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# Massacres and public executions in Aceh

*More atrocities are occurring in Aceh. The mass murder of dozens of detainees has been reported in the Dutch press, while Reuter filed a report of public executions of alleged members of the "Free Aceh Movement" by Indonesian soldiers. Subversion trials have led to heavy sentences and over a hundred Acehese boat people have fled to Malaysia to escape Indonesian military brutality. In many parts of Aceh, the streets are deserted after 8.00pm. An atmosphere of fear and terror prevails.*

On 1 June, a Dutch journalist published accounts of two mass murders in Aceh. One occurred on 12 September 1990 on the road from Bireuen to Takengon at the 25km marker. A truck carrying 56 detainees from Rancong Prison, Lhokseumawe came to a halt. The detainees were forced to alight and were shot with M16s; their bodies were thrown down a ravine. Villagers discovered them 3 days later. Another massacre occurred on the 'KKA' road (named after the paper factory, *Kertas Kraft Aceh*) along which pine logs are transported to the coast for the production of cement-bags. Last December, a Javanese transmigrant working as a truck driver was shot dead. In April, a truck with 41 men and women drove to a point 30km from Takengon. The victims alighted and were shot dead. Local people insist that the murders were the work of army murder squads wearing civilian clothing. [NRC *Handelsblad*, 1 June]

On 15 May, *Reuter* reported extrajudicial killings by the Indonesian military, quoting a resident of Sigli: "On Saturday night (May 4) they shot five people in public in Sigli in front of everyone. I saw it with my own eyes."

Killings by the military have been going on for months but public executions are a new departure. For months corpses have been found on the roadside or half buried but public executions are more intimidatory. Pidie district is in a state of war; there is a night curfew and citizens need written permission to leave the district.

## Thousands of victims

Armed conflict between Indonesian troops and the GPK (*Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan*, 'security disturbance gangs') ie, Aceh Freedom Movement, has been going on for almost two years. Brig.General Nurhadi, spokesman of ABRI, the Indonesian armed forces, claims that 'GPK' activities have stopped but events belie this. Indonesia refuses to allow international human rights organisations to visit the region and has even refused the International Red Cross access. *Reuter* and *The Economist* mention at least 2,000 killings, the majority perpetrated by the army. The present killings are more or less indiscriminate [*Asiaweek* 4 April 1991].

The Acehese have a long history of resistance. The Acehese have a reputation for tenacity. In the last 18 months many Indonesian servicemen and police informants have been killed, gagged and mutilated. The conflict has many aspects; an ugly feature is the racial conflict between Acehese and Javanese. Innocent Javanese migrants have been killed because they take local jobs and land. Indonesian soldiers, predominantly Javanese, have used such incidents to justify brutality.

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By contrast with the armed resistance in East Timor, a half island that is isolated from the outside world, Aceh has many routes to mainland Asia and it is a public secret that GAM followers use Malaysia or other Asian countries as safe havens.

## The Acehnese boat people

The present situation has disrupted life in many villages with villagers afraid to work in the fields; many have sought temporary refuge in the mountainous areas. For villagers living along the coast there is another way out, fleeing by boat to Malaysia. Many dozens have managed to reach the beaches of Penang after breaching the tight control of Indonesian patrol boats along the coasts of Aceh.

The first batch of 51 refugees arrived on 15 April 1991 in Telok Bahang Beach followed by 31 who landed at Tanjong Tokong Beach also in Penang. Smaller groups managed to find their way to Malaysia, bring the total to 113 (the official figure given to TAPOL by the Malaysian High Commission in London). They include many women and children and all have asked for refugee status, an unprecedented situation in the Indonesia-Malaysia relationship. In the past Indonesian Muslim activists went to Malaysia to escape the clutches of the Indonesian intelligence but went underground without seeking asylum.

No doubt, many more would have followed the 113 but Indonesian security forces were quick to reinforce patrols, closing off the waters. Fishermen have even been forbidden to take out their boats.

## UNHCR denied access

The condition of the 113 boat people is bad; they are being held in police stations and detention lock-ups. Defying well-established international practice, the Malaysian government has refused to allow UNHCR officials in Kuala Lumpur to meet the refugees. At first, Malaysian authorities seemed to be quite sympathetic towards the new arrivals but pressure from Jakarta led to a change in the official stance. Malaysian Deputy Foreign Minister, Datuk Abdullah Fadzil Che Wan said: *"We do not recognise their plea for political asylum and have decided to deport them"* (*New Straits Times*, 23 April 1991).

## TAPOL's urgent action

The next day, TAPOL launched an urgent action directed towards Malaysian embassies in different countries, urging Malaysia not to deport the refugees and to give immediate access for the UNHCR to the refugees. The Commonwealth Secretary-General in London was also asked to intervene.

In London the action was supported by SIMBA (Singapore & Malaysia Britain Association) and PSG (Philippine Support Group). A delegation visited the Malaysian High Commission to express concern for the fate of the refugees. At the moment of writing the situation has not changed. The Malaysian High Commission in London has disclosed only that talks are going on between Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta. Though the boat people are still in Malaysia, the UNHCR has still not been allowed to meet the refugees.

## The trials in Aceh

With fear and intimidation prevailing in Aceh, a series of subversion trials began in courts in Aceh and in Medan. In

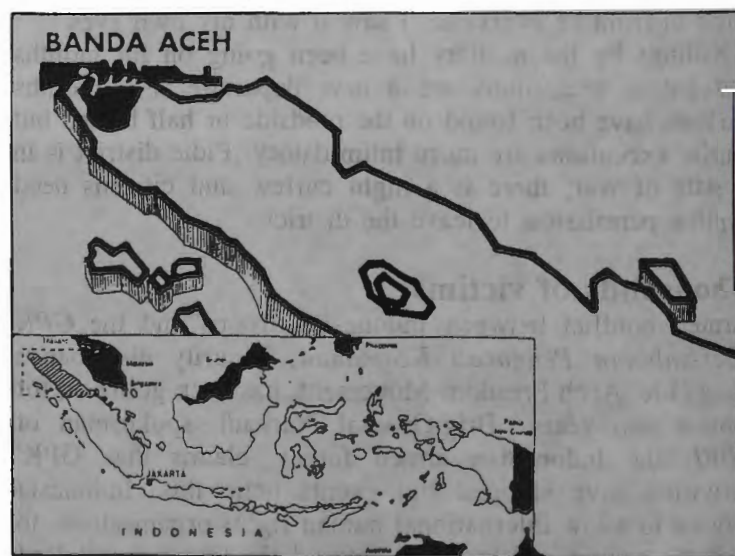
all, 24 trials have been announced and by mid May seventeen alleged 'GPK' suspects had been put on trial. Of the 24, 10 are being held in Banda Aceh, 3 in Langsa, 5 in Lhokseumawe, and 6 in Medan.

Four trials started on 16 March followed by another four on 20 March; others followed in quick succession. It is no coincidence that the trials were held during the Ramadhan fasting period, when things are likely to be very quiet. By the second week of May, 17 verdicts had been passed. Subversion trials in Indonesia have nothing to do with justice; they are usually staged to impress the outside world. The present trials are also intended as a warning to the population to avoid supporting the rebels. In contrast with the extrajudicial killings, the trials have been reported widely in the national and local press. Although TAPOL has not received any trial documents, defence pleas or court reports from independent human rights sources, press reports give the following impressions.

1. As with previous subversion trials, the Aceh trials have been stage-managed. It appears that two categories of alleged GAM members are on trial; in Banda Aceh, Lhok Nga and Medan, the defendants consist mostly of intellectuals, religious leaders and even a member of the regional assembly. The trials in Lhokseumawe and Langsa deal with 'GAM hardliners', persons who are more directly involved in physical conflict with the Indonesian military.

2. None of the defendants would appear to be leaders of the Free Aceh Movement. The Aceh/Sumatra Liberation Front Delegation in Sweden issued a statement on 11 May saying that the present trials are to *"cover up its (the Indonesian military's) utter failure to capture the real leaders of the Free Aceh Movement"* and the defendants *"have been made scapegoats of the Javanese/Indonesian military's failure to capture the real resistance leaders of the Free Aceh Movement."* The trials have not revealed that important organisers like Teuku Serawak, Malik Mahmud or Teuku Yun are still at large.

Defendants like Drs. Hasbi Abdullah, a lecturer in economics at the Universitas Syiah Kuala and Ridwan Ibas B.Sc., were allegedly involved in planning acts of sabotage against the Arun liquified natural gas (LNG) plant. Drs. Nurdin Abdurachman, Drs. Adnan Beuransyah, Mulkan Usman SH and others were accused of being liaisons and attending illegal meetings. The prosecution called for heavy sentences, on average 15 years; the verdicts average 10 years.



Location of Aceh in the Indonesian Archipelago.



3. The trials have been extraordinarily fast, most lasting only 3 or 4 sessions. All the verdicts were issued in the first half of May, soon after the Idul Fitri celebrations. The speed with which the trials have been conducted has made it more difficult to get a comprehensive picture. Human rights lawyers have described the trials as a fraud with defence teams needing the approval of the military and judges clearly disinterested in the proceedings.

4. The statement from the Free Aceh Movement says the defendants are innocent, the charges are false and the evidence is fabricated. According to another report:

*"One well-informed Acehnese source says electric-shock treatment and beatings are routinely given to prisoners. Others, he says, are taken from jails and crushed by vehicles" (Asiaweek, 4 April 1991).* The evidence against the ten defendants in Banda Aceh and Lhok Nga is indeed thin, giving the impression that the defendants are totally innocent.

5. Most reports suggest that there is a busy line of communication between rebel forces in Aceh and neighbouring Malaysia. The overseas HQ is in Sweden and London but many operational GAM links exist between Aceh and Malaysia. Many active members of GAM are very young, in their early twenties and, according to some reports, received brief military training in Libya.

ACEH



Some of the defendants, from top left: Mulkan Usman SH, Drs Hasbi Abdullah, Ridwan Ibas B.Sc and Drs Adnan Beuransyah. For complete list of verdicts, see page 28

## Putting democracy on the agenda

*Since April, a number of new organisations, platforms and movements have come into existence, some becoming front-page news. As yet, the authorities have done nothing to curb this unprecedented outburst of political activity. Is this the beginning of a new era of democratisation or just seen by the military authorities as a safety valve for dissidents to let off steam?*

Five years ago, the Suharto regime seemed to have completed its construction of a corporatist state with the adoption of five laws, including the notorious UU ORMAS which regulates the registration, approval and control of existing organisations. Organisations failing to register would be illegal and subversive. The message was clear: there was no room for new organisations.

But now, it seems, no-one bothers about the UU ORMAS; the authorities never mention it whilst those pushing for democracy have ignored the law since the start. In fact a reverse tendency has emerged. As the 1992 general elections draw near, high-ranking people, including President Suharto himself, have recognised the need to create new political vehicles. The opposition forces have grasped the opportunity, riding on the waves of change initiated by the government.

The best example is ICMI (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslimin Indonesia*, Union of Muslim Intellectuals) established last December. Initiated by young Muslim intellectuals, it was soon taken over by the ambitious high-tech Minister for Technology, B.J. Habibie. Suharto recognised the opportunity and threw his political weight behind ICMI. Never before has the wily politician come so close to building an alliance with a Muslim constituency.

In the eighties, political Islam in Indonesia moved in different directions. Radical groups who fought for their

own distinctive role in the republic, continuing the old battle of pre-independence days, were badly mauled. Another group of mainly bright, young intellectuals looked for new outlets to articulate their social and political views and ambitions. Many of the ICMI intellectuals have fashioned good careers for themselves, occupying top positions in NGOs, in academia and so on. In daily life many ICMI Muslim intellectuals function like any professional in a modern, secular society. ICMI can be seen as a broad platform of professionals with a Muslim background, ranging from highly-placed bureaucrats to independent NGO activists, from academics to religious leaders. ICMI has no political programme and lacks coherence. Raising the Islamic banner is far too vague; the only thing that unites ICMI is an historic awareness that political Islam has never had a proper place in independent Indonesia. ICMI is seen by many Muslim intellectuals as a way to become part of the power structure.

ICMI has not only been allowed to exist; it has developed chapters in most provinces and may soon become an important political entity, in particular if it retains the strong support it now enjoys from the executive.

### Forum Demokrasi

Within a matter of weeks since early April, a variety of groups have mushroomed, with *Forum Demokrasi (FD)*

enjoying most of the limelight in the national and international press. Its name echoes the movements that emerged in 1989 in Eastern Europe, when state socialism was on the verge of collapse. As a platform, the *FD* more closely resembles *Charter 77* in Czechoslovakia. According to its initiator, Abdurrachman Wahid, *FD* was established because of worrying sectarian developments in the country. Some recent events in Jakarta have upset Cak Dur, as he is known – the banning of drama performances and poetry readings, the Arswendo affair (when the editor of a boulevard magazine was given 5 years for offending religious sentiment), the withdrawal of printing and publishing permits of several magazines and the blacklisting of 15,000 persons (see separate item) who may not leave the country.



*Suharto and the generals, how much and how far will they allow democratisation to proceed?*

All this prompted Cak Dur to turn his weekly gathering, *Majelis Reboan* (Wednesday Gathering, an informal group meeting to discuss contemporary affairs) into a Forum. He invited friends to spend the weekend in Cibeureum, a mountain resort south of Jakarta. Cak Dur is the chair of the largest Muslim organisation, *Nahdatul Ulama* (*NU*) (with an estimated membership of between 16 and 30 million). Even if the lower figure is correct, *NU* is probably the largest Muslim organisation in the world which makes Cak Dur quite an influential person. *NU* is usually described as orthodox but modernisation of Indonesian society in the last two decades has affected the outlook of many *NU* leaders. Cak Dur represents the secular tendency in the *NU*, seeing Indonesian society as a heterogeneous, pluralistic society with different outlooks, ethnic background and religions. Cak Dur's deep conviction is that political and social change in society cannot be achieved through religious cleavages; a democratic society should encourage cross-fertilisation between socially diverse groups, religions and ethnic groups.

Indirectly, the birth of *FD* was meant to reject *ICMI* which still uses the religious banner to achieve political aims. In the political complexities of Indonesia, Cak Dur is not a mainstream *NU* member and it is quite surprising that he has managed to stay as its chairperson.

## The Cibeureum meeting

The meeting in the mountain resort reflected Cak Dur's views of a pluralistic society. It was attended by socialists, Christians, nationalists and ethnic minorities including Chinese. Present were the Catholic priests Mudji Sutrisno, Danuwinata, Mangunwijaya, prominent Protestants like Marianne and Aristides Katoppo, socialists like Todung Mulya Lubis and Marsilam Simandjuntak, nationalists like Bondan Gunawan, even *ICMI* leaders like Soetjipto Wirosardjono and many more who hold leading positions in society. The majority of *FD* participants are socially active people outside government institutions. From the start, hardliners in the government saw *FD* as a threat.

The Cibeureum meeting expressed concern about many events and felt that democracy in Indonesia has become too formal and too institutionalised, society has become compartmentalised, with sectarian tendencies. *FD* wants to contribute its ideas, sprinkling water to nourish the democratic tree. But *FD* has insisted that it is not a political organisation and does not want to become one, nor will it go into opposition but aims to promote democracy.

The Indonesian authorities are getting used to the woolly language used by skilful politicians like Cak Dur. An immediate reaction came from the regime's political clown, Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security, retired Admiral Sudomo. He said *FD* was 'unnecessary' and warned them to watch their steps. Another highly-placed official, intelligence officer Major-General Hari Sugiman, now Director-General of the Home Affairs Ministry, summoned Cak Dur to discuss the new group and told him in no uncertain terms what *FD* could and could not do. In particular, he said, the word 'democracy' was a stumbling block, implying that democracy does not exist in Indonesia. The new outfit will not be banned as long as it avoids going into opposition and promises to channel its findings through official channels like Parliament.

It is not yet clear how the *FD* members will react to the restrictions imposed by Hari Sugiman but in the meantime other senior functionaries have given it their blessing. Two deputy speakers of Parliament, Generals Soepranto and Syaiful Sulun, support the *FD* initiative and the Secretary-General of *Golkar*, the government party, has also welcomed the new group.

The *FD* initiative was like the first sheep jumping over the fence. A month later several local chapters emerged, calling themselves *Forsi* (also an abbreviation of Forum Demokrasi) instead of *FD*. In one place, the local chapter calls itself *Forum Kebangkitan* (Forum for Awakening).

While the Cibeureum group consists mainly of Jakarta-based people with national outlooks, the *Forsis* consist of students and academics and will deal with local issues like land evictions and abuse of power by local authorities. As one of the new entities of the nineties, *Forum Demokrasi* looks very promising, especially if it has the courage to tackle key issues like narrow-mindedness, sectarianism and compartmentalism in society, which not only predominate in the government but also hold sway among sectarian groups in society.

## Liga Pemulihan Demokrasi

A week after the birth of *Forum Demokrasi*, the *LPD* announced its existence. The League for the Restoration of Democracy enjoys the support of nine NGOs and the new independent trade union, *Solidaritas*. Its first press conference was addressed by four people, the human rights lawyer Poncke Princen, Sunardi, a lawyer who was jailed in the



mid 1980s for accusing Suharto of involvement in the 1965 coup, Eggie Sudjana, former chair of *HMI*, the biggest Muslim student union, and Hamid Hussein from the board of *Solidaritas*. The language used by *LPD* is different from that used by *FD*, more explicit and more demanding. They say that democracy in Indonesia has been in serious decline for the last 25 years, giving examples of government interference in the workings of organisations and political parties and the unacceptable way general elections are conducted. *LPD* put forward some concrete demands: the repeal of the notorious 'floating-mass theory' that prevents people in the villages from participating in active politics – which depoliticises 80 per cent of the population. Princen said *LPD* would try to stimulate grass-roots democracy and called for a special session of the *MPR*, the upper chamber, to investigate abuse of power by the President. Although the *LPD* has not been summoned by the authorities, military intelligence will certainly monitor its activities closely.

### Aliande

The third group, the National Alliance for Democracy, was

## POLITICS

set up a few weeks earlier than the others but was hardly mentioned in the press. *Aliande* does not seek publicity nor does it function as an umbrella. It is more a pledge or expression of intent by many activist groups and individuals, nationwide, to find better forms of cooperation and unity. NGO activists, students, artists and intellectuals want to work more systematically to develop a genuine people's movement and carry out consistent political practice. This movement, avoiding clear structures, emerges in many shapes, action committees on certain issues or topics to decide on the kind of alliance needed at the local level.

*Aliande*, *FD* and *LPD* are all reflections and reactions to the stalemate in Indonesian politics. Each one has its own direction, priorities and political culture. Together, they form the potential and embryo of a free and democratic Indonesia. The times they are a-changin'; the struggle for democracy in Indonesia is now clearly on the agenda.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

# UNDP ranks Indonesia 77th in world human rights league

The U.N. Development Programme has ranked Indonesia 77th out of 88 countries in an index on human rights, giving it the same number of points as North Korea, Syria, Cuba and Vietnam. The index is calculated using a wide range of indicators such as the right to travel, freedom from torture, press censorship and allowing civil marriages. Sweden is ranked first, and Iraq last.

The UNDP's Human Freedom Index also assesses the extent of corruption and ranks Indonesia, alongside Zaire and the Dominican Republic, as the worst offender.

"Though freedom is hard to quantify or to measure, no measure of human development can ever be complete without its inclusion," said UNDP Administrator William H. Draper III, when he released the UNDP Human Development Report 1991, which critiques both foreign aid and the ways developing countries invest in or evade their human development.

The report concludes that political will, not finance, determines whether national budgets and foreign aid go for education and health, or for arms, corruption and subsidies for the wealthy. It challenges conventional wisdom that says developing countries are too poor to finance their human development needs, or that national budgets and foreign aid allocations are too tight to accommodate even the most urgent agenda for human progress.

### Alatas rattled

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas could not hide his anger at such a blow, coming from a United Nations agency which enjoys such a close relationship with the Suharto government.

"We should not worry too much about the report although it would be good to give it a thought so that we could

explain our position concerning the human rights issue better," local newspapers quoted him as saying.

A senior official earlier this week lamented to foreign reporters based in Jakarta the bad press Indonesia gets abroad, notably over its attempts to stamp out rebellion in East Timor, West Papua, and more recently, the northern province of Aceh.

"You (foreign journalists) don't help solve these problems by putting scare stories up in the world press," the official said. [*UPI*, 22 May, and *Reuter*, 24 May 1991, taken from reg.indonesia]

### IGGI aid will not decline

A few days before this unexpected assault on Indonesia's 'good name', Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation, Jan Pronk, had announced at the end of a visit to Indonesia,



Pronk in discussion with Bandung students

that he was more or less certain that IGGI, the international aid consortium for Indonesia which he chairs, will grant Indonesia \$4.7 billion at its meeting in The Hague this year. This is the same amount granted to Indonesia for the 1990/1991 financial year.

In several statements in Jakarta and in Washington, Pronk praised Indonesia's economic performance and indicated that its international creditors could no longer be expected to provide the country with concessional aid, which is not linked to specific projects and is freely convertible into rupiahs.

During his visit to Indonesia, Pronk took time off from his official meetings with ministers and the president to visit Jakarta's slums, and hold dialogue with NGO activists and victims of land evictions. He heard a great deal about human rights violations and was reported as saying that Dutch aid to Indonesia this year would be cut and would give greater attention to human rights and environmental considerations. He made no promises for other IGGI members, for he 'only' chairs the group; the decisions of other member-states are made on a bilateral basis. [Japan and the World Bank are by far the largest providers and neither of them show any signs of focusing on human rights in their decisions about aid.]

The strongest plea for action from him as IGGI chair,

came from peasants who have lost out in their battle for proper compensation for land they were forced to abandon to make way for the World Bank-financed Kedung Ombo dam. They urged him to intervene to prevent the dam's inauguration a few days later unless their demands were met. In the event the inauguration went ahead amid tight security, with President Suharto warning the 600 families that they "had no future" unless they accepted the government's edict to be relocated elsewhere.

But after meeting a delegation of 45 members of the newly-established free trade union, *Setiakawan*, Pronk promised to raise workers' issues like low wages and the lack of freedom of association at the IGGI meeting.

The IGGI meeting will take place in The Hague on 11-12 June.

## Amnesty on Suharto's genocide

In a two-page advertisement, entitled "Should we give up?", placed in several British newspapers to mark the 30th anniversary of its founding in May 1961, Amnesty International brackets Suharto with Pol Pot, Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein as the worst perpetrators of genocide since then.

It writes: "In 1961 we believed, didn't we, that the world would never tolerate another genocide? Since then we've had Suharto, Pol Pot, Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein.... Between them (they) have executed and tortured to death more than a million people. For Amnesty that's a million failures."

## EAST TIMOR

# Clown interviews Timorese in Bali

*A Portuguese clown who was in Bali to perform in a circus made friends with East Timorese students there who asked him to interview them on video. Extracts from his 80-minute tape were shown on Portuguese television on 9 April. The names of everyone interviewed were later made public at a press conference in Lisbon.*

## Help us, Antonio!

Antonio Jose Pires da Silva, 31, a popular circus artist known as Batatinha, turned journalist for a few hours when he became the centre of attention in a drama which has nothing to do with the profession that took him to Bali,

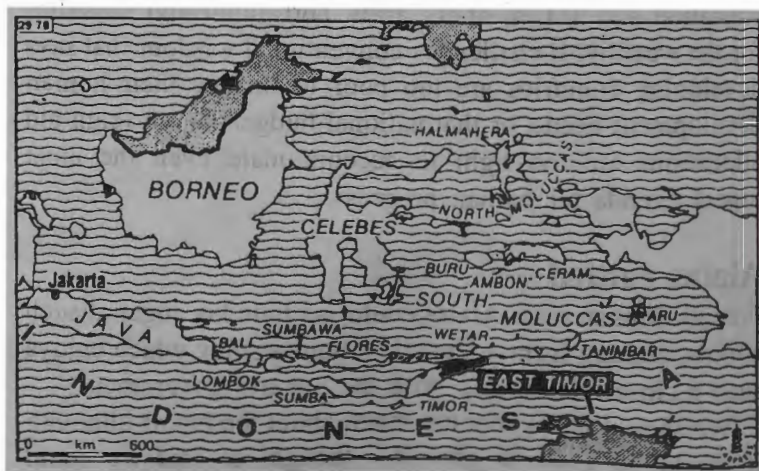
Invited by the Cardinali Clowns of the Royal London Circus to tour Asia, he spent a year in Taiwan, followed by tours in Malaysia and Indonesia. In Indonesia, the troupe was hired by a Javanese company, Bimantara, owned by President Suharto's son, Bambang Trihatmodjo, to perform in Surabaya, Jakarta, Sumatra and Bali where some 270 Timorese students are studying at the university.

"One day, as I was entering the circus ground, I was approached by a Timorese who asked me whether I was from Brazil. When I said I was Portuguese, we became friends." From then on, other Timorese turned up, one of whom said, "Antonio, help us!"

Batatinha knew virtually nothing about Timor, so they told him of the struggle in the mountains and in the towns, of the human rights violations, of women and children

being violated. They said Lisbon must do something, perhaps send a frigate as it had done during the Gulf war, that Portugal should continue to be the administering power, and that the Portuguese parliamentarians should visit East Timor. They discussed the idea of filming an interview.

There was a great deal of tension during the interview,





and joy and elation among the Timorese. A number of them mounted a security cordon round the student hall where the interview took place. The students were worried that the cassette might never reach Portugal and told Antonio of the risks he was running; a student warned that when he got back to his hotel, he might find that his room had been turned upside down.

He thought of sending the cassette out of the country by post, but this was not possible because of the regulations. An English dancer had tried to send a cassette of the show to London and had not been able to do so. So they agreed to leave the tape in Bali. When the company travelled on, someone would slip it in with the scenery.

Two weeks later, they picked up the cassette, boarded a plane and were soon on their way to Portugal, with the 80-minute tape in a suitcase and many letters from Timorese to their families.

## Recalling Portugal's own heros

"The Timorese people are waging a struggle comparable to Viriato's struggle against the Romans and the Portuguese struggle against Philippe of Spain," said one student. "While studying here we are also struggling for independence because we know that we can only live in prosperity and peace when we win independence. We ask the Portuguese people not to forget the culture they implanted during the course of the history of East Timor.

"We are organising ourselves here, spreading consciousness among our brothers and sisters. We ask the Portuguese not to forget."

"Not only us but our entire people have always lived like this, our way of thinking is like the Portuguese and Portugal should never forget this. We can never forget our history, the many things that Portugal left behind in East Timor. We are Mauberes, we are not Indonesians."

## A modern-day PIDE

"There are two realities that have existed for 15 years, since 1975," said another student. "There is the repression by Indonesia and the resistance waged by the East Timorese. Indonesian oppression means the violation of human rights and a huge military present; at this moment, there is a platoon of soldiers in each village to keep watch over simple villagers who know nothing. They are using more than 14 battalions in their campaign to destroy the guerrillas. Just imagine, 14 batallions to annihilate a handful of guerrillas! They watch the population, just like PIDE,

# EAST TIMOR

(the Portuguese secret police under Salazar). The people are oppressed; no-one can say whether they want Portugal, or independence or Indonesia. Timorese resistance is fantastic. Children born during the war don't feel like Indonesians, they feel like Timorese and they want freedom."

## Memories of the invasion

Then another student speaks: "I am not afraid of dying when the army uses barbarous methods as they have done all along; my brothers and sisters are fighting back. I regard the Portuguese Government as the administering power and I beg of them to press Australia and Indonesia about East Timor. Indonesia has no business to be involved in the Timorese question. Timor is our business. I think Australia is very corrupt. I was a small child at the time of the invasion but I still remember the brutality they inflicted on us then. This is why I am speaking out. I know that I am not allowed to speak like this. I am studying, but I must also struggle and help my brothers and sisters who are struggling."

## The Timorese church

"I would like to say something about the church in East Timor," said another student. "It has always stood by the Timorese people, like our bishop. The church is nationalist and therefore we say that it is a part of the struggle. When (the bishop) sent his letter to the United Nations asking for a referendum, it was supported by the priests, by other Catholic organisations, by the students and by the people. As yet it has not been possible to hold a referendum. We hope a referendum can take place through political pressure. If this is not possible, Portugal should use diplomatic means to find another solution to the problem of East Timor."

Another student chimes in: "I would like to say something about the Portuguese world service broadcasts. We students in Bali always listen but the reception is not always good. I suggest that transmission should be improved so that we can hear the broadcasts more clearly."

## Waiting for the MPs

"Portugal must strive hard for self-determination and complete independence for the Timorese people. We are all waiting for the Portuguese parliamentary delegation to come because our people recognise Portugal as the administering power. It is Portugal's moral responsibility to find a solution to the question of East Timor. If this cannot be achieved by diplomacy, then they should use military force (cries of 'Bravo'). At the very least, they should help us buy arms. The Portuguese Government was able to send a frigate to help Kuwait; they should do the same thing for us."

## Students identified

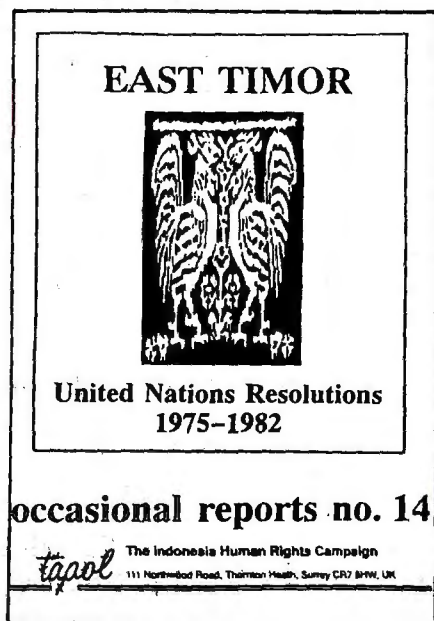
The identities of the East Timorese students interviewed by Batatinha in Bali were made public at a press conference in Lisbon. The names were given by two Timorese refugees in Lisbon, Licinia Ramos-Horta and Ligia Ximenes, who, before coming to Portugal less than two years ago, were students in Bali.

They identified the students as: Zito, Alcino, Marciano, Fernando, Jose Maria, Acacio Branco, Antonio Matos, Dionisio, Rui Maria Araujo, Hugo Martins, Joao Araujo, Anacleto Ribeiro, Teresa and Alexandro Corte-Real. [Publico, 25 April]

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# East Timor briefs

## Solidarity groups support call for a ceasefire

East Timor solidarity groups meeting for their eleventh annual consultation in Lisbon from 5 to 7 April strongly supported the call by the armed resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, for a ceasefire and for the holding of peace talks without pre-conditions, under the auspices of the United Nations.

The meeting was attended by groups from France, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

The meeting welcomed the positive changes in Indonesia regarding East Timor, with a growing number of Indonesian youth now opposed to the brutal occupation of East Timor and showing solidarity with the liberation struggle. It focused attention on the arms trade with Indonesia, stressing that the huge loss of life during the continuing conflict would never have been possible without the supply of military equipment to Indonesia by many western countries. The arms trade will be closely monitored with a view to developing a world-wide campaign against it.

The groups condemned the Timor Gap Treaty between Australia and Indonesia and welcomed Portugal's action against Australia at the World Court. Letters were sent to the Japanese petroleum company, Sekiyu Shigen Kaihatsu and the Belgian company, Petrofina condemning their decisions to exploit oil and gas in the Timor Gap.

The meeting wrote to the African National Congress regretting that its vice-president, Nelson Mandela, failed to express support for East Timor when he visited Indonesia last October, and calling on him to speak out in support of East Timor during his visit to Portugal in July.



The eleventh annual consultation of the East Timor solidarity groups in Lisbon.

## Japanese government 'concerned'

For the first time, the Japanese government has started raising the question of human rights in East Timor with the Indonesian government. This happened during high-level consultations between the two countries on 11-12 March this year, attended by Japan's deputy foreign minister, Hisashi Owade. The Japanese news agency, *Kyodo*, which broke the story several weeks later, also quoted diplomatic sources as saying that the Japanese Prime Minister, Toshiki Kaifu used his visit to Indonesia in May 1990 to call for greater respect for human rights in East Timor, during his talks with President Suharto.

## Non-Timorese governor for East Timor?

Leading East Timorese collaborators are lending support to the idea that the next governor of East Timor will be an Indonesian, not a Timorese. Timorese MP, Clementino dos Reis Amaral said that economic development in East Timor is still far behind 'other provinces' so someone honest and courageous is needed to end the economic stagnation. He said four Timorese had been proposed but the East Timorese should forget about seeing another Timorese in the job.

Governor Mario Carrascalao, whose second term ends next year said the choice of his successor should be made from among 'the 179 million people of Indonesia'. East Timor needs a strong man able to cope with development challenges, he said.

There was no hint that the Indonesian they had in mind would be from the military. Who knows, the present deputy governor, Colonel Saridjo might be being tipped for the job.

As for Carrascalao himself, it is being hinted that he is in line for a cabinet post in 1993. [UCAN, 2 May 1991]

## Council of Europe resolution on East Timor

A resolution calling on member states to impose an arms embargo against Indonesia and urging countries with strong economic links with Indonesia to exert pressure for an end to human rights abuses in East Timor, is to go before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in June.

The draft was approved by the Council's Commission on Political Affairs; the only vote against was cast by a Swedish deputy, Stig Alemyr. The Commission said that the people of East Timor were entitled to expect the same degree of international solidarity as that shown towards the Kurdish people of Iraq.

The draft resolution was based on a report, not yet published, prepared by a French Socialist member of the European Parliament, Roger Pontillon, appointed as special rapporteur on East Timor. [Diario de Noticias, 26 April, 1991]

Twenty-four West European countries are members of the Council of Europe; five East European countries have special guest status. The Parliamentary Assembly is the deliberative organ of the Council composed of 184 representatives of national parliaments. This is the first time to

our knowledge, that the Council of Europe has considered a resolution on East Timor.

### Army officer attends seminar on East Timor

A seminar on East Timor held at the American University, Washington on 25 and 26 April heard papers from a number of panellists including anthropologist Elizabeth Traube, James Dunn, chair of the Australian Human Rights Council, Jose Ramos Horta, former Fretilin representative to the UN, Sidney Jones, executive director of Asia Watch, the author, John Taylor and Robert Archer of the Catholic Institute of International Relations. Professor Mubyarto of Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, who headed a team which undertook a programme of research in East Timor in 1989, was also present.

In attendance throughout the seminar which was sponsored by the Social Sciences Research Council, was Colonel Luhut Pandjaitan, assistant for operations of *Kopassus*, the red beret para-commando unit, the most widely feared force used in operations against the people of East Timor. Pandjaitan was previously commander of Brigade 81, a special presidential guard and has served in East Timor several times. He was Intelligence Chief in Dili in 1977-1978 at the peak of the war and many East Timorese recall his high profile presence and activities during that turning-point in the war. He is currently on a course at the War College in Virginia and is tipped to become the future *Kopassus* commander.

### The third seminar on East Timor

In Oporto, Portugal the third annual seminar on East Timor took place from 9 to 11 May, organised by the University of Oporto, the city council and the Christian Movement for Peace. The conference opened with a firm pledge by President Mario Soares of Portugal to bring about a just solution for the East Timor question.

The conference was attended by a number of Portuguese parliamentarians and senior officials, many representatives of the Timorese community and several foreign guests. Lord Avebury from the UK and Rob van Gijzel MP from the Netherlands (both members of the PET delegation to the UN Secretary-General) made important proposals to the

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calendar. The authorities claim to have found 5,000 copies of full-colour drawings which have not yet been published which 'could disrupt national stability'. He could be charged with subversion, they say.

The offending drawings have been used on postcards which say 'printed in London' and copies were submitted to a printing works in Yogyakarta, for reproduction.

### New furore over Karl Marx

With the calendar case bubbling over, the security forces are hot on the tracks of another case of subversion, directed against a magazine, *Potret*, published by a private company for internal circulation. Two years ago, the magazine reproduce an article on Karl Marx taken from a book entitled, *Economists who changed the world*, published in 1987 by Gramedia. Although at the time, the 'case' never made the headlines, it now appears that that issue of *Potret* was withdrawn from circulation on the orders of the authorities.

Now, the proprietor is under investigation. The case has

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Portuguese Government and Parliament on taking new initiatives on the international arena. Present were also two representatives of *Front Demokrasi Indonesia*, representing the Indonesian opposition abroad, Sutan Kelana and Liem Soei Liong, who spoke about the increased interest in East Timor among the younger generation of Indonesian activists.

The seminar coincided with a visit to Portugal of Pope John Paul II and the final decision about the Portuguese Parliamentary Mission to visit East Timor. These two events were discussed at some length at the round table discussions. The fourth seminar in 1992 will be organised primarily by East Timorese refugees in Portugal. Papers from the conference and the report of last year's conference are available from Prof. A. Barbedo de Magalhaes, Faculty of Engineering, Oporto University, Oporto, Portugal.



*East Timorese refugees demonstrating during the Pope's visit to Portugal. The banners say "Long live Xanana, the leader of the resistance" and "For Liberty, Justice and Peace and Our Sisters in East Timor imprisoned, tortured and assassinated".*

been revived because copies of the article have been photocopied and are circulating widely though no-one is suggesting that the magazine itself is responsible for this.

The article was part of a series run by the journal. Earlier articles had dealt with Adam Smith and David Ricardo. The third one turned to Marx. It included quotations from *Das Kapital*, the full text of the Communist Manifesto, and quotations from Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*. The company lawyer is bemused by the sudden interest in a matter he thought had been 'solved'. Why, he asks pathetically, have the authorities failed to ban the book from which the material was taken? Perhaps, the fuss will soon die down, or perhaps the authorities will take their cue from the lawyer and ban yet another book.

### More book bans

When announcing the calendar ban, the public prosecutor's office also announced the banning of two clippings collections by Bambang Siswoyo, one about the Lampung Affair and the Banning of Two Books and the other about the Petition-of-50, 58, and 28. The other titles are all Muslim books.

Bambang Siswoyo whose clippings collections have been so offensive to the authorities died last month.



# Student activists in danger

*East Timorese students studying in various parts of Indonesia who are engaged in pro-independence activities are being closely monitored by army intelligence. Far from going to ground, however, the students have adopted a defiant position; they have called on groups around the world to publicise their names.*

## Appeal to Lord Avebury

RENETIL, the National Resistance of Students of East Timor, a clandestine organisation based in Indonesia, obtained a top-secret army intelligence document which names 20 East Timorese students in Bali, Jakarta, Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Salatiga who are suspected of engaging in anti-Indonesian activity. The document which is dated 23 February 1991 was produced by the assistant for intelligence of the Udayana Military Command based in Denpasar and is addressed to Director 'A' of BAIS, the Strategic Intelligence Agency in Jakarta.

In a letter to Lord Avebury of Parliamentarians for East Timor, RENETIL called for urgent action by parliamentarians, governments and international organisations to protect the named individuals against persecution by the army security.

The intelligence document focuses on the activities of RENETIL and picks out for special mention the leader of the organisation, Fernando Araujo, a student at the Faculty of Literature of Udayana University; Araujo is suspected of having escorted Robert Domm, the Australian 'journalist' (Domm is a lawyer, not a journalist), when he went into the bush last September to interview Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the armed resistance. [Araujo is one of the East Timorese who appears on the video tape of the Portuguese clown, Batatinha (see separate item).]

The other students named in the intelligence document are:

### In Bali:

- a) Marciano Garcia, Faculty of Letters Udayana University,
- b) Carlos Lopes, Faculty of Technics, Udayana University,
- c) Agapito Cardoso, Faculty of Technology, Udayana,
- d) Anicato Lopes, Faculty of Law, Udayana,
- e) Benyamin O.H.R.S. Martins, Faculty of Technology, Udayana,
- f) Jose Pompeia, Faculty of Veterinary Sciences, Udayana, (former Chairman of IMPETTU, the officially endorsed Timorese students' organisation,
- g) Joaquin Gusmao, Faculty of Agriculture, Udayana,
- h) Joselino, Faculty of Technology, Udayana,
- i) Adelia, Faculty of Economics, Udayana,
- j) Egas Alves, Faculty of Technology, Udayana,
- k) Antonio Matos, Faculty of Economics, National Pedagogy University,
- l) Arlindo Parada, Faculty of Economics, National Pedagogy University.

The document states that there are 'many more' sympathisers but their activities are 'very secretive'.

### In Jakarta:

- Teofelo, Faculty of Medicine who 'often visits foreign

embassies'.

### In Surabaya:

- a) Fransisco Cepeda whose parents were killed by the TNI, Faculty of Political Science, Airlangga University, 'often travels to Denpasar and Dili'.
- b) Lucas da Costa, postgraduate student at the Faculty of Economics, Airlangga University, described as 'the brains behind RENETIL'.
- c) Dominggus Sarmento, who is described as 'an infiltrant in RENETIL'.

### In Yogyakarta:

- a) Jose Luis, Academy of Tourism
- b) Epidio, from Baucau.

### In Salatiga:

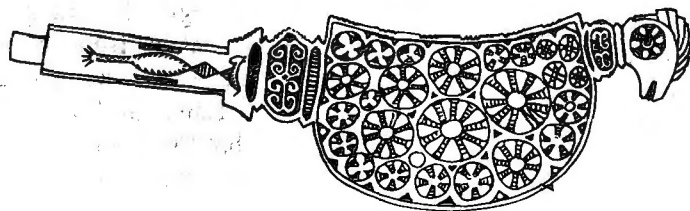
- a) Manuel Abrantes, Faculty of Law, Satya Wacana University.

## RENETIL'S activities

Army intelligence accuses RENETIL activists of engaging in the following activities:

- a. Persuading students from East Timor that the struggle will be successful, and East Timor will be free from Indonesian rule,
- b. Disseminating information about events in East Timor to the outside world, in the interests of their struggle.
- c. Contacting the International Red Cross/ICRC or other groups abroad to send out information discrediting the Indonesian Government and mobilising support,
- d. Sending information by courier to journalists or foreign tourists who visit Dili, Kupang, Denpasar or other towns.
- e. Disseminating and reproducing leaflets, news and brochures as propaganda material to win the sympathy of students and schoolpupils in East Timor,
- f. When on vacation in Dili, contacting pupils of Externato Balide school, Dili.

The security forces are trying to 'monitor and detect' their activities, investigating contacts with foreigners, including journalists and tourists, and 'giving guidance' to members of IMPETTU to prevent them from falling under RENETIL's influence.



# Two former prisoners interviewed

*Domingas Coelho, her daughter and her husband, Antonio Mesquita, arrived in Lisbon earlier this year after many years in prison. TAPOL interviewed Domingas and Antonio in their home in Carcavelos.*

**TAPOL:** I well remember my surprise, Domingas, on hearing that there was a woman among the 42 East Timorese convicted prisoners who had been transferred to Jakarta in 1984. I hadn't realised that a woman had been tried in Dili. Tell me about your experiences.

**[Domingas]:** I was arrested on the afternoon of 2 September 1983 by the Indonesian army and taken to *Kodim*. I was arrested along with two colleagues in the same organisation as me – Domingos Famunuli and Feliciano. They were put into one cell and I was put in a separate room, on my own. I was allowed out each morning but only for a while. I was only able to walk about inside.



*Antonio, Domingas and daughter at the Fifth Celebration of the National Convergence in Lisbon, April 1991.*

Two weeks later, they started to interrogate me. They kept asking me about the organisation but I told them nothing; I just told them about my family. After two weeks, they transferred me to Comarca-Balide. There, I was put in a cell with five – I was the only woman. The room was a bit larger but the floor was covered in faeces and urine. It was absolutely foul. The stuff was everywhere as we were never allowed out of the cell, defecating, urinating, sleeping in the same place. Our hands were tied behind our backs so we couldn't move at all. We never had a bath, washed ourselves or went outside for a whole month. You can imagine what the smell was like. My menstruation didn't come. They gave us hardly any food. Every time they brought

food, they beat me first.

**How long were you held in those dreadful conditions?**  
A whole month. After that, they moved me to Benfica Sporting Centre, formerly a Portuguese sports centre which the Indonesian army used for interrogating detainees. Many of us were taken to that place, often left in the blazing sun.

We were interrogated there, on and on. During the interrogation, they would place a chair-leg on my foot and stand on the chair. It was horribly painful; I really couldn't stand it. They asked me all kinds of questions, about my friends and so on, but I told them nothing. They kept taking me to this place for interrogation. When they offered me food, I refused to eat it.

Each time I was summoned for an interrogation, they would tell me to go and have a bath, saying, "Fancy, a woman smelling like you do!" I told them I smelt so bad because I hadn't been allowed to have a bath for a month. I said nothing when they asked if I was a communist. They asked me whether I knew Xanana. Even when they mentioned the person leading my group, I said nothing.

They told me to take off all my clothes and took a photo of me naked. They kept asking whether I was a communist. Later they gave me a copy of the photo but I refused to take it. When they insisted, I tore it up in front of them.

## Fixing the sentence

**When were you tried?**

After the interrogations ended, I was taken to court for a trial, in December 1983 – I don't remember the date. They said in court that I wasn't a political prisoner, but a criminal. I strenuously denied it. I was being tried with four men but we had to sit some distance from each other so could not have any contact. The others were: Marie, Basilio Alves Factas, Luis (Carvalho) and Feliciano. The only other people in the courtroom were the judge, the prosecutor and the lawyer. The trial went on for a week.

On the last day, the judge announced that I would get 12 years but I refused to accept such a long sentence, so the judge said I could have 6 years, and I accepted that.

**That's a very odd way of passing sentence. What do you mean, you didn't accept it? Usually, the accused enters a plea of guilty or not guilty and makes a defence plea. How did they pass sentence? Did you have a lawyer?**

Nothing like that happened. I said I didn't agree because I wasn't a criminal. The judge said that I must accept a sentence otherwise things would be much worse, so I accepted six years. Yes, there was a lawyer, an Indonesian; there are no Timorese lawyers.

After the trial I was taken to Balide Prison and from there, I was transferred with all the others to Jakarta on 15 May, 1984. The men were taken to Cipinang, but I was



taken to Salemba Prison for four weeks. I had a tiny room. I had to urinate and defecate into a tin and empty it later.

Then the director of the Tangerang women's prison, Haryati, came to fetch me. I was in a cell alone there for two weeks, then moved to Blok Anggrek. There, I stayed with two elderly women who became my very dear friends, Sundari Abdulrahman and Tati. At first we were not allowed to speak to each other because they were PKI prisoners and I was what they call a 'GPK prisoner'. There were four of us altogether, with my little girl who was two years old at the time. I slept in Cell No 5 with my little girl; Mama Sundari was in Cell No 11 and Mama Tati was in Cell No. 3.

I called them both Mama because they were very kind to me. If I fell ill, they would come and look after me. They taught me sewing and embroidery and taught me Indonesian – I couldn't speak it at all when I arrived. We were kept separate from the other prisoners because we were tapols – political prisoners – and the others were criminal prisoners. Sundari taught me embroidery and Tati taught me how to work in the fields. I started lessons on using a sewing machine but fell ill with diarrhoea and the lessons never started up again.

Mama Sundari asked me to help her work in the kitchen, so every day I woke very early, did some physical exercises; then we had to clean our cells and clean the yard outside. After that, there was a roll-call. Then we had lunch in the dining room. After lunch we had to work – I was asked to look after the chickens, clean their sheds. This went on till I left Tangerang and returned to Dili.

**Did you serve the full six years?**

No, I got remission so was in prison for altogether 5 years.

**What were the events leading up to your arrest?**

As you know, there was a ceasefire in 1983 after the talks between Xanana Gusmao and the Indonesian military commander in March that year. But the ceasefire broke down in August 1983 and very soon after, many people were arrested all over the country.

**What happened when you, Antonio, were arrested?**

[Antonio] They put me in a tiny cell and beat me very badly, till I was half dead. The cell was so tiny, I couldn't sit down, only stand up. I was very roughly treated after my arrest; all of us were stripped naked, not given any food or water for weeks until we were so weak, we couldn't stand up. The Indonesians don't treat us like human beings, they treat us like animals. When they gave us food, they would beat us first. If we asked for water, they would beat us. They wouldn't allow us to contact our families. When relatives came to see us, they were only allowed to stay a few minutes. They would beat us till we bled but never took us to hospital for treatment. They would shout at us, saying we were communists or Fretilin. If they started beating one person, everyone else would get beaten as well. They are incredibly wicked.

**A one-day trial**

**When you were tried, what happened?**

I got six years. At first, the judge said he would give me ten years but I refused to accept this, so he cut it down to six years. Everything was in the hands of the judge,



*Domingas [right] doing her daily exercise in Tangerang prison.*

everything arranged in advance. There was a defence lawyer from Kupang, a woman. She told the judge she thought ten years was too long, I also said I wouldn't accept such a sentence. So the lawyer had a chat with the judge and they agreed that I should be sentenced to six years.

**How long did the trial last? Can you explain what happened from the start?**

I was being held by the police, the political section; they sent me to the courtroom and the trial was over on the same day. I was tried with eight others, nine of us altogether and the whole thing was finished in a day. They didn't ask us anything at all. I told the judge, you can try me but I have done nothing wrong. He started going on about the 1945 Constitution and the Pancasila, then banged the table with his gavel, saying that we had fought against the Republic of Indonesia, and sentenced me to ten years. I replied that whatever this court decided, the people of East Timor would win their independence, we would resist integration. It's not only us here but people everywhere, in the towns, the villages, the sub-districts.

**Were the people who were tried and later sent to Jakarta given harsh sentences?**

Yes, all of us who were given longer sentences, 4 years or more, were sent to Cipinang. There were some who got 18 years, 17 years, 15 years, 12 years, 11 years, 8, 7, 6, 5 years. Anyone with a sentence of 4 years or more was sent to Jakarta. Almost all the 42 have been released but there are still 6 East Timorese prisoners in Cipinang.

**Ex-prisoners' plight**

**What has happened to the East Timorese who served these sentences in Cipinang since they returned to Dili?**

[Antonio] Although we had been released, we were treated as if we were prisoners. Army agents watched us all the time. Whenever we went anywhere, officers would ask us where we had been, why we went, what we talked about. If we came home late at night, they asked where we'd been, what we'd been doing.



We really must do something for all those who are still there. Couldn't the UN or some international agency do something for them? Life is very difficult for them. Now that we've moved to Portugal, things are easier for us but we think all the time of our colleagues back in East Timor.

*[At this point, we studied a photo of the 41 men who were transferred to Cipinang Prison. Antonio and Domingas gave me the names of all the Cipinang prisoners who are now back in Dili.]*

They have no security at all, no protection. They can be summoned, questioned, held, beaten up. No-one takes responsibility for anything that happens to them.

### **A woman in the bush**

**What was your experience at the time of the invasion in 1975, Domingas?**

I fled to the bush when the Indonesians invaded Dili.

At that time, I was already a member of Fretilin. I was only 17 years old and still at school. I became a member of the women's organisation OPMT. There were many women with Fretilin in the bush. We had to help maintain links between Fretilin fighters in the army and the people. The women were the ones who kept contact with clandestine groups. There were no other organisations to do this, only the OPMT. We also helped prepare the food and mend the uniforms of our soldiers. The OPMT also encouraged the women to take part in meetings. The Portuguese never encouraged women to work outside the home – they were expected to stay at home all the time. But Fretilin had a different approach. It wanted women to play an active part, to attend meetings and so on. There were political commissars in charge.

I was in the bush for three years; I went first to Aileu. But when the Indonesian army came near, we had to move. But however often we moved, our women's organisation continued to function.

I was arrested in 1979 in Fatuberliu. That's where Nicolau Lobato, Fretilin president, had been. Many people were killed and many of us were arrested there. There was bitter fighting there. Many of the top leaders of Fretilin were in the area.

After being arrested, we were taken to Tasihati which is on the coast. After being held there for two days, I was sent to Turiskei. because I am from there and I wasn't allowed to go back to Dili. I wasn't in custody but I was often summoned for interrogation. Someone I knew said I had been a member of the organisation, and told *koramil* about me. I told the soldiers I didn't know anything because I was still very young at the time. So they allowed me to go back home.

**What happened to the struggle after you were captured?**

*[Domingas]* In 1979 and 1980, there was already a clandestine organisation functioning. They launched an action in June 1980 against the Indonesians in Dili. But at that time I was still in Turiskei. But when I got back to Dili in 1982, there were clandestine groups active in every sub-district. It wasn't till 1982 that I was allowed to return to Dili, and as soon as I got there, I made contact with our organisation again.

**Were you in Dili, Antonio, at the time of the invasion?**

No, I was in the militia and had been sent to the west of the country towards the end of 1975. I was near the border with West Timor, near Balibo where the Australian journalists were killed in October. I was just ahead of them, closer

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to the Indonesian troops who were making incursions across the border and were heavily armed. I stayed in the region until my commander was killed. Then I fled to the area where Fretilin was in control and met Carvelho and I stayed with him through 1976 and 1977.

**Were you in the Portuguese army?**

No, I was too young, only 15 years old in 1975. I wasn't in Dili when independence was declared in November 1975; I was still in Balibo. We heard over the radio that the Indonesians had invaded Dili. But things were in a state of disarray for years for the Indonesians, right up to 1977. Fretilin in the bush was able to keep contact with people in Dili, to tell them about the resistance in the bush.

I was captured on 18 July 1979. I had 140 people under me. We had a fight with the Indonesian soldiers, and two of my men were killed. We resisted till late afternoon and were captured at 6 in the evening. We were in the east of the country, in Fatuberliu. Most of my men were taken to the *koramil* and killed. They didn't kill me but made me become a TBO – we had to do everything for the Indonesian troops.

When I was working as a TBO up to 1981, I was in captivity. In 1979, I was transferred to Dili and held in a *koramil* there. Altogether, I was detained like this for a year and a half. While I was in the Dili *koramil*, the attack on Dili took place in June 1980. Then in 1981, the troops made every Timorese man take part in an operation to capture Xanana. This went on for 45 days – many people died of starvation or were shot dead by the soldiers. I was forced to take part in the fence-of-legs operation.

There was no way I could get a job. I was always having to report to the authorities. Such things never happened in Portuguese times. The Indonesians behave with great brutality. They'd call: "Ready, Mesquita!" and you'd have to be ready straight away or something terrible would happen.

### **NEW EAST TIMOR E-MAIL CONFERENCE!**

*TAPOL is facilitating a new electronic mail  
East Timor conference on GreenNet called:*

**reg.easttimor**

*This conference provides a cheap and  
instant communication forum for news and  
views on East Timor – for solidarity  
groups, journalists, and all others working  
for self-determination for  
East Timor.*

*For more information, please contact: TAPOL, 111  
Northwood Rd, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR7 8HW, UK  
Tel: 071 771 2904; Fax: 071 653 0322; Email gn:tapol*



# Interest in East Timor growing

*The intense public debate in Britain during the Gulf war drew greater attention to East Timor than at any time since 1975. Comparisons between Kuwait and Timor were made, a motion was tabled in the Commons, there have been two debates in the Lords and a lively correspondence with the Foreign Office. A leading Sunday newspaper published a full page article, the best piece ever to appear in the British press, and The Times published an editorial (see page 25).*

## Dili, a 'highly militarised town'

In a full-page article in the *London Observer* [20 April 1991] entitled "Secret killing of a nation", the paper's award-winner Latin America correspondent, called East Timor 'an entire country in shock'.

"Fifteen years resisting illegal Indonesian occupation after their country was in effect abandoned by its Portuguese colonial masters, has taught 600,000 Timorese that some United Nations Security Council Resolutions are more equal than others. Those passed against an expansionist Iraq bring a quick and terrible response: those that demand action against a large and important Western ally such as the Indonesia of General Suharto receive more leisurely attention."

To elude strict Indonesian controls on journalists, O'Shaughnessy posed as a business consultant on holiday and hid his ability to speak Portuguese. Timor. His article draws attention to the evidence of military activity he observed during his 7-day visit.

"At the quayside in Dili, the giant tank-landing ship, Teluk Bone, closed its huge bow doors and slowly pulled away, watched by a few Indonesian women and a silent crowd of watching Timorese. The next day a sister ship, whose signal lamp had been winking across the harbour the previous night, docked with fresh troops for battle. In the highly militarised town Indonesian forces buzz about in heavy trucks and smart British Land-Rovers, occupying scores of barracks and private houses.

"At a disused airport a fleet of big-bellied helicopters stands ready, some thumping off now and then into the scrubby hills which press down on the little town. Dili is, meanwhile, launch pad for Suharto's policy of 'Indonesianising' occupied East Timor by illegally bringing in scores of Indonesians. The red and white Indonesian flag flies everywhere.

"When the Portuguese were here, they'd fly the flag on Sundays. Indonesians fly the flag every day," said Armando, the bus driver."

## Army-Falintil ratio, 300 to 1

Describing the struggle of the armed resistance, Falintil, O'Shaughnessy writes:

"By all logic, Timorese resistance should have been wiped out. For every East Timorese there are nearly 300 Indonesians; for every badly-equipped Falintil rifle-man there are hundreds of Indonesian troops supported by artillery, fighters, bombers, helicopters and enough ships to prevent any single piece of military equipment reaching the resistance.

"The Falintil continues to challenge the Indonesians, however, in the jungles and scrub under the leadership of

its commander, shadowy and elusive Xanana Gusmao, whose capture is feverishly being sought this month by 10 Indonesian battalions.

"As the Indonesians slowly become more expert in anti-guerrilla operations, Xanana's war, as he himself admits, is increasingly a defensive one. But at times his men dispatch a few of the enemy: 10 coffins, each draped with the Indonesian flag, were loaded onto the plane at Dili last month."



## Indonesia's illegal settlers

In an equally powerful article in *The Irish Times*, O'Shaughnessy describes Dili as "one of the most heavily militarised towns I have ever visited". Commenting on the stiffening civil resistance by Timor's youth, he writes:

"The opposition of young Timorese to the invaders is sharpened by the fact that jobs in government and commerce are being monopolised by the settlers from Indonesia whom Jakarta has illegally sent to East Timor. Moreover, the arrival of settlers, estimated by Bishop Carlos Filipe

Belo, head of the Catholic Church, at 100,000, and the fact that the dictatorship is seeking to replace the use of Portuguese by Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian language, present a potent threat to the very identity of the East Timorese." [The Irish Times, 27 April, 1991]

### Xanana writes to O'Shaughnessy

In a message to O'Shaughnessy, smuggled out of his mountain headquarters at Bunaria in Timor, Xanana Gusmao, called Australia's attitude to the Indonesian invasion 'unprincipled, hypocritical, servile and self-interested'.

Xanana admitted that his forces - who once controlled much of the island but are now on the defensive and thought to number less than 1,000 - were 'under strong enemy pressure' and added that he did not dream of 'impossible solutions for East Timor'. Xanana said he was 'hopeful of successes and prepared for defeats'. [The Observer, 19 May 1991]

### Government urged to review arms sales

Opposition front bench peers pressed the government in the House of Lords on the need to implement UN resolutions regarding East Timor and urged the government to review its policy of endorsing arms sales to Indonesia.

Labour's foreign affairs spokesperson, Baroness Ewart-Biggs asked whether, "given the fact that 100,000 people have lost their lives since the illegal occupation of East Timor by the Indonesians in 1975 and given that British arms sales have contributed to sustaining the presence of Indonesia in East Timor, does the Minister not think that it is about time that we reviewed our arms sales policy towards the Indonesian armed services?"

To the response by the Earl of Caithness, Minister of State, that "all countries have a sovereign right under the United Nations Charter to secure the means of their own self-defence", Lord Cledwyn, Leader of the Opposition, pressed the point by asking whether the government is in favour "of the sale of arms to a country which is waging an unjust war against a small country of 600,000 people, against all the principles and decisions of the United Nations?" The Minister said only that his concern was "very much on the human rights side of the matter". [Daily Hansard, 13 May 1991]

Meanwhile, responding to a large number of letters from MPs about the government's policy towards East Timor, the Foreign Office has produced a three-page account of the events before and after the December 1975 invasion. Most deceitful of all is the way the document deals with casualty figures. While saying that estimates for casualties of the three-week civil war in August-September 1975 "vary between 3,000 and 60,000" [the latter figure has never been related to the civil war!], the Foreign Office offers no estimates at all for the period after the invasion, saying only: "It is difficult to assess subsequent events as the territory was closed to outside observers".

### Early Day Motion on East Timor gathers support

An Early Day Motion, tabled by six Labour Party back-benchers on 21 February this year, calling for implementation of the UN resolutions on East Timor which reaffirm East Timor's inalienable right to self-determination, and calling on the British Government to support a UN-sponsored act of free choice in East Timor, following the withdrawal of Indonesian forces, had been signed by 68 MPs up to 21 May.

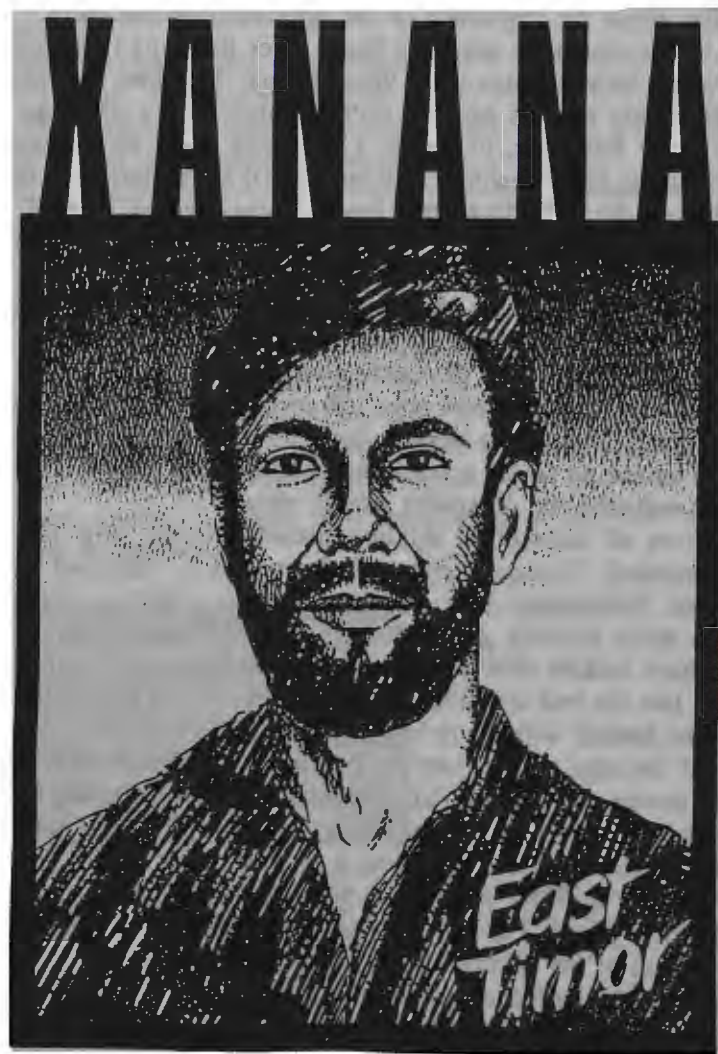
## EAST TIMOR

MPs from every party in the House of Commons with the exception of the Scottish Nationalists have supported the Motion. Apart from a strong showing by Labour Party back-benchers (front-benchers are not allowed, by tradition, to support motions like this), eight Conservatives, three Liberal-Democrats, two Plaid Cymru (Welsh nationalists), one SDP and one Ulster Unionist have signed. [For the text of the Motion, see TAPOL Bulletin, No 104.]

### Deutsche Welle on East Timor and the Gulf

A strong attack on double standards was made by Germany's world service, *Deutsche Welle*, in March. Ansgar Skriver, contrasted the speeches of George Bush, Helmut Kohl, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and John Major about the 'victory of right' in the Gulf, with their silence on East Timor. "Indonesia is a first class customer for German exports, including arms exports, eg. submarines and speed boats, helicopters and military vehicles," he explained.

"When East Timor is discussed at the United Nations, Germany's representative says his country has great sympathy for the people of East Timor and are for the principle of self-determination. Then he abstains on the vote. That's what the triumph of right over wrong looks like in other parts of the world." [For the full text of the statement, see Pogrom 159, May/June, 1991]



### Help popularise Xanana and the East Timor struggle

Display this striking colour A2 poster, price A\$2.00 plus postage. Available from the Australia-East Timor Association, PO Box 93, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065, Australia.



# A visit to the OPM

## by convicted 'fugitive' Theo Frey

*One trial which has received media attention in Indonesia is that of Swiss pilot Theodor Frey who was sentenced to six years in his absence by the Jayapura state court in May for illegal entry into Indonesia and supporting the OPM. The trial was publicised, perhaps to support Indonesia's claim that the OPM has 'foreign links'. But what makes the trial of Theo Frey truly exceptional is its farcical element. While the **Jakarta Post** reports that Indonesian police are 'still looking' for him and **Reuter** cites Swiss embassy officials who say they don't know where he is, the elusive Mr Frey is safe in his mountainside home in Switzerland. Here is an article he wrote at TAPOL's request about the events leading to his trial.*

I break through the blanket of cloud. 150 Meters under me lies the Murray Lake, and I try to fly to my next check-point, the Fly River. Two hours ago, I took off from the Torres Strait (Australia). I left Thursday Island directly behind the government Coast-Watch plane, so that I could fly in its "shadow". Next to me sits Claudio, the cameraman. My task is to fly Claudio and his equipment to a secret OPM airstrip in West Papua. He wants to make a film about the resistance of the oppressed people there.

In the meantime we have flown over the border between Papua New Guinea and West Papua. I follow the Mat River. Six months ago, the OPM fighters built a secret airstrip by this river, to enable a film crew from Switzerland to land in OPM territory. About 150 OPM fighters built the strip in the middle of the jungle, large enough to land a small plane, but safely hidden from the Indonesian military.

A reddish-brown strip of 300 by 30 metres lies in the green jungle beneath the plane. That must be the landing strip! Only on the third attempt, with the approach low over the Mat River, does the landing succeed.

Ground contact – and only 150 metres later, the plane has stopped! This isn't a landing strip, it's a field!!! The wheels are buried up to the axles in the muddy earth. Days of rain has softened the otherwise usable runway.

From all sides OPM fighters stream onto the strip. Over a hundred Papuans, some of them armed, surround the plane. Handshakes here, handshakes there – "Selamat Pilot" – a really friendly greeting. There too is Patrick, who was to have looked after the runway, but unfortunately realised too late the bad condition it was in. He is relieved that the plane landed without doing a "headstand".

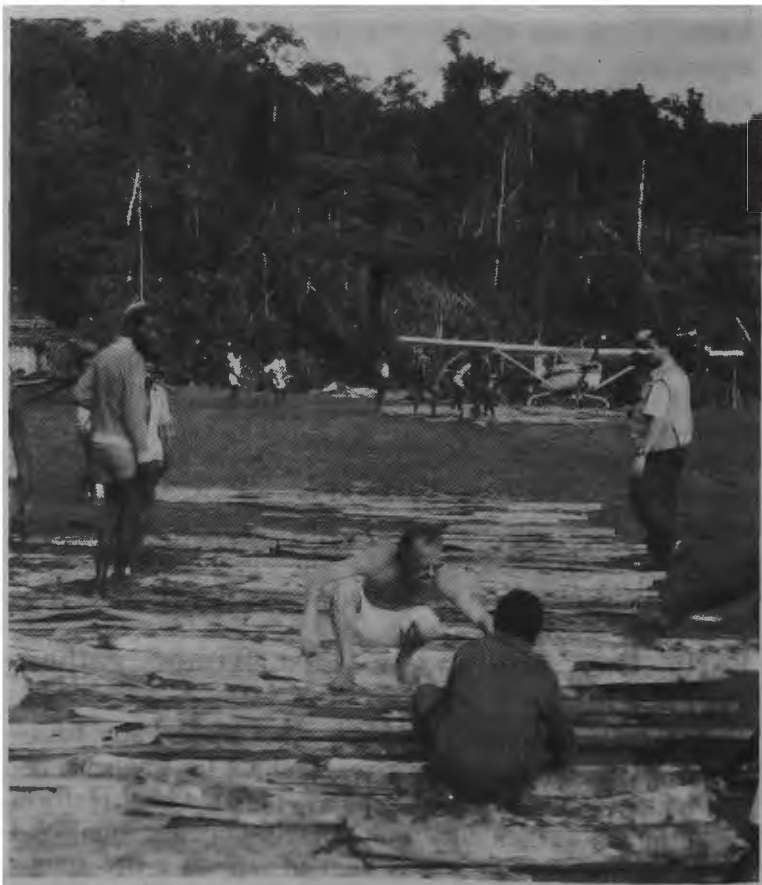
At the edge of the runway, I recognise Bernhard Mawen. He towers over all the Papuans around him. I recognise him from other films. After unloading the plane, the OPM leader invites us into his house, which is only a few metres from the newly built air-strip. Here we discuss the unhappy situation, in peace. For the next few days at least, there is no question of my taking off for Australia. First, the sun must dry out the softened air-strip.

"The Indonesians steal our land, our trees and destroy our environment," begins the OPM commander. We sit round the fireplace in the house, built on stilts. Sago cakes are passed around and the tea-pot does the rounds. Bernhard Mawen asks me to take a letter to the United Nations, in which he mentions the logging and the theft of land. (This letter was confiscated when I was arrested in PNG).

Especially in Merauke district, the conflicts are intensifying day by day between the loggers, transmigrants and indigenous people.

"For one tree, so big that it takes seven Papuans to ring round it, (over 3m diameter equals more than 30 m3 of wood), the firm pays a Papuan 1,300 Rupiah, but often he gets nothing at all," complains Bernhard Mawen. The Commander's secretary types a letter on the portable typewriter; Patrick and Claudio begin installing the generators and the whole video equipment. In the evening, a Dutch film about the OPM, made two years ago, will be shown.

In the meantime, a messenger brings a letter, news from a section operating further south. Although conveying news in the jungle creates many problems, communication problems are brilliantly solved. Radios are available in the



*Theo Frey together with Papuan villagers trying desperately to make the landing-strip useable.*

mobile headquarters of the OPM from Merauke region. Even an envoy from Mecky Salosa found his way to the air-strip. For me this was proof of the well functioning communication between the individual OPM units, spread over the whole country.

## Movie in the jungle

About 100 people crowd around the TV screen, standing on the ladder at the entrance and in the passage to the kitchen, whose woven floor threatens to collapse under the weight of people. The tropical rain drums on the leaf roof of the hut; in the corner drones a small petrol generator. Spell-bound, the OPM fighters watch the Dutch announcer introducing the film about West Papua. Some of the older activists like Bernhard Mawen understand every word as they went to school under the former colonial power.

Suddenly – a shout, the whole hut shakes. For the first time one of the people in the hut appears on the screen. An almost unreal situation, and yet confirmation for those present, that people in the outside world are taking notice of their problems.

This film about the Papuan resistance against the Indonesians, lasts for almost one hour, but the discussions which follow the film last long into the night.

## MBB helicopters

The siren sounds, it is time for morning call. On the landing-strip, the whole company lines up in formation. The commandant presents the assembled unit to Bernhard Mawen and his aides.

The day's task is to prepare the landing-strip. We will try to make the runway ready for take-off by covering it with bark.

While the OPM fighters spread out to find bark in the forest, Bernhard Mawen, his aides, the cameraman and I climb high up the slope to an open hut. For German Television we are to question the Papuans about the use of helicopters. "The Indonesians attacked with these very helicopters up in the Baliem Valley," says the General spontaneously, when I show him pictures of the German BO-105. He still remembers clearly that operations with 'civilian' helicopters from Germany have claimed many Papuan lives. Until today these military helicopters are produced in Indonesia with German backing and used on military operations against the civilian population.

Insistently, Bernhard Mawen asks us to work to influence our western governments so that no more weapons are

# WEST PAPUA

delivered to Indonesia, with which the indigenous people of West Papua are being wiped out. But also on this second day, it rained almost uninterrupted. The condition of the airstrip was getting worse.

## The decision

During the night, it is decided that Patrick and I will set off next day at noon with three OPM fighters to march through the jungle to Papua New Guinea. Claudio is to remain with the OPM in West Papua for a couple of months, to complete shooting for the film. Shortly after midday, our group crosses the Mat River by canoe. A 50 km trek lies before us over the border to the road which runs from Ok Tedi to Kiunga. The path leads us over hills and through valleys, often the stream is the only way. The leeches are omnipresent and are best got rid of with a knife.

"There are troops looking for you at the border and at Trakbits," reports a Papuan family, who we meet about 10 km from the border. "Two days ago, the teacher in Trakbits saw the plane flying over the border and reported it to the authorities straight away by mission radio." It's getting dark and only the dim light of the pocket torch can now help us make out which way to go. The rain has set in, progress becomes even more difficult. In the first village over the border our escorts take their leave, to return to the air-strip. Instead, three others lead us all night towards the road.

## Arrest

While we are waiting at ten o'clock next morning for a car to Kiunga, the police pick us up. We are taken in two police cars to the district post at Kiunga, 60 km away. All documents and films are immediately confiscated. Later I am sentenced to two months hard labour for 'illegal entry into Papua New Guinea' as I had no PNG visa. Patrick was fined 200 Kina and deported for 'assisting illegal entry'.

While I was in jail, Patrick travelled through Australia on the way to Switzerland. In Cairns the Australian authorities threatened to hand him over to Jakarta if he didn't tell them where the plane was in West Papua. Two days after his betrayal the Indonesian Army landed in Puma helicopters on the air-strip and took the plane away. According to subsequent reports, all houses were burnt down in this action, and two women who were there at the time were killed by soldiers. ★

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# Dozens of flag-raisers serving heavy sentences

*After receiving information about the transfer of 70 West Papuan prisoners to East Java, it is now possible to start piecing together what happened to the dozens of people who were arrested in late 1988 and late 1989 following defiant flag-raising incidents. Also, information is slowly emerging about the fate of people captured for alleged complicity with Mecky Salosa.*

In April, at least four more West Papuans were tried in Jayapura district court while at least seven others are on trial. Their names and sentences are expected to be announced soon. These trials are related to that of OPM leader Mecky Salosa, who was extradited from PNG last year and sentenced to life imprisonment in March. The following prisoners and their as yet unsentenced colleagues may possibly be the eleven OPM sympathisers abducted by Indonesian troops during a raid on a border camp inside Papua New Guinea last August. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, 101]

**Otniel Maifun**, alias Oties, (27 years old) was sentenced to 9 years for leading OPM raids, stealing guns from Indonesian posts along the border with Papua New Guinea, mobilising support for the OPM in the Sorong region, and, along with others under the leadership of Mecky Salosa, striving to establish an independent West Papua. According to the Indonesian news agency, *Antara*, the sentence was one year less than that demanded by the prosecution, because 'Otniel behaved well in court and admitted his guilt.' [Reuter 17 April, 1991] Otniel worked as a day labourer on a state-owned nucleus estate/smallholder oil-palm transmigration project.

**Derek Homer** (20) was also found guilty of subversion and sentenced to 9 years for supporting the OPM under Mecky Salosa in the Arso district. In 1989, he spent two days and nights at Mecky Salosa's camp, participated in OPM meetings which plotted to attack ABRI border posts. [Kompas 23 April, 1991]

**Boas Jitmau** (37) was sentenced to 7 years and **Mesak Karsau** (21) to 6 years for attending OPM meetings in Mecky Salosa's camp. [Kompas 18 April, 1991.]

## West Papuan tapols in East Java

In our last *Bulletin*, we reported that in February 70 West Papuan political prisoners were taken from prisons in West Papua to Kalisosok jail in Surabaya, East Java. From more detailed information now in TAPOL's possession, it is clear that most of those prisoners were in some way connected to the flag-raising ceremony of December 1988, organised by Dr. Thomas Wainggai, or the demonstrations a year later. [For background see *TAPOL Bulletin* Nos 95, 97, 102, 104]

These prisoners, who include three clergymen, received sentences of between 2 and 17 years. Dr Wainggai himself was sentenced to 20 years and is in Cipinang prison, West Java. In Kalisosok, the prisoners must face not only isolation from their families, but sickness from unhealthy drinking water. Prisoners in Kalisosok are forced to join *Pancasila* flag-raising ceremonies or lose remission.

Most of the trials of the 70 transferred prisoners have never been mentioned in the press – a marked contrast to the show trials now being conducted in Aceh.

In February the Attorney General's office announced that there had been more subversion trials in West Papua – 44 – than in any other region, since 1988. But according to Amnesty International, there have been at least 81 subversion trials since 1989.

Also among those transferred was life-term prisoner **Eliezer Awom**, alleged OPM leader, and four West Papuans who unsuccessfully sought asylum at the PNG consulate in Jayapura following the December 1989 demonstration. The PNG consul in Jayapura said at the time that he had been given assurances that they would not be taken into custody if they left the consulate.

## Dani warriors imprisoned in Kalisosok

The Indonesian government has adopted a new policy towards Dani warriors fighting tribal wars in the mountainous interior of West Papua. They are putting them on trial in an Indonesian court and sending them hundreds of miles from home to East Java where they now languish in Kalisosok jail. "If there is a quarrel about pigs, land or women it can be settled by *adat* [customary law]," said Lieutenant-Colonel Wenas, district head of Jayawijaya district. "But if it is war and there are casualties, those responsible must be brought to justice." [Editor May 11, 1991] A more heavy-handed response is difficult to imagine.

## New Amnesty report on West Papua

In April, Amnesty International produced a report on human rights abuses in West Papua. Entitled *Continuing Human Rights Violations in Irian Jaya*, the report includes excellent documentation on political prisoners and details of unfair political trials. It covers refugees and asylum-seekers, extrajudicial killings and "disappearances" and the torture of political prisoners.

Amnesty believes that there are at least 130 political prisoners in West Papua, most convicted under the 1963 Anti-Subversion Law. Most of the cases described in the report have already been publicised by TAPOL. An outline of some of the cases not previously reported by TAPOL is given below.

Among several extrajudicial executions, the killing of **Soleman Daundi**, 22, is detailed. In May 1990 security forces reportedly shot and beheaded him after he had given

himself up to local authorities in Napdari village on the island of Biak. After cutting off his head, the soldiers are said to have carried it to the local military headquarters at Wardo, displaying it in Sarwa and more than a dozen other villages along the way. After being shown to commanding military officers at the Military Resort Command (KOREM 173) and the Military District Command (KODIM 1708), it was handed over to a priest and buried. Soleman Daundi was apparently involved in a flag-raising ceremony in Sopen in December 1989 or January 1990 and subsequently went into hiding.

In July 1989, Sopater Ayomi, Lukas Marey, Rony David Mbaubedari and Hanokh Octavio Boari were arrested for allegedly planning a flag-raising ceremony in Jayapura and for distributing leaflets advocating independence from Indonesia. They were convicted of subversion and sentenced to terms of between 4 and 8 years. Amnesty received unconfirmed reports that all except Lukas Marey were beaten by the police after their arrest.

Drs Alberth S. Kailele was sentenced to 17 years after commemorating the December 1988 flag-raising ceremony the following year. He was reported to have led a prayer service on the morning of December 14, 1989. At least twenty nine others were also charged with subversion and sentenced to lengthy prison terms.

## More extraditions imminent?

Two West Papuans and a Papua New Guinean have been arrested by PNG security forces and charged in connection with the kidnapping of six people, near the border with West Papua last year. [*Post Courier* 23 April, 1991] There are fears that the West Papuans will be forcibly returned to West Papua, where they are likely to suffer maltreatment by the Indonesian security forces.

Although Papua New Guinea has no formal extradition treaty with Indonesia, the practice is becoming common-

place and has been confirmed by the Indonesian government in a letter to Amnesty International. Replying to Amnesty's letter expressing concern for the well-being of Mecky Salosa, Indonesia said the PNG government had "officially extradited Mr. Salosa... leader of the security disturbance-maker in Irian Jaya to the government of Indonesia." [*Indonesia: Continuing Human Rights Violations in Irian Jaya*, AI April 1991].

## West Papuan refugees write to 'Suara Papua'

Conditions in the refugee camps in Papua New Guinea are becoming steadily worse for West Papuan refugees there. According to a letter from refugees living in Iowara, East Awin, published in *Suara Papua*, the newsletter of the Netherlands-based West Papua People's Front, the refugees only receive half a kilo of rice per person per week. They no longer get rations of salt, sugar, cooking oil, dried or canned fish or soap. Food cannot be grown near the camp as the land is infertile, and when the refugees try to hunt for food in the forest, they run into conflict with local people. "Most refugees who have returned to Indonesia, did so because they could no longer hold out in the camp... They say, 'It's better to return home than stay and suffer in Papua New Guinea.'"

The letter outlines problems with educating their children, lack of health facilities, and housing. The refugees also regret that they have had no assistance in addressing their religious needs, such as funds to build a church.

Finally, the letter describes how refugees are restricted to the camp and feel their rights as guaranteed by international standards such as the international convention on refugees, are begin denied. [*Suara Papua* March/April, 1991]

*continuation from page 21*

cut by half the Ramadhan allowance for 1991. [*Surabaya Pos*, 4 April 1991]

## Home Ministry declares Setiakawan illegal

The Secretary General of the newly established Setiakawan Free Trade Union, Saut Aritonang, has made public the contents of a classified letter sent by the Department of the Interior to local labour officials in Tangerang, West Java ordering them not to deal with Setiakawan because it is "illegal" and is acting in contravention of the Social Organisations Law No. 8 of 1985 which requires all organisations to register with the Interior Department. Attempts by the union to register have been rebuffed.

Saut told Reuter that he had sent a letter to President Suharto to complain about the Interior Department's action. "What is surprising is that the (Interior Department's) letter recognises that the union is supported by international labour laws and by our national constitution but declares it illegal anyway," said Saut.

Earlier, workers from Tangerang went to Parliament in a demonstration, under Setiakawan banners, to protest at their employers' decision to reduce their wages. Two days after the protest, ten of the demonstrators were arrested and questioned about the action. This was apparently done following the Interior Department's letter about the "illegal" status of Setiakawan. [*Reuter*, 5 April 1991]

## Women workers demonstrate in Jakarta

Several dozen women workers (50 according to *Pelita*, nearly a hundred according to *Tempo*) demonstrated at the Labour Department in Jakarta, calling for better working conditions. Their banners said: "Women workers of Indonesia: Unite to demand justice!", "We are not machines!" and "I was sacked when I became pregnant".

The demonstration called for better wages, protection against dismissal on getting married or becoming pregnant, payment of overtime money, safety at work, annual holidays and the right to organise. Accompanying the protestors were several activist groups: Social Information and Legal Guidance Network, Committee for the Creative Education of Children, Women's Action Group for Justice and Solidarity Action Appeal.

The demonstrators came from factories in the Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi area where thousands of factories have mushroomed in the last decade or so. Most companies pay their workers well below the statutory minimum wage of Rp. 2,100 (about one US dollar) a day and force their workers to do overtime without proper remuneration on the threat of instant dismissal. The protestors said many under-age girls are employed. A number of Tangerang companies insist even on their married women workers living in special compounds with tiny cells and strict rules against leaving the compound without permission. [See "Working conditions in the new factories" by Addison and Rea, *Inside Indonesia*, March 1991.]



# Plunder in Paradise

**West Papua: Plunder in Paradise**, published by the *Anti-Slavery Society*, London, 1991. 85 pages. Price: £4.95.

This slim volume, published by the Anti-Slavery Society and written by the anthropologist Andrew Gray, joins a number of other books presenting a broad assessment of West Papua's struggle for self-determination. Access to West Papua is restricted by the Indonesian authorities, and little detailed research has been done either on the cultural or on the recent political history of the country. West Papua remains one of the least known areas of the world, and it is credit to the authors of most of the books so far published that they have been able to give so complete and convincing an account of the tragedy which has befallen the West Papuan people under Indonesian rule. Still, given that this new book has to depend on much the same source as its predecessors, it is fair to ask whether it has anything more to offer.

*Plunder in Paradise* goes over much the same ground as, for example, TAPOL's *Obliteration of a People*, tracing the West Papuan independence movement back to the period of Dutch colonial domination, the betrayal of that movement by the UN and the superpowers when West Papua was handed over to Indonesia, and the subsequent repression of and exploitation of the country by the Indonesian armed forces. The newer book of course includes more recent developments, such as the threat of huge forestry projects in Merauke and Bintuni Bay. And it is particularly good at highlighting the role played by organisations like the World Bank, the aid agencies and the missionaries, although the brevity of these sections – and indeed, the brevity of the book – shows up the crying need for more detailed research on West Papua.

Where *Plunder in Paradise* really scores over other books is in its depiction of the cultural and historical background to the independence struggle in West Papua – the author's anthropological training appears to have been put to good use here. By explaining the long tradition of resistance to foreign domination – hardened by experience under the Dutch and Japanese, long before the Indonesians arrived, and by showing us the West Papuans' age-old hope for a kind of cosmic justice, symbolised by the Morning Star national flag, the author makes it easy for us to understand why the West Papuans have kept up their struggle against Indonesia, despite the overwhelming odds against them. And his close ecological scrutiny of different West Papuan communities shows us why the culturally insensitive Javanese were almost doomed to clash with their new colonial subjects, as well as making the case that the West Papuans are so distinct from other Indonesians as to destroy the ethnographical case for it being part of the Republic.

The author is good, too, at shooting down Indonesia's others arguments supporting its claim, and at detailing the shameful hypocrisy of the United Nations, something that institution would do well to remember as it sets itself the task of playing international adjudicator once more. The clear context in which West Papua's present troubles are put by the book make it particularly suitable for those new to the subject. Add to that the astonishing amount of informa-

tion packed into eighty odd pages – I felt as though I'd read at least twice as many, and the very cogent and readable way in which it is presented, and you have probably the best introduction to West Papua yet written.

Jeremy Smithers

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## Plunder in paradise

**Papua Merdeka!** [Free Papua!], a 40-minute video, directed by Peter Monet, available on UMATIC and VHS.

For a visual portrayal of West Papua's fateful transformation from being a Dutch colony to becoming a colony of Indonesia, this video is nothing short of first class. Peter Monet, a Canadian film-maker who produced a video several years ago about East Timor, has clearly scoured film archives around the world to provide a stunning array of clips highlighting events in the West Papuan tragedy which we have often read about, but never seen in action. There are shots of Indonesian paratroopers who landed in West Papua, thinking that they would be warmly welcomed, being handed over to the authorities, shots of the early OPM activities in Arfak, flag-raising at an OPM camp in the bush, footage about multinational activities, including of course, Freeport, and even a clip showing Sukarno, on 2 October 1965, appointing Suharto to take charge of the armed forces.

The story is held together by a series of interviews, every time illustrated, as the person continues to speak, by appropriate footage on the screen. Victor Kaisiepo and Cory Ap speak for the Papuans themselves, representatives from TAPOL fill in the details about how West Papua was betrayed, while a more global analysis of the West Papuan case is given by Noam Chomsky and Lord Avebury.

This professionally-made video is a must for anyone involved in support work for West Papua. It is an excellent campaigning tool and far more lively and informative than speeches can ever be.

Copies are available from: V-Tape, 183 Bathurst Street, Ontario, Canada M5T 2R7. Phone: (416) 863-9897. Fax: (416) 360-0781.

Carmel Budiardjo

# Women workers defend their rights

*There has been an increase in the level of industrial action; many strikes coincided with Ramadhan fasting month when workers expect an annual bonus to cover rising costs always associated with the main Muslim holiday of the year. In most factories where disputes broke out, women account for the majority of the workers.*

## Women workers attack factory

Around a thousand employees, mostly women, of PT Spartan Indah Shoe Manufacturer, which manufactures sports shoes for export, inflicted serious damage on the factory when they started throwing stones and breaking down windows. The factory is situated in Tangerang, West Java. The workers' anger exploded after receiving this year's annual allowance, regularly given during the month of Ramadhan. Many had been given far less than last year on the grounds that they had not worked hard enough. The workers also complained that the employers were authoritarian and often sacked people for no apparent reason.

The workers caused havoc in the canteen, the offices and other buildings and destroyed two vehicles parked outside. Filing cabinets and drawers in the offices were opened up and documents strewn on the floor; computers were destroyed.



*Tangerang workers demanding proper wages and the establishment of a trade union in their factory.*

Security officials guarding the premises were so overwhelmed by the onslaught that they fled for safety. They even failed to intimidate the women by firing into the air.

Following the attack, the factory was closed for a week for the vacation and it was not clear how the dispute would be resolved, but during the closedown, the premises were heavily guarded by local police and troops. [Kompas, 15 April 1991]

## Sacked for wanting a union

Five hundred workers at an electro-machine factory in Tangerang went on strike to demand the re-instatement of a colleague who had been dismissed for trying to set up a branch of the government-sponsored trade union, the SPSI

in their factory, IBP PT. The dismissed man was Suyoto, a supervisor in the electrical division. His dismissal led to the one-day strike for his re-instatement and to support the creation of a union branch.

During negotiations with the local Labour Department, workers' representatives said they had been trying for ten years to set up an SPSI branch but had been prevented from doing so by the management. A Labour Department official endorsed their demand for a union and agreed that Suyoto's dismissal was not lawful.

However, the company refused to allow Suyoto to return to work and even dismissed four of his colleagues as well. They alleged that Suyoto and his friends had been 'inciting the workers to breach company rules'. On top of being dismissed, the workers were summoned to the local military command - *Koramil* - and questioned about the affair.

The one-day strike at IBP PT came after a four-day strike at another factory in Tangerang, KCI PT, in support of demands for payment of the annual Ramadhan bonus, for higher wages, better medical facilities and the creation of an SPSI union. [Kompas, 6 and 13 April 1991]

## 4,200 cigarette factory workers strike

More than four thousand women workers at the Panamas cigarette factory in Malang downed tools and started attacking the premises after hearing that the company's Ramadhan allowance this year had been cut to a fourth of the 1990 allowance. The action began without warning when some workers received their allowance and discovered that the amount had been drastically reduced. The news spread like wildfire among the women who were working at their machines; many women stopped working, left the factory en masse and began to attack company property.

Security officials were unable to cope with the onrush of women and called in the police for assistance.

Renewed anger erupted the next day when representatives of the workers arrived back at the factory to report that their demand for a full allowance had been rejected. Following a storm of protest inside the factory, police drove many of the workers out. But those who had been driven out began to throw stones at the factory, while those inside chucked the cigarettes they were making on the floor and broke up bundles of tobacco, throwing the contents out onto the courtyard. Police and soldiers then used tear gas to restore order.

Finally, the company caved in, raising the allowance to the amount given last year. [Jawa Post and Surabaya Pos, 4 and 6 April 1991]

Another cigarette factory in Surabaya, HM Sampoerna PT, also faced a sitdown strike by its workforce of over 3,000 women, also protesting against the company's decision to

*continued on page 19*



# Calendar distributors to be charged

## Land-for-people calendar banned

A 1991 calendar which depicts in caricature a number of land disputes in many parts of Indonesia during the past decade or so was banned by the public prosecutor's office on 6 May, and attempts are now under way to find the person who drew the caricatures. Meanwhile, two persons who were interrogated by the police for receiving or disseminating the calendar are to be charged under Articles 137 and 155 of the Criminal Code. Article 155 makes 'spreading hatred' a criminal offence and carries a maximum sentence of four and a half years. The trials are expected to start soon. Both defendants are now or have been associated with the Geni Foundation, a social action group composed mainly of students and lecturers at Satya Wacana University, Salatiga. At least twelve others involved in its distribution have been interrogated.

The nine non-governmental organisations whose logos appear on the calendar have taken full responsibility for the calendar but the authorities have chosen to direct their attack on two persons who, at best, could only be described as 'accessories'. The 9 NGOs are: INSAN (Information and Study of Human Rights), KEMURI (Committee for Student Action for the Indonesian People), LPHAM (League for the Defence of Human Rights), FDPY (Yogyakarta Women's Discussion Forum), SKEPHI (People's Network for Forest Conservation), INFIGHT (Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights), KKPI (Indonesian Women's Awakening Group), LEKHAT (League for the Study of Civil Rights) and the Bandung Legal Aid Institute.

On 8 March, INFIGHT, issued a press release defending the publication of the calendar; four days later, SKEPHI issued a statement describing the calendar as a constructive effort to raise awareness about land issues and saying that the drawings of officials reflected the reality of military repression against people expelled from their own land. The campaign against such expulsions would continue, it said, even if it meant facing arrests and violence from the security forces.

On 18 March, all 9 NGOs went to the police in Salatiga to discuss the matter but no-one at the police station would meet them. They then read a prepared statement to the press and left. The police chief later told journalists the Geni Foundation was being held responsible and that the suspects had already been identified. The nine NGOs are likely to be called as witnesses.

The defendants are:

**Buntomi (or Bunthoni)** a graduate of Satya Wacana and a member of the environmental activist group, WALHI, for whom he is doing research on energy. He is the only one of five children of a small trader's family living in Purwokerto who was able to complete his education. He was director of the Geni Foundation from 1989 till January 1991 when he resigned to look for work as a journalist. Buntomi's troubles began when the local police heard that he had received fifty copies of the calendar from the Legal Aid Institute, Bandung. He asked Mathius to handle sales of the calendar.

The police decision to charge the persons connected with the Geni Foundation and ignore the nine NGOs may reflect a desire to mount a case aimed at students and lecturers at Satya Wacana University where activism in favour of the victims of land disputes, in particular around the Kedung Ombo dispute, is very strong.

On 8 April, students at the university wanted to hold a meeting to discuss the calendar affair in the auditorium but were denied permission. Despite this, between 800 and a thousand people showed up, making it impossible for anyone to prevent the meeting from going ahead.

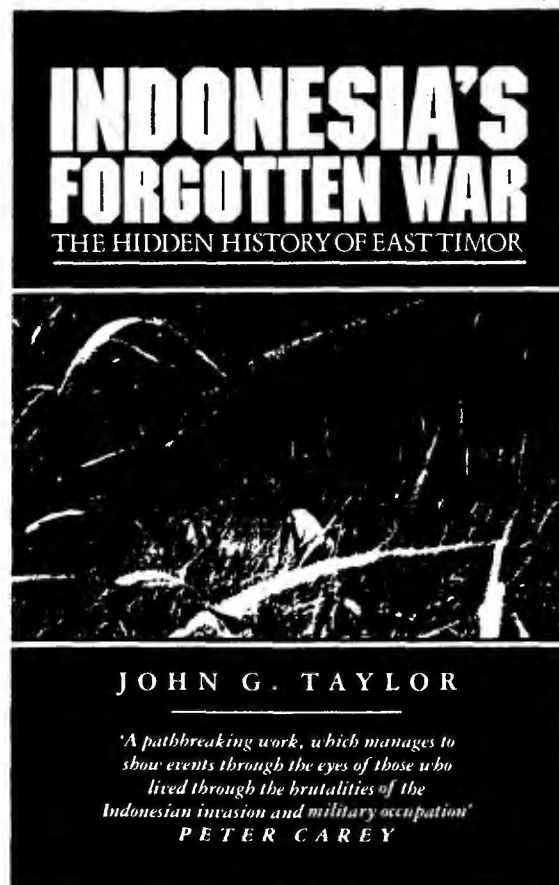
In a statement issued on 13 May, Asia Watch called on the Indonesian government to drop the charges and stop harassing others involved in the distribution of the calendar.

The nine NGOs have also called for the charges to be dropped and have called on the police in Salatiga to have a dialogue with them as those responsible for the calendar.

## Caricaturist sought

The prosecutor's office in Yogyakarta is meanwhile hunting a man, identified only as 'YK' or 'YYK', whom they suspect as the one whose caricatures were used on the

*continued on page 9*



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# Travel bans and voting rights

## The right to travel becomes an issue

The right to leave one's country and return has long been recognised as a basic human right, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 13 (2) reads: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

As with every other basic human right, the Suharto regime has never recognised any such right. The 1.4 million PKI suspects are not allowed to travel abroad except in exceptional circumstances. A similar blanket ban applies to East Timorese. For several years, attempts by the human rights activist, Poncke Princen, to travel to Geneva to attend the UN Human Rights Commission have been thwarted by the travel ban on his freedom of movement for many years.

It is surprising therefore that this right has suddenly become a major political issue in Indonesia. The recent interest was sparked by the news that Arief Budiman, a sociology lecturer at Satya Wacana University, was told, when he applied for an exit permit to attend an INGI meeting in Washington, that he would not be allowed to leave. Although Arief was able to sort things out and leave, it came as a great surprise to many people to learn from comments by ministers at the time that the Immigration Department has a blacklist of 17,000 people who may not travel abroad.

The blacklist is compiled on the basis of decisions taken by several security agencies, the Armed Forces and its national stability agency, Bakorstanas, the strategic intelligence agency, BAKIN, and the public prosecutors' office, which also advice on a blacklist of foreigners who must be prevented from entering Indonesia. People on the foreigners blacklist include Ben Anderson, a professor of politics at Cornell University, and journalists David Jenkins and Steve Erlanger. Besides the blacklist for travel abroad, there are people whose names are 'noted', meaning that when they wish to travel, an investigation will decide whether or not they may go.

It was left to Admiral (ret'd) Sudomo, Coordination Minister for Political and Security Affairs, to explain that apart from corruptors and people in trouble with the tax office, the ban applies to all dissidents. The government fears that they will speak out against the government while overseas and exert an unfavourable influence on Indonesia's financial backers in the West; the government, he said, has no intention of lifting the restrictions. He is not swayed by arguments that, global communications being what they are, it is not difficult for anti-government people to get their views publicised abroad.

## Petition-of-50 told to apologise

When it became clear that all members of the Petition-of-50 group were blacklisted, they took up the challenge and made much-publicised visits to various ministers, complaining against these restrictions.

The travel ban was imposed on members of the group eleven years ago, after the first Petition was issued in 1980 in response to two speeches by President Suharto. In a meeting with eleven members of the group, led by

Lieut.General Ali Sadikin, Sudomo told them the travel ban would not be lifted unless they withdrew the Petition and apologised to President Suharto. The Petition was considered to be an insult to the President and a threat to national unity and stability, he said. The travel ban is based on a 1959 regulation giving the executive powers to refuse to issue passports on the grounds of a threat to security and public order.

Members of the group said earlier they may challenge the government in court over its refusal to allow them to travel abroad. Announcing this, Poncke Princen said there was no basis in law for the refusal. [*Suara Merdeka*, 10.5.91]

## Not 17,000, but 1.4 million!

Nothing has been said by anyone about the blanket travel ban on people regarded as ex-PKI members or sympathisers. No-one imagines that the list of names on the computers used by immigration officers at airports and harbours includes all these hundreds of thousands of people. But as we reported earlier this year [*TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 103], ex-members of the PKI cannot be issued passports unless they wish to travel for clearly specified, acceptable purposes, for which they need a recommendation from the provincial social and political affairs department.

## 36,345 'ex-PKI' disenfranchised

At the same time as announcing the start of the registration of voters for the 1992 general elections, the Minister for the Interior, retired General Rudini said that 36,345 'ex-PKI' people would not be allowed to vote. He said this was less than in 1987 when the number disenfranchised was more than 43,000, as if this was a sign of improvement.

Each time an election approaches, the security forces screen the 1.4 million people who are regarded as ex-tapols, ex-PKI, or ex-members of banned organisations. This in itself is a violation of basic human rights; this huge number of people must prove themselves fit to vote.

Although Rudini did not bother to explain what criteria were used to determine people's 'fitness', a report from West Kalimantan gives an idea of what they really are. The local chief of social-political affairs said that the people disenfranchised there had failed "to adhere to the regulations and have never attended a counselling programme on statehood and nationhood held on the 17th of every month. They are often absent for days without notifying the officials concerned." [*Indonesian Observer*, 2 May 1991] In other words, all 1.4 million 'suspects' are required to take indoctrination courses and attend monthly flag-raising rituals.





## The guerrilla struggle in fiction

Timothy Mo, *The Redundancy of Courage*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1991, 408 pages. Price: £13.99, hardback.



"'You really are a bunch of bastards,' And then: 'I hope the whole world...' But what Bill Mabeley hoped of the whole world was cut short by the shot which pitched him dead on his side."

It is not difficult to recognise Bill Mabeley as Roger East, the Australian journalist murdered with dozens of East Timorese on the water-front in Dili on the day Indonesian troops invaded East Timor. The terrifying spectacle in seen through the eyes of Adolf Ng, a Chinese hotelier, the narrator throughout the book, who was one of those dragooned to the scene of death, first to shout out the numbers as the bodies plopped into the water, then to drag the bodies out and pile them up for incineration.

Thus starts this extraordinary novel which relates the story of 'Danu', of 'FAKOU', the party which led the country after the Civil War, and the heroic exploits of 'FAKINTIL' guerrillas, holding out for years against the 'Malais'. Anyone who knows the real history will easily identify the *personae* and the events in which the narrator becomes the reluctant participant. Adolf Ng, a 'Chinaman' to Malais and Danuese alike, is always on the fringes of society even among the FAKINTIL guerrillas who abduct him and whom he works for and with, until captured by the Malais several years later. As a more or less dispassionate and sometimes cynical observer, ready to make the best of the circumstances in which he finds himself – if you like, an opportunist – Ng gives a rounded picture of men and women whose heroism and courage is never in doubt. They

are not angels but ordinary people, some nice, others just plain 'sons of a bitch'.

The central tension is between Osvaldo Oliveira, the FAKINTIL commander – Nicolau Lobato and Xanana Gusmao rolled into one – and his older brother Martinho, an ex-seminarian whose religious fervour gets the better of his devotion to the cause, leading him to surrender and betrayal. The doctor with whom Ng is abducted, Maria Nolasco da Silva, is a formidable character who saves many lives with her amputations and native medicines. The description of her marriage to Osvaldo, with the traditional slaughter of a buffalo, gives some insight into the way ordinary life goes on, in the most extraordinary of circumstances.

Timothy Mo, the writer, has established himself as one of Britain's leading writers, with several literary awards to his credit and, according to many reviewers of this highly readable novel, a likely winner of this year's Booker Prize. He has obviously spared no effort in researching the history of the East Timor tragedy. Most of it is there, the Balibo slaughter, the Civil War, the West's callous disregard as the tragedy unfolds, the crucial role of the OV10-Broncos which turned the fortunes in Indonesia's favour, the attack on the television station in Dili, the fence-of-legs operation, the stage-managed journalists visits.

But Mo uses his imagination to depict incidents that could easily have happened, bringing to life the bitter struggle between ragged, ill-fed and poorly-equipped guerrillas and the ruthless, smooth-faced, heavily-armed forces of occupation. One such is an attack on 'Bacalhau' airport, which Osvaldo orders for the purpose of killing off the pilots whose Broncos are wreaking such havoc. It seems improbable that Nicolau Lobato would have ordered such a dangerous exploit, knowing full well that the dead pilots would easily be replaced. But the incident is, to my mind, one of the highlights, especially when the guerrillas burst their way into the pilots' mess, only to find a table full of food, and can't resist the temptation of stuffing the food in their mouths, watched by the startled pilots, before putting the men to death.

The central figures on the 'Malais' side are Colonel Goreng (!), the military commander, a mindless, corrupt officer, his wife, Nonya (misspelt throughout, though most other Indonesian words are spelt correctly) Goreng, and Captain Rebus (!) commander of the red berets, a ruthless and cunning soldier. While Rebus gets blown up along with Osvaldo who detonates a grenade strapped to his waist, after the destruction of the TV station, Goreng is moved to a safer post in 'Dili' (ie, Bali), taking with him the hapless Ng who has become a glorified house-boy in the Goreng household. It is not difficult for Ng to buy his way out of his predicament, for his dead father had stashed his wealth away overseas and Goreng is easily persuaded to let Ng go, for a price.

The final scene is at the UN in New York where Ng meets Joaquim Lobato – Jose Ramos Horta, of course – and hears about his desperate efforts to keep the struggle on

the international agenda.

*The Redundancy of Courage* succeeds in giving flesh and blood to a piece of contemporary history which has till now been told only through political pamphlets and analytical books (of which John Taylor's *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor* is the most recent). There is plenty of wit and dry humour, and an acute sense of the inspiration of the bush fighters for the people whose country has been so wickedly devastated. This is how he records the impact of Osvaldo's death:

*The death of Osvaldo was a devastating blow to all Danuese patriots, it took something away from everyone, whether they had been IP (ie, UDT) in the past or not. Even if they had never contemplated the smallest act of*

## BOOK REVIEW

*resistance themselves, the notion of FAKINTIL in the hills with their leader had offered the possibility of freedom one day. It had been a remote possibility but it had existed. And this possibility had been closely identified with the figure of Osvaldo himself. (page 389)*

But Mo's concluding words are inspired: "I do know that nothing died with Osvaldo except his faults.... The *malais* might have put the torch to the field, they might think they've exterminated all the creatures in it, but there will always be one woodchuck left. There always is." (page 408)

Carmel Budiardjo

THE TIMES SATURDAY APRIL 20 1991



## WHAT ABOUT TIMOR?

Western leaders have spent the months since the Kuwait campaign claiming that small countries have thereby been rendered safer from aggression. Is this true? Until some recent failures to uphold international law against like aggression are remedied, the claim will be hollow. East Timor must head the list of such failures. While the world rightly hurries to the aid of the Kurds, the Timorese must suffer in silence.

The United Nations has a long history of double standards in policing the ailments of the world. In December 1975, Indonesian troops armed with British and American weapons invaded East Timor, a small country of some 700,000 people (smaller than Kuwait), occupying half an island to the east of Indonesia and just north of Australia. The invasion followed East Timor's liberation from five centuries of Portuguese colonisation.

United Nations Security Council resolution 384, passed unanimously, called on Indonesia to withdraw its forces immediately and upheld the rights of the Timorese to self-determination. Between 1975 and 1982, the security council and the UN general assembly passed no fewer than ten similar resolutions. The last resolution turned the Timorese over to the UN secretary-general's good offices, which was in effect an admission of defeat.

Indonesia subdued the Timorese, a racially and culturally distinct people, in a ruthless war of oppression that continues today. By the Indonesian government's own admission, military operations and related famine had caused the deaths of 120,000 people by 1979, a higher mortality rate than Cambodia suffered under Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. The toll is now estimated at nearly 200,000. Survivors have been subjected to the worst excesses of a police state. To break guerrilla resistance, peasants were forced into "strategic hamlets". Night raids by death squads have supplemented widespread torture and summary executions.

Today, only a few hundred armed men seem to be resisting the Indonesians. Since 1989 the country, totally sealed off from the outside world for years, has been opened to

tourism and foreign investment, although all foreigners are kept under surveillance. Yet more than 10,000 Indonesian troops are still deemed necessary to repress the Timorese and protect Indonesian colonisers. The governor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, is a Timorese who has promoted economic development and fought corruption by the Indonesian army. Even he admits that detentions, beatings and killings continue. East Timor is a terrorised place, the majority of whose people long for the independence they thought the Portuguese gave them.

Portugal, legally recognised by the UN as the "administering power", has recovered from its post-colonial lethargy and has recently championed the Timorese right to self-determination. Lisbon has sought British support in vain. Congressional protests have fallen on deaf ears in the White House. The Vatican has been more interested in Indonesia's 20 million Catholic minority than in championing the largely Catholic Timorese. Australia, East Timor's neighbour, concluded a treaty with Indonesia last year to exploit oil reserves in East Timorese waters.

Next year Portugal will try to use its turn in the EC's rotating presidency to obtain solid support for East Timor. Britain should not wait to be invited. Indonesia may be a large market, but it has large debts. It needs Western (and Japanese) goodwill. Its refusal to recognise, even to discuss, Timorese rights is made possible by one factor, a complete lack of pressure from the outside world. American television networks do not clamour for entry. No heart-rending pictures stir Western emotions to righteous indignation.

Pressure on Indonesia should get the same UN support as pressure on Iraq did over Kuwait and now over the Kurds. That an outrage is 16 years old does not make it less of an outrage. Both military and economic sanctions would be perfectly in order. A referendum under UN supervision, to enable the Timorese to decide their own future, is overdue. If the new world order means anything, East Timor should return at once to the UN agenda.



# International protest as Suharto opens Kedung Ombo dam

*On 18 May, President Suharto inaugurated the Kedung Ombo dam despite continuing protest by peasant families who lost their land with hardly any compensation. While peasants still refusing to leave the dam area were kept far away from the ceremony by tight security, Suharto said they "have no future" unless they relocate. He said their hopes for more compensation "will never be fulfilled". World Bank officials earlier ignored the peasants' plea for help in securing fair compensation.*

In a letter to the World Bank President before the ceremony, TAPOL reminded the Bank of its failure to act when flooding started more than two years ago and warned:

*Unless immediate action is taken to address the demands of the families remaining in the dam, the world will once again witness the World Bank turning a blind eye to the plight of the farming families whose lives have been devastated by the Kedung Ombo dam. It will prove to the international community that recent promises by the Bank to show a greater commitment to the social effects of its projects are nothing more than a cynical exercise in public relations.*

The UK-based Ecologist focused on how the Bank has ignored its own guidelines: "As you know, Bank guidelines dating 1982 to 1984 require that persons disadvantaged by Bank-supported projects 'shall be appropriately compensated to a degree that makes them at least no worse off (and preferably better off) than without the project'. This has been flouted at Kedung Ombo, where cash compensation has been obviously inadequate, resettlement sites infertile, unwatered, and inaccessible, and transmigration options blatantly unacceptable." A letter from the Canadian NGO Probe International echoed the others in its final warning:

"if the World Bank fails [to intervene] in the eleventh hour, then truly the Bank's claims of being concerned for the environment and for people will be exposed as so many empty words."

The Bank's reply to these letters is an insult. Russell J. Cheetham of the Asia Region staff made no reference to the inauguration, sending instead a standard reply expressing bland concern for the future welfare of the families.

In April, eleven Kedung Ombo farmers protested at the World Bank's office in Jakarta, where they told officials how compensation had been set without the legally required consultations. As a result, the compensation offered was less than a tenth of the market price. Given Cheetham's comment on compensation, "...we understand that the Indonesian authorities have followed up their regulations for compensating farmers at Kedung Ombo...", the farmers were clearly wasting their time.

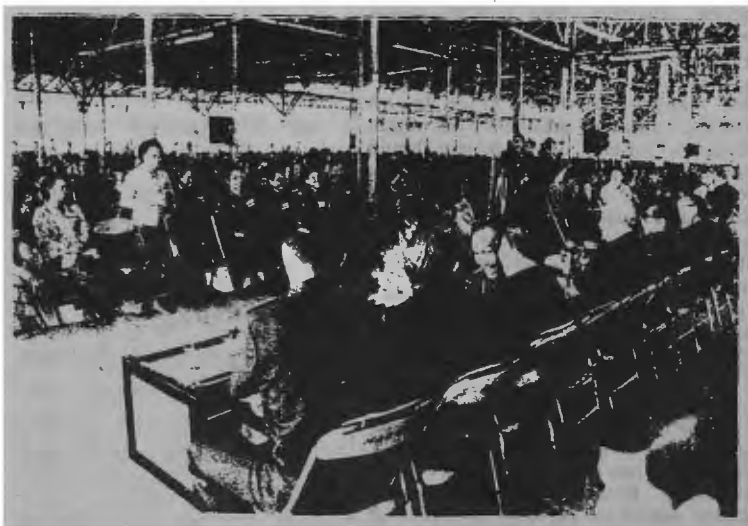
## Tight security stifles protest

It comes as no surprise that strict security was enforced to prevent any protest during the opening ceremony. According to *Kyodo*, troops were "massed" along roads leading to the dam. Other sources say road-blocks prevented anyone from outside entering the area.

The heavy security reflects the strong element of force surrounding the development of the Kedung Ombo dam. In the early stages of the conflict, troops were sent in to intimidate the population. Troops were also sent in earlier this year to 'help' villagers who want to move and to build alternative homes for them.

## Kedung Ombo farmers meet IGGI Chair

Some Kedung Ombo farmers and human rights organisations anticipated that heavy security would make opposition impossible. They decided to channel their protests instead towards Jan Pronk, Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation, also Chair of the IGGI, Indonesia's creditor nations group. In a meeting on May 12, facilitated by INFIGHT, the Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights, two Kedung Ombo farmers told Pronk about the inadequate compensation and their opposition to the opening. Pronk, apparently moved by their appeal, praised their bravery in telling their story in the presence of the press (an acknowledgement of Indonesia's lack of free speech.) According to INFIGHT, the Armed Forces Information Centre (Puspen Hankam ABRI) telephoned editors of domestic and international journals in an attempt to stop the press from reporting the meeting. INFIGHT deplored



*President Suharto and other high-placed officials at the heavily guarded opening ceremony of the dam. The guests were hand-picked and Suharto used the occasion to warn the peasants that that no compromise is possible and further protests would be futile.*

this restriction on freedom of expression, adding that it proved that "the spirit of openness behind the government's policies of debureaucratization and deregulation (is) mere political window-dressing." [INFIGHT, May 17, 1991]

As Chair of IGGI, Pronk has considerable influence in Indonesia. Although it is the Dutch foreign minister not Pronk who is officially responsible for human rights, Pronk's contact with high-ranking Indonesian officials and IGGI creditor nations gives him some clout. Some sources say he raised the Kedung Ombo issue with the Indonesian government, expressing the hope that a solution could be found before the inauguration on May 18th.

Against President Suharto, Pronk proved ineffective and Suharto remained immovable. "It is impossible to give more compensation for those who still refuse to accept the amount already set", he said. [Kyodo May 18, 1991]

### Government taken to court

The World Bank's reply to protest letters also noted that Kedung Ombo families had taken the government to court over compensation. There are at least two cases at different stages in the court and many more to come. The first, a suit filed by 54 farmers from Kedung Pring village against the Central Java governor Ismail, was rejected by the appeal court last December. Now the farmers want to take the case to the Supreme Court. Another 49 farmers from Sragen district will sue the governor soon. According to Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH), over 1,700 other residents also want to sue the government. [Kyodo 18 May 1991]

Despite recent rhetoric of social and environmental responsibility, the Bank follows a hands off policy. This was confirmed by the Jakarta office's chief of operations, Ali Sabeti, in a meeting with students supporting the Kedung Ombo farmers. Bringing up issues of moral responsibility would be interfering in Indonesian sovereignty. Suharto put it more bluntly: "The World Bank only built the dam, ...the government manages the whole project." [Indonesian Observer 15 April, Kyodo 18 May, 1991]

The Bank clearly does not want to jeopardise its links with Suharto for peasants its development projects are supposed to help. Kedung Ombo farmers in Kedung Pring village say that neither the World Bank nor the government has ever come to their village to discuss the project. The Bank is proud of its partnership with Indonesia which has seen more than \$16 billion in loans flooding into the country. In a speech marking the Bank's 200th project in Indonesia, Moeen Qureshi, Senior Vice President for operations, praised "the sustained quality of collaboration between the Bank and Indonesia". [Indonesian Development News, January/February 1991] He has a point: there is certainly a consistency in the way, from transmigration to population control to Kedung Ombo, Bank-funded projects have ignored the needs and rights of people involved.

As far as the Bank is concerned, Indonesia is a model aid recipient; according to Qureshi, for more than 20 years the Bank has enjoyed "a most constructive relationship with Indonesia... that may be unique among the Bank's member countries." Human rights and democracy are not permitted to tarnish this special relationship.

### Kedung Ombo and IGGI

Jan Pronk has signalled his willingness to raise human rights issues at this year's IGGI meeting in June. As the World Bank is the biggest donor in IGGI after Japan, TAPOL believes that Kedung Ombo must be included on the agenda. TAPOL will lobby the World Bank and IGGI members to consider the farmers' demands and to press the Indonesian government to provide fair compensation. TAPOL urges all concerned readers to lobby their respective IGGI representatives and World Bank executives on behalf of the Kedung Ombo farmers.

## Four Timorese soccer players defect in Australia

Four East Timorese soccer players defected while in Darwin to play at the Arafura Sports Festival. Two went straight to the Portuguese Embassy in Canberra and left immediately for Lisbon; the other two asked for asylum in Australia.

Joao Pedro Ribeiro, 24, and Julio Goncalves do Rego, 26, were the first to escape from the twenty security minders accompanying the soccer team. With the help of East Timorese in Darwin, they reached the airport, bought tickets to Canberra and reached the safety of the Portuguese Embassy within hours. At a press conference, they said they had taken part in peaceful demonstrations in Dili, were on a blacklist and feared for their safety. They had only been allowed to go to Darwin because of their sporting skills.

They said their families in East Timor knew nothing about their plan to defect and asked the International Red Cross and Amnesty International to take action to protect their relatives against possible reprisals.

The other two defectors, Francisco Lam, 18, and Francisco Gama, 34, the captain of the team, escaped separately and took refuge with the immigration authorities and police in Darwin. Earlier, as members of the team were having a meal with East Timorese in Darwin, they were ordered to their rooms by Indonesian officials; even so they

managed to escape.

When the remaining eleven footballers arrived at Darwin airport, a large crowd of East Timorese, many of them weeping, surrounded their bus, urging them to stay. The men in the bus were also in tears. In the airport, a Fretilin representative with a lawyer and immigration officials interviewed the men to make sure they were going voluntarily. Later, Alfredo Ferreira for Fretilin said the men had decided to return because "their families are there and it is their country". The dilemma they faced was clearly enormous. Local Timorese said later that at least three of those who went home had said they would have liked to stay.

The defections clearly took the Indonesian authorities completely by surprise. Vice-President Sudharmono ordered an inquiry, and the Minister of Youth and Sports, who was put in charge of this, said: "We never thought that something like this would happen." [Jakarta Post, 31.V.1991] But in Darwin, the Indonesian consul called the affair "an embarrassment to the Indonesian government", and said: "It's up to the people in Jakarta whether there will be future tours such as this. It will disturb relations between Indonesia and Australia." [Sydney Morning Herald, 30.V.1991]



# Heavy sentences for Acehnese defendants

The following list of trials and verdicts was completed in the last week of May,

Name	Place	Age	Date of trial	Demand	Sentence
1. Drs Adnan Beuransyah	Banda Aceh	31	20/III/1991	15 yrs	8 yrs
2. Amir Syam SH	Banda Aceh	34	20/III/1991	15 yrs	6 yrs
3. Drs Azhar Rafsah	Banda Aceh	37	23/III/1991	15 yrs	8 yrs
4. Bachtiar bin Ismael	Langsa	33	02/IV/1991	life	20 yrs
5. Usman Irsyadi	Langsa	61	02/IV/1991	15 yrs	10 yrs
6. Drs Tèngku Effendi	Banda Aceh	31	20/III/1991	12 yrs	5 yrs
7. Drs Hasbi Abdullah	Banda Aceh	44	16/III/1991	life	14 yrs
8. Marwan Yatim	Banda Aceh	29	20/III/1991	15 yrs	8 yrs
9. Mulkan Usman SH	Banda Aceh	38	16/III/1991	20 yrs	12 yrs
10. Drs. Nurdin Abdurrachman	Banda Aceh	42	26/III/1991	15 yrs	9 yrs
11. Ridwan Ibas B.Sc	Banda Aceh	31	16/III/1991	15 yrs	7 yrs
12. Teuku Muhammad Said	Lhok Nga	40	16/III/1991	15 yrs	10 yrs
13. Muhammad Saidi	Langsa	53	02/IV/1991	life	20 yrs
14. Muh. Thaib Abdullah	Lhokseumawe	25	13/IV/1991	life	20 yrs
15. Abdul Rahman	Lhokseumawe	35		20 yrs	17½ yrs
16. IG	Lhokseumawe	36		20 yrs	
17. Drs. M. Amin Amsar	Medan	49	8/IV/1991	9 yrs	7 yrs
18. S bin U	Medan	30			
19. AJ bin MS	Medan	36	8/IV/1991		

## IPU says MP's execution would be arbitrary

The Inter-Parliamentary Union's Council, at its meeting in Pyongyang in May this year, adopted a resolution without a vote expressing the opinion that, were the execution of Sukatno, a member of the Indonesian Parliament until October 1965, to go ahead, it would be arbitrary and could constitute a grave violation of human rights.

The resolution focuses specifically on the abuse of Sukatno's right to refuse to make a request for presidential clemency, resisting pressures put on him in 1989 and 1990 by the prison authorities to lodge such an appeal.

Regardless of Sukatno's refusal, his file was submitted to the Indonesian president for consideration in August 1986. The resolution notes that there is no indication that Sukatno was notified of this step "which was said to have been of such an exceptional nature that no authority was informed of it until April 1991, not even the Minister of Justice or the Director of Penal Institutions of Indonesia".

The resolution calls on the Indonesian Parliament to give this case the attention it deserves and to place the views of the Council before the Indonesian President.

Sukatno was arrested in July 1968 and sentenced to death in 1971. He has been living in fear of execution for many years, along with at least six other death-sentence PKI prisoners in Jakarta and Sumatra.

Two years ago, the IPU intervene in the case of another former MP, Mrs Sundari Abdurachman who was serving a life sentence, as a result of which she was released in 1989.

## Australian MPs refused access to East Awin

According to belated reports from Papua New Guinea, Australian MPs on a visit to PNG were refused permission to visit the East Awin refugee camp where thousands of West Papuan refugees now live. One PNG official said the MPs' visit would not be 'timely' because of a dispute between refugees and local landowners and the possibility that the visit might 'result in diplomatic embarrassment for us'. [*Post Courier*, 22.II. 1991] The real reason is more likely to be dreadful conditions at the camp (see page 19).

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