

Portraits of the Exiles: Illustrative Descriptions

1. Basuki Resobowo (1916-1999)

“Therefore, for an artist for the people, it doesn’t matter if he has to help the political movement by making posters. This will be considered as a contribution to the people’s struggle.”

Basuki Resobowo was a well-known artist of the '45 Generation, and a contemporary of the artists, Affandi and Sudjojono. This former head of the art section of the People’s Cultural Institute (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*-LEKRA), who was also artist, writer and film figure, held the principle of ‘art with a social commitment’, and that art was inseparable from politics. During his whole life, Basuki was an artist who was directly involved in fighting against those in power. He was in the middle of the nationalist struggle against the Dutch and was imprisoned by the Japanese occupiers during the Second World War.

After he became an exile in China, Germany and the Netherlands, Basuki Resubowo persistently followed his conscience by becoming part of what he called the voice of the people, who fought against the oppression by a regime. He did this through his work which he wrote when he was a political exile in the New Order period. He continued to paint, draw caricatures for various publications by the exiles, create posters for political actions against New Order militarism, draw comic strips on history, and write various critiques and analyses. ‘Uncle Bas’, as he was known to young activists of the Indonesia Committee, was always present at every action against the oppression of the Suharto regime through his presence and his work.

[An audio fragment of Basuki Resobowo: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

2. Sarmadji (1931-2022)

“This library is a memorial for my friends who lived and died in exile...They should have been able to go home and meet their families, wives and children that they love, also their sons/daughters-in-law. But they could not meet them because they died abroad, so then how?”

When he was still in Indonesia, Sarmadji worked as a civil servant in the Youth Bureau of the Department Education and Culture in Jakarta. He received a scholarship to study Child Education in China, in September 1964. Having not yet conducted a year of study, the 1965 tragedy occurred. The students, including himself, were summoned by the Indonesian Embassy in China, which had been taken over by the Indonesian military. They were given the choice to either follow

Suharto or Sukarno. "I did not want to (follow Suharto), I started out from Sukarno, and when I go home I want Sukarno. I don't want to be half-hearted." And the consequence of choosing to be loyal to Sukarno is to be exiled.

Sarmadji stayed in China until 1976, then he left for the Netherlands with the help of some friends in the Netherlands. He was granted asylum on the condition that he should find work in the Netherlands. Sarmadji who graduated with a degree in child education, ended up working as a glass cutter in a factory. Because he was diligent and never skipped work, one day he received a gift of 100 guilders from the factory, which became his initial means to set up a small library in his home. A large part of his collection focused on what happened in 1965 and 1966. He opened his library for the public. Through this effort he got to know many people, including Indonesian students who were studying in the Netherlands. They asked many questions regarding the 1965 tragedy. In this way, Sarmadji said that he could convert his grief into strength.

3. Sardjo Mintardjo (1936-2015)

"It would be a pity if the current openness wasn't utilized. The public today is intelligent and can judge for themselves what (really) happened, for instance, the violence in the 60s and others."

When the G30S tragedy occurred in September 1965, young Mintardjo was studying political economy at the *Academia de Studi Economice din Bucuresti*, in Rumania. And then, the Indonesian representative in Bucharest asked him to sign a statement supporting Suharto's leadership and agreeing that Sukarno was involved in the incident. Mintardjo refused both, because he felt that he was unaware of what was happening in Indonesia. As a result, his passport was revoked. However, life went on in Bucharest. Mintardjo worked there, and later married a Rumanian woman and had three children.

In 1989, Mintardjo moved his family to the Netherlands shortly after the Romanian communist regime fell. As a foreigner, he felt unsafe in Romania. He settled in Leiden and, remarkably, opened his home to Indonesian students. Pak Min's home became a meeting place for various discussions, especially on Indonesian history, which was often accompanied by a meal of oxtail soup made by Mintardjo, which he was famous for. Pak Min was one of the most well-known exiles and was often called the "Father of Indonesian Students in the Netherlands".

4. Kuslan Budiman (1935-2014)

“The exiles should always participate, realistically, in the movement.”

Kuslan Budiman, a theater artist and a member of the leadership of Lekra, the left-wing arts organization, was sent to China to study the performing arts, particularly the innovations of Beijing opera. Like many of his contemporaries, after 1966, Kuslan's passport was revoked by the anti-communist Suharto regime. He then spent the rest of his life in exile. In the 1970s, he left Beijing and settled in Moscow, where he became a prominent painter. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, he joined other exiled comrades in the Netherlands.

Kuslan lived alone in Woerden for decades. Yet, he remained ‘connected’ to his community. He was committed to being an exile, who participated realistically in the movement. He believed that the movement was a long, collective struggle against injustice and state violence in 1965, the resolution of which remains unclear even until now. In various public discussions held by Indonesian students, journalists, and activists, he shared his thoughts and experiences as an exile. Within his neighborhood in Woerden, Kuslan was active as a member of the local artists' association. He also expressed his experiences as a survivor in numerous articles and poems, both in Indonesian and Dutch.

5. Suparna Sastra Diredja (1915-1996)

“To become a revolutionary one has to unite oneself with the working people.”

His name is inseparable from the labor union movement in Indonesia. For a person who came from Garut (West Java), and helped pioneer plantation labor unions in Indonesia, his revolutionary struggle had a real meaning, namely uniting with the working people. And Parna strove to live up to his words. Throughout various historical periods: Dutch colonialism, the Japanese occupation, the independence era, and then the Suharto military regime, Suparna remained with the struggle for workers, despite imprisonment and later, living as political exile in the Netherlands.

As a 1965 political exile, Parna lacked the political capacity and capital he once had, but he continued his struggle. He was active in various organizations opposing Suharto's militarism, organizing actions and joining demonstrations, such as the Indonesia Committee and the Aksi Setiakawan. He helped organize a movement for workers who were political prisoners of the New Order in Indonesia, published publications, and assisted the Dutch labor union, FNV. He was also active with Dutch organizations and political parties. Furthermore, he collected and wrote about the Indonesian labor history. To gather material, Suparna visited archives and

museums in the Netherlands, and also contacted fellow labor activists in various countries. This was his goal during his exile, which he pursued until his death in Amsterdam.

[An audio fragment of Suparna Sastra Diredja: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

6. Francisca Fanggidaej (1925-2013)

"It was unbearable. I hoped things would get better. I had my duties, and I didn't want to and could not keep thinking about home. The only thing I could do was pass on information. Fight for democracy in Indonesia. If I had given in to my longing for my children, I would have been devastated. And I didn't want that to happen."

Originating from Eastern Indonesia, Francisca Casparina Fanggidaej received Dutch education during her childhood. Her father was a colonial official. However, she discovered her Indonesian identity when she became acquainted with a group of young Moluccans in East Java and later joined their meetings. She was particularly involved in the struggle of the Indonesian Socialist Youth (Pesindo), which was active during the Dutch effort to recolonize Indonesia between 1945 to 1949. She also faced persecution from her own countrymen during the People's Democratic Front (FDR) long march, following the Madiun Affair in 1948. Her husband was executed by the Indonesian government under the leadership of Muhammad Hatta. However, Francisca stood up and continued her (political) journey as a journalist, diplomat, and activist, active in youth movements, women's movements, world peace movements, and anti-colonial movements in third world countries

In 1965, Francisca was in Santiago, Chile, attending an international journalists' congress. In 1966, she delivered a speech at the Tricontinental Conference (Asia, Africa, Latin America) in Cuba, addressing the violence against women in Indonesia during the military's crackdown on communists. Despite being stateless, Francisca continued to express her opposition to Suharto's New Order. After moving to the Netherlands in 1985, she organized several organizations for Indonesian exiles, managed various publications, and translated publications on the Indonesian situation for publication in English and Dutch. For many years, she was active in the Indonesian Committee, particularly in the women's working group within the solidarity organization.

[An audio fragment of Francisca Fanggidaej: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

7. Setiati Surasto (1920-2006)

"We are together, fellow progressive Indonesians who were stranded abroad because of the events of 1965. We somehow still share the hope and belief that the struggle of the oppressed, however slow, will surely be resolved. Not by us, but perhaps by the future generation. We meet because of a common foundation and common goal."

Since a young age, Setiati Surasto was already active in youth activities and had a particular interest in the plight of women and the multiple injustices they faced. Her activism was further fueled during the Japanese occupation, a period that brought Setiati into contact with important figures in the history of independent Indonesia, such as Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Maria Ulfah, and especially, Njono. After independence, Setiati steadfastly worked with workers and remained consistent in that line, particularly with SOBSI (All-Indonesian Central Workers Organization) and SARBUPRI (Plantation Workers Union). Women workers were always her main focus, and in 1962, she founded the Women's Bureau within SOBSI.

Setiati's struggles transcended national borders. Her internationalism can be linked primarily to the expansion of the ILO Convention No. 100 of 1951. At the time of the 1965 tragedy, Setiati was serving as secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions (GSS), based in Prague. After living in exile in China and Albania, Sweden became her final refuge.

[An audio fragment of Setiati Surasto: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

8. Rusijati (1922-2013)

"The Bukit Duri Prison is a former prison with concrete walls, a legacy of the Dutch colonial period, but since the G30S tragedy, it has also been used as a detention place for female political prisoners known as G30S prisoners'... Most of its inmates are girls aged between 14-16 years.... What does a 14-year-old know about politics? To my knowledge, they were arrested in Lubang Buaya and then taken to CPM (Military Police Corps) or other military detention facilities. After that, they were taken to Bukit Duri."

Rusijati, is described by friends and family as someone who appears simple and does not stand out in the political history arena. However, behind her simplicity lies a figure of a warrior woman with a fighting spirit that cannot be extinguished by the New Order prison. This woman from Blitar has been a fighter since her youth. She was active in the youth movement against the Dutch, developed the women's movement, and after independence continued her work as a journalist for the ANTARA news agency.

Suharto's regime blocked her struggles for 13 years, she was moved from prison to prison and separated from her children. Despite the wounds and stigma as a former political prisoner, Rusijati continued her struggle. In the Netherlands, she joined with other families and exiles, continuing to support anti-Suharto actions, co-founding the Indonesian women's work network, and helping young activists.

9. Djawoto (1906-1992)

"The Indonesian people have a high revolutionary political consciousness. The revolutionary progressive movement of Indonesia, as part of the revolutionary progressive movement in the whole world, can never be contained."

Since his youth, Djawoto had taken active participation in the resistance movement against Dutch colonialism. He did so through different paths: he taught in one of those private-run schools unrecognized by the Dutch colonial government, he joined political parties and was present in key congress, and at some points, he was part of the labor movement. Youths looked up to him as a role model. Due to his progressive leanings, from early on, he was subjected to the colonial government's surveillance. After independence, Djawoto embarked more decisively on a journalistic career. He co-founded the news agency Antara, and later on was elected as the chair of *Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia* (The Indonesian Journalists Association), a post that he held until he was appointed as Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

His decision to step down from his post as ambassador following Soeharto's coup in 1965 provides insight to his integrity as he followed his conscience instead of bowing to power. He continued his fight through the Afro-Asian Journalist Association. He believed that journalists had a "sacred duty" to work for the common interests of African and Asian people in the struggle against imperialism. His many editorials for PWAA showcase his fierce calls for solidarity for various resistance movements, including for Palestine.

10. Go Gien Tjwan (1920-2018)

"The hallmark of a pogrom is that this racist and barbaric mass movement does not arise spontaneously, but is always secretly planned by those in power and launched through surprise ambushes. The student demonstrations in Jakarta in May (1998), which were supported by the people, were suddenly diverted by elements of the government into an anti-Chinese pogrom due to the economic crisis and latent anti-Sinicism."

Go Gien Tjwan, a left-leaning activist, devotedly fought against racism against Chinese-Indonesians. He held the belief that civil, political, and economic rights were equal for everyone, regardless of their class or race. He was a co-founder of *Baperki*, which advocated for Chinese-Indonesian citizenship rights. He was imprisoned in 1965 along with many others from *Baperki*. With the help of Adam Malik, his best friend with an opposing ideology, he managed to get released from prison and finally lived in exile in Amstelveen. He carried on with his activities even though he was here. While writing and teaching at the University of Amsterdam, he co-founded the Indonesia Committee and was active in various exile organizations.

When he was young, Go led the information division of the pro-Indonesian independence Angkatan Moeda Tionghoa in Malang. He joined the Socialist Party after the revolution and was later tasked with studying anthropology in Amsterdam. As a youth representative, he rallied support for Indonesian sovereignty while attending school. Go also took part in the 1949 Peace Congress. In 1951, he established the first representative office of Antara news agency abroad in the Netherlands. In addition, Go, along with the Indonesian Ambassador to the Netherlands, Sunito, was responsible for leading the student organization, *Perhimpunan Indonesia*. They were both arrested by the Dutch government and expelled on charges of engaging in undesirable political activities, specifically communism. Nevertheless, Go returned to Europe once more to pursue his studies. Under the guidance of W.F. Wertheim, he earned a doctorate from Vrije Universiteit Brussels in 1962, becoming the first Indonesian to do so.

Potret Para Eksil: Ilustrasi Kisah

1. Basuki Resobowo (1916-1999)

"Oleh karena itu, bagi seniman kerakyatan, tidak menjadi soal bila ia harus membantu gerakan politik dengan membuat poster. Hal ini dianggap sebagai amal kepada perjuangan dari massa rakyat."

Basuki Resobowo adalah seorang pelukis kawakan dari Angkatan 45, sejeaman dengan pelukis Affandi dan Sudjojono. Mantan ketua bagian seni rupa Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (LEKRA), pelukis, penulis, dan tokoh perfilman, ini berpegang pada prinsip 'seni yang berkomitmen sosial', bahwa seni tak terpisahkan dari politik. Di sepanjang hidupnya, Basuki merupakan seniman yang terlibat langsung melawan kekuasaan. Ia berada di tengah aksi nasionalis melawan Belanda hingga pernah dipenjara oleh penguasa Jepang pada masa Perang Dunia ke-II.

Setelah menjadi eksil di Tiongkok, Jerman, dan Belanda, Basuki Resobowo terus gigih memenuhi panggilan nuraninya menjadi bagian suara yang disebutnya, massa rakyat, yang melawan penindasan sebuah rezim. Hal itu dilakukan melalui karya-karyanya yang lahir dalam pengasingan politik Orde Baru. Dia tetap melukis, menggambar karikatur untuk berbagai publikasi eksil, membuat poster untuk aksi-aksi politik melawan militerisme Orde Baru, menggambar cergam sejarah, dan menulis berbagai kritik dan analisis. *Om Bas*, begitu ia disapa oleh aktivis-aktivis muda di Komite Indonesia, selalu muncul dalam setiap aksi melawan penindasan rezim Suharto lewat kehadiran dan karya-karyanya.

[Sepotong fragmen suara Basuki Resobowo: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

2. Sarmadji (1931-2022)

"Perpustakaan ini adalah memorial bagi teman-teman saya yang hidup dan mati di pengasingan....Mestinya mereka pulang ketemu keluarganya, istrinya, anaknya yang dicintai, menantunya. Tapi tidak bisa ketemu karena mati di luar negeri, bagaimana?"

Semasa masih di Indonesia, Sarmadji bekerja sebagai PNS di Biro Pemuda Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan di Jakarta. Ia mendapat beasiswa untuk menempuh studi pendidikan anak ke Tiongkok, pada September 1964. Belum juga setahun kuliah, pecah peristiwa G30S 1965. Para mahasiswa, termasuk dirinya, dipanggil KBRI di Tiongkok yang sudah diambil alih militer Indonesia. Mereka diberi pilihan; ikut Soeharto atau Sukarno. "Saya *nggak* mau, saya berangkat dari Sukarno, ya pulang saya mau Sukarno. Saya tidak setengah-setengah." Konsekuensi memilih setia pada Sukarno adalah dibuang.

Sarmadji bertahan di Tiongkok hingga 1976, lalu bertolak ke Belanda dengan bantuan sejumlah kawan di sini. Ia menerima suaka dengan syarat harus mendapat kerja. Sarmadji yang lulus kuliah pendidikan anak akhirnya bekerja sebagai pemotong kaca di sebuah pabrik. Karena tekun dan tak pernah bolos, suatu hari ia beroleh hadiah 100 gulden dari pabrik itu, yang menjadi bekal awal perpustakaan kecil di rumahnya. Sebagian besar dari koleksi Sarmadji menyoroti apa yang terjadi pada 1965 dan 1966. Ia membuka perpustakaan untuk umum, sehingga ia mengenal banyak orang, termasuk para mahasiswa Indonesia yang belajar di Belanda. Mereka banyak bertanya tentang peristiwa 1965. Dengan cara ini, kata Sarmadji, ia mengubah kesedihannya menjadi kekuatan.

3. Sardjo Mintardjo (1936-2015)

“Sangat disayangkan jika keterbukaan saat ini tidak dimanfaatkan. Publik saat ini cerdas, dapat menilai sendiri apa yang terjadi, misalnya, kekerasan pada tahun 1960-an dan lain-lain.”

Saat peristiwa G30S terjadi pada September 1965 terjadi, pemuda Mintardjo sedang menjalani hari-hari sebagai mahasiswa ekonomi politik di Academia de Studi Economice din Bucuresti, di Rumania. Lantas pihak perwakilan Indonesia di Bukares memintanya untuk menandatangani pernyataan mendukung kepemimpinan Suharto dan menyetujui bahwa Sukarno terlibat dalam peristiwa tersebut. Mintardjo menolak dua hal tersebut karena merasa tidak mengetahui apa yang terjadi di Indonesia. Akibatnya, paspornya dicabut. Bagaimanapun, hidup harus terus berjalan di Bukarest. Mintardjo bekerja di sana, kemudian menikah dengan seorang perempuan Rumania dan beroleh tiga orang anak.

Pada 1989, Mintardjo memboyong keluarganya pindah ke Belanda, sesaat setelah rezim komunis Rumania jatuh. Sebagai orang asing, ia merasa tidak aman di sana. Ia menetap di Leiden dan uniknya, membuka rumahnya untuk mahasiswa-mahasiswa Indonesia. Pondok Pak Min menjadi wadah berbagai diskusi khususnya tentang sejarah Indonesia, yang kerap dilengkapi dengan jamuan sop buntut racikan tersohor Mintardjo. Pak Min adalah salah satu eksil yang paling banyak dikenal orang dan sering disebut ‘Bapak Para Mahasiswa Indonesia di Belanda’.

4. Kuslan Budiman (1935-2014)

“Kaum eksil harus selalu berpartisipasi, secara realistis, dalam gerakan.”

Kuslan Budiman, seniman teater dan salah satu bagian dari pimpinan lembaga kesenian bergaris kiri, Lekra, dikirim ke Tiongkok untuk belajar seni

panggung, terutama inovasi opera Beijing. Sebagaimana yang terjadi pada banyak sejawatnya, setelah 1966, paspor Kuslan dicabut oleh rezim antikomunis Soeharto. Ia pun kemudian harus menghabiskan sisa hidupnya sebagai eksil. Pada tahun 1970-an, ia meninggalkan Beijing, lalu bermukim di Moskow dan menjadi pelukis yang cukup terkemuka di sana. Setelah Uni Soviet bubar, ia bergabung dengan kamerad eksil lainnya di Belanda.

Kuslan hidup di Woerden seorang diri selama puluhan tahun. Namun ia selalu "terhubung" dengan komunitasnya. Ia berkomitmen menjadi eksil yang berpartisipasi realitis dalam gerakan. Gerakan menurutnya adalah perjuangan panjang secara kolektif dalam melawan ketidakadilan dan tindak kekerasan negara pada tahun 1965, yang hingga kini belum jelas penyelesaiannya. Dalam berbagai ruang diskusi publik yang diadakan mahasiswa, jurnalis maupun aktivis Indonesia, ia membagikan pemikiran dan pengalamannya di pengasingan. Di lingkup Woerden, Kuslan bergiat sebagai anggota perkumpulan seniman lokal. Ia pun banyak menuangkan pengalamannya sebagai penyintas dalam banyak artikel dan puisi, baik dalam Bahasa Indonesia, maupun Bahasa Belanda.

5. Suparna Sastra Diredja (1915-1996)

"Menjadi seorang revolusioner artinya harus menyatukan diri dengan rakyat pekerja."

Namanya tak lepas dari pergerakan serikat buruh di Indonesia. Bagi pria asal Garut yang ikut merintis serikat buruh perkebunan di Indonesia ini, perjuangan revolusioner punya makna yang nyata, yaitu menyatukan diri dengan rakyat pekerja. Dan Parna berusaha menjalankan kata-katanya. Melewati berbagai zaman yang silih berganti: kolonialisme Belanda, pendudukan Jepang, masa kemerdekaan, dan kemudian rezim militer Soeharto, Suparna terus berada dalam garis perjuangan untuk buruh, kendati ia harus merasakan penjara dan di kemudian hari hidup dalam pengasingan politik di Belanda.

Sebagai eksil politik 1965, Parna tidak punya daya dan modal politik sebanyak dulu, namun ia meneruskan yang telah ia perjuangkan. Ia aktif dalam berbagai organisasi menentang militerisme Suharto, mengorganisir aksi dan turun berdemonstrasi, misalnya Komite Indonesia dan Aksi Setiakawan. Ia ikut menggalang gerakan untuk buruh yang menjadi tahanan politik Orde Baru di Indonesia, menerbitkan publikasi dan membantu serikat buruh Belanda, FNV. Ia pun aktif bersama organisasi dan partai politik Belanda. Satu hal lagi, ia mengumpulkan dan menulis sejarah buruh Indonesia.- Untuk menggali bahan, Suparna mendatangi arsip dan museum di Belanda, juga menghubungi kawan-kawannya pejuang buruh

di berbagai negeri. Ini merupakan cita-citanya semasa eksil yang ia lakukan hingga menutup usia di Amsterdam.

[Sepotong fragmen suara Suparna Sastra Diredja: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

6. Francisca Faggidaej (1925-2013)

"Ini sungguh tak tertahankan. Saya harap semua akan jadi lebih baik. Dan saya punya tugas saya, saya tidak ingin dan tidak bisa terus-menerus memikirkan rumah. Satu-satunya hal yang bisa saya lakukan: meneruskan informasi. Berjuang untuk demokrasi di Indonesia. Jika saya waktu itu menyerah pada kerinduan saya akan anak-anak, saya akan menjadi hancur. Dan saya tidak mau itu terjadi."

Berasal dari Timur Indonesia, Francisca Casparina Faggidaej mengenyam pendidikan Belanda di masa kecilnya. Ayahnya sendiri adalah seorang pegawai kolonial. Namun, ia menemukan ke-Indonesia-annya ketika mulai mengenal sekelompok pemuda Maluku di Jawa Timur dan kemudian ikut bergabung dalam pertemuan-pertemuan mereka. Ia terutama terlibat dalam perjuangan Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia (Pesindo) yang aktif bergiat ketika Belanda melancarkan upaya penjajahan kembali di periode 1945-1949. Ia juga menghadapi kejaran sebangsanya sendiri dalam long march pengikut Front Demokrasi Rakyat (FDR) pasca peristiwa Madiun 1948. Suaminya dieksekusi oleh pemerintah Indonesia di bawah pimpinan Muhammad Hatta. Namun Francisca bangkit dan meneruskan jalannya sebagai jurnalis, diplomat, dan aktivis yang aktif dalam gerakan pemuda, perempuan, perdamaian dunia dan gerakan anti-kolonial negara-negara dunia ketiga.

Pada 1965, Francisca tengah berada di Santiago, Chile, mengikuti kongres jurnalis internasional. Pada 1966, ia berpidato pada konferensi Trikontinental (Asia, Afrika, Amerika Latin) di Cuba, menyampaikan kekerasan yang terjadi para perempuan di Indonesia dalam penumpasan komunis oleh militer di Indonesia. Walau menjadi *stateless*, Francisca terus-menerus menyatakan perlawanannya terhadap Orde Baru Suharto. Setelah pindah ke Belanda pada 1985, ia menggerakkan sejumlah organisasi eksil Indonesia di Belanda, mengelola berbagai terbitan, menerjemahkan publikasi tentang kondisi Indonesia untuk diterbitkan dalam bahasa Inggris dan Belanda. Bertahun-tahun, ia aktif di Komite Indonesia, terutama dalam kelompok kerja perempuan pada organisasi solidaritas tersebut.

[Sepotong fragmen suara Francisca Faggidaej: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

7. Setiati Surasto (1920-2006)

“Sama-sama rakyat progresif Indonesia yang terdampar di luar negeri karena peristiwa 65, dan masih bagaimanapun juga bersama-sama mengharapkan atau berkeyakinan bahwa perjuangan rakyat tertindas, biar lambat, pasti akan bisa bisa terpecahkan. Tidak oleh kita, mungkin oleh generasi yang akan datang. Kita bertemu karena dasar dan tujuan yang sama.”

Sejak remaja, Setiati Surasto (1920-2006) sudah aktif di kegiatan kepemudaan dan memiliki minat khusus pada nasib perempuan dan ketidakadilan berlapis yang mereka hadapi. Gelora aktivismenya semakin menyala di masa pendudukan Jepang, periode yang membawa Setiati berkenalan dengan tokoh-tokoh penting dalam sejarah Indonesia yang Merdeka, seperti Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Maria Ulfah dan terutama, Njono. Pasca kemerdekaan, Setiati mantap bergerak bersama buruh dan terus konsisten dalam garis tersebut, khususnya bersama SOBSI (Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia) dan SARBUPRI (Sarekat Buruh Perkebunan Republik Indonesia). Buruh perempuan selalu menjadi fokusnya, dan pada 1962, ia mendirikan Biro Wanita di SOBSI.

Perjuangan Setiati melintasi batas negara. Jejak internasionalisme-nya terutama dapat ditelusuri dalam perluasan Konvensi ILO No. 100 Tahun 1951. Sewaktu pecah Peristiwa 1965, Setiati tengah mengemban tugas sebagai sekretaris Gabungan Serikat Buruh Sedunia (GSS), yang berkedudukan di Praha. Setelah menjalani hidup sebagai eksil di Tiongkok dan juga Albania, Swedia menjadi suaka terakhirnya.

[Sepotong fragmen suara Setiati Surasto: \(voice fragment file in mp3\)](#)

8. Rusijati (1922-2013)

“Penjara Bukit Duri adalah penjara berdingding beton bekas peninggalan kolonial Belanda, tapi sejak terjadi G30S dipakai juga untuk tempat tahanan politik perempuan yang disebut Narapidana G30S... Penghuninya kebanyakan anak-anak perempuan berumur antara 14-16 tahun.... Anak berumur 14 tahun itu mengerti politik apa? Sepengetahuan saya mereka itu ditangkap di Lubang Buaya kemudian dibawa ke CPM atau rumah tahanan militer lainnya. Setelah itu mereka dibawa ke penjara Bukit Duri.”

Tampil sederhana dan tidak menonjolkan diri dalam kancah sejarah politik, itulah Rusijati yang digambarkan kawan dan keluarganya. Namun, di balik kesederhanaannya, ada sosok perempuan pejuang dengan api yang tidak bisa

dipadamkan oleh penjara Orde Baru. Perempuan asal Blitar ini sudah menjadi pejuang sejak mudanya. Aktif dalam gerakan pemuda melawan Belanda, mengembangkan gerakan perempuan, dan setelah kemerdekaan melanjutkan karyanya sebagai jurnalis kantor berita Antara.

Rezim Soeharto menyetop langkahnya selama 13 tahun, menggiringnya dari penjara ke penjara dan memisahkannya dari anak-anaknya. Dengan luka dan stigma sebagai eks-tapol, Rusijati melanjutkan perjuangannya. Di Belanda ia bergabung dengan keluarga dan eksil lainnya, terus bergerak mendukung aksi anti-Soeharto, ikut mendirikan jaringan kerja perempuan Indonesia, dan membantu para aktivis muda.

9. Djawoto (1906-1992)

“Rakyat Indonesia memiliki kesadaran politik revolusioner yang tinggi. Gerakan progresif revolusioner Indonesia, sebagai bagian dari gerakan progresif revolusioner dunia, takkan pernah dapat dibendung.”

Sedari belia, Djawoto sudah aktif melawan kolonialisme Belanda. Ini dijalannya lewat berbagai cara: ia pernah menjadi guru sekolah partikelir, ikut aktif dalam kepartaian, dan juga sempat bersentuhan dengan pergerakan buruh. Di kalangan pemuda, ia tampil sebagai teladan. Karena pergerakannya yang progresif, sejak awal Djawoto sudah masuk dalam pantauan intelijen kolonial Belanda. Selepas kemerdekaan, Djawoto mantap menapaki karir sebagai jurnalis. Ia ikut mendirikan kantor berita Antara dan kemudian didaulat sebagai ketua Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia, sebelum akhirnya didapuk menjadi Duta Besar untuk Republik Rakyat Tiongkok.

Keputusannya mengundurkan diri dari jabatan tersebut selepas kudeta Soeharto memberi gambaran tentang keteguhannya dalam mengikuti nurani, bukan kuasa. Ia meneruskan perjuangannya lewat Persatuan Wartawan Asia-Afrika. Djawoto percaya jurnalis punya tugas untuk mengusung kepentingan bersama rakyat Afrika dan Asia dalam melawan imperialisme. Di PWAA, tulisan-tulisannya membentangkan solidaritas internasional bagi berbagai titik perlawanan, termasuk untuk Palestina.

10. Go Gien Tjwan (1920-2018)

“Ciri khas pogrom ialah, bahwa gerakan massal yang rasis dan biadab itu tidak timbul spontan, melainkan selalu secara diam-diam oleh penguasa direncanakan, dan dilancarkan dengan cara penyergapan dadakan. Demo unjuk rasa mahasiswa Jakarta bulan Mei yang didukung rakyat itu, mendadak

sontak oleh unsur-unsur penguasa dapat dibelokkan menjadi pogrom anti-Tionghua, sebab adanya krisis ekonomi dan adanya anti-sinicisme yang laten.”

Dari garis kiri memperjuangkan anti-rasialisme Tionghoa Indonesia, itulah yang setia dilakukan Go Gien Tjwan. Baginya, hak sipil, politik, dan ekonomi manusia adalah setara, tanpa pandang kelas dan rasnya. Go adalah salah satu pendiri Baperki yang mengadvokasi hak kewarganegaraan Tionghoa Indonesia. Pada 1965, ia dipenjara Bersama banyak anggota Baperki lainnya. Setelah berhasil keluar dari penjara dengan bantuan sahabatnya yang berbeda ideologi, Adam Malik, ia akhirnya tinggal sebagai eksil di Amstelveen. Di sini pun, ia tak berhenti bergerak. Sembari menulis dan mengajar di Universitas Amsterdam, Go ikut mendirikan Komite Indonesia dan aktif di berbagai organisasi eksil lainnya.

Di Malang, Go muda menggerakkan bagian penerangan Angkatan Muda Tionghoa yang pro-kemerdekaan Indonesia. Ia pun masuk Partai Sosialis pada masa revolusi, lantas dikirim partai untuk belajar antropologi di Amsterdam. Sembari sekolah, ia menjadi perwakilan pemuda dalam menggalang dukungan atas kedaulatan Indonesia. Go juga turut serta dalam Kongres Perdamaian tahun 1949. Di Belanda, ia mendirikan perwakilan kantor berita Antara pertama di luar negeri pada tahun 1951. Tak hanya itu, Go bersama Duta Besar Indonesia untuk Belanda, Sunito, juga memimpin organisasi pelajar Perhimpoean Indonesia. Mereka berdua kemudian ditangkap pemerintah Belanda dan diusir pulang dengan tuduhan melakukan kegiatan politik yang tidak diinginkan yakni komunisme. Namun, Go datang kembali ke Eropa kali ini untuk melanjutkan studi. Tahun 1962, ia menjadi orang Indonesia pertama yang meraih promosi doktor di Vrije Universiteit Brussel, di bawah bimbingan W.F. Wertheim.