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## The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

TAPOL Bulletin No. 90

December 1988

# Eucalyptus planting in West Papua threatens tribal people

Tribal people in Merauke, West Papua face a new threat from a foreign investment project for a huge eucalyptus plantation in Merauke, West Papua. The Indonesian Investment Board (BKPM) has approved the project, worth \$653.8 million, which will finance eucalyptus planting and the construction of a pulp and paper factory. [Jakarta Post, 27 October]

The investment is being made by the Scott Paper Company in Philadelphia, working in collaboration with P.T. Astra, Indonesia's second largest corporation, which has subsidiaries in almost every line of business from automobiles to timber concessions and agribusiness.

The project, to be run by a venture called P.T Astra-Scott Cellulosa, plans to use 200,000 hectares of land in Merauke which can only mean the dispossession of tribal lands at present the home of the Marind, Yei and Kanum people.

A feasibility study for the project was carried out by the Canadian company, Lavalin International (we previously wrongly identified Lavalin as a US company), together with the forestry department of Gajah Mada University in Jogjakarta.

### Ecological devastation

The conversion of such a huge area of land into eucalyptus plantations will not only uproot the present inhabitants, already badly affected by the expropriation of much of their land for transmigration sites. It will also wreak devastation by turning a region with a varied vegetation that provides tribal people with their proteins and hunting grounds, into a monocultural project, forcing people to change their way of life. The present vegetation consists of sago palm, eucalyptus stands and other plants which flourish in, and provide the moisture for, the swamps that are the source of three local rivers. If the natural vegetation is removed, the rivers could dry up, further aggravating the water shortage that has already caused such havoc for the existing transmigration sites.

The existing vegetation has religious significance for the inhabitants. Moreover, it is feared that unwanted species would be removed with Dioxin, a chemical which has been used by the company elsewhere. This is known to cause leukemia, liver and lung diseases, birth defects and miscarriages in laboratory animals.

### Third World campaign against the eucalyptus

The adverse social and ecological impact of large-scale eucalyptus planting is the focus of a campaign launched in September by the Third World Network in Malaysia. It highlights a number of hazards: excessive absorption of water inhibiting other plant growth, loss of nutrients in the soil, the spread of toxicity and the threat of desertification. The Network's Urgent Action, based on grassroots protests against eucalyptus planting in Thailand and India, is directed at the World Bank which, together with the UK's Overseas Development Administration, is funding eucalyptus planting in many

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## 'Timor Gap' petroleum share-out agreed

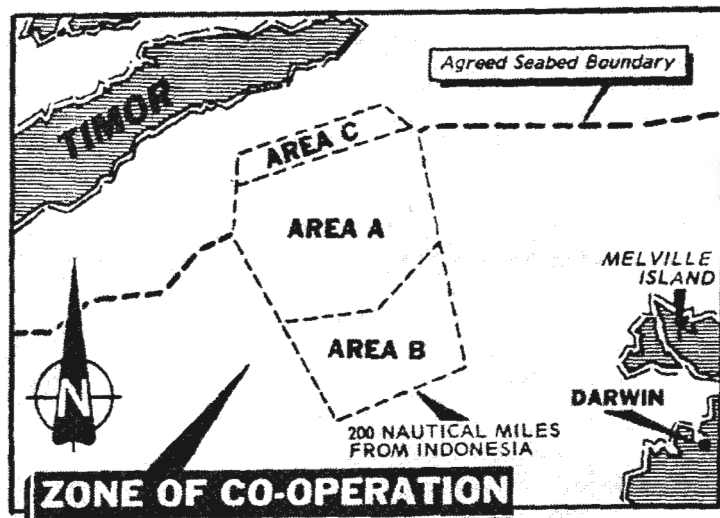
Canberra and Jakarta have reached an interim agreement to set up a 'zone of cooperation' in the sea between Australia and East Timor, the so-called Timor Gap, which will enable petroleum companies in Australia and Indonesia to go ahead with exploration and exploitation of off-shore oil reserves thought to contain up to a billion barrels of oil.

The interim agreement is the first contribution towards improving relations between the two countries by Australia's new Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans. Prior to his present job, Gareth Evans was the Minister for Resources and Energy.

The agreement prompted a rebuke from the Portuguese Government, describing it as "a blatant and serious breach of international law" because Indonesia's unilateral annexation of East Timor has not been recognised by the international community. Moreover, efforts are proceeding at the UN "with the aim of guaranteeing the Timorese people their legitimate right to self-determination according to the UN Charter".

The interim agreement has been welcomed by petroleum interests in Australia who forecast that if the reserves are as bounteous as currently expected, they will "significantly slow down the decline in Australian petroleum reserves" [The Age, 6 September].

The agreement has been reached after nine years of negotiations. The eagerness of Australian oil companies to clear the way for exploiting the Timor Gap has been the primary factor in Canberra's decision, under both Liberal and Labour governments, to recognise Indonesia's illegal annexation of East Timor.



It is interim in nature because the two countries have not yet agreed on a permanent seabed boundary in the stretch of sea south of East Timor. The agreement divides the potentially-rich area into three zones. Zone A, the area thought most likely to contain oil, will be jointly worked, with a 50:50 share of the profits. Zone B will be governed by Australia, with 16 per cent of net revenues going to Indonesia. Zone C will be governed by Indonesia, with 10 per cent of company tax revenue passing to Australia. \*

## Portugal condemns Indonesia at UN

In Portugal's strongest denunciation yet at the United Nations, the Foreign Minister, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, speaking at the General Assembly on 5 October, rejected Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and called for self-determination for its people.

"No circumstances whatsoever can legitimise the ruthless way in which repression was waged in the territory, with an intolerable price in human lives and suffering". He regretted the flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination by a country which was equally subject to colonialism.

"It is 13 years since the non-self-governing territory of East Timor under Portuguese administration saw its process of decolonisation interrupted and was invaded by a powerful neighbour."

"Portugal does not reject its share in responsibility for the difficulties and troubles which affected that process in its beginnings, but we cannot accept that such events legitimise the invasion and occupation by Indonesia and the subsequent denial of the fundamental rights and freedom of its people."

In conclusion, he said: "East Timor is for us a moral, historical and legal responsibility. We cannot ignore the drama of East Timor unless we become accomplices of

an intolerable policy of fait accompli, imposed by force."

### General Assembly again postpones resolution

For the sixth year running, the General Assembly decided in October not to discuss a resolution on East Timor. The last time a resolution was tabled was in 1982 when the General Assembly agreed by 50 votes to 46 to ask the Secretary-General to "initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem".

The stated reason for the postponement was that negotiations are under way at the UN between Portugal and Indonesia regarding a possible visit to East Timor by a mission of parliamentarians from Portugal. \*

### \* Note to readers \*

Due to lack of space, we are unable to summarise more petitions to the UN Decolonisation Committee in August. We hope to continue the series in the next issue.

## Portuguese MPs visit Japan

During a visit to Japan from 18 to 25 September, a delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians warmly welcomed the Japanese Parliamentary Forum on East Timor. The mission was headed by Maria Manuela Aquiar, Social Democrat, vice-chair of the Portuguese National Assembly.

According to Rui Silva of the Democratic Renovation Party who is a member of the Parliamentary Commission on East Timor, the delegation explained Portugal's position on East Timor during a meeting with the Japanese Foreign Minister, Sôsuke Uno, and referred to the European Parliament's resolution on East Timor. The Foreign Minister made no comment and brought the visit to an end as soon as the East Timor issue was raised.

Nevertheless, the visiting parliamentarians were impressed by the strong commitment among Japanese MPs to East Timor's right to self-determination. During a meeting with women MPs, Tamako Nakanishi asked whether Portugal felt it had nothing to do with the East Timor tragedy since the Indonesian invasion occurred after East Timor's declaration of independence. The Portuguese said that Portugal has a responsibility for both self-determination and human rights but would prefer not to act alone; in particular, it wants the UN's cooperation.

Two East Timorese, Jose Guterres from Lisbon and Jose Gusmao from Darwin, were due to visit Japan in November.



Portuguese MPs during their visit to Japan

The Free East Timor Coalition planned to organise public meetings for them in more than twenty places, from Hokkaido to Okinawa. We hope to report on their trip in the next issue. ✨

## US Congress members renew concern about E Timor

On 30 October, the day before President Suharto paid a visit to East Timor, it was announced in Washington that 47 US Senators and 182 members of the House of Representatives joined in sending letters to Secretary of State, George Shultz, renewing their concern about East Timor. The signatories from the Senate included three-quarters of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Releasing the Senators' letter, David Durenberger, Republican Senator for Minnesota, said: "By sending this letter now, my colleagues and I want to ensure that the

East Timor tragedy receives increased attention, both from the Reagan Administration and its successor. The long agony of East Timor continues. I hope this letter will remind the State Department of this fact."

The letter expressed concern about the transfer of East Timorese prisoners to Jakarta, the torture of Timorese under interrogation and the denial of access to international human rights organisations: "Freedom of expression for citizens of East Timor, including most Roman Catholic clergy, continues to be virtually non-existent."

Calling for a negotiated end to the conflict, the Senators said: "We believe that the United States could help bring the parties involved in the East Timor conflict to the negotiating table to begin a process that could end this 13-year tragedy."

The first time Senator Durenberger sponsored a letter on East Timor, in 1982, he got the support of 16 Senators; now that number has almost trebled.

### DPR members drafting their own petition

The statements about East Timor by 229 members of the US Congress has stung members of Indonesia's parliament, the DPR, into action. They are drafting a petition to the US Congress. It will, according to an (unnamed) member, denounce the comments as "groundless and obtained from false sources".

Alleging that there are no more problems in East Timor, the member regretted that the US Congress "still questions something which no longer needs to be questioned". He expected 250 DPR members to sign the petition; he did not explain why all five hundred DPR members would not sign. [Jakarta Post, 16 November]

### Congressional concern could force Bush Administration to act

Releasing the letter signed by 182 House members, Tony Hall, Democrat for Ohio, said: "The growing concern in Congress is a clear sign that the next Administration will be forced to deal with the human rights problems



## EAST TIMOR

and continuing conflict in East Timor."

The letter said: "The continuing conflict... has contributed, both directly and indirectly, to food shortages and health problems... We believe that the reports of persistent fighting and ongoing shortages of food and medical supplies in East Timor merit the concern of the US Congress.... We are concerned by the implication of Indonesian Defence Minister Benny Murdani's recent remark that East Timor is only 'open to selected people'. We seek efforts by the US Government to ensure both the continuation and expansion of access to East Timor by international humanitarian organisations."

Like the Senators, the House members also advocate a negotiated end to the conflict and state that the US "should work together with Indonesia, Portugal and other interested participants to help facilitate a peaceful and just solution to the conflict".

Commenting on the letters in an editorial entitled "East Timor's human rights", the Boston Globe [1 November] said: "Raising an outcry about Soviet human rights violations... takes less political fortitude than does insisting that a strategic ally of Washington stop torturing and massacring victims of its domination.... While recognising the strategic considerations that mold US policy toward Indonesia, the lawmakers evince the political courage to demand an American human rights standard that would be the same for client dictatorships and communist regimes." ☆

## ABC sacks employee for painting East Timor slogans

A current affairs presenter working for the Australian Broadcasting Commission has been sacked for plastering her own house with slogans calling for Indonesian troops to pull out of East Timor. The presenter, Ilena Eldridge, lives next door to Joseph Halim, the Indonesian consul in Darwin, and decided to make a personal protest against his activities in the city.

Justifying her dismissal, the ABC claimed that her actions "conflict with the public's perception of the ABC's integrity and impartiality".

Eldridge has defended her right to hold personal views and has criticised her former colleagues for failing to

come to her defence. "In a democracy, why can't anyone, anywhere, have private political views?" [Northern Territory News, 21 July 1988].

It was in Darwin last May that the community of East Timorese refugees put on a play entitled, "Death at Balibo", about the murder of five television journalists by Indonesian troops in October 1975. When posters announcing the play were seen on display at the Press Club in the city, a group of Indonesian TV journalists who were visiting the Club suddenly decided to pull out of their tour of Australia because they felt "offended" by the posters.

### Suharto wary about visiting Australia

During his first visit to Indonesia, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans renewed a standing invitation from Prime Minister Bob Hawke for the Indonesian president, General Suharto, to visit Australia.

Not surprisingly, Suharto is not very enthusiastic but left it to Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to explain that such a visit could only take place in the context of strengthening, and not disrupting, good bilateral relations [Jakarta Post, 29 October].

As Jakarta well knows, any visiting Indonesian official is certain to be confronted with denunciations of Indonesian policy on a range of issues, not least, its brutal annexation of East Timor, from Australian activists and in particular from Timorese communities in all the major cities.



Ilena Eldridge's house. [Northern Territory News, 21 July]

## Recent abuses of human rights

\* Five girl students at an agricultural college in Natarbora, south-west of Dili, were raped and then murdered by Indonesian soldiers on 16 September, according to Aires da Almeida, an electrical engineer who is now a refugee in Australia. He said that the incident was reported to the authorities by the parents of the girls but no action was taken. [The Age, 31 October]

\* A Fretilin activist who left East Timor with his wife in 1985 and has been living in Darwin ever since, has been informed that 21 close relatives in East Timor have been imprisoned in an attempt to stop his political activities abroad.

Jose Gusmao, who is a cousin of Gusmao Xanana, the Fretilin leader and commander-in-chief of its military wing, Falintil, said that the Indonesian authorities

detained his 65-year-old mother, three sisters, a brother and a sister-in-law, and 15 cousins between the ages of 5 and 17 in August this year. He told the press that people who had visited East Timor in July told him members of his family had been questioned about how he got out of the country. Later, he was told that the whole family had been rounded up and was being held at security headquarters in Dili. [The Age, 13 August 1988]

The two children born to Jose and his wife Maria while they were on the run from the Indonesian army in East Timor both died. The first died a few hours after birth and the second died of malnutrition and malaria. They were only able to leave East Timor after paying a \$25,000 bribe although they had successfully applied to migrate to Australia.



## Attempt at mediation leads to arrest

An Italian priest and two East Timorese are reported to have been arrested in July this year, after being involved in a move to mediate in talks with Fretilin leaders in the vicinity of Baucau. The three men are Father Eligio Locattelli, a tribal chief, Joaquim Guterres and a man identified only as Ernesto.

They, along with a fourth man, Alexio Ximenes, chair of the Baucau local assembly, were part of a team said to have been attempting to set up talks between the Indonesian authorities and the Fretilin leadership. According to information made public by Darwin parliamentarian, Warren Snowden, an Indonesian red-beret platoon had been assigned to protect the group but in the event, they tried to capture the Fretilin team. When the Fretilin team arrived, there was an exchange of fire and the Fretilin negotiators were able to escape from the ambush. [Northern Territory News, 26 September]

Ernesto and Guterres were then arrested and taken to Dili where they were subjected to torture under interrogation. Ximenes succeeded in taking refuge at the residence of the Bishop in Dili, while the Italian priest was placed under house arrest.

In August, an Agence France Press journalist who visited East Timor had reported that the Catholic Church in East Timor had for some time been "negotiating the surrender" of the Fretilin guerrillas.

Responding to this report, Fretilin's Information Office in Lisbon called the news of negotiations for the surrender of the guerrillas "groundless and absurd". The Timorese National Convergence (the alliance between Fretilin and the UDT) rejected the idea of the Catholic Church playing a mediating role in East Timor. It wants to see all efforts at a solution for East Timor being carried out by the UN Secretary-General, Peres de Cuellar. [East Timor News, October 1988] ☆



East Timorese children

## British Aerospace college opened

Collaboration between the leading UK arms manufacturer, British Aerospace, and the Indonesian military has been taken a step further by the opening of a technical college in Malang, East Java. Named the Army Institute of Technology, the college was constructed by British Aerospace at a cost of £3 million, in collaboration with the army's Artillery Weapons Centre.

British Aerospace will provide eight senior members of staff, two of whom will be on the management.

The school is located within the complex of the Air Defence Artillery School, which is part of the Artillery Education Centre in Karangpulo. [Kompas, 12 October] ☆

## EAST TIMOR

### Child deaths in Dili: parliamentarians call for inquiry

During the visit to Lisbon by three parliamentarians last June, several East Timorese refugees told the mission that many children had died mysteriously after going to hospital in Dili for treatment.

The claims were made public in Australia by Tony Lamb, one of the three members of the mission, who is a member of the Australian House of Representatives. The complaint was to have been raised during a parliamentary debate on human rights abuses in East Timor scheduled for October, just before Foreign Minister Gareth Evans began a visit to Indonesia. Tony Lamb, along with Warren Snowden, another parliamentarian who also voiced the same concerns, agreed to postpone the debate until after the visit.

Tony Lamb, who is a pharmacist by profession, said that when he first heard the claims during meetings with refugees, he was sceptical and cross-examined the refugees about possible mistaken dosages or deaths through endemic diseases such as amoebic dysentery. "They were adamant it was deliberate poisoning," he said.

He understood that the deaths, which reportedly occurred at a rate of 15 to 20 a day for one period, had all occurred in one hospital, but East Timorese sources in Australia said the deaths occurred in two hospitals.

### Widespread use of Depo Provera challenged

Tony Lamb also called for an inquiry into a report received from the Indonesian Family Planning Institute (BKKB) that 57% of East Timorese women participating in the birth control programme are given the Depo Provera injection, a long-term contraceptive with a variety of dangerous side-effects. [Sydney Morning Herald, 26 October]

The information from Indonesia came in a reply sent by the BKKB following enquiries from the International Planned Parenthood Federation, after a meeting in 1986 when concern was expressed about implementation of birth control in East Timor. The BKKB reply contained statistics for 1986 about the number of birth control personnel and public information activities in East Timor and gave comparative figures for Indonesia as a whole. [East Timor News, Subject Memo No 4/1988]

However, the figures about contraceptive methods avoided making any comparisons, and showed that Depo Provera was being used on 57% of participants, the Pill 29% and IUD 10%.

The Lisbon-based group, Peace is Possible in East Timor, has now discovered a report in *Diario de Noticias* [November 1985] showing that contraceptive methods in Indonesia give the following breakdown: the Pill, 65%; IUD, 27%; injections, 5%.

Peace is Possible comments: "This difference of 5% in Indonesia and 57% in East Timor intensifies suspicions and gives further credibility to the accusations of the practice of compulsory family planning in East Timor." [East Timor News, Monthly Memo no. 8/1988] ☆



# European Parliament's resolution on East Timor

*The following is the substantive part of the resolution on East Timor, adopted by the European Parliament at its plenary session on 16 September by 164 votes to 12, with 15 abstentions. The resolution followed intense lobbying by Indonesia to have the resolution defeated. The result of the voting went virtually unreported in the Indonesian press.*

1. Condemns the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and confirms the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor;
2. Defends the right of the people of East Timor to maintain, develop and affirm their cultural, linguistic and religious identity derived from their own history;
3. Condemns the Indonesian policy of denying to independent foreign visitors the opportunity to examine freely conditions in the country and to investigate reports of human rights violations;
4. Calls on the Indonesian Government to carry out the promised opening-up of East Timor before the end of 1988.
5. Requests the Indonesian Government to allow international aid and human rights organisations to come to East Timor and to give them complete freedom of movement.
6. Calls on the Indonesian Government to permit free movement within East Timor and to grant people the right to enter and leave the area;
7. Condemns the continuing violation of human rights in East Timor by the Indonesian occupation forces and by paramilitary and civil organisations, under the control

of the Indonesian authorities;

8. Urges the Indonesian Government to comply with the international provisions on human rights in East Timor;

9. Calls on the Member States of the European Community to undertake political action with a view to securing a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor, as an essential precondition for ensuring respect for the fundamental rights of the people and for the exercise of their right of self-determination, including the right to independence, and to support the efforts of the UN Secretary General aimed at achieving these objectives;

10. Calls on the UN Secretary General, in his efforts to find a solution, to consult not only with Portugal and Indonesia but also with the representatives of the people of East Timor, the 'Convergencia Nacionalista';

11. Calls on all governments in the Community to halt the sale of military equipment to Indonesia until the illegal occupation of East Timor is brought to an end.

12. Requests the Council to take measures aimed at reaching an agreement of cease-fire and enabling a referendum to be held after a transitional period, to be defined by the interested parties, with the people being allowed freedom of choice on the future of East Timor;

13. Expresses the wish that Portugal, as the 'administering power', under the provisions of international law and the Portuguese Constitution, should be allowed to play an active role falling to it to guarantee the effective exercise of the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor, and supports the efforts made by the Portuguese authorities in the directive (sic) of concrete and viable, internationally accepted solutions;

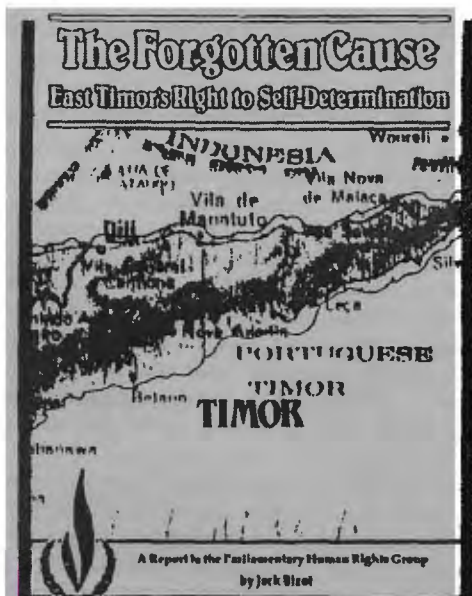
14. Urges the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation to maintain a concerted diplomatic action in order to guarantee the exercise of the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and to establish contact with all parties involved in the conflict, including representatives of the East Timor community, and to report to Parliament on the progress of its initiatives;

15. Calls on all the EEC institutions to bear in mind the present colonial situation in East Timor and the terms of this resolution, when considering relations between the EEC and the ASEAN countries.

16. Requests the Commission to take account of the situation in East Timor in its contacts with the Indonesian authorities.

17. Urges the Commission, in cooperation with the Portuguese authorities and international competent aid

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organisations, to grant adequate and direct aid both in East Timor and in the refugee camps in Portugal and Australia.

18. Requests the Commission to give a progress report within six months.

19. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, UN organisations, the conference of non-aligned nations, the Government of Indonesia and the Government of Australia. ✱

## Charges against missions bring angry replies

WEST PAPUA

Charges by Theodore Frey, the Swiss pilot who fled from West Papua in April, that missionary air services are involved with Indonesian repression in West Papua, have been hotly denied by mission leaders. Responding to letters sent by TAPOL readers and an open letter by Frey to the Pope, the missions argue that transporting Indonesian army personnel and cargo to remote communities does not aid Jakarta's military occupation of West Papua.

The AMA reply comes in a letter from J.M. Verstegen, director of the company, while the reply to Frey's open letter to the Pope comes from H.F.M. Munninghoff OFM, the Bishop of Jayapura.

Frey was a pilot with the Associated Mission Aviation, AMA, an organisation run by the four catholic dioceses in West Papua to supply their mission outposts. Before fleeing to Australia with his family, Frey amassed data which showed that, on many routes, at least half or more of the passengers and cargo carried by AMA were for the Indonesian government or military [see TAPOL bulletin, No. 89]. Frey had observed for himself the destructive impact of Indonesian rule on the people of West Papua, and became increasingly critical of the apparent complicity of the missions.

Now, the director of AMA and the Bishop of Jayapura have accused Frey of lying about the role of the missions in West Papua. Although AMA doesn't usually differentiate military from civilian cargo in its statistics, Verstegen says in a letter to a Bulletin reader that the proportion of military cargo is very small. He says that for 1987, figures of the military

share were recorded. They amounted to 4,337 kilos in military personnel and cargo which accounted for only 0.33% of the total. The Bishop also gave a similar breakdown for January to May 1988, showing that AMA flights for the military and the police amounted to only 3 full charters plus 691 kilos and 6 passengers.

Asked by TAPOL to comment on these figures, Frey said in response to the Bishop's letter: "Only in the Paniai region alone, I flew more than this in that time." He also disputed the AMA 1987 figures, saying that during 1987, AMA flights to Komopa, a small place near Danau Paniai, amounted in total to 34,484 kilos, of which only 18% was for the mission. Nearly 72%, or 24,828 kgs was for the government, including the armed forces and the police. "I myself flew a lot of armed military people, rice for the military and all other things the military people need over there." [Frey's letter to TAPOL, 14 October 1988]

### Missions' role in West Papua

AMA defends its role on the assumption that the much larger quantity of Indonesian government passengers and cargo it carries contribute nothing to military repression in West Papua. This is far from the truth. Many civilian officials in Indonesia are former military officers, and routinely conduct business for the armed

## West Papua: The Obliteration of a People



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forces. Moreover, all levels of civilian administration are closely linked to the equivalent level of the military, and this is especially so in West Papua where civilian officials must allow for the security requirements of the army. Anyone on official business for the government in West Papua is likely, directly or indirectly, to be on business for the military as well.

In responding to Frey's criticisms, the missions have shown themselves to be surprisingly naive about their role in West Papua. The past twenty years are replete with examples of the destructive impact of missions on isolated tribal peoples. West Papua is home to some of the most untouched and therefore vulnerable tribal peoples left in the world, and virtually all their contact with the outside world comes initially through the missions. Yet in their replies, AMA and the Bishop of Jayapura show no appreciation of the responsibility the missions not to allow this special position to be abused. Many of the missionaries are undoubtedly sincere and dedicated people who have brought worthwhile improvements to the lives of their West Papuan hosts, but this is not the case with the Indonesian government.

Indonesian policy has brought untold misery to West Papuan communities throughout the country, from abuses and killings by soldiers to the expropriation of their land and the suppression of their traditional customs. In areas like the Asmat, 'opened up' by the missions but now overrun by Indonesian economic and military interests, the welfare of the local people has declined at a horrifying rate. The racism and outright physical abuse of West Papuans by Indonesian officials has been noted by many observers besides Theodore Frey, and the government is bent on forcing West Papua to become a docile Indonesian province through the obliteration of its indigenous culture.

## Bishop "AMA always ready to serve government and armed forces"

None of this ought to be news to the missions, which have first-hand experience of Indonesia's treatment of its colony. It is extraordinary, then, that the Bishop of Jayapura should have attacked Theodore Frey by stating in his letter that "AMA is ready, as far as it is able, to serve the government, the armed forces and the police, including replacing members of the armed forces and the police in the interior." ["AMA - sejauh mampu - rela melayani Pemerintah ABRI/Polisi, termasuk penggantian tugas anggota-anggota ABRI/Polisi di pos-pos pendalaman."]

To date, the missions in West Papua have been subject to little international scrutiny while pilots in a position to know a great deal have chosen to keep silent for fear of losing their jobs. But now the missions have been stung by a pilot who stepped out of line and decided to expose AMA activities in support of the military rulers. Still worse, he is armed with a mass of figures to back his charges. If the missions wish to keep a better image than some of their South American counterparts, they will need to do more than keep quiet about conditions in West Papua under Indonesian rule in order to preserve their relations with the Indonesian government; and they will certainly need to review their practice of bringing Indonesian government and military personnel into remote tribal communities. If Indonesia is able to use the infrastructure and trust built up by the missions in these areas to 'Indonesianise', and thus

destroy the indigenous peoples, the missions will be no less responsible for the consequences. ✱



Theo and Martha Frey

## Mass arrests in West Papua

According to news reaching TAPOL just as this Bulletin was going to press, 145 people were arrested in September in Jayapura, the capital of West Papua. All those arrested are Papuans and consist mostly of civil servants and army and police personnel.

In addition 10 students at Cendrawasih University in Jayapura were 'kidnapped' by the security forces at the same time. This expression usually means that the victims were taken to an unknown destination and relatives have been unable to ascertain their place of detention. All ten students originate from Sorong district in the western part of West Papua, known as Bird's Head. They are all said to be associates of Mecky Salossa, an OPM leader who is also from the Sorong region. ✱

*Continued from page 1*

third world countries, under a programme mis-named 'social forestry'.

The labour needs of the project in Merauke may rely on the cheap labour of transmigrants whose sites have been so notoriously unsuccessful, or the importation of more Javanese, further marginalising the tribal people.

Pulp factories are renown for the waste problems they cause, polluting local waterways or nearby coastal waters, depending on where the factory is sited.

The Scott Paper Company is the world's largest producer of household paper products, primarily tissues and paper towels, as well as industrial paper. It has 29 plants and mills in the US as well as manufacturing operations in seventeen other countries. In 1983, the company's sales amounted to \$2,450 million.

From sources in Indonesia, we have learnt that the felling of eucalyptus trees has already begun in the area, under a concession held by PT Silvana Agung Lestari. Although these operations are illegal, they have the approval of the local forestry bureau.

TAPOL recently wrote to Scott Paper in Philadelphia, expressing concern over the project. We plan to launch an action, along with other organisations, to halt this damaging project which will devour the forests of Merauke and trample on the customary rights of the tribal owners of the land. ✱

# The Golkar congress

*The national congress of Golkar, the government party which now claims a membership of 32 million, took place in the last week of October. Many political observers expected a battle between the two major factions but at the last moment, the conflict was defused by President Suharto who seems as determined as ever to continue to rule Indonesia.*

A month before the convention started, it was widely believed that General Sudharmono, the newly appointed Vice-President of the Republic and also General Chairman of Golkar since 1983, would be re-elected chairman. Sudharmono had made clear his wish to remain in the post, and President Suharto had given the green light, by stating that he had no objection to the vice-presidency and Golkar chairmanship being combined.

But things moved very fast in September and October, in a way that proved fatal for the political career of Sudharmono. Although a general himself, he has never led a military unit, having made his career in the bureaucracy. As State Secretary from 1983 to 1988, a position comparable to chief-of-staff of the White House, Sudharmono was correctly seen as Suharto's main instrument in running the huge state apparatus, while General Murdani, commanding the troops, represented the other wing, the armed forces (ABRI).

Sudharmono's ascendancy as Vice-President last March was greeted with dismay and anger by the military and it was clear that several groups in the army were ready to go to any lengths to prevent a further boost for the Sudharmono group. It was Lieutenant-General Harsudiono Hartas, the powerful chief-of-staff for social and political affairs, who played a leading part in bringing down Sudharmono. Under his guidance, colonels and lieutenant-colonels were 'dropped' at provincial Golkar board elections, taking over as chairman or secretary in many places. By early October, it was clear that, had Sudharmono pressed ahead with his bid for re-election, he would have had a rough ride in the congress and would have faced difficulties later with many provincial boards.

In the end President Suharto had no alternative but to ditch his loyal friend who had now become a very weak link in his power game. Instead, the job went to an outsider, General Wahono. In late 1965, during the military takeover, Wahono was one of Suharto's close aides, as assistant for operations at Kostrad, the army strategic command which was used so effectively by Suharto to seize power. After a successful military career, Wahono moved into the bureaucracy, becoming director-general of the excise and tariffs directorate and then ambassador to Burma. He then became governor of East Java and in October this year, took over as Inspector-General for Development which handles the funding of so-called presidential projects, with an office in Bina Graha, the President's office.

Although not a high flyer, Wahono probably realises that he was chosen by Suharto to bridge the gap between the field generals and the generals in the bureaucracy. In the event, Wahono's election went smoothly. Sudharmono officially stepped down and the congress, in one voice, acclaimed Wahono as their new leader.



The new and the old. General Wahono (left) and General Sudharmono. [Tempo, 15 October 1988]

Sudharmono took over as chairman in 1983, there have officially been three components in Golkar, the A component (ABRI), the B component (the bureaucracy, which means the civil servants' union, Korpri) and the G component (Golkar). The latter has always been the weakest, consisting as it does of civilians whose simple credo is: if you can't beat them (ie. the military), join them. The B component, headed by Interior Minister, General (ret'd) Rudini, has always been top-heavy with military, and invariably takes the side of the A component.

Under Sudharmono, strenuous attempts were made to strengthen the civilian component through so-called cadre-building. Golkar now claims to have nine million cadres whose main task is to mobilise the mass of people to vote for Golkar at elections. Up to the time of the 1988 congress, these cadres were under the control of local, civilian Golkar functionaries.

The congress is very likely to lead to the phasing out of the course mapped out by Sudharmono. The militarised leadership of many local boards will mean putting these cadres under military control and discipline. Army intelligence is well aware that with unemployment rife and social problems mounting, these cadres, if let loose, could encourage all kinds of demands and, wittingly or unwittingly, ignite social unrest. In charge of putting Golkar back where it belongs, in the lap of the army, is General Harsudiono Hartas. As chief-of-staff for social and political affairs, he is in charge of giving army officers civilian assignments. He has been moving officers into Golkar for several months, acting like a shadow chairman gradually elbowing Sudharmono out.

## A new course for Golkar?

After the structural changes introduced when



## Bulwark against the PKI

Army spokesmen have been at pains to stress, in the past few months, that Golkar was set up in the early 1960s for the sole purpose of countering the PKI. The constant harping on this theme can only mean that many in army circles believe that Golkar, under Sudharmono, has been infiltrated by pro-PKI elements. Indeed, in the months preceding the congress, Golkar faced a number of damaging revelations with the unearthing of alleged ex-PKI members or sympathisers among the upper crust of functionaries. Efforts to discredit Golkar went so far as to include a chorus of charges about Sudharmono's own early flirtation with pro-communist organisations. The charge, made obliquely over and over again, that he was a 'pinko', referring apparently to a period in his youth when he was a member of the PKI's youth organisation Pesindo, became so persistent that he took the unprecedented step, shortly before the congress, of calling a press conference to deny this.

Bereft of his Golkar job, Sudharmono, so recently seen as one of the regime's most powerful figures, is now being compared to the former vice-president, retired general, Umar Wirahadikusumah, who was never more than a decoration. In Jakarta, this is being called the 'Umarisation' of Sudharmono. Many Sudharmono loyalists have also been removed from Golkar's central board, strengthening the A component, and reversing the trend which Sudharmono introduced, the so-called civilianisation of Golkar.

## The significance of Wahono's appointment

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from Wahono's appointment as General Chairman. First, it is thought likely that he will take over as vice-president during Suharto's next term, 1993-98, a formality that means replacing one Suharto loyalist by another. Neither Sudharmono nor Wahono possess any power base within the armed forces and have displayed no particular ambitions, other than serving Suharto loyally. It appears that the option of using the vice-presidency as the stepping-

stone to the presidency has been put back until the next century, assuming Suharto lives that long and is not ousted in the meantime.

At 63, Wahono is older than Sudharmono and is an unlikely crown prince. Yet, unnamed generals are now being quoted as saying that, should Suharto be unable to complete his present term (call it the 'slip-in-the-bathroom' scenario), Wahono will be the only acceptable replacement, not Sudharmono, even though he is, according to the Constitution, first in line.



There are no signs at present that Suharto is preparing a younger man in the army as his successor. Like Franco in Spain and the Ceausescu dynasty in Romania, Suharto and his extended family have become so intertwined with state economic interests that when he steps down or dies, he will need to be sure that his successor protects the family's corporate wealth. Developments following the ousting of Marcos and Chun Doo-hwan can only have reinforced Suharto's conviction that the only safe successor would be somebody from his family.

None of his three sons entered the army and are all successful businessmen. Only his son-in-law, Lieutenant-Colonel Prabowo, the son of Professor Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, is following a military career. He is currently head of the private palace guard, and as such, is certainly being groomed by Suharto for more important things. He is in his late thirties, too young by East Asian standards to be plunged into politics. If, as some people believe, Prabowo is the chosen crown prince, it could be another ten years before positive moves in that direction are taken, always assuming that nothing else happens in between. ✨

# Re-registration of former political prisoners

The Indonesian press continues to report the on-going re-registration of former political prisoners, with figures being published over and over again about the number of people in the different categories. Some of these reports suggest that Golkar and the armed forces are vying with each other to warn local officials that they are not doing enough to control communist suspects.

Parliamentarians who have visited the regions have criticised local administrations for their inadequacies in keeping tabs on ex-prisoners. The Golkar members of Commission II complained, for instance, that 5,000 members of banned organisations recorded in the district of Pati in 1977 were no longer recorded in 1982, and a similar number 'almost disappeared' in Boyolali. Another complaint was that former prisoners in Central Java were issued travel passes without recording the destination.

Elsewhere, they were issued identity cards improperly.

The MPs also reported apathy among people living in the neighbourhood of ex-prisoners, particularly in the larger cities. There was lack of awareness of the need to encourage people to control former political prisoners living in their midst.

The armed forces group complained of weak supervision of ex-prisoners in Jakarta as a result of their 'high degree of mobility', their efforts to cover their tracks and obtain new identity cards, while neighbourhood associations were insufficiently aware of the need to keep the ex-prisoners under control. [Suara Pembaruan, 6 September]

Reports like this reveal that there has been no let-up in the campaign to keep up the pressure on ex-prisoners and anyone suspected of former communist sympathies. ✨



# More executions

Two more prisoners who were sentenced to death twenty years ago for their involvement in the events of October 1965 have been executed. The executions took place near Jakarta on the night of 15 October. As with previous executions, there was no official announcement, nor would the authorities confirm or deny reports that the executions had taken place. But after protests in Holland, the executions were reported in two Jakarta weeklies, *Tempo* and *Editor*.

The two men are:

Sukardjo, sixty-one years old, and

Gijadi Wignjosuharjo, sixty years old.

They were both members of the Cakrabirawa Palace Guard at the time of their arrest. Sukardjo was arrested on 5 October 1965. He was eventually tried by the Jakarta Military Tribunal in March 1969 and found guilty of the murder of Major-General Pandjaitan, one of six generals kidnapped and murdered on 1 October 1965.

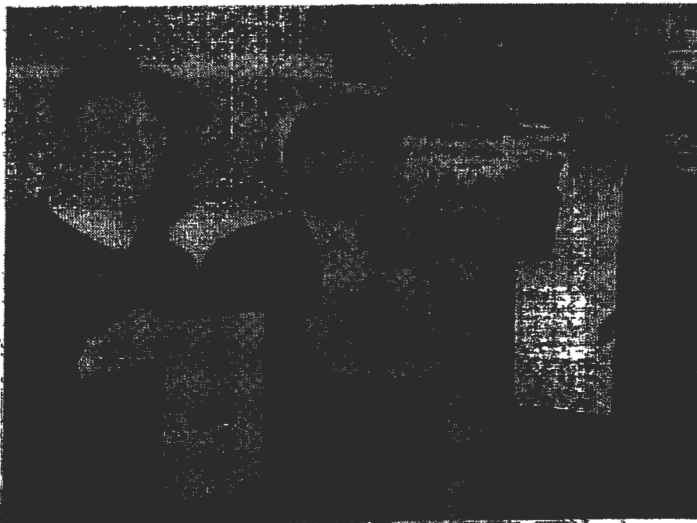
Giyadi was arrested on 4 October 1965 and sentenced in April 1968 for "having pulled the trigger" on General Yani on 1 October.

They are the first to be executed of eight members of the Palace Guard who were sentenced to death. Their executions place the lives of the other six men in extreme danger.

## EEC states call for no more executions

The 12 member states of the European Community took joint action against the executions. Replying to a letter from TAPOL sent as soon as news of the executions had been received, the Foreign Office wrote:

*"We too were alarmed to hear about the executions of Sukardjo and Wignjosuharjo. The Twelve countries of the E.C. have made a new demarche, voicing their deep regret and disappointment at the executions and appealing to the Indonesian authorities to abstain from further executions on humanitarian grounds."*



Left to right: Liem S.L., TAPOL, S.S. Diredja, for Indonesian refugees, and W. Jurg, Dutch Indonesia Committee, showing the list of death-sentence prisoners, at a press conference. [De Waarheid, 27 October 1988]

In Indonesia, the executions were condemned by H.J.C. Princen, chair of the League for the Defence of Human Rights: "Executing a death sentence so long after the verdict is a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 5 of which prohibits cruel, degrading and inhuman treatment. To live for so long in uncertainty is an exceptionally inhuman form of torture," he said.

Amnesty International has written to President Suharto deploring the executions and expressing concern for the safety of all those still under sentence of death.

## Jakarta tries to explain

The two executions took place two weeks before Ruud Lubbers, the Dutch Prime Minister, went on an official visit to Indonesia. As a result of widespread protest in Holland and of many questions in Parliament, Lubbers was forced to agree to protest about the executions during his visit to Indonesia.

The many judicial murders perpetrated by Jakarta in the past four years have aroused strong feelings in Holland ever since Mohamad Munir, the trade union leader, was executed in May 1985 after more than a decade without any executions taking place. In 1980, the Dutch Foreign Minister, van der Klauw, was given an assurance by the Indonesian government that no further executions would take place. At the time, the lawyer Buyung Nasution warned against giving credence to any such assurance, as long as the death sentences had not been commuted. His words of caution have been completely vindicated.

One view widely held in Holland is that Jakarta carried out the latest executions just before the Lubbers visit in order to show its contempt for international opinion. In any case, Suharto had every reason to be sure that the Dutch government would not allow the politically-motivated murder of two men to stand in the way of expanding Dutch commercial and investment interests in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, it was the campaign in the Netherlands that forced government leaders to speak publicly about the executions. There were even attempts to make the long delay sound like an act of humanity, not a cruel act of executing men who had spent most of their adult lives in prison.

In his meeting with Prime Minister Lubbers, President Suharto said that the two men had been given a long time to live "in order to give them a chance to show an expression of regret. They were executed because they



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did not regret their deeds." [Jakarta Post, 1 November 1988]

But Foreign Minister Ali Alatas had a different explanation. According to him, the executions were delayed because the appeals procedure is time-consuming and Indonesia does not have enough judges and court officials to handle cases quickly. "To describe this as a major human rights problem, to call it shocking (the word used publicly by Prime Minister Lubbers) and inhuman is a bit far-fetched. It is all the work of some so-called human rights NGOs, whipping up an anti-Indonesia campaign." Asked whether it was not too much for the men to have waited more than twenty years on death row for their clemency plea to be answered, Alatas said: "It wasn't only the clemency plea. More evidence was needed from the men in other cases, some of them very far from Jakarta, in Medan, Bali and Sulawesi." [Interview on AVRO television, 2 November]

As for the Indonesian ambassador in The Hague, he tried to put a brave face on it: "The government behaved very humanely indeed by waiting twenty years before carrying out the death sentence." [Editor, 29 October]

### Two Muslims also executed?

According to Amnesty International, two Muslim death sentence prisoner may also have been executed. One is Abdullah Umar, 39 years old, who was given a life sentence in February 1985; the sentence was later changed to death, on appeal by the prosecutor. The other is Bambang Sispojo, also 39 years old, who was sentenced to death in June 1985.

Amnesty believes that Abdullah Umar may have been executed in April this year and Bambang Sispojo may have been executed in June or July. Both men were being held at Nusakambangan Prison Island, in Central Java. [AI document, ASA 21/17/88]

Regarding these two cases, the Foreign Office wrote in its letter to TAPOL: "The Indonesians have not yet confirmed the executions of Abdullah Umar and Bambang Sispojo, although it is generally believed that these did take place about two months ago. We have asked our Embassy to seek further information urgently."

### Eleven men still await their fate

Following the deaths in prison during the past year of Raswad and Suwandi, who had both been under sentence of death for many years, there remain eleven men under sentence of death, all of whom have been in prison for very many years. Four were leading members of the Communist Party (PKI); six were members of the Cakrabirawa Palace Guard and the seventh was in the air force. They are:

\* Ruslan Wijayasastra, 71, a member of the PKI Central Committee and a leader of the Peasants' Union (BTI). Arrested in February 1969 and sentenced in April 1972.

\* Sukatno, 60, chair of the PKI's youth organisation, Pemuda Rakyat and on the PKI Central Committee. Arrested in July 1968 and sentenced in March 1971.

\* Iskandar Subekti, 67, a member of the PKI Central

Committee and of its foreign affairs department. Arrested in February 1969 and sentenced in March 1971.

\* Asep Suryaman, 62, a member of the PKI's 'special bureau', alleged to have been an intelligence unit which infiltrated the army. Arrested in September 1971 and sentenced in 1975.

\* Satar Suryanto, 57, Cakrabirawa. Arrested in October 1965 and sentenced in April 1971.

\* I Bungkus, 61, Cakrabirawa. Arrested in October 1965 and sentenced in July 1971.

\* Surono, 60, Cakrabirawa. Arrested in October 1965 and sentenced in October 1970.

\* Athanasius Buang, 49, Cakrabirawa. Arrested in October 1965 and sentenced in November 1969.

\* Simon Petrus Soleiman, 60, Cakrabirawa. Arrested in October 1965 and sentenced in November 1969.

\* Norbertus Rohayan, 49, Cakrabirawa. Arrested in October 1965 and sentenced in November 1969.

\* Marsudi, 53, a sergeant-major in the air force. Date of arrest not known, probably late 1965. Sentenced in 1976. ☆

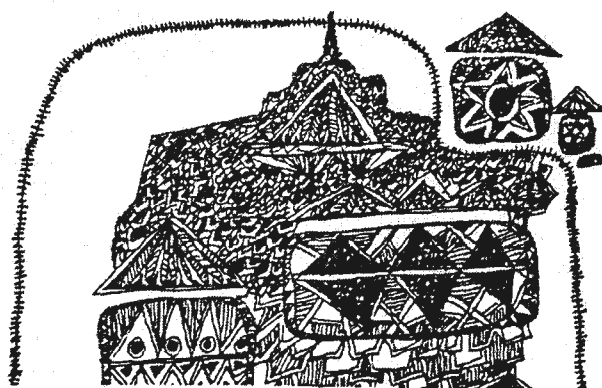
*Continued from page 24*

in from Java.

According to official figures, at least 40,000 transmigrants from Java were re-settled in the Moluccas from 1979 to 1985 but the figure is probably much higher. In May this year, Moluccan villagers were said to have been responsible for the deaths of nine Javanese transmigrants in Riring, Ceram, following a land dispute.

### Names of the detainees

Several of those arrested are thought to be leaders of the old RMS movement. They are: Michel Wattimena, 67, a former chairman of the RMS; Simon Werinussa, arrested in Kariu, Haruku Island, as well as his two sons, Luis, a policeman, and Butje, a lawyer; John Toumahu, alleged vice-chairman of the RMS and secondary school teacher; and Junus Pasanea, 60, who was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment in the 1970s on RMS-related charges. Along with Pasanea, David Kaihena, 58, and his two sons, Martin, 32, and Samuel, 28, were also arrested. One of the detainees, Pieter Nassarany, 34, a secondary-school teacher from Piru on Ceram Island, was apparently on his way to Holland when arrested by the military police in Ambon on 13 July. ☆



# Kopkamtib gives way to Bakorstanas

Kopkamtib, the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, the first creation of General Suharto as he rose to power in October 1965, has now been disbanded. The Command was set up to wipe out the Indonesian Communist Party which was a major social and political force at the time. Over the years, it has served the Suharto regime as its key instrument to destroy political opponents. It has been used not only against alleged communist suspects and student activists, but also and increasingly in the past decade, against Muslim preachers and activists.

## The structure of Kopkamtib

Kopkamtib was a target of government critics as an unconstitutional body with unlimited powers to detain and arrest people. Said at first to be 'temporary', it remained in existence for nearly a quarter of a century.



The military are still in control, under Bakorstanas, Kopkamtib's reincarnation. [Jakarta Post, 6 October]

It never had an existence separate from the army and its operations were carried out by the army's command structure. Army regional commanders bore the additional title of Laksusda, meaning 'special regional executive officer', who carried out the instructions of the Kopkamtib commander. The word Laksusda became part of the language of repression, referring both to the officer himself and his corps of agents swooping down on suspects from whichever part of the political spectrum currently being targeted.

Since 1965, there have been the following changes in the leadership of Kopkamtib's command structure:

### 2 October 1965

Commander, General Suharto

### March 1969

Commander, General Maradan Panggabean  
Deputy Commander, General Soemitro

### March 1971

Commander, General Soemitro  
Chief-of-Staff, Admiral Sudomo

### Early 1974

Commander, General Suharto  
Chief-of-Staff, Admiral Sudomo

### March 1978

Commander, Admiral Sudomo  
Chief-of-Staff, General Yoga Sugama (till 1980)  
Chief-of-Staff, General Wijoyo Sujono, 1980-1983

### March 1983 - September 1988

Commander, General Benny Murdani

## Suharto becomes commander again

The new agency is called Bakorstanas, short for Badan Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan Stabilitas Nasional, or Coordination Board to Help Solidify National Stability. As the name suggests, it is a 'board' not a 'command' with a 'chairman' instead of a 'commander'.

But, to quote Admiral Sudomo, "the Board will be directly under the President. It will be non-structural, with the task of giving advice to the President." [Tempo, 12 November] What this means is that Suharto is now, again, the commander, as he was in the late 1960s and the mid 1970s.

The permanent members of Board are the chiefs-of-staff of the army, navy and air force and the chief of police, the armed forces chief-of-staff for social and political affairs, the secretaries of the three minister-coordinators, and senior-ranking officials from the Attorney-General's Office and Bakin, the intelligence coordination board. The chairman of the Board is the armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno. The Board will be served by a secretariat which is composed of virtually the entire general staff of the armed forces.

The cosmetic nature of the change is barely concealed. It will have its office at armed forces headquarters and will be at the pinnacle of a network of regional boards called Bakorstanasda whose compositions will mirror the central board, with the addition of military commanders and police chiefs at district and sub-district levels. The Bakorstanasda will be under the chairmanship of the regional military commanders.



## How Bakorstanas will work

Although the Board and its secretariat are so top-heavy with military personnel, General Try Sutrisno declared, after the Board's first meeting: "It is not a military organisation but a non-structural organisation". He also said that the Laksusda will cease to exist.

However, this should not be taken as meaning that the army has relinquished its role as the security force. What has happened is that the additional layer of Kopkamtib and Laksusda which exercised special powers vested in the army, has been removed; these special powers will now be vested directly in the hands of the army without any intervening agency. Hence, Bakorstanas needs no command structure of its own and can afford to describe itself as "non-structural".

When asked whether the elimination of the Laksusda post function would mean officers in the regions losing some of their powers, General Sutrisno said: "Not at

all. It is our noble (sic) intention to make sure that each institution and functionary should perform their proper function. The regional and local military commands are going to have their territorial functions enhanced."

Regarding powers of detention and arrest, he explained that criminal cases would be left to the police and the public prosecutors to handle. (This has indeed always been the position.) "But if the seeds of a case could lead to disruption of stability, then of course, other security forces will take charge." While he was not specific about who these other security forces were, he could only have meant the army. Asked who would handle the "latent communist" danger until now handled by Kopkamtib or Laksusda, Sutrisno said that "Bakorstanas will have special staff to deal with this. They will coordinate implementation of this task with government departments and the public, while within the armed forces, the territorial apparatus will deal with this as well."

Although Sutrisno said it would take time for regulations guiding the new system to be drafted, he made it clear that some Kopkamtib regulations would continue to be used. "Those that are relevant will remain in force; some will need their terminology to be amended and those no longer relevant will be revoked." [Kompas, 11 November]

# The 'clean-self' and 'clean-environment' witch-hunt

Admiral Sudomo, one-time commander of the security agency, Kopkamtib, and now Minister-Coordinator for Social and Political Affairs, has recently been trying hard to clear up what he considers to be widespread confusion over the applicability of the criteria now used to prevent people from seeking employment on the grounds of their own or their family's alleged involvement in the so-called 'coup attempt' of 1965 or for alleged membership of or association with the PKI, alleged to have master-minded the 'coup attempt'.

For years now, as we have frequently reported, people have been required to attest not only to their own 'non-involvement' or cleanliness, but also to prove that no-one in their 'environment', that is to say, blood relatives and in-laws, was involved either. Hence the currency of the expressions 'bersih diri' or clean-self, and 'bersih lingkungan' or clean-environment.

But the use of the 'bersih-lingkungan' criterion came under fire from Interior Minister, General Rudini, following a spate of accusations levelled against people in positions within government or in Golkar because of family ties with former prisoners or communist suspects. He complained of "unwarranted and unnecessary excesses". He disliked the term 'clean-environment' and said both terms had arisen from the public itself.

At the heart of the present fuss is the fact that many aspiring Golkar functionaries are now discovering that 'unclean' persons in their family circles are becoming an obstacle to their ambitions. No-one questions the system of discrimination itself and the witch-hunting which it has engendered. No-one has come to the defence of the real victims, the ex-prisoners and their close relatives who have for many years borne the political stigma of 'involvement'.

Both Sudomo and Rudini insist that there is no mention in any of the regulations in force of the terms 'bersih-

diri' and 'bersih-lingkungan'. Nevertheless, it is widely known that 'bersih-diri' certificates known by the initials SKBD (*Surat Keterangan Bersih Diri*) and *Surat Keterangan Bersih Lingkungan* certificates, known as SKBL, are required for people applying for many jobs. These certificates were also required of all candidates nominated for the 1987 general elections.

With the help of recent statements by Sudomo, it is now possible to examine the origins of this policy.

## The origins of 'clean-environment'

In a statement that was widely reported in the press [see *Kompas* and *Jakarta Post* 9 September, for example], Sudomo explained that, up until 1980, discriminatory practices against the employment of 'ex-tapols' or, more



broadly, 'ex-PKI' people, were based on a Kopkamtib decree requiring all persons applying for jobs in the government sector or in 'vital' private enterprises to have 'non-involvement certificates' confirming that they were not involved in the alleged 1965 'coup attempt' nor



Tempo, 12 November 1988

were they (alleged) members of the now-banned PKI or associated organisations.

Modifications in the 'non-involvement certificate' regulations were introduced in 1975, and in 1976, a government regulation stipulated that only persons never involved in movements in opposition to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution could become civil servants.

According to a regulation introduced in January 1980, 'non-involvement certificates' were no longer required for persons who were under 12 years of age in 1965, it being recognised that they "were too young to know anything" at the time. These modifications "did not lessen the need to carry out 'mental and ideological' screening of anyone applying for jobs with the government or in the 'vital' private sector," said Sudomo.

In June 1982, Kopkamtib issued an Implementary Instruction [*Petunjuk Pelaksanaan*] which stated that the screening of applicants for jobs in the state sector should "include an assessment of the applicant with regard to environment (*lingkungan*) concerning personal identity and family background, including place of residence and social links". Sudomo has now spelt out in detail the nature of this family background assessment:

*"This assessment includes, among others, the family environment, siblings, dominant or very influential relations influencing the person's outlook, behaviour and mental-ideological attitude as the result of family ties, feelings of gratitude, intimacy, similarity of aspirations and outlook, and so on. Included in dominant relations are: parents' ties with their children, parents-in-law's ties with their sons or daughters-in-law, grandparents with grandchildren whom they have brought up, uncles, aunts, older brothers or sisters who paid for the person's education, anyone who supported the person for a reasonably long period of time; wives with husbands and the reverse; the specific nature of the person's social surroundings which may have coloured the persons's attitude.*

*"This is what subsequently became popularly known as 'bersih-lingkungan' and 'bersih-diri', although these terms were not used in the 1982 document."*

Sudomo recognised the need for these implementary instructions to be "revitalised", and has since promised that new regulations regarding 'bersih-diri' and 'bersih-lingkungan' will soon be issued. For members of the armed forces, a totally 'clean' family background will continue to be unconditional, he said. But for

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those in government service or seeking jobs with the government, screening of the family background would continue to be the same as for the armed forces although there would now be greater emphasis on the person's own character. Each case would be considered on its merits.

This screening also applies to anyone presently working in, or applying for jobs in, state enterprises, anyone in the teaching profession, the political parties and Golkar (not clear whether he means functionaries or members as well), the press, puppeteers (*dalang*), village heads, legal aid bureaus and the clergy.

To avoid unnecessary public recriminations, he asked members of the public to report "suspicious or unusual" family ties of present or aspiring government employees to the authorities so that they could be "properly investigated".

### "Once a communist..."

A few weeks after making this statement, Sudomo denied that the modifications in the screening process which would soon be introduced meant that the government is "getting soft" on communists. "Even though they have spent time in prison, their ideology is unchanged." National vigilance continues to be essential.... The government's attitude towards PKI remnants has never changed. "If they were involved, they were involved and there's an end to it!" The names of people involved in the PKI movement, he said, would never be erased till their dying day. [*Suara Karya*, 1 October]

The press has meanwhile been full of reports about the on-going witch-hunt.

\* Information Minister Harmoko has been the most vociferous, saying on many occasions that no-one from the PKI may work in the press. "The government will act without hesitation, revoking the publishing licence of

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any publication that ignores this warning." This applies both "to ex-PKI as well as to their children" he said. [Tempo, 15 October]

\* Tempo itself was given a 'stern warning' because it published a letter from the lawyer, Oey Tjoe Tat, a former political prisoner. "Wittingly or unwittingly, it allowed its columns to be used to voice the opinion of a member of Baperki which is a banned organisation."

\* The Information Ministry announced that it had discovered 37 employees regarding whom there are indications of involvement in the 1965 events and the PKI, while regarding another 14 there were indications of an 'unclean-environment'. Some have been dismissed, and others shifted to other posts. [Kompas, 30 September]

\* Six teachers in Jakarta who were discovered to have been ex-prisoners, including one who was even a head teacher, have now been shifted to other jobs. [Suara Merdeka, 28 August]

\* The chairman of the trade union federation, the SPSP, Iman Sudarwo responded to worries that communists may have gained positions in trade union branches in the plantation sector. He stressed that the 'clean-environment' criterion is the top priority in selecting functionaries throughout the SPSP. [Suara Pembaruan, 21 September]

\* Following a visit to a number of provinces, Commission I of Parliament reported that an unspecified number of government employees in Central Java have been dismissed for failing to have 'clean-environment' certificates



Political prisoners before release were all required to pledge allegiance to the Pancasila. Here they are seen at a ceremony in September 1978, in Semarang. Now, the authorities make a mockery of their own rules.

(SKBL). In Blitar, East Java, they discovered that the children of ex-prisoners are unwilling to go on to high school because they know they will not be able to get 'clean-self' or 'clean-environment' certificates (SKBD and SKBL) and therefore will not find work. [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 6 September]

\* In East Java, the military commander, Major-General Sugeng Subroto, told members of the same Commission that

'ex-PKI' people had managed, by concealing their identity, to penetrate an (unnamed) institute. When asked how many people were involved, he refused to give details. He said only that he was not worried about security risks as these people were under close watch. "Our officers are always able to detect their whereabouts" because "they have all been entered into a political organisation which makes it easy for us to keep an eye on them." He refused to name the organisation.

He also said that there are 58 A-category political prisoners still in prison in East Java. Besides, there are 4,291 B-category persons, 12,949 C-category persons and 426,916 persons required to report regularly to the authorities. Reporting requirements for some of the latter group have been lifted "but they continue to be under surveillance". [Jawa Pos, 7 October]

\* The West Java branch of the lawyers' organisation, Ikadin, fully supports a decision by the High Court to revoke the licence to practice of an Ikadin member, identified only as YLK, who was discovered to have been a former PKI member. As soon as Ikadin heard rumours about YLK, they summoned him to strip him of membership, but he had already resigned. [Pedoman Rakyat, 15 September] It has also been announced that several public prosecutors have been dismissed after discovering that members of their family were formerly involved in the PKI. [Jawa Pos, 28 September]

\* Only 9,000 out of 175,000 government employees who were classified in 1974 as C2 and C3 suspects still remain in their jobs. Admiral Sudomo has often explained that, under a Kopkamtib regulation in 1975, persons in these categories were allowed to keep their jobs in the civil service, with the proviso that they did not hold 'strategic' positions, that they were under constant surveillance and that they would be replaced as soon as possible. Sudomo offered no explanation for the huge drop in numbers except to say that "some have died, and so on". [Kompas, 9 September]

\* 616 ex-tapols from Java are now said to be living as transmigrants in various parts of South Sumatra. They were moved after "extremely careful selection" over the period from 1967 to 1987 (an apparent breach of the rule that ex-tapols are not allowed to become transmigrants). Colonel Soemarsono, the chief of social and political affairs in the province, said that for the past 20 years, they have shown no signs of suspicious or anti-Pancasila behaviour but any moves they make in or out of the sites where they live must be closely monitored. They should not be allowed to leave their village without the permission of the village head, and whenever they stay away from home, they must explain what they did while they were away. [Kompas, 1 November] ✱

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# Nazi-style snooping and the Muslim trials

In the trial of Farid Madjid, a teacher from Madura, identified in our last Bulletin only by his initials, the prosecutor has demanded a sentence of six years.

The accused is one of a group of seven persons all of whom are to be tried. They met weekly at a religious gathering (pengajian) as Muhamaddiyah members. Farid Madjid, 42, is a teacher at a religious Tsanawiyah school, Pondok Pesantren Al Amien in Sumenep, on the island of Madura. He also gave lessons on the subject of Pancasila Morals.

According to the prosecutor, H. Moch. Ali Sabtu, the group distributed leaflets in order to influence the public. One was entitled, "Wake up before it's too late" and included such statements as "Your government is heading towards dictatorial absolutism. The people are being forced to accept the sole principle unconditionally." (This is a reference to the Pancasila which must now be accepted as the only belief for all social and political organisations.)

The way Farid was arrested is typical Nazi-style snooping. As a teacher, he often made critical remarks about the government, saying it was worse than the Sukarno government, that many high officials were corrupt, and that members of parliament were appointed, not elected. Someone who attended his lessons reported these remarks to the local military unit who gave him a tape-recorder to record Farid in class. These tapes led to his arrest.

He was quoted as saying that Golkar people were not to be trusted, that the PPP was hypocritical and that the third party, PDI, had the wrong ideology. He therefore urged people to not to vote for any of the parties and leave their voting papers blank. In court, Farid did not deny any of this but did deny that it was subversive. "I am not against the Pancasila," he told the court.

## Amnesty adopts Farid

Amnesty International has decided to adopt Farid as a prisoner of conscience and has called on the Indonesian government to release him immediately and to investigate



Farid Madjid with his lawyer during the trial. [Editor, 3 September]

allegations that one of the witnesses in his trial was tortured. This refers to the alleged leader of the group, Haji Sahlan Syakh who was reportedly beaten, kicked and then given electric shocks while being interrogated by an intelligence officer of the local military command, in his capacity as Laksusda. Sahlan is said to have eventually agreed to accept the 'sole principle' even though he maintained that he had never rejected it in the first place.

According to Amnesty, Sahlan and the other five men were released in February this year but reports persist that the men will also be tried.

Sources: Editor, 13 August 1988, and AI document ASA 21/16/88. ✱

# TAPOL's Muslim Trials book banned

The book published by TAPOL last year, *Indonesia, Muslims on Trial* has been banned by the Attorney General.

We only became aware of the ban from a clipping reporting that the head of the Pematang Siantar office of the Department of Education referred to the ban and made public the names of five books, including the TAPOL title, which were banned from use in schools in the region. All schools were instructed to report to the Attorney-General if they found anyone possessing, storing or using any of the banned books. According to the report, all five books are circulating in schools in the region.

This comes as a surprise to us. As far as we know, only a very limited number of copies have reached

Indonesia. It may well be, however, that photocopies are circulating.

The other four banned books are: *Ritual Jahiliyah yang Haram* by Hanikaff, *Alam Pikiran Kekeluargaan* by Joesoef Ratman, *Kembali Kepada Allah yang Hidup di Bumi*, and *Iman dan Amal* by Suryo.

Source: Waspada, 1 September 1988. ✱



# Pig-fat scare is subversive, says Sudomo

A nationwide scare that some popular processed foods contain pig-fat or lard has caused turmoil among Muslims and forced leading companies to close down factories producing the suspect products.

Admiral Sudomo, Minister-Coordinator for Social and Political Affairs, has now pronounced this a case of subversion, alleging that "rightists or leftists have tried to instigate Muslims into burning down factories producing the suspect foods, and disrupting political stability". Since there have been no press reports about factories being burnt down, it must be assumed that the press was told not to report the incidents.

The scare began innocently enough with a scientific report by Dr Tri Susanto from the Food Technology Department of Brawijaya University, East Java, on the lard, alcohol, shortening and gelatine content of a number of brands. Although it was an internal study, a section of the report was circulated with an additional page said to have been the work of a hitherto unknown group called Muslim Al Fallah Scholars.

The effect was devastating. Several well-known brands, including Dancow Milk, jointly produced by Nestle and Bimantara, a company owned by the Suharto family, and Indomie, a product of Liem Sioe Liong, a business associate of Suharto's, were severely hit. Companies have run front-page ads proclaiming their products halal and Suharto made a statement to calm people's fears.

Now, Harmoko, the Information Minister, and Admiral Sudomo have warned the press to refrain from reporting anything more about the issue. They allege that the 'pig-fat' scare could get out of hand and lead to racial riots against the Chinese community.

## Three dailies 'under investigation'

Three dailies, Pelita, Berita Buana and Jawa Pos, have been given stern reprimands for publishing what are regarded as provocative reports about the 'pig-fat' issue and have been warned that their licences could be revoked if they repeat their mistakes. These are the papers that first published the story.

Minister-Coordinator, Admiral Sudomo has also announced that the government has launched an investigation to discover why these papers started publishing the report. "We want to find out who manipulated the findings of Dr Tri Susanto's study and who made it possible for this to be reported in the press." [Jakarta Post and Kompas, 16 November] ✱

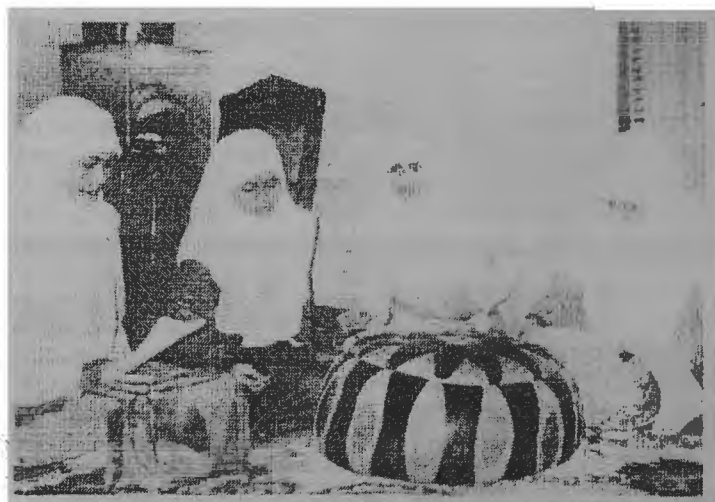


# For the sake of uniformity

Once again, head-scarves worn by Muslim girls at school have led to discriminatory measures against pupils. The head of SMAN-I, a senior high school in Bogor, West Java, sent a letter in August to the parents of 26 school-girls, objecting to their daughters wearing head-scarves at school. The head said that wearing head-scarves conflicts with regulations from the Department of Education regarding the way children may dress at school, even though in every other respect they obeyed regulations regarding the wearing of school uniform.

As a result, 17 of the girls decided to conform and refrain from wearing their scarves at school. Two decided to leave the school. (This is as reported by Tempo. According to Jawa Pos, 6 October, all the 19 girls left the school.) The other seven decided to fight the prohibition by turning up at school wearing their scarves. The teachers exerted pressure by simply ignoring them and behaving as if they were not there. Although they attended classes, they were given no homework, were not allowed to take part in practical activities and were prevented from taking examinations.

Six of the girls have now decided to file a civil suit, and have approached the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) in Jakarta for help. The case against the head-teacher, Ngatiyo, is soon to be heard by the Bogor District Court. [Tempo, 22 October] Nursyahbani Kacasungkana, director of the Jakarta LBH, will fight the case, along with two other lawyers.



Four of the Muslim girls who have filed a suit against their head-teacher. [Tempo, 22 October 1988]

In 1984 and 1985, the controversy over head-scarves resulted in a number of schools-girls in Jakarta and Bandung being moved from state to private schools. But this is the first time it has been taken to court. ✱

# Suharto's role in the G30S

The events of October 1965 which brought General Suharto to power are today a matter of considerable attention in Indonesia. Suharto's claim that the kidnap and murder of six army generals early on 1 October 1965, the so-called 'coup attempt', was inspired and engineered by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), is the most sacred of all New Order dogmas. There are signs however that Suharto's version is beginning to wear thin.

seem to be trying to reveal all facts and significance surrounding it. They are still combing the depths to discover the unknown truth." [Merdeka, 30 September 1988, as reproduced in Indonesia News Service, No 147, November 1988]

The paper was severely reprimanded and the journalist who wrote the editorial was sacked. But the editorial tells us a lot about what people are discussing these days in Indonesia behind closed doors.

## Suharto: "I took power constitutionally"

Speaking on 5 October, Armed Forces Day, Suharto said the armed forces needed to review all their experiences before 1966 and to correct them. "This is the background to the birth of the New Order which, from the start, we fought for by democratic and constitutional means." [Kompas, 6 October]

He returned to the same theme a month later when he denied that the events leading to the downfall of Sukarno had been unconstitutional. "There was no covert coup by the Indonesian army." Nor did the 11 March 1966 Instruction (known by the acronym, Supersemar) have anything to do with efforts to bring down Sukarno. "The birth of this Instruction did not come about by force of arms, as if Bung Karno (the late president) was coerced into signing it". (For readers who are unfamiliar with this event, the Supersemar, by which Sukarno surrendered state power to Suharto, was a document placed before Sukarno for his signature by Generals Amir Machmud, Achmad Jusuf and Basuki Rachmat, all close allies of Suharto. The generals visited Sukarno in Bogor on the afternoon of 11 March 1966, just after he left a cabinet meeting at the President's Palace in great haste and flew by helicopter to his Bogor residence, on being informed that the Palace was surrounded by heavily-armed unidentified troops. Sukarno rushed from the meeting in such a hurry that he ran in bare feet, leaving his shoes under the table.)

Suharto said that people abroad still harbour erroneous ideas about the events of 11 March 1966. The source of such ideas is near at hand, right here at home, he said. "They are being spread overseas." [Tempo, 12 November 1988] Suharto also referred to the "Cornell Paper", an early analysis of the 1965 events, published in 1971, which was written by two Cornell University Indonesianists, Ben Anderson and Ruth McVey, which rejected the official claim of PKI's complicity.

## A new White Book

It was recently announced that a White Book on the events of 1965 is soon to be published by the State Secretariat. This will not be the first time the regime has published its version of the events that led to Suharto's seizure of power. In the early 1970s, a book written by two generals, the late Nugroho Notokusanto, a historian, and the lawyer Ismael Saleh who is now serving his second term as Minister of Justice, set out to prove that the October 1965 events were engineered by



The current political shifts in Indonesia are closely linked to the succession, a matter of great importance to the leader of any dictatorial regime faced with the prospect that his misdeeds may at last come under public scrutiny. In Suharto's case, he needs not only to protect his family's corporate fortune amassed by the abuse of state privilege; he also needs to preserve his role in history as the man who came to power not by violence but by constitutional means. In particular, he needs to stifle growing suspicions in Indonesia that it was he who engineered the plot that decimated the army's general staff, leaving him the only powerful general in a position to seize power from Sukarno.

On 30 September this year, the Jakarta daily, Merdeka, published an editorial entitled "Re-tracing history" which indirectly questioned the official version. The editorial referred to the events of 23 years ago not as the G30S/PKI, the official acronym which inseparably links the '30 September Movement' (the G30S) to the PKI, but simply as the G30S. It said: "Reviewing the background, interactions, and consequences of the G30S, we find that there were complicated interactions and contradictions such that the mind cannot easily digest them. Historians to this day are still searching and examining this big event that brought about dramatic, extraordinary developments in the national scene. They



the PKI. Their main evidence was a 'confession' by Njono, a member of the PKI Politbureau, who was tried at the beginning of 1966, the first of many PKI leaders to be brought to trial. Njono was sentenced to death and executed many years ago. But the authors had some difficulty with this evidence, not least because Njono retracted the 'confession' during his trial.

In September 1986, several articles were published in *Sinar Harapan*, based on a lengthy interview of three men who played the key role in staging the political trials back in the 1960s. The three men, who were then colonels and are now retired army generals, were: Ali Said, chairman of the Supreme Court, who in 1965 was on the staff of the army's legal department and who interrogated many PKI prisoners, including Njono; Durmawel Achmad, now a retired businessman but in 1965 also a member of the team that interrogated Njono, who claimed to have stayed with Njono day and night in his cell in order to win his confidence; and Tahir, until October this year Inspector-General for Development, who in 1965 was deputy chairman of the Central Investigation Team in charge of interrogating PKI prisoners.

The three men were at pains to prove that Njono's confession, which they extracted soon after Njono was

in order to rebuff a statement Sukarno had recently made describing the events of October 1965 as nothing more than "a ripple in the mighty ocean of the revolution". Thereafter, Suharto began to use his special powers, which he obtained from President Sukarno on 4 December 1965, to convoke the Extraordinary Military Tribunal before which Njono and many other PKI leaders were tried and found guilty of complicity in the G30S.

This was the beginning of the process by which Suharto used the law-courts to prove his case against the PKI, as Ali Said, Tahir and Durmawel stressed in the *Sinar Harapan* interview. These three generals, more than anyone else in the present-day leadership, were instrumental in helping Suharto in his efforts to make his seizure of power appear to be constitutional.

Their 1986 interview can be seen as part of the preparation to re-write the regime's official version of what happened. It is no coincidence that the men who are needed in this effort have remained close to Suharto. They are Sudharmono, who has been at Suharto's side ever since 1965, formerly his State Secretary, and now Vice-President; Ali Said, chairman of the Supreme Court already for many years; Ismael Saleh, the Justice Minister, and Tahir until October this year Inspector-General for Development, the Inpres office dealing with projects financed by a presidential fund, and located in Bina Graha, Suharto's official headquarters.



General Suharto, flanked by his top generals, at the Armed Forces Day march-past. [Jakarta Post, 6 October]

arrested in October 1965, was authentic despite grave doubts expressed by Ben Anderson and Ruth McVey, in their "Cornell Paper", a document that continues to haunt Suharto to this very day.

"Durmawel stressed that everything rested on Njono's hand-written confession. He, Ali Said and Tahir were all convinced that the original confession, hand-written by Njono, disproved various theories abroad doubting the central role of the PKI in the G30S/PKI revolt. 'We don't need to respond to all that,' Ali Said reiterated." [Sinar Harapan, 29 September 1986]

However, the three men were not happy about the Nugroho-Saleh account, either. In a long footnote on the Njono confession, the authors suggested that Njono was probably 'depressed' when he was being interrogated and only came out of his state of depression during his trial in court. As the two interrogators who had extracted the confession from Njono, Durmawel and Ali Said described this footnote as "inaccurate" [Sinar Harapan, 30 September 1986].

They sent Njono's confession as their evidence of PKI complicity to then Colonel, now General (ret'd) Sudharmono, who was on the staff of the Supreme Operational Command (KOTI). Sudharmono passed it on to Suharto and it was circulated to members of the cabinet

### The role of Kostrad

But what about the newcomer to the presidential team, General Wahono? A month before Wahono was appointed General Chairman of Golkar, he replaced Tahir as Inspector-General for Development. Whatever his qualifications for the Golkar job, discussed elsewhere in this Bulletin, it should not be forgotten that in 1965, Wahono was assistant for operations of Kostrad, the army's Strategic Command, at the time Suharto was commander. It was as Kostrad commander that Suharto was able to launch his assault on the troops which kidnapped and murdered the six generals on 1 October 1965 and install himself on the next day as army chief-of-staff, against the wishes of Sukarno.

As Suharto's operations assistant, Wahono would be well informed about certain matters discussed in a document entitled "The Role of President Suharto in the 30 September Movement" that has been circulating for several years in Indonesia. According to this document, Suharto ordered three green-beret infantry battalions, Battalion 530 from Madiun, Battalion 454 from Semarang and Battalion 328 from Bandung, all of Kostrad's III/Paracommandos, to be in Jakarta on 28 September 1965, with full front line combat gear, that is to say, armed with ammunition, on alert and ready to fight in combat. These troops were inspected by Suharto, as Kostrad Commander, on the morning of 30 September, meaning, according to the document, that they were firmly under his command. [See the translation of the first part of this document in Indonesia Reports, Politics Supplement, No 25, August 1988.] Less than 24 hours later, two of these battalions were out in the streets of Jakarta, ostensibly acting in support of the plotters who organised the kidnap missions against the generals. Suharto has claimed that one of his major achievements in turning the tide on 1 October 1965 was to have persuaded these troops to abandon the rebel cause. Yet although the 'coup' leaders, Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, Colonel Latief and Brigadier-General Supardjo, were expecting help from these troops, their role proved to be ambiguous, to say the least. Another of the articles published by *Sinar Harapan* in September 1986 describes how these troops were placed round

Merdeka Square on the morning of 1 October, but did nothing to support rebel troops who had occupied the radio station on the west side of the square, when Kostrad forces moved to take control of the radio.

This document, which gives details of the radiograms sent by Suharto, also refers to a number of documents and articles that have revealed that the leading plotters were on close personal terms with Suharto, and regarded him as sympathetic to their cause. They include several articles by the Dutch scholar, W.F. Wertheim, and the defence plea by Colonel Latief at his trial in 1978. Indeed, as Latief confirmed in court, a couple of hours before the kidnappers set out on their missions, at around midnight, he met Suharto at a hospital where the latter's son was under treatment, to inform him of the moves that would be taken against the generals who had been targeted for kidnapping.

As operational assistant, Wahono would have known all about Suharto's role in arranging these unexplained



troop deployments, at Suharto's behest. So now, he too takes his place under Suharto's wing, at a time when Suharto is about to launch his new definitive account of the events of 1965. In his introduction to the translation of the above document, *Indonesia Reports* editor, John MacDougall wonders whether "the current intra-regime conflict (is) really rather more about Suharto and his protection - or exposure - by his longterm allies". We would add that this document may well be one of the sources "near at hand, right here at home", referred to recently by Suharto, which he is now determined to rebuff.

Another piece in the jigsaw of Suharto's current manoeuvres is the execution during the past two years of five men who, had they survived, might have one day revealed some of the facts Suharto has tried so hard to conceal. Sjam Kamaruzzaman, the key figure behind the G30S plot, a member of the PKI's so-called special bureau and an intelligence agent for the army, was executed in September 1986, along with Supono Marsudijoyo and Muljono also known as Bono and as Waluyo, both members of the special bureau. Now come the executions in October this year of Giyadi and Sukardjo, both members of the kidnap teams who were found guilty of shooting two of the victims. To quote *Indonesia Reports* editor, John MacDougall again: "That the executions are occurring only in recent years after so long we attribute mainly to the gradual drawing down of Suharto and his longtime colleagues in office and their desire to avoid any possible contingency, such as strong international pressure, whereby these prisoners might be afforded sufficient freedom to present further narrative

## THE 1965 AFFAIR

challenges to the original myths of the New Order." [*Indonesia News Service*, No 146, 26 October 1988]

### Another myth comes unstuck

In October 1965, grisly reports were published in several Jakarta newspapers, with the two armed forces papers, *Angkatan Bersenjata* and *Berita Yudha* taking the lead, alleging that the victims of the kidnap gangs, six generals and a soldier on guard at General Nasution's home, had been savagely and obscenely mutilated. It was claimed that their eyes had been gouged, the bodies cut with razors, and their genitals slashed. This was said to be the work of members of Gerwani, the pro-PKI women's organisation. These reports were never challenged in the press as all newspapers that might have dared do so were closed down from 2 October. They helped to set alight a wave of anti-communist fervour throughout Indonesia, inciting mobs who, alongside Suharto's troops, launched the massacres which left an estimated one million people dead by early 1966. But the reports also had the effect of deflecting attention from the role of troops in the action against the generals, by alleging that the victims were killed by mutilations inflicted on them by civilians.

It was known at the time that a team of doctors had been instructed to carry out autopsies of the corpses. These autopsies were never published and have, until recently, remained one of the unsolved mysteries of 1965. At the time, President Sukarno frequently admonished journalists for their exaggerated accounts, insisting that doctors who had inspected the bodies found no evidence of the ghastly mutilation of eyes and genitals. It is now clear that it was not in Sukarno's power to publish the autopsies since they were carried out on Suharto's instructions. They were never published because it was not in Suharto's interest to have the findings made public.

The mystery of the autopsies has now been solved with the translation, by Ben Anderson, of the seven autopsies carried out on 4 and 5 October 1965 by doctors, acting on instructions from Suharto. The autopsies were discovered by Anderson quite by chance, while rummaging through the records of one of the trials held by the Extraordinary Military Tribunal. The autopsies show, as Anderson says, "with reasonable certainty that six of the victims died by gunfire (the case of Harjono, who died in his own home, remains puzzling), and that if their bodies suffered other violence, it was the result of clubbing with the butts of the guns that fired the fatal bullets, or of the damage likely to occur from a 36-foot fall down a stone-walled well." [See, "How Did the Generals Die?" in *Indonesia*, No 43, April, 1987, Cornell Southeast Asia Programme.]

As for the claims about genitals being slashed, the autopsies failed to discover any such thing. On the contrary, they reported all the victims' penises to be intact, even saying that four were circumcised and three were uncircumcised.

As with many other documents, Anderson's introductory remarks and translation, along with the original document, is now circulating in Indonesia, exploding one of the most outrageous propaganda tricks used by the army to distort history, to conceal the role of the army (ie. of Suharto himself) in the so-called G30S 'coup attempt', and to implicate the PKI.

It is one of Indonesia's greatest tragedies that nearly a quarter of a century on, the full story of what happened in October 1965 has not yet been told. But the



facts are closing in on Suharto, forcing him onto the defensive about his seizure of power, involving as it did one of the worst massacres of the twentieth century. The forthcoming White Paper will be an attempt to stem the growing tidal wave of truth which not only threatens

to engulf Suharto himself as mastermind of the murders of General Yani and other members of the army general staff; it will also shatter Suharto's efforts to prove that the New Order regime came to birth by constitutional means. ✱

## HUMAN RIGHTS

# International support for Pramodya

The Congressional Committee to Support Writers and Journalists has expressed its concern at the Indonesian Government's decision to ban Rumah Kaca, the latest book published by Pramodya Ananta Toer. Stating in a letter to the Indonesian Charge d'Affaires in Washington that it understood the book had been banned because it is communist, the Committee said:

"We regret this action which impedes the freedom to write in Indonesia, and respectfully urge that the authorities review the decision. Freedom to write and express ideas peacefully is a key to political stability in Indonesia, as in the rest of the world."

The Congressional Committee is a bi-partisan group of eleven Senators and sixty-one Members of the House of Representatives which was formed to support freedom to write around the world.

### International PEN writes to Suharto

Following the adoption of a resolution at its September conference protesting against restrictions on Pramodya Ananta Toer, the president of International PEN, Francis King wrote to President Suharto regarding restrictions against the writer, his publishers and persons trying to sell his works.

"Pramodya Ananta Toer has earned himself an international reputation and is often hailed as Indonesia's finest writer. To all who have read Toer's thought-provoking work and through it come to know more about Indonesian culture and history, it seems tragic that Indonesians themselves are unable to do likewise. Many people believe that far from being a 'subversive', Toer has in fact contributed richly to Indonesia's cultural heritage.... For these reasons we urge you to lift all restrictions on Toer himself, to lift the banning orders on his books, to allow his publishers to operate freely, and to drop all charges against the two students, Bambang Subono and Isti Nugroho."

### Why not all books about history are banned

Only a few weeks after yet more books by Pramodya were banned, the regime was plunged into a dispute over the pros and cons of banning a book about the late president, Sukarno. (It is the irony of regimes like this that the only option for dealing with a book with which it disagrees is to slap on a ban.)

In the end, the Sukarno book, *Siapa Menabur Angin Akan Menuai Badai*, (He Who Sows the Wind Will Reap the Tempest) by Soegiarso Sujono, alleging that the former president was himself involved in the 1965 'coup

attempt' and was also a communist, was saved from being banned by a statement from State Secretary, Major-General Moerdiono who declared that "we should show maturity in the discussion of history". Yes, but history is what Pramodya's quartet of books is all about.

The paradox was not lost on the Attorney-General, Sukarton Marmosudjono, who was apparently having problems explaining to the general public why he could be so generous to Soegiarso and so iron-fisted to Pramodya. "Our network of prosecutors should not behave like robots when carrying out government policy," he said. "You should all read Soegiarso's book to help you understand the philosophy of our law enforcement and to be able to explain to the public the reasons underlying the way we implement these powers, to explain, for example, why this book is not banned but the books of Pramodya are banned." [Java Pos, 12 October]

### Pram's books 'selling freely'

"The sale of books is flourishing. Pramodya Ananta Toer's books are being sold illegally, but freely. There are no clear sanctions against the sellers or buyers. The Senen Project minibus terminal (in Jakarta) with its nearby book kiosks is where transactions occur. There are a lot of security guards around but they only keep an eye on the buses and minibuses entering and leaving the terminal."

This report appeared in the Jakarta daily, *Jayakarta*, [27 August] which has spearheaded the campaign against Pramodya.

"But merchants took a good look first at the prospective buyer before making a sale. 'Who knows, a person pretending to buy might be from Bakin' (State Intelligence Coordination Board)." *Indonesia News Service*, [No 138, 26 September] describes this as a 'sneaky' article whereby the paper wants the authorities to crack down on the merchants. ✱



Pramodya Ananta Toer, sitting in his garden, during a visit by one of his many foreign visitors. [Photo: Mary Durran]

# Pramoedya's *Rumah Kaca* (The Glass House)

An essay by Basuki Resobowo

The last book in the quartet written by Pramoedya Ananta Toer while he was a prisoner on Buru island has now been published... and banned. A few copies have reached the outside world, like drops in the ocean, not enough to create a storm, to cause heated discussion.

I am one of the lucky ones to have a copy and I want to tell others about it. But I don't want to write a book review because I am very subjective about the book. I'd rather call this an essay.

The four historical novels Pramoedya wrote while exiled to Buru were published after he was let out (not freed). The first three books, *This Earth of Mankind*, *A Child of All Nations*, and *Footsteps*, were all banned soon after appearing in print. [As yet, only the first two have appeared in English translation.]

This last book goes over the events covered in the first three. They were a trilogy of novels, while *Rumah Kaca* is more like a history of the Indonesian people's movement and the growth of national consciousness. It's a pity Indonesians are not being allowed to read this book on Indonesian history.

## 'Primitive Pitung' and 'Modern Pitung'

Pramoedya starts by talking about people who reacted spontaneously to the brutalities and repression of the Dutch colonialists and the European and Chinese landlords. They acted without any organisation. One such person was an activist in West Java, Si Pitung. The Dutch colonialists regarded unruly people like Pitung as primitive because they had no concept of organisation. This was the opinion of the General Secretariat [Algemeene Secretarie], the special section, whose task it was to inform and advise the Governor-General. R.M. Minke, the man who founded an organisation to guide this movement, the central figure in Pramoedya's quarter, is called the 'Modern Si Pitung'.

People like Si Pitung had been marginalised by society and became outcasts, infuriated by the conditions created by foreigners in positions of power. Wasn't theirs an intuitive sense of nationhood? People like Si Pitung were idolised by the common people who flocked to lenong theatres when plays about Si Pitung were performed. This forced the police bureau in Betawi (as Jakarta was then called) to set up a special department to produce lenong plays preaching loyalty to the all-powerful colonial government.

I like the way Pramoedya uses Si Pitung as the symbol of resistance to injustice, and later refers to Minke, the main character, as the Modern Si Pitung because he shaped this resistance into an organisation.

Pramoedya is a great story-teller with a masterly control of language. But sometimes, he gets so carried away by the story he is telling that he takes three pages to say what could be said in half a page. It reminds me of Emil Zola. The stories are long but the interest never flags. Pramoedya's fantasy is firmly

grounded in the lives of people. He has no place for abstractions. He doesn't make anything up.



*Rumah Kaca* is the story of the special section of the Governor-General's office, whose job it is to monitor developments of the people's movement and the activities of its leaders. Reports from all parts of the country are studied and analysed. In this way, it examines everything going on in the Dutch East Indies. It is as if we are on the outside, looking into a glasshouse, hence the book's title. Having read this book which goes over the same ground as the first three, I note that the three novels gave an account of the history of the Indonesian people's movement from 1911, the beginnings of national consciousness (when Sarekat Dagang Islam, or the Muslim Traders League turned into Sarekat Islam, the Muslim League) up to the death of Minke in 1918.

The story in the first three books is not unlike the stories in many belle-lettres written in the Dutch colonial era, like *Nyai Dasima* and *Melati van Agam*. An Indonesian woman kept as a concubine by a Dutchman develops into a woman of great ability and strength and eventually rebels against her life in a gilded cage. These are romantic, exotic stories but Pramoedya's literary skills are far more powerful and expressive than those belle-lettres writers.

Things changed for the Dutch after 1918. They needed to educate Indonesians for a new era of colonial exploitation; so they began to apply their 'ethical policy'. This included setting up the Volksraad (People's Council) in 1919 which included six Indonesian collaborators from opportunistic organisations like Budi Mulyo, a pseudonym for Budi Utomo, and the Sarekat Islam. There is a passing reference to Semaoen who first emerged as a leader at the 1919 national congress of the Sarekat Islam. Semaoen later became the leader of the leftwing movement.

Pramoedya throughout writes only about what was going on; he makes no reference to Marx and Engels, not like Achdiat K. Mihadja's *Atheist* which repeatedly quotes Marx and Engels. It is very annoying to read that book; the story line is interrupted over and over again because the author wants to show how much he understands Marxist theory. By contrast, Pramoedya confines himself to his characters and the problems that arise during their lifetime.



## Pramoedya's message

Does he have a message to convey? Yes, indeed, because an artist is also a thinker. But Pramoedya does not use his thoughts to egg his readers on. He writes only about the difficulties of the struggle for emancipation. One example of the message he wants to convey is the irony of a man who is trapped by the comfortable life he enjoys, having sold himself to the colonial government. This is an Menadonese called Pangemanann (with two n's!), who became a senior official in the special section of the Governor-General's office. In the end he was dismissed because his services as a spy were no longer needed. The comfortable life he had grown accustomed to collapsed and he was haunted by guilt for the crimes he committed against his own people. His life ended abruptly, drowned by his own sins.

Is this not a beautiful message for Indonesians who are today fighting for a better life, a message for them

to stand firm? Everyone who turns traitor will be struck down by their own sins.

But I was not happy with the ending. Pramoedya ends his book with a conventional climax, like Nyai Dasima and other books in the belle-lettre style which usually ended with the heroine complaining about the injustices she suffered. In *Rumah Kaca*, Nyai Sanikem provides the climax. In the closing scene, she is Madame Sanikem Le Boucq, married to a Frenchman, demanding retribution for all the sins against her adopted son, R.M. Minke.

The question for me is, why, for a regime so fond of banning books, was Achdiat's book, *Atheis*, full of quotations from Marx, never banned while Pramoedya's book which makes not a single reference to Marx and Engels was banned? Is it because Achdiat can get away with quoting Marx because he is not a communist, while Pramoedya stands accused, and has been punished as a communist though he never quotes a single line from Marx? Evidently the official verdict is that anything written by Pramoedya is regarded as a 'latent danger'.

# Arrests and torture in the Moluccas

Dozens of people were arrested in the Moluccas in June and July this year. The most complete list is contained in an Amnesty International document [ASA 21/14/88] which names sixteen men and refers also to mass arrests in several villages.

Amnesty also reported the maltreatment of prisoners, which detainees' relatives heard about from Moluccan prison guards. The families were not permitted to visit the detainees. Two prisoners, Michel Wattimena and John Souissa, were beaten so severely on their knees that they were unable to walk. Another was said to have been beaten with a truncheon studded with nails while a prisoner named Dominggus Pattiwalapia had his nails pulled out under interrogation. Some detainees were locked in a cell with a large snake.

Amnesty fears that two detainees died as the result of beatings. They are Mr Pattisina, who was arrested in Ambon in June, and Mr Corputty, who was arrested in June by the police in Kairatu, Ceram. The first names of both men are not known.

## Background to the arrests

Many Moluccans still cherish the idea of an independent state. Although the Republik Maluku Selatan (South Moluccas Republic) which was proclaimed in April 1950 was violently crushed by the Indonesian army, there are frequent outbursts in favour of independence.

Although information from the region is difficult to obtain, occasional visits by Moluccans now living in the Netherlands has brought to light a prevailing atmosphere of repression and discontent. Attempts to mark the anniversary of the proclamation of the RMS by raising the RMS flag have been the pretext for renewed waves of repression. This is known to have happened in April 1986 when flag-raising ceremonies took place in several villages, Aboru and Wasoe on Haruku Island, Ouw on Saparua Island and Hitu on Ambon Island. On that occasion, protests were reported throughout the Moluccas in April and May 1986 and many people were arrested, though probably just for short periods of time. [AI

document, ASA 21/00/86].

The craving for independence has been further enhanced by economic and social developments. The Moluccas is one of the most neglected parts of Indonesia with little in the way of economic progress. Like West Papua and East Timor, commerce is in the hands of outsiders while the leading civilian and military positions are kept in the hands of Javanese. There have been three earthquakes during 1988, uprooting many people from their homes. The main crop is cloves which has recently been severely hit by falling world prices.

The only successful economic project is a plywood factory in Ceram which is run by Bob Hassan, one of Suharto's close business associates, whose timber and forestry interests can only be described as phenomenal. Yet the beneficiaries of this project in terms of employment, are not local inhabitants but people brought

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