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The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

October 1988

TAPOL Bulletin No. 89

East Timor:

Euro MPs condemn Indonesia

The European Parliament has issued a resounding call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and for respect for the rights of the East Timorese people, including their right to self-determination. The resolution was adopted by 164 to 12, with 15 abstentions. Indonesia also failed in its bid to chair the Non-Aligned Movement for the next three years.

The European Parliament resolution, adopted on 15 September, came as the climax of a lengthy study by a special rapporteur, Ien van den Heuvel. After the draft of the resolution was adopted by the Political Affairs Committee on 22 June this year, the Indonesian Government went to extraordinary lengths to defeat the resolution, and invited four MEPs to visit East Timor (see page 2), believing that their 'eye-witness report' would swing Parliament in Indonesia's favour. But the decisiveness of the voting has left Indonesia's West European strategy in tatters.

The ferocity of Indonesian lobbying infuriated many MEPs, especially when the MEPs' report was distributed in Strassbourg as an official Indonesian document. Attempts by some of the MEPs who had been to East Timor, to dilute the resolution with amendments were all rejected. In fact, the draft adopted in June was further strengthened by amendments from Portuguese MEPs.

When, during the debate on 14 September, an MEP criticised Indonesian lobbying in Strassbourg, Bryan Cassidy, the British Tory who was one of the four to visit East Timor, caused an uproar, especially among Portuguese Members, when he responded by complaining about the presence of a "Portuguese mafia".

The draft resolution adopted in June (we do not yet have the final text of the resolution adopted on 15 September) urged the Council of Ministers of the European Community "to take measures enabling a referendum to be held... with the people being allowed freedom of choice on the future of East Timor", and requested the Commission "to take into account the situation in East Timor in its contacts with the Indonesian authorities".

It also urged the Council of Ministers to "establish contact with all parties involved in the conflict, including representatives of the East Timor community". To back up this demand, the Socialist Group, which is the largest fraction in the Parliament, invited Abilio Araujo of Fretilin and Moises do Amaral of the UDT, to be present when the resolution was debated.

The Christian Democratic Fraction, the second largest fraction, invited Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, former leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor, to address the Group two days before the debate. His impassioned plea on behalf of his people is known to have persuaded many Christian Democrats to support the resolution, although one of the Group, Janssen van Raay, had played such a prominent role in the attempts to defeat it.

NAM leadership defeat

Another wounding defeat for Indonesia occurred when it was forced to withdraw its bid to be the venue of the next summit conference of the Non-Aligned Movement and to take over the presidency of the movement. When the NAM foreign ministers met in Nicosia at the beginning of September, it became clear that there was too much opposition to the Indonesian bid. Nicaragua, the other country trying to get the presidency, was also forced to

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STOP PRESS

Kopkamtib's replacement. See back page

MEPs see East Timor through Indonesian eyes

In a move to scupper a strongly-worded resolution condemning Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor at the European Parliament, the Indonesian Government invited four MEPs to visit East Timor in August, a few weeks before the resolution was due to be discussed. The Report became a key document used in Jakarta's favour during discussions in Strassbourg in September. We offer below an analysis of the Report and the visit on which it was based.

Arrangements for the visit were made in consultation with the notoriously right-wing Dutch politician, J.L. Janssen van Raay who had previously been allowed to visit East Timor twice. Nothing was heard of his first visit in July-August last year. Following his second visit in January, Indonesia widely publicised his pro-Indonesian report in their propaganda war against East Timor (see TAPOL Bulletin, No. 86, April 1988, page 23). It is not too far-fetched to assume that these visits were preparatory to the August 1988 visit of four MEPs.

The three MEPs chosen by Janssen van Raay to accompany him were Bryan Cassidy, UK, a Conservative, Guy Guermeur, France, from the Gaullist party, RPR, and Beate Weber, West Germany, from the Social Democrats. Janssen van Raay himself is a Christian Democrat. Apart from Janssen van Raay, none of the others had previously taken any interest in either East Timor or Indonesia.

During the six-day visit to Indonesia, 48 hours were spent in East Timor, and of those two days, only seven hours were spent outside Dili.

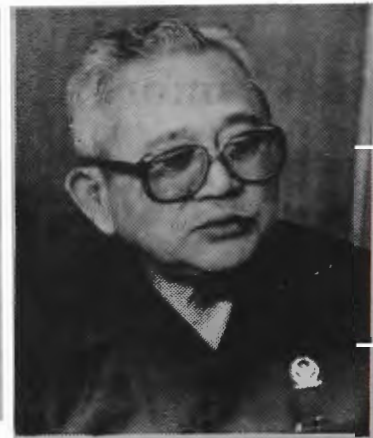
The official report of the delegation avoided any mention of East Timor's illegal annexation by Indonesia. It referred throughout to East Timor as 'a province of Indonesia', offering suggestions here and there as to how Indonesia might improve the management of its '27th province'. Although it was vaguely critical and even recommended that the number of Indonesian troops in East Timor be reduced and their duties taken over by the 'regular services', it was so supportive of Indonesia's version of conditions inside the country that, within days of its completion, it was being circulated far and wide as the key document to support an Indonesian offensive against several international initiatives to condemn the situation in East Timor. By contrast, Indonesian newspapers had to wait much longer before receiving copies of the report.

The first havoc wrought by the MEPs' report was the defeat of a resolution at the UN sub-commission on human rights in East Timor (see separate item).

"Neutral and unbiased"

In an interview before departing, Janssen van Raay had the gall to claim that the delegation had been chosen for its "integrity, neutrality and lack of prejudice" while insisting that it was going to East Timor in order to contradict Portugal's views now circulating in the European Parliament regarding East Timor. "The delegation is going primarily to prove that these opinions are untrue." [Editor, 20 August 1988]

Although the Indonesians claimed that the MEPs' visit signalled a new openness for foreigners to visit East Timor, their programme followed the same pattern as all known previous visits by parliamentarians undertaken under Indonesian auspices. For the first two days, the MEPs received briefing from high-level government officials in Jakarta. The whole of their first day in



General Supardjo (left), Coordinating-Minister for People's Welfare, and General Kharis Suhud, chair of Parliament, both close friends of Jimmy Janssen van Raay, MEP.

East Timor was spent meeting the governor, Mario Carrascalao, and local government officials in Dili to hear accounts of Indonesia's 'development' activities.

The first part of the second morning was spent attending the 17 August independence day ceremony. That they agreed to attend such a ceremony in Dili is staggering confirmation that the MEPs were quite willing to endorse the Indonesian annexation. Only after the ceremony did the delegates venture out of the capital "to see with their own eyes the real situation in East Timor" [the words used by the Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, to explain the purpose of the visit. *De Gelderlander*, 5 August 1988]. They travelled in an army helicopter and were accompanied on their brief trip to the eastern zone by military personnel and officials of the foreign affairs department, no doubt including agents from security and from the Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

But from then on, things began to go wrong. Any reference to what happened next is almost totally absent from the delegation's official report. The account we have is based on a phone conversation between Beate Weber and a contact of ours in Amsterdam, on 22 August, immediately after Weber had returned to Europe.

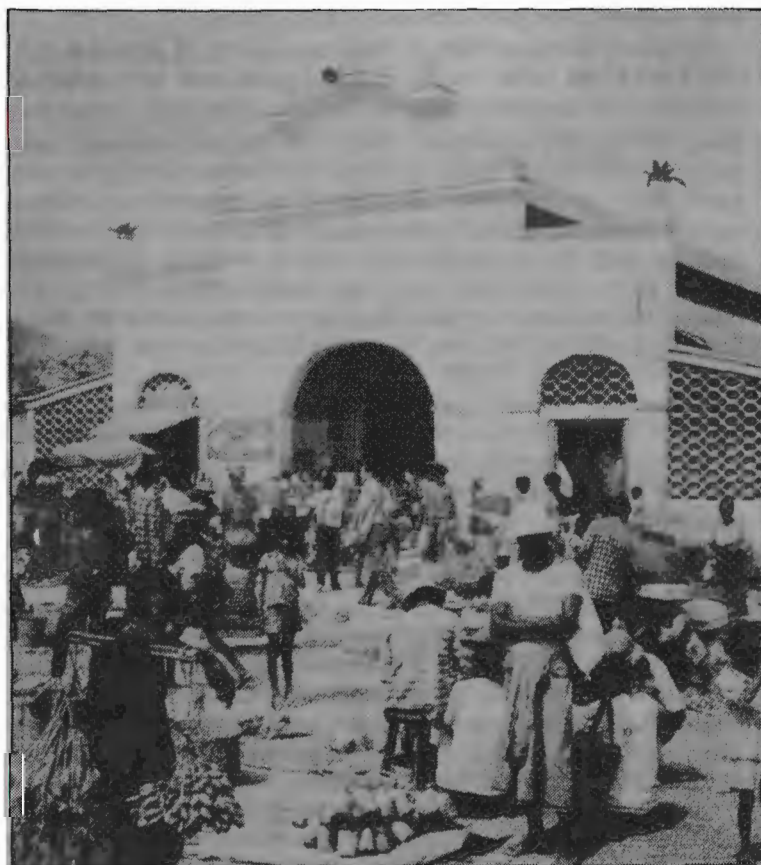
False destination

On board the helicopter which, they had been told, would take them to Viqueque, Beate Weber asked for a map to check the direction in which they were flying. At first, the pilot said there was no map on board, but after she insisted, he produced a map. Being a good map-reader, she soon realised that they were not going in the direction of Viqueque. (How many visitors in the past, we now wonder, have been taken to places which were not the places they thought they were?)

When Weber threatened to withdraw from the programme

if the heli did not change direction, the aircraft suddenly made an unscheduled landing in Caitui, and then, much to the astonishment of the MEPs, flew them back to Dili. In Dili, they were told that the trip to Viqueque had to be abandoned because the sky was clouding over (the sky was in fact very blue). When they refused to accept this, officials then told them the helicopter was in need of repairs and was unable to fly. As tempers rose and all the MEPs threatened to withdraw from the programme, they were finally told that the heli could take off after all. Meanwhile, several phone-calls had been made, no doubt warning people in Viqueque that visitors were coming so that the usual 'preparations' should be made.

On arrival in Viqueque, Weber notes, "people did not come out to welcome the delegation as happened elsewhere. They seemed not to be pleased to see the helicopter, the delegation and our escorts". In their



The old market in Dili.

tour of the town, the MEPs saw military compounds and noted the presence of many special troops. When they asked why, having previously been told there was no Fretilin activity, "no clear answer was given. The Indonesians kept on saying the region was peaceful."

This experience in Viqueque led the team to recommend the withdrawal of special troops but without making the point that their presence contradicted Indonesian claims about "no resistance". Even so, the recommendation caused some annoyance. Theo Sambuaga, chair of Parliament's Inter-Parliamentary Co-ordination Board, said later: "They might have seen many ABRI (armed forces) officers in East Timor and hastily made the conclusion that the soldiers were there to fight. In fact, ABRI is also an agent of development..." [Jakarta Post, 22 August 1988]. He alleged that things like this "cannot be seen through European spectacles".

Nothing is said, either in the delegation report or in Weber's account, about meeting ordinary Timorese in Viqueque, so it must be assumed that they met only officials and soldiers. Indeed, the report throughout lacks any mention of meeting ordinary Timorese.

From Viqueque, they were flown to Baucau. On the way, they made an unscheduled landing, at their request, at a village named Laisorolai de Baixo, said to have been an

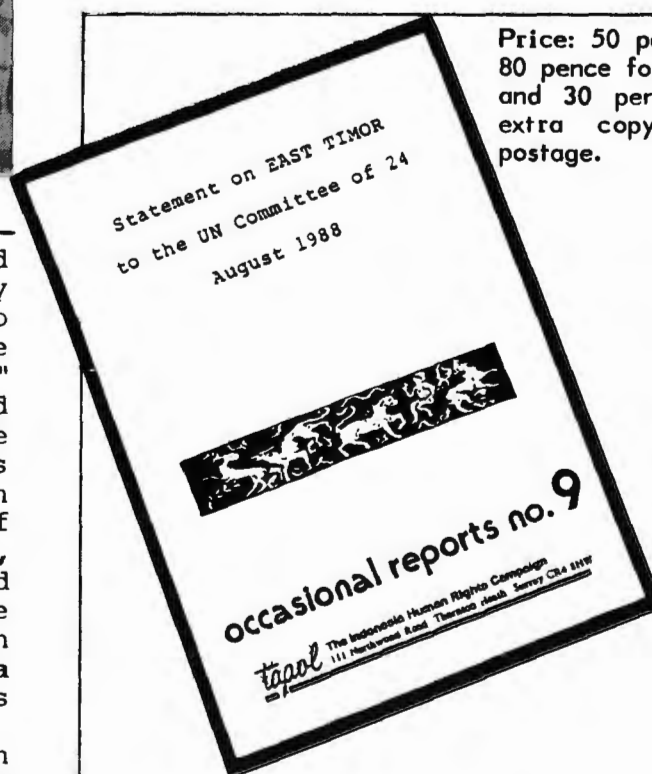
area where Fretilin was once active. The village headman told them, according to the delegation's report, that "there were no Fretilin and no security problems". He described his village as being "happy to be integrated into Indonesia".

[Was he speaking as a free agent or within earshot of the security agents accompanying the guests? Could this have been a village Janssen van Raay had been advised to "choose spontaneously" during his earlier preparatory visits to East Timor? Were the authorities able to make the usual 'preparations' in all villages near Baucau that would be overflowed by the helicopter?]

Kopassus interrogation centre "a sinister place"

In Baucau, Weber sprang a surprise request by asking to visit the former Hotel Flamboyan, which is now a notorious interrogation centre run by Kopassus, the special commando unit. This was not welcome to the Indonesians but she insisted. After an argument, it was finally agreed that they could go, but the row had given their hosts time to send instructions to the centre. Indeed, said Weber, a man left on a motorbike while they were talking. In any case, the team was first taken to the market in Baucau, giving more time for preparations.

Weber described the centre as "a sinister place with a suffocating atmosphere." After going down a long corridor and passing many small rooms (apparently all now empty) they came upon a small side building where they met a family who said they were "participating in a programme of development". According to Weber, the Indonesians were, by now, "getting pissed off" and were not going to allow this to continue. Anyway, it was getting dark, so there was a good excuse for them to



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Occasional Reports No 9, TAPOL's submission to the 1988 meeting of the UN Decolonisation Committee, focusses on the militarised structure of the Indonesian administration in East Timor and the tight system of control which this imposes on the people.

leave for Dili without seeing anything else.

In the official report, the visit to the interrogation centre sounds rather different: "Immediately on arrival, we asked to be taken straight to the Flamboyan. Up to the time of arrival, no advance indication was given... of our wish to make this visit. After a very short visit to the market, made at the request of local officials, we inspected the place and found nothing amiss."

Back in Dili, says Weber, questions were asked about the role of Hotel Flamboyan but she did not say what answer they got. When they asked whether any officials had been prosecuted for ill-treating Timorese, army personnel produced a book recording trial proceedings and showed them the records of two persons tried for maltreatment. Asked later about this, Carrascalao and Belo told the MEPs that any army people convicted on such charges always got light sentences.

Two Churches, two contrasting experiences

The delegation split into two groups to visit church leaders, Bishop Belo, leader of the Catholic church in East Timor, and three leaders of the Protestant church. [This could be the first time any foreign visitors have visited Protestant church leaders in Dili.]

The report records the views of both church groups: "The President of the (Protestant) Synod said that since integration, the Protestant Church enjoyed complete freedom and had established 27 churches in the province (sic).... He also expressed his satisfaction with integration with Indonesia. As for torture, he had not



Special Indonesian troops arriving in East Timor last year. The four MEPs called for their withdrawal.

heard of any recent cases." [These remarks are hardly surprising, considering that the Protestant church in East Timor is an Indonesian creation and serves the Indonesian community, not the Timorese who are Catholic.]

The information from Bishop Belo provided the most devastating section of an otherwise bland report; "He expressed serious concern about continuing cases of

brutality (one as recently as 6 July 1988 at the Hotel Flamboyan in Baucau). He also stated that the military presence in East Timor was repressive and caused the local people to be fearful of venturing out of doors at night. He claimed that troops, normally very much in evidence on the streets of the capital, had been withdrawn for the period of our visit."

Ignoring self-determination

The delegation's report throughout refers to East Timor as a 'province' of Indonesia. The MEPs chose not to mention Indonesia's illegal annexation of East Timor, even as a controversial issue, let alone an act that is not recognised by the UN or even by the states from which the four parliamentarians come.

However, the question of the legitimacy of Indonesia's claim to have 'integrated' East Timor was evidently a matter of controversy among the four. The BBC reported that, according to Bryan Cassidy, "Whilst it was now only a matter of time before the rest of the world recognises East Timor as part of Indonesia, he and his group stressed to the Indonesians that, to satisfy world opinion and disarm criticism, there was no substitute for a referendum. He said the Indonesians had given numerous reasons why this was impractical, but he still felt this should be done." [Juliet Rix, for the BBC, in Dili, 19 August 1988]

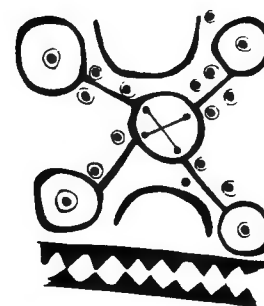
Strangely, the delegation report made no mention of support for a referendum. It did recommend however, that Indonesia and Portugal could ask the European Community and the UN Secretary-General to request some impartial Heads of State to nominate a 'Comite des Sages' to seek a solution "according to the will of the population".

The very next recommendation however, contradicted this, proposing "open and friendly discussions between the provincial representatives and the Central Government... to reach a maximum degree of autonomy within the flexible (!) constitution framework of the Republic and in accordance with the principles in the 'Pancasila' to get the highest possible consensus to avoid future conflicts."

On human rights violations, the delegation is almost silent, except for a proposal that East Timor's "disadvantages (be) removed as soon as possible... in particular freedom of movement inside the territory and the right for the citizens to move in and out", and "any status of exception (sic) should be withdrawn so that all persons could obtain free access to the common law of the Republic and - more precisely - the right of requesting civil justice in cases of ill-treatment by the authorities."

[All our quotations from the report are in the original English. The English is rather poor, meaning that the UK member could have had no hand in drafting the document. Mostly likely, it was the work of Janssen van Raay who has contributed so handsomely to Indonesia's current diplomatic offensive against the people of East Timor.]

★



Theo Sambuaga, the up-and-coming New Order politician

A man frequently mentioned in front page news these days is 39-year old Theo Sambuaga who was appointed to a second term as Golkar member of the DPR (Parliament) earlier this year. He suddenly became a star when he was appointed to chair BKSAP, the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Board, a position that became vacant when General Sarwo Edhie decided to step down as an MP.

Theo is the archetype of the present leaders of KNPI (Golkar's umbrella for all youth organisations), intent on climbing up the hierarchy by using all the tricks - elbowing people aside, flattering superiors, ditching friends when they threaten his career, and doing anything that serves his ambitions.

He first came into the limelight as a student activist in 1974 when he became deputy chair of the student council at Universitas Indonesia which was at the centre of the 1970s student unrest. In those days, he was a member of the nationalist students' organisation, the GMNI. Following the 1974 student actions when many of his colleagues were arrested and tried, he shed his activist image, betrayed his friends and became an agent of OPSUS, the intelligence outfit run by the all-powerful General Ali Murtopo.

His first contribution to New Order politics was to boost the KNPI, which had been set up to undermine the many youth and student organisations that were trying to preserve their identity. None of them liked the idea of becoming part of the KNPI. Thanks partly to the likes of Theo, it has now become the only permitted youth federation, which all others must join.

Although his student friends soon began to treat him as a traitor, it was some time before he was fully embraced by the 'other side'. By marrying the daughter of Major-General (ret'd) R. Soekardi, now deputy chair of the DPR for Golkar, his prospects greatly improved.

In the late seventies, he was sent to Europe to indoctrinate Indonesian students about the Pancasila in special courses which all students were obliged to attend. He had the task of 'straightening out' the thoughts of students who were coming under the influence of liberal ideas. Some nasty incidents, verging on the physical, occurred when students began to challenge his presentation. It became clear that here was a man to watch as he gradually turned into a civilian with a militaristic style and outlook.

When he became secretary-general of KNPI in 1981, he entered the ranks of Golkar 'seniors'. One man who helped promote his career was Abdul Gafur who had climbed up in more or less the same fashion. Like his mentor, who was Minister for Youth Affairs and Sports in the last cabinet, Theo aspires to ministerial post.

As chair of the BKSAP, he has been catapulted into prominence because of Ali Alatas' current diplomatic offensive over East Timor, with parliaments and parliamentarians being a major battleground. Along with Lieutenant-General Kharis Suhud, the speaker of the DPR, he hosted the Euro-MPs who visited East Timor in August (see separate item), and issued a statement against the newly-established Parliamentarians for East Timor, to which Lord Avebury has made a robust reply (see below).

In a recent interview of Theo, the Jakarta weekly, *Vista*, portrayed this budding politician, comfortably



Theo Sambuaga, one of Indonesia's top PR men, looking smarter these days than when he was a student activist.

housed in a luxury villa, as an opportunistic political climber, very much the upward-licking and downward-kicking type.

Theo Sambuaga rebuffed by Lord Avebury

One of Theo Sambuaga's recent tasks was to denounce parliamentarians from Japan, Australia and the UK, who established Parliamentarians for East Timor, following a visit to Lisbon in June. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No 88, August 1988] He said that the three parliamentarians were speaking as individuals and did not reflect the attitudes of their respective parliaments.

He asked why they had interviewed East Timorese refugees in Portugal whose replies "would be full of prejudice". "Why didn't they hold a survey in East Timor directly?" asked Theo. He went on: "If foreigners want to find facts on the recognition of East Timor's integration with Indonesia, our attitude is, 'welcome'. However, if they come without recognising integration, that's making the wrong assumption, and wanting to interfere in other people's affairs. What is important for us is that the people of East Timor remain tranquil and continue to develop and their welfare increase." [Jayakarta, 18 July 1988, reported in *Indonesia News Service*, No 125] ☆

Lord Avebury rebuffs Sambuaga

The following are extracts from a letter to Theo Sambuaga sent by Lord Avebury, chair of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, on 18 August:

Dear Mr Sambuaga,

...The refugees we interviewed spoke of the violence and repression perpetrated on the people of East Timor by the Indonesian occupying forces and some of them had personal experience of brutal tortures inflicted by the Indonesian military.

You asked... why we did not hold a survey in East Timor. The answer is that we have twice been refused leave to come to East Timor, the second occasion only a year ago... Perhaps you would ask your government why they only allow visits by foreigners under certain conditions.

You yourself say in your statement that 'if they come without recognising integration, that's making the wrong assumption and wanting to interfere in other people's affairs'. It is of course totally unacceptable that you should only let foreigners come to East Timor if they abjure opinions which they sincerely and passionately hold, and the very fact that you should seek to do so tells its own story about the absence of freedom of

expression in your country.

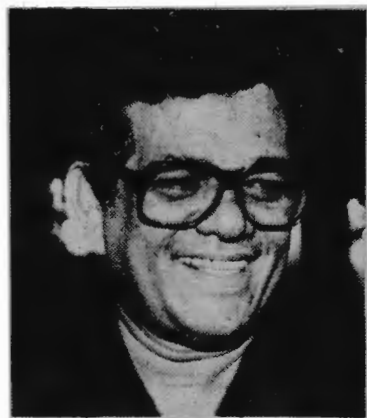
You also give yourself away when you say that what is important for you is that the people of East 'remain tranquil...' In other words, you are not interested in what the people of East Timor want for themselves, and certainly you have no intention of granting them democratic rights to determine their own future.

In the statement we made in Lisbon we did not reflect the views of the Parliaments of Japan, Australia and the United Kingdom, and we did not claim to do so. We do not say that the question of East Timor is of major importance in our Parliaments. But there are substantial groups of MPs in each of our countries who study the issue and are determined to keep it alive. Indonesia cannot be allowed to persuade the world that territory gained by an act of aggression, contrary to Chapter IV of the UN Charter and in violation of General Assembly Resolutions 1514 and 1541 of 1960, should be transferred to the sovereignty of the aggressor, merely because of the lapse of time. Acceptance of that proposition would be totally destructive of the international rule of law....

☆

Why Carrascalao wants East Timor opened up

Ever since Mario Carrascalao, the governor of East Timor, first spoke about opening up East Timor, at a meeting with President Suharto in June, he has used every opportunity to press his point. The issue is related primarily to inter-factional rivalries within the military and between bureaucrats like Carrascalao and the army clique at present in control of the East Timor economy. It has nothing to do with making the territory more accessible to outside observers.



Governor Mario Carrascalao, now troubled about conditions in East Timor. He told BBC's Juliet Rix: "East Timor is like a golden gaol." [BBC World Service, 13 September 1988]

Carrascalao's options

It is clear from the statements made by Carrascalao that he is pursuing several objectives. The first, and perhaps the main one, is a personal consideration. The Carrascalao family, one of the richest Timorese families, own more than 500 hectares of coffee-growing land, which is now managed by his older brother, Manuel. When Mario agreed to become governor in 1983, he asked, as a

condition for acceptance, that the family's confiscated plantations should be restored. Through this pact with the devil, the family became the only substantial private coffee grower in East Timor. Other plantations, formerly Portuguese-owned, were confiscated by the army, while small growers were left to tend bushes on land treated as state property.

But things did not proceed all that well. The internal and export coffee trade was taken over by PT Denok, a company run for military interests. By tradition, army units engage in business activity to earn extra income so that the troops can receive extra pay each month to top up their wages.

In East Timor, a so-called 'hardship' post, this top-up is more than usually important. Soon after army control was established, generals like Benny Murdani and Dading Kalbuadi were determined to keep control of the East Timor economy in their own hands. The managerial side was handed over to two Chinese businessmen, Hendro Sumampauw and Hartanto, both energetic managers who have successfully built up the army's imperium.

Denok, the seven-headed monster

Over the years, PT Denok has grown into a seven-headed

monster.

"After starting in coffee and other cash crops, it has branched out into sandalwood processing, the entertainment and hotel business and general trading. It now has 2,200 employees. Even more impressive than Denok's expansion and diversification is its market position in East Timor. It has a monopoly of the purchase and export of coffee. It alone is allowed in the sandalwood trade. It operates the only cinema in town. Denok also has clout in other fields. One Timorese says he needed its authorisation to import a cow from West Timor. [Asian Wall Street Journal, 16 June 1982]

In the past few years, coffee prices have declined sharply, and now stand at a mere fraction of the \$3.00 a kilo in 1983. The Carrascalao harvest is also handled by Denok and frustration has grown at the low prices paid, though small producers get even less.

Now that Murdani, appointed in March as the Minister of Defence and Security, is no longer in direct command of the troops in East Timor, Carrascalao has seized the occasion to loosen Denok's grip. As the Indonesian section of Radio Nederland explained recently:

"Carrascalao wants his region to be opened up, so that businessmen wanting to visit East Timor will not require a special permit from the army. As a closed area, East Timor's economy is in the hands of the generals in Jakarta.... With the removal of General Murdani as armed forces commander-in-chief, there are prospects that the old cukongs [Chinese businessmen tied in with the military] can also be replaced. But this can only happen if East Timor is handed over to the Interior Department." [Gema Warta, Radio Nederland, 20 August]

It is often forgotten that East Timor occupies a special position as Indonesia's '27th province'. It is run by two agencies, both subordinated to the top armed forces command. One is the 'Special Team for the Development of East Timor' which supercedes the Home Affairs hierarchy normally in charge of provincial affairs. Militarily, there is, in addition to the territorial command, a special command called Koopskam, the operational command for East Timor.

Governor Carrascalao is playing for very high stakes. Murdani has made no secret of his annoyance with the talk about 'opening up' East Timor, but General Rudini,

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the new Interior Minister, in generous mood, stated that opening up East Timor would be a 'Christmas present' to the Timorese. After his words were quoted by the BBC World Service, Rudini, who in 1983 was Murdani's chief-of-staff, was forced to retract, saying he had only expressed a "kind of hope" [Suara Pembaruan, 18 August]

Of course, as Rudini knows, the decision rests with Suharto who has remained silent throughout the controversy. According to one daily, "Carrascalao's plea failed to impress the President - who, even though the Home Ministry raised no objection - went along with the advice of Defence and Security officials to uphold the current status of the province as a closed area" [Indonesian Observer, 25 July].

Jakarta's money drying up

Another of Carrascalao's motives is to resolve the mounting economic problems faced by 'his province'. The oil boom is over. The usual bustling air traffic to Dili, with many contractors on the look-out for development projects, has slowed down. Government investments have declined and all the regions are trying to attract private capital. The special restrictions in East Timor make it far less attractive. Meanwhile, Carrascalao is worried about rising unemployment. He appears to believe that private Indonesian investors will come in, once army and Denok control has been relaxed.

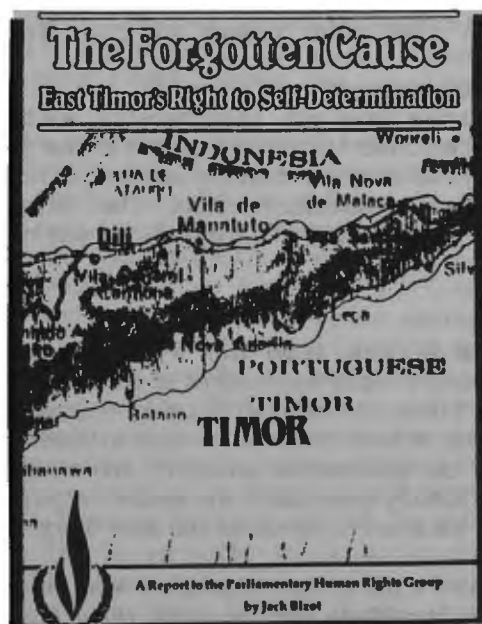
In the months since his meeting with Suharto, Carrascalao has toughened his language. In July he was saying that "development will be in vain if East Timor remains closed" and warning of "a stagnating economy and deterioration in all other fields" [Suara Pembangunan, 23 July]. A month later, he said that the Timorese people "are not happy because of the restrictions" and he even quoted a Timorese who asked: "Why is it that until 1976, when we were colonised, we could move about freely, but now after our independence (sic), we cannot move?" [Tempo, 27 August].

This would suggest that Carrascalao wants a clear answer from Suharto himself, and hopes the question will be resolved when Suharto visits East Timor in November to open the annual Pramuka Jamboree (Pramuka is a heavily-militarised scout movement). It is hard to predict whether Carrascalao's calculated risk will be resolved in his favour. Murdani has warned that 'opening up' could aggravate the security situation. Carrascalao has tried to bluff his way out by claiming that East Timor is 99 per cent secure and, in Dili, even 100 per cent secure, while occasional 'problems' that do occur are nothing more than Fretilin 'bandits' coming out of the bush to seize food from villagers.

One would not expect the Governor to take into account the nature of Fretilin's struggle against heavily-equipped Indonesian troops who vastly outnumber the guerrillas. Were security only in the hands of territorial troops, Fretilin attacks would be bound to increase. The generals know this, which is why they retain such a high proportion of special commandos on operational as well as territorial duty in East Timor.

Another risk for Carrascalao is that 'opening up' East Timor will enable more Indonesian traders to pour in. Already, most positions in the administration and in commerce are in Indonesian hands. Does Carrascalao think he can obtain protection for 'his' people while, even now, he complains about a critical lack of job opportunities for Timorese school-leavers and graduates?

New Publication



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Helping the Alatas offensive

A favourable spin-off for Jakarta from the 'opening-up' debate is that it has created the impression abroad that open debate is now possible in Indonesia, although in Indonesia itself, everyone knows that debates of this kind can only be resolved by one person, Suharto.

It also serves Jakarta's interests at the moment to allow the debate to run on because, to many outsiders, it seems as if the Carrascalao proposal will mean greater access to East Timor for foreign observers, even though he has himself stressed that foreign access is not what he is talking about. If this assessment is correct, the issue is likely to remain unresolved until all the awkward moments for which Alatas has had to prepare, are over, up to the UN General Assembly in October.

Carrascalao has hinted that if the decision does not go in his favour, he might resign [see *Tempo*, 20 August 1988]. But if he is staking his future on an alliance with one particular clique of generals who are keen to see Murdani off, his days as governor could be numbered anyway. Suharto does not take kindly to civilians who think that they can exacerbate rifts within the armed forces. For the next few months, however, Carrascalao will continue to be essential to the Indonesian diplomatic offensive. To ditch him now would seriously upset Alatas' carefully-laid schemes, so for the time being at least, Carrascalao can be expected to go on pushing his luck.

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East Timorese refugees arriving in Lisbon. They continue to swell the refugee community in Portugal, which is a rich source of information about the current situation in East Timor.

East Timor at the UN Decolonisation Committee

East Timor was again on the agenda of the UN Decolonisation Committee which meets every year in advance of the UN General Assembly. No fewer than twenty-one petitioners were heard, some speaking on their own behalf and some on behalf of their organisations. We give below the highlights from some of these petitions. Others will be summarised in the next issue of the Bulletin.

Antonio Pinto Pereira, of the Lisbon-based Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM), rejected Jakarta's claim that decolonisation had taken place in East Timor in conformity with UN Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). Last year, Joao Carrascalao, leader of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), told the Committee how the members of the 'people's assembly' convened in Dili in June 1976 to adopt a resolution on integration, had been assembled:

"Indonesian helicopters captured some individuals in areas under Indonesian occupation and took them to Dili, where they were joined by others taken from the streets of Dili and they were all declared 'elected'."

The economy of East Timor is now controlled by business interests of the military and members of the Suharto Family. The identity of the colonised people is being stifled by that of the colonisers. Segregation is victimising the population and forcing the students to revolt. On 14 and 15 July last year, Timorese students demonstrated against discrimination by Javanese teachers in the schools where priority is given to children of the military and immigrants from Java. Reinaldo dos Santos who recently left Timor said that last December students plastered public buildings with anti-Indonesian slogans: "Timor is our country!" and "We want liberty

and independence!"

Only a few days ago, said Pereira, we heard that new student demonstrations took place in the streets of Dili on 17 and 18 July protesting against discrimination by the colonial administration. The date chosen, the official anniversary of integration, was no coincidence.

* * *

Klemens Ludwig, from the West German Society for Threatened People concentrated on control of the media in East Timor. He had twice been refused permission to visit East Timor. Those who were allowed in "played the game of the Indonesian military and made journalism a tool to justify genocide". He spoke in particular of the visit of Barbara Crosette of the *New York Times*, in June 1985.

"She was with three colleagues and the group was not alone. In the plane that brought them from West Timor were representatives of humanitarian aid organisations.

I know them personally and they told me later about their experiences. In East Timor, the groups separated. The journalists were escorted by security forces in civilian clothes and stayed most of the time in Dili, the capital, and when they moved, they were dependent on

army helicopters. The representatives of the aid organisations were able to move in jeeps overland (and) received clear impressions of the massive Indonesian military presence...

In an internal report, of which I have a copy, they wrote about the journalists: 'Apart from us there were four foreign journalists who were invited to East Timor for the purpose of deliberate misinformation. Probably they didn't see too much of the country and most likely they were not able to speak to the ordinary people. Their attendants, more than ten people, were always busy shielding them from such contacts.'

In a private conversation, an official of one of the humanitarian aid organisations (told me) that both groups left East Timor in the same plane back to Indonesia. In the plane, Barbara Crosette asked one of them: 'Well, what is the situation really like in East Timor? I have seen nothing.'

Many of us know what Barbara Crosette wrote in the *New York Times* on 19 July 1985. She didn't mention that the Indonesian authorities prevented her from seeing the truth. She just wrote... that she had witnessed the progress brought to East Timor by Indonesia."

After describing the failed attempt by a German TV crew to show a very pro-Indonesian film about East Timor, [the TV company had insisted on the addition of material based on interviews of Timorese refugees in Lisbon] Ludwig drew some important conclusions about the media:

"The media itself, or at least parts of it, have often done more to distort the situation than to inform the public. Therefore, whether because of incompetence or design, the media have become an accomplice of human rights violators. As a journalist, this is a sad conclusion. But I am not totally pessimistic. The case of East Timor shows that there are also journalists who refuse to play the game of dictators, even when they have to pay for it, sometimes even with their lives.

What we need is a code of honour for journalists that prevents them from becoming tools of one regime or another. Perhaps the UN can help to initiate discussion of such a code.

* * *

Alexander George, a US writer and philosopher, till recently a research fellow in Oxford, discussed the moral and pragmatic considerations of states in their attitude to East Timor, with particular reference to Britain. "We do well to see whether," he said, "in cases where personal interest and duty diverge, the moral path is still taken."

"Precisely because Indonesia-occupied East Timor offers such a case to the international community, it has become a moral testing ground for all states. The East Timorese have, in a sense, nothing going for them. They are neither White like the Falklanders, nor are they Arab like the Palestinians. In December 1975, the territory was invaded not by a Communist regime against which the US was eager to score ideological points, nor by a capitalist country unfriendly or geopolitically irrelevant to the Soviet Union. The Timorese did not have the good fortune to be originally colonised by what is now a major world power, thereby likely earning its protection today, nor was it lucky enough to be invaded by a nation for which Third World governments feel no allegiance, thereby likely securing their collective support. East Timor, in short, falls between the stools of international diplomacy. Few states, if any, have anything practical to gain from coming to the defence of its inhabitants. For this reason, observation of a nation's response to the ethnocidal cataclysm that has befallen the people of East Timor provides an invaluable lesson about the actual motivating forces of international relations."

Bishop Patelisio P. Finau, S.M. D.D., Catholic Bishop of Tonga, representing the Pacific Conference of Churches, referred to the Pope's statement last year to Indonesia's new ambassador: "The Church's universal mission of service leads her to hope that particular consideration will be given to the protection of the ethnic, religious and cultural character of the people of East Timor."

One Indonesian response to the Pope's admonition came from Indonesia's then Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, saying that the Pope "would commend Indonesia if he knew what we did for the Catholic Church", adding that "those who were heathen and animist before have become Catholics". The Bishop went on:

"It is true that the Catholic population of East Timor has doubled since Indonesia's takeover. However, this remarkable phenomenon had been due, not to any benign policy on the part of the Indonesian military, as Dr Mochtar sought to suggest, but to the deeply unsettling circumstances surrounding Indonesia's violent occupation. Beset by war, hunger and an aggressive foreign presence, the people turned to the Church en masse for assistance, protection and as a vehicle to represent their concerns. The oppressed found a voice in the Church... The Church's role in East Timor is an important one. However, it suffers from the enforced isolation which afflicts East Timor as a whole due to Indonesian control. This obstructs the free flow of personnel, ideas, resources and skills. The Church in East Timor would be greatly assisted if a measure of 'glasnost' were permitted, allowing free interaction with the international Church community. Unlike the South Pacific where such relationships are taken for granted, no such contact is possible for the Church of Timor"

The Bishop also drew attention to the UN Declaration on the Right to Development, Article 1 of which states: "The human right to development also implies the full realisation of peoples to self-determination which includes the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their national wealth and

TAPOL Occasional Reports Series

No. 1 Exchange of Messages with Fretilin commander, Gusmao Xanana

With Lord Avebury, chair, Parliamentary Human Rights Group and Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL Organising Secretary.

No. 2 Joint Statement by Union of Democratic Timorese and Fretilin, March 1986

No. 3 Reactions from Indonesia to Transmigration Campaign

Indonesian press clippings reacting to the campaign by Survival International and TAPOL.

No. 4 TAPOL Statement on East Timor to the UN Committee of 24, August 1986

No. 5 The 1987 Indonesian Election in East Timor
An analysis written by TAPOL.

No. 6 TAPOL Statement on East Timor to the UN Committee of 24, August 1987

No. 7 July 1987 Statement on the Joint Decision of the Chairman of the Supreme Court and Minister of Justice.
By Ikadin, the Indonesian Lawyers' Association.

No. 8 World Bank maintains support for Transmigration
Survival International and TAPOL write to World Bank, 22 January 1988.

Copies from TAPOL, 80 pence a copy, including postage.

resources." Would anyone argue, he asked, that the Timorese people are exercising their right to full sovereignty over all their national wealth and resources?"

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Martin Enda, a lawyer who has represented West Papuan refugees now in Papua New Guinea, petitioned on behalf of the Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Development of Papua New Guinea. He pointed out that 1975, the year of PNG's independence was the year East Timor was robbed of its independence.

"Indonesia's military had no legitimate claim to East Timor or valid rationale for their intervention any more than if they had chosen to intervene in Papua New Guinea with which Indonesia shares a common border."

Enda said that in East Timor, oppression is institutionalised in contrast to other societies in the region like PNG which are organised democratically.

"There are no indigenous political parties in East Timor except of course Fretilin which is outlawed and has to operate underground. There is no accountability of the administration, no free press as a forum for debate and criticism, no judicial system independent of the Executive offering protection to the victims of injustice. On the contrary, far from being prosecuted for abuses of human rights in East Timor, most of the military officers responsible for the campaign of terror and intimidation have been promoted for their efforts."

There is no system offering education in Timorese history, culture and language. Those institutions fundamental to the good ordering of society and human rights either do not exist or are subservient to the purposes of Indonesia's continued occupation."

Enda deplored the PNG government's support for Indonesia's takeover. Stressing the need for the UN's minimalist position of keeping East Timor on the international agenda, he said the Church bodies he represents

"urge the UN to move beyond this minimalist position. The people of East Timor are entitled to the same freedoms as other peoples. Nothing that has happened over the years has forfeited their right to self-determination. Indeed their suffering and heroic resistance has earned them this right many times over."

* * *

Liem Soei Liong, for the Dutch Indonesia Committee, described East Timor as "one of the most isolated and tightly controlled areas in the world today", mentioning the cases of journalists recently refused permission to visit the country.

After explaining the special status of the military command in control of the conduct of the war in East Timor, he said:

"The Indonesian armed forces are using East Timor as a battle and training ground for their troops... Virtually all generals in strategic positions today are East Timor veterans (and) have East Timorese blood on their hands. One striking example is the mercurial rise of General Adolf Rajagukguk, the present deputy chief-of-staff of the army. East Timorese refugees describe this general as the worst murderer of them all. In the words of one Timorese refugee, 'About 80 per cent of the Fretilin guerrillas captured during his term (as military commander in East Timor) were murdered.'"

The petitioner spoke about the birth control programme in East Timor, with the controversial Depo Provera being the most widely used contraceptive. In sharp contrast to the relatively high investment of money and personnel

into the birth control programme, the state of health care is woeful, especially for children. According to figures made public by Governor Carrascalao, of the 2,379 deaths in 1986, 1,184 were children under five, of whom 838, or 70 per cent, died at birth. There are only 25 midwives in East Timor, and 18 of them work in Dili.

Indonesia's much-vaunted economic development programme in East Timor has almost ground to a halt. *"Projects half-finished or derelict have become a common feature on the East Timor landscape... Those projects that have been executed are either status symbols or for military purposes."* He mentioned the governor's residence now under construction, costing 359 million



(From left to right) the parliamentarians, Tony Lamb, Australia, Lord Avebury, UK, and Satsuki Eda, Japan, at their press conference in Lisbon, at the end of their visit to Lisbon in June.

rupiahs, a large cathedral in Dili being built with money from Generals Murdani and Try Sutrisno. and the harbour in Com, in the east, originally intended for the shipment of agricultural products but being used primarily for troops sent in for special operations.

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Ana Martins Nunes, for the Catholic organisation in Lisbon, Peace is Possible in East Timor, quoted at length from a 1985 statement by the Presbyterial Council in Dili, the highest body of the Catholic Church. One sentence reads:

"The Indonesian Government proceeds from the principle that the people of Timor have already exercised their right to self-determination. The Church, for its part, believes that the necessary conditions for such an event, were not verified, which is one reason for the anguish that has overwhelmed the Timorese people for the past nine years."

The petitioner also said that the Indonesian authorities are well aware of the strong bond linking the Church with the population. They attempt to break this bond by using the stick and the carrot. They are trying to Indonesianise the Church. They have tried to enforce the integration of the Timorese Church with the Indonesian Conference of Bishops. They try to prevent the return to East Timor of priests on leave. Today, a third of the religious in East Timor are Indonesian. In addition, Indonesian religious have taken over the running of catechism schools which now conduct their education in Indonesian.

The Pope has publicly expressed his concern about the preservation of the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of the people of East Timor. The Timorese identity can only be respected, "if the people, as the Church of East Timor has said, are in charge of their destiny, in accordance with their own identity", she said in conclusion.

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Recent information from East Timor

The following incidents are from a document smuggled abroad by "The Secret Committee of the Timorese Students' Union for the Independence of East Timor":

* Two Timorese members of the Indonesian Civil Defence Corps (Hansip) were shot dead by Indonesian troops of Battalion 721 on 24 February this year. Domingos da Costa Guterres, ex-commander of a Fretilin shock brigade, enlisted with Hansip in Venilale after his surrender in the late 1970s. He was killed while on patrol in the suco of Cumuoli, Venilale, and then buried, leaving his head exposed. The second victim was Gaspar, also a member of Hansip, who was shot dead at the same time as Domingos.

The murders angered other Timorese Hansips and a two-hour gunfire battle with Indonesian troops ensued, ending only after Indonesian civil and military authorities intervened. The Hansip commander, Virgilio da Costa Guterres, called for those responsible for the killings to be charged in court, but this was rejected by the Indonesian authorities.

* Religious processions of Catholics have been taking place throughout East Timor, glorifying the Virgin Mary, and praying for her intercession for a free, peaceful and prosperous East Timor. The first procession occurred in August last year in Liquica, Ermera and the border regions. By February, they had spread to Aileu region, and then moved further east to Vemasse, Laleia, Manatuto, Laclubar, Soibada.



Tempo, 27 August 1988.

One of the many processions in East Timor, pleading for the intercession of the Virgin Mary.

In some places, Fretilin guerrillas, most of whom are practising Catholics, have mingled with the processions. In Aileu two guerrillas were detected and arrested by Indonesian troops. They were tortured, then shot dead. In retaliation, Fretilin guerrillas attacked the military post of Lequidoe, and killed six Indonesian military personnel, including a Babinsa (village army commander) and a policeman.

On another occasion, during a procession from Viqueque to Uatulari, the procession was forced to stop while Indonesian troops repulsed a guerrilla attack on Viqueque, on 23 May this year. After the situation returned to normal, the procession resumed, with guerrillas joining in. The report states that there was "no military reaction in spite of the presence of guerrillas in the sacred procession".

* The document gives details of several recent military actions: the arrival of 200 Indonesian red-beret troops on 2 March to resume 'clean-up' operations against Fretilin, a Fretilin attack in Viqueque at the end of March during which nine Indonesian soldiers were killed, and a guerrilla attack in early April in Lospalos when two red-beret soldiers were killed while other soldiers wounded in the attack escaped. A Japanese-made Hino army truck was ambushed on 7 May; twenty soldiers and six Hansips (Timorese) were killed.

* * *

From a refugee in Lisbon has come the news that Joao Martins, a founder of Apodeti, was poisoned during a festival in Kamea, Dili, in June.

He has just finished making a speech when he fell and was rushed to hospital where he died on 12 June. The source in East Timor believes that Martins was poisoned by military personnel during the festival.

Martins held several posts in the administration, as head of the Education and Culture Department, Head of the Social Affairs Department and most recently, member of the assembly in East Timor (DPRD-I). He had earned respect from the community for his denunciation of human rights abuses and opposition to integration, despite his earlier role as a founder of Apodeti, which strongly advocated integration with Indonesia.

Timorese student killed in Malang

An East Timorese student named Miguel Noronha, 25 years old, who was a third-year philosophy student at a seminary in Malang, East Java, was killed on 6 September when he was run down by a car, as he was going to post some letters. The car drove off, making it impossible to find out who was responsible.

The circumstances of Noronha's death recall to mind the death of another Timorese student, Jose Antonio Moniz da Silva, also as the result of a 'street accident' in Jogjakarta, last December, after he had been harassed by the security forces for several months.

Miguel Noronha was from Bobonaro. His body was taken back to East Timor the next day for burial.

Nothing is known at the moment about whether he was actively involved in East Timor politics but his friends abroad fear that he may have been the victim of plot to assassinate him.

Indonesia under fire at the UN in Geneva

This year, Indonesia came under fire at the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva regarding not only East Timor and West Papua but also discrimination against former political prisoners, an issue that was raised for the first time at the UN.

Last year, this Sub-Commission adopted a resolution calling on the Human Rights Commission to study the human rights situation in East Timor but Indonesia was determined to prevent a repeat this year.

It was quite remarkable that all the submissions by

non-governmental organisations on East Timor or on ex-prisoners were either cut short by the chairman (from India) or interrupted by a few Sub-Commission members from the Third World. It became clear that even at this stage, Indonesian diplomats had lobbied hard to make sure that speakers exposing Indonesian abuses would be disrupted. In particular, the Timorese refugee, who addressed the Sub-Commission twice, on Item 6 and on Item 9, was interrupted by Sub-Commission members from Somalia, Jordan and Nigeria, alleging that he was not keeping to the agenda point under discussion.

Testimony of continuing terror in East Timor

A Timorese refugee, Anselmo Aparicio, who left his country in January this year, has testified to the UN in Geneva about human rights violations in East Timor. He made two submissions at the August meeting of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the body of experts from 26 countries which meets every year to make preparations for the meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights every February.

Anselmo told the Sub-Commission he had been forced to leave his country and his parents because he could not stand conditions there any longer. "Our people are being decimated while the world remains silent."

He was only 12 when Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975. Being a pupil at the Portuguese-language seminary in Dili afforded him protection for several years but he witnessed numerous violations and atrocities.

A catalogue of atrocities

Two cousins of his, Julio and Acacio, were killed in 1978 after working for the Indonesian army as porters. An uncle saved himself from death because he paid soldiers a large bribe, while another uncle and his wife were murdered in Ainaro. In 1979, he saw soldiers beat two wounded men to death; because they were of good physique, the soldiers suspected them of being members of the resistance. On his way home to Baucau in 1982, during the school holidays, he was severely beaten by soldiers at a patrol post for failing to produce his travel-pass in time.

He mentioned the names of seven of his friends from Venilale who disappeared after being arrested in the sweeps that occurred in 1983. In the same year, a visiting Portuguese TV crew was constantly surrounded by security agents. After an encounter with the visitors, he received several threats from agents who suspected that he may have tried to speak to the men.

On 24 May 1987, he was forced by the military police to stare at the sun, to do knee-jerks and frog-hops and was plunged into a tank full of human and animal excrement, simply because he had walked passed the military cemetery in Dili on a day when it was out-of-bounds. His journey to school took him passed the cemetery every day but on this day, the road was closed



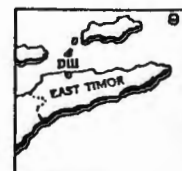
Timorese refugee, Anselmo Aparicio, a recent arrival from East Timor, addressing the UN Sub-Commission in Geneva, in August.

as Indonesian soldiers who had been killed in battle were being buried.

In December 1987, a friend of his named Domingos Castro, a former teacher, was arrested by the police and has since 'disappeared'. A month later, on his way home to Baucau, Anselmo was beaten and kicked at the army control post in Metinaro for failing to greet the soldiers on duty there. As he began to protest, the soldiers made threats. A Timorese soldier who was present made a sign to him that the threats should be taken seriously.

In conclusion he said:

"I grew up in a milieu where human rights are not respected, where terror reigns, where the Indonesian military presence has imposed total submission. I grew up believing that the force of arms is supreme everywhere. Since leaving East Timor, I have discovered with surprise and satisfaction that there is freedom of expression, of association, of movement, cultural freedom, even the freedom to protest. Why do my people not have the rights that are enjoyed by other people?"



Support for human rights resolution on East Timor

Nine non-governmental organisations which have consultative status with the UN, sponsored a statement on East Timor in Geneva, calling on the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities:

1. to voice its deep concern about the human rights situation in East Timor,
2. to urge the Indonesian authorities to give free and unfettered access to independent observers to enter East Timor, to carry out investigations of the many allegations about human rights abuses, and
3. to call upon the UN Commission on Human Rights to consider the human rights situation in East Timor at its forthcoming session in 1989.

The NGOs supporting the statement were: Anti-Slavery Society (based in London), Federation Internationale des Droits de l'Homme (Paris), Human Rights Advocates (California), International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples (Geneva), Liberation (London), Minority Rights Group (London), National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services Secretariat (Chippendale, Australia), Pax Christi International (Geneva), Pax Romana (Geneva) and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Geneva).

Indonesia uses strong-arm tactics to defeat a resolution on East Timor

A resolution calling for the UN Human Rights Commission to consider, at its next session, the human rights situation and fundamental freedoms in East Timor was not voted on as the result of a procedural manipulation that was narrowly passed by 10 to 9 at the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. This followed intense lobbying by a large

team of Indonesian diplomats. A leading Dutch daily quoted UN sources in Geneva as saying that Indonesia exerted political pressure on Sub-Commission members "to an alarming degree, especially on those coming from non-aligned countries" [NRC-Handelsblad, 1 September 1988].

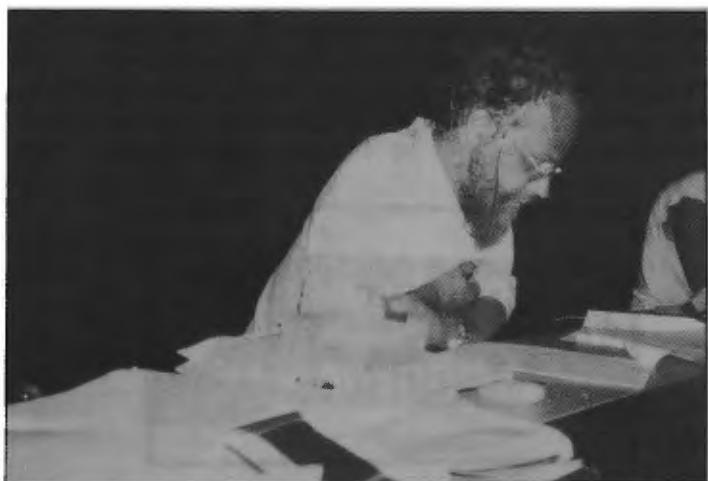
The Sub-Commission is attended by many government missions as observers, who can intervene on the grounds of their 'right to reply'. Hence, Indonesian diplomats made several interventions, but this was not the only form of pressure.

No fewer than twelve Indonesian diplomats were on hand to lobby the twenty-six members of the Sub-Commission. The report of four members of the European Parliament who had a few days earlier completed a visit to East Timor came just in time to be used by the Indonesians to make Sub-Commission members believe that East Timor is open to outsiders. [See elsewhere for our analysis of this report.]

To prevent the resolution from coming to a vote, the Sub-Commission member from Somalia, who had opposed the resolution from the start, proposed that no action be taken on East Timor. Ten members voted in favour of the 'no-action procedure': Togo, Jordan, Nigeria, Philippines, Argentina, Romania, Somalia, Yugoslavia, Morocco and Ethiopia. Nine members voted against: Cuba, Greece, Norway, France, Britain, Mexico, Holland, Costa Rica and the USA. There were five abstentions: Soviet Union, Japan, China, Algeria and Columbia. As the line-up shows, Indonesia had succeeded in persuading most experts from non-aligned countries to back its position.

Astonishingly, at least two members who fell for the Indonesian line, from Togo and Nigeria, initially pledged to support the resolution that was to have been put. According to our sources, some members of the Sub-Commission (who are supposed to be independent experts) received instructions from their governments not to support the resolution. ☆

Swiss pilot testifies about West Papua



Theo Frey, addressing the UN Sub-Commission in Geneva in August.

Theodore Frey, the Swiss pilot who, with his wife and daughter, made a dramatic escape from West Papua in April this year [see TAPOL Bulletins, No 87 and 88 and a separate item in the present issue] told the Sub-Commission about the many atrocities he had witnessed during six months in the country. He had seen Indonesian soldiers maltreat West Papuans "literally hundreds of times. They are everyday happenings.... The Indonesians look upon Papuans as inferior beings, people without rights, who they can treat like animals. My whole family have seen government officials shoot at children playing in front of our house."

Theodore Frey spoke at some length about how Indonesian officials expropriate land in exchange for worthless objects. He appended to his statement several pages from a Background Report entitled: **Cultural Considerations for Regional Development Planning in Irian Jaya**, written by a US consultative firm, Lavalin

International Inc., in association with PT Hasfarm Dian Konsultah. This document, intended only for internal circulation, describes how people in Arso, near Jayapura, the location of several state-run plantations known as PIR projects, now feel they were deceived when they were persuaded to sign an agreement in 1982 to hand their land over to the government.

Arso land-grabbing now challenged by US consultancy firm

The Report argues that "the Arso people no longer wish to recognise the letter of transfer they signed.... They now demand compensation for their land." The situation in Arso is described as "serious and called for urgent remedial action". One Lavalin recommendation reads:

"The present agreement the people have signed concerning the transfer of land to the PIR Project should be reviewed and the agreement rewritten, with the

involvement of the people. If this is not done and the document allowed to stand, it is likely to form a 'cause celebre' in future years and be a rallying point for dissention."

One of Lavalin's conclusions reads as follows:

"The Arso case... illustrates the need for extreme care in negotiating land transfers. The fact that people may sign a document does not always mean a great deal. If they later reject its provisions and persuasion does not work, the authorities may have to use force with, of course, all sorts of dire consequences."

Frey warned that Papuans were being marginalised; transmigrants were being settled in West Papua while the Papuans were being forced to use birth control "even by means of forced sterilisation. I can assure you that I have heard concretely about this though I cannot reveal my sources, for obvious reasons."

He said in conclusion:

"During my whole stay in West Papua, I never met a single family which had not lost at least one family member because of torture or other acts of violence by the Indonesians.... In my opinion, and based on my own experience from working in the country for six months, the Indonesians are bringing not development but systematic extermination." ☆

Discrimination against ex-tapols exposed

A submission giving details of systematic discrimination against 1.4 million former political prisoners and millions more who are related to them by blood or marital ties, was made by Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, speaking on behalf of the London-based NGO, Liberation.

This appears to be the first time the question of discrimination against former political prisoners anywhere in the world has been raised at the Sub-Commission. Much of the information will be all too familiar to regular readers of TAPOL Bulletin.

The submission documented the frequent registration and re-registration of former prisoners since 1979. One example given was the scrutiny of 1.5 million people in 1985 to determine their right to vote.

"Everyone was checked even though they may have had no intention of voting... More than 40,000 were disenfranchised. According to an official of the East Java Election Committee, 440,000 were scrutinised in that province. About 8,000 were disenfranchised. Why? Because 'they were undisciplined, had left their place of residence without permission, were not friendly to their neighbours, were reluctant to take part in gotong royong (mutual cooperation) or had received guests in their homes without telling the authorities. [Merdeka, 26 August 1986]"

Rampant job discrimination

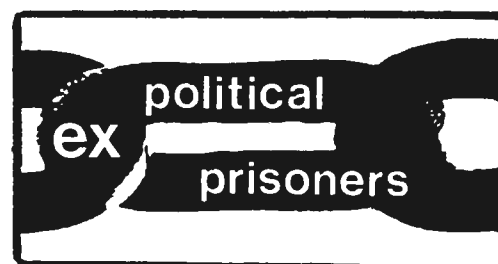
The submission dealt in detail with discrimination against ex-tapols in employment. According to a Kopkamtib decree of 1975, areas of activity closed to ex-tapols include "anything to do with policy-making, anything relating to society, anything involving state secrets, anything involving the appointment of personnel, any responsibility for security, all diplomatic posts, anything relating to VIPs, and anything that may seem lowly but is in fact important." The professions closed to ex-tapols, except with army

permission, include lecturing, teaching, the clergy, preaching, the legal profession and journalism". [Sinar Harapan, 25 September] Attached to the submission was a Kopkamtib decree laying down the tortuous procedure for obtaining permission to enter these professions.

During subsequent discussion by the Sub-Commission, the expert from Norway, Asbjorn Eide, expressed concern over the treatment of ex-tapols in Indonesia and asked the Indonesian official observer delegation to explain.

Hadi Wayarabi of the Indonesian mission in Geneva responded by claiming that all Indonesian citizens enjoy basic human rights under the Constitution. He referred to the 'acts of treason' of the former prisoners [almost all of whom had never been charged or tried] and claimed that local communities needed to be 'made ready' to re-integrate them.

He claimed in one paragraph that the ex-detainees "are now working either in the private or in the public sector according to their professional capabilities" and in the next paragraph admitted that "not all" ex-detainees had found employment. He blamed this on the lack of job opportunities in Indonesia, ignoring the fact many sectors are officially closed to ex-detainees. He did not even try to refute any of the documented details provided in the original submission about the system of discrimination, but made unsubstantiated claims about all the ex-detainees having "regained their rights and obligations as Indonesian citizens". ☆



Muslim trials extend across Java and Madura

The trials of Muslim activists have now resumed in full force after several weeks when the Indonesian press had hardly anything to report. Trials are taking place in Jakarta, West Java, Central Java and, for the first time, in the island of Madura which lies due north of the East Java capital of Surabaya.

In all cases the defendants are being charged under the draconian Anti-Subversion Law of 1963 (UU PNPS No. 11). This Law is repeatedly criticised as being a product of the Old Order, a derogatory way of referring to the period before 1965 when Sukarno was president and the Indonesian Communist Party was still legal.

Attorney-General, Commodore Sukarton Marmosudjono, recently told students that the government still values the Law as a "vital weapon and it would be a pity if this weapon were discarded" [Merdeka, 12 August 1988]. He also warned that Indonesia was not yet clean of the "latent danger" of the extreme left and the extreme right. (In Indonesian regime parlance, 'extreme left' is reserved for communists, while 'extreme right' is the coded term for Muslim activists.)

All trials currently under way are aimed at proving that the defendants had connections with the Darul Islam (DI), a movement that was active from the late 1940s until 1962 when its leader, Sekar Kartosuwirjo, was finally captured. The DI advocated the idea of an Islamic state called Negara Islam Indonesia and had its own armed wing (Tentara Islam Indonesia). Although the DI has long ceased to be a threat to the Indonesian Republic, many Muslim activists have been hauled before the courts to face charges of 'reviving' or 'continuing' the activities of the Darul Islam.

In a recent report, Amnesty International explained the strategy of Indonesian military intelligence in the conduct of these trials.

"In 1977, Indonesian intelligence agents reportedly encouraged former members of a Muslim separatist movement called Darul Islam to carry out activities that would discredit Muslim political parties prior to the 1977 parliamentary elections. Since then there have been persistent rumours in Indonesia of government involvement in radical Islamic organisations.

There is unquestionably a genuine Islamic opposition



Muslim youngsters reciting the Qu'ran.

in Indonesia, and Muslim leaders have spoken out repeatedly against certain government policies. Many doubts, however, have been raised by these leaders and by outside observers about the existence of organisations committed to the establishment of an Islamic state through violent means. They believe that many of the terrorist actions attributed to such organisations have been planned or encouraged by government agents, either to raise the spectre of a fundamentalist Islamic threat at politically opportune times (such as just prior to an election) or to use them as a pretext to arrest or entrap Muslim critics of the government." [Amnesty International External Report, August 1988, Background to the arrest and detention of Bambang Supriyanto and Tjipto Ariyono.]

The Cirebon trials

It appears that the Cirebon trials, usually mentioned in the press as the 'Jemaah Islam' trials, have now come to an end with the sentencing of 60-year-old **Kharis Mansyur**, to nine years. [For more about this trial, see **TAPOL Bulletin**, No. 86, April 1988.] Three other defendants were sentenced in July. **Ismael Ismanto**, 35, received ten years, **Zam Zam**, 23, got eight years, and **Taufik Rachman**, 40, got nine years.

The four verdicts bring to fifteen the number of persons sentenced in Cirebon, starting with **Lukman Hakim**, [see **TAPOL Bulletin**, No 83] who was given ten years. Press reports have been far too meagre to obtain any impression of how the trials were conducted.

The 'Jemaah Islam' seems to be a non-existent organisation, created by the authorities to back up their charges against the fifteen Cirebon men, now serving heavy sentences. They have all been branded as 'offspring' of the Darul Islam [Kompas, 30 July 1988]

The trials in Central Java

The defendants being tried in Central Java are mostly still being referred to as 'usroh', the name of a loose Muslim community which usually hold their religious activities and prayer meetings (pengajian) in private homes instead of in mosques.

Klaten, in the southern part of Central Java, has been hit hard by the security authorities. The government suspects that both 'extreme left' and 'extreme right' groups are emerging in Klaten, and have put devout Muslims on trial as an example of how it deals with people suspected of holding views at variance with the government.

At the beginning of August, three trials commenced in Klaten district court. The defendants are all charged with having illegally organised pengajian, especially for the youth. The persons on trial are only identified by their initials: **My**, 21, from Danunegaran village, sub-district Mantrijeron, **AM** and **YF**. The three are alleged to have conducted three religious courses attended by a total of thirty-two students and high

school pupils.

My, who was the first to be charged, refused to accept a defence lawyer. The judges eventually forced the issue by appointing a lawyer to act for him. Even so, My stated that "only Allah and his Prophet, or people with a strong faith, have the right to defend me."

Speaking in his own defence, My condemned the court for violating trial procedure by refusing to allow him to see a copy of his own *proses-verbale*, known in Indonesian as BAP. or interrogation report. He then launched an attack on how his case had been framed.

As with many other *usroh* cases, the latest defendants are accused of having links with two persons, Abu Bakar Baasyir and Abdullah Sungkar. These two men, neither of whom have been produced in the many trials where they are presented as being the key contacts, are said to have disappeared by fleeing abroad. Many of their alleged networks have been rounded up by the authorities.

My vehemently denied any connection with the two men, saying he had never met or even set eyes on either of them. The only link was that My attended a religious course in Pondok Ngruki, where Baasyir and Sungkar used to give sermons. Rejecting charges that he had joined a group that was armed with weapons, My insisted that his was an unarmed struggle, and his only weapon was a strong morale.

All three trials now under way in Klaten are expected to continue until the end of September. [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 6, 11, 15 and 18 August; Suara Merdeka, 11 August 1988]

Trials in Purbalingga and Kendal

In Purbalingga district court, three defendants, identified only by their initials, Sup, IS and Su, are on trial for subversion. Not much has been reported about the trials, except that two lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute in Semarang, Toto Riyanto and Girsang Tarigan, are defending them. All that has appeared so far about the trial of Sup is that he allegedly wrote a wall-pamphlet for the Muhammadiyah youth entitled "The spectre of the year 2000". [Suara Merdeka, 11 August]

Hopefully, it will be possible to report more about these trials in the next issue.

In Kendal, a trial has commenced against HZA aka Ub aka Gkb, 54, alleged to be the 'panglima III Komandemen Wilayah Komando Jihad' (commander of the third district of the Jihad Command). Many are convinced that 'Komando Jihad', like 'Jemaah Islam', is simply a creation of military intelligence.

In an early hearing of HZA's trial, three witnesses were heard, Abdul Azis, Masduki and Sahroni. One of these witnesses, Sahroni, has already been convicted and is serving a 15-year sentence. Abdul Azis defended HZA, saying that he was merely doing his duty as a Muslim to enhance and spread the holy word of the Qu'ran. As the Qu'ran is not banned in Indonesia, he did not see that this amounted to wrong-doing. [Suara Merdeka, 6 August 1988]

Sumenep trial

The first Muslim trial to take place in overwhelmingly devout Muslim Madura open in August with charges against FM, 42, who has been held in detention since 1 February 1987, by the local military commander, exercising his powers as executive officer of the special security command (Laksusda Sumenep). The authorities were clearly nervous that something might happen and all kinds of measures were taken to prevent incidents. Sumenep's military commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Soemirat, was present at the first hearing.

The defendant, a teacher at the religious school, Tsanawiyah Pondok Pesantren Al Amin, was accused of criticising the Pancasila and the government. FM, it appears, was a lecturer for the two most important subjects in the state's indoctrination curriculum. One is a subject called PMP, which deals with the morale of the state doctrine, Pancasila. The other is PSPB which is a history subject, which mainly glorifies the army's military achievements during the years of the independence struggle.

While teaching these subjects, FM is alleged to have made statements like "the Old Order was better than the New Order", and "corruption is now becoming an epidemic (mewabah). He is also accused of talking about the extravagant lifestyles of the country's rulers in Jakarta [Jawa Pos, 19 August 1988]

★

Indonesia: Muslims on trial

Published by: TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

Since early 1985, more than 150 Muslims have been tried, convicted and sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment in Indonesia for giving public sermons critical of the government, conducting religious courses not approved by the authorities, or producing leaflets or journals that denounce government policy. Some were held responsible for bombing incidents that were never properly investigated.

The trials followed the army's crackdown on a demonstration of Muslims in September 1984. Dozens, possibly even hundreds, were killed when troops opened fire on the unarmed crowd. The trials took place at a time of deep disquiet in Indonesia about the military government's imposition of total ideological conformity, preventing organisations from proclaiming Islamic or other religious principles.

Indonesia: Muslims on trial analyses the trials, placing them in the context of the continuing conflict between Indonesia's Muslims and the military regime.

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Dr. M. Ghayasuddin, Editor, Muslimmedia

Indonesia: Muslims on trial



128 pp. £4.00 plus p & p.
ISBN 0 9506751 4 8

Pramoedya and Hasta Mitra under threat

The Indonesian Attorney-General, Commodore Sukarton Marmosudjono, has acknowledged that the authorities need to be particularly cautious about how to 'handle' Pramoedya Ananta Toer, the country's foremost writer, "because everything we do will be closely watched internationally" [Kompas, 10 August 1988].

He said this during a press conference when he announced, with Admiral Sudomo, Minister-Coordinator for Social and Political Affairs, seated beside him, that two more of Pramoedya's books had been banned, *Gadis Pantai* (Girl from the Coast) and *Siti Mariah*, a compilation of essays edited by Pramoedya, on the grounds that they "smack of communism". Earlier Sukarton announced a ban on *Rumah Kaca*, the fourth of a quartet of books written by Pram when he was a prisoner in Buru.

According to Sukarton, *Gadis Pantai*, like the author's previous books, published since his release from prison in 1979, "contains teachings which could encourage people to launch a revolution". He also alleged that "dialogues in the books are presented in the form of agitations and propaganda activities" [Jakarta Post, 10 August].

Because of Pram's high international profile, the authorities are clearly afraid to arrest him, but his home is now under round-the-clock guard and Pram is more isolated than ever, unable to move from his house or receive visitors. Hasyim Rachmat, a director of Hasta Mitra Publishing Company, has been under daily interrogation in Jakarta. Sukarton announced that the High Prosecutor's Office in Jakarta had been instructed "to control" Pramoedya's activities and to investigate Hasta Mitra, the publishing house which has produced all of his books.

The Attorney-General justified these new controls on author and publisher on the grounds that everything must

be done to prevent the distribution of any more books of the kind that have now banned. As it stands at present, Indonesian law permits anyone to publish books and allows censorship only after publication. With the regime always keen to be seen to be acting in accord with the law, Sukarton is now out to circumvent the freedom to publish by making it impossible for either Pram or Hasta Mitra to function any more.

It is thought to be just a matter of time before Hasta Mitra is ordered to close. It is now being said that the company, which has been publishing books since 1982, is acting outside the terms of its business permit which, according to Sudomo, "does not include the publication of books" [Kompas, 10 August]. ★

PEN International resolution

The following is the text of a resolution which was adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Delegates of PEN International at its meeting in Seoul, South Korea, in September 1988:

Concerned about the news that the books of Pramoedya Ananta Toer are again banned in Indonesia, Distressed by the fact that Mr Toer is still under city arrest, The Assembly of Delegates request the Indonesian authorities to uplift these restrictions.

The resolution was proposed by the Swedish and Dutch Sections of PEN.

Stop calling them tapols says Justice Minister

The Minister of Justice, Major-General (ret'd) Ismael Saleh has denied that there are any 'tapols' (tahanan politik or political prisoners) in Indonesia. "We only have subversion prisoners, criminal prisoners and economic-crime prisoners," he said.

The remark came as a reprimand to journalists who had asked him how many tapols there are in the country.

Turning to the question about numbers, the Minister said he did not know the precise figure for 'subversion prisoners', "but indeed there are thousands of them throughout Indonesia." It would be necessary to collect the data at the Department of Justice. "To be quite frank, I don't have that kind of data," he said.

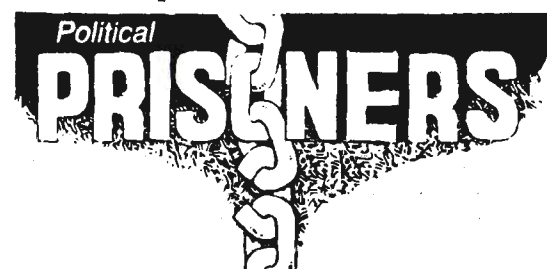
Asked whether 'subversion prisoners' were given any kind of guidance, he said, not at all. The only ones who get guidance are those serving sentences of a year or less.

As for the word 'tapol', it may be used in international circles like Amnesty, "but as far as we are concerned, the expression does not exist". [Pelita,

7 July 1988]

This is not the first time the government has tried to remove the word 'tapol' from the vocabulary yet it is still widely used, inside Indonesia as well as outside.

It is strange that the Justice Ministry is unable to produce data about the number of 'subversion prisoners'. Figures about the astronomical number of ex-tapols are always being bandied about by officials and published in the press. One would have thought that compiling data about people who have been tried in courts and are now in prisons that are under the Department's jurisdiction would be far simpler. ★



Kedung Ombo villagers "under PKI influence"

The "latent PKI" spectre is now being used more aggressively against hundreds of peasant families who have for years resisted efforts to force them to transmigrate so as to make way for construction of the Kedung Ombo dam in Central Java.

The district chief of Boyolali, Lieutenant-Colonel Moch Hasbi, has now accused the more than five hundred peasant families of being under PKI influence. Hasbi alleges that it is not the question of compensation that stands in the way of their agreeing to move but the activities of certain individuals who are out to sabotage government plans.

A local transmigration official supported Hasbi's allegations, saying that the area where these people live (sub-district of Kemusu in Boyolali district) was



Kemusu villagers selling their wares.

indeed formerly known as a "PKI base". One of the people making a stand over compensation is alleged to be a former PKI member, while other peasants who have been acting as representatives for the group have now "disappeared", along with their families, he claimed. [Merdeka, 18 August 1988]

This is not the first time the PKI stick has been used to intimidate the Kedung Ombo peasants. Last year, a number of landowners who were demanding proper compensation for their land were dismayed to discover that, when they applied for their identity cards to be renewed, the initials 'ET', which stands for ex-tapol, had been affixed, meaning that they would now be treated like ex-tapols whose civil rights are severely restricted, even though they had never been detained.

Already 1,800 peasant families have been browbeaten into accepting derisory compensation rates for their land and have agreed to move away from Central Java as transmigrants. But in Kemusu, seven hundred families consistently refused to move. The compensation offered by the local Eviction Board for the Kedung Ombo Project varies from Rp 280 to Rp 700 per square metre whereas land in the area is known to have a market value of Rp 12,000 per square metre or more.

The Kemusu villagers have in fact stated their preference for alternative plots of land in the area to be irrigated by the dam under construction. They demand

the same quantity of land of equivalent fertility and reject compensation in cash. They are strongly opposed to the idea of abandoning their region for an uncertain future as transmigrants and have refused to be influenced by officials trying to convince them that it is necessary for them to transmigrate "in the national interest".

A long process of intimidation

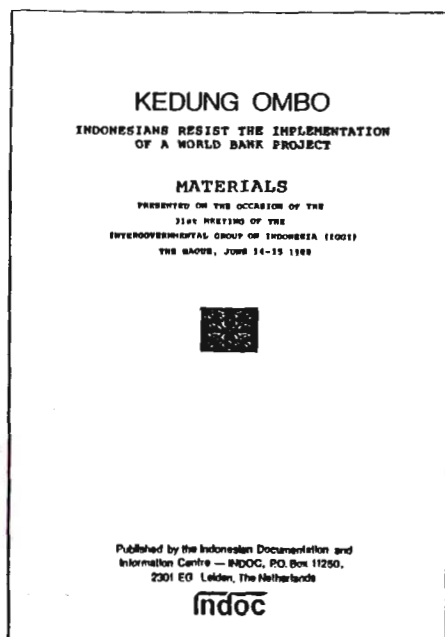
The Kemusu villagers have been subjected to many forms of intimidation. Last October, the authorities became increasingly exasperated by the villagers' stand and called in the services of the Regional Intelligence Coordination Board (Bakorinda), one of the many shadowy security agencies that operates in Indonesia. Bakorinda agents interrogated and "gave guidance" to persons among the villagers said to be former members of "banned organisations". A month later, a "Special Team" (Tim Khusus) was set up by the district attorney, in which the police, the local military command and the district social and political affairs department (an arm of the Interior Ministry) were represented.

Following visits to the villages (under the slogan, "jaksa masuk desa" or "attorney enters the villages") by the Special Team, one hundred or so of the seven hundred families were persuaded to change their minds. It is hardly a coincidence that around that time, 71 Kemusu inhabitants complained to the Legal Aid Institute in Jogjakarta of having been "roughed up" by persons urging them to give up their land.¹ Since the Special Team began its operations, the number of families still resisting government pressure is said to have fallen from 700 to 544.

Attempts to split the generations

One attempt by local government officials to persuade the villagers to move has been an offer to allow those over fifty years old to remain in the region "so long as they do not disturb the environment" (sic) while only the younger people (those under 50!) would be required to transmigrate [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2 June 1988]. Such an offer, which clearly offends the Javanese tradition of caring for the elderly within the extended family, has been treated with disdain by the families. Not a single "old peasant" has accepted the offer and, as for the younger people, they are "cynical and get very upset whenever the word transmigration is mentioned" [Kompas, 28 May 1988]. The peasants say simply that they will remain on their land even when the waters come flooding in, when they will climb to the treetops.

More than 75 per cent of the funding for the dam is from the World Bank but until recently, the Bank has shown no interest in the complaints of villagers. In May this year, a Bank representative identified as Mr David visited the area to study the situation "because the World Bank wants to find out whether the project will also benefit the population" [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 7 May 1988]. Somewhat late in the day to be making such a study, one would have thought!



LAND DISPUTES

As INDOC say in the Introduction to their Report (see footnote) the World Bank should make public the results of these findings, and as soon as possible. Even more to the point, the World Bank should step in to prevent further abuses of the local inhabitants and insist upon the people being allowed to remain in the region.★

1) See **Kedung Ombo: Indonesians Resist the Implementation of a World Bank Project**, issued by INDOC (Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre), Leiden, June 1988, page 6.

This document which was presented to the June 1988 meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, provides a useful overview of resistance to Kedung Ombo. Anyone wishing to have a copy should write to INDOC, P.O. Box 11250, 2301 EG Leiden, Netherlands.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Jogjakarta students tortured

Two students who were arrested in Jogjakarta in June this year are known to have been subjected to torture and maltreatment and there are fears that more arrests could follow. On 1 September, the Geneva-based organisation, SOS Torture, launched an urgent action calling on the Indonesian authorities to halt the torture.

The first to be arrested was Bambang Subono, 25, a sociology student at Gajah Mada University (UGM), who was arrested on 8 June while selling copies of a book by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. The book, *Rumah Kaca* (The Glasshouse), was banned by the Attorney-General on the day of Bambang's arrest.

Twelve days later, Isti Nugroho, 26, was arrested at the Gajah Mada physics laboratory where he works, by a group of soldiers in civilian clothes. Isti's name had apparently been mentioned by Bambang Subono during a series of marathon interrogations. Among his papers, intelligence agents found a letter from Sleman Library, Jogjakarta requesting the return of a copy of the Indonesian version of Maxim Gorky's *Mother*, which was translated by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. When questioned about the book, Bambang told his inquisitors, no doubt under duress, that he had lent it to his friend, Isti.

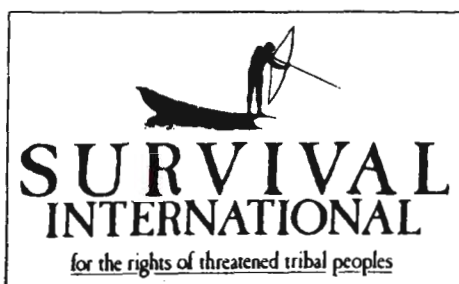
Two days after Isti's arrest, a friend and a relative

were allowed to visit him for ten minutes, in the presence of six guards. His face was badly swollen and black and blue, and he was hardly able to talk. Since then, he has reportedly been forced to stare at the sun every day and is beaten about the head if he tries to look down. (This is a form of torture frequently used in East Timor.)

Isti, a member of the Palagan Study Group, is a prolific writer. He contributed an essay to an anthology of works by young writers, *Kesaksian Kaum Muda*, about to be published by Kelompok Studi Indonesia and the Asia Foundation. The anthology had already gone to press at the time of his detention, but his contribution has since been removed.

It is also known that a list of names of about twenty students and activists was extracted from Bambang Subono, under duress. Those who believe they may be on the list have gone into hiding and have hidden their books away.

A third person, Anharuddin, 26, a student of anthropology at UGM and editor of the UGM student magazine, *Dian Budaya*, was also arrested but was released on 4 August. ★



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Book on liberation theology banned

Along with the ban on two more books by Pramoedya Ananta Toer announced on 10 August, the Attorney General announced the banning of a book published in Jakarta in 1987 entitled *Teologi Pembebasan*, by a young priest, F. Wahono Nitiprawira. The following is a slightly abridged version of a review, from a Special Correspondent, which was published in *Inside Indonesia*, No 15, July 1988.

Few things illustrate a nation's intellectual isolation so tellingly as when a Bachelor of Divinity thesis, published as a book two years later, causes a military censor to phone a national newspaper to say, 'No more book reviews, or else...'

This is what happened to Wahono's *Liberation Theology*. Yet it is little more than a series of book reviews of the major Latin American liberation theologians. It would earn a western student an 'A' and a dusty space on the supervisor's bookshelf. In Indonesia it is a breath of life to starved souls.

Wahono is a young priest in Jogjakarta, associated with a lively Catholic group that includes other Javanese priests as well as some of foreign descent. The inquisitive Jogja priests, centred round the Institute of Theological Philosophy, are regarded with some suspicion by the more conservative church hierarchy in Jakarta.

Liberation Theology is a fairly sophisticated apology for the Latin American authors. The fact that the first full-length Indonesian work on this subject is entirely a book about books is a reminder of how far Indonesia really is from South America. There has been no personal contact, no meetings at conferences or study exchanges. And liberation theology is seen as very Latin American, without indigenous counterpart. The book is a study of a hopeful foreign development, not a dialogue with Indonesian reflection as its other pole.

Liberation Theology is also the protest of a young priest, an activist whose workaday analysis leans on Marx, against the angst-ridden middle class existentialist theologian who can't let go of Kant. It is an attempt to cross the wide gap between faith and everyday life in a situation of oppression. It is 'critical reflection on the historic process of

liberation done by those involved in it' (Gutierrez). It is a theology done, not for, but by the people (rakyat).

Wahono obviously wrote the dry chapter on methodology with difficulty, but comes alive when he confronts the stories of the martyrdom of Camilo Torres, guerrilla priest killed in Colombia in 1966, and of Archbishop Oscar Romero, machine-gunned at Mass in 1980. It is a theology that rediscovers true evangelical confrontation with the powers of the world, such as those who now find themselves thrown into gaol by military regimes.

Heady stuff, but hardly nation threatening. So why was *Liberation Theology* of such interest to the ever watchful military newspaper reader that he rushed to the phone?

One obvious answer is that he had been warned before about this kind of theology: 'nothing but Marxism in clerical garb' - the incongruity wouldn't be striking to a soldier. The fact that some anti-Marcos Christians had a purely apolitical concern for human dignity in the face of violence would have done nothing to dilute it for the man in green - human rights are 'liberal' which is next to 'communist' anyway.

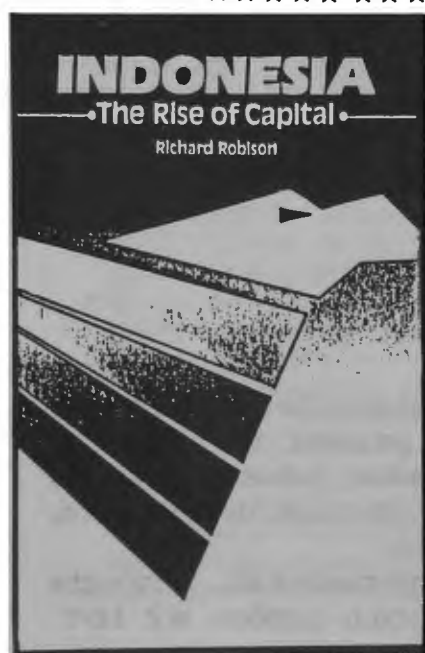
Indonesia needs liberation, not development

More significant is that both in Latin America and the Philippines, the very term 'liberation' is an explicit rejection of the sacred cow of 'development', the most important word in Indonesia's current mythology. The whole concept of development "no longer reflects the aspirations of the people," Wahono declares. For them it denotes the use of power by the rich to oppress the poor. They prefer 'liberation', all-embracing liberation from socio-economic-political oppression, from institutionalised violence, and from personal evil that estranges man from God.

More important still, and here Wahono does engage in a dialogue, he portrays the Latin American Christians in terms reminiscent of Indonesia's 1945 freedom fighters. Refusing to condemn those who take up arms, he compares them with the Indonesians facing a colonial foe whose only language was violence.

With the unexpected image still fresh of red-and-black-clothed youths enthusiastically waving portraits of Sukarno at election rallies in April 1987, the authorities are not keen to encourage a resurrection of 1945 emotions. And yet, this is precisely what some of Indonesia's most potent opposition intellectuals are now doing. Many believe for example that Pramoedya Ananta Toer's four-part novel which starts with *This Earth of Mankind*, is really engaging the New Order in a battle for moral legitimacy. Upon whom really has the mantle of nationalism fallen since 1965? Who really is the enemy?

In fact the link between Latin America today and Indonesia's left-inspired 1945 Revolution is not a major



Robison's book, banned in Indonesia as soon as it appeared, is in stock again. Price, including p&p: UK and Europe, £11.50 Overseas airmail, £15.00.

theme in the book, and it would be unfair to overlook passages in which he parts company with pure political action in favour of a more spiritual view of man and society. Yet even the touching though completely apolitical 1985 novel *Lepas sebelum terusap* (Gone without being loved) by pseudonymous priest R. Sukri Kaslan, touches the same nerve. It portrays the compassionate role of a priest in the appalling degradation of Jakarta's harbour slum area, Tanjung Priok, scene of a bloody confrontation with troops in September 1984. Wahono is also asking: where is the church in this situation of structurally entrenched evil? Will liberation theology have a major impact in Indonesia?

Wahono is rather scornful of Catholic church groups in Central Java that call themselves Base Ecclesial Communities, after the communities of the faithful poor in Latin America. They will not earn that title, he says, until they begin to struggle for liberation at the grassroots. And one of the strongest motives for

liberation theology in Christian Latin America is clearly absent in overwhelmingly Muslim Indonesia, that "we live at once in the most Christian nation, and the most inhuman one" (Segundo).

On the other hand, while Muslims remain on the whole strongly opposed to the language of 'liberation', some, like Amien Rais, are beginning to use it themselves. Religious concern for the poor, once released from artificial depoliticisation, can easily acquire structural overtones. Clearly there are interests at work that would like to deepen Indonesia's intellectual isolation. Wahono deserves full marks for trying to reduce it. And his books are still available!

[The author of the above review was clearly expecting the book to fall victim to government censorship.]

★

CSIS gets UN 'peace award'

The notorious Jakarta-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies is one of sixty organisations from 34 countries chosen to receive the United Nations 'Peace Messenger' award, given by UN Secretary-General Peres de Cuellar.

The CSIS will receive its award on 20 September, which is observed worldwide as the International Day of Peace.

It would be difficult to imagine a research institute less eligible for any award associated with the idea of peace. The CSIS has been at the forefront of Indonesia's efforts to deceive the world about Indonesia's illegal annexation of East Timor and about conditions in the territory today.

The panel of judges were apparently taken in by CSIS activities in support of the UN by means of seminars on such issues as Namibian independence (!) and disarmament. It also provides assistance to the UN in research work. [Jakarta Post, 20 August 1988] ★

Women organise against unjust treatment of women

A woman, who was sentenced to six years for burning her husband to death has become the centre of a campaign in Indonesia to protest against the unfair treatment of women in Indonesia.

Rumini Ida, who has three children, was driven by desperation over the cruelties inflicted on her by her husband to end his life. Passing sentence, the district court in Salatiga, Central Java, recognised that her endurance had been sorely tried by her husband but nevertheless described her action as "unpardonable".

The day before sentencing Rumini, the Women's Consciousness Movement or G K P (Gerakan Kesadaran Perempuan) delivered an open letter to the chair of the court, reminding him of the special circumstance of this case. On the day of the verdict, members of the G K P, all women students from several universities in Central Java, organised a protest action outside the court, distributing a statement signed by more than one hundred people, including well-known author Marianne Katoppo.

The chairperson of G K P is Maria Bithia Juita Dinanta, a student at the Agriculture Faculty of Satya Wacana University, Salatiga. Because Indonesian society does not treat women justly, she said, they had decided to use the occasion of Rumini's sentence as an appropriate

moment to publicise the existence of G K P. She hoped that colleagues in Semarang, Surabaya and other cities would follow their example. "If no-one will act, we will be forced to take control," she said.

Expressing support for G K P, Sita Ampurnami Kayam, coordinator of the Kalyanamitra Foundation, said: "These are our ideals too. Making contact among groups of women." The Foundation publishes a bulletin called *Dongbret*, the name for a street dancer in the Indramayu region. It has published studies on domestic servants, prostitutes and the depiction of women in magazines. [Editor, 16 July 1988, quoted in Indonesia News Service, No 124, 8 August 1988] ★

Continued from page 1.

withdraw. The compromise candidate was Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia has for many years supported Indonesia on East Timor, so it could well be difficult to raise the issue at a summit held in Belgrade.

As compared to these two defeats in Strassbourg and Nicosia, Indonesia can draw some small comfort from defeating a resolution on East Timor at the UN Sub-Commission in Geneva (see page 13). However, the impression being created in the Indonesian press, as if the Geneva vote means the end of the East Timor issue at the UN, is totally misleading. East Timor remains firmly on the UN General Assembly agenda and can still be raised at the UN Human Rights Commission, by government representatives as well as by NGOs.

Ali Alatas policy fails

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas took over his new job last March, exuding confidence that he would grapple more successfully than his predecessor with the two key tasks confronting Indonesian foreign policy makers - removing East Timor from the international agenda and winning the NAM presidency. Right up to the eve of the Nicosia meeting, he lobbied hard. The initiative to hold the Kampuchean talks in Jakarta was aimed primarily at winning kudos among non-aligned countries. Alatas also argued that as a founder member of the Movement, it was high time for Indonesia to take over the leadership.

However, his high-profile strategy has been a gigantic flop. Although some Third World countries have proven vulnerable to heavy-handed lobbying, many people in the UN Sub-Commission as well as in the European Parliament, have been sickened by Indonesia's crude attempts at pressure.

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Why the Freys left West Papua in a hurry

On 14 August, TAPOL visited the home of the Swiss pilot, Theodore Frey, who escaped from West Papua at the end of April, together with his wife Martha, and daughter Sandra. The following is based on a brief interview with all three, who are now so angry about the situation inside West Papua that they are very keen to campaign in support of the people of West Papua.

[Theodore, Martha and Sandra arrived in the northernmost tip of Australia at the end of April, aboard a Cessna plane, with enough fuel to fly for only a few more minutes. They had made the very risky journey from Nabire, where Theo had been working for Associated Mission Aviation, the Catholic aircraft company that operates in West Papua.]

About three weeks before the escape, said Theo, he caught a man up to something inside his aircraft. Normally, the aircraft is kept closed after a flight. After the man was discovered, he ran off. Soon afterwards, Martha saw a mechanic coming away from the aircraft, holding a small object in his hand which she believes he had taken from the plane. This made her suspicious.

The following Monday, Theo discovered that the screw in the shut-off valve was undone. This would have meant his not being able to close off the fuel tank in an emergency. By this time, Martha had become very worried, and was constantly warning Theo to keep a close watch on the plane.

Their suspicions had been aroused because a week or so before, Major Isphan, the military commander of Nabire, had asked Theo to do a flight for him to the interior, to a place the name of which Theo only recollects now as Sugapa, but Theo had refused.

Collecting data about AMA work

By this time, the three of them had been amassing figures about the amount of time AMA aircraft spent doing work for the mission as compared with the amount spent on trips carrying freight and passengers for the army. The Freys had been collating figures from documents which Theo was given in connection with an assignment he received in February 1988, to plan the future expansion of AMA flight operations. Within a month, they became so alarmed by the figures that they started compiling data, copying out documents and filing protests with the AMA directors. "I went to West Papua to help the missions help the West Papuans, not to help the army," said Theo. They now have in their possession a great deal of information about the activities of AMA aircraft in the past few years.

One example of their correspondence at the time is a hand-written letter which Martha sent in April to Jeff Verstegen, the senior director of AMA, a copy of which is in our possession, Martha gave figures showing that 75.9 per cent (26,150 kilos) of freight carried by AMA planes to Komopa from February 1987 till January 1988, had been for the government (meaning, in effect, the army) and only 18 per cent (6,260 kilos) for the mission. (The remaining 6 per cent was for other agencies.) The letter lists the monthly figures of freight and passengers carried for the government/army to Paniai region in the same period. Government freight



Sandra Habisch, the daughter of Martha and Theo, beside the words "Papua Merdeka" (Free Papua) which she carved on a rock near their home in Lachen, Switzerland.

was never below 46 per cent in a month and sometimes reached 84 per cent.

Theo and Martha had already made several protests about the way in which AMA aircraft were doing flights for the army, but the refusal to fly for Major Isphan was the first time Theo refused to fly for the army.

A week later, at 6 o'clock one evening, the district commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Wanas asked Theo to go on a mission to Timika the next morning. Theo refused, saying that he had no plans to go to Timika. Also, normally, pilots get several days' notice for requests like this. But in addition, Theo had heard rumours about plans to kill twenty-one people in Timika.

In the event, Theo did fly to Timika the next day and there he met Lieutenant-Colonel Wanas who had managed to fly to the town aboard another plane operated by the Protestant mission company, MAP. Hence, the officer knew that Theo was not willing to do missions for the army.

Having become strongly suspicious that attempts were being made to sabotage his plane, Theo went to Sentani to lodge a complaint with the directors of AMA. The attempts to sabotage his plane were not the only problem. Several incidents had occurred outside their home in Nabire, when young Papuan friends of Sandra's were playing together. An officer nearby had taken aim and fired at the youngsters, to scare them. The Freys were horrified. They recognised such behaviour as something common to Indonesians who, by and large, look upon West Papuans as inferior beings. In addition, the incident appeared to be intended as a warning to Papuans to keep away from the Freys.

Rumours started circulating that Theo was working for the OPM, and they noticed that soldiers were lounging around their home, brandishing weapons.

The day before they left, an Indonesian told them that Theo would be 'disalang', an expression in West Papua meaning 'to be silenced by killing'. Theo sent a radio message to Sentani to say that they could no longer stay

in Nabire, and that Theo would not fly any more missions until all these threats and incidents had been resolved.

When they woke up the next day, they realised that their home was virtually surrounded by soldiers and police. They decided to leave without delay. They said they were going to Sentani but changed directions in mid-air and made south for Australia. Fortunately they were able to take most of their possessions, including the many documents they had obtained during their six-months' stay in Sentani and Nabire.

Militarisation of border villages

Asked what he meant when he told the **Northern Territory News**, [9 May 1988] that he had documents to prove that Indonesia was planning a push into Papua New Guinea within six months, Theo said he had been misquoted in the Australian media, in particular, the **Sunday Sun**, which had sensationalised his story (with the intention of discrediting him?). He did not say anything about six months, but had expressed concern over how Indonesia is militarising villages along the border with Papua New Guinea. Considering that PNG has a Defence Force of only 3,000, he felt that Indonesia was behaving like an expansionist power. [See **TAPOL Bulletin**, No. 87, June 1988, for a report of this inaccurate story.]

He had made a number of AMA flights to villages all along the border during the time he worked for the company in Sentani. Many of the villages were more like military encampments, heavily guarded by troops. Some were surrounded by fences and moats, with posts to control anyone entering or leaving. Each of these border villages has a large satellite communications dish which, Theo believes, can only be intended for rapid communication with army headquarters in Jakarta.

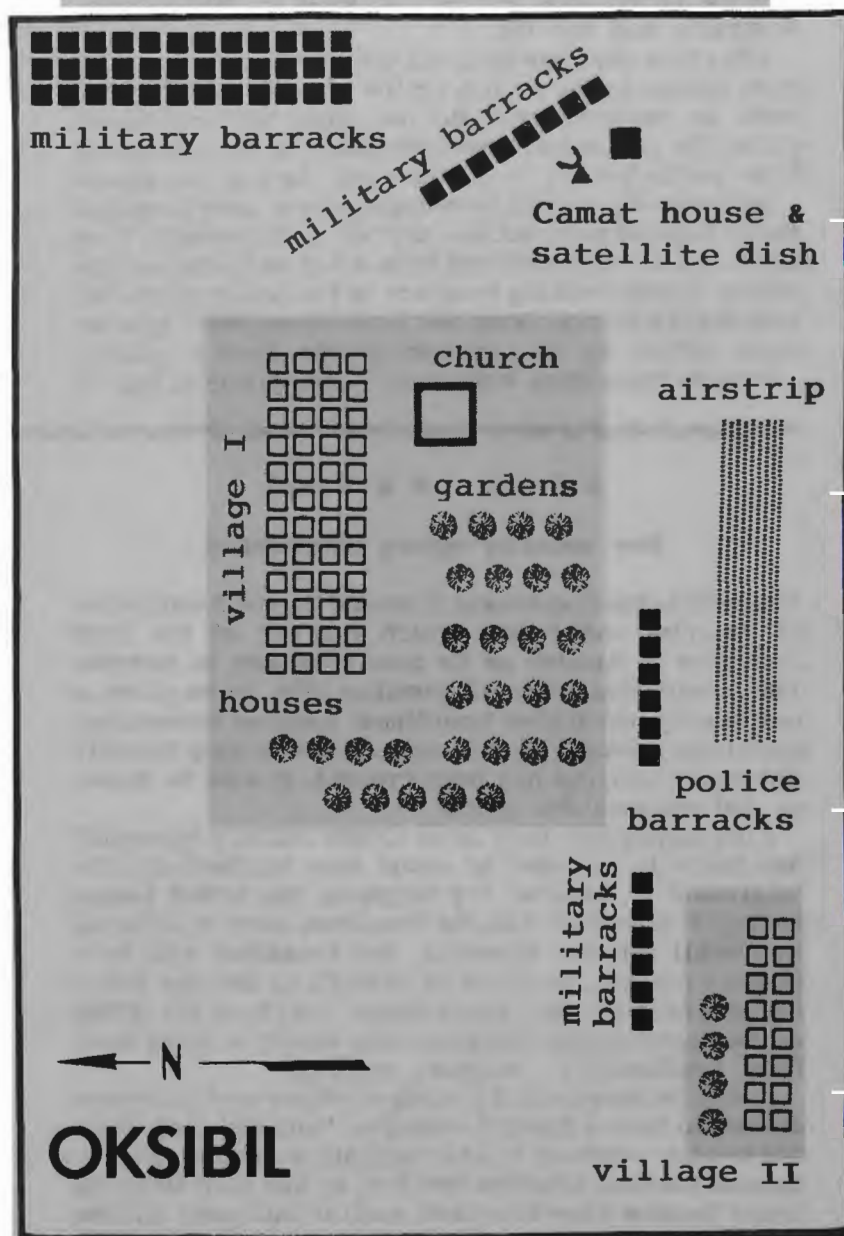
All the villages started off as small stations run by the missions, with small airstrips. As they grew larger, an Indonesian administrator known as a *camat* took over, the airstrips were expanded and army personnel moved in. The Papuans, not by tradition village-dwellers, had been prevailed upon by the missions to settle in these mission stations and were confined to small areas of land. They now have to walk farther and farther afield to reach places where they can cultivate gardens or cut wood. Because of the concentration of people, the new system of settlement is having the effect of wearing down the very thin top-soil because of over-cultivation. In addition, Papuans who formerly roamed in their forests without hindrance, engaging in shifting agriculture, are now required to have a 'surat jalan' (travel-pass) even to go to the next village.

Oksibil

The accompanying map of Oksibil is based on Theo's observations during a number of flights to the village. Oksibil village was established in the territory of the Ok people. AMA figures show that freight and passenger carriage for the army/government is around 30 per cent, as compared to 60 per cent for the mission. The lower percentage for the army than in other places is because the airstrip in Oksibil is now 650 metres long and 20 metres wide which is big enough for larger aircraft to land. Hence, AMA has become less important, with more supplies being brought in by the Indonesian aviation company, Merpati.

Only 45 kilometres from the border, Oksibil is one of the larger militarised villages. It is surrounded on the north, east and south by mountains. In the largest

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military compound there are 30 or 40 houses plus smaller clusters of homes for soldiers and police. It is easy to see how the lay-out places the villagers in the two parts of the village under the direct control of the military and the police. But the number of military personnel suggests that their duties extend far beyond keeping an eye on a few hundred villagers.

Theo heard of plans to set up a gold mine west of Oksibil, near the border and the PNG gold mine at Ok Tedi. A Canadian firm, Conalco, is engaged in mapping operations along the border. Whenever installations such as a gold mine are established, transmigration sites are bound to follow, forming a cordon sanitaire and making protection of the installation that much easier. ★

Foreign church guests expelled from Nabire

The following report was received by a source who wishes to remain anonymous.

The Gereja Kristen Injili di Irian Jaya (Christian Church in Irian Jaya, or GKI) held the 11th General Assembly of its Synod from 6-14 July this year. Some two hundred delegates attended. There were guests representing churches that have relations with the GKI, from the Netherlands, Switzerland, West Germany, Japan, Australia and the US.

After five days however, all the guests were expelled from Nabire by the police, on the grounds that they had come as tourists and did not have 'socio-cultural' visas. The police had also forbidden the foreign guests from participating in discussions during the Synod.

On the Sunday, a guest from Japan was to have preached and to baptise sixty babies and two adult converts from Islam, but he was prohibited from doing so by the Nabire police. Lower-ranking members of the police force had welcomed the foreign guests and were among those wanting their babies to be baptised by the foreign pastor.

Even in Irian Jaya, writes our correspondent, this is

a rather uncommon case. In other parts of Indonesia, pastors from foreign churches are not hindered from preaching, but in Irian Jaya, religious freedom for the church is not guaranteed. Religious matters are controlled by the police. Human rights are disregarded.

Nabire is one of the oldest settlements for transmigrants from Java. The tropical rainforest has been cut down. In Irian Jaya, even the transmigrants feel that they are being oppressed by the police and are the target of secret intelligence reports.

In northern Biak, according to the same source, villagers were recruited to take part in a campaign to hunt down the elderly OPM leader, Melkianus Awom, but he was not captured. In the end, the army had to abandon the plan to arrest Awom because the hunt had resulted in a decline in living standards for the villagers.

[In our last Bulletin, we reported the army's campaign to capture Awom. The campaign mentioned in the above report suggests that the army may have used the 'fence-of-legs' tactic to catch Awom, the same tactic used against the guerrilla resistance in East Timor in 1981.

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New security agency established

Kopkamtib, the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, which was one of the first creations of Suharto as he rose to power in October 1965, was disbanded on 5 September 1988. In its place, a new agency, the Badan Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan Stabilitas Nasional (Coordination Board to Help Solidify National Stability) has been created. It will be known as Bakorstanas for short.

Although the new body is no longer called a 'command' and hence is intended to sound less militaristic, its 'chairman' is General Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander-in-chief, with the President, General Suharto, in overall control. Moreover, the President will have reserve powers, "in times of crisis", to use the Board for special purposes. Bakorstanas will have its office at the armed forces headquarters, hardly a shift away from Kopkamtib's military setting.

It will be composed of ministers whose portfolios are deemed to have a direct bearing on 'national stability'. The two key members will be the State Secretary, Major-General Mardiono (who took over from Sudharmono when the latter became Vice-President earlier this year) and the Attorney-General, Commodore Sukarton Marmosudjono, also very close to Sudharmono.

Regional Coordination Boards to be known as Bakorstanda (the 'da' standing for regional) are also being set up, and will be 'chaired' by the regional army commanders. This in effect continues the former Kopkamtib structure where the regional commanders exercised the Kopkamtib's special powers as Laksusda.

Assessments like that of the *International Herald Tribune* [14 September] which sees the new agency as a sign of liberalisation, leading to "a reduction in the powers of the army to investigate subversion and detain suspects" are misleading. Much will depend on the decrees enacted by the President defining the powers of the central and regional boards and their 'chairmen'. It is highly doubtful that Suharto will divest the army of

its special powers and leave the task of combatting 'subversion' to the police and the judiciary. The very name "to help solidify national stability" sounds like a 1980s version of "restoring security and order".

Note to readers

A nationwide postal strike in the UK from 5 September which lasted into the third week of the month prevented us from receiving the many source materials we normally use when writing the Bulletin. As a result we have been unable to report many recent developments, as we normally do.

We hope to make up for this in the next issue.

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