



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Tapol bulletin no, 119, October 1993

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1993) Tapol bulletin no, 119, October 1993. Tapol bulletin (119). pp. 1-24. ISSN 1356-1154

The publisher's official version can be found at

Note that access to this version may require subscription.

Downloaded from VU Research Repository <https://vuir.vu.edu.au/26073/>



The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

TAPOL Bulletin No. 119

October 1993

US links arms sales to human rights

A halt in arms sales to Indonesia because of its occupation of East Timor could happen if the US Senate adopts an amendment to the Foreign Appropriations Bill which its Foreign Affairs Committee passed unanimously on 8 September. Earlier the Clinton Administration blocked the transfer of F5-E fighters from Jordan to Indonesia for "a combination of sensitive issues, including human rights".

The amendment tabled by Senator Russell Feingold (Dem. Wisconsin) asks the President to consult with Congress to determine whether there has been an improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor before approving the sale or transfer of military equipment to Indonesia.

Sen. Feingold said that when the provision is signed into law, "it will mark a historic turning point in the conduct of US foreign policy. We will be drawing a direct policy link between US sanctioned arms sales and human rights violations."

The draft as originally tabled by Sen. Feingold was amended in face of powerful lobbying from arms contractors and corporate interests. However, even this watered down version has been hailed by the human rights and peace lobby in Washington as a major step forward.

The State Department was involved in the negotiations to reach a compromise and agreed with the draft. However, some State Department officials are unhappy and could lobby against its acceptance on the Senate floor "in the interests of safeguarding US-Indonesian relations".

The six criteria to be considered prior to approval of arms deals in excess of \$14 million relate specifically to the Santa Cruz massacre and to the need to curb violations by the security forces. Of particular significance is the requirement that military personnel who were "responsible for ordering, authorising or initiating the use of lethal force against demonstrators in East Timor in November 1991 are brought to justice". This signals a clear rejection of Indonesian claims to have resolved the question by charging a few low-ranking officers and giving them light sentences for failing to obey orders. The criteria also require that the sentences of civilians convicted in connection with the massacre should be considered for commutation, reduction or remission, and that there is a full accounting of the individuals missing after the November incident.

The amendment must still come before the full Senate where it could be challenged despite bi-partisan support in the Committee. This will happen in mid-October.

Clinton Administration support

Speaking in Congress on 23 September, Senator Feingold

welcomed the Clinton Administration's support for the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee's amendment which had been drafted in close consultation with the Administration. "President Clinton has made it clear human rights concerns over East Timor will continue to play an integral role in policy making in this area. I have been assured that such considerations will be part of future Administration decisions on arms sales to Indonesia and I expect that such consultations (with Congress) will continue as part of Administration policy. It would be unconscionable if lethal US weapons were sold to the Indonesians and then used against the people of East Timor. I know that the Clinton Administration and members of Congress share this view."

Also, in response to calls from Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, during a visit to the White House, for the US

East Timor

Mothers write to Hilary Clinton	p. 2
UN talks move forward, slowly	p. 3
Foreign missions to Timor	p. 4
Political prisoners update	p. 6

Politics: Suharto's democracy

p. 9

Human rights

Human rights briefs	p. 8
The spectre of cecal	p. 11
Labour practices under pressure	p. 12
Recent prisoner releases	p. 14
The Haur Koneng tragedy	p. 16
Poncke Princen under attack	p. 17

New transmigration wave

p. 19

Aceh resolution at the UN

p. 21

Indigenous peoples

Siberut: destructive development	p. 20
Logging as usual in Yamdena	p. 22
Timber company under fire	p. 23
Book review: Digging deep	p. 24

to "tone down" its attitude towards human rights in Indonesia (and China), President Clinton said: "The US does have a very strong position on human rights and I think we should." While the US has "good contact" with Indonesia, it remains concerned about East Timor, he said. [The Age, 22.IX.1993] Incidentally, Keating was lambasted by almost all Australian newspapers for so blatantly defending Indonesia.

Jakarta taken aback

Senior Indonesian government officials and the armed forces leadership were clearly caught off guard by the Committee's overwhelming support for the resolution and have responded with dismay, indignation and threats while trying at the same time to shrug it off as being of no significance. Defence Minister General Edi Sudradjat warned that Indonesia would turn to other arms suppliers in Britain, Switzerland, Sweden, France, Germany and Russia while Foreign Minister Ali Alatas warned that the decision could damage US interests more than Indonesia's.

Chiefs of the three services have all come forward to insist that they will be able to function without supplies from the US – the Navy in particular because its fleet is being replenished by Germany and the Air Force because it can now rely on supplies from Britain. Air Vice-Marshal

Rilo Pambudi argues that the recent ban on the transfer of the F-5Es "means nothing" because they were only needed to supplement the existing fleet. He also played down the loss of spare parts from the US, saying "such action is unlikely". [Jakarta Post, 20.IX.1993] But others have warned that Indonesia's fleet of F-16s could be grounded if spare parts are blocked.

Quo vadis US-Indonesian ties?

Coming on top of Washington's decision in July to block the transfer of four F-5E warplanes from Jordan to Indonesia, last year's decision in Congress to halt the military training programme (IMET) and pressure to reform repressive trade union practices, the relationship between Washington and Jakarta has taken a turn for the worse.

Persistent lobbying in Congress in the Reagan and Bush years, when the Administration was deaf to appeals for action against Indonesia, is bearing fruit under Clinton. Now that the anti-communist fervour has lost its bite, regimes like Suharto's with its deplorable record of crimes against humanity will find itself in the sights of western governments that make a genuine commitment to human rights in their bilateral relations. Suharto could afford to shrug off the Netherlands and then Belgium, even punishing them for wanting human rights conditionality in economic ties. It is proving more difficult to play the same game with Washington.

East Timorese mothers write to Hilary Clinton

The following is the text of a letter to Hilary Clinton, wife of President Bill Clinton, from 48 East Timorese women who signed the letter but asked that their identities not be made public.

Your Excellency,

First of all we wish to express our respectful greetings and personal congratulations to you and your husband.

We, the mothers of children who have disappeared and died in the tragedy of 12 November 1991, moved by the love for our children who constitute the people of East Timor, conscious of the critical and distressing moment in which our country and people are living, take the opportunity to express our complete rejection of Indonesia's dirty political manipulations, and re-affirm our unshakeable wish to struggle until we have gained our total freedom.

Relying on your goodwill and benevolence in listening to our deepest concerns, we respectfully present the following reflections:

1. As mothers of children who have died or disappeared, we continue to live in the silence of this immense sorrow, without knowing where our beloved, martyred children are buried. We ask and demand that the Indonesian government return to us the bodies of our children.
2. We reject all the dirty manoeuvres of Indonesia which claim that 'development' and 'progress' of our country can be compensation for our children. We feel nothing but contempt for the great buildings, tarmacked roads, fashionable bribes, all to achieve the peaceful elimination of our people.
3. We are a small people, frail in all aspects of life, but we wish to keep alive the flame of our resistance, which iden-

tifies us as a free and honourable people.

4. We wish to express our great appreciation for the clear position which you and your husband have taken about the problem of East Timor.

5. We appeal to the maternal feelings of Your Excellency, to present the dark images of our suffering at the meeting which is due to take place in New York on 17 September 1993.

6. You should know that, after the return of the representatives of the American Senate*), detentions and reprisals continue to be directed at our children. Our homes continue to be watched by Indonesian soldiers dressed in civilian clothes, and military vehicles have been painted in civilian colours such as blue and cream.

To conclude this letter, we ask that Your Excellency forgive the typing errors which are caused partly by the very basic conditions in which we are working and partly by the terror and fear which we experience while our homes are being watched.

Once more, we would like to express our respectful greetings to Your Excellency and to your distinguished husband, Bill Clinton, President of the United States of America.

With deepest respect,

[48 names and signatures]

10 September 1993, East Timor

*) It was widely believed in East Timor that the people on the US mission that visited East Timor on 1 September were members of Congress. In fact, they were US congressional aides and staff.

UN-sponsored talks move forward... slowly

On 17 September 1993, the third round of talks on the question of East Timor between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Portuguese Foreign Minister Durao Barroso was held in New York under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. It was later announced that the next session would take place in Geneva on 6 May 1994.

The talks took place as international pressure on Indonesia over its continued illegal occupation of East Timor and the persistent violation of human rights there was growing. This includes concrete steps by the Clinton Administration towards the Suharto regime and yet another resolution adopted by the UN in Geneva about the human rights situation. The resolution of the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee linking arms sales for Indonesia to East Timor and a strongly-worded London *Times* editorial, hung like a cloud over Indonesia's harassed policy-makers.

The official statement by the UN suggests that there was a little more substance to the talks than at the April session in Rome. There was reference to the two sides reiterating their commitment to the chairman's consensus statement at the UN Human Rights Commission in 1992 but this was an unsatisfactory compromise, committing Indonesia to doing little more than facilitate access to East Timor for additional humanitarian organisations and human rights organisations.

This was the point most widely reported, though Alatas said that Indonesia was already doing so anyway. As we show elsewhere, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry does make a show of trying to allow missions from abroad to visit East Timor but the occupying military forces do everything to make it impossible for such missions to meet East Timorese and carry out investigations, so as to conceal the grave human rights situation.

Including East Timorese in the talks?

Paragraph 5 of the UN statement states that both ministers "noted the Secretary-General's intention to carry out contacts as he deems useful in his efforts to assist in the solution of the question". This can be interpreted as the first public acknowledgement that the Secretary-General is working to include East Timorese representatives in the talks. This is required by UN General Assembly resolution 37/30 of 1982 which requests the Secretary-General to consult "all parties directly concerned" in the conflict.

Bishop Belo, head of the East Timor Catholic Church, is known to have strong views on this question. During a discussion with the Swedish MPs who were in East Timor in September and which has been broadcast on Swedish radio, he reiterated his support for a referendum in East Timor. In his opinion, José Ramos-Horta, member of the troika leadership of the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM), should be included in the consultations. He also gave the names of other Timorese inside the country who should be consulted.

What about this year's UN recommendations?

A commitment to implement the UN Human Rights Commission's resolution of March 1993 would be far more significant. This demands access for the four UN thematic

investigators or working groups of the UN – on torture, disappearances, arbitrary detentions and summary executions. Movement here seems intolerably slow but according to a letter from the British Foreign Office, the European Community is pressing for implementation of this section of the Commission's resolution. Time will tell how forcefully the EC is pushing for this to happen.

Indonesia wants 'comprehensive solution'?

After the talks, Reuters quoted Ali Alatas as saying: "If we stick to our respective basic positions, we are diametrically opposed. Clearly the position is to find a way somewhere in the middle." He even said Indonesia is prepared to work with the UN for "a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution". To anyone who understands UN principles and the wishes of the East Timorese people, this can only mean one thing – an act of self-determination and a referendum on East Timor's future. But while sounding flexible, Alatas could have other things in mind.

UN Sub-Commission resolution

The UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva in August this year once again adopted a resolution expressing "deep concern" at the continuing violations of human rights in East Timor. The most significant point is the reference in the resolution, for the first time in any UN resolution, to the applicability of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War. It notes that "forcible removal of prisoners" from East Timor to serve jail sentences in Indonesia contravenes this Convention and urges the Indonesian government to honour this provision.

Significantly also, the US expert member of the Sub-Commission was one of the sponsors of the resolution. Previously US experts have not supported East Timor. The motion was adopted by 13 votes to 10 with 2 abstentions.

Abilio Soares' Vatican visit a flop

When Abilio Soares, Indonesia's assertive and sure-footed governor of East Timor, announced that several dozen East Timorese dignitaries would visit the Vatican and have an audience with the Pope in August, it sounded as if this might have world-shattering consequences. Who knows, they might end up persuading the Holy Father to incorporate the East Timor Church into the Indonesian Catholic Church which would be a blow in favour of integration. It was even said that the Pope had made a point of making sure the governor himself would be on the mission which Soares took as being a personal invitation.

In the event, the East Timorese 'met' the Pope in a regular audience, along with three thousand others. Soares' private meeting with the Pope lasted all of three minutes. Whatever the outcome of the jaunt, Soares has kept it to himself, probably because it was nothing more than a joy-ride to Europe at the expense of Garuda Airways. ✱

Swedish and US visits to East Timor

In September, the Indonesian government allowed three parliamentarians from Sweden to visit East Timor. The events surrounding this visit and an earlier visit of US congressional aides reveal the tension within the regime between the Foreign Ministry, eager to allow greater access in face of growing international pressure, and the armed forces in East Timor, determined to control such visits.

The Swedish visit took place a few days after US congressional aides had been on a one-day visit. Before the aides arrived, the military authorities rounded up many dozens of East Timorese to prevent demonstrations from occurring in their presence. Fifty-three detainees were named in an Urgent Action from Amnesty International on 6 September.

Syafei 'denies' arrests

When the US team met the Udayana regional military commander, Major-General Theo Syafei, he denied that there had been any arrests. The only thing that happened, he said, was that "some people formerly involved in demonstrations were rounded up to be given guidance by the state apparatus". [*Jawa Pos*, 2.IX.1993]

The three Swedish MPs who were in East Timor from 13 to 16 September were Ingbritt Irhammer of the Centre Party, a government party, Ingela Martensson of the Liberal Party also in the government, and Hans Goran Franck from the opposition Social Democratic Party. Their decision to visit East Timor as part of a trip to Indonesia came hard on the heels of the refusal of their government to grant asylum to three East Timorese at the Swedish embassy in Jakarta.

Days before they were due to leave Stockholm, they were told that changes were being made to their itinerary which would curtail the three days allotted to East Timor. In an interview with the Portuguese news agency LUSA on their second day in Jakarta, after they had met Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, Ingela Martensson described what happened:

We received definite information that a powerful force that we saw as the military authorities in charge of East Timor (would) keep us out of East Timor. We went to the heart of the matter and directly asked Foreign Minister Ali Alatas who decides matters of importance in Indonesia. He assured us that the original programme that had been cleared by the foreign ministry and also includes East Timor, will stand....

It would appear that the proposed legislation by the US Senate to impose a total weapons embargo on Indonesia has borne results. Indonesia would like to avert such a situation and appears willing to make gestures to pre-empt it.

Constantly watched

Once in East Timor however, it was the overpowering presence and control of the military that took over. "It is difficult to see real life. We are constantly watched," said Martensson on the phone from Dili. "When we are taken somewhere by car, there are military everywhere and sirens are heard."

She spoke about a visit to a 'strategic village' 84 kms from Dili that is administered by the military. "According to the

briefing given us, the military plan to retire from the village 'later on'. From the impression we received, the inhabitants were from the mountainous region."

US ambassador blamed for protests

When six US congressional aides met military commander Major-General Theo Syafei in Dili, they must have been surprised to hear him blame former US ambassador John Monjo for encouraging East Timorese to demonstrate. The general was quoted in the Indonesian press as saying:

"I told (the US team) that the origins of the 1991 demonstration (which led to the Santa Cruz massacre) go back to what happened when the US ambassador John Monjo visited East Timor. There was a series of demonstrations in (his) presence which were even praised by the ambassador as being a good thing. Yet this is against our Constitution. This is what started all those demonstrations which raised matters of fundamental importance that were bound to lead to conflict." [*Jawa Pos*, 2.IX.1993]

Five days after he said this, a report sent by the US embassy to the State Department while Monjo was ambassador was released under the Freedom of Information Act, describing the tricks used by the military in East Timor to influence the findings of the UN envoy, Amos Wako, when he visited the territory in April last year. This has infuriated Indonesian officials who say they had always regarded Monjo as being 'very sympathetic to Indonesia'. But Syafei's claim suggests that even before this, he was out to blame the US for demonstrations in 1990 and 1991 during foreign visits which stirred up trouble for his men.

The US observers were also unlikely to have been impressed by Syafei's explanation of what happened to 24 young East Timorese arrested after Santa Cruz but never brought to trial:

"(T)heir interrogation dispositions made it clear that they were anti-Indonesian. We therefore sent them to villages to be given guidance. Since they refused to accept Indonesia, a system of guidance would be used to make them accept it. It is not of fixed duration and will continue until they accept Indonesia."

As we know these 24 men have been placed in the charge of local military commands and forced to work for the army while being 'under guidance'.

Wherever the US officials went in Dili, they saw army units on high alert, with troops and police at every intersection.

Other highlights of their stay were visits to a police jail which they found empty, and a visit to a prison where they met a political prisoner serving a ten-year sentence for taking part in the November 1991 demonstration "but he did not want to answer any questions", said Martensson. Martensson and Franck also met a judge at the district court who told them that there are no political prisoners, only criminal offenders.

Meanwhile Irhammer and a Swedish journalist, Ragnar Hedlund, went to the east and visited Fr Locatelli, a priest who runs a school in Venilale. Although they wanted to stay overnight, the military minders refused to allow this.

In statements issued following their visit, the three MPs each stressed the need for the withdrawal of military forces. Franck called for an arms embargo against Indonesia and a referendum in East Timor and for the Timorese to be

EAST TIMOR

involved in the UN-sponsored consultations. Martensson condemned the total control by the military and the police which meant they cannot openly express their opinions. "The historic decision on the Palestine question shows the necessity of having representatives from the concerned people at the negotiating table." She too said weapons exports to Indonesia should not be allowed until the fate of East Timor has been decided. Irhammer said the official will to improve human rights must not only be lip service. "...human rights organisations, journalists, international lawyers, parliamentarians (must be) permitted to freely go to East Timor and other areas like Aceh and Irian Jaya to observe the situation."



Tricksters caught red-handed

A report released in Washington under the Freedom of Information Act gives clear evidence of the deliberate deception used by the forces of occupation in East Timor when foreign missions visit the territory. The released document was a cable from the US embassy in Jakarta to the State Department in Washington dated 21 February 1992, describing how more than a hundred young East Timorese were rounded up for "training" outside Dili before the first visit to Dili of the UN Secretary-General's special envoy, Amos Wako, to investigate the human rights situation following the Santa Cruz massacre three months earlier.

The cable referred to Wako's visit to Dili as "sensitive" and said that according to the embassy's source, whose name was deleted, the military had used "similar measures to head off trouble before the 1989 arrival of Pope John Paul". It cited second-hand sources as saying that the military commander visited a military hospital to warn those wounded in the Santa Cruz massacre "to tell Wako nothing when he visited the next day".

The report was written when John Monjo was the US ambassador to Indonesia. Monjo was himself the target of a demonstration by young East Timorese who cornered him in the hotel lobby and engaged him in dialogue for about an hour when he visited Dili in January 1990. The publication of this cable has dismayed regime circles in Jakarta who say that they had always regarded Ambassador Monjo, and indeed other US ambassadors in Jakarta, as friends of Indonesia.

The document was made public a week after reports were received from East Timor about the arrest of dozens of East Timorese in advance of a visit there by a team of US congressional aides. This time too, the army has denied that any arrests have been made, admitting only that 53 students who were taken "for practical training in manual skills were still attending the course". Amnesty International has dismissed such 'training' as "arbitrary, unacknowledged detention".

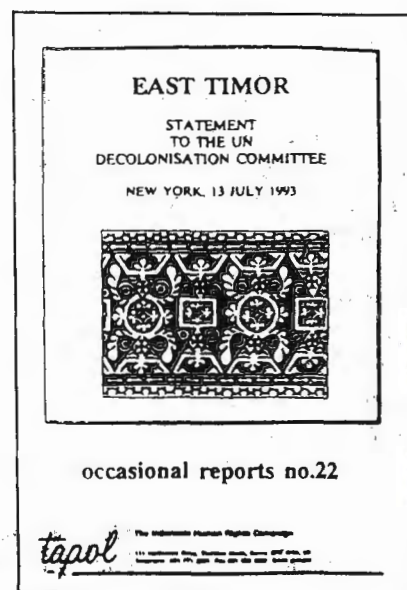
The cable came to light just two days before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee considered, and adopted, a resolution tying arms sales to Indonesia to human rights in East Timor [see separate item]. It is one more event adding



East Timorese demonstrators surrounding the car of US Ambassador John Monjo.

Photo: Jenny Groves

to the recent tensions that have developed between Indonesia and the US in the past few months.



Occasional Reports no.22 contains TAPOL's submission to the 1993 meeting of the UN Decolonisation Committee. Price £ 1.00 including postage

East Timorese prisoners update

A number of convicted political prisoners have been transferred out of East Timor in violation of the Geneva Convention, while the authorities have arbitrarily granted clemencies to give the impression of a shift towards leniency. But many more arrests have occurred to prevent East Timorese from demonstrating while several foreign missions were in East Timor.

Guiles and tricks have been very much in evidence in the army's handling of East Timorese political prisoners since the Santa Cruz massacre when the human rights situation in East Timor has been under such close international scrutiny. Nothing has changed on the ground but the forces of occupation have gone to considerable lengths to make things appear better so as to reduce outside pressure.

'Clemencies' granted

As predicted, President Suharto announced in July that he had decided to grant clemency to the East Timor resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao and reduce his sentence from life to twenty years. This is a hollow gesture as Xanana would never, under any circumstances, have wanted clemency from a regime that has perpetrated such crimes of humanity against his people. [See *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 118, August 1993]

Clemencies were also granted to two of the eight East Timorese who were tried and sentenced in Dili for taking part in the 12 November 1991 demonstration. The eight-year sentence of Carlos dos Santos Lemos was reduced by two years while Bonifacio Magno Ferreira's sentence was cut from six to four years. Neither had been defended by lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute and were defended instead by Sudjono, a lawyer who has made no secret of his close links with the police and the security forces. He could well have made the two clemency applications on his own initiative as he most certainly did in the case of Xanana Gusmao. There is no evidence that he was acting on the instructions of the two prisoners.

'Amnesties' for guerrilla leaders

The fate and whereabouts of two guerrilla leaders remain a mystery. Mau Hudo who was caught in early in 1992, and Mau Huno, who took over the leadership of the armed resistance movement after Xanana Gusmao and was captured in April during a military operation. Neither men has been granted access to lawyers and, to all intents and purposes, they have been held incommunicado.

After Xanana Gusmao's trial backfired disastrously for the forces of occupation, all intentions of trying these men were apparently abandoned. In early August, roving ambassador Lopes da Cruz announced that Mau Huno had been given a presidential amnesty, and had "effectively been released", allegedly because he had surrendered. This is simply not true.

The 'amnesty' was confirmed a few weeks later by military commander, Major-General Theo Syafei, who said that Mau Hudo had also been given an amnesty. Nothing was said about the men have been released; instead, Mau Huno was said to be 'staying with an Indonesian family' which could mean he is in the charge of an army officer.

Syafei claimed that the amnesties had been granted a

Xanana held with common criminals

On 11 August, Xanana Gusmao was forcibly removed from Dili and is now detained in Kedungpane Prison in Semarang, Central Java. This is a prison for common criminals. The Indonesian authorities are not only in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention by removing him from East Timor; they are now treating him like a common criminal. Moreover, he has been moved to a place which makes all contact with his family virtually impossible. To deceive world opinion over their treatment of Xanana, the authorities have described Kedungpane as a 'high-quality prison' with excellent amenities.

Xanana clearly does not accept this. We now know that when he discovered that he was going to be forcibly transferred to Java, he asked to be sent to Cipinang Prison in Jakarta to be with other political prisoners. Instead he was sent to Kedungpane, where he is sharing a cell with two men convicted on manslaughter charges. In protest against this and against other injustices such as the confiscation of most of his personal belongings after he arrived in Semarang, he went on hunger strike for two weeks. TAPOL has learnt that he became so weak he had to be physically supported when he wanted to attend to a religious service.

In September, the armed forces chief of general staff, General Mantiri, admitted that Xanana Gusmao had been on hunger strike and was so weak that he was examined by a military doctor. [BBC, 3.IX.1993]

His family who have not been allowed to visit him or see him since sentence was passed on 21 May, were kept in the dark about the move. It so happened that, on the day he was transferred, his sister Armandina went to the authorities to ask for permission to see him. Not only did they say nothing about his imminent departure; they told her to go home and prepare a written request for permission to see him. Now that he is several thousand miles away, the chances of their seeing him are extremely remote. [Bernas, 16.VIII.1993]

The Swedish MPs who visited Indonesia in September wanted to go to Semarang to visit him but were not allowed to do so.

month before but did not elaborate. It so happens that the announcement was made conveniently just before a US

congressional mission was due to pay a short visit to East Timor. Information from clandestine sources say that the two men are in the hands of the special army intelligence, known in East Timor by the initials, SGI. Reports in the press that the two men have been taken to the bush by the army to appeal to guerrillas to surrender only reinforces the impression that they are in the hands of army intelligence.

Prisoners moved from East Timor

The most disturbing development vis-a-vis all the East Timorese who have been tried since 1992 is their transfer out of the country to prisons in various parts of Indonesia. This is in violation of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 which states:

"Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from (the) occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power, or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive."

Almost all the East Timorese who have been tried since the Santa Cruz Massacre of November 1991 are no longer being held in Dili:

* **Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha**, 30, sentenced to life, and **Francisco Miranda Branco**, 42, who got a fifteen-year sentence, have been transferred to Cipinang Prison in Jakarta.

* **Filomeno da Silva Pereira**, 42, who was sentenced to 5 years and eight months, **Saturnino da Costa Belo**, about 30, whose nine-year sentence may have been increased on appeal, **Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves**, 35, who got ten years, and **Juvencio de Jesus Martins**, in his early 30s, who was sentenced to 6 years and 10 months, have all been transferred to Mataram Prison, Lombok Island.

* **Carlos dos Santos Lemos**, 36, whose 8-year sentence has been reduced to six, **Bonifacio Magno Pereira**, 36, who got six years, **Bobby Xavier**, in his early twenties, sentenced to three years, **Jacob da Silva**, also in his early twenties, sentenced to two years, and **Alexio da Silva Gomes**, also in his early twenties, who was given two years and three months, are all now being held at Penfui Prison in Kupang, West Timor.

The last three named above were tried on a frame-up for the murder of an East Timorese who was among the mob that attacked Motael Church where they were taking refuge on 28 October 1991. No-one has been charged for the murder of Sebastiao Gomes who was killed in the same incident and whose death was being commemorated when the Santa Cruz massacre occurred on 12 November 1991. It is not clear where the other two young East Timorese who were charged with murder, **Joao dos Santos** and **Bonifacio Barreto**, are being held although it is understood that they too have been moved out of East Timor.

Prison conditions in Dili

A document which describes the experiences of these thirteen prisoners since their arrest immediately after the Santa Cruz massacre provides a grim picture of living in dank and unhealthy cells, months of incarceration without family visits being allowed and an almost total lack of medical treatment for lung disorders, malaria and injuries. The document will be made available after a full translation has been done.

EAST TIMOR

The prisoners were held for the first ten months in Comoro where living conditions were very cramped; some were in cells without roofs. They were then moved to Balide military prison which has a particularly bad reputation as a centre for torture. Balide is an old colonial-style prison that was built during the Portuguese era; it lacks ventilation and the floors are damp because the prison is situated in a swamp. The cells have very low ceilings which accentuate the heat. The prisoners had no access to the sunlight and slept on bare, damp floors, causing an outbreak of serious disorders for which no treatment was available.



Timorese political prisoners in Becora prison, Dili.

Shortly before the second visit to Dili of the UN Secretary-General's envoy, Amos Wako, in April 1993, the prisoners were moved from Balide to the civilian Becora Prison where conditions are much better, to make things look more presentable for this important diplomatic occasion. Becora is a newly-built prison where prisoners each have their own cells and the floor are made of cement.

However, immediately after the Wako visit, seven of the thirteen prisoners were banished from East Timor and the others have since been transferred out of East Timor as well. ☆

AVAILABLE NOW!



Mai Kolia Tetun

A Course in Tetum-Praça
The Lingua Franca of East
Timor

by Geoffrey Hull

published by

Australian Catholic Relief

and the

Australian Catholic Social
Justice Council

COST: \$ 10.00 plus postage

ACR/ACSJC
19 Mackenzie Street, North Sydney, NSW 2060
Ph: (02) 956 5799 or (02) 956 5811 Fax: (02) 956 5782

Writers speak up for Pramoedya

Seventy writers and artists have urged the government to lift the ban on books by Pramoedya Ananta Toer whose novels have made him the most renowned Indonesian writer internationally. They argued the case during a dialogue with Minister for Education and Culture, Wardiman Djojonegoro.

In what the *Jakarta Post* described as "a rare show of solidarity", the group said lifting the ban would be consistent with the government's declared intent to create a more open political climate. Among the writers supporting the move are YB Mangunwijaya, Goenawan Muhammad, Mochtar Lubis, Emha Ainun Nadjib, Sardono W. Kusumo, Ajip Rosidi, NH Dini and Bagong Kusudiardjo. [*Jakarta Post*, 23.VIII.1993]

Pramoedya was detained without trial for fourteen years, ten of them on Buru Island, for allegedly being a communist. All his books, whether written before 1965 or since his release in 1979, are banned. Some people express amazement that in 'anti-communist' Malaysia, his books are not only available but are required reading in the schools.

Typical of the remarks made by the writers was what Ajip Rosidi said: "He was once involved in the PKI (sic) but I am sure he doesn't want to spread the communist ideology. We should no longer be afraid of the communist ideology."

The minister did not show much enthusiasm, arguing that "there is no such thing as unlimited freedom".

Pramoedya expressed gratitude to the artists for their initiative in favour of creative freedom, but said: "I have no illusions about the present rulers." [*Tempo*, 4.IX.1993]

Marsinah exhibition banned

An art exhibition to commemorate Marsinah, the woman workers' activist who was murdered in May after leading a strike action at a watch factory in Surabaya, was banned by the local police force. The exhibition was being held to mark the one hundredth day of her death.

The pieces on display had been created by local artists who made statues and painting about the woman whose tragic death has aroused protests in many circles. The exhibition was sponsored by the Surabaya Arts Council, which was told just as the exhibition was about to open that they should have applied for a permit. The Council's chairman, Ari Wibowo, said they had been holding exhibitions for twenty years and had never before been required to have a permit. Police said that the exhibition could not go ahead because it was being held "for political purposes". [*Jakarta Post*, 14.VIII.1993]

The Golput trial

The trial of two students in Semarang, Lukas Luwarso and Poltak Ike Wibowo has become a test case of how serious the authorities are about the 'fresh wind of democracy'. Since it started in July, the court room not been able to accommodate the crowds of activists from all parts of Java. The defendants are charged with inciting hatred at a satirical event prior to the 1992 elections [see also *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 117 and 118]. In court, the two students have fearlessly advocated their convictions. When Luwarso took the stand, he read extracts from his statement at the event in 1992, criticising the elections as fraudulent. The indictment accuses Wibowo of telling the students about the

Suharto family monopolies in cloves and collecting television fees. Students in the public gallery are obviously enjoying the trial and greet statements with cheers or jeers.

The defence team staged a spectacular walk-out in protest when expert witnesses like Arief Budiman, Emha Ainun Nadjib, Mangunwidjaya and Ariel Heryanto were turned down by the court. Buyung Nasution, the newly elected chair of YLBHI, is a member of the defence team. Ariel Heryanto, lecturer at the Satya Wacana University commented: 'This is a case of political terrorism. The ultimate aim is to make an example of a few individuals. It teaches people not to obey the law, but to fear power'. The student movement is gradually recovering from constant oppression by the authorities and the Semarang trial has become a catalyst for student activists in Jakarta, Bandung, Solo, Semarang, Salatiga and Yogyakarta, in mobilising support for the defendants. The verdict is still awaited.

Traffic Law protest attacked by troops

A peaceful demonstration in Yogyakarta, Central Java, of about a thousand people coming from several parts of Java was violently attacked by troops using firearms and tear-gas. People were kicked, beaten and physically attacked, and banners, posters and megaphones were confiscated. The troops searched campus buildings with the intention of arresting more students. The protest was organised by the Committee of People's Solidarity for Public Transport and the Students' Defence Committee of Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

The protest against the Traffic Law which comes into force on 17 September was supported by students from several major cities and by street-vendors, pedicab-drivers and taxi-drivers whose livelihoods are threatened by the new law. Ten students were arrested.

The Traffic Law imposes severe fines for a number of routine traffic offences. It was enacted in 1992 and was to have come into force on 1 September of that year but opposition was so widespread that the President decided to postpone its enforcement till 1993. Protest against the law and the prospect of a transport strike would have coincided with the Non-Aligned Summit which opened in Jakarta on 1 September 1992.

In face of strong opposition to the law, the government has reduced the rate of the fines but even so, they represent a hefty burden for people living on meagre incomes. Many motorists and people who earn their living from transport fear that the fines system will only benefit the police who extract bribes as an alternative to administering the fines.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian Bar Association unanimously adopted a resolution at its recent congress calling for the Traffic Law to be annulled as it is strongly opposed by all sections of society.

General Try acknowledges discrimination

The largely symbolic position of vice-president of the Republic is occupied by ret'd General Try Sutrisno known for his blunt remarks after the Santa Cruz bloodbath in November 1991. General Try was never thought to be very bright and commits blunder after blunder. In a recent meeting with Indonesian Chinese, the general asked them

continued on page 18

Democracy a la Suharto

In the last few months President Suharto has surprised people with a series of bold statements about democracy and pluriformity. This "fresh wind of democracy" has made some analysts exude optimism. Others are sceptical, seeing it as lip service. But all agree that things have become more fluid.

There is agreement on two things, that Suharto is both a ruthless and a skilful politician. The Suharto of 1965 is very different from the Suharto of 1980 and different from the Suharto of the nineties. While other dictators tend to solidify power by means of a rigid and static oppressive system, Suharto has proven to be a ruler capable of adjusting his rule to the times. Although his rule has frequently been contested, his power has never been seriously threatened. He has been a master at selecting skilful people and discarding them when they become too powerful.

Beyond doubt, he is on top of things and all major decisions are still taken by him personally. His unfolding conflict with the top echelons of the armed forces (ABRI) has complicated matters but he has so far managed to contain the conflict quite well.

Still, things haven't been quite the same since his re-appointment (for the sixth time) earlier this year. The political party structures which have for years been in stalemate because of rigid control, have become arenas of conflict. *Golkar*, the ruling party, has split into different interest groups, while the crisis in the *PDI*, the nationalist/-christian party has produced a sorry spectacle of archaic political structures. Even more spectacular are the approaches Suharto is making towards his (former) enemies.

Rapprochement

Ostracised people like the *Petisi 50* people or the eminence grise of the army, ret'd General Abdul Harris Nasution have become front-page news. Since the early eighties they were treated as pariahs sentenced to 'civil death'. Ali Sadikin and other *Petisi* member are now courted by senior officials. The dissidents were invited by Technology Minister Rudy Habibie to visit his high-tech military-industrial complexes. Another thaw occurred when General Nasution, after being ignored by the authorities for many years, was suddenly invited to meet the president. These gestures, mostly symbolic, took on further significance when the government decided to scrap all the names of dissidents from the *cekal* or blacklist. For many years, members like Chris Siner Key Timu, Ali Sadikin, Hoengeng, Rajab Rangasoli and retired generals like A.H. Nasution and Dharsono were not allowed to go abroad. The scrapping of the political *cekal* list has created optimism about a possible Jakartan perestroika.

Another spectacular move is the release of important Muslim political prisoners, all arrested and tried in the aftermath of the *Tanjung Priok* bloodbath in 1984 [see separate item] while other groups of Muslim political prisoners may also be released soon.

The Suharto statements

Jakarta watchers have got used to scrutinising Suharto's words. Any statement of his, whether to a large audience or a small group, can set the agenda for Indonesian politics.

Three times in a single week in August he made statements that created a stir. On 3 August speaking at the prestigious *Lemhanas* (State Defence Council), the stepping stone for military officers to enter the upper echelons, Suharto said that heavy-handed methods used by the security apparatus were creating an atmosphere of fear among the public. This 'security approach' should now be replaced by the more relaxed 'prosperity approach'. Only in emergencies and for very brief periods should the security approach to be used. He warned that any doctrine should be applied in a lenient and dynamic way.



On 5 August, at a meeting of senior civil servants, he explained that *Pancasila*, the state ideology, should not be seen as rigid, reactionary and dogmatic but as an open ideology. Its implementation should be developed and updated in step with the dynamics of a maturing people. Conflicts were unavoidable in society and a set of criteria was needed to manage and contain these conflicts. Two days later, he emphasised to justice department officials that the state should not be based on power but on the rule of law. In his State of the Nation speech on 16 August, commemorating independence day, he again focused on these points.

The corridors of democracy

In neighbouring Philippines people speak about 'democratic space'. Among Jakarta's politicians, Suharto's speeches have been used to promote all kinds of reforms. While Suharto's statements are quite spectacular, there is no euphoria. Political analysts know what the cunning fox is up to and realise that he is not about to create any democratic space. He has a different agenda in his battle with the *ABRI* top and the growing discontent among younger officers.

The state of play can be summarised thus: The *Orde Baru* under Suharto has given *ABRI* a solid role in all layers of society. As its conflict with the president intensifies, Suharto is using every trick in the pack to contain *ABRI*'s influence without getting into open conflict. This puts *ABRI* on the side of keeping the status quo – the 'conservatives' – while Suharto appears to be the one who is pushing for change – the 'reformer'.

If Suharto seems to be tearing down the rigid and bleak uniformity of Indonesian political life of the eighties, it is not because he has overnight become a democrat. By

suggesting change he is creating the impression that *ABRI* is against change and is obstructing democracy. If Suharto is reaching out to his old adversaries, he is merely broadening his power base.

But it is also true that governing a huge country of 186 million people has become more complex. Some of the openings have been forced upon him by growing domestic and international pressure. Criticism at home of Suharto's nepotism is widespread even among Suharto loyalists who are afraid that the greed of his offspring is undermining the Suharto regime. International criticism of Indonesia's woeful human rights performance has been unprecedented. Since the Berlin Wall came down, Suharto has joined the ranks of the infamous like Kim Il Sung, Li Peng, Saddam Hussein and General Aideed. Suharto's anti-communist credentials have become meaningless.

Only power structures

Political analysts acknowledge that so far nothing structural or substantial has changed; it is all lip service. The outspoken former MPR member Marzuki Darusman argues that there are no political structures in Indonesia, only power structures. The draconian anti-subversion law is still in place, the omniscient security body *Bakorstanas* (successor of *Kopkamtib*) is everywhere; the stifling press laws remain, while Parliament and People's Congress consist of powerless stooges and the powers of the executive are virtually unlimited: It is still very much Suharto's Jurassic Park.

But some things are changing. The press is taking more risks; frank interviews have been published in *Forum Keadilan* and *DeTIK*. *Petisi 50* statements are no longer taboo while criticism of the Suharto dynasty business deals are surfacing. The tone is more strident and more groups have joined the chorus of dissent. A new group of retired officers and bureaucrats, *PKB-PPK*, is worried about economic disparities and the domination of a handful of conglomerates. Others like retired General Sayidiman have made proposals to improve the quality of parliament, for more open government, a freer press and a better balance between Java and the other islands.

Pijar, an activist NGO, uses more radical language and laments the *silaturahmi* or reconciliation tactics of the authorities to placate dissidents and create the impression that everything is fine. But, as *Pijar* says, the misuse of pension funds, bad debts and vulgar nepotism are rampant. A glaring example is the new Sentul racing circuit. While there is a crying need for investments, Tommy Suharto, Suharto's youngest son has raised no less than 100 billion rupiahs, US\$ 50 million) for this pet project. *Forsol*, the solidarity forum for workers, has lambasted military intervention in labour disputes. According to *Forsol*, security officers intervened 77 times last year to halt strikes and in most cases strike leaders were detained and dismissed.

Some groups are exploring the idea of setting up an opposition political party and Buyung Nasution, the leading human rights lawyer, has offered to lead it. The indications are that the corridors of democracy are widening.

Suharto's latest tool

In the late sixties and the seventies Suharto's closest collaborator was Lt. General Ali Murtopo, a shrewd intelligence operator who set the pace in the seventies and was responsible for the act of (un)free choice in West Papua, the

first general elections in 1971, the curtailing of the political parties, the Komodo operation in East Timor and the Malari events in 1974. All these were engineered events, the trademark of the late General Ali Murtopo.

The eighties was the decade of General Benny Murdani, a commando and intelligence officer. The mysterious killings, the Tanjung Priok bloodbath, the Lampung killings, the war in East Timor, Aceh and West Papua were all signs of the Murdani times.



Major-General Hendropriyono, the high-profile Jakarta military commander. His nickname is 'PETRUS' (Pembunuh Misterius, Mysterious Killer) for his share in a variety of bloody operations.

Suharto's tool in the nineties appears to be Major-General Hendropriyono, military commander of Jakarta. Known to be assertive but very ruthless, he comes from the same background as Benny Murdani (a red-beret commando and intelligence officer). Hendropriyono handled intelligence during the Tanjung Priok killings, he was sub-regional commander in Lampung during the killings there and has served in Aceh and East Timor during periods of heightened military activities. Hendropriyono accompanied Suharto on his pilgrimage to Mecca and there are signs that he is implementing Suharto's instructions on dealing with former enemies while projecting tolerance and wisdom to the outside world. He negotiated with the seven East Timorese asylum seekers and was instrumental in the release of the Muslim political prisoners. Hendropriyono also made an unprecedented visit to the Legal Aid Institute asking its director, Buyung Nasution, for 'lessons' in human rights.

The style of Suharto's rule in the coming years has been set. One simply has to look at the swaggering, flamboyant Hendropriyono, the ruthless and tough operator now playing the democratic card.

★



The spectre of cekal

Cekal has now become the common expression in Indonesian for banning. Originally it was restricted to travel bans, but nowadays cekal is applied to any ban. One would expect the decline of cekal with statements by Suharto on democracy and pluriformity, but cekal remains very firmly on the agenda.

Cekal is short for *cegah-tangkal* which means a ban in both directions: keeping people in (*cegah*, Indonesians prevented from travelling abroad) and keeping people out (*tangkal*, people prevented from entering the country). The names of people on the *cekal* list was always shrouded in secrecy which has a powerful self-censorship effect because some people fear that they are in danger of being listed and act accordingly. Occasionally the authorities have made public the number of people on the travel-ban list. On 30 June the Director General of Immigration ret'd Major-General Roni Sikap Sinuraya announced that about 2,500 Indonesians are banned from travelling abroad and 1,040 foreigners are denied entry for a variety of reasons. Various departments are entitled to put people on the *cekal*-list. Bans for political and security reasons are decided by the Armed Forces (*ABRI*). Sinuraya said that 41 persons were left on the *cegah* list and 146 foreigners on the *tangkal* list for political and security reasons. He said that the names are regularly reviewed: "It's possible that someone is banned from travelling today but his or her name will be cleared from the blacklist tomorrow". [*Jakarta Post* 01.V-II.1993].

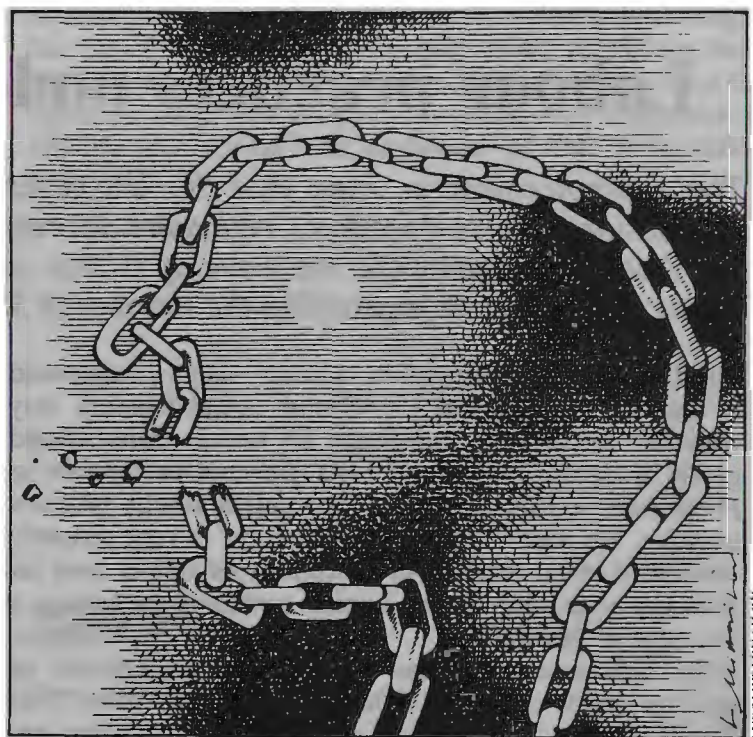
The travel-*cekal* has been criticised by several lawyers. Frans Hendra Winarta of the ASEAN Regional Council on Human Rights argues that the travel ban goes against the government's promises to improve human rights. Legally, the new Immigration Law means that the government should inform individuals affected by the travel ban.

De-banning the Petisi 50

It is obvious that the Suharto group is wooing the dissident group *Petisi 50*. They belong to the category of people suffering from a 'civil death' for more than a decade. It seems that life has now become much easier for the *Petisi 50* people. The travel-*cekal* for *Petisi 50* members has finally been lifted. First there was a statement that the political and security *cekal* list had been reduced from 41 to 11 people. Unfortunately some of them will never know they have been de-banned; Mohammad Natsir, Kasman Singodimejo, Amin Ely, M. Ch. Ibrahim, Sriamin, Syafruddin Prawiranegara and Moh. Nazir all passed away while still on the list.

In September *ABRI* spokesperson Brig. General Syarwan Hamid made a spectacular statement that the *cegah* list of 11 people has been altogether scrapped. The 11 remaining were: Ali Sadikin, Hoegeng Imam Santosa, Aziz Saleh, Suyitno Sukirno, Anwar Haryono, Chris Siner Key Timu, Radjab Ranggasoli, Wachdiat (all *Petisi 50* members), Adnan Buyung Nasution, Deliar Noer, and Poncke Princen. It is not clear whether the *tangkal* list for foreigners has been reviewed. The announcement came out of the blue and the de-*cekaled* persons were taken by surprise. Both Buyung Nasution and Ali Sadikin have protested at the arbitrary way their cases have been handled. They have not

been notified and have only read about it in the press. Both pointed out too that they were not informed when their



names were put on the *cekal* list many years ago. Buyung has demanded the repeal of the *cekal* measures or at least a total overhaul. Although the *cekal* on travel seems to be fading away, the random character of *cekal* in general is still in place. Buyung Nasution and Ali Sadikin are examples of people who have suffered from economic *cekal*. Ali Sadikin's business and Buyung Nasution's law office have collapsed because they were quarantined by the government. Banks were not allowed to give them loans and people were discouraged from dealing with them.

Cekal on publications and meetings

The *cekal* on books and meetings is probably handled in an even more random way. In a recent press statement, the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) revealed that, in the last five years, some 25 academic seminars have been banned and since 1985 it has recorded 97 cases of book bannings. On 11 August the authorities in Yogya banned a debate on a recent LBH publication called *Demokrasi dibalik keranda* (Democracy Under a Shroud).

Bans on meetings or persons banned from lecturing are still widespread. Arief Budiman, the sociologist from Satya Wacana University, was banned by the police in Solo from speak at a charity meeting for the disabled. The mayor of Solo R. Hartomo was apparently the one behind the *cekal*, arguing that Arief's academic discipline was not relevant for the event.

Emha Ainun Najib, the outspoken poet and columnist, was also prevented from taking part in a poetry reading. In

the same city of Solo, the authorities scrapped his name from the list of readers. In fact Emha has been banned from speaking throughout Central Java. These two examples show that local authorities have the power to put a *cekal* on almost anything.

Cekal is also applied heavily in the arts and entertainment business. The famous Indonesian troubadour, Iwan Fals and the pop-group Gong 2000 have been banned from the State Television TVRI. The songs they perform contain critical lyrics and often describe the deep cleavage between the rich and the poor. In 1993, some 20 songs have so far been put

on the *cekal* list. A team of six people have the duty to 'select' (read, censor) anything for television. ☆

22 sects banned

Local authorities in North Sumatra have banned 22 'heretic sects' for causing unrest among the people. The spokesperson for the Attorney's Office Parimpu-nan Nasution said they were Moslim, Christian and Buddhist sects including *Tarekat Sabtariah*, *Jubah Hitam*, *Biara Sin Kau Sia*, *Dakwah Pembela Islam* and *Gereja Panangkasi*.

Labour practices under pressure from abroad

The announcement in June that the US government may withdraw duty-free privileges for some Indonesian exports if workers' rights are not respected has shaken the regime and pushed the issue into the limelight. Meanwhile the wave of strikes continues unabated and there have been more protests about the failure to investigate the murder in May of Marsinah, a strike leader.

The US Trade Representative, Mickey Kantor, announced at the end of June that the Clinton Administration may withdraw import-duty privileges for certain manufactured goods from Indonesia under its *Generalised System of Preferences* (GSP) next February unless labour practices improve. He said: "(T)he Administration is very seriously concerned about the lack of conformity of labour laws and practices with international norms, especially in the area of the right of association."

The announcement came after studying petitions on workers' rights submitted from the New York-based Asia Watch and the International Labour Rights Education and Research Fund [see *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 117, June 1993]. No-one in Jakarta is hiding the fact that the withdrawal of GSP will be a serious blow to exports, mainly shoes, garments and toys worth \$642 million in 1992 which amounted to about 14 per cent of total exports to the US. The market is crucial to Indonesia's drive to reduce its dependency on oil and gas and bolster manufactured goods, taking advantage of cheap labour and a repressed and unorganised workforce.

The announcement caught Jakarta napping. Nearly two months later, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas admitted lamely that "we seem to have a misunderstanding developing between the US and Indonesia" and that the government has no planned strategy to resolve the dispute "other than to invite them to see for themselves and to talk about their concerns". [*Jakarta Post*, 21.VIII.93]

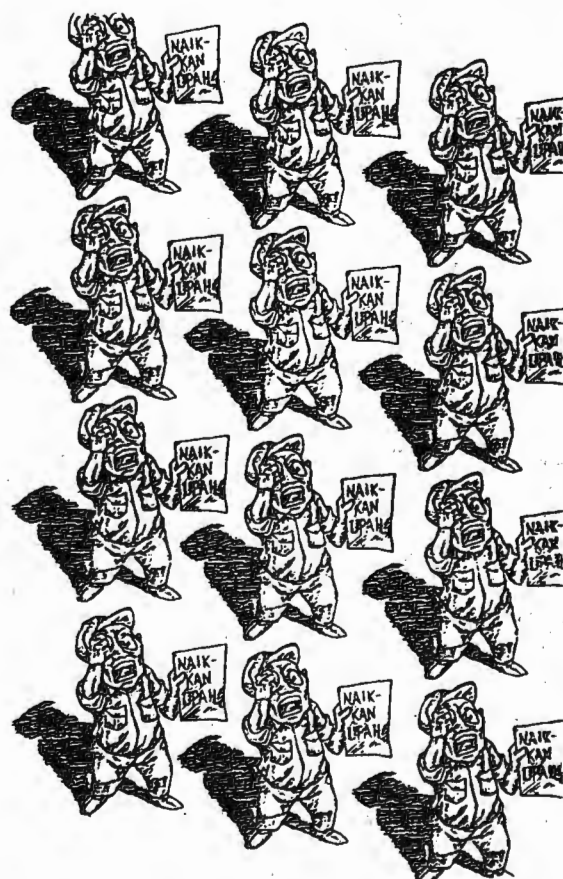
With strikes continuing to occur in all the main industrial regions and widely reported in the press, the threat from Washington has provoked heated discussion. Some commentators have sought to shrug the issue off, arguing that it has nothing to do with human rights and everything to do with the US protecting its own markets. US protectionism is certainly part of the explanation but it should not be forgotten that the matter was raised in the first place by NGOs whose human rights integrity is beyond doubt.

Our 'corporatist' principles

Central to the Asia Watch submission are: the absence of freedom to set up independent trade unions and a regulation

allowing the security forces powers to intervene on the side of management when labour disputes occur. If, as seems likely, the regime refuses to budge on these issues, the chances of Jakarta persuading Washington not to withdraw GSP seem remote. As Minister for Internal Affairs, General (ret'd) Yogie Memed, said: "According to our corporatist principles, we can only have one trade union federation." [*Surabaya Post*, 31.VIII.93]

The government-approved union, the SPSI, is distrusted by workers as being ineffective or pro-management. Hoping to deceive international opinion, the Manpower Department announced that it had registered nine 'autonom-



"naikkan upah" = We want higher pay

ous' unions for workers in different industries. They are a reincarnation of the nine industrial departments within the SPSI and will continue to be part of its structure. "This simply dresses the SPSI in a new jacket and the government continues to retain control over the trade union movement," said Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara. He also welcomed international pressure which could help force the government to make more concessions to workers. [*Jakarta Post*, 15.IX.1993]

Although the regime is feeling the pressure, its response is so transparently cosmetic as to convince no-one. A team of officials from Washington was due in Jakarta to discuss the dispute. "We will give them the data they want but we do not want to be dictated to", said Trade Minister Satrio Budihardjo Yoewono. Indonesia, he said, could not accept the linking of trade and labour issues. [*AFP*, 17.IX.1993] What Indonesian officials fail to understand is that the GSP law makes this link in order to protect the US workforce from competition with grossly underpaid workers in developing countries. This is a matter both of self-interest and concern for labour conditions in countries where labour practices are very repressive. This is not to deny the fact that US workers themselves suffer from a range of restrictions, particularly over their own right to strike, after setbacks during the Reagan and Bush years.

Union congress banned

As if deliberately to make matters worse, a nationwide congress convened by the newly-established trade union federation known by the initials SBSI was prevented from taking place in Cisarua, West Java when police ordered the delegates to disperse because no permit had been granted. The day before the congress began, SBSI chairman Mochtar Pakpahan told the press the meeting would go ahead even though no permit had been issued.

The *Indonesian Prosperous Labour Union (SBSI)* was convening its first congress. It has 100,000 members, with women accounting for roughly 40 per cent of the factory-level leadership, Pakpahan told the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. It has 79 branches in all parts of Indonesia. A high proportion of factory-level leaders are concurrently office-holders in the government-approved SPSI. If they were to resign from the SPSI, said Pakpahan, "the companies might be ordered to dismiss them". This was the fate of several branch leaders. [*FEER*, 26.VIII.1993]

Among those in Cisarua to attend the congress were representatives of the International Labour Organisation and members of the diplomatic corps, including the US embassy. The effect of the ban was to give the event a much higher profile in the media than it might have received had the meeting gone ahead.

First to regret the ban was the US embassy in Jakarta in a statement saying it had used the SBSI's existence to rebut accusations that Indonesian workers do not enjoy freedom of association. The main Dutch trade union federation made a protest to the Indonesian embassy in The Hague and lodged a complaint with the ILO in Geneva.

SBSI chairman, Mochtar Pakpahan applied to the Department of Manpower for formal recognition earlier this year and repeated the application in August, only to be told that the union does not qualify as a union because it has not been set up by workers. That's a bit rich considering that Imam Sudarwo, the chairman of the SPSI, is a businessman with extensive interests in textiles and wharfing. Officials said the SBSI could only qualify as an 'NGO' and should apply to the Interior Affairs ministry for recognition.

LABOUR CONFLICTS

Starvation wages in East Java

An investigation into workers' pay in 225 factories in three cities of East Java, Surabaya, Malang and Gresik, has discovered that in 55 per cent of companies, workers are receiving wages below the legal minimum wage of Rp. 2,250 a day (\$1.07). Nearly half of the companies paying less than the legal minimum, unlawfully include many allowances to which workers are entitled in their calculation of the wage. As a result, what looks like the minimum wage is in fact much less. The researchers described this as a "criminal manipulation which goes on systematically and is difficult to identify". Even the government acknowledges that the minimum wage covers only 60 per cent of the basic physical needs of a family of four. The researchers from the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute found that two companies in Malang were paying their employees as little as Rp 1,000 a day.



Buruh harian = Casual worker

Mutiara, 12-25 May 1982

The investigation also concluded that the existence of a local SPSI branch has little impact on the level of wages paid. More than half the companies that pay the minimum started doing so only after the workers had taken strike action. There is also pay discrimination between men and women and many workers are compelled to do overtime without getting the proper remuneration. [*Republika*, 24.VIII.1993]

Military 'protection' costs more than wages

The cost of paying for military 'protection' against the workforce has become a major component in production costs, devouring nearly three times as much as is paid out in wages. The Solidarity Forum for Workers calculates that 'phantom levies' [*biaya siluman*] account for 30 per cent of production costs as compared with 11 per cent paid out in wages. This shocking revelation provoked an angry reaction from SPSI officials who said that such payments were totally unjustified and give manufacturing in Indonesia a bad reputation as a 'high-cost' industry. A member of parliament, Handojo Putro, also expressed dismay at these high costs to "finance collusion between business and certain circles [a euphemism for the security forces] in order to keep wages down". He said: "If certain circles are being paid to exert pressure on the workers, unrest among workers will continue, with serious political consequences for the country's economy." [*Merdeka*, 19.VIII.1993]

It is clear that even establishment figures are becoming alarmed at the political and economic consequences of the

relentless exploitation of Indonesian workers which is made possible by close collaboration between business and the military. It is widely believed that local military commands depend heavily on the funds they earn from local businesses for protecting them against their workforce.

Reebok factory paralysed by strike

On 1 September, six thousand employees at the Khongtai Indonesia Shoes Manufacturing in Bekasi, which produces footwear for the US company Reebok went out on strike in protest at a cut in wages and deteriorating working conditions. More than 90 per cent of the workforce are women.

The workers called for the general manager and the personnel manager to be sacked and complained that their take-home pay has fallen each month for the past three months while the working hours have been extended. Transport allowances have been stopped and instead of starting at 7.30am, they must now turn up at 7am. Anyone arriving late is punished by having to stand in the sun. A number of workers have fainted during the punishment.

At one stage after workers had gone back, they registered

their anger again by throwing their meals on the floor and going out on strike again. The company had called in the local military and police. The dispute was still unresolved as we went to press. [Greenleft, Australia, No 14 and Republika, 3.IX.1993]

Labour regulation contested

Four lawyers have petitioned the Supreme Court for a judicial review of the 1986 Ministerial Decree 342 which empowers government officials to intervene in so-called 'wildcat' strikes and order workers to return to work, on behalf of the bosses. This regulation has opened the way for the armed forces to intervene in labour disputes on the pretext of preventing physical clashes or protecting company premises. The lawyers are acting on behalf of four workers who were sacked by their employers.

This is the second judicial review case mounted by lawyers and comes after the Chief Justice, Purwoto S. Gandasubrata, ruled in June that all government regulations may be contested at the Supreme Court. The first case was filed earlier this year on behalf of a newspaper proprietor, Suryo Paloh, against a regulation of the Information Minister which was used to ban his newspaper, *Prioritas*, several years ago. [Jakarta Post, 24.VIII.1993] ✱

The political background to recent prisoner releases

Since August, a number of Muslim political prisoners have been released long before serving their sentences. But their releases are conditional and highly selective. The motivation is political. This cannot be seen as a serious move towards ending the widespread incidence of political imprisonment in Indonesia.

The men released so far are Andi Mappetahang Fatwa (54 years) who is serving an 18-year sentence, Abdul Qadir Djaelani (55) who is serving 15 years, Tasrif Tuasikal (57), serving 17 years, Eddy Ramli (52) serving 16 years, and Rachmat Basoeke Soeropranto (50) who is serving 17 years. All the released men were convicted on subversion charges relating to the events of September 1984 when troops open fire on hundreds of Muslims demonstrating in Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, in protest against the arrest of several mosque officials. Scores of people were killed in the massacre. Soon afterwards, several bombs exploded in Jakarta, damaging the premises of businesses closely connected with the Suharto family. [For a detailed account and analysis of these events and the trials in 1985 and 1986, see *Indonesia: Muslims on Trial* published by TAPOL in 1987.]

Attention has focused primarily on A.M. Fatwa, a well-known preacher who is also a member of *Petisi 50*, the group of mainly retired officers and pre-1965 politicians which in 1980 published a statement critical of President Suharto and has since maintained coherence as a dissident force. Fatwa had been taken into custody several times before the 1984 events because of his 'fiery sermons'. When he was tried in 1985, the charge related to a *White Book* published by the *Petisi-50* the day after the massacre, which called for an independent inquiry into the event and challenged the claim of the military authorities that only nine people had been killed. Fatwa was also a close associate of Ali Sadikin during Sadikin's term as governor of Jakarta, and later after the *Petisi-50* came into existence.

The release of Muslim prisoners is seen as another of Suharto's many conciliatory gestures towards the Muslim community. As a well-known and widely respected preacher, Fatwa straddles two of the political entities whose support Suharto needs in his deepening rivalry with the armed forces over the regime's future political leadership.

Two months before Fatwa was released, Ali Sadikin was invited to visit the naval shipyard in Surabaya by Dr H.J. Habibie, Minister for Research and Technology, supremo of Indonesia's military industrial complex and close confidant of President Suharto. This was widely recognised as a



Anyone who 'passes' the exams can go home...!!!

Forum Keadilan 16-VII-1993

conciliatory move towards the *Petisi-50* taken at Suharto's behest to strengthen his own political base.

Conditional release

Fatwa's and all the other men's releases were handled personally by Major-General Hendro Priyono, military commander of Jakarta. The condition for Fatwa's release was that he should produce a *makalah* or paper clarifying his loyalty to the state ideology, *Panca Sila*. The document that secured his release had in fact been written several years earlier when he was approached by the then minister for religious affairs to write a comment which he hoped to use to persuade Suharto to release Fatwa.

However, in order to give Fatwa's release and the release of the others convicted after Tanjung Priok a 'formal, juridical' basis, it was necessary to alter the rules governing release *on parole* or conditional release. The newly-appointed Justice Minister Oetjo Oesman obliged by issuing a ministerial decree earlier this year which allows prisoners to be released *on parole* after serving two-thirds of their sentence, counting from the day of their arrest. Under the terms of the decree, this privilege is available to any convicted prisoner on the grounds of good behaviour. But in the case of political prisoners, Major-General Hendro Priyono stepped in, saying that these prisoners would have to give proof that they were now *sadar* or 'politically aware' of their past errors. It was for *Bakorstan-asda*, the military security agency which is under the regional military commander, to make an assessment. "If, after studying the paper, I am not satisfied that the person is truly *sadar*, there will be no conditional release," said Hendro Priyono. [*Editor*, 28.VIII.1993]

Apart from Fatwa, the others said they were not able to write statements and were allowed to secure their release by making speeches. The released men are required to report regularly to their local military command; if they violate their loyalty pledges, they will have to return to prison and serve the rest of their sentences which have not been purged.

Human rights lawyers in Indonesia have strongly criticised the conditionality of these releases because they involve a serious restraint on freedom of expression and are subject to the whim of those in authority. There is no basis in law, said Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, for people to be required to write a paper as a condition for release.

Even among the more than 200 Muslims who were convicted on a variety of charges, selectivity applies. Since the move is at present in the personal charge of the Jakarta military commander, who is regarded as a reliable henchman of President Suharto, prisoners elsewhere may not even have the chance to opt for conditional release.

'G30S/PKI' prisoners boxed in for life

There are many categories of political prisoners in Indonesia besides the hundreds of Muslims. They include communists or communist suspects (known as *G30S/PKI* prisoners) tried for their alleged involvement in the 1965 events, and students held on a variety of charges. Hundreds more are West Papuans, Acehnese or East Timorese who have been rounded up and, in some cases, charged and tried, for resisting Indonesian rule. [See *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 113, October 1992, for a profile of political imprisonment in Indonesia.]

The 'G30S/PKI' prisoners have spent by far the longest time in prison, having been arrested in 1965 or soon after. However, in the extensive press coverage of the release of

HUMAN RIGHTS

Fatwa and his associates, there is hardly a mention of this group. The chief of the Prison Service, Baharuddin Lopa, is quoted as saying that they will not be able benefit from the new rules on conditional release because they are all serving life sentences. [*Tempo*, 4.IX.1993] In other words, the rule can only apply to prisoners serving fixed-term sentences.

What he did not say was that six of them are under sentence of death and have been living under the continual threat of execution for more than twenty years. A seventh, Iskandar Subekti, died in Jakarta on 4 August this year. The six surviving death-row prisoners are:

- * Isnanto, 69 years of age, in Tanjung Gusta Prison, Medan, North Sumatra;
- * Ruslan Widjajasastra, 77 years of age, in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta;
- * Sukatno, 64 years old, in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta;
- * Asep Suryaman, 67 years old, in Cipinang Prison;
- * Bungkus, 66 years old, formerly a soldier, in Cipinang Prison; and
- * Marsudi, 63 years old, formerly a member of the air force, in Cipinang Prison.

Under a Presidential Decision issued in 1987, life-sentence prisoners cannot expect any reduction in their sentence without the specific approval of the president. Until that decision was enacted, life sentences were automatically commuted to twenty years after the prisoner had served five years from the day on which the sentence came into force. Since 1987, life sentences that are the result of commutation of death sentences (this applies to many of the 1965-generation lifers) may not be commuted to fixed-term sentences. For anyone who was given life in the first place, a lengthy process involving no fewer than six state agencies, must be consulted but the final decision rests with Suharto. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 107, October 1991].



Bonar Tigor Naipospos and many other political prisoners haven't got conditional release.

According to lists supplied to TAPOL in 1991, there were 29 'G30S/PKI' prisoners. It is not unlikely that some have died since then. What is certain is that, as the rules stand at present, the rest will either die in prison of 'natural causes' or be shot dead by execution squads.

Student prisoners

Three political prisoners who are unlikely to be offered conditional release or to comply with the conditions, are Bambang Isti Nugroho, Bambang Subono and Bonar Tigor Naipospos. The two Bambang, both 33 years old, are serving seven- and eight-year sentences respectively. Both sentences were upheld on appeal. They were found guilty of subversion for having had in their possession or

tried to sell books written by Indonesia's foremost writer and novelist, Pramoedya Ananta Toer. (All of his books have been banned.) Bonar, who is about the same age was given nine years, on largely similar charges.

Release all political prisoners!

Manipulating the status of political prisoners has nothing to do with any shift in the human rights conduct of the Suharto regime. It is intended to serve Suharto's political objectives as he battles to build a new political constituency, secure the future of his presidency and determine his successor.

The scourge of political imprisonment in Indonesia can only be ended by the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the repeal of the country's draconian Anti-Subversion Law, which enables the regime to lay charges against anyone regarded as a threat. ☆

The Haur Koneng tragedy

Haur Koneng, Sundanese name for Yellow Bamboo, is the name of a Moslim group in a secluded rural area in West Java. On 29 July security forces raided the meeting place of the sect and killed four people and injured 15 others. This is the first serious incident between security troops and Muslim groups in the nineties.

Indonesia has a long tradition of *tarekats*, which can conveniently be described as Moslim congregations with strong mystical strands, rituals and embedded in local conditions. Often they are described as Moslim sects. In the mid eighties, in the aftermath of the tragic Tanjung Priok killings (security officers shooting at random at an innocent crowd), security troops were hunting down *Usroh* groups, which were basically spin-offs from the older *tarekats*. The *Usroh* people [see *Tapol* publication: *Muslims on trial*] can be described as pious and ascetic Moslims with strong tendencies to seclude themselves from the outside world. They also perform a set of rituals which can differ from the mainstream Moslim follower. Although the *Usroh* lot were primarily non-political but their non-worldly attitude created suspicions among the security officers. *Usroh* members take offense at the arrogant and worldly behaviour of government officials and dislike the aggressive government programmes like family-planning, transmigration or ceremonial flag-raising. In 1986 the military rounded up many *Usroh* groups and 29 people were put on trial which ended in sentences from 5 to 11 years.

Haur Koneng

Looking at the background of *Haur Koneng*, it is very much in the same tradition of an *Usroh* group. Abdul Manan, the leader of the sect, after attending several Moslim religious courses, decided to go back to his place of origin, a mountainous resort, the village of Sinargalih, subdistrict Lemahsugih, district of Majalengka. Abdul manan soon gathered a congregation around him and the group led a quiet and peaceful existence. The conflict with the authorities started when some village officials showed up to do a census registration, which apparently wasn't received very well. On the next occasion, the village-head himself turned up but after an argument got beaten up by

some of the *Haur Koneng* followers. On 28 July a massive force, police troops backed by one platoon of Mobile Brigade and two trucks of soldiers raided the small hamlet. The Abdul Manan congregation consist of about 20 people, including women and children. The police demanded the ones responsible for the beating-up to be handed over. The congregation resisted and a physical clash became unavoidable. The sequence of events is not clear but one police sergeant was lethally hurt while another policeman received injuries, while the Mobile Brigade threw fire-grenades into the small huts. The *Haur Koneng* people had only sticks, poles and sickles while the security forces were full equipped. In the volley of gunshots two people were killed instantly, another 16 wounded, 9 of them in serious condition. The leader Abdul Manan was also seriously wounded, some bullets remained in his chest. Some of the wounded were taken to a local clinic and left there unattended while others were rushed to the hospital. When Abdul Manan was finally taken to the hospital his condition had already deteriorated so much, he died in hospital. the same occurred to another sect member.

Anger among the public

Although news spread fast, it took several days before the tragic events were properly reported in the press. A smear campaign started against the group. National Police Chief Lt. General Banurusman described the group as a sect "hiding behind the mask of religion" and holding "frequent illegal meetings". Spokesperson from the Attorney General's Office announced a ban on *Haur Koneng* because it did not follow Moslim teaching and had disturbed public order. But among the public, reactions were different. In Yogyakarta students and youth under the name *Dewan Mahasiswa dan Pemuda Yogyakarta (DMPY)* organised actions to protest the human rights violations in Sinargalih

and they demanded a proper investigation to be held. In similar wordings *Pijar*, a ngo based in Jakarta condemned the violence and oppression used by the authorities against the defenceless *Haur Koneng* people. LBH Chairman Bu-yung Nasutio³³¹ demanded an independent investigation team to be established for the Sinargalih case. He concludes that the case shows clearly government interference in religious affairs has gone very deep, while in a democratic society religious should have an autonomy from the state. The different groups demand a review of *PAKEM*, an official body under the Attorney General which determines a

HUMAN RIGHTS

religious sect to be deviant or proper. The Bandung chapter of LBH has already sent an investigation team to the place to verify the facts. The crucial points are whether some wounded were deliberately left unattended and bleeding to death and whether the security troops indeed went to Sinargalih with deliberate intentions to hit mercilessly. The final word about Sinargalih has not yet been said. ★

A leading human rights activist under attack

Haji J.C. Princen, a foremost human rights activist, has come under attack in Indonesia after he addressed a UN human rights forum and visited Portugal to discuss with the authorities there ways to find a resolution to the case of seven East Timorese who sought political asylum in June.

Poncke Princen is chair of the Indonesian Institute for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM) set up in 1966, the first such body ever created in Indonesia. When in August, he attended the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva, it was the first time he had been allowed to leave Indonesia for nine years. He had been blacklisted for his outspoken intervention on a whole range of human rights issues.

Princen is a Dutch-born Indonesian citizen who defected from the Dutch colonial army in 1948 and joined the Indonesian army. He was awarded a *Bintang Gerilya* (Guerrilla Star) for his services. He was intending to go the Netherlands to see his children and grand-children but right-wing political parties and the army veterans association waged a vicious campaign, which led to parliament rejecting a proposal to grant him a visa. He was accused of treason because he had refused to fight with Dutch forces for the restoration of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. Ironically, it fell to the Dutch Foreign Minister, Pieter Kooijmans, to convey this refusal to Princen. Kooijmans visited Indonesia and East Timor in 1991 as a UN investigator of human rights and turned to Princen at the time for information about violations.

A three-part account of Princen's life is published in the Australian publication, *Inside Indonesia* Nos 30-32, March, June and September 1992.

Once a traitor...!

Instead of showing solidarity with Princen for taking sides with the Republic of Indonesia at a crucial time in its history, chauvinist types in the top echelons of the regime have denounced him as a traitor. In their view, "right or wrong, my country" is the supreme principle, far more important than taking courageous decisions on sound political and moral grounds. The view was put most offensively by retired general Ali Said whom Suharto recently appointed to head the country's National Commission on Human Rights. Until early this year, Said was chairman of the Supreme Court.

In a venomous outburst that only highlights his lack of integrity and clearly disqualifies him for any post relating to human rights, he said:

Princen forgets, he's the greatest traitor. He took an oath

to the Dutch army but fled.... Having once been a traitor and enjoyed the rewards, he will betray again. It's a matter of time. [Editor, 4.IX.1993]

Princen has filed a complaint with the police on the grounds that the former Chief Justice is guilty of slander under Article 310 of the Criminal Code. He believes that Ali Said slandered him out of spite because he wrote to President Suharto in May challenging Ali Said's appointment to head the National Human Rights Commission on



Poncke Princen

the grounds that he has himself been responsible for human rights violations. Ali Said, a graduate of the Military Law Academy, presided over many subversion trials in the late 60's when little regard was shown for the defendants' rights.

Princen on East Timor and Aceh

But it is more than spite that has prompted Ali Said and his ilk to lay into Princen. They revile him for daring to speak out in Geneva in harsh terms against the regime's human rights record. This to them is the ultimate betrayal of the national interest.

In his address to the UN Sub-Commission in Geneva, Princen described East Timor as "endless story of violent violations of human rights that persist to this day". He said that personal knowledge has taught him that the Timorese hate the Indonesian troops today "more than ever". Referring to the injustices perpetrated during the trial of Xanana Gusmao, he said:

I appeal to you to understand that the continued presence of the Indonesian forces of occupation pushes (the Timorese) to go to the ultimate resort of armed as well as peaceful resistance, for which they are being punished so harshly. The most recent example is the Santa Cruz Massacre.

He was no less forthright about Aceh and spoke of "a wave of extra-judicial killings, 'disappearances', arbitrary detentions without trial, torture and unfair trials (having) occurred on a massive scale". He told the Sub-Commission that "there is a pressing need for UN officials to carry out detailed and scrupulous investigations in Aceh".

Salvador Januario Ximenes Soares, a member of the Indonesian Parliament from East Timor, has accused

continued from page 8

to be patience about "remaining discrimination" by the authorities. Several discriminatory measures are still applied. One example is a document known as SBKRI issued by local authorities to prove that the holder is an Indonesian citizen. Although it was intended for stateless citizens, local administrations insist on ethnic Chinese obtaining it.

Another long-standing problem is restrictions on ethnic Chinese enrolling for higher education. Several institutions have set quotas for so-called non-indigenous students.

Land-for-the-people calendar trial held up

More than two years after the satirical poster-size land-for-the-people calendar was banned by the authorities, two people have been charged, Bun Tomi, 28, and Matheus, 28, for having distributed the offending poster. However, eight NGOs clearly named as sponsors on the poster have not been charged.

Since the trial began in Semarang, the two defendants have failed to appear in court and have apparently gone to ground. The public prosecutor's office now wants them both to be blacklisted (*dicekal*) so as to prevent them from leaving the country, if they have not already done so.

Batak Church conflict rumbles on

The controversy over who should lead the Batak Protestant Church (*Huria Kristen Batak Protestan*) continues to arouse

Princen of distorting the facts about East Timor by claiming that the country was invaded and that 200,000 people have died. He too took up the refrain of "traitor" and said the Indonesian government should "take firm action" against Princen.



Vice-President Try Sutrisno: 'There are new traitors'. He has become the laughing stock. *Kompas 01-IX-1993*

It looks as though a campaign of vilification against Princen is under way which is intended not only to discredit him but also to warn other human rights activists not to speak out against 'their country' at international forums.

Visiting Lisbon

Another of Princen's acts which has kindled the wrath of the regime is his courageous decision to visit Lisbon – out of bounds to any Indonesian passport-holder except those on intelligence missions for the military – to discuss the fate of the seven young East Timorese who sought asylum at the Finnish and Swedish embassies in June. During the short visit, he met President Mario Soares and Foreign Minister Durao Barroso. ★

anger and resentment among the Church's many hundreds of congregations, despite a claim by the Minister of Religious Affairs, Tarmizi Taher, that the conflict has been resolved. Following a Grand Synod held under government and military auspices which affirmed the government's chosen candidate, P.W.T. Simanjuntak, as Bishop, 200 ministers have been dismissed and other staff members, including teachers and medical workers, have been removed from their posts.

There have also been numerous arrests and in late August, fourteen people were still being held without charge. Supporters of the former Bishop, S.A.E. Nababan, say that church members are being intimidated not to support him; this includes threats against Church members who work as civil servants.

Nababan supporters who came to Jakarta from North Sumatra were unable to meet Minister Tarmizi Taher to convey their grievances and demand that the Grand Synod be re-convened. This ought to be automatic as more than the required one-third of congregations support this move.

Australian journalist ejected

Lindsay Murdoch, the Singapore-based journalist of the *Melbourne Age*, was refused entry on arrival in Jakarta on 16 August. Although a visa had been issued, immigration officials told him he was on the blacklist. Murdoch, who was held at the airport for twelve hours before being ordered to leave, called the Indonesian action an "outrage".

The new transmigration wave

After a relative silence of several years, a new-style transmigration program is emerging. The controversial transmigration projects of the seventies till the mid eighties is being rehashed and given new clothes. With a new transmigration minister, new plans and massive amounts of money to be spent, it seems large scale resettlements are taking place again.

It is often said new brooms sweep clean, it indeed suits the new Minister of Transmigration Siswono. He plans to start a new transmigration program. Over the next five years Siswono plans to group three or four transmigration areas into 'development units' of 5,000 to 15,000 families each. The minister hopes by regrouping and combining several settlements, transmigrants can integrate their economic activities. It is now aimed at establishing new economic centres outside the four heavily populated islands. The new program will no longer be focused on resettling poor people from Java, Bali, Lombok and Madura to sparsely populated areas but instead will focus on helping the new settlers to develop good incomes. Transmigration is now seen as a community development project.

Targets not achieved

In the first 25-year planning, which will end in 1994, the government projected that 1.7 million families (about 6.8 million people) would have been moved. The initial target was much higher, figures as high as 20 million people were often mentioned by Transmigration officials in the mid-eighties. Many domestic factors and also strong international pressure toned down massive transmigration considerably. Many transmigration projects simply collapsed because of bad planning and lack of feasibility. Ecological degradation, destruction of indigenous peoples livelihood and land became big international issues. The World Bank, initially a staunch supporter of transmigration, reconsidered its support. The Indonesian government had to readjust its ambitious plans and abandon many programs.

The previous Minister of Transmigration (1988–1993) Lt. General Soegiarto hardly mentioned targets anymore and instead busied himself mainly in improving transmigration sites that often were in woeful conditions and the people living under subsistence conditions. It is also in his period that new style transmigration programs were tested out, in particular the integration of transmigration projects with private investments notably in agro-business and the timber industry. Another new element in transmigration is the creation of new villages and towns, in contrast with the old transmigration programs which was mainly creating agricultural plots in the rural areas.

A new boost

The new Minister Siswono has greater responsibilities than his predecessors. Besides Transmigration he is now also responsible for the category of people commonly called forest dwellers. His plan for *Pelita VI* (the Sixth Five Year Plan, 1993–1998) is to resettle 700,000 families. In his bid to revive transmigration Siswono was allocated 818 billion rupiahs (US\$ 409 million) for the 1993/94 budget, up 8.5% from last year and up 19% from 1991/92. Siswono will put strong emphasis on a new category of transmigrants called

the *swakarsa/mandiri* (self-motivated/self-producing) transmigrants. 350,000 families will consist of this new type of transmigrants while the other half will still be in the old mould of transmigration.

New transmigration units will be built as close to each other as possible thus creating a network providing the establishment of larger development area units. The new units should be transformed as quickly as possible into normal *desas* (villages) which then can receive soft loans and government subsidies through the *KUD*, the village cooperatives.

Privatisation of transmigration

While part of transmigration remains a government program, an increasing number of transmigration projects have become part of private investments. The huge Barito Pacific plywood factory on Mangole island in the Moluccas is one example how opening new industries can attract workforce from many parts of Indonesia. The project is owned by Prayogo Pangestu, Indonesia's biggest timber tycoon. Another seemingly 'success story' is the *Batu Ampar* forestry project in Kalimantan owned by another timber tycoon: Bob Hasan. Transmigrant families at Batu Ampar, situated about 300 km from the nearest town Samarinda. The transmigrants arrived in a newly built village, houses to live and a plot of land to till.

On 23 August Vice-President ret'd General Try Sutrisno opened a new centre in Jakarta called the Business Information Centre on Transmigration Areas (BICTA) which aims at attracting entrepreneurs to invest and develop transmigration areas into new economic centres. The investors can come from any direction, foreign or domestic; private sector, state-owned companies or cooperatives.

Success story or devastation ?

On paper all the plans look good and some of the pilot projects, notably the Prayogo Pangestu and Bob Hasan ventures seem to function as model. However on bigger scale the same difficulties will arise as the transmigration programs old style. Reports are still consistent about transmigrants leaving their sites because of infrastructural problems, lack of support, poor soil etc. The strongly centralised structure of Indonesia works counter-productive for projects on the remote islands. The government plans to remove 10,000 so-called squatter families from forest lands is very worrying. Minister Siswono says there is an estimate of 1.7 million families of forest squatters living from slash and burn farming. He hopes to resettle them all but admits: 'The plan would not be easy as they have lived in the areas for generations'. It is to be feared that Siswono's new economic centres will steamroll local communities and many indigenous peoples.

★

Siberut: destructive development

Due to its distinctive Mentawai culture and extraordinary biodiversity, the plight of Siberut has become a banner for international human rights and environmental groups concerned with social and ecological justice in Indonesia. But while logging continues apace, massive plans to develop the island's resources threaten to take the future of Siberut further out of the hands of the Mentawai people. TAPOL reports the concerns of an urgent action briefing from SOS Siberut.

In 1991, a presidential decree banned logging on Siberut after the present concessions expire. 190,000 hectares were designated a nature reserve, and plans for extensive oil palm plantations were withdrawn. Things looked promising. But recent reports received from the island west of Sumatra by the London-based NGO *SOS Siberut* suggest a critical situation.

Natural resources vanishing

The effect of the 1991 decree has been to intensify the rate of logging. In some areas, it is reported to be taking place twenty four hours a day, and on average 65 trees are being destroyed for every tree logged. Furthermore, reports suggest that no replanting is taking place. The construction of logging roads and bridges (often using coral from Siberut's reefs) has led to flooding and soil erosion, and rivers traditionally used for bathing and drinking water turn to sludge after rain. Ill-defined boundaries promote logging in conservation areas.

Government promises look weaker still in the light of allegations that the government is selling logging concessions for Rp100,000 per ha (US\$50). And the construction of a saw-mill at Labuan Baju hardly suggests a readiness to halt logging activities.

If plans for oil palm plantations were once a cause of concern, now it is the development of a sago processing plant upriver from Muara Siberut. Sago is a staple food for the Mentawai, and one tree can feed a family of four for a month. But PT Sago Siberut Perkasa, which plans to process twenty-five trees a day, has fixed a price of Rp4,000 per tree (about US\$2) without consulting the local people.

Mentawai threatened

The proposal to settle 40,000 migrants from mainland Sumatra and Java onto inland vacated areas of Siberut has an ironic taste typical of the government transmigration programme. 170,000 ha have already been 'vacated': indigenous people are being resettled from fertile areas inland to coastal areas, finding themselves on the land of traditional owners who have received no compensation. The consequent tensions between Mentawai clans have led to often violent conflict, and local people have voiced concern that casualties could result.

Local officials have made no attempt to diffuse these situations and reportedly treat local people with contempt. *SOS Siberut* has received reports that people in traditional dress have been beaten up by officials from the Department of Social Affairs. Local people have also reported that they have been beaten, arrested and taken to Muara Siberut to do menial work as forced labour.

Asian Development Bank project to the rescue?

This year is going to be critical in determining the future of Siberut. In the coming months, a large-scale development and nature conservation project supported by a US\$25.4 million loan from the Asian Development Bank is scheduled to begin. *SOS Siberut* has welcomed the integrated nature of the project, aimed at long-term sustainable socio-economic development of the island's people, flora and fauna. The lack of coordination on 'development' activities on Siberut in the past gives rise to concern, however, that references to local community representation and ecological auditing may pay lip service to the idea of sustainable development, while providing the government with a veneer of environmental awareness.

Moreover, there is no indication that the project will be sensitive to the indigenous people's needs and concerns, such as traditional land use and tenure, the situation of women, and differences in levels of integration and modernisation on the island. So far, the local Siberut People's Association and church groups have not been invited to participate in the project. The ADB proposal meanwhile manages to assume that only through 'revenue generation activities' will the local people develop a 'vested interest' in the maintenance of their island's protected areas.

The Mentawaians' concern for their future is well-founded: the ADB project has a ring to it reminiscent of the World Bank funded transmigration programme in the 1980s. It states that the community development component of the project will provide for the 'integration of the local people into the economic mainstream of society'. The concept of the homogenous 'Indonesian man' rears its ugly head once again. ★

Action

SOS Siberut is calling on people to write to the ADB, urging them to ensure the involvement of local Siberut people and NGOs in the implementation of the project. It also asks people to write to the Indonesian Forestry Minister expressing concern over the continued logging and sago development.

1. Asian Development Bank
Office of the Environment
PO Box 789
1099 Manila, Philippines
2. Djamaloedin Soeryohadikoesoemo
Menteri Kehutanan
Gedung Manggala Wanabakti
Jalan Jendral Gatot Subroto
Jakarta, Republic of Indonesia

Aceh resolution at the UN

For the first time a resolution on Aceh was considered at the annual session of the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. It was the first time that many different NGOs included Aceh in their statements.

Two factors contributed to the increased international attention on the human rights situation in Aceh. Firstly the strongly worded Amnesty International report on Aceh which was quoted in many newspapers and magazines all over the world and secondly the intense lobbying of several people in Geneva. Several expert members of the subcommission, notably from Norway, Ukraine, the UK and the USA decided to table a resolution on Aceh. The likelihood of passing the resolution was very remote, because another resolution on East Timor was already adopted. By tradition, the UN Commission and subcommission on human rights have hardly ever adopted two resolutions condemning a single country. At the end the Aceh resolution got stranded in a no-action vote, a procedure often used at the UN. The Cuban expert-member tabled this no-action motion arguing the resolution should not have been tabled under item 10 of the agenda but under item 6.

Jakarta is worried

Despite this, a break-through has been achieved and the Aceh issue has become much more a house-hold issue than previous years. The human rights issue in Aceh is likely to get a much higher profile at the future sessions of the UN commission and subcommission.

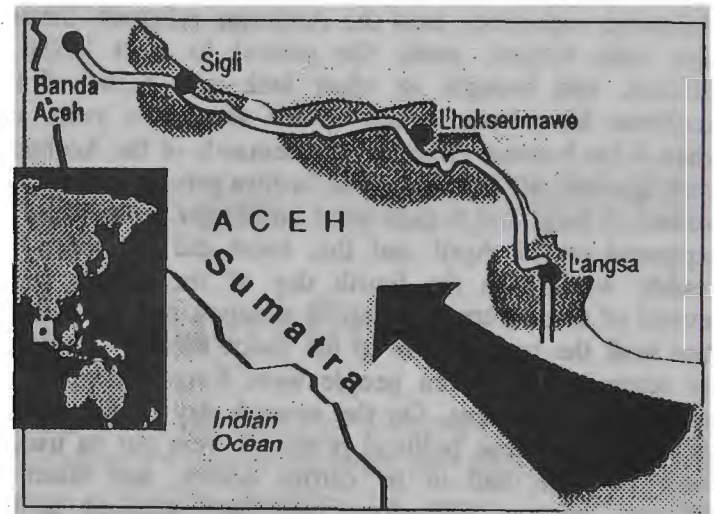
The resolution expressed concern at reports of arbitrary and summary executions in Aceh since 1989, regrets the fact that the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture was not allowed to visit Aceh when he visited Indonesia and East Timor in 1991 and calls for UN Special Rapporteurs to conduct investigations there and in other parts of Indonesia.

Jakarta was clearly very concerned at the prospect of having to fight on another diplomatic front besides East Timor. As lobbying on Aceh intensified, the Director-General for Political Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Department, S. Wiryono showed up in Geneva from Jakarta to reinforce the Indonesian team of diplomats.

Situation remains bad

Jakarta authorities and the military commander in Aceh make consistent statements about the secure situation in Aceh. In reality the situation is very different and small reports in the Indonesian press confirm the unstable security situation on the ground. Clashes between Indonesian troops and guerilla units still occur quite frequently but the reports in the Indonesian press, sanitised by the censors, report only about casualties from the enemy side.

On 26 July military spokesman Asvit Chaniago reported that troops raided a meeting of separatists (one term often used by the military authorities) and killed two while another eight escaped. The two dead rebels were identified as Ahmad Musa, 34 a former member of the crack Army Strategic Command (KOSTRAD) and Bustamar, 36. Ahmad Musa was described as Chief of Intelligence of the rebel



movement. Chaniago also mentioned that the military had killed another six earlier this year and captured another 35 rebels. One week earlier it was reported that Adam Hussein, an armed member of the GPK (Security Disruptors Gang, as the rebels are often mentioned) gave himself to the authorities. In a ceremony attended by 1500 people in the Tiro subdistrict, Commander Colonel Sridono greeted him and allowed him to be released and go back to his village. In two other ceremonies in Sigli and Lhokseumawe a total of 29 detained Acehnese were released by the military authorities. This kind of ceremonies has become an integrated part of the Indonesian military strategy in Aceh. A random mass arrest takes place in villages in the regions of suspected rebel activities, people are roughened up during interrogation and then released as a kind of shock treatment to scare the villagers not to support the rebels.

Trials against alleged members of GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, Free Aceh Movement) continue. On 29 July a former regional legislator Usman bin Muhammad Ali, 51 yrs, was sentenced to 5 years in prison for subversion charges. The defendant allegedly gave financial support to GAM. His trial was attended by Ian Donaldson, Second Secretary of the British Embassy and prominent human rights lawyers from Jakarta: Luhut Pangaribuan and Abdul Hakim G. Nusantara were part of his Defence Council. ★



Published by in DEMO
Indonesian NGOs for Democracy
Jl. Diponegoro 74, Jakarta

The condition in the Malaysia prisons

A letter signed by Syahrul Syamaun, Kaharuddin Zainal Abidin, Yahya Puteh and sixty-nine others, speaking on behalf of Acehnese political refugees in Malaysian prisons, was smuggled out from the Langkap prison in Malaysia. The letter dated 27 July, described in the way the Malaysian authorities treat the Acehnese refugees. Several have been tricked, under the pretext to meet UNHCR officials, and brought to other lock-ups. Some of the Acehnese have been locked up for about two years and when it has become clear that the demands of the Acehnese were ignored, all 137 Acehnese in Juru prison: 116 men, 9 women, 6 boys and 6 girls went on hunger strike. This all happened on 27 April and this event did not reach the outside world. On the fourth day of the hunger strike several of them were in a critical situation and the authorities took the near-deaths to the Bukit Mertajam hospital for resuscitation. Seven people were forcefully given an intravenous treatment. On the seventh day of the hunger strike the Acehnese political prisoners were put on trucks; some of them had to be carried bodily, and taken to different prisons. Fifty-four were left detained in the Langkap Prison, others apparently are back in the Juru Camp in Penang and other prisons: in the Taiping Prison, Perak State 27 persons, in Penang Prison 2 women, in

Sungei Patani Prison, Kedah State 6 youngsters and in the Alor Setar Prison, Kedah State another 23 men, 3 women and 1 baby. In June and July all of them were reassembled to the Langkap prison. So far the majority of these people have not seen any UNHCR representative. According to the letter 117 persons (88 men, 11 women, 8 boys and 7 girls) are now held in the Langkap Prison.

Increased pressure from Jakarta

ABRI Commander-in-Chief General Feisal Tanjung flew to Banda Aceh late July to give an extensive briefing to local leaders. The general warned Aceh government officials, security officers, community and religious leaders to keep on alert for people intending to enter Malaysia illegally. Feisal added that the situation could become dangerous if the illegal entry involved of the GPK. He said the involvement of the separatists would reflect more than just social and economic reasons behind the illegal entry but also political reasons which could jeopardise Indonesia's position in the international fora. The general conveniently forgot to mention that many so-called illegal Acehnese migrants in Malaysia were forced to leave their homes because of the savage methods of the Indonesian troops.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Logging as usual in Yamdena

The Tanimbarese islanders of Yamdena protested strongly against the logging which threatened to destroy their island, and the government seemed to respond. It ordered a review of logging on the island, and a trial ban. These gestures, however, turned out to be more mocking than sincere.

Last February, logging on Yamdena was banned by the government for six months, following a review of forestry concessions on Yamdena which the former forestry minister, Hasjrul Harahap, had ordered. Although the decision was not announced until April and the ban was only for 6 months, one might have thought that the local Tanimbarese people's tenacious protests at the destructive logging of the island by PT Alam Nusa Segar had paid off.

The ban, however, was not so straight forward. It not only suspended the activities of PT ANS, but also covered the forestry activities of the local Tanimbarese, crudely treating all forestry activities as having the same effects.

"If we think environmentally, illegal logging carried out by local residents and other logging activities done by plantation owners should also be stopped," Hasjrul explained in April. And so government forest rangers were ordered to prevent the traditional 'illegal' logging carried out by local residents. The effort to conserve Yamdena had meant an 'experiment' on the livelihoods of its inhabitants.

The 'test'

"I want the people to see who is right," Hasjrul had said.

The test would come after six months: what would happen "environmentally and economically there if any logging operation is stopped"?

As the six months drew to a close, Commission IV of Parliament visited Yamdena to ascertain the results. Its conclusion? That the temporary halt in logging activities by PT ANS has affected the incomes of residents on the island. So it duly asked the Forestry Minister to review the ban, and on 10 September, Minister Djamaloedin Soeryohadi-koesoemo announced that PT ANS would be allowed to resume its logging activities on Yamdena, albeit with certain additional requirements.

Decision made on dubious grounds

The decision to resume logging sits uneasily with the results of the government's own evaluation team, sent last year to assess the impact of logging and other resource exploitation on Yamdena. It concluded that PT ANS's logging concession was not feasible either ecologically or economically, and recommended a re-evaluation of all resource exploitation on the island including plantations and agriculture. Yet a ministerial document examined by

SKEPHI (NGO Network for Forest Conservation) earlier this year – before the end of the '6-month trial' – proposed that the concession be allowed to continue with various additional conditions. The government's gestures to the Tanimbarese were, it seems, a cosmetic waste of money.

SKEPHI had called for traditional agriculture to be encouraged and that the moratorium be used to 'focus on developing pilot projects of traditional activities in Yamdena to assure environmental sustainability and local economic growth.' The government announced that more local inhabitants will work for PT ANS in the concession area. And "gradually, state-owned forestry companies cooperatives can increase their shares in ANS." [*Jakarta*

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Post, 10.IV.93 & 11.IX.93]

The Yamdena-based Association of Tanimbar Intellectuals (ICTI) has urged the government not to restore the logging licence for PT ANS. The group's chairman, Pius Bwariat, said that surveys carried out by several government agencies have shown that logging activities could sink the island. This had prompted the government to stop PT ANS's logging. "Why is the forestry minister now allowing the company to resume operations?" [*Jakarta Post*, 16.IX.1993] ★

FORESTRY

Timber company under fire

Question: when does a stock market flotation attract bids from the likes of Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth? Answer: when the company has one of the world's worst records for destroying forests, and the groups concerned are bidding for the awareness of fund managers.

Never before has such a coordinated attack been mounted on the public flotation of an Indonesian company. But Barito Pacific Timber (BPT) is a special company. It is the country's largest timber company, with an infamous record for logging without respect for people and the environment, traditional or national law. The flotation will eventually make it Jakarta's biggest publicly-listed company.

Thirteen per cent of BPT was due to be floated on stock exchanges around the world at the end of August. In the preceding weeks, Jakarta was rife with talk about the company's bad debts and ownership. Salomon Bros, the US investment house who was to manage the sale of shares overseas, pulled out in July because BPT wouldn't provide sufficient information for Salomon to comply with US regulations.

Environmental groups in Indonesia, however, had taken up the question of the flotation's consequences for the country's forests and peoples. Such sentiments were echoed in Britain in a letter of caution sent to nearly three hundred fundmanagers in the City of London, signed by thirteen UK environmental and human rights groups including TAPOL. Accompanying the letter was a briefing sheet pointing to Barito Pacific's "illegal activities, unacceptable social and environmental record and political connections".

Barito Pacific holds timber concessions covering 5 million hectares of Indonesia in Sumatra, Kalimantan, the Moluccas and West Papua, and last year contributed 14% to Indonesia's timber exports. Taking Barito Pacific as a prime example, the briefing paper explained that "commercial logging in Indonesia is not sustainable. The government itself admits that it cannot control the situation. According to Smith New Court Indonesia, Barito Pacific is said to log 60 cubic metres per year ... whereas the government's official figure for sustainable log output is 31 million cubic metres per hectare."

The briefing goes on to specify how Barito's claims contrast with reality: while the company says it tries to implement all regulations and legislation governing the

forest industry, it has flouted both Indonesian and international guidelines and laws: logging illegally, withholding information and ignoring the traditional land rights and wishes of local people.

When in 1991 BPT was fined US\$6 million for logging in a restricted area of East Kalimantan, the company refused to pay and the matter was dropped. It should perhaps have been pointed out that the company is controlled by Prajogo Pangestu, one of Indonesia's big boy tycoons, whose companies account for 16% of the world plywood market. At the tender age of 49 he led the descent of Indonesia's economic vultures onto the most promising morsels of the expiring Astra company. He now stands as the largest single shareholder in the former giant, with a 10.2% share. Pangestu is also involved in pulp, petrochemicals and banking with two of Suharto's children.

Prajogo's closeness with the President was exemplified in 1991 when Suharto instructed his ministers to facilitate Prajogo's requests relating to BPT's ambitious pulp and paper development in South Sumatra, including the arrangement of transmigrants in the area. Describing its use of transmigrants, the Indonesian Network for Forest Conservation SKEPHI accuses BPT of "modern slavery". Some of the transmigrants are East Timorese.

Pangestu evidently felt the need to respond to the environmental campaign against his company. In an interview with *Editor*, he made sure to invite his critics to see his concession areas for themselves.

But he may have to be more generous than that. The campaign which started in London has been taken up by the Rainforest Alert Network in the US, and also in Hong Kong and Singapore. In London, the campaign was met with surprise by city fundmanagers, one of whom remarked, "If there is an environmental cloud hanging over this issue then I think it will sink it. This campaign could be quite effective." [Sources: *Financial Times*, 18.VIII.93, *Jakarta Post*, 26.VIII.93, *AWSJ*, 20.VII.93, *Business Times*, 30.VIII.93, *Editor*, 11.IX.93] ★

DIGGING DEEP: the hidden costs of mining in Indonesia.

DTE Special report no.2, by Carolyn Marr,
Published by Down to Earth and Minewatch.

The book starts by stating: Indonesia is fabulously rich and Indonesia is desperately poor and this very true statement is also the essence of the book. It deals with the abundance of Indonesia's mineral wealth, to limit to the traditional energy resources: Indonesia is the world's biggest exporter of liquid natural gas, Asia's biggest exporter of oil, possesses coal reserves second only to those of the former Soviet Union. The oil reserves in the Timor Gap (which was annexed by Indonesia) are richer than all of Kuwait's reserves. At the same time the country's large population has seen very little of the profit, or quite contrary have suffered greatly from the exploitation of the mineral resources. As a combined publication by *Down to Earth* and *Minewatch* the book focuses strongly on the impact of mining on the environment and the people living in the mining areas. Land evictions, poisonous rivers, deportation of peasant and indigenous communities are just some of the aspects dealt with in this well-researched book.

It is often claimed that countries with few natural resources are quite lucky as they escape from the greed of western colonial powers (in earlier centuries) or multinational corporations (mnc) in the present day. *DIGGING DEEP* deals extensively with the mnc's operations in Indonesia. The book quotes:

There is every possibility that Indonesia will become the hub of a true regional Asia Pacific mining industry [Editor of Asia Pacific Mining, March 1992].

Indeed Indonesia has been ranked as Asia's most attractive country for minerals exploration and mining by the top mining companies. No wonder Indonesia has attracted mnc's from around the world to plunder Indonesia's mineral wealth. The book provides several company case studies notably Freeport Indonesia, PT INCO, RTZ/CRA and Pelsart Resources. The American based Freeport Indonesia operates a highly profitable operation in copper, gold and silver. In fact the Grasberg mine contains the biggest single gold reserve of any mine in this globe. It has become almost an universal truth that Freeport (and the other mnc's) achieved huge profits because of convenient deals with the Jakarta government, paying meagre salaries to the workforce, cheap land appropriation, polluting the area which also destroys people's livelihood etc.

Another universal truth is that mines are situated in forest land creating serious havoc on the delicate equilibrium of nature. Governments like the Indonesian government accept the devastation as an acceptable price to pay for industrialisation and argue that mining projects bring multiple benefits: the magic words: development and creating jobs. The Indonesian technocrats in the cabinet have all been proponents of the ideology of development or developmentalists. In present day multilateral organisations like the IMF, World Bank or the Asian Development Bank have adjusted the development theories and introduced new sets of criteria on environment and the effects on the local people. In reality the old development theories remain

dominant. Pushing for an export-oriented market which is creating the need for large-scale exploitation of resources for export. If one behaves accordingly, like the Indonesian government, it will receive all the foreign aid it needs. Indonesia has become the second biggest aid-junkie with an external debt of US\$ 85 billion.

DIGGING DEEP says on the back cover:

The report is timely in this, the United Nations Year of Indigenous People. Indigenous peoples in Indonesia and around the globe suffer enormously from the excesses of the mining giants. This book aims to contribute to the efforts of indigenous peoples themselves, local communities, non-governmental organisations and all others involved in the struggle for basic human rights and a safe and clean environment for this and future generations.

The author, Carolyn Marr, has been a campaigner and researcher for many years. She co-founded and edited the quarterly newsletter *Down to Earth* for many years. She was the suitable person to write this book and she has done an excellent job. A must for everybody dealing with the Indonesian archipelago, mining affairs, environment, indigenous peoples and multinational corporations. ★

Liem Soei Liong

Orders can be placed:

DIGGING DEEP, 218 Liverpool Road,
London N1 1LE, ph. 44-71-609 1852

Retail GBP 5.00 (USD 10.00) plus GBP 1.00 postage
or GBP 2.50 airmail. Cheques should be made payable to **DOWN TO EARTH**.

Subscriptions

Annual rates (six issues)	UK	Europe & overseas (air only)
Individuals	£14.00	£14.00
Institutions	£20.00	£20.00

Girocheques and Eurocheques are welcome.
TAPOL's Giro Account No: 56 781 4009.

Please, no US, Australian or Canadian personal cheques to London.

Australian subscribers may pay in A\$ to:

TAPOL (Australia)
PO Box 121, Clifton Hill, Vic. 3068
Rate for individuals: A\$ 35

Dutch subscribers may pay in Dfl to:

S.L.Liem
Binnenkadijk 267, 1018 ZG Amsterdam
Postgiro 4637291
Rate for individuals: Dfl 40

Kindly state that the payment is for TAPOL.

Canadian subscribers may pay in C\$ to:

TAPOL-Canada, c/o ETAN-Canada
P.O.Box 562, Station P, Toronto M5S 2T1
Rate for individuals: C\$ 30

All other subscriptions and all correspondence to:

TAPOL,
111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath,
Surrey CR7 8HW, UK Phone: (081) 771-2904
Fax: (081) 653-0322