



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Tapol bulletin no, 84, December 1987

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1988) Tapol bulletin no, 84, December 1987. Tapol bulletin (84). pp. 1-24. ISSN 1356-1154

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The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

TAPOL Bulletin No. 84

December, 1987

Student protests paralyse Ujung Pandang

Five people were killed and many injured when troops opened fire on students and others protesting in Ujung Pandang, the capital of South Sulawesi on 31 October against the compulsory wearing of safety helmets by motorcyclists. The incident, which was widely reported in the national press, led to a student demonstration in Jakarta on 16 November protesting against the brutal show of force in Ujung Pandang.

According to the Financial Times [17 November], the army used tanks and armoured personnel carriers in Ujung Pandang as a deliberate show of strength in the run-up to the presidential election next March.

Signs of unrest among Indonesia's students, evident since the middle of this year, appear to have put the country's military rulers on the defensive. Remembering the student demonstrations that surrounded the 1978 presidential election, the last thing they want is to see students taking to the streets again on any issue. Four days after the Ujung Pandang incident, armed forces commander-in-chief General Murdani categorically denied that students were involved; however, later reports in the press quoting senior local officials contradicted this denial.

The demonstrations which paralysed parts of the provincial capital for several days from Saturday, 31 October, were directed against a decree extending the compulsory helmet regulation to pillion riders. Initially, it appears, the police were expected to handle the disturbances, then troops were brought in, with fatal consequences. The demonstration involved students from five universities in the city, each converging on the centre from their campuses. A student at the Teachers' Training College (IKIP) said: "We had been planning the action for a week." People were particularly angered by the heavy fines levied on those failing to comply.

One paper reports that "thousands of students demonstrated in front of the regional assembly building while tens of thousands more filled the streets persuading anyone wearing helmets to take them off [Merdeka, 1 November]. Although official reports put the death toll at two, this paper reported two days later that five people were killed when troops opened fire; they included two IKIP students, a secondary school pupil, and a student at the Muslim University (UMI). The fifth casualty was a policeman. Eight were seriously injured and many dozens more were injured

The regulation requiring motorcyclists to wear helmets was officially enacted in 1985 and has been enforced in phases, though at each stage there have been organised protests. Nevertheless, the protests that exploded in Ujung Pandang at the end of October took the authorities by surprise. Police vehicles were burnt, and a university official who had been persuaded to get up and plead with

the students to desist was pelted with stones.

Despite a joint call on Sunday from the army and police commanders for an end to the unrest, large crowds again took to the streets on Monday, condemning the killings two days earlier, shouting anti-helmet slogans and calling for an end to Porkas, the much-criticised state lottery. Helmets on sale in shops were taken out and burnt. A week later, although the protests had died down, Tempo reported that no-one on the streets of Ujung Pandang could be seen wearing a helmet; the issue had become too sensitive for the police to enforce the regulation [Tempo, 7 and 14 November 1987].

Security forces give the impression of being at a loss to explain the ferocity of the opposition, and have so far refrained from accusing 'evil forces' of manipulating the students. Compulsory helmet-wearing has been an extremely unpopular measure in many parts of the country. There are complaints about the cost and quality of the helmets (Tempo has published a photograph of someone cutting a helmet in half with a knife) and charges that the regulation benefits manufacturers producing shoddy goods. Police on duty are also making a hefty profit from

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finances. More generally, according to independent sources, there is a lot of resentment to rules like this being imposed from above. Some people point out that the regulations, issued in the form of a ministerial decision, have no legal foundation and represent an abuse of power.

Anti-helmet protests in West Kalimantan

The impression being created that Ujung Pandang is the only troublesome place is belied by the fact that five months earlier, in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, students launched a similar action. On 14 May, more than two thousand students from Tanjungpura (State) University demonstrated for five hours against a regulation requiring pillion-riders to wear helmets.

According to *Merdeka* [15 May 1987], apparently the only national paper to report the incident, attempts by Mobile Brigade troops to block the advancing students by firing warning shots only infuriated the protesters and strengthened their resolve. Government office-workers and other passers-by on the streets gave the students the thumbs-up sign of approval. The next day, *Jakarta Post* reported that the Pontianak police denied that a demonstration had occurred, but other sources, including police officers, confirmed the *Merdeka* account.

On 18 May, *Merdeka* reported that troops in battle-dress were surrounding the campus. Sixteen students had been taken in for questioning. An attempt by security officials to hold a dialogue with students ended in acrimony; every attempt to explain the helmet regulation was shouted down. Proposals made by students during this dialogue demanded action against other traffic violations which are never punished (evidently they had in mind the fact that police turn a blind eye to army vehicles which persistently violate traffic regulations like speeding) [*Merdeka*, 18 May 1987].

Protests against fee rises

But the helmet regulation is not the only cause of the unrest. There has been a sharp increase in university fees since the commencement of the 1986/1987 academic

year, causing discontent among students in a number of cities. In January, students in Riau protested against higher fees, followed two months later by students in Ujung Pandang, complaining that many students have been compelled, presumably for financial reasons, to drop out of college.

In April, the army used water cannons to disperse about 1,500 students at the State Islamic Teachers' Training College (PGA) in Serang, West Java protesting against the fee increase. They were also complaining about having to pay for compulsory Pancasila indoctrination courses. The students wrecked part of the building [*Jakarta Post*, 21 April 1987], suggesting that this incident was the culmination of earlier efforts to have their grievances discussed.

Since then, several universities in North Sumatra have been brought to a halt by demonstrations protesting against higher fees. The first to protest, in June, were students at the (State) University of North Sumatra, who called for fees to be cut back so as to reverse the high drop-out rate.

Some weeks later, Nommensen University students demonstrated for several days running. Nommensen University in Pematang Siantar is one of the most prestigious private universities in the country; it was set up in 1954 by the Batak Protestant Church (HKBP), a church founded earlier this century by German missionaries. It appears that following the first demonstration, the students were denied entry onto university grounds, as the next report describes how hundreds of students tried to break down the university entrance-gate, only to be driven back by anti-riot troops. The students wanted to discuss their grievances with university officials and seek protection against action by the university and the security forces [*Kompas*, 8 July 1987].

A week later it was announced that the university had been closed for the time being to prevent further "undesirable incidents". One student activist arrested after the first protests was released when students pleaded with his army captors. A month later, Nommensen was still closed and heavily guarded by detachments from police and army shock forces. When hundreds of students tried again to enter the campus, scuffles broke out and three persons were taken into custody [*Waspada*, 7 August 1987].

The unrest also spread to the North Sumatra Islamic University where economics students called for the dismissal of their dean and for fees to be lowered [*Kompas*, 14 July]. The same campus was the scene of



"No helmets, no extortion!"
Tempo, 14 November 1987

another demonstration which resulted in fifteen persons being taken into custody [Kompas, 7 August 1987].

There have been disturbances too at the Bandung Accountancy Academy over course management and the high cost of examinations and tuition (Kompas, 10 August 1987).

The next reported incident about fees occurred at the National University in Jakarta when about a thousand students organised a sit-in to complain about the level of fees and extra levies imposed on students. Discussions between seven student representatives and the rector failed to resolve matters. The demonstration was orderly and well organised with a public kitchen set up to feed the demonstrators. Security forces closed off roads leading to the campus. Two weeks later, the sit-in was still going on [Jawa Pos, 23 September and 5 October, as quoted in Indonesia News Service, No 38].

Complaints about authoritarianism

Besides the question of fees, students in several regions are taking up positions against the authoritarian practices of university managers. Students at faculties of Brawijaya University located in Malang, East Java have made demands for open, democratic leadership, criticising the authoritarianism of their rector [Suara Pembaruan, 13 July].

The issue has struck particularly hard at Mulawarman University in Samarinda, the only university in East Kalimantan, where a range of complaints have been made about academic appointments. In this case, the staff are also involved, complaining that a 'shadow rector' has taken virtual control of the university [Kompas, 15 October 1987]. The former rector, Professor Sambas Wirakusumah who is now teaching at University of Indonesia in Jakarta, has called on lecturers at Mulawarman to refrain from walking out in the uproar as this would result in the collapse of the university. The complaints include decisions to close down projects for which funds have already been allocated and hostility towards projects run in cooperation with JICA of Japan and GTZ of West Germany. [Jawa Pos, 11 October].

[For a detailed account of the project aided by the Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit or GTZ, promoting a transmigration site in East Kalimantan which went disastrously wrong, see the report by IMBAS of Frankfurt, "Transmigrasi di Kaltim: Program yang Mengundang Musibah" in Tanah Air, No 1, April 1987].

Call for revival of student politics

Amid intense pressure from the ruling powers in Indonesia for the total abandonment of political activity by all political parties and social organisations, there have been calls over the past few months for a revival of student politics. Implicit in these calls are warnings to the government that the policy of strangulating student activism, imposed after the student demonstrations of 1978, is causing growing frustration on student campuses and could explode at any time.

It was a former minister for religious affairs, Professor Mukti Ali, now the rector of the State Islamic University (IAIN) in Jogjakarta, who declared last February that the government's so-called Normalisation of Campus Life (NKK) putting a ban on democratically-elected student councils, introduced in 1978, had gone on long enough. "The time has now come for student organisations to be restored, so that students can speak out. Students should not be silent, for such silence is obnoxious", he said [Kompas, 27 February 1987].

This declaration which was in refreshing contrast to the general acceptance, in public at least, of the regime's programme of political manipulation, put the question of student activism onto the political agenda,

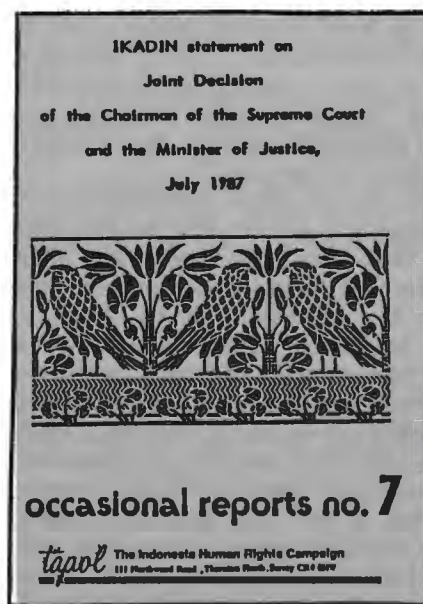
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and it became an issue during the general election campaign in April this year. Government spokespeople have predictably rejected any such notion but were clearly rattled by the show of youthful discontent with the government as displayed in the huge rallies organised during the election campaign by the Indonesian Democratic Party.

No-one is suggesting that Professor Mukti Ali's speech was the inspiration for what has been happening on campuses in the past few months. But he is known for his sympathy for democratic principles and is in a good position to be in touch with the rumblings among students, dissatisfied on a number of issues. Murdani's attempts to shrug off student involvement in various protests, combined with harsh army repression of protesters on the streets, suggests that the regime is very nervous about possible threats to political stability as the re-election of Suharto for a fifth term as president draws near.



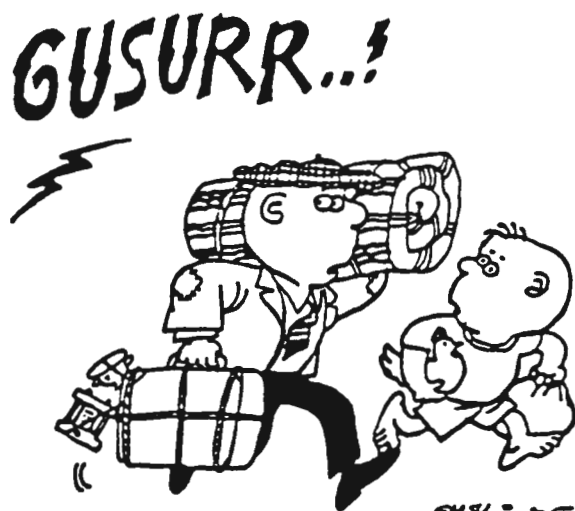
An earlier anti-helmet demonstration in Ujung Pandang, in 1986. [Tempo, 14 November 1987]



Price: 50 pence per copy, 80 pence for two copies, plus 30 pence for each additional copy. Add 50 pence for airmail postage.

This is the latest in the TAPOL Occasional Reports series. It reproduces in full the statement issued by the Indonesian Bar Association, Ikadin, categorically rejecting the Joint Decision of the Chairman of the Supreme Court and the Minister of Justice of July 1987 which imposes punitive supervision on members of the legal profession.

Taking the ground from under their feet



Thrown out!

Whether you are an owner occupier, a legal tenant or a squatter in Indonesia, land rights are a particularly sensitive issue for social, economic and political reasons. A continuous stream of newspaper reports show that, whatever their legal status, people have little security in the places where they have built their homes, run small businesses or grow crops.

The government can issue compulsory purchase orders for land for projects such as road widening schemes, flood control measures, airports, harbours or dams. It can also grant permits to private companies to purchase land for development schemes 'in the public interest'; for example for industrial estates, shopping, office or housing complexes and agricultural projects, including plantations which depend on transmigrant labour. This is in addition to the freedom allowed to powerful business interests to procure land by fair or not so fair means to operate their own schemes. The pressure for land is most severe in Java where land prices are highest, but similar cases are reported throughout Indonesia.

Tenant farmers, leaseholders of shops and houses, and market traders live in perpetual uncertainty as the land can be sold under their feet. The new owner can then issue eviction orders, forcing people to uproot their homes and livelihoods. In Setiabudi, South Jakarta, tenants of what used to be a rubber estate were threatened with eviction by a real estate developer at a month's notice, having lived there since 1928 [Merdeka, 22 December 1986]. In some cases as in Krawang, West Java, recently, uneducated farmers had been tricked into signing away the rights to their land only to discover their mistake years later when the land was resold [Pikiran Rakyat, 10 July 1987]. In other cases, the land in question is 'state land', controlled by a local government department, as in the dispute at Cinta Damai, North Sumatra, where local farmers were displaced to make way for a model plantation [Waspada, 27 November 1986, 24 December 1986, 31 December 1986 and 16 January 1987]. Often tenant farmers' crops are destroyed to increase pressure on them to give up their land [Berita Buana, 28 November 1986, Pelita, 13 October 1986, Pikiran Rakyat, 30 August 1986 and Merdeka, 9 February].

The poorest strata of Indonesian society who build shanties on vacant plots, farm unused marginal land or

eke out a living as street sellers lead an even more precarious existence. As squatters, they have no legal rights to their property and are frequently the victims of local government 'clean up' operations, often carried out with force by security teams at such short notice the occupants have no chance to protect or even salvage their meagre possessions from the demolition squads or bulldozers. One example was the so-called prostitutes complex at Jatinegara, West Jakarta where over a hundred inhabitants were told to demolish their shacks and leave the area without any compensation to make way for a sports centre.

Even legal owner occupiers can find it hard to prove their status and harder still to get fair compensation for their property. In theory, compensation is fixed by special local government committees in negotiation with the owners who must first satisfy the authorities that they have a legal right to the property by producing the appropriate documentation (known as a 'sertifikat'). Then they must agree that the compensation represents the true value of the land and any buildings or crops on it before the money is paid and work begins. In practice, people often find that their ownership is not properly documented or is in dispute, or the compensation offered is too low for them to buy property elsewhere. Too often the developers move in before the cases are settled which can take many years.

Even the government admits the system is complicated, riddled with corruption and open to abuse. The press report numerous cases of illegal financial transactions, intimidation, bureaucratic delays, official bungles and the victimisation of claimants, particularly at local government level. This is exemplified by the problems in Banjarnegara where officials embezzled Rp. 80 million compensation money intended for local farmers affected by the PTLA Mrica project [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 28 September 1986]; in Cianjur where local farmers waited for eight months for compensation and were then ordered to give half the money back [Pikiran Rakyat, 24 December 1986]; in Cipinang where local officials falsified land certificates to profit from the construction of a new branch of a national bank [Merdeka, 5 December 1986]; and in Purwakarta where local officials illegally bought 140 hectares of land in advance for the PLTA Cirata project.

The cases represent more than a sad collection of the suffering caused to individuals and their families. They are symptoms of a disease, a system where 'little people' are powerless against the might of the government and associated businessmen supported by the security forces and backed up by the judiciary. The projects leading to evictions are part of 'economic growth' fuelled by powerful business interests and a desire to improve the appearance of Indonesia's cities by removing the slums but doing nothing to alleviate the lot of the poor. Such schemes fit well with transmigration as dispossessed people with inadequate compensation have little alternative but to become transmigrants.

One reason for the widespread support enjoyed by the communists in the 1950s and 60s was their advocacy of land reform. Today, most Indonesians fear to confront land issues lest they are branded PKI sympathisers, a not uncommon form of intimidation as in the Kedung Ombo case earlier this year [see TAPOL Bulletin, Nos 82 and 83, August and October 1987].

People's emotional and financial ties to the place where they have dwelled and worked for generations plus fear of joining Java's millions of landless peasants

force them to overcome this reticence and challenge the authorities. Many choose to press their case through local government and legal channels, a process which is frustrating, time-consuming and rarely successful. As a last resort they appeal direct to ministers, seek publicity in the press or go to Jakarta to protest. Some confront the developers. There were scenes of open confrontation in the Cinta Damai case when a villager was hospitalised and an official got a broken rib [Waspada, 30 December 1986]. These are desperate moves indeed, for even those who seek help from a legal aid institute have been investigated as subversives. The following cases from Central Java illustrate some standard features of land disputes.

The Semarang cemetery case

Over a hundred people including families with infants and small children had to sleep in the open for weeks after their homes were destroyed by city officials. The twenty-two families were accused of illegally building their homes on state-owned land near the Tawangaglik Cemetery. The local government wanted to use the land to extend the cemetery and rebury corpses there as the area was frequently affected by floods. They were told to destroy their huts and find somewhere else to live, but without compensation this was impossible. When they refused, their houses were demolished anyway. After an outcry in the press with a local politician admitting that their treatment was "inhumane", some of the families were offered a new site and a flat payment of Rp. 10,000 or about \$7.00. As the cartoon says, "Sometimes the living have to make way for the dead" [Suara Merdeka, 5 July 1987].

Semarang recreation project (PRPP)

Many poor people are being made homeless to make way for a new recreation and development promotion project similar to the luxury complex in Ancol, Jakarta. Low-paid workers - refuse collectors, parking attendants and factory workers - who live in hovels along the road to the new site were ordered off the property they believe is legally theirs by officials, including some from the transmigration department. The road is to be widened to improve access to the new project. The people were not offered compensation as officials said they were squatters. Despite protests, 232 houses were razed to the ground. Ironically, the only thing left standing was a banner saying, "We love Golkar".

Fish-farmers who refused to accept the paltry compensation offered for the compulsory purchase of their land were investigated by local security officials after they took their case to the local legal aid institute

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which refused to reveal the names of the plaintiffs despite charges that the fishermen were being manipulated by someone behind the scenes trying to make a profit.

Villagers protest prevents aircraft from landing

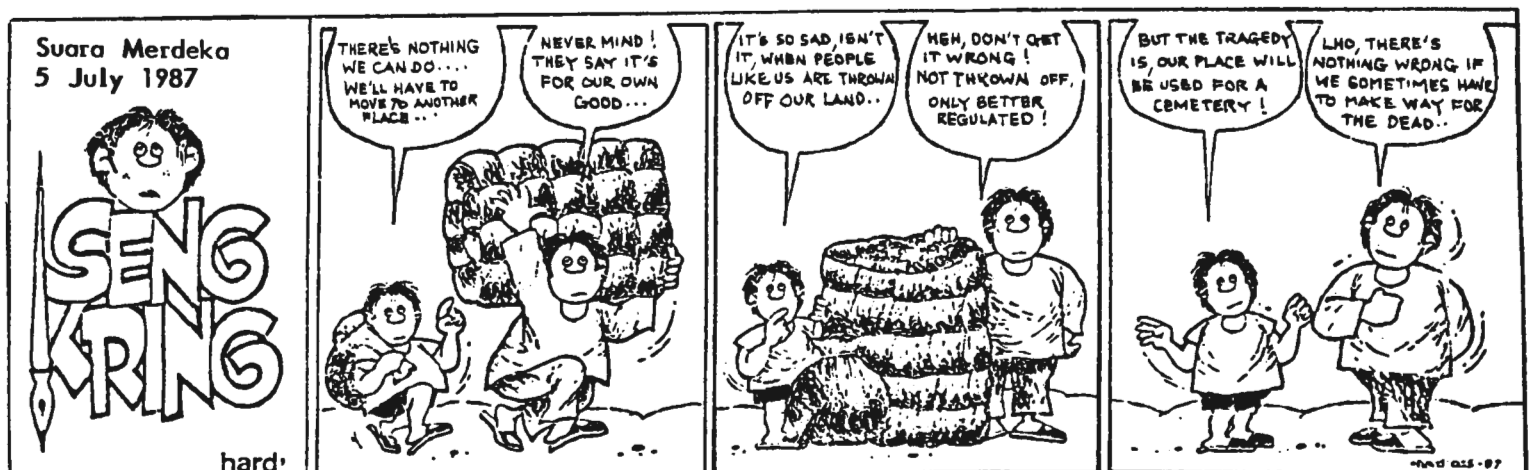
A plane coming in to land on an airfield in Ruteng, Manggarai district, Nusa Tenggara was forced to turn away as villagers swarmed over the runways in a rare show of protest. They were protesting because compensation owing to them in payment for land acquired years ago to expand the airfield and adjacent facilities had not yet been paid. Press reports fail to explain any details about the villagers complaints but their protest was spectacular enough to compel local officials to resolve the conflict immediately so as to ensure no further disruption to airline traffic [Kompas, 27 and 29 October 1987].

Sweat-shop tragedy

Twenty-one factory workers were burnt to death and many more gravely injured when a sweat-shop in West Jakarta, making ready-made clothing went up in flames. The victims were unable to escape from the blazing building because the rooms where they worked were locked from the outside to prevent them from leaving their benches without permission and to prevent alleged theft of material by the workers. The Nino factory started business in 1978, producing garments with attractive labels like 'New York', 'Paris' and 'Milano'.

The factory was one of hundreds of illegal sweat-shops existing in many parts of the capital. It used a residential building which had not been converted for factory use and was therefore a fire risk. The owners had built a high iron fence around the premises with a padlocked gate, making it extremely difficult for fire-fighters to enter.

The Minister of Labour, Admiral Sudomo admitted that there are numerous, unregistered factories where minimal safety rules are not implemented. He tried to evade responsibility by saying his department was unable to exercise proper supervision because of the lack of personnel and facilities [Jakarta Post, 19 October 1987].



NFIP conference condemns Indonesia



Part of the demonstration against US bases, organised by Bayan in Manila during the NFIP conference.

A conference of more than a hundred delegates from grassroots organisation in twenty-six Pacific countries adopted several resolutions condemning the Indonesian regime, on East Timor, West Papua and on nuclear power.

The fifth conference of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement which was held in Manila from 10 - 15 November identified Indonesia as one of three super-powers and a major threat to peace and independence in the region, along with France and the United States.

TAPOL was present at this NFIP gathering for the first time, attending as an observer from Europe. The West Papuan case was presented by OPM delegate, Fred Korwa, and Liem Soei Liong of TAPOL presented the East Timor case as the Fretilin delegate did not reach Manila till towards the end of the conference.

Among the many resolutions adopted was one demanding

the immediate and unconditional removal of US bases from the Philippines and opposing the current US military buildup in that country.

The conference resolution on East Timor condemned the Suharto regime for its genocidal war and occupation of East Timor and expressed full support for the East Timorese people. The conference fully supported West Papuan independence and recognised the OPM as the sole representative of the people of West Papua. It also addressed a resolution to the ASEAN Summit meeting in Manila in December, demanding the immediate removal of Indonesian troops from West Papua and East Timor. In another resolution, it noted with alarm the inauguration of a nuclear research centre in Serpong, West Java.

In a written statement circulated to all delegates, TAPOL warmly welcomed the NFIP movement and offered its information and facilities to the participants.

Museum on the history of crushing Muslim activism

A museum dedicated to glorifying numerous military operations against Muslim rebellions and Muslim political activism has been set up by the armed forces. Unlike other historical records kept by the armed forces which are all targetted against the left, this museum is devoted to highlighting the army's struggle against the "extreme right", as Muslim opposition is called.

The museum which was officially opened by Suharto includes displays of the struggle forty years ago to crush Darul Islam movements in various parts of the country, and goes up to the present-day persecution of Muslim activists. The photograph reproduced here [*Jakarta Post*, 11 November] shows a recent Muslim trial in progress.

The museum is a sign of the degree to which the Suharto regime regards Muslim activism as a threat to its survival.



UK trade with Indonesia steams ahead

In early October, Timothy Sainsbury, Britain's Under-Secretary of State for Defence Procurement, visited Indonesia accompanied by senior officials of the Defence Export Services Organisation [*Kompas*, 10 October]. Later that month, the British Minister for Overseas Development, Christopher Patten, announced in Jakarta that annual meetings of senior Indonesian and British officials would be held to identify Indonesian projects which British aid can help [*Jakarta Post*, 30 October]; the first meeting would take place in November. Two weeks later, Rolls-Royce executive director, Ralph Robins signed a technical cooperation agreement with Indonesia's aerospace company, PT Nusantara (IPTN) paving the way for joint ventures between arms manufacturers of the two countries [*Financial Times*, 11 November].

These events are indicative of the rate at which British-Indonesian commercial relations have grown in the past few years, with the arms industry occupying a leading role. The development of commercial ties has been actively promoted by the Thatcher government particularly since Mrs Thatcher's visit to Indonesia in April 1985 when she expressed her concern that "Britain has not paid enough attention to Indonesia" (its commercial prospects, not its human rights record!). At the time, it was also noted that British exporters lagged behind Japan, the US, Australia, France and West Germany as suppliers to Indonesia while in the investment league, the UK took seventh place.

The Thatcher visit took place four months after British Aerospace concluded its first huge contract, worth £100 million, for the supply of Rapier missiles to the Indonesian army. Thatcher's only trip out of Jakarta was to visit the IPTN complex in Bandung. Later, she spoke enthusiastically about the prospects for "defence cooperation" between Britain and Indonesia involving, as she put it, Britain's contribution to strengthening Indonesia's navy and air force, and collaboration in the field of high technology [*Kompas*, 18 April 1985].

The soft-loan boost to British exporters

Back in 1985, British exporters were having a hard time competing on the Indonesian market. A year earlier, a presidential instruction laid down the terms for all future offers of foreign aid for non-priority capital projects. These offers would have to be at least equal to the best terms available from any donor. In effect, the terms were set by Japan which had, and still has, the lowest domestic interest rates. Japanese project assistance was being supplied at 3 per cent interest with a grace period of seven years and repayment over twenty-five years, far and away below the rates being offered by any other leading industrial country. Western exporters could compete only if their governments were prepared to subsidised concessional interest rates.

It was Mrs Thatcher who realised that there was no way British exporters could win contracts in Indonesia to supply equipment and technical support to "development" projects without financial assistance from the government. At the time, a few British companies had won contracts in some large-scale projects, thanks to a system called the Aid and Trade Provision (ATP) under which a limited portion of the British "aid" budget was



made available on concessionary terms to companies wishing to bid as contractors for projects in third world countries. It was this facility that enabled Britain's largest construction company, Balfour Beatty, to win a contract, along with a Swedish company, to supply equipment for the Mrica hydro-electric project in Central Java. [See box.] Put crudely, ATP subsidises exporters with funds provided by the British tax-payer.

The ATP system has been much criticised by development agencies because it focuses on the commercial interests of British companies rather than directing aid to countries in the greatest need, distorting aid allocations away from Africa, for example, and towards the less needy countries of Southeast Asia [*Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee Second Report, 1986/87, Bilateral Aid*, page xii].

By 1986, Indonesia had become one of the largest recipients of ATP funds, having obtained £22 million in the three years to 1985/86. The Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Select Committee noted the critical importance of the subsidy: "The ATP offer was for £12.1 million, and it seems clear that the (Mrica project) contract, which has an associated total UK export value of £44.6 million, would not have been won without the offer" [*Foreign Affairs Committee Report, Session 1986/87, South East Asia and Indochina*, page xxxv].

However, the ATP facility has to be shared among a number of countries and could not be relied on to support the kind of expansion British exporters were looking for in the Indonesian market. Hence negotiations with Indonesia began, soon after the Thatcher visit, for the provision of a line of "soft-loan credit". It took more than a year to reach agreement. The British government sought to reduce the cost of the credit by convincing Indonesia to accept loans in an unstable currency like the dollar rather than in sterling. No doubt there were disputes in Whitehall over these hefty concessions which bring such enormous benefits to a handful of British companies able to bid for projects.

Agreement was eventually reached in July 1986 according

to which Britain will provide credit up to £140 million over three years at 3 per cent on terms equal to those offered by Japan. The only other country allowed such credit by the UK is China, for an amount of £300 but on less favourable terms. The Foreign Affairs Select Committee acknowledges that "the cost... of this scheme [to the tax-payer!] over the years of the loans... will be substantial".

The credit is intended to support a total of eight projects. Since the agreement was signed, only two projects have been agreed. One is a contract for the provision of marine navigation equipment and training by Pharos Marine worth £10.8 millions and the other, worth £10.7 million, for the supply of 397 spans of Bailey bridging material plus components and erection equipment, supplied by Mabey & Johnson. Although these projects are regarded as non-military, they clearly also promote military activities.

Soft-loan credit is portrayed in official discourse as foreign aid. In actual fact, it is "aid to a company rather than aid to a country" [Foreign Affairs Committee, Second Report, Session 1986/87, Bilateral Aid: Country Programmes, page xii]. Because of this, the Select Committee believes that such credit should be handled by the Department for Trade and Industry not the Overseas Development Administration. Nevertheless, the soft-long credit agreement with Indonesia was signed by the ODA minister and is treated as UK credit to Indonesia within the yearly IGGI packets.

Following the signing of the agreement, Britain's Minister for Agriculture, Michael Jopling assured the Indonesian government during a visit to Indonesia that the UK had blocked the imposition of taxes on imported vegetable oil and fat in the EEC, much to Indonesia's advantage [Jakarta Post, 23 October 1986]. This sounds like a quid pro quo for the soft-loan deal which secures British exporters an important edge over their competitors in other countries.

Trade and ministerial missions galore

In the two years since Mrs Thatcher's visit to Indonesia, there have been numerous British ministerial and trade missions to Jakarta. Paul Channon, then Minister of Trade was the first, in July 1985, followed in August 1985 by a large mission of city financiers and industrialists led by the Lord Mayor of London. Then came an 11-strong trade and investment mission in November 1985 headed by Lord Remnant of Untramar, and later the same month Timothy Renton, a minister at the Foreign Office was in Jakarta also to discuss economic relations.

In February 1986, twenty business executives from the Birmingham Chamber of Industry and Commerce were in Jakarta to look into prospects for joint ventures. In November that year, two more missions looking for profitable deals were in Indonesia, one from the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce and one from the London Chamber of Commerce whose leader, Robert Fox, told the press Britain "is currently giving high priority to Indonesia in terms of the expansion of investment and two-way trade" [Jakarta Post, 2 December 1986]. Many more missions have followed in 1987, one of which consisted of twenty representatives of British engineering firms seeking joint ventures [Jakarta Post, 10 July 1987].

No fewer than two missions have been headed by members of the Royal Family. One in February 1987 was led by the Duke of Kent, vice-chairman of the British Overseas Trade Board and director of a leading British manufacturing company, BICC. He spoke of Indonesia as "one of the brightest, long-term prospects as a partner for Britain in the developing world... because it is rich in natural resources and labour, and has achieved sound financial

management, political stability and military security" [Jakarta Post, 3 February 1987].

The Duke's words were particularly encouraging to Jakarta, coming at a time when top-level Japanese officials were deriding Indonesia as the least attractive

RI, British businessmen will meet in Bali
UK aid for RI project

Indonesia, UK improve planning of project aid
JAKARTA (JP): An inter-governmental Memorandum of Understanding was signed here yesterday by the British Minister for Overseas Development and the Indonesian Minister for Economic Affairs.

More UK investment needed here
JAKARTA (JP): British businessmen and managers are needed here to coordinate and manage work packages for the development of Indonesia.

Britain eyes defence market in Indonesia
JAKARTA (JP): British defence firms are looking for opportunities in the Indonesian market.

British companies to invest in hotel and chemical plants here
JAKARTA (JP): British companies are planning to invest in hotel and chemical plants in Indonesia.

ASEAN country for foreign investment. The Duke spoke of Japan's "formidable challenge... to dominate Indonesia in future", adding: "I cannot emphasise too strongly the change in relative competitiveness brought about by the strengthening of the yen over the past year by 40 per cent against the pound". Clearly, the soft-loan credit was badly needed to bring British companies up to par with their Japanese rivals.

Then in September 1987, there was a visit by Lord Glenarthur, a minister at the Foreign Office who offered Indonesia more places for students in the UK. Since he spent some considerable time with the IPTN president-director, it can be assumed that many of these students will be trainees for Indonesia's military-industrial complex. Lord Glenarthur also announced that the British Council's office in Jakarta was the biggest in the world and was due for yet further expansion "in accordance with needs" [Kompas, 26 September 1987].

There is a huge surplus in Britain's trade with Indonesia. In 1986, Indonesia exported goods worth \$166.5 million to Britain as compared with imports of \$341.6 million. Since the enactment of Indonesia's foreign investment law in 1967, Britain has invested in 62 projects, worth a total of \$599.64 million [Jakarta Post, 7 November 1987]. In addition to the high-level official meetings due to be held annually starting in November this year, British and Indonesian businessmen have for years been holding regular get-togethers to promote trade and investment. The most recent was held in November in Bali and was attended by twenty British businessmen and forty businessmen from Indonesia.

The military component of the relationship

The Duke's reference to Indonesia's military security is not unrelated to the other dimension of the UK-Indonesian commercial link, that involving arms manufacturers. However busy non-military exporters have

been, they have lagged far behind the achievements of the arms manufacturers. British Aerospace alone has notched up three massive deals worth £220 million for the supply of Rapier missiles since December 1984, bringing the total value of BAe contracts with Indonesia since 1983 to £340 million [BBC Dispatch, Jakarta 14 February 1987]. Indonesia is now regularly purchasing Rapier missiles every December, £100 million in 1984, £80 million in 1985 and £40 million in 1986, a lower amount, it was explained at the time, due to Indonesia's foreign currency problems. Compare this to the annual level of British non-military exports at around £170 million, and the pivotal position of BAe and arms exporters becomes self-evident.

Arms manufacturers have everything going for them in Indonesia. The armed forces are continuously being professionalised and need up-to-date equipment. Their purchases will remain high as long as Indonesia's foreign currency reserves don't dip too low. As for the aerospace industry, IPTN is a much-favoured company however unviable it may seem in economic terms. It is seen as a stable, fast-growing company with which to do business

and have joint ventures including technical-transfer deals. It is stable, that is to say, as long as Suharto, Habibie's protector, remains president.

In March 1987, BAe announced a contract for the supply of five sets of the Battery Command Post Processor System described by the company as being for use with the Rapier and with other air-defence systems, anti-tank defences, helicopter support and so on (BAe News, March 1987). But what BAe is really hoping for in the near future is an order for its Hawk-200, a sub-sonic fighter to complement the F-16s Indonesia has on order from the US. Since this aircraft uses a Rolls-Royce engine, the Rolls-Royce agreement just signed with IPTN is seen as providing the springboard for the Hawk 200 deal.

The Rolls agreement follows a deal in June 1986 which authorised IPTN to repair and overhaul Rolls aircraft engines. Now Rolls hopes to enter into a joint venture with the Indonesian company for the manufacture and servicing of engine parts. This would be the first step by Britain's aerospace industry towards joining General Dynamics, Boeing, Aerospatiale of France, Messerschmitt and Casa of Spain in joint ventures with IPTN.

Other British companies expecting orders from Indonesia include Thorn EMI which hopes to sell its Skymaster radar system, and Vickers, which is offering a new FMC Mark 5 light tank [Financial Times, 11 November 1987]. It is not clear whether the Vickers offer is in competition with Alvis which has for long been trying to win an order from Indonesia for its Scorpion tank.

Of course, the list of British visitors to Jakarta promoting military hardware sales is only half the story, for the flow of delegations coming the other way is no less prolific. The most frequent visitor is B.J. Habibie,

who is president-director of IPTN and a host of other armaments companies. He came to Britain in September this year, and was on the delegation of 17 persons which attended the Royal Navy Equipment Exhibition in September in Portsmouth. The delegation included the commanders of Indonesia's two fleets, Rear Admiral I. Taufiq, commander of the Western Fleet, and Rear Admiral M. Arifin, commander of the Eastern Fleet.

The British Army Equipment Exhibition (BAEE) to be held in Aldershot next June will be the occasion for another high-powered Indonesian mission to visit Britain. More and more deals are likely to follow in the wake of the British government's obvious enthusiasm for what the Financial Times [11 November] refers to as "one of the development world's most attractive defence markets".

As one London daily pointed out on the occasion of Mrs Thatcher's 1985 visit, "With commercial prizes like these, there will be little likelihood that Mrs Thatcher will be making strong representations over Indonesia's invasion of East Timor or the bitter resistance struggle that has been waged since then" [The Guardian, 10 April 1985]. And, "Indonesia's arms market looms particularly large in Britain's interests" [The Guardian, 11 April 1985].

The Campaign Against Arms Trade has decided to focus its annual campaign next year on the presence of missions from repressive governments to the BAEE. This will be a good opportunity to expose the massive support from Britain for the Suharto regime, regardless of its record not only in East Timor, but in West Papua, and also against its own people in many parts of the Republic.

The Mrica project land dispute

As with so many "development projects", the hydro-electric project in Mrica, Banjarnegara district, Central Java, which is being constructed with massive support from British and Swedish capital, has been the source of conflict with local inhabitants over expropriation of their land.

According to press reports, although the project was more than seventy per cent complete, 164 families were still in dispute over compensation for their land. Their refusal to accept the compensation because it had been fixed without consultation resulted in the authorities suing them in court.

Rejecting claims made in court that the compensation offered was "reasonable" and that, by refusing to vacate their land, the land-owners were "obstructing development", the defence lawyer representing the peasants said his clients were not opposed to the project; they only want to be properly compensated. In 1982, when the acquisition of their land was first raised, the authorities offered between Rp. 900 and 1,400 per square metre although the market price was Rp. 3,000. Since then, the price has soared to Rp. 10,000. "My clients are not asking for such a high price, but they want consultations to take place and an agreement to be reached" [Merdeka, 26 February 1986].

A month later, the court found in favour of the authorities and ordered the landowners to accept the compensation on offer. In addition, they were ordered to pay costs of Rp. 1.2 million (about £400). They announced that they would appeal against the court's decision.

The families in dispute come from the villages of Karangemiri, Tapen, Gumingsir and Wanakarsa, sub-district Wanadadi, and the villages of Blambangan and Bandingan, sub-district Bawang. The court hearings were all well attended by people living in the vicinity of the project who showed a lively interest in the proceedings [Suara Merdeka, 14 March 1986].



Army chief of staff, General Try Sutrisno, receiving the first Rapier missiles from British Aerospace, June 1987.

Right to organise in tatters

The Indonesian government's drive to enforce ideological conformity on all political and social organisations has recently faced a challenge from an unexpected quarter, the Pelajar Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic High School Pupils or PII). The 4.5 million strong organisation which has 1,080 city- and district-level branches in 26 provinces [Suara Karya, 22 July] has refused to comply with a government regulation requiring all organisations to register under the terms of the 1985 Societies Law. When the 2-year deadline for registration passed on 17 June this year, officials of the Department of the Interior announced that organisations that failed to register, among them the PII, "have consciously dissolved themselves" [Suara Karya, 27 July]. Later, the Minister for Youth Affairs, Abdul Gafur, said that by its failure to adopt the State ideology of Pancasila as its sole ideology, the PII "had automatically lost its legitimacy" [Kompas, 25 August].

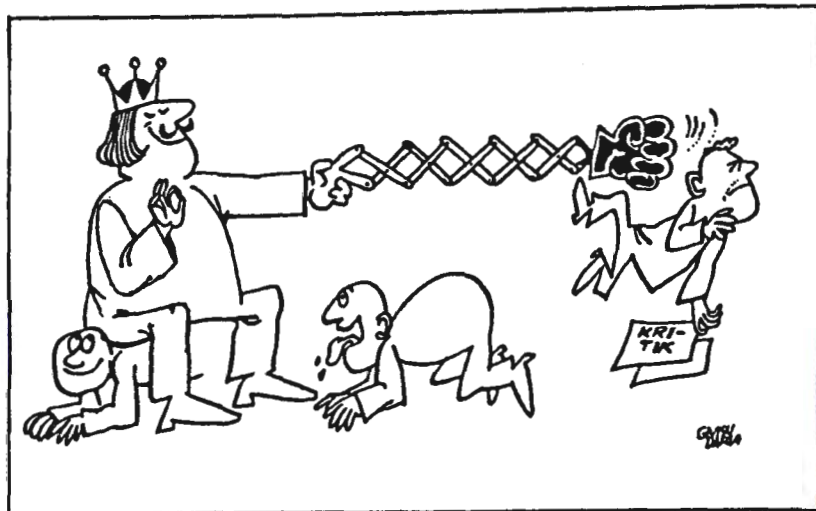
Another organisation that did not register was the Gerakan Pemuda Marhaen, the Marhaen Youth Movement which was formally affiliated with the nationalist party, the PNI and is presumed to have "dissolved itself".

The Societies Law was adopted in June 1985 by Indonesia's rubber-stamp parliament against a background of protest from Muslim activists and preachers functioning outside the mainstream political and social organisations. Under the Law, all organisations are required to adopt Pancasila to the exclusion of all other political beliefs and religious creeds. The Societies Law was the final blow to organisational independence and political integrity in Indonesia, after the military regime had gradually encroached upon the freedom to organise following the violent destruction of the Communist Party and other leftwing organisations in the mid 1960s.

The PII is now forty years old having been set up in 1947. It was one of the leading organisations to oppose the 1973 Marriage Law, along with the Muslim university students organisation, the HMI. But since then it has kept a low profile, busying itself only with routine training activities. At its September 1986 national congress which was hardly mentioned in the press, it retained Islam as its sole principle [Panji Masyarakat, August 1987]. By rejecting the provisions of the 1985 Societies Law, it put itself on a collision course with the government.

Unlike the Islamic students' organisation, HMI, whose leadership was ousted to force it to conform with the 1985 Law, the PII held out against pressures exerted on it to toe the line right up to June this year. After the deadline had passed, the chairman, Chalidin Jacobs was summoned to the Interior Ministry to explain the PII's stand. He replied simply that only the congress was entitled to take a decision about a matter of such importance. The next congress is not due until 1989 and there appears to be no intention to convene an emergency session.

In defiance of government threats, Jacobs, along with his deputy, declared recently that they would continue to comply with the aspirations of their members. They consider the PII as being "still in existence" and are determined to continue with their programmes, come what may [Panji Masyarakat, 1 August 1987].



Student organisations in Egypt dissolved

Several organisations of Indonesian students studying in Egypt have refused to incorporate the Pancasila into their statutes despite heavy pressure from the Indonesian embassy in Cairo to comply with the terms of the Societies Law. As a result and in view of their failure to register with the Indonesian authorities by 17 June, they have been dissolved by the embassy.

In a decision signed by Achmad Djumiril, the Indonesian ambassador in Cairo, it was said that the organisations had failed to conform with the Law even after "maximal" guidance in the form of information, appeals, discussions, meetings and warnings. The dissolved organisations include the PPI-Mesir (Indonesian High School Students Association in Egypt), the YDBM (University Student Aid Foundation) and the Cairo branch of the League of Families of the Gontor Modern Pesantren.

Reporting these dissolutions, the Muslim periodical, Panji Masyarakat, said that Indonesian university students in Cairo recently sent a letter to fellow students in Saudi Arabia bitterly complaining that there was no longer any organisation to accommodate them and appealing for prayers.

[Source: Indonesia News Service, 5 August 1987]

Legal Aid Institutes avoid registration

The Foundation of Legal Aid Institutions (YLBHI) which incorporates many legal aid bodies in the major Indonesian cities, has decided not to register under the terms of the Societies Law. The Foundation's Deputy Chair, Mulyana W. Kusumah told the press there were differences of interpretation of the Societies Law and its implementary regulations over whether foundations and self-reliant organisations formally set up as foundations were bound by the Law's provisions. According to the YLBHI, a foundation is juridically a body without members and cannot therefore be classified as a social organisation.

The LBH parent body also questions the insistence of the Interior Ministry that legal bodies register with the



Ministry. Under a Dutch law of 1939 which is still in force, they need only file with a court.

Commenting on the Interior Ministry's announcement that 492 social organisations had registered up to the deadline of 17 June, Mulyana said this was very few as

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compared with the number of organisations in existence throughout the country [Kompas, 20 June].

How the Church was forced to comply

While the Indonesian Conference of Bishops which heads the Catholic Church has been able to skirt round compliance with the Societies Law on the grounds that it is part of a world church, the Protestant churches have not got off so lightly. The following account is taken from an article written by a special correspondent and published in Inside Indonesia, No 11, August 1987.

In order to forestall trouble, the Indonesian Communion of Churches (PGI), formerly the Indonesian Council of Churches, adopted a clause in its constitution at its assembly in Ambon in October 1984 accepting the Pancasila as "the only basis (asas) for the Indonesian people to live in society, the nation and the state", while reiterating that Christ remained its foundation (dasar). But the implementary regulations of the Societies Law of April 1986 explicitly ruled out any play on words such as the one on basis and foundation that had been agreed to with so much difficulty in Ambon.

At first the PGI tried to maintain its Ambon formulation. An April 1986 meeting of the Executive Board declared: "It would be in conflict with the nature of a Pancasila state if the PGI which holds to a religious

excludes ideological dualism in the church. He is reported to have said, "We cannot accept this. It is better to be disbanded than to be unfaithful to the gospel." A Muslim director-general of the Department of Religion confronted the meeting with the threat of PGI's disbandment. Major-General Sarwono, a Christian who is very loyal to the government, said: "Any Muslim who won't comply with this cango to Libya; any Christian who won't can go to the West!"

Government rejects the Ambon formulation

The ambiguous Ambon formulation did not satisfy the government. In December 1986, the PGI Executive presented a compromise solution to a meeting with officials from the Department of Religious Affairs and the Department of the Interior.

Since the Ambon Assembly, the PGI constitution had had Christ as foundation and, in the light of that foundation, it "joined in taking responsibility for defending Pancasila as the sole basis of life within Indonesian society, nation and state". In order to avoid further conflict, it now suggested that the PGI have not a foundation but a confession or faith in Christ; not in Christ as 'foundation' but Christ as 'head' of the church. Its basis was now a "basis for participation in society, the nation and the state", that is, Pancasila. This basis was still only adopted "in the light of the confession". There was thus an attempt to be theologically sound and meet with government approval.

The other change dictated by the government was that all member synods would have to make the change of constitution and not only the umbrella organisations as originally promised. Furthermore, they and all daughter organisations would have to complete these changes before the deadline in June 1987. Hundreds of churches have by now received letters from the regional offices of the Department of the Interior advising them to alter their constitutions.

Meanwhile protests started coming in from member churches that the compromise agreed to by the PGI Executive in December 1986 had gone well beyond the Ambon agreement. Several church workers from North Sulawesi led by Dr Supit circulated a letter to all other member churches accusing the Executive of having given in to the government on a "matter of great principle" and calling for an extraordinary assembly to discuss the issue.

It is not certain that the protest will maintain its momentum. At a full meeting of the Central Board last February, Dr Supit failed to mobilise his colleagues for further significant action. The meeting also discussed the possibility of government interference in the future but decided not to make an issue out of it too early.



basis, namely Jesus Christ, were to be obliged to change this religious basis for Pancasila."

A letter to member churches sent by the Executive in August repeated that the PGI was not changing its religious basis and warned churches changing the constitution of daughter organisations not to leave out reference to Jesus Christ. The letter also quoted a promise from Interior Minister Soepardjo Roestam that the PGI's acceptance of Pancasila would suffice for all member churches as well.

A national meeting of ministers in September in Bogor apparently got quite heated on the subject. Simatupang, Indonesia's first army chief-of-staff and once PGI chairman repeatedly quoted a verse from the Bible which

Lawyers' conference sabotaged

The lawyers' organisation, Ikadin (Ikatan Advokat Indonesia, or Indonesian Bar Association) had to cancel its national working conference due to take place from 8 to 10 November because it failed to obtain the necessary permit. By sabotaging the conference, the government thwarted an attempt by the lawyers' association to continue its campaign against the Joint Decision of July this year giving the Justice Minister and the chairman of the Supreme Court unlimited powers to suspend and dismiss lawyers.

Soon after the Joint Decision was issued, Ikadin published a strongly-worded statement rejecting the Decision as unlawful; it also organised a deputation to parliament to protest against the Decision. [See TAPOL Bulletins, No 82 and 83, August and October 1987. The full text of Ikadin's statement is available in TAPOL's Occasional Reports No. 7.]

Application for permission to hold the Ikadin meeting was made on 16 October, so the authorities could not claim, as they have in other instances, that the conveners applied for permission too late.

Although seventy delegates from fourteen of Ikadin's seventeen branches throughout the country were already gathered for the conference, they had to return home disappointed because the local police told the organisers that approval for the meeting from the government and the Supreme Court had not been forthcoming. The organisers were told that approval had been sought from the Minister of the Interior, the Justice Minister and head of State Intelligence (BAIS). The Justice Minister said his approval could not be granted without consulting General (Ret.) Ali Said, chairman of the Supreme Court, who happened to be out of the country when the Justice Minister passed on the request, two days before the conference was due to start.

The organisation's general chairman, Harjono Tjitrosoebono and a deputy chairman, R.O. Tambunan described the refusal as "a concrete instance of the restrictions imposed on the existence and independence of lawyers, which have become increasingly apparent recently [Kompas, 10 November 1987]."

Ikadin was set up two years ago at the insistence of the chairman of the Supreme Court, to force lawyers' groups to merge into a single organisation. Although the regime got its way, the relationship between Ikadin and the government has been fraught with conflict culminating in the dispute over supervision of the legal profession. Several months ago, the Justice Minister, General (Ret.) Ismail Saleh declared that all lawyers' associations should disband in favour of Ikadin, but Harjono Tjitrosoebono, who is also chairman of Peradin, the largest of the organisations existing before Ikadin was set up, declared that Peradin would not disband because Ikadin had not yet been consolidated [Jakarta Post, 7 November].

Ikadin categorically rejects government interference in the control of members of the legal profession, insisting that this is the prerogative of the legal profession itself. However, Ikadin itself has been less than consistent in certain cases, notably in opposing moves by the Supreme Court and the Justice Minister to disbar the lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution because of his outburst at the concluding session of the H.R. Dharsono trial in early 1985. Instead of defending Nasution, Ikadin's Board of Ethics reprimanded Nasution though it stopped short of calling for his suspension.

Although Ikadin insists it will try again to convene its conference, the government appears to be determined not to allow this to happen until the organisation changes its tune on the question of supervising lawyers.

The Joint Decision in action

The Joint Decision has already been used by judges to intimidate defence lawyers. In a Muslim subversion trial recently, the defence team was warned on two separate occasions that disciplinary measures based on the Decision might be taken [see separate item].

A former Minister of Justice, Lukman Wiradinata, who is also an advisor to Ikadin, has criticised the Joint Decision for discriminating against defence lawyers. "If prosecutors disturb court proceedings, the judge cannot impose sanctions, but if a defence lawyer causes a disturbance, the judge is entitled to act immediately. This is very one-sided" [Kompas, 10 November 1987].



From: YLBH, Indonesia

Book on the history of Jakarta banned

According to the Indonesian Studies Newsletter of 10 September 1987 [see Indonesia News Service, No 34, 23 September, page 1], the much-praised book, *Jakarta, A History*, by Susan Abeyasekera has been banned. According to the Newsletter, no official explanation has been given.

Notwithstanding this report, *Jakarta Post* on 9 September published a review of the book which in part suggests why the authorities have taken exception to this work. The author devoted a substantial section to "Sukarno's Jakarta", followed by another on "Jakarta under Sadikin and his successors", giving credit to the late president for putting so much thought into the capital's future and praising Ali Sadikin, governor of the capital up to the early 1970s, as the man who went furthest in putting Sukarno's ideas into practice.

Since Sukarno was deposed by Suharto and Ali Sadikin heads one vocal group of dissidents, this may help explain the reason for the ban.

Clamping down on seminars

Police close down seminar on political democracy

A one-day seminar held in Jakarta to discuss the topic, "Political Democracy: Its Prospects in the Future", which was convened by the Indonesian Study Circle (Lingkaran Studi Indonesia) was interrupted before lunch by police and told to disband. The panel of speakers included Sarwono Kusumaatmadja, Secretary-General of Golkar, Lieutenant-General (Ret.) A. Hasnan Habib, former ambassador to Washington, Dr Yuwono Sudarsono of the LSI and a number of senior lecturers and well-known writers.

The papers still unread when the proceedings were called to a halt included; "The Role of the Military in Building Nationalism and Political Democracy", "Interpreting Nationalism, Political Ethics and the Future of Democracy", and "Aspects of Nationalism and Indonesian Democracy". More than sixty students and intellectuals from cities throughout Java had come to Jakarta to attend the seminar.

The organisers told their frustrated audience that in past years, the LSI had always simply notified the police of their intention to hold a seminar. This year, the police announced, after the seminar was well under way, that this was not enough; they should have applied for a permit [*Kompas*, 9 November 1987].

Government is tightening the screws

The closedown of this seminar shows more clearly than any of the other incidents that the military government is determined to prevent any discussion of Indonesia's totalitarian political system, even among people with unassailable New Order credentials. *Kompas*, in an editorial on 12 November (note how it took three days to work out a response to a report in its own columns), suggests on the one hand that the government has encouraged a process of democratisation of Pancasila, saying that it will give more opportunities to the public to become involved in the political process, but adds ruefully that far from creating more openness, the very opposite is happening.

But the editorial writers of *Kompas* should wake up to the fact that Suharto is not likely to repeat the mistakes of fellow-dictators like Marcos who discovered that the slightest hint of liberalisation led ultimately to their own downfall. He has not created a system of stifling political control only in order to allow even the mildest of critics to stand up in public and talk about the need for change.

Seminar on significance of pilgrimage broken up by troops

A seminar organised by the Islamic Students International Study Institute (Lembaga Pengkajian Internasional Mahasiswa Islam) to discuss the essence of the pilgrimage was forced to disband when army troops and police forced their way into the hall and ordered the participants to disperse.

The seminar was attended by about 150 persons from various Islamic student organisations in Indonesia and abroad and was being held in a hotel in East Jakarta. The first session was in progress and participants were listening to a paper by former chief of the Pilgrim Affairs Directorate at the Department for Religious

Affairs on the role of the pilgrimage when dozens of troops from several army and police units burst in.

The troops who were not wearing uniform clambered onto the platform, seized the microphone and ordered the proceedings to stop. They seized copies of the paper being delivered from the speaker as well as from people in the auditorium.

When asked to produce a permit for the event, the organisers said it had just been obtained but officers said this should have been done at least three days in advance. As they left the hall, officers warned the participants not to proceed with the meeting after their backs were turned.

Condemning Saudi Arabia

One event of particular interest to the seminar was the bloody slaughter of hundreds of Iranian pilgrims by Saudi troops at this year's pilgrimage. One speaker condemned the way violence had been used against pilgrims trying to make a political protest. Had the seminar been allowed to complete its discussions, it would certainly have strongly condemned Saudi Arabia [*Tempo*, 31 October 1987]. The Suharto government has accepted Saudi Arabia's version of events and condemned the Iranian victims.

One seminar organiser later told *Merdeka* that the military authorities are deeply suspicious of anything undertaken by the Institute. The convenors knew that if they applied for permission in advance, it would not have been granted so they thought it better to apply just before the seminar was about to begin.

The convenors told *Merdeka* that they were determined to go ahead with the seminar at a time and place still to be decided. When a journalist from *Merdeka* tried to speak to participants dressed in long robes, troops intervened and told the journalist to leave.

One officer described the Institute as "incorrigible" and said the authorities had three times disbanded its activities in 1986. [Source: *Merdeka*, 26 October 1987]

Christian women's conference also dissolved

The Fourth Congress of the Women's Association of Indonesian Protestant Districts (HKI) which was to have taken place in Pematang Siantar, North Sumatra had to be abandoned because of strict controls on all gatherings. The local police command told the HKI to cancel the meeting because the correct permit had not been obtained. A spokesman for the police said any meeting involving people from all over the country requires a permit from the North Jakarta Police and from the army security command, Kopkamtib. The HKI had only applied for a permit from the military command in Simalungun and had done so just as the congress was due to start [*Suara Pembaruan*, 10 July, 1987, quoted in *Indonesia News Service*, No 16, 25 July 1987].



Muslim trials galore

As the March 1988 session of the upper legislative chamber (MPR) at which General Suharto will be re-elected president approaches, a suitably threatening atmosphere is being created with the launching of yet more Muslim trials. The majority of defendants are being tried under the draconian anti-subversion law. Just as it appeared as if the last of the usroh trials in Central Java was coming to an end, more trials were started in Jakarta, West Java and East Java, not to mention the several dozen 'white-robed marchers' already tried or about to be tried in Aceh, North Sumatra.

There are several new twists to the latest batch of trials. On the one hand, they concentrate primarily on a so-called revived NII movement, a movement (if such indeed exists) campaigning for the establishment of a Negara Islam Indonesia or Indonesian Islamic State. This allegedly takes its inspiration from the Darul Islam movement launched in 1949 in West Java under the leadership of Sekarmadji Kartosuwirjo, which enjoyed wide support in the region right up to the early 1960s. (Kartosuwirjo was captured in August 1962, hastily tried and executed in September 1962.) The latest trials also seek to establish a link between 'NII' activists and acts of crime and in addition are spinning a web of association between the 'NII', the usroh movement in Central Java and several bombing incidents that occurred in 1984 and 1985 in East Java, a 'grand Muslim scheme', as it were, threatening the country's political stability.

The Cirebon trials

Eight NII-related cases have been on trial in Cirebon district courts, West Java since August. The key defendant is Lukman Hakim, 39 years old, who does not deny his involvement in favour of a Muslim state. There is much else however in the charges against him that he categorically denies.

Hakim helped to establish a group known as Jemaah Islam, some time after a pro-NII group disintegrated with



Lukman Hakim on trial in Cirebon. [Tempo, 22 August 1987]

the arrested and trial in 1983 of three of its leading activists. (Adah Djaelani was sentenced to twenty years while his two associates, Opa Mustapa and Ule Sujai received eight-year sentences.) But Lukman is also alleged to have organised a series of robberies to raise money for his movement. The prosecution have drawn attention to the concept of 'fa'i' legitimising unlawful fund-raising if it is committed in the cause of Islam. Five men, allegedly members of his Jemaah and identified so far only by their initials, are on trial for a series of robberies to 'raise funds' for the organisation said to have been committed at Lukman's behest.

The charge almost came unstuck when a prosecution witness told the court that he was the person who instructed the five men to steal, but with some coaxing from the judge, he ended up agreeing that responsibility for the crimes rests with Lukman Hakim as their leader. This witness is himself due to be tried, and several others are also due to appear before trials in this particular region are likely to stop.

The prosecutor has demanded a 16-year sentence for Lukman.

Usroh defendant gets 8 years

A 25-year old villager from Danupayan, Temanggung, Central Java has been sentenced to eight years and six months for delivering lectures at "illegal" (ie closed) meetings saying things that deviate from the state ideology. He was also accused of spreading hatred and sowing discord in the community.

Suhaedi bin Cholil Makhfud, until the end of the trial identified only by his initials is, on TAPOL's reckoning, the twenty-ninth person in Central Java to be sentenced for activities connected with the usroh movement.

The judge claimed in the verdict that the activities of the accused could have been "fatal" for the New Order. The only mitigating circumstance was that the accused was still quite young.

More trials in East Java

The court authorities in Malang East Java have announced that Ir Fatchul, an engineering graduate of the Brawijaya University is to be tried some time before the next session of the MPR. Fatchul was mentioned as being an instructor in the Islamic crash-course (pesantren kilat) in Malang at which participants were indoctrinated to support the NII. He did not come for trial when four of his associates were tried in 1985. He was said at the time to be suffering from a "mental disorder" [Jawa Pos, 15 September]. This suggests that he was badly tortured.

Two other suspects in the bus explosion in Banyuwangi and arson attacks in Jakarta, identified only by their initials, are also due to be tried in Jember and Surabaya [Jawa Pos, 1 October 1987].

Acehnese protesters jailed

Four people who took part in the so-called "white-robed march" in Aceh last May have been given sentences ranging from eighteen months to two and a half years. The charges

dwelt particularly on the fact that the group of marchers were carrying swords, spears and other sharp weapons. The court rejected the defence statement that such weapons are a traditional part of Acehnese dress.

Iskandar Ahmad, 25, was sentenced to thirty months. M. Taher Yaneh, 37, got two years. Ismail Ahmad, 26, got

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eighteen months, and Munis Ismail, 27, two years [Kompas, 30 October].

Some thirty more marchers are still awaiting trial.

'Murder victim' comes to life

The authorities have announced that twelve people are to go on trial in Jakarta on NII charges. Two men have emerged as the prime defendants, accused of obtaining funds by illegal means and of several murders committed 'for the cause'.

Safki Suarul Hoda, 21 years, is depicted as the accomplice of Syahroni alias Mamat Hikmat, 40 years. They allegedly committed three murders. Two victims were drivers whose vehicles they robbed 'for the movement'. But their most important victim was Ir Hasnul Ahmad, an NII figure whose home was used for NII meetings. The story goes that Ir Hasnul gave Syahroni Rp 800,000 for business activities to raise money for the movement, but when he asked for his money back, Syahroni flew into a rage and bumped him off. Unfortunately for the prosecution's case however, it turns out that Ir Hasnul is not really dead. On 3 October 1987, Tempo referred to him as being 'under treatment in a mental home'.

Could Tempo have got some names mixed up? It seems not because Ir Hasnul Achmad (still in a mental home?) later popped up with written testimony at Syahroni's trial [Suara Pembaruan, 2 November 1987] testifying that one of the NII movement's rules was that anyone betraying secrets would 'get his head chopped off'. According to the re-born Ir Hasnul, it was a certain Arifin, a 'traitor to the cause', whom the two defendants murdered at his, Ir Hasnul's, home.

No press report that we have seen shows any surprise at the sudden appearance of the 'murder victim'! Ah well, at least the courts will prove that Syahroni and Safki murdered someone.

This mystery aside, the reports of the trial make it fairly evident that Syahroni is a common criminal who has been persuaded to have his crimes presented as being politically-motivated acts. Safki may well have been his accomplice but appears not to be privy to this

arrangement. Indeed, sharing a cell with Syahroni has given him such a rough time that the court agreed to his request to be moved to a separate cell.

The 'grand design'

The charges against Syahroni and Safki also allege that after murdering Ir Hasnul (or Arifin), they fled to Malaysia to meet a certain Muchliansyah, leader of their movement. Above Muchliansyah stands another fugitive, Abdullah Sungkar, 'grand leader of the NII', the very person who has been repeatedly named in usroh trials in Central Java as the inspiration of usroh teachings. Sungkar is one of those mystery figures alleged to have played such a crucial role but whose 'disappearance' makes it impossible for defendants to examine the evidence.

But Sungkar is now depicted as being more than an usroh luminary. According to Tempo, he was 'behind the bombing of the Borobudur temple in January 1985 and the explosion on a bus in Banyuwangi, East Java in March 1985. At the time those incidents were being investigated, not a word was breathed about this gentleman. Not to worry, for since he and his co-fugitive, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir are now in hiding 'somewhere in Malaysia', prosecutors at future trials will not hesitate to establish yet more linkages between usroh, the NII, the East Java-based crash-course educational network, Ir Sanoesi and even the Petition-of-50 group, safe in the knowledge that their claims cannot be investigated.

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.

"The first genuine attempt in the West to focus on the oppression of Muslims in a state that is more than 90 per cent Muslim, by a regime committed to establishing Western norms and values. The conflict between the political culture of the Muslim masses and their rulers is brought out vividly in Indonesia: Muslims on trial. Although it focuses on events in Indonesia, this study will help one understand why Muslim nation states are inherently unstable and are invariably held together by oppression."

Dr. M. Ghayasuddin, Editor, Muslimmedia

Indonesia: Muslims on trial



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

Defences lawyers threatened with disciplinary action

Meanwhile, in the real world, the defence lawyers have been having difficulties of a different kind. The team of lawyers who agreed to act for Syahroni withdrew half way through the trial because their client has been so uncooperative and dishonest; this confirms the impression of Syahroni's role in helping to concoct a case against the 'NII'.

As for the lawyers defending Safki, they have twice been threatened by the presiding judge with disciplinary action under the special powers of the Joint Decision issued in July by General (Ret.) Ali Said, chairman of the Supreme Court, and General (Ret.) Ismail Saleh, Minister of Justice. [See separate item.]

On the first occasion, the lawyers were reprimanded for refusing to remain in court when their client decided to withdraw from the hearing because of ill-health. The hearing continued even though the defendant and his lawyers were not present. At the following hearing, the judge threatened to use his powers under the Joint Decision unless the lawyers apologised. The second occasion was when the judge told the defence team that

only one of them could examine witnesses. When they protested at this limit to their freedom and refused to cross-examine witnesses, disciplinary action was again threatened.

Tried for refusing to vote

Another Muslim to go on trial, in East Jakarta, is 22-year old Bambang Supriyanto, accused of being a member of Jemaah NII. A number of associates named as co-members of the Jemaah are presumably also to be tried soon. The group is alleged to have established three 'struggle posts' in Jakarta where Jemaah meetings were held [Suara Merdeka, 27 October 1987]. He is said to have refused to take part in the 1987 general election because it was not in line with Islamic teaching (under Indonesian law, it is not obligatory for anyone to vote in an election). He also refused to show respect for the Indonesian flag because this is not mentioned in the Quran [Jakarta Post, 27 October].

[Note on sources: All items from Jawa Pos are taken from Indonesia News Service. For the remainder, the sources are Kompas, Merdeka, Kedaulatan Rakyat, Pikiran Rakyat and Jakarta Post.]

EXECUTIONS

Death sentences implemented after 25 years

The Indonesian judiciary has surpassed itself in inhumane treatment of prisoners by suddenly executing two men who were sentenced to death twenty-five years ago.

The two men, Liong Wie Tong, known also as Lazarus, now aged 52 years, and Tan Tiong Tjoen, now aged 63 years, were found guilty of the murder of a woman who they then robbed. The trial was charged with emotion because the victim was slashed to death while feeding her new-born baby. The trial was a huge public event and the death sentence was greeted with much applause.

Appeals against the verdict were rejected and pleas for clemency made in 1966 were rejected in 1970. Since then the two men have been held in Cipinang prison, Jakarta. As the sister of Lazarus said later: "So that 25 years in prison was not after all their punishment, it was just a form of detention" [Tempo, 7 November 1987].

News of the impending executions were conveyed to the two men only two days beforehand. Lazarus was visited by his wife and son the day before the execution. The wife and children of Tan Tiong Tjoen disappeared after the verdict was announced, but his sister later told the press that shortly before the execution, she was given the impression that he was about to be released and was asked to take home some of his personal effects. Such deception is reminiscent of the events preceding the execution of nine political prisoners last year who were told by a senior army officer that they were about to be freed.

Legal Aid Institute protests

In a press statement issued a day before the executions, the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) rejected the death penalty as being in conflict with basic human rights. Nor were the executions justified as a means of warding off crime. It was particularly



abhorrent for having been carried out seventeen years after clemency was rejected. "That was surely time enough to see whether the two men were a danger to society." [Tempo, 7 November]

LBH seeks funds from Jakarta municipality

The Jakarta Legal Aid Institute or LBH, on the occasion of its seventeenth anniversary has called on the Jakarta city government to resume payment of the grant formerly given to the Institute, according to its director, Nursjahbani Katjasungkana. Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, director of the LBH foundation which covers all LBH branches, said they had received a grant of Rp. 30 million a year from the city government from 1970, in accordance with a gubernatorial decree. For the past two years however, the grant had not been paid although the decree had never been revoked.

The LBH made this appeal in the expectation that the appointment of a new governor of Jakarta, Lieutenant-General Wiyogo Atmodarminto, two months ago might lead to a more favourable attitude towards the LBH's activities. The previous governor, Major-General Suprpto, for reasons never explained, was not nominated for the post after his first five-year term expired.

Abdul Hakim said there are now thirteen LBHs throughout the country, employing more than two hundred legal advisers. During its seventeen years, the foundation has assisted about a hundred thousand people involved in roughly 30,000 cases. The annual number of cases has increased from 595 cases in the first year to around 2,000 a year in recent years. With its limited resources, the LBH has decided to give priority to labour questions, pollution, resettlement and criminal cases, all of them the consequences of industrialisation [Jakarta Post, 28 October 1987].

Dayak culture laid to waste

by Sardono W. Kusumo*)

For centuries, the Dayak Kenyah people have communicated with the forest, have been one in spirit with the forest, and the forest has lived without interruption. Can these people possibly have now destroyed it?

My friends, the Dayak Kenyah tribespeople cannot understand why they may no longer move freely in the forests of their ancestors. Many boundaries are under guard and the guards forbid them from entering even to hunt for wild pigs or trail the birds.

The Kenyah people were also amazed to discover, in the mid 1970s, that the rivers were no longer safe. Suddenly, logs would come rushing downstream, crashing into their boats or tearing into clearings along the river banks. Formerly, their most fearsome enemy in the river was the crocodile, a creature they had learned to vanquish with skill and courage. There are stories about a Kenyah tribesman who freed himself from the clutches of a crocodile. People say that when he calmly tapped the crocodile's eyes, the beast let go.

But they are powerless against logs felled by newcomers with their tractors, which crush everything in their path, not just because logs cannot be vanquished by a tap on the eye (logs don't even have eyes) but because so many have been felled and thrown in the river.

Nor can they understand why areas where trees are felled and left lying around are not turned into cultivation plots which is what they themselves do when they cut down trees. All these newcomers with their animals of steel do is take away the trees. Nor is this all. The logging companies give the tribesmen jobs for a wage, bringing them into contact with money. But what can anyone do with cash in the middle of a forest? That's how gambling begins and drinking alcohol which was originally supplied only for the loggers.

Then the Kenyah people are insulted with accusations that all they want is to get drunk. Yet, once the forest has been cleared, what use is there for their skills as hunters of animals? And where can they grow food now that they are faced with new regulations they cannot understand? So they find an easy way out of their frustrations: drink. What else is left?

There has been a sudden clash between two cultures which are fundamentally different. The Kenyah people are expected to change rapidly. To stop cultivating their plots and work as loggers. To stop living in their long-houses and live instead in family units, in Perumnas-style houses (Perumnas is the National Housing Corporation). To quit the forest although their entire being, from tip to toe, the very blood coursing through their veins smells of the forest and is of the spirit of the forest.



Their art forms are also being laid to waste, their culture destroyed not because artists are no longer born but because the culture crashing down upon them has made them small, bereft of self-respect. One tragic incident reveals the depths of their defeat. One day, a group of artists about to leave for Java lost track of the leading artist whose talents were irreplaceable. After long searches, he was found lying in a pit, with a bottle of alcohol by his side.

Now that the fire has burnt down the forest, what is there left for the Kenyah people?

* This is one of several pieces published in *Tempo*, 10 October 1987, by Sardono, a dancer from Java who has made a special study of dance in Kalimantan.

Fires threaten remaining forests

Since early in August, fires have been sweeping through East Kalimantan, causing alarm in environmentalist circles about the fate of one of the world's most critical remaining areas of rain forest. The fire comes less than five years after the Great Fire of 1982/1983 when some 3.9 million hectares of rain forest were destroyed in East Kalimantan, a fire reckoned to be the gravest environmental disaster of the century. According to official figures, of the 17.5 million hectares of rain forest that existed in East Kalimantan before the Great Fire, only 11 million hectares now remain; apart from the

3.9 million hectares destroyed by the fire, 2.9 million hectares have been felled by logging companies [*Kompas*, 21 September 1987].

As compared with 1982/83 when virtually nothing appeared in the press about the disaster, this time round the fires have been widely reported and many worried editorials written. Yet there has been an alarming paucity of hard information from the authorities about the extent of the fire and even wildly different accounts of when it started and its extent. The provincial

EAST KALIMANTAN FIRE

government has complained about the lack of personnel and equipment to monitor the situation. When pilots were called upon to report on any fires they see while flying in the vicinity, pilots replied saying the entire area was covered in haze. Indeed for several weeks in September flights over the region were suspended.

Huge population influx to blame

Official comments invariably place the blame on the system of shifting agriculture which employs the method of slash-and-burn, giving the impression that local tribes which have operated this system for generations must be held responsible for the disaster. More discerning commentators suggest that the disaster is the result of the huge increase in the population caused by the transmigration programme and the influx of people attracted by the prospect of jobs in the mining industry.

When the authorities in Samarinda called a meeting of everyone involved in forestry affairs to discuss the disaster, it was remarked in the press that only 30 of the more than one hundred timber companies with concessions in East Kalimantan bothered to turn up.

Ibrahimsyah Rahman, writing in *Kompas* [28 September], reports that the fires now raging are concentrated in the south of the province and along the east coast, the very areas where the population explosion has occurred. In the region of Mount Suharto (sic) where the fire menace is at its worst, virtually the entire population consists of newcomers who have not found jobs in urban centres. Most are peasants whose only alternative is to try and grow food in the forests.

"Slash-and-burn is nothing new," he writes. "The poor fertility encouraged this system hundreds of years ago. But while it was practised according to tradition and on a small-scale, forest fires were never a problem." The Dayaks, creators of the system in East Kalimantan, held strictly to the 'nyaang' principle of clearing a gully, 5 metres wide, round an area to be burnt down.

Nowadays, virtually all newcomers wanting to grow food will have to practise slash-and-burn. "For example, transmigrants from Java who are rice-growers by tradition have no other option, after being settled in Longiram sub-district, Kutai district, as long as irrigation has not been organised." The trouble is that they do not understand the technique and take no measures to localise the fire.

The writer also complains bitterly of the lack of guidance for newcomers in the region, particularly about forest safety. "The bitter experiences of the fire five years ago have failed to inspire any movement for the protection of the forests."

Logging companies must bear full responsibility

A paper prepared for a meeting of the Indonesian forestry conservation organisation, SKEPHI in December 1985 drew attention to the prime cause of the Great Fire of 1982/1983 and warned then that, failing urgent action by the government to protect the rain forest of East Kalimantan, a new, even more disastrous fire would be bound to occur.

The paper entitled "East Kalimantan's forests, a resource that must quickly be saved" was written by Erwin Adriawan and Sandra Moniaga who had carried out investigations for several months among Dayak tribes forced to resettle after their forests were destroyed. They lamented the fact that accounts of the 1982/1983 fire had concentrated on the losses suffered by timber concessionaires (HPH). "Yet far greater losses were suffered by the local population, which were hardly examined at all." The Dayak Kenyah people make a living from shifting agriculture, cutting down rattan, fishing, collecting resin, panning for gold and cultivating perennials. Long droughts were not unusual; the worst one before 1982 was in 1971 when some forest fires broke out but nothing by comparison with the Great Fire. Until logging started, no major fire ever occurred [p. 15].

Since the fire, Dayaks have to travel up to two months to find rattan or resin which they could previously find only 2 kilometres away. Their perennials were destroyed and there was a proliferation of rats and wild pigs who eat so much of the food produced on shifting plots that the Dayaks need to cultivate far larger areas. "We're now growing rice for the pigs and rats," said one tribesman.

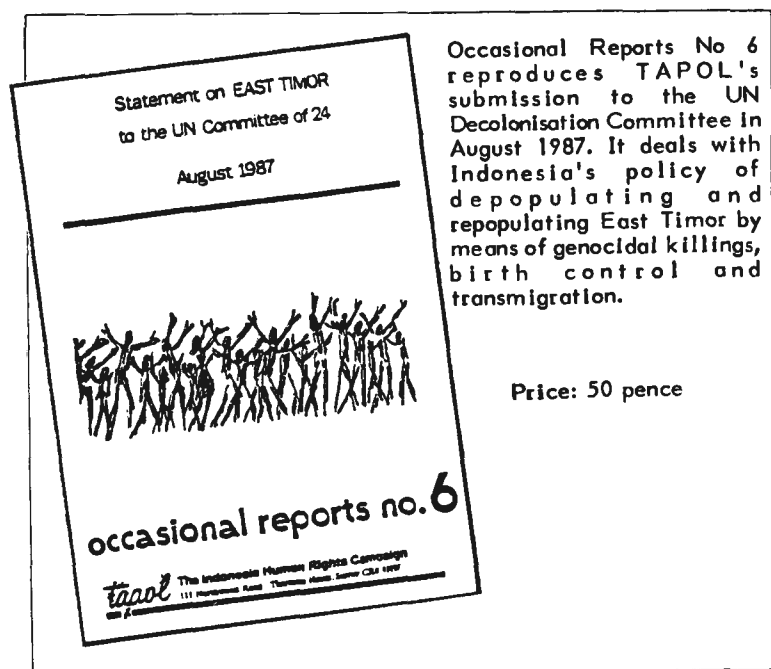
"There is widespread apathy in response to outsiders who come with their jargon or slogans about village welfare and the like. The local people regard the slogans as raising new hopes which will only lead to new disappointments" [p. 14].

The paper then turned to the real cause of the tragedy. "One need only look at the timber dumped and left lying around over vast areas of forest. The companies seem unaware of the dangers caused by these piles of rubbish. They consist of timber considered too unprofitable to be carried away. Many have piled up in small streams which are nature's barriers to the spread of fire.... When the piles are difficult to pass, bridges are built over them."

The writers also described how bridges built to get heavy equipment across rivers have caused piles of rejected logs to build up along river banks and in the river bed; these logs were felled to build the bridges. The companies seem to think this rubbish will be carried away by the water. What happens is that it piles up, then dries up during a prolonged drought when the river also dries up, turning the bed into a fire hazard instead of a fire barrier.

The writers strongly rejected accusations that shifting agriculturalists were to blame for the fire. The technique of burning areas of forest is carefully designed to prevent fire from spreading. The Dayaks take account of location, wind direction and surround the area with a protective gully. Strict sanctions are imposed on anyone who violates these regulations and the Dayaks are always careful to clear away rubbish, branches and shrubs, to prevent their fire from spreading to someone else's plot.

Figures of the areas damaged in the Great Fire show conclusively that the areas most affected were those that had been deforested (1.4 million hectares) while areas of shifting agriculture accounted for a minute proportion only "so why blame the forest people?"



The conservationists regretted that already two years after the disaster, nothing had been done by the government or the timber companies to prevent future fires or to grapple with the real causes [p. 17]. They warned that the danger of fire was now far greater because peat outcrops (batu-bara) now exist in many places which are highly inflammable. (Current press reports point to the large number of peat outcrops now on fire.)

The writers called for a number of preventive measures such as planting fire-resistance trees, fencing off the peat outcrops and putting a stop to all fire hazards such as the pile-up of logs. They stressed the need for a special fire-fighting task-force to be set up, including all sectors of the community involved in forestry. They also supported the idea of guidance to the local people

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on agricultural activities, for instance the introduction of more intensive farming, including alternating crops, fishery and animal-husbandry. "But it should never be forgotten that methods which succeed elsewhere are not necessarily suitable in East Kalimantan. Innovations should therefore be introduced with caution."

Re-reading this invaluable document which only had limited circulation in Indonesia, one realises how the absence of democratic freedoms in Indonesia has tied the hands of forestry NGOs which could play such an important role in protecting the country's rain forests.

Murdani caught red-handed

General Benny Murdani, commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, made a secret contribution to the election expenses of the party of Ted Diro, a minister in the present Papua New Guinea cabinet and chairman of the People's Action Party. This was made public by Ted Diro while appearing before a commission of inquiry in Port Moresby where he is facing charges of corruption and perjury, arising out of contracts made when he was minister of forestry.

Murdani's contribution of \$139,400 was supplied through the intermediary of the Indonesian military attache in Port Moresby and sent in the diplomatic bag. It was intended, said Diro, to ensure that PNG remains "a capitalist and pro-western country" [Times of Papua New Guinea, 29 October-4 November 1987].



Ted Diro

Ted Diro was formerly commander-in-chief of PNG's Defence Force. He quit the armed forces several years ago to enter politics. After winning a seat in parliament, he has held many ministerial positions. He was Foreign Minister in March this year when he went to Jakarta to sign a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation with Indonesia. Diro told the commission that it was during this visit that he asked Murdani for financial help. The money came from a construction company in which Murdani has interests.

The revelation stunned Port Moresby political circles and led to Diro's immediate resignation as minister without portfolio. A few days later, Prime Minister Paias Wingti sacked the Acting Foreign Minister for saying that it was "quite normal for political leaders to receive money from abroad"

Attempting to deny the story on Murdani's behalf,

Brigadier-General Damanik, armed forces spokesman said the story had been circulated by circles out to disrupt closer relations between Indonesia and PNG [Kompas, 11 November]. This was hardly a convincing denial since it was Diro himself who broke the news.

A few days after this sensational revelation, Ted Diro warned parliament that Papua New Guinea was heading for a coup d'etat. The country was fast approaching a crisis, he said, with an economy over 67 per cent of which is controlled by Australian capital. He again referred to Murdani's pay-out and gave an assurance "that every penny received from the general was legitimately spent" [Post Courier, 16 November].

Ted Diro's revelation and his warnings about a coup suggest that he is anxious to convey a message to politicians in Papua New Guinea that Indonesian influence could lead to a military solution reminiscent of recent events in Fiji. It also conveys a warning to Australia that Indonesia is in a position to supercede its southern neighbour in controlling political and economic life in PNG. It is difficult to understand why Diro should have made public Murdani's role as his benefactor, unless it was for the purpose of issuing warnings like this.

In an interview with Kompas, Diro spoke bitterly and at length about Australian domination in PNG and its "frequent attempts to block good relations between Indonesia and PNG" [Kompas, 11 November 1987].

The IPU's new partner,

General Sarwo Edhie

General Sarwo Edhie, the officer who, as commander of the infamous red-beret troops (RPKAD), directed the slaughter of communist suspects in the closing months of 1965, has been given a new job. He is now a member of Indonesia's two legislative assemblies, the lower and upper chambers, DPR/MPR, and has been appointed chairman of the Inter-Parliamentary Co-operation Body (Badan Kerja-Sama Antar Parlemen). This means that he will now be in charge of relations with parliaments in other countries through the Inter-Parliamentary Union and is likely to participate in parliamentary missions abroad.

Parliamentarians the world over should be warned that the man who may one day appear in their midst with stories about Indonesia's unique system of Pancasila democracy commanded one of the worst massacres in modern history during which an estimated one million people were killed. He is one of the prime candidates, along with General Suharto, for indictment on charges of crimes against humanity.

Asia-Pacific conference condemns Indonesia



Fretilin representative, Agio Pereira, addressing the Asia-Pacific consultation on East Timor in Manila. On the right, Joao Carrascalao, UDT, and on the left, Martin Enda, human rights lawyer from Papua New Guinea. [Photo by TAPOL]

Delegates from thirteen countries attended the first Asia-Pacific Consultation on East Timor from 16-18 November in Manila. Attending the meeting were representatives from the two political forces in East Timor, Fretilin and the UDT, officials from several international church networks and development agencies, and delegates from Asian, Pacific and European solidarity groups.

After analysing internal and international developments regarding East Timor, working groups were set up to discuss a number of issues. The key areas identified for action in 1988 were the February meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva and the August meeting of the UN Decolonisation Committee in New York.

On church affairs, the World Council of Christians and

the international Protestant community in general were urged to dialogue directly with the Christian community in East Timor. Church organisations in Asia and the Pacific were strongly urged to sign the document, *East Timor: A Christian Reflection*. [Copies are available from CIIR, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF.]

The meeting warmly welcomed plans by groups in the Philippines and Papua New Guinea to establish East Timor support networks. It also sent messages of concern to the Japanese, Philippines and Portuguese government.

For documents and further information about contact persons and activities, please write to: Asia Pacific Consultation on East Timor, PO Box 1092, North Fitzroy, Vic. 3068, Australia. Tel: (03) 419 5588.

New Udayana military commander

Major-General Djoko Pramono, the new military commander of the IXth Military Command/Udayana who was appointed in August this year, has been quoted as saying that much more "territorial guidance" is needed in East Timor to "stabilise conditions there" before it can be opened up to tourism [Kompas, 28 September]. Formally speaking, the East Timor sub-regional command (Korem) falls under the Udayana command but in fact, East Timor has been placed under a special military command known as Kopskam Timtim which is directly subordinate to the armed forces headquarters in Jakarta.

Carrascalao appointed for a second term

Mario Viegas Carrascalao, the East Timorese appointed five years ago as governor of the "province" of East Timor has been appointed for a second term. Many of the gubernatorial appointments announced in the past few months indicate that the idea of appointing people from the locality is becoming much less of a consideration.

However, it is clear that as long as East Timor remains a matter of international concern, the post of governor will be reserved for an East Timorese. This largely explains why Carrascalao's nomination was not contested from any quarter and was greeted with so much enthusiasm in official circles.



Christmas Day fast for East Timor An appeal for sponsors

Paul Barbara, the London minicab driver who earlier this year tried to cross the Channel on a cross-shaped raft to draw attention to East Timor's plight, is to carry out a 24-hour fast on Christmas Day to raise money for children of East Timorese refugee families in Portugal.

Readers who would like to sponsor Paul and contribute to this humanitarian venture are asked to contact him at:

Paul Barbara, 45 Matilda House, St Katherine's Way, London E1 9LQ.

Growing up in an Indonesian colony

part 3

Rogerio A.P., 24 years old, is an East Timorese refugee living in Lisbon. He left Dili last year and is now at college. He was still a child when Indonesian troops invaded Dili and launched their war of aggression. We publish the concluding part of an interview on how the occupation affected him. Parts 1 and 2 were published in TAPOL Bulletin Nos 82 and 83.



How did you manage to leave East Timor?

Some years ago, people who had worked for the Portuguese administration were told to register. All those who wished to go on being Portuguese citizens were dismissed from their jobs. The first registration was in 1976. I was only twelve at the time, but my aunt had worked in the Portuguese civil service. I was in a Portuguese lower secondary school when the war broke out in 1975. When she registered as a Portuguese citizen, she included me in her family. When I finished school in Ainaro, I went to the Portuguese school in Dili, waiting for our departure.

How did those who kept Portuguese citizenship survive?

Some had small businesses or kiosks, did some construction work or got jobs as house servants. Their refusal to accept Indonesian citizenship was in fact an act of defiance against the Indonesian occupation. They also badly wanted to leave the country.

What's the procedure for leaving? Registration started ten years ago, but many are still there today. Why has it taken so long?

There are two ways to leave East Timor. Some made their own arrangements, and paid to get out. Most were Chinese traders. It costs anything up to four or five million rupiahs* to leave, a lot of money for people in East Timor. It can take up to two years but people who have plenty of money can leave in a couple of months.

In our case, everything was done by the International Red Cross. When three Portuguese journalists visited East Timor in 1983, all the families who had held on to their Portuguese citizenship asked them what the Portuguese government was doing to get them out. We met them outside the bishop's house and we appeared in their film. Ramos Horta's mother was there, speaking angrily about how we wanted to leave. I was there at the back of the crowd.

We had to register over and over again. The families who opted to stay Portuguese kept close together, going back and forth to register. There are still many in this position. Each time a new registration is announced, two or three thousand go along, but only in Dili. Elsewhere people are afraid to opt for Portuguese citizenship

Indonesian police doing their morning exercises out in the open, on a Dili street.

because they may be bumped off.

In 1985, I started working for a building company in Ainaro but I left the company and got a contract for construction work at an army heroes' cemetery. We had heard that the first group of families would be leaving in January 1986 following an agreement between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments.

While I was in Ainaro, I kept quiet about being a Portuguese citizen. People thought I was an Indonesian citizen. I needed to earn something and the job had to be finished before I left. It took longer than I thought because the weather wasn't good. We finished at the end of May 1986 though I still had to paint the tombs. Then I went to Dili to get my pay. I had to pay many bribes to people whose signatures I needed before I could collect the money, the sub-district chief (camat), the public works official, the economic affairs department, the district chief (bupati), the police chief, the district military commander. It cost me about half a million rupiahs to get all these signatures.

You had to pay money just to get your fee?

Yes. I finally collected my money on 4 June, the day before we left the country. I didn't want all the money for myself. I had borrowed money from friends to do the work. So the money was to pay them back. I also shared it with the people who had worked on the project with me. I gave some to the fellow who helped me get the contract. I used the rest to buy a suitcase, ready to leave.

More are still coming out. But the only ones leaving are Timorese who worked for the Portuguese. There are many, many more who have registered to leave but aren't allowed to go. The agreement only covers those who were formerly in the Portuguese civil service. It doesn't include those who were only casual employees.

If the doors were opened up, every Timorese would leave. No-one wants to stay while the Indonesians are still there. Things are so bad.

* In 1985, the exchange rate was about Rp. 1,100 to the dollar.

The story of Klalerek Mutin, the prison village

Klalerek Mutin is a prison-village re-constituted from the survivors of Kraras, a cluster of villages whose population rose up in August 1983 and joined the armed resistance. This was when the cease-fire agreed between Fretilin and the Indonesian army command in March 1983 ended. A month later, in September 1983, the population of Kraras was re-captured by Indonesian troops. In the course of this operation many hundreds of villagers were massacred. Today, only one-third of the inhabitants of Kraras are still alive; of the population of 1,593, only 570 have survived.

A document compiled by Fretilin leader, Xanana Gusmao which reached the outside world earlier this year tells the tragic story of Kraras. The details were provided by two villagers, Naha Rubik, 40 and his wife Maria Filomena, 28, who fled from Klalerek Mutin on 11 October 1986, and joined the guerrillas on 29 November.



Klalerek Mutin is situated south of the Vikeke-Luka road, a hundred metres from the east bank of the river We-Tuku and about a kilometre from the south coast. Before the uprising of August 1983, Kraras consisted of seven villages. Many of the more than one thousand people who died were exterminated in a series of massacres by Indonesian troops; the others died of starvation or from diseases brought on by dreadful living conditions and acute repression.

Following the re-capture of the population, the Indonesians re-organised the villagers, creating five rukun keluarga (RK), or sub-village units:

'RK-I' consists of the survivors from Amareleja and some survivors from Uma-Kik/Baha-Fou. Most people from these two villages were exterminated during the massacre at Tabu-Bein in September 1983.

'RK-II' consists of survivors from Hare-Oan and Laku-Uai. Some of the Hare-Oan villagers were massacred at Tabu-Bein while the majority of the Laku-Uai inhabitants were massacred at Beloy, also in September 1983.

'RK-III' consists of survivors from Ue-Bae, some of whom were massacred near Mount Bibileo during the operation to recapture the population of Kraras.

'RK-IV' consists of the survivors from Mane-Klaran and Ai-Sahe most of whom were massacred in the vicinity of Bibileo.

'RK-V' consists of survivors from Fatu-Hossa, the majority of whom were massacred in Sukaer-Oan in September 1983.

There are only between 12 and 15 adult men in each of the five RKs, along with ninety to a hundred women, children and elderly people.

Unit operating nearby, the occupation troops feel extremely insecure. A platoon of Indonesian soldiers plus twelve armed East Timorese 'hansips' (civil guards) is stationed in the centre of the village, surrounded by dwellings of the inhabitants. The military post is often moved around for fear of a guerrilla attack but always keeps to the central area. Klalerek Mutin is surrounded by two security perimetres. The first is two hundred metres from the village boundary and consists of twelve guard posts occupied every night by male villagers; the second consists of 10 guard posts, each 300 metres apart which are occupied daily by two men.

Anyone failing to give information about guerrilla movements is arrested and tortured. Some have even been shot for this. Guard duties demanded from villagers on pain of death mean that the men can spend no more than two or three days a week looking after their own livelihoods.

The inhabitants are subjected to many restrictions. All lights must be out from midnight and during the night, no conversations are allowed. Hansips carry out regular check-ups and anyone found with a light on or talking is summoned to report the following day. If they are not 'suspects' or people with relatives in the bush, they get off lightly with a beating up. Others may be sent to the army command in Vikeke where they will be beaten up, tortured and otherwise mal-treated.

There are roll-calls every morning and evening and villagers cannot go anywhere except to their gardens within a radius of one kilometre. When food shortages are very severe, groups are allowed to go farther afield to look for nuts and leaves, but always escorted by armed soldiers to guard against guerrilla ambushes. Villagers are warned that if a soldier is wounded or killed, the whole population will be wiped out.

Shielding the terrified soldiers

With guerrilla forces of Company A of the IVth Falintil

In Portuguese times, this was a fertile rice-growing region for Vikeke, but today, the rice-fields have been abandoned and the villagers are allowed to tend gardens only within a radius of one kilometre. As a result, the villagers have suffered from food shortages, particularly in 1984 and 1985. Food supplies were a bit better in 1986 though the maize and dryland rice grown was only enough for three or four months. Only two villagers possess any animals: Domingos Pinto, a liurai (chief), has six buffalos given to him by the Indonesians, and Leki-Kiak, a hansip, has 15 cows, also a present from the troops.

The occupation forces organise regular 'sports-days', which are a degrading violation of sporting principles. Unmarried girls, widows and young married women whose husbands are fighting with the resistance are forced to dress up in short pants and play volley-ball with the Indonesian soldiers. Such 'games' are only meant to satisfy the most bestial of instincts, giving the soldiers the chance to do what they like with the women. At the end of a 'game', the women must go and sleep with the soldiers. Anyone who refuses to do so is accused of being a 'political' or a 'communist' and is arrested.

Since the end of 1983, there have been no medical facilities for the population of Klalerek Mutin, except for a single visit of two para-medics. A number of diseases are rampant, including tuberculosis, beri-beri, dysentery and elephantiasis. The death rate is particularly high among the children and the elderly. Naha-Rubik was able to furnish a list of people who died from late 1983 up to October 1986 when he fled from the village.

Army atrocities

Naha-Rubik also provided details of a number of atrocities perpetrated by the occupying forces:

* In August 1985, three women, Christina, 30, Martinha, 32 and Adelina Soares who refused to dress up in short pants and play volley-ball with the soldiers were accused

of being agents of Fretilin. They were taken away for interrogation by the military chief of intelligence (Kasi-Satu) in Vikeke. They were subjected to electrical torture and lighted cigarettes were used to burn their faces and sexual organs.

* In the same month, three men, Boci-Bere, 49, Horacio Gomes, 29, and Tomas, 25, were given permission to go to Vikeke market. They returned a few minutes late for evening roll-call and were accused of using the trip to contact Fretilin forces. They were savagely beaten up till blood poured out of their mouths and noses, then taken to Vikeke and detained by the military. They did not return home till March 1986, weak and ill as a result of mal-treatment.

* Also in August 1985, two men, Fono-Nahak, 39, and Duarte Bai-Funuk, 30 were ordered to go on guard duty one night. On their way home next morning, they stopped at their gardens to do some weeding and returned late for morning roll-call. They were severely beaten up on the orders of the 'babinsa' (local army officer), then taken to Vikeke where they were again beaten up. They died later in hospital in Vikeke. Five other men returning a little late from night guard-duty in September 1985 were also severely beaten. Later their hands and feet were tied up and they were left exposed to the blazing sun from 7 am till 2.30 pm.

* In December 1985, an East Timorese appointed as head of an 'RT' (residential unit) was ordered to take a group of women and children to search for food when shortages were particularly severe. They were one hour late, so other RTs were ordered to beat him mercilessly. The women were abused and robbed of the nuts and leaves they had collected during the trip.

* In October 1986, three teachers, Onorio Gonzaga, 35, Leopoldo, 29 and Maria Olinda das Dores were pounced upon when they returned from a visit to their parents in Bikarin. After being beaten up by the babinsa, they were taken off to Vikeke where they were still being detained when Naha-Rubik fled the village.

Portuguese MPs visit to East Timor seems unlikely

A suggestion that plans might be afoot for a Portuguese parliamentary mission to visit East Timor is unlikely to materialise. The first official mention of the visit was contained in the report on East Timor submitted to the UN General Assembly by Peres de Cuellar, UN Secretary General. The purpose of the visit was said to be to "obtain first-hand information" about conditions in East Timor.

Jakarta responded quickly to the idea, saying on the one hand that such a visit would be welcome but adding that under no circumstances would the visiting MPs be allowed to carry out any investigations. It would simply be an opportunity for the MPs "to see for themselves the real situation in East Timor" [Jakarta Post, 16 September] or in other words, to see and hear only what the Indonesian military administration wishes them to see.

Prime Minister Cavaco Silva made it clear however that the delegation would only go if Indonesia gave assurances of complete freedom of movement. He said that no official Portuguese representatives would visit East Timor without guarantees of the freedom to meet anyone they wished to meet [AP, as quoted in Kompas, 29 September].

The idea of a parliamentary mission is not an

initiative of the Portuguese parliament and appears to have emerged during negotiations between the Indonesian and Portuguese ambassadors in New York. A deputy of the opposition Socialist Party expressed surprise that the Government appears to have taken the initiative on Parliament's behalf, while even government party deputies did not seem to know anything about the idea. [Em Timor-Leste a Paz e Possivel, No 22, October 1987]. Paradoxically, the previous government of Cavaco Silva last year condemned preparations for a parliamentary mission to visit Estonia because it was under "Soviet occupation", yet the present Cavaco Silva government seems prepared to consider a mission to occupied East Timor, albeit while setting down conditions.

The Portuguese government continues to give contradictory signals about its attitude towards the East Timor question. As Em Timor Leste a Paz et Possivel comments, "Portuguese hesitations are for a large part due to the lack of international support, if not to pressures coming from other governments."



Land dispute in Kedung Ombo

Peasants in the sub-district of Kemusu, Boyolali district in Central Java are still refusing to accept the pitifully-inadequate compensation for land which the government insists must be cleared of inhabitants to make way for the Kedung Ombo dam. [For information on the land disputes around the Kedung Ombo dam, see **TAPOL Bulletin**, Nos 82 and 83, August and October 1983]. As pressure mounts on them to accept, the Labour Ministry has revealed plans to force them to become plantation labourers on one of the outer islands.



Scene in a village in the district of Kemusu.

Kedung Ombo engineers have recently admitted that construction is being held up by the refusal of some inhabitants to move. Project managers are now trying to inject a sense of urgency by claiming that money allocated to clear the land of people comes from funds granted by a foreign source (74 per cent of the costs of the dam are covered by a World Bank loan). If this money is not used up by March 1988, the engineers said, it will no longer be available because money unspent during one financial year (known as SIAP) may not be carried over to the following year [Pelita, 2 November 1987].

Dams and transmigration

A local official of the Labour Ministry recently announced that preparations are under way to provide plantation jobs outside Java for people whose land is about to be seized. The Ministry is responsible for a programme known as Inter-Regional Labour Migration (AKAD) and it is this programme that will now provide alternatives for people who lose their land because of the construction of dams [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 6 November 1987].

AKAD is in effect replacing the shrinking Department of Transmigration as new-style outward migration is geared to the production of cash crops rather than food crops. AKAD-sponsored migration is not financed by the government but comes under the category of 'self-reliant' or swakarsa transmigration.

Documents have recently been received which describe in

detail the efforts by villagers trying to resist pressure to abandon their land. In Kemusu, the only ones to have accepted compensation offered by the government are civil servants and village administration employees, who would hardly have been able to refuse, and former members of outlawed leftwing organisations for whom refusal could have meant being accused of political disruption.

One of the tricks used by officials to persuade landowners to move away is to promise them that if they accept compensation, they will be transmigrated at the government's expense. But when the time came to move, they were required to pay Rp. 220,000 per family!

A leading Indonesian environmentalist, Dr Otto Soemarwoto has produced figures showing the unwillingness to transmigrate of people who are being forced off their land for eight dams now under construction in Java. Ninety-seven per cent of residents around the Saguling dam have refused to transmigrate, whereas in the vicinity of the Cirata dam, the number of 'refusniks' is 89 per cent. In Kedung Ombo, roughly half have accepted transmigration while the other half are holding out for

proper recompense - land-for-land in preference to cash,

Soemarwoto himself believes that transmigration is not the solution. Rather, alternative sources of income should be created in Java by for instance fostering fish cultivation in the dam waters and promoting secondary industrial development in the dam area [Suara Karya, 14 August 1987].



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