about Prabowo, what your expectation?**

I don't say he was a criminal, I just say he never been proved in court. I just to be fair to any body. Anytimes you mention Prabowo you have to say who is this guy? He was general, army, kill the people, but he is never been aressted. I just be fair and tell the truth. That's the problem with Indonesian media. There are like TV One is pro Prabowo and Golkar, Metro TV is pro Jokowi. Its bad. It not about our opinion but about the balance. So it's the problem with Indonesia media journalism.

### **Where you get the picture?**

That came form.... Subscipte. I don't take it by my self. But when we makes a story sometimes NYT have freelance photographers.

### **What do you think about PKI?**

PKI some like leader in PKI. They killing 2 million people, even today there is discrimination with their children. Do you know the moviow The day after the killing? And The sound of the silence. But all I know is PKI is not true. About Tri Sakti shooting, it clear it from the army who shoot the student.



**What do you think about smears? Or black campaign as long as the election campaign?**

Yeah.. there are so much smears but data from Indo Barometer you know? Data says that Jokowi hurt more by negative campaigning than Prabowo. Yes you know, Obor say that Jokowi was not the biological father of his oldest son. Jokowi was ethnic Chinese and a former Christian, and other. Even Prabowo had been debilitated by a stroke, a “psychopath”, but overall Prabowo got more benefit for the smears during the campaign because Jokowi has been targeted far more. So I think that’s why he can broke up the gap. And smear voter, yeah, it was the target of the smears. I think the big number of swing voters became the target.

**Why NYT choose you as the correspondent?**

I have a lot experience in Indonesia, I take the interview for 3-4 candidate. I have big experience not only in Indonesia but South East Asia and they saw I am the best candidate. I think NYT want me with experience who can tell the story differently with any body else.

**How about the organization of NYT?**

I don’t know much about it, but the editor in chief is in New York. And the International New York Times was the section which I work for, changed the name of newspaper 15 month ago so its own by NYT company. So I have boss in Hongkong and New York. I’m in international section on the news desk.

## LAMPIRAN 7

### Transkrip Wawancara dengan Herbert Buchsbaum, 15 Mei 2015

**Hello Mr. Herbert Buchsbaum, I'm Hyashinta, 8th semester student at University of Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Now I'm doing my thesis titled "Framing Analysis of Prabowo Subianto's Credibility As Indonesian Presidential Candidate period 2014-2015 at NYTimes.com. I have interviewed Mr. Joe Cohchrane, but I should interview at least two people from New York Times. I'm so glad to know you and thank you so much for your willingness to be interviewed by me. May I ask you some questions directly?**

I appreciate your interest in The New York Times and would be delighted to speak with you. How would you like to proceed? Joe had suggested an interview by e-mail. Does that work for you?

**Thank you for your response. Yes, I think the interview will take by email. I am sorry if the question is too much. I will start with your job and the process of news production. Hope you do not mind to answer it. So these are my questions:**

I have tried to answer your questions below. Please let me know if you require further explanation or have more questions. I would be happy to follow up with you.

Good luck with your thesis!

#### **1. How was your career so that you can be an deputy chief editor for Asia for the International New York Times? Why you choose New York Times?**

I worked for many years at several smaller newspapers and magazines. Before I got a job with The New York Times. The Times is one of the best news organizations in the world and it was an honor to be hired there. I worked at The Times as an editor on the International Desk in New York for nearly 10 years, most recently as China editor, before I was promoted to Deputy Asia Editor and moved to Hong Kong.

One small correction: My title is Deputy Asia Editor of The New York Times.

## **2. What is the positive points of NYT than other media according to you?**

I'm not sure I completely understand the question, but I think there are many news outlets that do a very good job of reporting the news. The New York Times has always placed great emphasis on international reporting and I think does a better job of it than most news organizations. The Times is also well known and respected for its coverage of American politics, arts and culture, fashion and business. Unlike news organizations in some countries, The Times is independent of the government, businesses or any political party. Even though we always have our critics, we strive to write the news as impartially and fairly as possible, and that gives us credibility with our readers.

## **3. What is your job as deputy chief editor for INYT?**

As Deputy Asia Editor of The New York Times, my job is to work with the Asia Editor to oversee coverage of Asia for the organization online and in print. Based in Hong Kong, we oversee news bureaus from Tokyo to Jakarta. We also oversee the production of the Asian editions of The International New York Times.

## **4. How does the process of news production in the New York Times, both in print or web version? I mean, after journalist write article, anyone who is editing the news? And then what is the next step until the news was published?**

After a journalist writes an article, he or she files it to the assigning editor, which The Times calls a backfield editor. The backfield editor checks the story for content, structure, balance, fairness, etc. and works with the reporter to make any needed changes. If the story is a very important story, higher editors may also get involved, including the International Editor and the Executive Editor in New York. Then a copy editor reads the article again, fixing errors in grammar and style, checking facts, and making sure the article is ready for readers. The copy editor also writes the headline and captions for the article. Another editor, called the slot, reads the article again to check it over. Then the article is ready to be published in print and online.

## **5. Who decide the angle of the news? Is there check and recheck process to content of the news?**

Usually there is a discussion between the reporter and the backfield editor on the article when it is first assigned that includes how the reporter will approach the article and what topics should be covered. Sometimes this angle changes when the reporter is doing the reporting and frequently there is another conversation

between the reporter and editor before the writing begins, as well as during the editing process.

The checks and recheck are as described in the answer to question 4 above.

**6. Is there daily editorial meeting in International New York Times? Via email or what?**

The editors in the Hong Kong office of The New York Times have two daily editorial meetings, at 11 am and 2:30 pm. There are separate editorial meetings in New York and Paris. We communicate our plans to the New York office by phone, email and IM.

**7. What criteria news that worthy published?**

The criteria are how important the news is and how interesting it is. As these categories can be very subjective, there is a lot of discussion among reporters and editors about which subjects are worth covering. We have limited resources and cannot report on every story so we have to choose those that we think are most important to our readers and those we are able to cover well.

**8. Do you ever do not pass an news article to publish?**

All the time. Frequently a reporter will have to start reporting on a subject to find out whether there is a story there worth covering. Sometimes there isn't. Sometimes a reporter will write an article, send it to the editor and the editor will decide the article needs more reporting and will ask the reporter to do more work and try again.

**9. How do you coordinate with the correspondent ?**

Usually by telephone and email.

**10. What the biggest challenges as deputy chief editor for INYT?**

Asia is a huge territory with many countries and millions of stories. It is a challenge to keep up with the news in each country and to decide where to focus our resources so that we get the best coverage.

**Thankyou so much for answering my questions. Actually I have tried to search about International New York Times Editorial Structure, but it's so difficult to find it. May you tell me about the name of executive editor, backfield editor, copy editor, and the slot names? Or maybe check the results of my searching.**

Executive Editor	: Dean Baquet
Assistant Editor for International	: Joe Kahn
International Managing Editor	: Michael Slackman
Asia Editor	: Philip P. Pan (based in Hong Kong)
Latin America and Africa Editor	: Greg. Winter
Europe Editor	: Richard Stevenson ((NoSuzanne Daley))
Deputy Asia Editor	: Herbert Buchsbaum
Backfield Editor International Desk alone)	:There are probably (20 of them on the
Copy Editor	: many
Slot	: several
BangkokCorrespondent	: Thomas Fuller
Philippines Correspondent	: Floyd Whaley
Indonesia Correspondent	: Joe Cochrane

**I think I quite understand about the news production in International New York Times. Now, I want to ask about your opinion about Indonesia and about Prabowo Subianto as presidential candidate of Indonesia for 2014 election.**

**What do you think about Indonesia? How do you know about Indonesia?**

Indonesia is important to The New York Times and its readers for many reasons, including the fact that it is the world's fourth most populous country, it has one of the largest economies, it is an important power in Southeast Asia, and it is the most-populous Muslim-majority country. I have visited Indonesia once, and have read about it for many years. I hope to visit again soon. So I think the news of election in Indonesia is important because It affected international relation and international policy.

**What news do you most read about Indonesia, whether related to politics, economy, tourism, or what? Can you give an idea to me as a asia editor who read or maybe edit the news about Indonesia?**

I am interested in reading about any important news from Indonesia, including political, economic and diplomatic.

**Do you follow or read the news of the presidential elections in Indonesia in 2014? If so, do you know the figure of Prabowo and Joko Widodo (Jokowi) as a presidential candidate in Indonesia election? What do you think about these two candidates? Who is more popular or more frequently discussed in foreign media?**

We reported on the election and wrote about both candidates.

I think Jokowi has new style leadership so he is attractive for foreign media and readers. Prabowo is already familiar. I have read about past Prabowo accused of human rights violations in 1998 and others. And this becomes interesting when there are two candidates with different characters, political figures from the past vs. new politicians with new styles. Smears have had a place in Indonesia's election and affect the voters. Since he has become president, Mr. Joko has been more frequently discussed in the news media.

**Did you edit the news about the election in Indonesia (especially the news that I analysis)? Have you ordered the journalists to cover the elections Indonesia from a certain perspective?**

List of the news that I analysis for my thesis

NO	DATE	TITLE
1.	March 26, 2014	<i>Indonesia Candidate Tied to Human Rights Abuses Stirs Uniaise</i>
2.	April 9, 2014	<i>Early Count in Indonesia Favors Largest Opposition Party</i>
3.	June 21, 2014	<i>Political Upstarts Work to Propel Change in an Indonesia Tired of Corruption</i>
4.	July 5, 2014	<i>After Barrage of Personal Attacks, Indonesian Presidential Election Tightens</i>
5.	July 7, 2014	<i>Indonesian Candidate Masters a System He Is Said to Disdain</i>

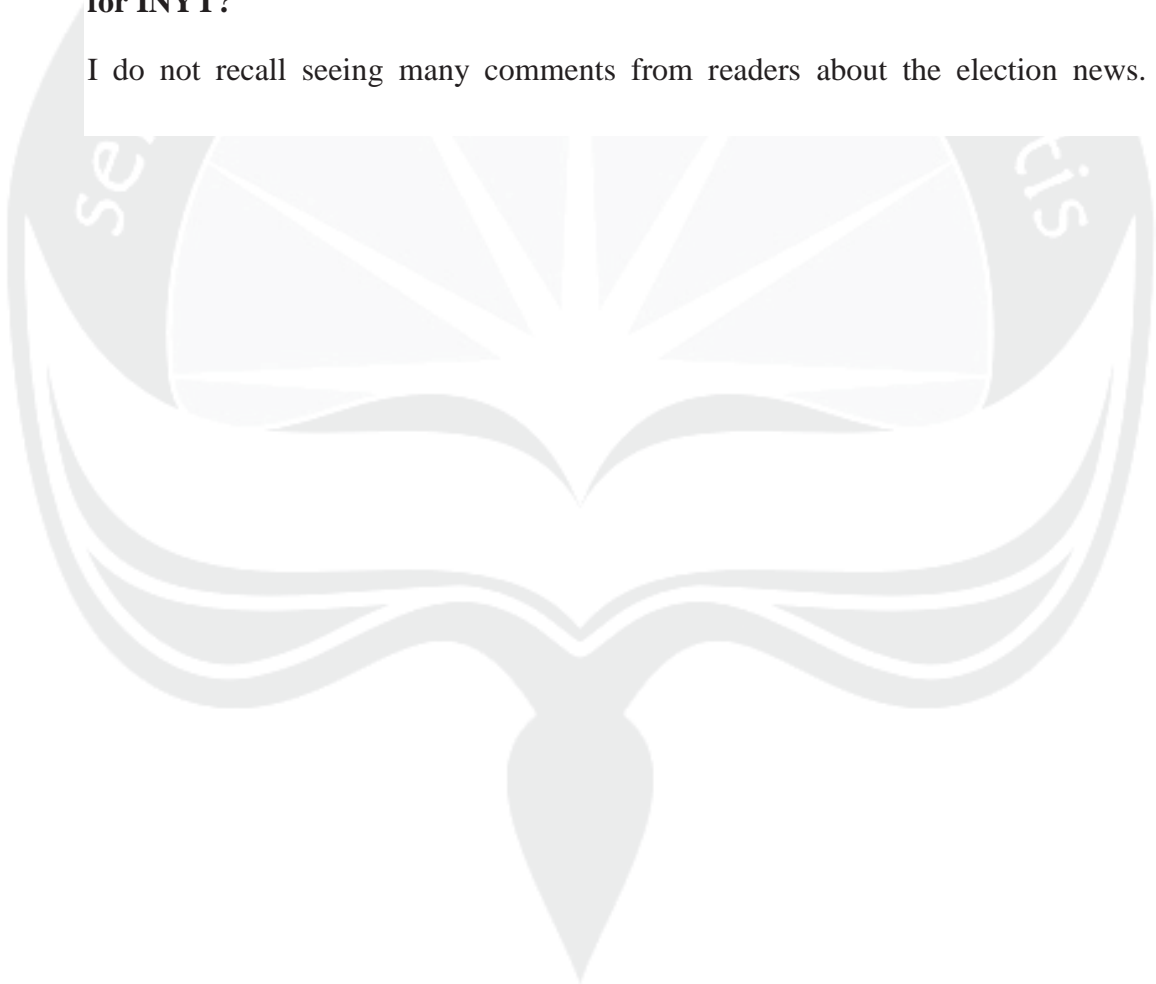
I believe I edited nos. 3 and 5 of the articles you cite above.

I think article no. 3 is quite interesting about new style of the leader in Indonesia to change the corruption which is identical to the Suharto era. I think it was the result of discussion between me and Joe.

About the article no. 5 I remember it was about the smears during the election campaign. I made the *headline* and *lead*. It was also result of our discussion.

**Do you ever see the comments from readers about the Indonesia election news? If so, how do you respond? Are there any suggestions and criticisms for INYT?**

I do not recall seeing many comments from readers about the election news.



## LAMPIRAN 8

### **Transkrip Wawancara dengan Michelle Innis, koresponden INYT berbasis di Sidney, Australia**

**Hello Ms/Mrs. Michelle Innis, I'm Hyashinta, 8th semester student at University of Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Now I'm doing my thesis titled "Framing Analysis of Prabowo Subianto's Credibility As Indonesian Presidential Candidate period 2014-2015 at NYTimes.com. I have interviewed Mr. Joe Cohchrane, but I should interview at least 2 people from New York Times. I'm so glad to know you and thank you so much for your willingness to be interviewed by me. May I ask you some questions directly?**

Hyashinta, of course. Any time! Kind regards Michelle Innis

**Thank you for your response. Yes, I think the interview will take by email. I am sorry if the question is too much. I will start with your job and your opinion. Hope you do not mind to answer it.**

Hyashinta, thank you for reminding me about your questions! I will start answering them this afternoon. I have been busy --with work!

Hyashinta, See my answers below. Please let me know if you need more information. Would you also send me information explaining how my answers will be used? thanks, kind regards

#### **1. How is your process to be Sidney correspondent for New York Times? Why you join NYT?**

I joined the NYT after a long time reporting for a number of other news organisations.

I started my reporting career at AAP, moved to a Sydney daily city newspaper, then worked on the South China Morning Post in Hong Kong, two newspapers in Fleet Street, London, then finance reporting at AAP in Sydney. I wrote for the Sydney Morning Herald and then worked as a subeditor at the Australian Financial Review for eight and a half years.



After the Australian Financial Review I returned to writing, at the NYT.

**2. What excess NYT than other media in your opinion?**

I'm not sure what this question is asking.

**3. How you covers the Indonesian-Australian relationship in your stories?**

I cover federal politics. Australia has had a long-term but not always easy relationship with Indonesia, which has included times when the Indonesians have withdrawn their ambassador from Australia and recently, the Australians withdrew Paul Grigson from Indonesia.

**4. What is your views on Indonesia and Australia's diplomatic relations?**

My view isn't relevant to my reporting.

**5. What do you think about Indonesia? How do you know about Indonesia?**

I have visited Indonesia and I have read analysis of Indonesian politics, trade and a small amount of culture. I am always keen to learn more.

**6. What is the importance of Indonesia for the New York Times according to you?**

Indonesia is a very important country to Australia, and the world. It is growing. It has a fast developing economy and a huge population.

**7. What news do you most read about Indonesia, whether related to politics, economy, tourism, or what? Can you give an idea to me as a foreign journalist who read or maybe wrote the news about Indonesia?**

I read Australian reporters' stories about Indonesia, The Lowy Institute and of course the NYT. I am interested in politics, trade and finance.

**Thankyou for answerin my questions. Your answers will be used to strengthen the results of my research. For example about foreigners' views about Indonesia, the view you as a news correspondent in Sydney about Indonesia news.**

**I still have some questions for you. It's about your reference of Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo.**

Hyashinta, I did read the news about the elections and I did follow the reporting on the candidates. I read widely, and am interested in Jokowi now that he is president.

Jokowi was frequently discussed in the Australian news and Indonesia gains a lot of coverage now that he is president.

I can only say that the Australia media and analysts stated Jokowi would be a new style of leader because he had little political baggage; but that opinion within the local news here has changed. He is regarded less favourably, possibly because of the execution of Andrew Chan and Myuran Sukumaran and the way the families of these two men were treated. It was claimed in Australian newspapers that Widodo did not return telephone calls from Australia's prime minister; did not properly read legal briefs about the two Australians on death row, and local TV coverage showed the families and the men being treated without dignity.