

Social Interaction Between Natives of Buru and Political Prisoners in Buru Concentration Camp (1969-1979)

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ABSTRACT:

This article discusses the social interactions of the Buru natives and the political prisoners in Buru Concentration Camp (1969-1979) which influenced the primitive Buru indigenous inhabitants to a more advanced way of life. They left huma farming system and moved to the irrigation system, left food gathering system and moved to food producing, utilized money as a medium of transaction instead of the standard pele system, took formal education, abandoned animism-dynamism beliefs, changed to Islam and Protestant Christianity, broke the rule of doing sexual intercourse in the house and knew new technique of pleasing intercourse, and erased the tradition of fines for the adulterous man. In addition, they abandoned the pamali of endogamous marriages, and custom that stated the position of women as "property" for the deceased husband's brother. However, the implementation of the Buru Concentration Camp project (1969-1979) resulted in losses on the part of local population, these are: loss of power and ulayat rights of the Head of State Kajeli, and Head of State Leisiela over land in the interior of the Wai Apu valley. Furthermore, supply of sago forest decreased and the hunting ground narrowed.

KEYWORDS: Indigenous Buru people, political prisoner, pamali, baku pele, endogamy.

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I. Introduction

Studies on the lives of prisoners in exile have been carried out by several researchers. Applebaum (2003) researched the lives of prisoners of war in Gulag Islands forced labor camps during the Stalin era. This camp was used as punishment for various forms of counter-revolutionary activities deemed dangerous to the state. They were forced to work in the agricultural, armament industry and the public sector under cruel military supervision. The forced work took the lives of 1,606,748 prisoners, and millions of prisoners got permanent physical and psychological disabilities. Meanwhile, Martin Gibert (2010) studied the lives of prisoners of war in Hitler Regime at Auschwitz Concentration Camp. His studies provided information on the atrocities of Nazi regime in eliminating the Jews in Europe and other prisoners of war. 960,000 Jews, 74,000 Poles, 21,000 Roma (Gypsies), 15,000 Soviet prisoners of war, another 15,000 prisoners were killed in the poison gas chambers. I.F.M. Salim (1977) retold his experience with 1500 political prisoners who were exiled for 15 years without trial by the Dutch East Indies government to the Digul plateau in southern Papua. The Governor of Dutch East Indies, Dr. Andries Cornelis Dirk de Graeff (1926-1931) used *exorbitante rechten* (extraordinary rights) to intern 1,500 members of the national movement (communists and nationalists) considered dangerous to the Dutch East Indies government. They were forced to clearing forests and building concentration camps for the political prisoners. Meanwhile, Amurwani Dwi Lestariningsih (2011) studied that the New Order government had exiled 500 female political prisoners indicated to be affiliated to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and considered a danger to the state to the Plantungan Exile Camp, Kendal Regency, Central Java Province.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1995), IGKrisnadi (2000), Hersri Setiawan (2004), conducted a study on the lives of the political prisoners of New Order government in Buru Concentration Camp. Those contributed important information regarding the New Order government having expelled 9957 Group B political prisoners from Java to the Buru Concentration Camp without going through a judicial process, and this was a violation of Human Rights (HAM). The political prisoners in this camp were forcibly employed to clear forests, build barracks for the prisoners to live in, build roads, make rice fields, farm, make salt, work blacksmiths, do curving under the supervision of the Guards Battalion (*Tonwal*) from Kopkamtibda, Maluku. The works of Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Hersri Setiawan (ex-political prisoner of Buru), had much historical data (primary sources), and were able to understand the spirit of the era. Therefore, they could reveal the details of small events, attitudes and feelings experienced while in Buru Concentration Camp. Both of these works are weak in historical insight.

IG. Krisnadi tried to overcome this weakness by conducting historical research on the political prisoners of Buru from 1996-1998 using historical research method. Therefore, this study is able to provide information on the life history of political prisoners in the Concentration Camp (1969-1979) in a descriptive-analytic manner. However, the results of his research are still trapped in the framework of political history, and weak in the study of social history. The study of social history on the social interactions of the group B political prisoners from Java and the indigenous Buru community at Buru Concentration Camp 1969-1979 with a cultural ecology dimension, will complement and enrich the repertoire of writing the history of the life of prisoners in exile, especially in Buru Concentration Camp in 1969-1979.

New Order government built the Buru Concentration Camp when the Head of Leisiela District, Patih Mohamad Thojib Hentihu and the Head of Kajeli District, Raja Ishak Wael handed over a part of the area of Wai Apu valley to the Maluku Kopkamtibda. Wai Apu valley was used as the location of Buru Rehabilitation Installation Project (*Inrehab Buru*) followed by the gradual dispatch of 9957 Group B political prisoners from Java to the place (Dom Moraes, 1972:11). However, the Buru political prisoners and human rights defenders prefer to use the term Buru Concentration Camp as a dumping ground for New Order political prisoners (Group B) who are considered guilty of involvement in the 1965 G.30.S Tragedy rather than using the term Buru Inrehab Project or Utilization Site. Buru (*Tefaaf Buru*) was used by New Order officials to refer to a place for "rehabilitation" of "G.30.S/PKI rebellion". According to the former New Order political prisoner, Murot Aidit (21 April 1996), those who were forcibly sent to Buru Concentration Camp were legally innocent, because they had never received a judge's decision in court. A similar opinion was expressed by a former New Order political prisoner, Hardoyo (21 April 1996), he said that law enforcers in this country could not prove their guilt. Formerly, New Order government's assumption was that they were transmigrated to Buru Island, but the correct term is political prisoners. However, the Attorney General of Republic of Indonesia, Sugih Arto emphasized (Berita Yudha, December 22, 1969), that their detention was not against the law. They were considered a danger to the state. The decision was in accordance with Law no. 5 of 1969 concerning the authority to carry out detention and eradication of subversion activities (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 1969).

The land area of Buru Concentration Camp on Buru Island covered an area of 2,350 square kilometers or 235,000 km (SK. Kopkamtib No.013/Kopkam/1974) located in the areas of Negeri Kajeli and Negeri Leisiela, Wai Apu District, Ambon Regency. This camp was a sunken shovel-shaped land surrounded by continuous mountain walls and overgrown with thickets, looking like a natural prison. In this place, New Order government placed 9957 Class B political prisoners from Java to work in the agricultural sector (Dom Moraes, 1972:11).

A total of 9957 political prisoners living in the Buru Concentration Camp spread across 23 units located on the right and left sides of mountain slopes and creeks in Wai Apu valley (IG. Krisnadi, 2000:107). Those who occupied the camp were mostly Javanese political prisoners consisting of scholars, doctors, professors, writers, artists, politicians, students, teachers and students. Furthermore, some of them were also farmers and laborers who were more civilized modern compared to around 1,000 indigenous Buru people living surrounding Buru Concentration Camp. The natives were still primitive by relying on the abundant grace of nature for their lives. The indigenous Buru people lived under the traditional "guidance" inherited from their ancestors. They lived by food gathering, hunting, *huma* farming. They had not been influenced by outside civilization, so they were not familiar with money system as a medium of exchange in buying and selling. In religious matters, they held animist-dynamism belief. They were illiterate, because they were not familiar with writing (Kasto Wirjoredjo, January 17, 1996). The two communities lived side by side for 10 years (1969-1979), thus social interaction between them was unavoidable.

Based on the background of the problem, this article discusses the following issues; (1) why did the New Order government choose the lowlands of the Wai Apu valley on Buru Island to be precise in Kajeli Country and Leisiela Country, Wai Apu District, Ambon Regency as the location for Buru Concentration Camp; (2) how was the life of the Buru natives who lived in Kajeli Country and Leisiela Country before the arrival of New Order political prisoners; (3) why did the natives of Buru give up their tradition, and accept the culture brought by New Order political prisoners from Java?

The aims and benefits of the research are as follows: (1) reconstructing historical events related to the adaptation process of the indigenous community with the political prisoners in Buru Concentration Camp in 1969-1979. Therefore it is useful for adding to the repertoire of writing social history, especially the life history of the political prisoners in the Buru Concentration Camp in 1969. -1979 in the ecological-cultural dimension; (2) taking inventory and documenting local historical events, so that they can be used to support and complement the writing of national history; (3) providing information to the younger generation that during the New Order government once held a Buru Concentration Camp against New Order political prisoners Group B from Java, so that the results of this study are also useful for rediscovering the history that was "lost" during the New Order government.

II. Material And Methods

The method used in this study by historical methods approaches. The historical research method basically includes four steps of work as follows: (1) heuristics (searching and finding relevant data); (2) source of criticism (critical treatment of internal and external data to determine the authenticity and credibility of information to become historical facts); (3) interpretation (transforming historical facts to construct historical arguments); (4) historiography as the stage of pouring arguments as a synthesis or historical construction (Sartono, 1993:38-45, Storey, 2011). The source materials for the article cover primary and secondary sources in the form of archives, documents, new papers, magazines, books and articles collected from Pramoedya Anantatoer, and the books collections of the Faculty of Humanities, the University of Jember. Primary data collection uses participatory observation techniques and in-depth interviews with several eks-tapol Buru.

The process of social interaction between the New Order political prisoners and the Buru natives living in the forests surrounding the Buru Concentration Camp was analyzed using the cultural ecology theory by Julian Steward. According to Julian Steward, cultural ecology is defined as the ability of humans to interact with their environment to meet the needs of life. The needs are based on the cultural elements of the local community related to the use of technology-economy and production methods to exploit the environment, value systems and religious systems (David Kaplan, 2007). Albert A. Manners, 2000:132-139). This theory can analyze the process of adaptation of primitive Buru indigenous community in coexistence with the modern civilized Javanese political prisoners in Buru Concentration Camp regarding changes in the use of technology and production methods, value systems and religious systems.

III. Result

Location of the Buru Concentration Camp

Buru Island is the third largest island in Maluku Islands. Viewed from map of the Indonesian Archipelago, this island appears to be roughly oval in shape with a length of 153 km and a width of 87 km, and a total area of 13,200 square km (Bernard S, Cayne, 1977:31). Astronomically this island is located between 3°3' South Latitude-3°52' South Latitude, and 125°57' East Longitude-127°15' East Longitude (Paul, J. 1917:31). For the geographical boundaries, it is bordered by Manipa Island, Seram Island and Ambon Island in the east; Obi Island, Sulawesi Island, Mangole Island and Yaliabu Island in the north; Buton Island and the sea area of Southeast Sulawesi in the west; Turtle Island, Luciera Island, Wetar Island, Ambelau Island, and the Banda Sea in the south (Army Map Service, 1943).

Geologically, Buru Island is a coral island where most of the land is hilly and mountainous, connected to each other and separated by rivers. The condition of the land surface is dominated by wavy land (highlands). On the island, there is little low-lying land, especially along the coast and river mouths. The lowlands on Buru Island include the plains of Wai Apu, Samlima, and Wai Kuma (Zainoel Ihsan, 1980:556). Meanwhile, the east of the island is a low-lying area along the Wai Apu valley as well as a "gateway" to enter the island (Army Map Service, 1943). All the mountains on the island are inactive. The highest mountain on the island is Mount Kapalatmada with a peak reaching a height of 2429 m (E. de Bruyne, 1949:217).

The Wai Apu lowland is divided by the Wai Apu river stretching from upstream (west) to downstream (east) with a length of half of Buru Island. The Wai Apu River which has springs in Lake Rana is the largest river on Buru Island. The river flows throughout the year, thus it can be used for agricultural cultivation. In 1969, the New Order government selected Wai Apu lowlands as the location for the Buru Inrehab Project. Its implementation was handed over to the Buru Rehabilitation Implementing Agency (Bapreru), and the area was well known as the Buru Utilization Site (*Tefaat* Buru). Based on SK. Pangkopkamtib No. 013/Kopkam/1974, the total area of *Tefaat* Buru was 2,350 square km or 235,000 km. *Tefaat* Buru, located in the lowlands of Wai Apu, is a shovel-shaped concave land surrounded by continuous mountain "walls" and overgrown with thickets of forest. The mountain range starts from the southeastern tip of Kajeli Bay to the south to the peak of Mount Bataboeal, then continues south to Mount Warman, then turns west to Lake Rana. The mountains stretch from Lake Rana to the north to the peaks of Mount Foed Sioel and Foet Fadit, then turn south again towards the coast of Siahone which is at the northern end of Kajeli Bay (Army Map Service, 1943).

Lake Rana is a source of water for the Wai Apu River. This lake is located at an altitude of 1150 meters above sea level (E. de Bruyne, 1949:217). If seen on the map of Buru Island, the lake which is right in the middle of the island is a sunken land surrounded by a thick forest "wall" and continuous mountain ranges including: Mount Date (in the north), Mount Efroto (in the northwest), Mount Mangkodi (in the south), Mount Mone (in the southeast). On Mount Mone there is a "sluice gate" connecting Lake Rana with the Wai Apu River (Army Map Service, 1943).

The climate on Buru Island is categorized into a monsoon climate with annual temperatures ranging from 26.3° Celsius, and annual rainfall conditions ranging from 1000-2000 mm. The rainy season in this place occurs in April-October, and the dry season occurs in October-April. In the rainy season, the wind blows from

the east to the south, while in the dry season the wind blows from the west to the north. The average wind speed on this island ranges from 16 knots – 20 knots (Depdikbud, 1978:9).

The description of the flora on Buru Island can be seen from various types of plants along the coast and on the mainland of the island. From the coast to the land, the flora on this island grows in layers consisting of a series of mangrove forests and shrubs, palm forests and *sadeng* (one of Palm types). After that, two-branched flora are found growing in swamps and dry soils. The flora that grows in swamps includes: palms, rattan, sago, meranti, *timo* (a type of *waru*), and shrubs. Flora growing on dry land includes: grasslands (savanna) interspersed with bamboo forests, sago trees, areca nut trees, palm trees, durian trees and *duku* trees (Hersri S, 1979:16).

The main forest products on Buru Island are *meranti* wood and eucalyptus oil. *Meranti* wood takes the largest part of the forest area on this island, even the largest for the Maluku Province area. *Meranti* wood on this island is a well stocked forest covering an area of 800,000 ha with an average wood mass of 100 cubic meters per hectare (Depdagri 1973:185-186). According to the assessment of Japanese and Filipino contractors who were carrying out logging on Buru Island, *meranti* wood from this island is a type of good quality wood (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976:23). Buru Island is the largest producer of eucalyptus oil in the world with a forest area of 100,000 hectares (Sutjipto, 1970:258).

The types of fauna on Buru Island consist of fauna living in waters (sea water and fresh water), and on land. Buru Island is mostly arid land, there are types of reptiles that live on land. The reptile is lizards, while those that live in swamps and rivers are lizards and crocodiles. Turtles are found in swamps and in large rivers. Monkeys are not found on the island, because the nature is arid (Sugeng, January 23, 1996). Several types of birds on the island such as: parakeets, peregrines, turtles, *cucak rowo*, pelicans, and eagles. *Codot* (a type of bats) and bats are not available, but *kalong* (another type of bats) is quite common. There are many types of snakes on this island, especially pythons. Once a python with 6 meters length and 15 cm diameter was on the island. (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996). On the island of Buru, the number of animals such as deer and wild boar is quite a lot. Deer occupy the outskirts of forests, swamps and savanna while eating leaves. Wild boar can be found in forests and in swamps, looking for worms by burrowing the soil, and looking for *midong* (sago pest larvae) by dismantling fallen stems and sago stumps (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 19 January 1996). Nevertheless, when political prisoners from Java came to this area and planted *palawija* (soybean, corn, and other lentils) in the fields, the plants were targeted for food by wild boars (Sugeng 30 May 1996).

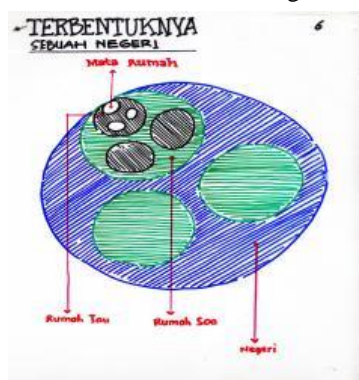
According to Arief Budiman (1973), the existence of Buru Island in the middle of the sea surrounded by fierce waves, and the topographical condition of the Wai Apu valley (Kajeli Country and Leisiela Country) formed a concave shovel-shaped land surrounded by continuous mountain walls and overgrown with thickets like a natural prison that is difficult for political prisoners who want to escape. In this regard, Arief Budiman said that this was a consideration for the New Order government to build the Buru Concentration Camp Project as a dumping ground for political prisoners from Java to live farming (Hasyim Rachman, January 17, 1996). In this place, the political prisoners were helpless like fish in a frying pan ready to be eaten by anyone who wanted it (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996).

They Live Under Customary Guidance

The indigenous people of Buru, known as the Alfuru tribe, formed a legal society genealogically according to the patrimonial lineage. This genealogical society continues to develop, and finally a more tangible political unity is achieved. The genealogical growth of society forms a society called the country (village). The country is the basis of indigenous peoples on Buru Island. The process of forming a country traditionally starts from several houses gathering to form a *tau* house, and from various *tau* houses forming a *soa*, and then from various *soa* forming a village (Hersri S, 1979:13-14).

Mata rumah is an inner family or nuclear family consisting of parents (husband and wife) plus children. Every marriage and birth process is an important event in multiplying and expanding the *mata* of the house. While the event of death between the nuclear family and a husband and wife who do not have children is a factor that reduces or hinders the expansion of household. The various *mata rumah* that are still in the father's lineage, merged into certain territories called *tau* houses. Each house complex in the interior of Wai Apu valley until the early 1970s were inhabited on average by 4-5 houses (Hasyim Rachman, January 17, 1996). Several *tau* houses that have a territorial genealogical relationship merged into a *soa*. Each *soa* belonging to the Kajeli and Leisiela countries scattered in the interior of the Wai Apu valley consists of between 10-20 *tau* houses, and between them still have blood ties or still have kinship relations. Each *soa* is led by a *soa* head. The position of head of *soa* is obtained through elections among *soa* members on the basis of leadership values which are determined by factors of experience, level of courage, and level of intelligence. The head of the *soa* in carrying out customary government is assisted by a customary head called *mauweng*. The position of *mauweng* is obtained through elections by the citizens of *soa* on the basis of leadership values, mainly determined by the level of mastery of customs, wisdom and ability to speak. However, if a head of *soa* or *Mauweng* does not meet

the requirements that have been determined for the position, an election is immediately held among the residents of *soa*. Those who are entitled to participate in the election for the office of head of *soa* and *mauweng* are only adult men. *Mauweng* in the *soa* community plays the role of priest and shaman in charge of helping the healing of the residents and leading traditional ceremonies (Sugeng Supanut, January 17, 1996).



Several *soa* whose territories were close to each other, formed a country. One of the heads of *soa* emerged as the strongest and smartest, so he led a 'country'. The more details can be seen in the following picture. There are two terms for a person leading the country on Buru Island, these are king and *patih*. The lands of Kajeli, Tifoe and Namlea were led by a person with the title of king, while in other countries such as Leisella, Liliali, Bobo, Oki were led by a person with the title of *patih* (Stibbe, 1939:49). Traditionally, Kajeli Country is led by a king. He was assisted in running the customary government by several people as follows: (1) *Hinolong Putih* or known as *Hinolong Matahari Terbit* who had power and customary rights over land in the Wai Apu lowlands; (2) *Hinolong Matahari Tenggelam* or known as the King of the Mountain has jurisdiction and customary rights over land in the highlands or on the slopes of the mountains; (3) *Anat Gugul* who has

jurisdiction and customary rights over the land around Lake Rana; (4) *Marinyo* got several parcels of land for carrying out his duties as a public servant. He had the main task of conveying information to various regions (inter-*soa*), so that he acted as a bridge connecting inter-*soa* within a country (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996).

When group B political prisoners from Java arrived at Buru Concentration Camp in September 1969, the area was inhabited by the Alfuru ethnic group as the indigenous Buru people. They have primitive way of hunting, gathering, farming huma and looking for sago in the forest (food gathering). They live in *soa-soa* scattered in the interior of Wai Apu valley. Alfuru tribe was survived by those ways of life because of abundant natural resources. The vast sago forest, wild boars and deer breed faster than their own. They were affordable and abundant supply of food for the indigenous Buru people which was only around 1000 people (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996). It was so easy for them to obtain food ingredients bestowed by nature. Hence, for the sake of efficiency considerations, they were reluctant to change their lifestyle from food gathering to food producing.

Equipment used by the Buru natives in hunting included: spears, arrows, machetes, *sugat* (bamboo mines), sniffer dogs, and *dediso* (snares). They hunted collectively in *soa* and family. In collective hunting activities in *soa*, the *soa* head together with the *mauweng* determined the day, location and leader of the hunting. However, in this case the *soa* and *mauweng* heads did not participate in hunting. Besides, the *mauweng* was usually the one leading the traditional ceremony, thus the hunting got optimal results (Sugeng, January 17, 1996).

The profit sharing in collective hunting in the *soa* were based on their respective roles. For example, whoever speared the game first, then he got more distribution. In this case, the sniffer dogs participating in the hunt also got a share. For example, for a dog that can bite the game first, it gets a larger share compared to other dogs (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996). According to the provisions, each family head was required to send one manpower. However, if there were family heads who were not be able to send labor, they still got smaller share of the results compared to those participating in hunting. Hunting is done by adult men. In addition, sometimes children from the age of 6-7 years started doing hunting. The indigenous people of Buru in Wai Apu valley every dry season burned the savanna, and when the rainy season came young grass and weeds grew. This invited deer and wild boar to graze young leaf in the savanna, making it easier for them to catch game (Sugeng, January 23, 1996).

Sago and meat are staples of the indigenous Buru people. The work of looking for sago was carried out by adult men and boys from the age of 6 years old. Adult males went to the forest to select sago trees to be felled based on the customary provisions that one tree must produce at least 35 *tomang* (a cone made of cylindrical sago leaves) containing 2.5 kg. According to customary provisions, every sago logger is obliged to comply with customary regulations. For every one sago tree cut down, the logger is required to pay a *manu* (natura tax) of eight tomangs to the king or governor of the village (Hersri S, 1979:22). Such customary provisions prevent illegal logging of sago trees, so that the supply of sago trees in the forest was not threatened with extinction. After they had succeeded in cutting down the sago tree, their next task was splitting the sago tree like splitting bamboo, then taking the starch to put into the *tomang*. If the loggers did not finish taking the sago starch within one day, they left the tree split by giving a *koit* (sign) of red chili, thus others will not take it (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996). Indigenous Buru people in Wai Apu valley ate sago after it was cooked into porridge, or roasted (fried without oil). Cooked sagos were eaten with grilled fish, chili or meat. They

rarely cooked sago or grilled meat or fish using salt or sugar, because in Wai Apu valley salt and sugar were hard to find, thus salt and sugar became luxury goods (Kasto Wirjoredjo, January 23, 1996).

The indigenous people of Buru were familiar with *huma* farming system practiced within a family. A father and his adult son chopped the *kusu-kusu* (bushes) and cut them down with a machete. Meanwhile, mother and daughter collected *kusu-kusu* that had been chronicled to be burned. The next job for the father, assisted by adult son, was dismantling tree pillars using a machete. They made mounds of earth by prying the ground with machete. For agricultural technology, it was still very simple. Almost all work related to farming in the *huma* farming system was carried out using machete. Hoe or plowing machine for cultivating the soil was unknown (Sugeng Supanut, January 17, 1996). After making mounds of soil, it was ready for planting *kasbi* (cassava), sweet potatoes or corn. *Huma* rice fields when corn or beans were going to be planted were usually formed as *tugal* (holes in the ground) using sticks by the father or mother. The children filled the holes with corn or peanut seeds. After planting, they were left unattended, and they came back when the harvest season came. (Kasto Wirjoredjo, 23 January 1996).

The indigenous Buru people in Wai Apu valley conducted social interactions with outsiders who were on the shores of Kajeli Bay only once when they needed *baku pele* (barter in nature). They brought agricultural and hunting products such as corn, beans, cassava, yams, sago, fresh meat, grilled fish in exchange for salt, sugar, matches, porcelain bowls, pots, cloth and clothes. They were not familiar with currency for transaction activities (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996).

The daily activities of each Buru indigenous family are as follows; a mother and daughters who are growing up use knife tools to look for areca nut, bamboo and pandan leaves to make rope, baskets, mats, betel bags, tobacco bags, and various other types of weaving. Children from the age of 3-4 years involved in activities in the forest with their parents. Girls saw and learned from their parents how to find pandan leaves, dry and weave pandan leaves into mats, tobacco and betel bags. They also tried to find betel nut, fish and even participated in opening *huma*. Boys saw and learned to hunt, thrown spears, caught fish, opened *huma*, looked for sago in the forest (Hasyim Rachman, January 17, 1996). Meanwhile, the work of making tools such as knives, machetes, spearheads and arrows was carried out by a blacksmith who was known as a “*orang gunung*” (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996).

Until 1970, the indigenous people of Buru in Wai Apu valley adhered to animism and dynamism. They were not familiar with polytheistic or monotheistic beliefs, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam. Their belief of worshipping spirits which was better known as *pamali*. The worship of *pamali* around Wai Apu valley included natural *pamali* and ancestral *pamali*. The worship of the natural *pamalimeans* worshipping spirits who control natural objects such as swamp, river, mountain, land, and forest. The worship of ancestral *pamali* means worship of spirits or ancestral spirits. *Pamali* is a customary regulation obeyed by the indigenous people in Wai Apu valley. *Pamali* functioned to regulate its citizens in social life. In order to maintain their participation as members of the community, the *pamali* was obeyed and became the life guidelines of indigenous Buru community. Therefore, *pamali* functioned to regulate their citizens in social life. In order to maintain their participation as members of indigenous peoples, *pamali* must be obeyed, upheld, and obeyed by their citizens. For those who violate, they were subject to punish according to the provisions of applicable customary law. The strict belief in *pamali* limited every movement of their lives from generation to generation (Hasyim Rachman, January 17, 1996).

Various kinds of traditional ceremonies surrounded the life of indigenous people in Wai Apu. For example, if they were traveling far, they must wear red belt. After they finished building their house, a party must be held before occupying it. They made offerings every day on the grave of a recently deceased person by eating and drinking their favorite food for two or three full moons (Hersri S. , 1979:31). If a family held a traditional ceremony, it was moral obligation for those who were neighbors to come to help. Assistance was given in the form of donations of food ingredients such as: sago, wild boar or deer and so on. Even wild boar meat was an absolute meal in all indigenous traditional feasts in Wai Apu valley (Tom Anwar, January 23, 1996).

The indigenous Buru people in Wai Apu valley until the 1970s had houses measuring between 15 – 25 sq. m. Their houses had *welit* roofs made of sago leaves, bark walls or *gaba-gaba* (sago leaf midrib). The interior or layout of their house usually consisted of one *pamali* room, one husband and wife room, one children's room which also functioned as a sitting room (concurrently a living room), one dining room, and one kitchen. The *pamali* room served to worship the spirits controlling natural objects. The worship rituals were usually accompanied by offerings. (Tom Anawar, January 23, 1996).

Marriage among the indigenous Buru adhered to the inter-*soa* exogamy system (outside the clan), and prohibits endogamous marriage (within the clan) which had been forbidden by their ancestors from generation to generation. Indigenous women living in the interior of Wai Apu were considered to have enough time to settle down from the age of 12 years. For men from the age of 14 years, they got additional requirements if they were already good at hunting. Therefore, it was obligatory for parents to impart their knowledge of hunting to

boys. For example, fathers trained their sons to go in and out of the forest to hunt from the age of 6-7 years (Sugeng 23 January 1996).

The tradition of proposing by men to women could begin when a new woman was born and she could be rewarded with wealth. What meant by property in relation to the position of a woman in society was the conventional unit for measuring the value of goods. For example, one plate, one spear, one machete, one glass, one priok had the value of one treasure. 4-7 fathoms of cloth and 10 betel nut baskets had the value of one treasure. The price of a woman ranged from 200-1000 assets (Hersri S, 1979:27).

The criteria for measuring the height of a woman were determined by the origin of the woman to be proposed. If the daughter is a *Hinolong Matahari Terbit*, she would have a high price level, because *Hinolong Matahari Terbit* (in Kajeli village is a state official who had power and customary rights over land in the lowlands. Likewise, a daughter of *Hinolong Matahari Tenggelam* (In Kajeli village) would have a high property value as well, because a *Hinolong Matahari Tenggelam* has power and customary rights over land in the highlands (on mountain slopes). The daughters of the heads of *soa* and *mauweng* also had a high selling value (value of property), but lower than daughters of *Hinolong Matahari Terbit* and *Hinolong Matahari Tenggelam*. Another criterion affecting the level of a woman's value was determined by the beauty factor and ability to work. For example, the works were the skill of climbing areca nut trees and catching fish (Hesri S, 1979:27).

Payment of property could be in cash, in installments or paid by "exchange of life". What is meant by payment of property by "exchange of life" is that a woman could be purchased (exchanged) with a woman belonging to the buyer's male party (his sister). If the payment of property had been paid off, it could be taken by the male buyer, and he was declared as the legal wife by custom. The position of a woman who had not been

taken were available to taste every man she wanted. If he was caught having an affair with another man, the man was obliged to pay a property fine, while the child would become a *pamali* child and the property of *soa* (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996).

The position of a woman in the context of customary law was identical to property. The customary law imposed a property fine on the adult men. Sometimes that situation was often manipulated by the women's families by deliberately baiting the men with the hope that they would get a property fine (Hasyim Rachman January 17, 1996). Considering that the position of women is identical with property, in this area the divorce case did not come from the side of the man, but it came from woman. For example, a married woman was taken away by another man to be invited to elope justified by customary law (Hasyim Rachman January 17, 1996).

The position of native Buru woman could be judged by wealth, thus it affected their behavior in everyday life. For example, if a man and a woman walked together, the woman always walked in front, while the man was always behind her, tying a machete to

his waist and carrying a spear. Therefore, if danger came from the front, it would easily be seen, and the man with his machete and spear is ready to protect the property or the woman. If danger came from behind, the men would be threatened first before the property. (Hasyim Rachman, January 17, 1996).

Customary law in indigenous communities also taught moral education to prevent adultery. For example, if there is a case of adultery, the man (husband) of the adulterated woman can file a claim for a fine of property to the adulterer man. This can be done by tying it and then whacking it. Then, the woman was asked to make 300 wooden spears, and make an imitation of a wooden penis the size of a calf with a length of between 3-7 fathoms. After that *Mauweng* ordered to run around the traditional house while carrying the imitation penis witnessed by all its citizens. For more details, see the following image.

In addition, customary law also provided provisions for the amount of property fines for those committing adultery. For example, if a person was caught sleeping with the wife of the head of *Soa*, he would be fined 150 assets. If he slept with *Mauweng's* wife, he would be fined 100 assets. While if he slept with a resident's wife, he would be fined as much as 50 assets (Hersri S, 1979:27).



They Were Willing to Accept Outside Influence

When the political prisoners arrived at Unit 10, Wanadharma in December 1969, they received a food ration subsidy of 200 grams of rice (per a prisoner) and a few side dishes such as dried salted fish that had turned into brownish black. This condition was experienced by political prisoners in other units (Indonesia Raja, 31 December 1969). This ration was not enough, so many political prisoners who cleared forests for the production of paddy fields were starving. In order to provide additional food, the political prisoners sometimes brought leftover supplies brought from Java such as clothes, pants, glasses, watches, shoes and so on. They were exchanged for agricultural products from the locals, such as: cassava, peanuts, corn and coconut. Political prisoners were sometimes stole cassava or peanuts grown by local residents. Even in its development, this standard pele system (barter system) turned into a trading system using money between the Buru natives and the political prisoners, as well as with outsiders in Namlea Harbor (Tom Anwar, January 23, 1996). The presence of political prisoners at Buru Concentration Camp had an impact on the local population by starting to recognize currency in buying and selling.

The challenges of life were becoming increasingly difficult for the indigenous Buru people. There was depletion of sago forest supplies and narrowed hunting areas caused by the presence of political prisoners in Wai Apu valley. It caused them willing to leave the traditional cultivation practice using *huma* farming system. They were willing to learn more advanced farming practices from the political prisoners, these were farming using an irrigated farming system or farming in fields using a terracing system. In addition, the indigenous Buru people was in effort to respond the challenges of life that were increasingly difficult. Thus, they learned to cultivate chicken, duck, and fish. This could reduce dependence on nature and lead to a change in lifestyle from food gathering to food producing.

Indigenous people in Wai Apu valley since long time ago until the Buru Inrehab Project period (September 1969), still adhered to animism-dynamism beliefs. They were not familiar with religions "imported" from outside, such as Islam, Christian, Hindu and Buddhism (Pramoedy Ananta Toer 19 January 1996). In 1972, an Islamic foundation established an elementary school in Soa Itilahn, in which there were 10 houses in this village and inhabited by about 30 children. Therefore, the primary school in this village was for the educational needs of 30 children. The construction of the school building was carried out by political prisoners in Unit 2, Wanareja, and the location of this school was about 3 km from Soa Itilahn (Hesri S, 1979:31). In 1971 in Soa Walgan which is adjacent to Uni XV, Indrapura built an elementary school building managed by Maluku Christian Church. The construction work was carried out by political prisoners from Unit 15, Indrapura, intended for the educational needs of 15 children inhabiting Soa Walgan. Until 1978 in Unit 14, Pillowreja there was a Kindergarten, an elementary school, and a junior high school (Hesri S, 1975:31).

The political prisoners sent to the Buru Concentration Camp were male, mostly consisting of teenagers who were going to adulthood and those who were adults (20-70 years old). Biologically, this age group was categorized in the sexually sensitive groups. They had been ostracized for years from the opposite sex. Hence, if there was opportunity, they were more "ferocious" than the sailors who had not landed for some time. This situation caused deviant sexual behavior, that was homosexuality (Pramoedy Ananta Toer, January 19, 1996).

When the political prisoners cleared rice fields and fields, worked on *meranti* sawmills, built roads, or managed crops, they sometimes met local women. The case of adultery between women from Buru and the political prisoners caused a shift in the tradition regarding husband-wife relations from the local population by the traditions brought by the political prisoners from Java. This can be explained by the case of being arrested by a political prisoner who was committing adultery in a house with a local woman who was already married. In accordance with prevailing tradition, after receiving a report from the husband of the woman, the *mauweng* and the head of *soa*, accompanied by the husband whose wife was adulterated, met the commander of the Buru Unit (Dan Unit) to file a claim in the form of a property fine to the political prisoners who commit adultery. The Buru Benefit Unit then questioned the adulterous woman as follows:

Leader of Tefaat Buru Unit : You are married woman, but why did you do sexual activities with the prisoner? Do you like him?

Buru Woman : Yes, I do!

Leader of Tefaat Buru Unit : Why? More pleased?

Buru Woman : Of course. He knows how to pleasure woman.

(Hesri S, 1979:23).

There are three important issues in this case. First, the date of a *pamali* tradition that forbids intercourse in the house (under the roof). According to the local *pamali* tradition, if a husband and wife were going to do *keto-keto* (sexual activities), it must be done within the bushes in the middle of forest or savanna. The husband and wife before doing *keto-keto*, usually put a *koit* (sign) towards the road around a predetermined place. Thus other people did not stray to that place. According to customary provisions, everyone was prohibited from peeking at people who did *keto-keto*, because it is *taboo*. However, in the case of adultery, it was carried out at

home. This means the date of a *pamali* tradition that prohibits everyone from doing *keto-keto* under the roof (inside the house) which was introduced by the political prisoners, because the house is considered the dwelling place of the spirits of their ancestors, so it is sacred (Sugeng Supanut, January 17, 1996) .

Second, the prisoners introduced new sexual intercourse techniques that provided more pleasure. The intercourse technique of the natives in Wai Apu valley usually begun with chasing each other accompanied by a "noise" sound for a while until the woman stopped. The woman then took off her panties and waited while holding her hands on a tree, then the man had sex from behind (Ruth Havelaar, 1995:42). In this case, the local women were willing to accept the sexual intercourse technique introduced by the Javanese political prisoners as adulterers. This shows that there was a shift in the old-style intercourse technique towards the new-style intercourse technique which was more enjoyable.

Third, there was no property fine for the adulterer, and usually ended with sweet memories. This was confirmed by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (19 January 1996) who said that there were often cases of adultery between local women and political prisoners which usually ended with sweet memories for both sides. Even though they were consensual, usually local women, after having intercourse (adultery), then they reported their actions to their husbands in the hope of obtaining a property fine from the prisoner. However, in the absence of a property fine from an adulteress (*tapol*), the husband was angry and his wife was beaten with a rattan. After that, there was no longer any grudge against the husband against his wife. The general impression that every native woman had when she commits adultery with the political prisoner was that she felt comfortable because the prisoner had smooth skin. The prisoner's skin was much smoother than local Buru man. (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 19 January 1996).

In facing the challenges of changing times, the indigenous women of Buru dared to abandon some of their customs. For example, a woman named Nyaimbang committed customary disobedience by marrying a man of her choice in one clan (endogamous marriage), and apparently got the approval from *mauweng*. According to the provisions of local customs, endogamous women's marriages were prohibited from generation to generation, because they were considered *pamali*. Moreover the marriage system that was legally justified was exogamous marriage, that was inter-clan marriage. The customary resistance had also been shown by an 18 year old young widow named Ona. She rejected her position as property that should fall into the hands of her late husband's brother. She threatened to commit suicide instead of complying with customary provisions. The head of Soa, Titi Dawan understood this and abandoned the customary marriage between Ona and the brother of her late husband (Hersri S, 1979:25).

IV. Conclusion

Social interactions between the Buru indigenous people and the political prisoners in Buru Concentration Camp (1969-1979) had a positive impact for Buru natives, including: (1) changes in agricultural technology from *huma* farming to irrigated agriculture (paddy fields) and terracing; (2) a change from a hunting and gathering lifestyle (food gathering) to a food-producing lifestyle through the cultivation (raising) of ducks, chickens, and fisheries; (3) leaving the system of buying and selling as a standard barter system and changing the system of buying and selling using money; (4) presence of formal education (Kindergarten, Elementary School, Junior High School); (5) leaving animistic-dynamism beliefs to convert to Islam, Protestant Christianity broadcasted by Islamic foundations and Protestant Christian foundations; (6) leaving *pamali* tradition which forbids intercourse in the house (under the roof) and accepting the new tradition of having intercourse in the house; (7) leaving the habit of the old intercourse technique (animal style) and accepting a new style of intercourse with full variations; (8) changing in tradition regarding cases of adultery, in which at first the adulterer men were subject to a property fine leading to the loss of property fines for the adulterer man; (9) abolishing the endogamy marriage (marriage within one clan; (10) abandoning the custom that stated the position of women as property that must go to the brother of her deceased husband.

The implementation of Buru Concentration Camp project (1969-1979) resulted in losses for the local population included: (1) loss of power and customary rights of the Head of Kajeli District, *Raja Ishak Wael* and the Head of Leisiela District, *Patih Mohamad Thojib Hentihu* over land in the interior of the Wai Apu valley ; (2) loss to Hinolong Matahari Sunset as the ruler of the highlands and Hinolong Matahari Rising as the ruler of the lowlands over the ownership of sago forests and game animals in Wai Apu. (3) decreasing of sago forest and the hunting area for natives in Wai Apu valley.

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