



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Tapol bulletin no, 107, October 1991

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1991) Tapol bulletin no, 107, October 1991. Tapol bulletin (107). 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/26106/>



The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

TAPOL Bulletin No. 107

October 1991

Terror in Timor as MPs visit nears

Occupied East Timor has been plunged into a state of terror and panic, in preparation for the visit of a Portuguese parliamentary mission. The forces of occupation are threatening all East Timorese with dire consequences if they express support for independence or fail to fly the Indonesian flag when the MPs come.

Although at the time of going to press, it was not yet certain that the visit would take place in the very near future, the military and the administration are waging a campaign to force the population to believe that following the visit, the UN will delete East Timor from its agenda.

Xanana: "They are spreading panic"

In a letter to TAPOL, Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the armed resistance FALINTIL and chair of the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM), said that meetings "are being held almost daily in all parts of Dili.

Speeches at the meetings are peppered with all kinds of threats. All the time it is being said that the visit is taking place for the MPs 'to observe progress and development' and for the UN 'to recognise integration'. Anyone who tries to organise rallies against integration will end up in Santa Cruz (the main cemetery in Dili)".

The letter, dated 12 September, says that preparations are being made in other towns, particularly Laleia and Same, for "receptions", with dark threats to the populations if they fail to fly the red-and-white flag. "You must all have a flag," they are being told, "and when I give the signal, you

continued on page 16

Yet more killings in Aceh

Although Jakarta claims that things in Aceh are back to normal, new reports of killings have been received. Now, the Malaysian Government has bowed to pressure from Indonesia and allowed more than a dozen Acehese refugees to be repatriated to Indonesia.

Warlike conditions persist. A government poster has appeared in the streets, nailed to trees and on public noticeboards, with the photos and names of 25 "wanted men"; it calls on the public to hand them over. "Be vigilant and report immediately if they enter your village!" Besides being a flagrant violation of human rights, this suggests that many senior leaders of the *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (Free Aceh Movement) are at large, posing a threat to the army's attempt to control the population.

Thai news report angers Jakarta

A Thai journalist, Sonny Inbaraj, who visited Aceh recently, reports that "750 armed fighters are still holding out in the heavily forested mountainous ranges", while GAM trains Acehese youths in the remote areas of Aceh Pidie, Idi, Peureulak, East Aceh, Jambo Aye and Baktiya.

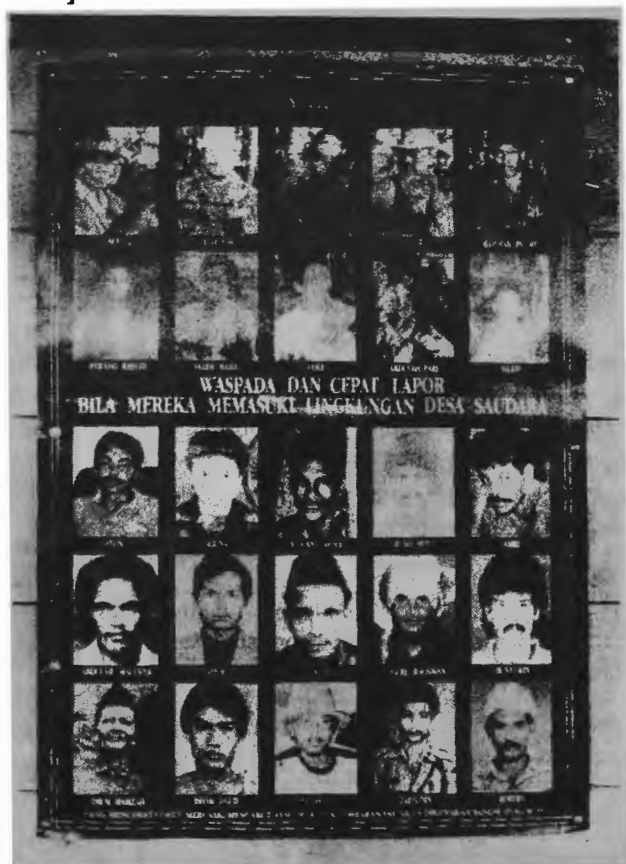
Like other foreign journalists, Inbaraj described many abuses. Throughout September 1990, the Medan-based Legal Aid Institute reported, villagers' houses in Kandang, North Sumatra, were burnt down by Kopassus troops hunting down rebels, while two months later, bodies, many of them headless, began appearing by the side of the road

CONTENTS

Censorship alive and well	p. 4
Politics	
Strikes become a daily event	p. 6
Weeding out 'unclean' candidates	p. 8
Political prisoners	
Forgotten prisoners	p. 9
Suharto changes the rules	p. 11
Human rights	
Releases and other briefs	p. 12
East Timor	
Timor at the Decolonisation Committee	p. 13
Diplomacy round-up	p. 18
Workers stand up for their rights	p. 19
West Papua: Mecky Salosa 'found dead'	p. 20
Reviews	
OPM and Falintil on television	p. 22
Indonesia's Forgotten War	p. 23
UK Defence Minister in Indonesia	p. 23
Land dispute victims in Japan	p. 24

from Medan to Bandar Aceh. In November 1990, 150 villagers from Sidomulya in Kota Makmur were lined up against a wall, then shot at point-blank range by ABRI. "The bodies were later buried in a large grave which had earlier been dug, using a bulldozer."

"These executions are ABRI's way of telling the Acehnese people to stop helping the rebels," the Institute's director, Hakim Alamsyah Hamdani, told *The Nation*. The paper quoted analysts as saying that Indonesia's "over-enthusiastic" efforts to crush the movement could backfire. "History has shown that Acehnese never surrender. It's no use fighting terror with terror. There will just be more bloodshed," said an academic in Medan. [*Nation*, Bangkok, 22/8/1991]



Government poster with the 25 wanted men

On 4 August, *The Nation* published an editorial entitled, "Unabated human rights violations in Aceh". When the Indonesian ambassador in Bangkok protested that the articles "could harm relations between Indonesia and Thailand", the Thai Foreign Ministry said newspapers are in the private sector and are free to report anything that does not violate the law. [*Reuter*, 6/9/1991]

More extra-judicial killings

Recent information from Aceh suggests that, far from improving, as Interior Minister Rudini would have us believe [see *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 106, August 1991], the severity of human rights abuses has intensified. A report from Aceh, transmitted through the Aceh/Sumatra National Liberation Front, gives the following details:

- * From 15 August to 1 September this year, a total of 1,197 persons were killed in various parts of Aceh.
- * On the night of 15 September, Indonesian troops raided

the village of Nisam in Nisam sub-district, Pase and killed 143 people of all ages. The bodies were buried in mass graves. The village is now virtually uninhabited.

* On 21 August, 135 persons were killed during a midnight raid on a village in Pidie. An all-night curfew made it impossible for others to see where the bodies were being buried.

* A list of people killed in several villages in Peureulak during a 19-day period from 11 to 30 March this year is supplied. The names, ages and addresses of 65 victims are given; their ages range from 16 to 83. The list mentions killings of 7, 9 and 29 persons in several villages, whose identities are not known. This is the region from which Acehnese fled on boats to Malaysia, during and after the massacres.

* The names and addresses of 78 victims of extra-judicial killings in Pase during March this year, have also been supplied; all except one are men. They are predominantly residents of Buloh Blang Ara and Krueng Geukeh.

* The houses of 38 families in a number of villages in Peureulak were burnt down by troops during the month of March. This is said to be only a partial list of homes torched by the army.

Lord Avebury, chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group and honorary president of TAPOL, has transmitted these reports to the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva and proposed that the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions conduct an investigation on site as a matter of urgency.

Acehnese refugees repatriated

Since March, several hundred Acehnese who fled in groups across the Malacca Strait to escape the wrath of Indonesian troops engaged in massacres, have been cooped up in camps near Penang, Malaysia. They want to seek asylum there or in a third country, but the Malaysian Government has refused to allow the UN High Commission for Refugees to meet them and determine their status. Nor have Malaysian lawyers been allowed access.

On the other hand, Indonesian officials have been visiting the camps twice a week to cajole the refugees into signing documents of surrender to Indonesia. Reports reached TAPOL early in September that the refugees, held incommunicado for months without legal assistance, might bow to this pressure. Three weeks later, it was reported from Jakarta that "about 16 suspected rebels" had returned home from Malaysia. "We sent them home but they are under surveillance," said an official, who nevertheless denied that there had been any arrests. [*Reuter*, 23/9/1991] This can only mean that the refugees did not return voluntarily, that they were refoiled, in violation of international law.

The UNHCR in Geneva would only say, in response to TAPOL's inquiries, that its office in Malaysia "is currently making extensive inquiries into the matter".

This latest incident, like the problems that have dogged West Papuans in Papua New Guinea, shows how Indonesia can throw its weight about in the region. In 1985, Papua New Guinea signed the UN Protocol on Refugees, giving a degree of protection to West Papuans taking refuge (though this did not prevent PNG from forcibly extraditing

Mecky Salosa). Malaysia is not a signatory of the Protocol and prefers to deal bilaterally with Indonesia. Yet, the UNHCR has a permanent office in Kuala Lumpur and is entitled to insist on having access to refugees, to prevent them from being returned home involuntarily. Without a great deal of pressure on both the UNHCR and the Malaysian Government, these involuntary repatriations are likely to continue, and lives could be lost as a result.

Aceh raised at the UN

Indonesian diplomats in Geneva were more than a little surprised to see Tengku Hasan di Tiro, leader of the Aceh/Sumatra National Liberation Front, turn up at the 1991 session of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in August. This was the second time human rights violations in Aceh have been raised at the UN in Geneva.

Speaking under the agenda item, "The Independence and Impartiality of the Judiciary", Hasan di Tiro warned that once totalitarianism takes root, the practices of the judiciary are unlikely to conflict with the wishes of the executive. The tiny handful of trials held in Aceh this year were intended to legalise and whitewash the deaths of some 10,000 innocent civilians, mostly victims of torture and extra-judicial killings.



Tengku Hasan di Tiro at the United Nations

[photo TAPOL]

He drew on a report issued in July this year by the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute (LBH), which describes the trials as a travesty of justice:

Detainees are arrested without warrant, not told of the charges, denied the right to legal assistance while in detention, interrogated by army torturers who employ indescribably barbaric methods of torture, and forced to sign confessions; defendants are forced to accept state-appointed lawyers during the trials, disregarding their express wishes to appoint their own lawyers."

According to the LBH, some were even prepared to forego their basic rights in order to speed up their trials, because they regard a sentence, any sentence, as preferable to returning to the hell of the Indonesian army's torture chambers.

The targets of this persecution are members of the Aceh/Sumatra National Liberation Front which "demands that the right to self-determination of our nation be restored".

ACEH

Referring to UN resolution of 1960 which states that immediate steps should be taken for self-determination in all those territories which have not attained independence, and the 1970 resolution which recognises the legitimacy of the liberation struggle, including the armed struggle, Hasan di Tiro said these had been violated in the Dutch East Indies which has never been decolonised. "All that happened was that the name was changed to 'Indonesia', a mere geographical expression, not the name for a real people, a real country, or a real nation. When the territorial integrity of an empire is preserved, it is perpetuated intact", he said.

Indonesia replies

The Indonesian mission felt "obliged to reply" to the "unfounded allegations" that thousands of people had been killed, and complained that the same allegations were made during the UN Human Rights Commission in February as well as in a communication transmitted to the human rights monitoring bodies. [This was in fact done by TAPOL].

Strangely, the statement denied that the Free Aceh Movement was responsible for the security disturbances, arguing instead that "the outbreak of violence in Aceh was caused by stringent measures that the authorities have taken". The twist is that Indonesia is trying to refute the fact that there is a rebellion in Aceh, claiming instead that the government is trying to eradicate cannabis.

"The security disturbances are criminal in nature," said the mission, even though all the people tried in Aceh have been charged under the anti-subversion law. In this regard, Indonesia has twice deceived the UN about the nature of the trials that have been conducted.

We now know from this statement that the Indonesian government has given "detailed clarifications" to the appropriate UN bodies, in response to the communication regarding allegations. [The difficulty with the UN system is that although NGO communications are in the public domain, a government's response is not.] ★

Only Indonesians allowed in Acehnese refugees incommunicado

While the Indonesian Consul has unrestricted access to Acehnese refugees in Juru UKK Penang Detention Centre, the UNHCR has not been allowed in, nor was an envoy of the Aceh/Sumatra National Liberation Front (ASNLF) who travelled specially to Malaysia to contact the refugees. This must surely be in breach of the UNHCR's own standards.

Tempo [28/9/1991] published the photos of three men who returned to Aceh, one with his wife and six children, all from Juru Camp: "The UNHCR and Malaysia contacted the Indonesian Consulate to handle the question... The Consulate sent officials into the camp." Yet Bachtiar Abdullah of ASNLF was not even allowed to send in gifts.

Bachtiar reports that he visited two refugees, now prisoners in Jalan Sultanah Prison, Alor Setar, Kedah, but spoke to them by phone in a guest room. They are in cells, each with convicted criminals; their wives are in women's cells. Four refugee/prisoners, Effendi Ilyas and three cousins, have been moved to an unknown place of detention. Bachtiar was also refused access to refugees in Penang Police Lock-up. At Bukit Mertajam Police hq, his gifts were accepted but his request to meet them was not.

It is not known whether those in prison are to be charged. ★

Censorship alive and well under openness

Indonesia's season of openness continues with some new and not-so-new features. Four more books have been banned, the German embassy has been rebuked for displaying Pramoedya books in German translation at a book fair, and artists have come forward to complain about screening for troupes travelling overseas.

Academic work on ersatz capitalism banned

The latest crop of banned books announced in a decree from the Attorney-General's Office on 11 September includes the Indonesian translation of a major academic work by Japanese economist, Professor Yoshihara Kunio, *The Rise of Ersatz Capitalism in Southeast Asia*. The others listed are: *Dibawah Lentera Merah: Riwat Serikat Islam Semarang 1917-1920* [Under the Red Lantern; The History of Serikat Islam Semarang] by Soe Hok Gie; *Perang Teluk: Islam Akan Kembali Gemilang* [The Gulf War: Islam has a Brilliant Future] by Malaysian religious teacher, Ashari Muhammad; and *Suara Pinggir* [The Voice of Marginal People], a quarterly bulletin. All were banned on grounds of maintaining national stability.



The Kunio book was said to discredit President Suharto by comparing him with former Philippines president, Ferdinand Marcos, and to make false charges against the armed forces. The first run of 3,000 has sold out already and the second run of 1,500 is now in the shops.

The response to the ban by Aswab Mahasin, director of the publishers, LP3ES, the Institute for Economic and Social Research, gives some insight into the impact of witch-hunting on publishers of academic books. He said that before deciding to have the book translated, they had carefully examined the Attorney General's list of banned foreign books and were satisfied that the Kunio work had not been targeted. The translation had modified some of the language so as not to offend and some sensitive bits had been excluded, for instance an account of a gift from Pertamina to the son of a senior official.

Agreement had also been reached with Australian academics, Herb Feith and Lance Castles, to exclude articles by communists in the translation of their co-edited reader, *Indonesian Political Thinking, 1945 - 1965*. The latest ban, the first to have struck the LP3ES, would force all publishers to heighten their own self-censorship, said Mahasin.

Arief Budiman, who wrote the foreword to the translation, described the ban as 'a huge loss to the academic world'. He did not agree with Kunio's conclusions but acknowledged the work as a brilliant analysis of capitalism.

The regime's sensitivities

The book by Soe Hok Gie who died many years ago in a mountaineering accident, was his doctoral dissertation, written more than 25 years ago. It was published for limited circulation by the Frantz Fanon Foundation. It focused on the social-communism of the *Serikat Islam* and was based partly on an interview of an early communist leader, Semaoen.

Perang Teluk was considered to be offensive and disruptive because it depicted the Gulf war as a fight between Islam and the American infidel, with Saudi Arabia being described as part of the American bloc.

For *Suara Pinggir*, it was the October 1990 issue which came a cropper, for analysing in some detail a land dispute between owners of a cassava garden and the local military in Lampung. The editor, Muchtar Pakpahan, said the ban apparently only affects that issue and the bulletin will continue to appear.

[Sources: *Editor*, 21/9/1991; *Tempo*, 21/9/1991 and *Jakarta Post*, 13/9/1991]

Tempo censorship fiasco

There must have been some red faces among *Tempo* editors when the 7 September issue appeared on their desks. An item about an East Timorese protest to the DPR [see separate item] had been replaced by two blank columns though someone had forgotten (?) to remove the announcement that the item would appear, in the national news section, plus the photo of the Timorese in the DPR building.

Tempo editor-in-chief said that a visit from two officials of the armed forces information department had made it clear the story had to be "killed". "They spoke calmly but I knew that if I did it twice, *Tempo* would have serious problems." [*Indonesian Observer*, date unclear]

Two weeks later, a letter was published from an East Timorese student asking where the item had got to. "Only *Tempo* could know," he wrote. But the editors were not telling. Their published explanation? "Technical problems."

Embassies warned against banned books

The Attorney-General's office has reprimanded foreign embassies in Jakarta against displaying Indonesian books that are on the government's banned list. At a book fair held by *Ikapi*, the Indonesian Publishers' Association, in Jakarta, a joint stand of the German Embassy and the Goethe Institute, books by Indonesia's leading living writer,

Pramoedya Ananta Toer, were on display, much to the government's consternation.

The stand featured three of Pramoedya's books in German translation: *Kind Alter Volker* (A Child of All Nations), *Garten der Menschheit* (This Earth of Mankind), and *Spiel Mit dem Leben* (The Hunt). The first two were banned in Indonesia. Another of Pramoedya's banned books, *Jejak Langkah* (Footsteps) will soon be appearing in German translation.

The embassies were summoned to the Foreign Ministry and told to "respect Indonesian laws", while *Ikapi* was told that it should have asked the fair participants to produce a list of books on display, to be checked with the Department of Education and Culture. [*Jakarta Post*, 29/8/1991]

John Rohde, cultural attache at the German Embassy, said: "It is up to the publishers to select books. Germany respects openness in publication." He told Kyodo News Service that no warning had been received from the authorities. The Embassy and the Goethe Institute were not involved in selecting books to be displayed by German publishers, and will not interfere in their publication. [*Kyodo*, 6/8/1991]

Screening for travelling artists

Plans for a troupe of Balinese artists to perform on board a luxury cruiser which plies a route from Oslo to Helsinki may collapse because the permit to leave the country has not yet been issued. The organiser, Ni Ketut Arini Alit, head of the Warini Dance Centre in Bali, has taken groups of artists abroad on at least eight occasions; now, for the first time, he is taking a troupe that is not officially sponsored by the government.

"All non-government missions are now handled by a special commission headed by BAKIN (the intelligence co-ordination agency)," said a senior official of the Cultural Directorate of the Department of Education and Culture. Even if there is no problem with the programme to be performed, there can be problems with the artists. A former deputy chief of security at BAKIN said the screening of artists wishing to go abroad is a lengthy process. Besides proof about the artist's clean environment and clean self, there are special classifications for people thought likely to stir up trouble overseas, he said. [*Tempo*, 31/8/1991]

Lecture ban on writer/lay preacher

The columnist, lay preacher and playwright, Emha Ainun Nadjib, is banned from giving lectures throughout the province of Central Java, following a lecture which was deemed disrespectful of the Pancasila. The provincial authorities claimed that it was not an outright ban. He could still lecture, provided he cleared what he was about to say with the authorities, to ensure that the topic he chose would not disrupt national stability.

Emha is a popular speaker; he lectures widely on cultural and religious matters. He is known for his sharp tongue and candid comment. "Pancasila is a product of man, something relative, it is not a product of the Almighty. The Ku'ran can be interpreted; why not the Pancasila?" he said.

Military commander of the region, Major-General Haryono P.S. supported the ban. "He discussed things which may no longer be discussed. The Pancasila is the final reflection jointly agreed upon by the entire nation and it cannot be a matter for differences of opinion. The ban is not permanent. If he recognises the error of his ways and apologises, the ban will be lifted."

At the time the ban was announced, Emha announced that

CENSORSHIP



Emha Ainun Nadjib

he had resigned from ICMI, the association for Muslim intellectuals, set up last year with President Suharto's blessing. He had accepted a position in the organisation hoping thereby to help find a solution to the protracted land dispute caused by the Kedung Ombo dam. So far, support for the victims has come primarily from Christian groups and individuals. He was given responsibility for the question but soon found that he was unable to act.

[Source: *Editor*, 31/8/1991 and *Jawa Pos*, 30/8/1991]

New film bill reinforces censorship

A new bill on the production of films in Indonesia has shifted the point of censorship from controlling the script and title before production to censorship when the film is finished and ready for distribution. This is hardly a reform that is likely to be welcomed by film workers. Information Minister Harmoko said producers would bear greater responsibility and risk, when deciding what was "appropriate" for public viewing; the censorship board could review films and cut things out (or indeed ban the film altogether). ★

Bonar appeal rejected

Bonar Tigor Naipospos, 29, who was sentenced to eight and a half years for allegedly spreading Marxist-Leninist teachings and possessing books written by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, has failed in his appeal to the Supreme Court against the verdict.

Bonar, a student at the social and political faculty of Yogyakarta's Gadjah Mada University, was charged under the 1963 anti-subversion law. He was also accused of having influenced two others in Yogyakarta, Bambang Isti Nugroho and Bambang Subono, both of whom are now serving eight year sentences. His lawyer, Nur Ismanto, has announced that he intends to ask the Supreme Court to reconsider its decision. ★

Strikes become a daily event

August was the month of escalating labour conflicts and strikes. At industrial estates in Jakarta and Surabaya workers showed their determination to fight for better working conditions and higher wages. A strike at PT Gajah Tunggal, the largest tyre factory, is typical of the conditions Indonesian workers now live under.

The strike at *PT Gajah Tunggal* occurred in two waves, the first in early August followed by another two weeks later. The company is in Tangerang, east of Jakarta. Formerly a sleepy provincial town, Tangerang has been transformed in the last decade into a bustling industrial city with a vast array of factories. Once a rice producing area, Tangerang is now one of the major industrial centres of South-east Asia. But lately it has become renowned as a centre for industrial disputes which erupt almost every day. The strikes at *Gajah Tunggal* are part of a pattern emerging in Tangerang but it has also assumed an international significance.

Ties with the First Family

The *Gajah Tunggal* industrial site in Tangerang contains 14 factories, the largest being the tyre factory. The *Gajah Tunggal Group (GTG)* is typical of the growth of a conglomerate in the mid eighties. Helped along by the liberalisation and deregulation introduced by the government, *GTG* has grown from a medium-sized tyre factory into a conglomerate producing many products. With the help of Japanese capital, *GTG* has become the largest tyre producer, while diversifying into plastics and rubber appliances. Syamsul Nursalim, the young boss of *GTG*, set up a branch of *SOGO*, the leading Japanese Department Store, in Plaza Indonesia, the latest of the up-market shopping centres in Jakarta. Plaza Indonesia is owned by Bambang Suharto; earlier this year it was opened by his mother, Tien Suharto. So *GTG* has good friends in high places and its rapid growth has much to do with these connections.

The flagship company, *Gajah Tunggal Tyre* announced half-yearly profits in June 1991 of 18.1 billion rupiahs (£5.34 million). The *GTG* Tangerang site employs 14,000 workers, most of whom went out on strike on 1 August.

Two strikes

Discontent among the *GTG* workers has been rife for months. Eight per cent inflation has hit the purchasing power of the workers, mostly newcomers from other parts of Indonesia; housing conditions are woeful. Rents have risen, causing distress among the workers. The official union *SPSI* has a unit at *GTG* with only a dozen members, most of them white collar workers from the personnel department.

The strike erupted in the morning with almost everyone going out. The management was unprepared and for several hours refused to receive a democratically chosen delegation of the workers. The tension mounted and armed security guards stepped in when some workers started throwing stones at a building. Only then did the management show willingness to receive the delegation to discuss their grievances. The main demands were a rise in the daily wages to



Gajah Tunggal workers facing the military

Rp. 2100-2200 [about US\$1.10], depending on the job, proper registration of workers in *ASTEK*, the national workers insurance scheme, and a lodging allowance. Other demands were about holidays, overtime and lunch allowances. The talks did not go smoothly and continued until late in the evening, while many thousands of workers waited outside. Only after the weekend did the workers go back though several demands had not been met.

On 20 August, another strike broke out; again the entire workforce joined in. This time the grievances were not only working conditions; nine of the strike leaders including Zulkifli Saleh, the spokesperson, had been arrested and taken to the local military garrison. The workforce went on a march to the local assembly to call for the release of their colleagues. The local military commander Lt. Colonel Romulo Simbolon tried to calm things down, saying Zulkifli and the others had been released. It later turned out great pressure was used on the nine while in custody to quit from *GTG* with the promise of financial compensation. The management was not willing to meet the workers' demands; instead they asked the military to intervene.

Nationwide implications

The *Gajah Tunggal* strike was the biggest strike for over 25 years and became front-page news in the national press. Admiral Sudomo, formerly Minister of Manpower, knows only one language: no strikes and pressure on the workers. He declared that the workers had been provoked by external forces and called on the army to step in. Sudomo, now minister in charge of political and security affairs, also said: "Strikes can disturb national stability and the country's development as well." [*Jakarta Post* 22 Aug. 1991].

The present Minister of Manpower, Cosmas Batubara, was more even-handed. He rebuked the heavy-handed methods used and said it is natural for workers to become more

aware of their rights, but appealed to the strikers to submit protests "in a calm way".

It is widely recognised that the official minimum wages, as paid by *GTG*, are far from enough for an average Tangerang worker to survive. Daily needs in Jakarta and the vicinity are Rp. 2,737 (US\$ 1.40); the minimum wage is 77% of that. Sudomo-type methods may solve industrial disputes once or twice, but in the long run, his show of force will not work, as it fails to tackle the central issue of decent wages and protection for workers.

Another important issue is the incompetence of *SPSI* as a trade union. During the demo the workers shouted: "Down with *SPSI*" and "The *SPSI* is toothless". In the *GTG* case the *SPSI* chapter consists of people appointed by the company. In Tangerang's 850 companies, only 169 have an *SPSI* chapter, usually of the kind in *GTG*. Although the independent union *SBMS* did not play a role in the strike, events at *GTG* prove that workers are organising themselves and can choose their own leaders. The readiness to strike has increased enormously. In 1990, there were 19 strikes in Tangerang; in the first 8 months of this year there were 49.

There have been strikes in the past 25 years but an official ban originating from the Sukarno days made it very risky. A Presidential Decree last year lifted this ban but at the same time reaffirmed the philosophy of consultation and consensus between the employers and workers, as required by Indonesia's so-called Pancasila Industrial Relations (*HIP*). The events of the past months have shown that, *HIP* or no *HIP*, workers recognise that the only option to better

STRIKES

their conditions is to strike.

International support

The militant *GTG* strike attracted the attention of the *ICFTU*, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels. A letter from the Secretary-General John Vanderveken to Minister of Manpower Cosmas Batubara, protested at working conditions at *Gajah Tunggal*, condemned the arrest of some of its workers and demanded free trade union activity, in line with international standards. The *ICFTU* has criticised Indonesia on many occasions, in particular regarding the lack or non-existence of the freedom to organise.

Another protest came from the *AFL/CIO* in the US which renewed its petition demanding that Indonesia be scrapped from the list of GSP (Generalised System of Preferences) countries. The US government has rejected similar petitions for the past three years but a letter from the US embassy said: "If next year Indonesian companies still stand by their low wage policies, the US Government will not be able to reject such a petition again." [*Pelita* 2/9/1991]

The *GTG* strike may not have achieved its goals but the Indonesian working class is one experience richer. International support has been widely reported in the Indonesian press, boosting the spirit of the workers in demanding their rights, in the knowledge that the world is watching. ★

Letter to the Editor

I was a bit surprised to see your invitation to readers to comment on aid and human rights. I thought your attitude on the topic was quite clear.

To me it is obvious that economic and social rights are far more important than civil rights. But then, I cannot imagine any situation where the question is "either... or". The observance of all kinds of human rights mutually support each other. The denial of freedom of speech does not automatically fill stomachs.

Nevertheless, the way Northern governments criticise Southern human rights is not always convincing. But as you gave the example of Britain's refusal to impose trade sanctions on South Africa, I also have to criticise you for selective criticism. You FAILED to address the issue of the once best-known political prisoner in the world visiting a man and accepting money from a man whom Amnesty International rates as being as genocidal as Pol Pot and Idi Amin. I am referring to Nelson Mandela's visit to President Suharto. You are not doing anyone a favour by excluding the solidarity movement's new hero from criticism. Mandela's visit to Indonesia is inexcusable and shameful.

Yes, aid should be linked to human rights but to be honest, we have to make sure that Northern governments and societies are willing to live by what they preach. Fair trade is essential not just for moral reasons but even more for the longterm interests of humanity. As natural resources are limited and the danger of the greenhouse effect is real, it is up to Northerners to cut their standard of living, to drastically reduce their use of cars, etc, if we want to be taken seriously when we tell Southerners to stop destroying the rainforests.

Criticising dictatorial regimes in the South can only have

an impact if we do not exclude anyone from well-deserved criticism, be it Mandela or the Sandanistas. At the moment, it is up to the North to decide the fate of the world. Starving people have no time to care about ecology. Rich people – and on a global scale, all Northerners are very rich – have the duty to act. Then the strength of the North could be used for good ends and contribute to fostering human rights observance all over the world. ★

Hubert Gieschen, Wildeshausen, Germany.



Mandela accepted a \$10 million cheque from Suharto for the ANC, during his visit to Indonesia last October

Weeding out 'unclean' candidates

All candidates for the 1992 general elections are subject to screening by special officials to determine whether they are 'clean' of left-wing influences. The screening which began in August has become a heated issue among politicians as it is a way to remove candidates undesirable to the government.

In July 1990, the army's agency for national stability, *Bakorstanas*, announced a new system for checking people's political 'cleanliness'. The 'clean self' and 'clean environment' concept was scrapped for a new concept, 'under the influence of'. People would now be checked under new criteria by special investigation teams called '*penelitian khusus*', or '*litsus*' (special investigation), doing away with the word '*skrining*'. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No 101, October 1990]

Bad habits die hard. After the communist witchhunt in 1965 the majority of Indonesians needed a screening document to prove their non-involvement with leftist organisations. In those days, in order to apply for a job, enrol in a school or university or to travel abroad, one needed a *surat bebas G30S* (certificate of G30S non-involvement). Eventually, in 1982, this certificate was scrapped and replaced by the *clean self* and *clean environment* certificate. At first only intended for people who wanted to join the armed forces, it rapidly spread, becoming a requirement for anybody wanting to enter the civil service or strategic industries. Controversy soon surrounded this certificate as many high-placed persons, including President Suharto, turned out to be related somewhere along the line to communist party members.

Then a new system called *litsus* was devised, another way of weeding out people with past communist links. The scheme was thought up in 1985 but only became official with Presidential Decree no.16/1990. General Nurhadi, the official spokesperson of *ABRI*, the Indonesian armed forces, insists that *litsus* applies to everybody, even the president. As distinct from the *clean self* and *clean environment* system, *litsus* is based on the concept of influence, allowing for people's acceptability to change. Somebody considered 'okay' can come under 'bad' influence. The earlier scheme was more static, based on direct or indirect PKI involvement. The new *litsus* scheme is more 'dynamic'; even the best families can be influenced by subversive ideas. The new scheme goes beyond tracing communist links. It is applicable to anti-*Pancasila* [the state doctrine] influences, anti *UUD45* [the 1945 Constitution] ideas, and so on.

Anyone who passes the written and oral exam is eligible for a *SKTT* (*surat keterangan tidak terlibat*) or non-involvement certificate. It is compulsory for party candidates in the general elections to have a *SKTT* or their names will be crossed from the list of candidates.

A procedural nightmare

Once the three contesting parties had finalised their lists of candidates for the local and national assemblies, government teams began the *Bakorstanas* investigations, headed by social and political affairs chiefs. The Surabaya social and political affairs chief, Santosa, said the screening would be stricter than before; not only will the person's parentage be examined but also the influences she/he has been

subjected to. Grandparents will no longer be taken into account but parents-in-law and foster parents are considered as part of the influences. [Surabaya Pos, 21/8-1991].

Around 7,000 candidates had to be screened in East Java alone and hundreds are unlikely to pass. After passing, the files go to *BASELPAMPER*, or *Badan Seleksi Pengamanan Personnel*, [Selection Body to Safeguard Personnel] before being sent to special *litsus* teams [under *Bakorstanasda*, the regional stability agency] and thence to the police who ultimately issue the *SKTT*. The lengthy procedure has given birth to a thriving *litsus* industry.

In Jakarta all new *GOLKAR* candidates were summoned to the main infantry garrison where they were required to fill in a fifteen-page book of searching questions. There are personal details and requirements to submit copies of membership cards; there are easy questions like who is your favourite political figure. But some questions are more tricky. For example: Indonesia needs new electricity generators, but all the experts were involved in the PKI, so what should we do? Or, the country lacks teachers but many have been sacked because of PKI-involvement; should we forgive them and take them back?

Radio Australia, a bad influence

Lt. Colonel Santosa, concurrently head of the *litsus* team in East Java, said that candidates who listen to Radio Australia can find themselves 'under consideration'. His rationale? "Radio Australia likes to discredit the Indonesian Government which is an influence from a source that is against the *Pancasila*, the Indonesian Constitution, the Government and State" [Surabaya Pos, 8 September 1991].



from EDITOR, 14 September 1991

ELECTIONS

Other *litsus* questions deal with present-day issues like the growth of the conglomerates, the gap between the *pribumi* and *non pribumi* (native-born and Indonesian Chinese), religious conflicts and land evictions. After this gruelling test, candidates must face the *litsus* team to answer questions.

Litsus can be used against anybody seen as a potential threat. A striking example is ret'd General Josef Mailoa, the former Chief of the Army Centre for the Development of Intelligence. While still on active service, Mailoa helped draft an earlier version of the questionnaire, so he should have passed with flying colours. After retirement he joined the PDI instead of the 'natural' partner of ABRI, GOLKAR. He flunked the test and was scrapped from the PDI list.

'Skrining' the candidates

The strict application of the *litsus* test caused much confusion, not least among retired generals. Heavyweights like ret'd General Rudini, the home minister, or ret'd Admiral Sudomo, coordinating minister for political and security matters were against the test being applied to everybody (meaning themselves). In the end ABRI's top man, General Try Sutrisno won them over by saying: "Those who are afraid of *litsus*, might have done something." [Merdeka, 05 Sept. 91]

As it turned out *litsus* wasn't the only way to weed out people. The huge GOLKAR candidate list was overhauled three times, after which Suharto as chair of the Advisory Council of GOLKAR, has the final say. As expected, a handful of vocal MPs like Marzuki Darusman (who said he would like to become president), Anang Adenansi (who questioned Suharto's approval of the mysterious killings) or three MPs from ABRI, Lt. General Syaiful Sulun, Brig. General Samsudin and Police Colonel Roekmini, all

vanished from the 'safe-seat' candidate list. Syaiful Sulun, the Vice-Speaker of the House had the nerve to receive the dissident group of *Petisi 50* while Samsudin and Roekmini were vocal on land issues, *keterbukaan* (openness) and press censorship.

Bakorstanas screening must stop

Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, who chairs the Foundation of Legal Aid Institutes, called on the government to halt the testing. Speaking for INGI, the International Non-Governmental Organisation Forum on Indonesia, he said: "The screening is unconstitutional." Authorising officials to investigate election candidates allows them to abuse their powers. INGI also regards Bakorstanas as unconstitutional and believes the government should review its position. [Jakarta Post, 3/9/1991]

Retired generals, Nasution and Dharsono, both known opponents of Suharto agree. Nasution says *litsus* screening should only be applicable in a state of siege. General Dharsono sees *litsus* as state intervention in political affairs.

Political scientist, Arbi Sanit goes further: "GOLKAR is directly controlled by its Advisory Council [read: Suharto], the two political parties by *litsus*. This is one way for the government to exercise direct control over the political parties". Furthermore, *litsus* is proof that power distribution still does not exist in Indonesia. "Power is concentrated outside the political organisations, a combination of the bureaucracy and the military; the function of the political organisations is to 'play' within defined boundaries" [Editor, 14 Sept. 1991].



POLITICAL PRISONERS

Forgotten prisoners

The long-overdue release of two communist prisoners has drawn attention to the plight of more than two dozen others who languish in prison, long after they were expecting to be released. Following a Presidential Decision in March 1987, their chances of freedom appear to depend solely on the whim of the President.

Delayed PKI releases "nothing unusual"

Following their release on 24 July, two Communist Party (PKI) political prisoners, Rewang (63) and Marto Suwandi (69), returned to their homes to be greeted back by close relatives. As we reported in the last issue, the sentences of both men had expired many years earlier. Rewang should have been released on 23 January 1988; Marto Suwandi's release was nearly four years overdue; he should have been released on 8 September 1987.

But the head of the Public Relations Office of the Department of Justice, Rahardjo Tjondrodipuro, said there was "nothing unusual" about the releases. Asked why there had been such a long delay, he spoke of "technical matters, to prepare for the release". "It was in their own interest," he added. "Our national resilience is now much stronger."

The Head of the Prisons Division at the Department, Baharuddin Lopa, would not be drawn, except to say: "It's not within my competence." [Tempo, 10.8.1991] When the

human rights activist, J.C. Princen, put the same question to Nurdin Nursin, Director of Cipinang Prison in Jakarta, he was told: "You'd better ask *Bakorstanasda* (the army's regional Agency for National Stability). I'm just the one who executes (orders)." [Editor, 10.8.1991]

So, were the two men planning to sue the government for illegal detention? Apparently not. Rewang said he had never asked for clemency, felt sure that good behaviour would earn him remission and was not going to sue anyone. In 1983, a PKI prisoner, Hadi Surono, who had been held 872 days beyond the expiry of his sentence, began proceedings in court to sue the government but before the case began, he was released and did not pursue the matter any further.

Kept in the dark

According to Editor, two weeks before their release, the two men were told by the prison authorities that Rewang's

POLITICAL PRISONERS

wife had written many letters to officials, pressing for his release. [The efforts by Rewang's wife have been reported in past issues of *TAPOL Bulletin*.] The day before their release, they were told that relatives would be visiting them the next day, but even then they were not told that they were about to be released.

Whilst Rewang returned home in good health, Marto Suwandi is reported to be very poorly. One account says that visitors to his home several days after his release were told he was confined to bed and could not be disturbed. "When he has to get up, he needs to be assisted by his wife," said a relative. [*Jawa Pos*, 7/7/1991]



Rewang

27 more sentences overdue

In a message to TAPOL on 28 August, Poncke Princen, chair of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM), supplied a list of 27 political prisoners whose releases are all long overdue. They were all convicted on charges connected with their alleged involvement in the 1965 events.

Princen said: "As you know the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights has several times asked the Indonesian Government to declare an amnesty for these political prisoners but they are being used as bargaining tools in the political and economic arena. This renders the whole question very difficult."

Princen said that he would be submitting the list to the Dutch, US, UK, French, Japanese, Swiss and other embassies in Jakarta.

The following names appear on Princen's list:

Pamekasan Prison, Madura

Soedono	Sumbono
Sunari	Suryabrata
Ir. Murdjani	

Tanjung Gusta Prison, Medan

Sutan Manesor Pasaribu Achmad Safii
Annah Mariana

Labuhan Ruku Prison, Medan

Mujiman Jamakir	Mudigdo
Atmo	Hubertus Hery Purnomo

Kalisosok Prison, Surabaya

Lukas Sadikun	Alexander Warouw
Manun Efendi	

Cipinang Prison, Jakarta

Sutarto (Police Brig.Gen)
A. Latief (Army Colonel)

Padang Prison, Padang

Johan Rivai	Sutjipto
Djajusman	Sri Rahardjo

Denpasar Prison, Bali

Pujo Prasetyo

Bandjarmasin Prison, South Kalimantan

Achmad Darlian Gani

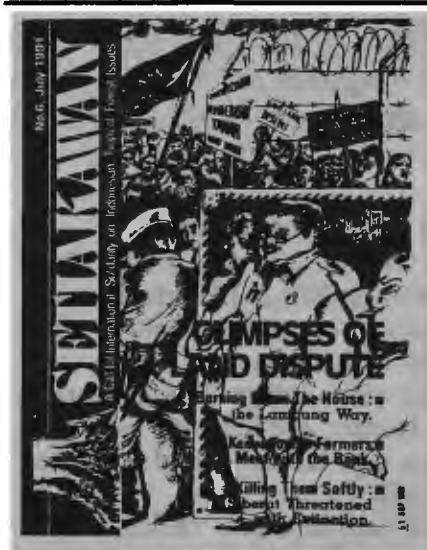
Ujung Pandang Prison, South Sulawesi

Kamba al Haji Kamba	Markus Girot
Sido	

Batu Prison, Nusakambangan, Central Java

Yoseph Rabidi

Our own cards provide information on eleven of these prisoners; all are recorded as having life sentences which, in some cases, were commuted from death. In some cases, the information, based on lists supplied over the years by a variety of sources, indicates that the prisoner already knew what he thought was his date of release. Johan Rivai, (77 years) believed in 1983 that he was due for release in 1985. He was arrested in 1965. Djajusman (66) is a life-sentence prisoner initially given the death sentence. On several lists received in the early 1980s, he was recorded as expecting his release in 1986. He was arrested in 1967. ★



SKEPHI
PO BOX 6288/JATRA
JAKARTA 13062
INDONESIA



SETIAKAWAN

A PUBLICATION OF SKEPHI

THE NGO NET WORK FOR FOREST
CONSERVATION IN INDONESIA

Contribution for six issues of Setiakawan:

Europe, United States and Canada US\$53
New Zealand, Australia and Japan US\$43
Third World Countries US\$33

Suharto changes the rules

In 1987, President Suharto issued a Presidential Decision which gave him direct control over the fate of all prisoners serving life sentences. Until then, life sentences were governed by a decree of 1950 which provided for the commutation of life sentences to twenty years after the prisoner had served five years in prison from the date on which his/her sentence had been finally confirmed [*eksekusi*].

Presidential Decision No 5, 1987, issued on 7 March 1987 changed all that. From now on, life sentences could only be commuted to a fixed-term sentence as the result of a decision of the President. Prisoners were now required to make a formal application to the President through the intermediary of the Minister of Justice.

A year later, on 10 March 1988, the Justice Minister, Ismael Saleh issued a Ministerial Decision on how the 1987 Presidential Decision would be implemented. Article 3 of Ismael Saleh's ruling says that a convicted prisoner whose death sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment is not allowed to have the life sentence reduced to a fixed-term sentence. A life-sentence prisoner who has applied to the President for commutation [the term used is *grasi*] and has been refused may not have the life sentence reduced to a fixed-term sentence.

An 'implementary instruction' issued by the Justice Minister on the same day said that applications for a fixed-term sentence must pass through six official agencies, including military commands, military appeal courts and the Supreme Court, before being handed to the Minister/State Secretary for transmission to the President. Each of these agencies would comment on the application before passing it on to the next on the list.

Can Subandrio ever be released?

The Justice Minister's ruling means that Dr Subandrio, former Foreign Minister, along with Omar Dhani, former air force commander, and Police Brigadier-General Sutarto will live out the rest of their days in prison, unless President Suharto deems it politically expedient to release them. All three were sentenced to death and were subsequently granted commutations by Suharto.

The case of Lt-Col Latief

The release of Lieutenant-Colonel A. Latief is a matter of special interest to Suharto. Latief was one of the three conspirators, all from the army, who organised the kidnap of generals on 1 October 1965. The murder of the six generals led to the counterstrike by Suharto, the nationwide massacre of communist suspects, and his seizure of power from Sukarno a few months later. Latief testified during his trial in 1978 that he reported the plot preparations to Suharto a few hours before the kidnap squads set out. Suharto has acknowledged that he met Latief on that occasion and has given several different accounts of what was discussed or what the purpose of the meeting was. If Latief were free to explain his links with Suharto prior to 1 October 1965, he could shed new light on Suharto's role in the affair.

Latief was sentenced to life in 1978. An appeal by the military prosecutor [*oditeur*] for life to be changed to death

was rejected; Latief's appeal against the sentence was also turned down. Latief's sentence was officially confirmed in January 1983 when he was taken to Cipinang Prison in Jakarta to serve the rest of his term.

According to the 1950 decree, he was due for release in January 1988, when the five years following *eksekusi* had been completed. [He had already spent 18 years in prison by 1983, having been arrested in October 1965.] Documents for his release were being drafted at the prison in early 1987; the authorities even hinted that he might be freed on 17 August 1987, when remissions are granted and prisoner releases normally take place.

After Suharto's Decision of March 1987 was issued, the documents were scrapped and he was told to start again. But when he submitted an application for his life sentence to be commuted to a fixed-term sentence, he was told the application was unacceptable unless he also submitted an application for *grasi*. With the lengthy procedure required for the former application, the *grasi* application will be dealt with first, making it impossible for him to have his life sentence changed.

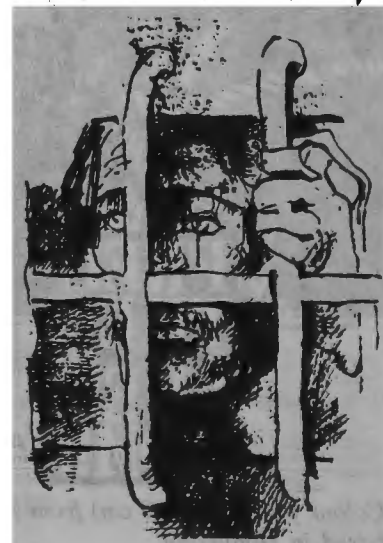
In other words, he is boxed in. His fate rests in the hands of the man who is most likely to suffer, were he to have the freedom to speak.

The other 'lifers'

But what of the others who believed they were due for release in the late 1980s? According to the sketchy information available, several had their death sentences commuted to life. For them, release now appears to be ruled out, unless Suharto decides that political expediency requires a gesture from him.

None of these prisoners has access to legal assistance. Nothing is known about whether close relatives are working for their release, as did Rewang's wife. They are forgotten men whose fate lies in the hands of Suharto. Their recourse to the law has been blocked and only an international campaign on their behalf can enable them to spend the remaining years of their lives with their families.

The top executive - Suharto - holds their fate in his hands. The judiciary has no influence. Such a thing can only happen when the principle of separation of powers, the Trias Politica, is dead. ☆



Human rights briefs

Releases

Four tapols released from Cipinang

Three political prisoners serving sentences passed following the massacre of Muslim protestors in Tanjung Priok in September 1984, and one East Timorese Fretilin prisoner were released from Cipinang Prison, Jakarta, on 17 August.

David Dias Ximenes, (37), arrested in 1980, who was given a 15-year sentence in 1984, left prison and was flown back to Dili. Another Timorese prisoner, Dominggus Seixas, (40) also left prison and took the same flight to be transferred to a prison in Dili; he got 12 years and will be released soon. This leaves four East Timorese prisoners in Jakarta: Albino Lourdes and Mario Nicolau dos Reis, both serving 17-year sentences, Mariano Bonaparte Soares, 16 years, and Jose Roberto Jeromino, 12 years.

The Muslim prisoners released were: Prof. Oesmany al Hamidy, (77), rector of the Islamic Institute (PTDI) who was given an eight-year sentence after being found guilty of preaching sermons critical of the government; Achmad Ratono, (30) once a student at the Institute, who was given eight years for calling on the faithful in Tanjung Priok to attend the demonstration on 12 September 1984; and Hasan Kiat, (41), a Muslim preacher who was serving a nine-year sentence.

For a full account of the 1984 trials, see *Indonesia: Muslims on Trial*, published by TAPOL IN 1987.

Four Bandung tapols to be released on parole

Four of the six students of the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) who were tried and imprisoned after a protest against a visit to the Institute by Interior Minister, retired General Rudini, are to be given conditional release. The names of the four have not yet been announced.

Although the Director of Sukamiskin Prison where they are being held said they had been convicted on criminal, not subversion charges, he added that *Bakorstanas*, the army's security agency, was involved in assessing which of them would be released. A 'guidance team' would work out the terms of their conditional release in November. [*Jakarta Post*, 23/9/1991]

Dutch MPs denied access to prisoners

Seven Dutch parliamentarians on a visit to Indonesia were refused access to several political prisoners in Cipinang Prison, on a normal visiting day, Sunday, 18 August. The mission was led by Labour Party MP, Mrs Verspaget and included Christian Democrats (CDA), D66, the Green Left, and the Liberals (VVD).

They wanted to meet the six Communist Party prisoners under sentence of death, and the former Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, who is serving a life sentence but were asked to leave by the prison director because there was no official authorisation for their visit.

Minister-Cooordinator for Political and Security Affairs, Sudomo, criticised the MPs for failing to arranged the visit in advance, as all government guests are required to do. But Mrs Verspaget said their visit was private and not part of their official programme. They were not in Indonesia as guests of the government but as envoys of the Commission for Overseas Development of the Dutch Parliament. She explained on several occasions that they had come to Indonesia to study various aspects of projects funded by Dutch aid. In particular, they wanted to assess reports about human rights violations [*NRC Handelsblad*, 22 and 24/8/1991, *Kompas*, 21/8/1991 and *Editor*, 7/9/1991]

* * * * *

Sixteen villagers branded as 'ET'

Sixteen people in Lebaniwaras village, Wringinanom Sub-District, East Java, have protested to the East Java provincial assembly, after failing to have the letters, ET, removed from their identity cards. ET stands for 'ex-tapol' and implies that the card holder was once arrested for alleged involvement in the events of 1965; it deprives the person of many civil rights. The villagers were never in custody and deny they were ever members of now-banned organisations.

They applied for new identity cards after their cards expired and were amazed to find the initials on the new cards. Attempts to discover why they were branded as ET have led to bureaucratic evasion. The acting village head said it was the result of orders from the local military command, *koramil* which in turn said the matter was in the hands of the higher military authority, *korem*. Asked how such a thing could have happened, a *korem* officer said: "Oh, that's a secret. I hope you'll understand. We're only using data passed on from a former officer."

The head of the Social and Political Department in Gresik, Jahdi Husein, was just as evasive. "In each district, this designation is given after careful selection, not randomly. It's all to do with national vigilance. Any discussion about a person's ET coding would be long-drawn-out," he said.



Colour poster (76x50 cm) from ASA, Asian Students Association, based in Hongkong.

Meanwhile, the villagers' efforts to have the initials removed have been unsuccessful. They apparently believe that the decision was taken by a former village head. [Surabaya Post, 19/8/1991]

New 'unclean environment' cases

An unspecified number of newly-appointed primary school teachers in Gresik have been recorded as having an 'unclean environment' by a special investigation committee, according to Jahdi Husein, head of the Gresik Social and Political Department. They were among 86 persons who passed tests to fill 200 teaching vacancies.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Jahdi said that as their services were required, they would be allowed to start work. "But we have marked our records. If they do anything untoward, we will confront them with our records." The thing against them was that their parents were "involved in the G30S/PKI or they had been under other influences connected with that rebellion". Asked how many of the 86 were affected, he would only say, "more than four but less than ten". [Jawa Pos, 10/8/1991] ☆

EAST TIMOR

East Timor at the UN Decolonisation Committee

Every year, many solidarity organisations and individuals go the New York to petition the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation on the question of East Timor. Carmel Budiardjo gives her impressions of this year's meeting, with an assessment of the significance and limitations of this annual exercise.

Those of us who turned up on 7 August to plead East Timor's case before the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation were entitled to feel that this year, there would be a more sympathetic atmosphere. Many of the petitioners made a comparison between East Timor and Kuwait. Each time, the Iraqi member of the Committee interrupted to complain that matters not on the agenda should not be mentioned; the chair endorsed the complaint asking the petitioner to confine remarks to the item under discussion. This did not deter others from doing likewise.

But probably more relevant to East Timor than Kuwait was the fact that, while the session was underway, its officials were putting the finishing touches to a UN mission to the Western Sahara to prepare for a UN-supervised referendum next January. Kuwait was never on the Special Committee's agenda but Western Sahara has for years been the Committee's concern.

I had never previously attended the Special Commission to present TAPOL's petition so I had no proper understanding of its status and role, and the atmosphere in which its deliberations take place. It is a committee that functions under the aegis of the General Assembly, whose brief is taken over by the Assembly's Fourth (Political) Committee when the Assembly is in session. [For more about its origins and membership, see box.]

Although its task is to promote implementation of UN Resolution 1514 of 1960 on decolonisation, the political decisions are not taken here. Indeed, Indonesia as a Committee member is in a position to block any resolutions from being taken on matters concerning *its* colony, though it has not been able to block discussion.

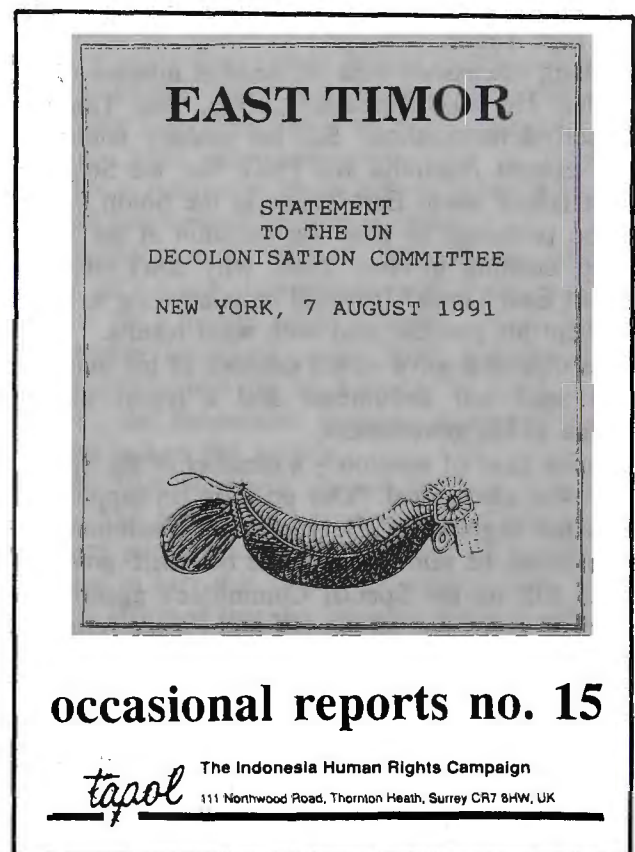
One striking thing about the Committee's mandate is that it concerns itself only with colonies of the old colonial powers. Hence colonies like Tibet, West Papua, Aceh and many other territories occupied by the new colonial powers are not on its agenda.

Speaking to the diplomats

For years, groups have petitioned the Committee but we

have not used the opportunity to lobby country missions or Committee members. So this year, we decided to try. I shared the work with Pedro Pinto Leite who was in New York to speak on behalf of the Organising Committee for the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor.

Although we had not prepared the ground in advance, we managed to arrange several meetings and speak with a few



Occasional Reports no.15 contains TAPOL's submission to the 1991 meeting of the UN Decolonisation Committee.

Price £1.00 including postage

diplomats 'in the corridors'. In fact, the exercise was more timely than we had realised. For several years, Fretilin has been unable to keep a permanent envoy in New York. Diplomats need to be reminded, constantly, of an issue. Those who are friendly are replaced by newcomers who may know nothing about East Timor. We discovered that missions were willing to listen though it proved difficult to make appointments at short notice. We met several diplomats from Pacific and African countries. Here is what we learnt:

Let me start with the worst example. Papua New Guinea has just become a member of the Special Committee and according to rumour, it hopes with Indonesian backing to become one of its chairpersons next year. I had phoned the PNG mission several times for an appointment and 'waylaid' its head of mission in the lobby but was given short shrift. Another diplomat warned me that the head of mission was embarrassed by my approaches; he did not want the Indonesians to see me in his company! But I did have a chat with a lower-ranking PNG diplomat. The Committee was not in a position to do anything, he said. PNG could not press the issue as this was not compatible with its own interests. He reminded me that his country had close bilateral relations with Indonesia.

At the other extreme was Rob van Lierop, Vanuatu's ambassador in New York, who represents the only country in the Pacific that supports East Timor (and West Papua). He told us that Vanuatu had tried to raise East Timor at the South Pacific Forum, only to be rebuffed by Australia and New Zealand; other countries had said nothing. In global terms, East Timor needs support from the region. He urged us to speak to as many small country missions as possible. They need regular, well-documented evidence of the situation inside East Timor.

We had a long discussion with the head of mission of the Solomon Isles. He was sympathetic. Yes, East Timor is entitled to self-determination. But his country could not take a stand against Australia and PNG. No, the Solomon Isles had not talked about East Timor in the South Pacific Forum but he promised to pose the question at the South Pacific group meeting in New York: why don't we, as a group, support East Timor? It would be interesting to know whether he kept his promise and with what results.

A Maldives diplomat gave us ten minutes of his time and promised to send our documents and a report of our representations to his government.

The Tanzanian head of mission – a member of the Special Committee – was categorical. "Our position [in support of] East Timor is not negotiable!" But many UN resolutions are never implemented, he said. Most of the non-self-governing territories still on the Special Committee's agenda are French or British colonies, yet the UK and France refuse to take part in the Committee's deliberations. Couldn't the African group in New York discuss East Timor? I asked. "Only if we are asked to do so by the Asia group." But there was not much chance of that happening, I said. It is important, he told us, for petitioners to produce strong evidence about conditions in East Timor.

The Cuban representative, who was in the chair most of the time, privately expressed the view that the Committee's freedom of action was getting worse. There were major attempts to undermine most items on its agenda, though on East Timor, he said, Portugal was "pushing hard".

The Cape Verde ambassador, speaking at the Committee

session on behalf of the five former Portuguese colonies in Africa, said it was up to the five permanent members of the Security Council to be the catalyst for East Timor in consultation with the Secretary General: "A new impetus has been given to the work of the Security Council and a renewed faith has emerged in the United Nations as an organisation where wrong can be redressed and justice can be made". Privately, he told me the Committee could do nothing more than recommend. It was up to the Secretary General to act, yet he had taken no initiative on the crucial question of self-determination.

In a meeting after discussion on East Timor had ended, solidarity groups agreed to plan a series of appointments

THE DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE

The Decolonisation Committee is sometimes referred to as the Committee of 24. Until 1990 it had 24 members. Last year, Papua New Guinea was added, bringing the membership to 25.

The Committee is more fully known as the *Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*. It was set up in 1961, a year after the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The same General Assembly session adopted Resolution 1542 (XV) requiring Portugal to transmit information on all its colonial territories to the UN, under Article 73 c of the United Nations Charter. At the time, the fascist regime claimed that these territories were "overseas provinces" and refused to comply with the resolution. As one of these territories, East Timor was listed in Resolution 1542. Until the mid 1970s, Portugal refused to take part in the proceedings of the Special Committee.

After the collapse of fascism, Portugal's attitude towards its colonial territories changed. The Portuguese territories in Africa won their independence. However, East Timor was invaded and forcibly annexed by Indonesia. By virtue of a series of UN resolutions from 1975 to 1982, the UN has continued to call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and for the exercise of the right to self-determination. Since 1975, Portugal has been recognised as the Administering Power, willing, but now unable, to comply with its obligation to transmit information to the Decolonisation Committee, under the terms of the UN Charter.

Today, it is Indonesia that refuses to collaborate. Although it has failed to prevent discussion of 'the question of East Timor', it has prevented the Committee from taking any action. Strange as it may seem, Indonesia is itself a member of the Special Committee. Unlike other UN Committees, the membership of this Committee does not come up for periodical re-election, so Indonesia's position on the Committee and Portugal's position off, are unchangeable.

with diplomats before and during the Special Committee's meeting in 1992. There were no illusions that this would lead to a breakthrough, but it was just as important to focus diplomats' minds on East Timor in New York as in Geneva.

Aware of the limitations of the Decolonisation Committee in resolving the issue, I came away feeling we need to be more resourceful in using the annual trek to New York.

The petitioners

The Special Committee allows any non-governmental organisation (NGO) or individual to submit petitions, unlike the Human Rights Commission and its sub-commission of experts in Geneva which only accept petitions from NGOs with consultative status. This year, petitions were made by NGOs from Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Japan and

Xanana Gusmao's message to the UN

Under the present circumstances it is impossible for me to do anything at the United Nations. Even just going to the UN is impossible. Should I dare to do so, I will certainly be murdered. Should I even take a step into the township of Los Palos I will become a sitting duck (for would-be assassins).

Having General Assembly Resolution 37/30 in mind, UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar promised the Parliamentarians for East Timor delegation when he met them last March that the visit to East Timor of the Portuguese Parliamentarians will take place. We hope the Secretary-General will continue his efforts for the realization of that visit, and that when the Portuguese Parliamentarians get to visit Timor they will negotiate with the Indonesian Government in Jakarta to resolve the question of Timor.

My hope is that if they are able to come to East Timor to see the true condition prevailing here they would then seek a different framework for the solution of this question.

The UN must not forget any party which has a strong interest in solving this problem. The inhabitants of Timor must be considered such a party. It is, therefore, most important that representatives of the East Timorese sit at the conference table. Only when East Timorese representatives are seated at the conference table can the negotiations acquire international recognition and legitimacy. We will never abandon our position on dialogue. We are prepared to hold discussions unconditionally (without introducing new conditions). We are prepared to discuss all issues which will lead to a solution of the problem. We trust the UN Secretary-General to convene a meeting of all parties concerned. We believe that the realization of the Portuguese Parliamentarian Mission will prove to be the source of change in knowledge and attitudes regarding the question of East Timor.

EAST TIMOR

the Netherlands, along with Amnesty International, Asia Watch, Japan's Diet Members' Forum on East Timor, a Canadian MP and three parliamentarians from Portugal. Jose Luis Guterres spoke on behalf of Fretilin and Joao Carrascalao spoke for the UDT.

Most important was a message from Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese resistance, which was presented by the Free East Timor! Japan Coalition [see box].

Many petitioners provided a mass of information about the present situation in East Timor and argued convincingly in favour of the immediate implementation of UN resolutions on East Timor. Space does not permit us to summarise all the contributions. TAPOL's petition dealt in particular with the present military situation and the restructuring of the Indonesian military command in East Timor. [It has been published as *Occasional Reports No. 15*]

Amnesty International's representative introduced a 36-page document, including seven pages of photos of prisoners and torture victims. The pattern of short-term detention, ill-treatment and torture already noted by Amnesty in 1989 and 1990 "has accelerated in the past year" and "appears to be a systematic strategy to silence real or suspected political opponents... and to obtain political intelligence through coercion and intimidation".

Amnesty has the names of more than 400 people detained in East Timor since late 1988; at least 200 have been detained since early 1990. It referred to "serious limitations" on reporting abuses in spite of the 'opening' of the territory and said that East Timorese students involved in disseminating human rights and other information abroad have been subjected to surveillance by military intelligence. [Copies of the Amnesty document are available from the Amnesty national section in your country.]

Asia Watch made three points: human rights in East Timor have not improved since last August, the credibility of reports coming from East Timor are strengthened by similar reports from Aceh, and Indonesia's lack of respect for human rights is reinforced by its failure to ratify any major international instruments on human rights.

After describing recent abuses, Asia Watch said it was "not aware of a single Indonesian soldier prosecuted in a court of law for a human rights offense". When it referred to similar torture techniques used "from Aceh to Merauke, from the northernmost tip of Sumatra to Irian Jaya, and East Timor", the Indonesian member protested that these matters were not on the agenda.

The *Japan Diet Members' Forum on East Timor* raised two points. The Forum will continue its efforts to send a parliamentary mission to East Timor and regrets that plans for a mission in July this year were unacceptable to Indonesia. It also affirmed that the Japanese government has not recognised East Timor's annexation by Indonesia. This is clear from a government instruction to publishers of school textbooks that maps of the island of Timor should draw a border between West and East Timor, like the one drawn between Morocco and Western Sahara.

Canadian Liberal Party spokesperson on human rights, *Beryl Gaffney*, accused her own government of participating in the international cover-up on East Timor.

"Why does my government refuse to recognise what the invasion and occupation has meant? Canada has voted against UN resolutions calling for the right to self-determination. It has lobbied to have the issue removed from the

agenda. My party... has asked why Canada's third largest recipient of foreign aid dollars is Indonesia. We have asked if it is because there are approximately 300 Canadian companies operating in Indonesia, from large ones like Inco."

Speaking as one of three Portuguese MPs who came to New York, *Antonio de Sousa Lara*, president of the Commission for East Timor Affairs of the Portuguese National Assembly said that today's petitioners, as in the preceding years, "belong to the main Portuguese political parties and as political adversaries, face each other democratically in several Portuguese and Community venues. However, they freely agree on the positions assumed as regards the present and future destiny of that fraternal people (East Timor)."

The Indonesian response

The Indonesian mission had expressed "strong opposition to the participation of the petitioners in the deliberations of this Committee". Indonesia would have preferred to treat us all with contempt but the evidence of abuses, the strength of feeling by petitioners from many countries and of various political persuasions called for a reply.

Before agreeing to speak however, the Indonesian diplo-

mat made sure he would have the last word. He thought Guinea Bissau was intending to speak. Only when assured this was not so did he begin. What he presented as 'a matter of record' regarding Indonesian integration of East Timor was a rehash of Jakarta's version of events. For the record, as far as I am concerned, was the announcement that Indonesia has invited Professor Peter H. Kooijmans, UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, to visit East Timor. By contrast, after accusing Amnesty International of levelling slanders and accusations, he said: "It would be absurd to expect that Indonesia will allow visits by representatives of organisations which continue to engage in slanderous campaigns against Indonesia, like Amnesty International."

A toehold

Without a breakthrough on the political front, the fact that East Timor is on the agenda of the UN's Special Committee is a foothold, perhaps even just a toehold, in the UN system. But it is something to be held on to in supporting the struggle of the East Timorese resistance. It should not be regarded as insignificant; if it were, Jakarta would not go to such lengths to sabotage the Committee's deliberations. With all its frustrations, the Committee is a platform which should continue to be used until East Timor exercises its right to self-determination. ☆

continuation from page 1

must raise them high." Anyone who shouts words like 'Maubere people', 'independence', 'Portugal' or 'Fretilin' will be shot after the MPs leave.

Xanana told TAPOL that seven extra battalions arrived in East Timor on 29 August. Five are infantry battalions (Nos. 127, 164, 307, 414 and 612). The other two are Brimob battalion 330 (Police Mobile Brigade) and Kopassus battalion 212. The latter is the battalion that spread such fear and terror in the run-up to the Pope's visit, under the command of Suharto's son-in-law, Colonel Prabowo, in 1989.

In August, according to *The Jakarta Post*, the governor, Mario Carrascalao, told an audience of 5,000 government officials in Dili that demonstrations will be banned during the visit. He told those present to report to the authorities if they hear of anyone planning demonstrations. [*Jakarta Post*, 30/8/1991] (See also box on page 17.)

Jakarta's tactics

The Indonesian government knows that it is taking a huge risk in allowing the visit to go ahead. Several times since 1989, the East Timorese have confounded the authorities by breaching tight security during the visits of Pope John Paul II and of the UN ambassador. The desire of people to use a visit by Portuguese MPs to call for peace talks and self-determination is infinitely greater. This explains the enormous efforts being made to intimidate people into avoiding anything that challenges Indonesian rule.

Mario Carrascalao was the first, months ago, to warn that "another civil war" might break out during the visit. This was his justification for urging that the visit should not take place. Now everyone is being told of the danger of civil war, with the warning that 'the days of 1975 might return'. A spectre of doom is being created to terrorise people into keeping their aspirations to themselves.

The claim that the visit would lead to UN recognition was



East Timorese students demonstrating during Pope's visit in Oct. 1989.

made by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. [*AFP*, 18/9/1991] The statement led Antonio da Sousa Lara, chair of Portugal's Special Parliamentary Commission on East Timor, who is almost certain to lead the mission, to warn that if such remarks continue to be made, the MPs would not go.

Alatas has meanwhile insinuated that the Portuguese MPs are not the ones who really matter. They will be accompanied by UN officials who are bound to be "objective", not like the Portuguese. Mario Carrascalao picked up this theme when he spoke of these UN envoys as being "independent", the ones who will "tell the world about the facts as they see them."

High risk for Jakarta

But why is Jakarta playing such high stakes? The desire to end the matter once and for all is very strong. East Timor haunts Indonesia on almost every international arena. *The Independent* (London) recently described East Timor as the 'shackles round the neck of Ali Alatas' in his bid to get the

job of UN Secretary-General. Now that Suharto has won the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement, the last thing he wants is for East Timor to become an issue at the summit conference in Jakarta next year. The army faction most strongly opposed to the visit and against any kowtowing to international opinion, is centred around Defence Minister Benny Murdani; it is losing out in its battle to keep control of East Timor's economy [A recent regulation by the governor permitting coffee producers to sell their crops to buyers outside the territory sidesteps the army monopoly for the first time since 1975.] Hence this obstacle appears to have been removed.

Details of the visit

The Terms of Reference for the visit, announced by the UN in New York, provide for the visit to last 10 to 12 days. It will take place during the dry season (which means not later than mid November). There will be 13 MPs and 13 assistants, ten journalists from each side, plus 12 foreign journalists, six selected by each side. An unspecified number of UN representatives will also go along. [Alatas has claimed these would be ambassadors at the UN who have not supported East Timor.] Specifically, the document says that the realisation of the visit "shall in no way be construed as prejudicing the respective positions of the parties with regard to the substance of the question". It also seeks to safeguard the East Timorese:

The Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall be free to meet whomever it wishes and anyone who wishes to meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation will be allowed to do so. No action, including of a security nature, may be taken by the Indonesian authorities that could prejudice any potential or actual contacts. Individuals who meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall not be made to suffer any adverse consequences as a result of those contacts.

A terrifying scenario

A report received last month from clandestine East Timor sources describes preparations under way by the army to destabilise the situation.

Three groups are undergoing intensive training:

* *Regu Gelap* ['underground team'], composed of guerrilla forces who have surrendered or been captured. Its task is to capture Xanana Gusmao, alive or dead, before or during the visit. The members of this group have been forced to take part on pain of death. The security forces hope to show the world that Xanana was captured or killed not by Indonesian troops but by his own forces. The members of this group have been coached on how to answer questions they may be asked by domestic or foreign journalists.

* *Regu Railakan* [Lightning Team] composed of younger, less well educated people who are being trained to stage disturbances, agitation and acts of terror before and during the visit. This group is led by Tome Filipe Gama and will also include Indonesian soldiers.

* *Regu Ninja/Petrus* [masked men who strike mysteriously; Petrus stands for 'mysterious marksmen', recalling the death squads which operated in Indonesia in 1983/1984.] It consists of Indonesian soldiers who patrol the streets of Dili late into the night and raid peoples' homes. Members are armed with small automatic pistols, walky-talkies, night-

EAST TIMOR

binoculars and powerful video cameras as well as other offensive weapons to strike terror among the people. They will carry out 'mysterious killings', capturing anyone they meet on the streets of the capital, who will be taken to places like Taci-Tolo to be slain and buried without trace.

Three other teams will be formed of various people, including from the province of Nusa Tenggara Timor and elsewhere, preferably those who can speak Tetum. One group will be supplied with caps, banners and flags bearing the Fretilin symbol (large quantities are now being manufactured) to greet the parliamentary mission shouting slogans in favour of integration. Another two groups of similar elements but reinforced by members of the Indonesian army will provoke disturbances and terror among the people, causing physical clashes with the first group. When these disturbances occur, security forces will intervene to remove the Portuguese parliamentarians to places of safety, to protect them against mortal injury as the rival groups fight it out.

By provoking disturbances, the Indonesians hope to show the MPs that the East Timorese are politically immature and that independence would plunge the country into turmoil. Meanwhile, security forces will be present in force to monitor and photograph genuine supporters of independence. All the regional and local towns and villages will be heavily patrolled by Indonesian troops. People from various parts of the country who set out for Dili to welcome the parliamentarians will be stopped and forced to return home.

The army commander in Dili has asked Jakarta to produce a huge quantity of Fretilin caps, flags and banners for distribution free of charge to the population and to people in neighbouring provinces. The idea is to create the impression, during the visit, that the entire people, including Fretilin supporters, have freely opted for integration.

Anyone suspected of opposing the forces of occupation will be taken into custody so as to intimidate the population before the visit. After the parliamentarians leave, there will be systematic executions of those suspected of opposing Indonesia. ★

Carrascalao warns civil servants

Civil servants in East Timor have been warned to keep control of their children during the visit of Portuguese MPs mission or risk losing their jobs. The veiled threat was made by Governor Mario Carrascalao, speaking to several thousand government employees in Dili on 27 September. A tape of the speech is in our possession.

"If you can't control your own children, how can you be a good servant of the state? Anyone who can't control his children clearly can't perform his duties to the state."

Carrascalao called the mission a "UN mission", stressing that it would "observe, not investigate". Observe means seeing things as they are; investigate means looking for bad things to suggest improvements. "But, however bad the results of their observation, it will not alter East Timor's status as an Indonesian province," he said.

East Timor: Diplomacy roundup

US Senate: 'Solve E Timor conflict!'

On 29 July 1991, the US Senate adopted a decision calling on the US Administration to address "the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor". The amendment to the Foreign Appropriations Bill was proposed by Democrat Senator Claiborne Pell (Dem. Rhode Island), chair of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee and supported by Senator Malcolm Wallop (Rep. Wyoming), Senator John Kerry (Dem. Massachusetts), Senator Paul Simon (Dem. Illinois), Senator Carl Levin (Dem. Michigan), Senator Daniel Moynihan (Dem. New York), Senator Dave Durrenberger (Rep. Minnesota) and Senator Jesse Helms (Rep. N. Carolina):

a. The Congress finds that,

(1) at least 100,000 individuals out of a population of nearly 700,000 perished in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor between 1975 and 1980, as a result of war-related killings, famine and disease following the invasion of that territory by Indonesia;

(2) Amnesty International and other international human rights organisations continue to report evidence in East Timor of human rights violations, including torture, arbitrary arrest, and repression of freedom of expression;

(3) serious medical, nutritional and humanitarian problems persist in East Timor;

(4) a state of conflict continues to exist in East Timor; and

(5) the governments of Portugal and Indonesia have conducted discussions since 1982 under the auspices of the United Nations to find an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor conflict.

b. It is the sense of the Congress that,

(1) the President should urge the Government of Indonesia to take action to end all forms of human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor;

(2) the President should encourage the Government of Indonesia to facilitate the work of international human rights organisations and other groups seeking to monitor human rights conditions in East Timor and to cooperate with international humanitarian relief and development organisations seeking to work in East Timor; and

(3) that the administration should work with the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia, Portugal, and other involved parties to develop policies to address the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor.

The amendment will go to the 'Conference' between the Senate and the House of Representatives to finalise the contents of the Bill before its formal adoption.

Even ambassadors face press coverups

Following a meeting with Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the Udayana/IXth military command, whose territory includes East Timor, the British Ambassador to Indonesia, Roger Carrick was said to have "praised the

accomplishments" of the Udayana Command and Kolakops, the special military command in East Timor. [*Merdeka*, quoting *Antara*, 11/7/1991]

According to the Indonesian Embassy in London, "the Ambassador met the Commander to discuss economic, social and human rights issues... in early July and seemed greatly satisfied with details given and especially those on the subject of human rights in East Timor". [*Indonesian News*, 15 July 1991]

TAPOL checked the report with the Foreign Office and was told on 14 August: "The Indonesian Embassy release, which mirrors an earlier press report in the Indonesian media itself, may have given rise to a misunderstanding. (Our Embassy in Jakarta has written to the newspaper concerned.) The Military Commander explained his view that the human rights situation had improved in recent years and the Ambassador took note."

TAPOL asked the Foreign Office for a copy of the press clipping of the Ambassador's letter. In reply, the Foreign Office wrote on 28 August: "On the conversation between HM Ambassador and Major-General Sintong, the Bali newspaper is well aware of our Embassy's account of the meeting but did not publish any reference to it."

Ambassador will not visit East Timor

The Indonesian press also announced that the military commander had invited the British Ambassador to visit East Timor. Asked by TAPOL whether the Ambassador had plans to visit East Timor, the Foreign Office replied: "The Ambassador has no plans to visit East Timor. This is consistent with the Government policy of not recognising the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia."

IPB supports East Timor

The Annual General Assembly of the International Peace Bureau held in Toronto in September 1991, adopted the following resolution:

That the International Peace Bureau support a campaign on East Timor, for i) a ceasefire in East Timor, leading to peace talks without preconditions, under United Nations auspices, between Indonesia and the Timorese resistance movement; ii) a ban on all arms sales to Indonesia.

The resolution was sponsored by ACT for Disarmament (Toronto) and the East Timor Alert Network of Canada. The International Peace Bureau has more than 100 members is the world's oldest non-aligned international peace organisation.

Horta appointed CNRM external spokesperson

Jose Ramos Horta, for many years Fretilin representative at the UN, has been appointed external representative of the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM). His mandate from the CNRM leader, Xanana Gusmao says that he "is mandated to represent the CNRM in all matters in the field of diplomacy with governments, parliaments, UN organisations, as well as all inter-governmental organisations and non-government organisations". ★

Timorese workers stand up for their rights

Efforts by East Timorese workers to be treated according to promises made when they agreed to take jobs in Batam has led to one death, to intimidation and to the censoring of news about their complaints.

When *Yayasan Tiara*, a labour recruitment agency owned by Siti 'Mbak Tutut' Hardiyanti Rukmana, President Suharto's oldest daughter, persuaded unemployed East Timorese workers to take jobs in Batam industrial estate after getting three months' job training in Jakarta, it was obvious that the authorities wanted to defuse political tensions in East Timor where unemployment is high and dissatisfaction with Indonesian rule is widespread, especially among the youth. The agency promised them Rp 300,000 a month, far higher than the wages paid to most factory workers in Java.

Several hundred Timorese accepted the offer, hoping to remit money home to help their families. What they got was a course on how not cause trouble and given jobs in factories in Bandung, Bogor and various parts of Central Java, for monthly salaries of around Rp 40,000 with deductions for lodging, accommodation and transport. They were also harassed and physically attacked by Indonesians accusing them of 'ingratitude' for complaining.

Taking on The Family

A delegation which went to complain to Tutut Rukmana was turned away and told to sign a statement expressing satisfaction with their conditions. As things grew worse, many want to go home but were told their return fares would not be paid until they had worked for three years.

Their decision to challenge these injustices was fraught with danger because taking on *Yayasan Tiara* means enraging Suharto and his rapacious daughter. Tutut often poses as having a social conscience and has a number of 'social' and 'cultural' projects in East Timor.

A visit to the DPR backfires

On 30 August, thirty workers took their complaints to the Legislative Assembly (DPR) and met members of the DPR. Grant us the conditions we were promised or give us the money to pay our fares back to East Timor, said spokesperson, **Ojorio Florindo**. A statement by 65 workers said the *Yayasan* had forced them to sign a declaration expressing satisfaction with conditions.

Besides those recruited by the *Yayasan*, 283 recruited by the Manpower Department and promised jobs in Batam, got in jobs in Surabaya, Bali and Jakarta, said Nunu Lopes. Others told the MPs they had been maltreated by soldiers after complaining about conditions, at a training centre in of *Kopassus*, the para-commandos, in Cijantung, W. Java.

The MPs treated the East Timorese cordially, promising to raise their complaints in a hearing with the Department and the army chief; they would also consider holding a special hearing with the *Yayasan*. [*Jakarta Post*, 31/8/1991]

Next day, tragedy struck when one of the thirty, **Alfredo da Costa**, was knocked down and killed while jogging early in the morning [see box]. Another, **Luis Maria Lopes** was taken into custody by *Kopassus* and released a few days later, his face covered with bruises.

No autopsy for Timorese victim

Alfredo da Costa, born in Lospalos on 22 September 1966, died after being knocked down by a vehicle on 31 August 1991. Alfredo was at the training centre of the para-commandos' unit, *Kopassus*, in Cijantung, West Java. He was knocked down at 4.30 am as he and two friends were out jogging.

A witness named Angelo who washed Alfredo's body at the Cipto General Hospital in Jakarta testified that apart from some bumps on the victim's head, there were no other injuries, not even minor ones, on the body.

On 3 September, a relative who had just heard of the death went to the hospital for the autopsy, but was told the hospital had been prevented from carrying out an autopsy.

Alfredo's body was flown back to Dili on 2 September. His colleagues live in fear that such an "accident" could happen again.

A few days after the protest, a different group of East Timorese visited the DPR contradicting the first group. **Justina Gusmao Goulart** said: "We would not dream of... protesting again *Tiara* Foundation which has done so much for us." [*Straits Times*, 6/9/1991]

Tempo report blanked out

Efforts to rebut the workers' protest intensified when Jakarta's leading political weekly, *Tempo*, withdrew an item on the affair in its issue of 7 September. It went to press with the contents page announcing a national news section item about "some young East Timorese brought to Jakarta who were facing uncertainty after being promised good jobs. They made a complaint to the DPR." This was next to a photo of the workers seated at a table in the DPR building. But there was no report, only two blank columns on page 26. Two weeks later, *Tempo* published a letter from Paulo H. Ximenes, an East Timorese student in Salatiga, asking what happened to the item. The editorial reply? "Our apologies. There were technical difficulties."

In a further twist to the affair, East Timorese collaborators like **Francisco Lopez da Cruz** and DPR members, **Soares** and **Amaral**, told the workers "not to ask for special treatment". This was at a meeting called by the Manpower Department to which the workers had been summoned.

Several Timorese used the occasion to publicise their

problems. Nunu Vicente P.S. said he had quit his job at PT Lili Permata because he received only Rp 2,100 a day. "We used the money for meals, for buying water for bathing and drinking and for our daily needs. Do you think we can live with that small money in Jakarta?" When he complained, "I was beaten by an army officer. I was afraid. Can you help me?" He told *Jakarta Post*: "They promised to train us for three months but they only taught us to march like soldiers for two weeks".

A press photo of the meeting shows several of them seated, heads bowed low and in obvious distress; one has his head close to his knees and is holding a tissue in his hands. [*Jakarta Post*, 16/9/1991] The Indonesian press coverage suggests that the Timorese won sympathy for standing up for their rights. *Tempo's* decision to publish a letter complaining about censorship may have been a sign of its own regrets at having let the workers down. ★

Page 26 of *Tempo's* 7 September issue, with two empty columns. The editors later blamed it on 'technical problems'.



Mecky Salosa "found dead"

OPM leader and life-term political prisoner Melkianus 'Mecky' Salosa is dead. His cell-mate Sokrates Yerisitouw, another political prisoner, is also reported to be dead. The circumstances surrounding their deaths suggest that despite recent attempts to show that prisoners are dealt with according to the law, extra-judicial execution is alive and kicking in West Papua.

The first news of the death of Mecky Salosa came when AP, AFP and Reuter reports from Jakarta said that Salosa was found dead somewhere near the Indonesian-PNG border on 20 August. He had allegedly escaped from Waena military prison on 4 August. Major-General Abinowo, commander of the regional military command based in Jayapura, said the body was "in an advanced stage of decomposition" and was identified by his teeth and by another OPM member. "We did not shoot him", Abinowo said. "He became increasingly ill while hiding in the forest because he did not have enough food and because of the cruelty of nature." This explanation defies belief; Salosa has spent years in the bush and was well accustomed to its rigours.

Abinowo also said that another OPM member, Sokrates Yerisitouw who escaped with Salosa by sawing the bars in their cell, surrendered to the authorities on 16 August. [*AFP*, August 21, *Reuter*, August 22 1991] Yerisitouw, a former police corporal was serving a 13-year sentence for distributing copies of "West Melanesia", a patriotic song, to high school pupils in late 1989.

Staged escape

Major-General Abinowo's version has been challenged by independent sources in Jayapura. According to military informants in Jayapura, Salosa and his cell-mate Sokrates Yerisitouw, escaped from Waena Prison on 11 August. They made their escape through a door in the roof of their cell, then through a barred window and over a 4 - 5 metre wall. Yerisitouw was reported to have been recaptured after



*OPM guerrillas in the bush
[photo by Claudio von Planta]*

one day. At this time, much helicopter activity was reported in the hills in the Jayapura area. Major-General Abinowo reportedly gave orders to shoot Salosa on sight and ordered that the policemen (3 - 5 men) on duty at the time of the escape assist in the search and face dismissal if Salosa was not found in three days. Independent sources note, however, that a leading OPM political prisoner, apparently in ill-health, could hardly escape from a military prison without assistance from the authorities or prison guards.

Salosa and Yerisitouw are both dead, according to this source. The bodies were left at Tanah Hitam, a place near Kampung Tiba-Tiba, in Kota Raja, Jayapura. Tanah Hitam is adjacent to an office used by paracommandos unit, Kopassus, a plain-clothes intelligence-gathering unit linked to Bakin, the central intelligence agency in Jakarta. The actual date on which the two men died is not known.

People in Jayapura believe that the escape of Salosa and Yerisitouw was arranged by the military to legitimise their executions. The sources suggest that Yerisitouw may have acted as a police informant after his capture by the military.

The case has many similarities to the execution of Arnold Ap on 26 April 1984. The untried West Papuan artist and anthropologist died after being shot by Indonesian troops following an alleged escape. Perhaps, as with the 'escape' of Arnold Ap, the true story behind the deaths of Salosa and Yerisitouw will gradually be pieced together.

PNG responsibility

Mecky Salosa was forcibly deported from Papua New Guinea in June 1990 amid a wave of protest. He had been in PNG custody and had just been acquitted of a charge of illegal entry when his deportation was ordered and immediately implemented before his lawyer had time to seek an injunction. As a known OPM leader, it was feared at the time that he would either be immediately killed by the Indonesian authorities or sentenced to death. His trial for subversion began on 8 January 1991 and on 18 March he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

There have been several reports of his maltreatment before and since his trial, but it has been impossible to substantiate these reports owing to lack of access.

On August 28, TAPOL wrote to Rabbie Namaliu, PNG premier, calling on his government to urge the Indonesian Government to allow an independent investigation to look into the circumstances of Salosa's death.

When Salosa was forcibly deported from your country in July last year, this organisation along with many others protested that his life was at risk as a result of his deportation, considering that he was a known leader of the Free Papua Movement. Six months after he was handed over to the Indonesian authorities, he was put on trial and given a life sentence, after proceedings which did not allow him to conduct a proper defence.

Your Government must bear some responsibility for Salosa's death. In view of the conflicting reports now being received, along with the indisputable fact that Salosa would not now be dead had he not been deported, we feel that the only principled way for you to respond is to press Jakarta for an independent inquiry into the circumstances of his death.

TAPOL also urged the British Government and members of the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities to call for an independent enquiry into the deaths.

Amnesty action

In an Urgent Action, Amnesty International expressed concern that the two men may have been the victims of extrajudicial execution and called for an immediate investigation into the circumstances of Mecky Salosa's death and clarification of the fate of Sokrates Yerisitouw.

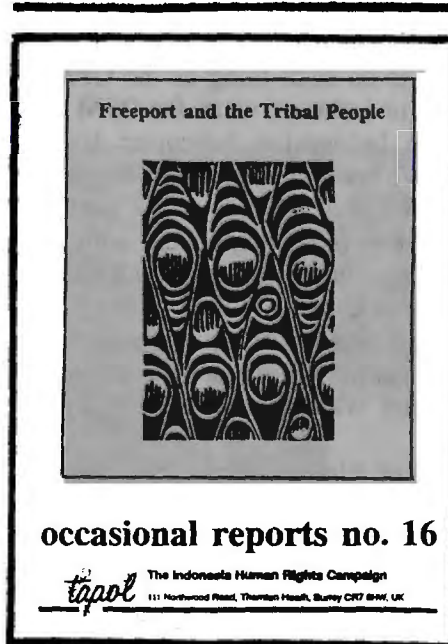
Amnesty also provides more details about Salosa's death. On finding Salosa dead, the military authorities reported that the body was identified by Yerisitouw, who had informed them of Salosa's whereabouts, then buried immediately as it had begun to decompose. They claimed that the family had refused to take the body but this could not be independently confirmed, according to Amnesty. "Questions have been raised about the haste of with which the body was buried and the lack of rigorous evident in conducting post-mortem investigations."

Unofficial sources cited by the organisation said the corpse said to be that of Mecky Salosa was little more than a skeleton when it was discovered on August 20, nine days after he was said to have died. The corpse bore no trace of having been disturbed by wild animals as might have been expected in the jungle. "This evidence suggests", says Amnesty, "that Salosa may have died some time earlier, possibly while still in military custody". ★

Court upholds West Papuans' sentences

The Indonesian Supreme Court has reversed a court of appeal's decision which had reduced the jail terms of four political prisoners. The Court reinstated the jail sentences of Ik Yoran, (sentenced to 13 years), Habel Tanati (11 years), Pilemon Kambu (9 years) and Rumbiak (17 years). A provincial court of appeal had earlier reduced the sentences by between five and six years.

The four were originally jailed in August 1990 for "expressing sympathy to an enemy of the Republic of Indonesia". They were arrested in December 1989 in possession of 32 T-shirts emblazoned with the flag of the "free state of Western Melanesia". [Wire 2 August, 1991] ★



Occasional Reports No. 16 contains three investigative articles from *Tifa Irian*, the Jayapura newspaper, examining Freeport's treatment of tribal people driven from their land, to make way for a copper mine.

Price incl. postage: £1.00

The OPM and Falintil on television

The OPM tells its story

A one-hour film about the OPM, the Free Papua Movement, made in the bush in the south-east region of West Papua, was shown on Channel Four, Britain's leading commercial TV, on 2 September at peak viewing time. The film, "Rebels of the Forgotten World", follows the activities of several OPM battalions, commanded by Bernard Mawen, showing villages that have been attacked by Indonesian troops and the conditions under which OPM guerrillas and their families live. It records the aspirations of the OPM guerrillas in their own words, calling for support from the outside world in their struggle against the Indonesian colonisers who now occupy their country.

The film was made by Claudio von Planta, a Swiss cameraman who spent five months in the bush in 1989. He was flown in by Theo Frey, the pilot who was recently tried in absentia for illegal entry by an Indonesian court. The plane that brought von Planta and his heavy equipment into West Papua landed on an airstrip built by the guerrillas; it had to be abandoned when it became embedded in thick mud. Frey left West Papua by foot. After five months of filming, von Planta was spirited out of West Papua by a helicopter that flew in from Australia to pick him up, using another specially-built airstrip, built after another airstrip had to be abandoned because Indonesian aircraft were circling the area.

The film also includes footage made by another film crew which entered West Papua legally, with interviews of Major-General Abinowo, the Indonesian military commander of Irian Jaya, Bas Sueba, the governor of Irian Jaya and Javanese transmigrants comfortably settled in Arso, near Jayapura. The contrast between the two worlds could hardly be greater. How can the well-armed, arrogant Indonesian soldiers, convinced of the righteousness of their war against 'disruptor gangs', understand the motivation of OPM guerrillas armed with a few Second World War rifles and bows and arrows, fighting against such tremendous odds to defend their land and livelihood? By interposing shots from the two types of footage, the film destroys the Indonesian myth that there is no such thing as the OPM.

There is plenty of drama, for instance, when the OPM unit beats a hasty retreat as an Indonesian helicopter hovers above their encampment. "We must do everything to protect our journalist," say the guerrillas, as they wade through swamps, carrying the water-proof containers with his precious equipment inside. Another scene records the story of a woman whose husband was killed during an Indonesian ambush. As she speaks, a colleague displays the bones of her husband and another West Papuan; one skull is still recognisable, the other was shattered to bits by an Indonesian bullet.

The film is one of a series of films entitled, "The 'Savage' Strikes Back", made by Nexus Films, in collaboration with Survival International. It may soon be shown on Australia, Canadian and Spanish television, and possibly also in the Netherlands.

A deal has been made with Television Trust for the Environment to supply copies of the video to NGOs in third

world countries and minimal cost. NGOs elsewhere will be asked to pay a little more. Write for more information to: TVE, 24 Scala Street, London W1P 1LU, mentioning the video system you need.

Xanana Gusmao on video

A few weeks before the showing of the OPM film, another major media event took place in Japan with the release by the Japan Free East Timor! Coalition of a 14-minute video film made in East Timor. Following an introduction by armed resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, at his guerrilla headquarters in Bunaria, the camera moves to the interior to show guerrilla encampments, a scene of guerrillas finding clean water, eating and cleaning their firearms. Parts of the video were shown on major Japanese TV stations and on the UK's Independent Television News.

The video includes a lengthy interview of Xanana in which he makes an appeal to the Japanese government to use its influence to press the Indonesian government to enter into peace talks without pre-conditions, under UN auspices. Xanana also sent a message to the UN (which was later delivered to the UN Decolonisation Committee in New York on 7 August). One shot at Xanana's headquarters shows a table covered with books and documents received from outside; among the publications is the February 1991 issue of *TAPOL Bulletin*, a copy of Jose Ramos Horta's book, *Funu*, and a copy of TAPOL's Occasional Reports No 14 which reproduces the 10 UN resolutions on East Timor.

There are several longer videos filmed on the same occasion. One has been shown to members of *Parliamentarians for East Timor* in Canberra. Another consists of a 50-minute interview of Xanana, answering questions which had been smuggled into the interior from the leading Lisbon daily, *Publico*. The full interview appears across four pages in the 6 September issue of the newspaper. ★



Filmer von Planta amidst OPM guerrillas

Book review

John Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor*. ZED Books, London, 1991. 222 pp.

Casting my mind back ten years, I can remember how dispiriting it was scanning the bookshops for an authoritative account of Indonesia's war against East Timor. There were only two books available back then, Jill Jolliffe's description of events leading up to – but not beyond – the invasion, and John Taylor's previous effort, published by TAPOL in 1979, which was unavoidably patchy because of the lack of information coming out of East Timor. That this situation has now improved is a tribute to the determination of Fretilin and the East Timorese to break through the wall of silence put around them by Indonesia. You can now find a respectable number of books on East Timor, of which John Taylor's latest is probably the best.

For a start, it is up to date, covering developments like the growing civilian opposition movement and the demonstrations against Indonesian rule during visits by the Pope and the US ambassador in 1989 and 1990. But it also draws on a number of new sources, including recent testimony by refugees, to fill out what we already knew about the earlier years of the war. There is more here, for example, on the origins of the East Timorese political parties, and the mistrust and confusion among them that helped Indonesia's task of derailing the decolonisation process. The manipulations by Indonesia's intelligence chiefs are fully exposed, as is the extraordinary appeasement of then Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, whose blatant approval finally convinced Suharto – whose attitude the book suggests was ambivalent – that he would get away with the invasion. The Portuguese role comes in for criticism too: the confusion of the colonial regime in 1975 was perhaps understandable, but the failure of the Portuguese to do anything while the East Timorese were being annihilated during the five years after the invasion, was not, and even the greater efforts made by Lisbon to raise the issue over the past decade are described here as "too little, too late".

The tragic years following the invasion are familiar enough from previous books – Fretilin's initially successful

resistance, Indonesia's encirclement and annihilation campaign, and the terrible toll exacted on the East Timorese people. But there is more testimony here from refugees, with particularly good accounts of Indonesia's misuse of US aid and the transformation of the Catholic Church from an ally of the colonial regime before 1974, to a champion of the East Timorese under Indonesia's occupation.

The breakdown of the book into a mixture of chronological and thematic chapters works well: key events like the ceasefire sought by Indonesia in 1983 are covered in detail, but punctuated by explanations of the different methods Indonesia uses to maintain its occupation, from the all-out war of the late 1970s to the control of East Timor's economy by military monopolies today. John Taylor was gone to some lengths to make his book accessible and readable and even the dense text should not deter casual readers – which is important because there is little point preaching to the converted.

Throughout the book, we are reminded that the compliance of Australia and the US in particular, as the two countries most able to influence Jakarta, was motivated not just by a desire for good relations with Indonesia but by self-interest as well; the importance of Timor's Ombai-Wetar straits for US nuclear submarines and Australia's interest in exploiting oil reserves in East Timor's territorial waters.

Of course, the invasion occurred during the cynical 70s, when Henry Kissinger and his Soviet counterparts treated every regional conflict as an arena for superpower competition. Today, after the cold war, many of those conflicts, in Eritrea, Angola, even El Salvador, are nearing resolution, with self-determination and human rights suddenly part of the diplomatic vocabulary again.

John Taylor calls East Timor a forgotten war, and in their triumphalism after the cold war and the Gulf war, the West's leaders do indeed appear to have forgotten that in East Timor, they have unfinished business to attend to. ★

Jeremy Smithers

UK Defence Minister in Indonesia

Tom King, the British Secretary of State for Defence, visited Indonesia in September. This follows a Memorandum on the co-production of Hawk ground-attack aircraft, signed between British Aerospace and IPTN, Indonesia's aerospace industry, during a visit to London by IPTN chief, Dr Habibie (now being treated in Germany, after a serious heart attack).

During King's visit to IPTN in Bandung, it was announced that negotiations were under way on the nature of the collaboration. BAe would prefer to sub-contract while IPTN wants a licencing system, as it has with aerospace industries in other countries. It was also revealed that BAe has given IPTN the job of producing parts for 20 land-to-air Rapier missiles sold to Indonesia. [*Jakarta Post*, 23/9/1991]

King also visited Indonesia's eastern naval fleet base in Surabaya. [*AFP*, 19/9/1991, forwarded by reg.indonesia]★

ARMS SALES

Tom King and his Indonesian counterpart General Murdani.



Dam victims take protest to Japan

In September, representatives of villagers fighting a US \$290 million Japan-funded dam spoke at a press conference in Tokyo and presented their complaints to the project's funders.

Siti Baheram and her uncle Rachmat, members of a residents' committee opposed to the dam, said that the Koto Panjang Dam, construction of which will start in 1992, will displace thousands of landowners without full compensation. The Japan International Cooperation Agency said 13,907 people will need relocating, but the Foreign Ministry put the figure at 22,000. Ten villages will be submerged on 124 square kilometres of land in Riau, Sumatra. Scheduled for completion in 1996 it will produce 114 Megawatts of electricity.

Indonesian project planners, said Siti Baheram, had not complied with three requirements of the Japanese government for assistance for the dam; that families affected should individually accept relocation, that affected communities should be involved in fixing land prices, and that wildlife, including rare Sumatran elephants, should be well treated and not have their populations reduced.

She said the Indonesian government did not consult local people till last year when Japan introduced the requirements, but is pressing people to sign statements that they agree with the project. "Not all families signed, but the government claimed they did. Some people were told that if they did not sign, they would get no compensation and no housing in the new settlement."

If the dam proceeds, thousands will be forcibly relocated to a new village on a former rubber plantation, taken from its owners without compensation. "It is not just the fault of the Indonesian government," Baheram said, "but also of ... the Japanese government, if they intend to fund the project without considering the people's rights."

This was confirmed by Kazuo Sumi, professor of international law at Yokohama City University and spokesman for a group of Japanese who support the Indonesian opponents of the project. He said the Japanese government relies on Indonesian government assurances about local residents' approval. Japanese funding agencies have not assessed the environmental impact and have not independently assessed the wishes of local people. The Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo refused to comment. [Kyodo 10/9/91]

Ignored at home

The protesters' reception in Japan contrasts with the way their case has been handled in Indonesia. According to Kyodo, the two villagers were to meet officials of Japan's Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, the Foreign Ministry and the Economic Planning Department. In Jakarta, protestors could not meet General (ret'd) Rudini, Minister for Home Affairs. A villagers' delegation representing 700 farmers, accompanied by five students from the Solidarity Committee for Koto Panjang Residents, was refused entry to the Department by security officers.

The Koto Panjang farmers had presented a petition signed by over 700 local people to members of the DPR which said they would only get Rp 30 (less than US\$0.01) per square meter of land. The government acquisition team had set "shamefully cheap" prices for plants - \$2.1 for a

coconut tree and \$1.05 for a rubber tree. "We have seen the resettlement areas," said one farmer "and they were not fit for human beings. The houses look like pens for goats".

Another Kedung Ombo

Minister Rudini alleged that a 'third party' was involved in the protests and said negotiations on compensation had been satisfactory. But he must be wondering whether this would be Indonesia's next Kedung Ombo - the dispute over the World Bank-funded Kedung Ombo dam in Central Java.

Said Minister of Mining and Energy Ginandjar Kartasasmita, after the Jakarta protests: "The government doesn't want Kedung Ombo repeated in Koto Panjang." Japan too, will not be happy. The conditions set by Japan are said to be based on lessons learnt at Kedung Ombo, when its Exim Bank got into hot water in Tokyo and overseas, over its cash contribution. It remains to be seen whether it will live up to its declarations of concern for victims of the project, or whether it will be content, like the World Bank, to take the Indonesian government's word and consign another community to the list of development disasters.

The farmers say bulldozing of their land began 6 months ago, despite protests. They want the project reconsidered and construction to stop until all problems are solved: "We don't want the same fate as our friends in Kedung Ombo".



East Timor: Repression and Resistance, A Review of the 15th Year of Indonesian Occupation. 36-pages. This excellent publication makes effective use of the many testimonies and photos from East Timor about torture, arrests and harassment. Available from *Peace is Possible in East Timor*, rua de Campolide 215 - 4D, 1000 Lisbon, Portugal. Normal price: \$3.00. Support price: \$10.00.

Subscriptions

Annual rates (six issues)	UK	Europe & overseas (air only)
Individuals	£12.00	£12.00
Institutions	£18.00	£18.00

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\$30.00

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