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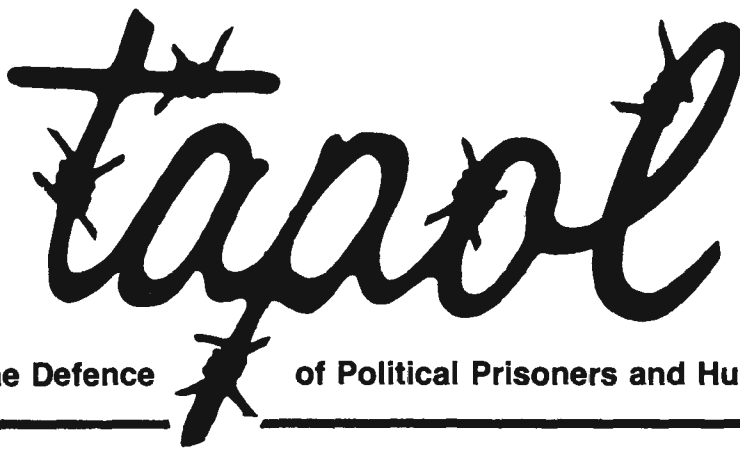
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British Campaign for the Defence

of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia

TAPOL Bulletin No. 77

September 1986

East Timorese students arrested in Jakarta

Three East Timorese students have been arrested in Jakarta and it is feared that more arrests may follow. The first to be arrested was:

* **Antonino Goncalves**, 34 years, a law student in his final year at the Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta. He was picked up on 3 September, while sitting with friends in a cafeteria, by three men in civilian clothes, and driven away in a car to an unknown destination. It is thought the men, who were from Satgas, the Special Operations Unit of the army's central command, were acting on the instructions of the central intelligence agency, BAKIN.

Amnesty International immediately launched an Urgent Action warning that Goncalves might be subjected to torture.

The arrest of Goncalves came two weeks after six East Timorese were arrested in East Timor, then taken to Jakarta where it is believed they may have been severely beaten to extract information about East Timorese students in Jakarta. Then, two weeks after Goncalves' arrest, two more students were arrested in Jakarta:

* **Joao Freitas da Camara**, 29 years, a law student at Atma Jaya University, originally from Suai. He was arrested at midnight on 16 September.

* **Francisco Fernandes Carvalha**, 30 years, an engineering student also at Atma Jaya University, from Uatokarabau. He was picked up at 5 am on 17 September.

Many arrests in July

News of mass arrests in East Timor was received in Australia in a letter from Dili dated 15 July 1986. The letter says the arrests were a "preventative" measure to pre-empt demonstrations at the time of the tenth anniversary of Jakarta's annexation of East Timor. Special celebrations were staged to mark the occasion. [See TAPOL Bulletin, No 76, July 1986].

The letter reported no fewer than 80 arrests in Baucau, the main military garrison, plus an unknown number of arrests in Lospalos, Viqueque and Dili.

Priests boycott Pancasila indoctrination

Acting on instructions from Mgr Carlos Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Catholic clergy in East Timor have begun a boycott of government-run courses on Pancasila, the Indonesian state ideology. The boycott

followed the brutal beating up of Fr Walter van Wouwe SDB, by members of the Indonesian Armed Forces.

Father van Wouwe, the parish priest of Los Palos-Lautem, in the eastern tip of East Timor, was riding his motor-bike and overtook an army vehicle. The soldiers, deeming this a mark of disrespect, overtook and stopped the priest, pulled him from his bike and beat him up.

Following the incident, Mgr Belo wrote to the Indonesian authorities on 7 July:

"I wish to inform you that none of the priests and religious of the diocese of Dili will participate in the Pancasila programme designed for Church personnel in East Timor. This is a sign of solidarity with Fr Walter van Wouwe SDB....Our refusal to participate in the above mentioned seminar is our strongly felt protest against the brutal and inhuman behaviour that continues to occur and which belittles our pastors. What is the use of talking about Pancasila while priests who have given themselves to the moral and material support of the people are disregarded... and are the objects of suspicion, threats and even crude beatings?"

The boycott of Pancasila indoctrination is a direct challenge to the regime. These courses, conducted for all sections of the public, are compulsory.

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Another political prisoner executed

Maman Kusmayadi, age 27, a shoe-shop attendant, was executed by firing squad in Tangkuban Perahu, West Java, on 12 September. This judicial killing, reported in *Tempo* [27 September] came more than three-and-a-half years after Maman was sentenced, in April 1983.

Murder charge denied

Maman was tried on charges connected with the activities of the 'Imron group', a Muslim group which was held responsible for an attack on a police station in early 1981, when three policemen were

killed, and the hijack of a Garuda plane a few weeks later.

In court, Maman strongly denied that he shot the policemen as alleged, and told the court he could not handle a gun. He insisted that the shots were fired by an army corporal named Najamudin who infiltrated the group, and was responsible for provoking all its acts of violence [*Tempo*, 9 April 1983].

Efforts by the defence lawyers at all the 'Imron' trials to investigate the identity of Najamudin were thwarted by both the prosecution and the judges.



Maman before his execution. [*Tempo*, 27 September 1986]

8,000 former political prisoners disenfranchised in East Java

Some eight thousand out of about 440,000 former political prisoners in East Java have been told that they will not be allowed vote in the forthcoming general elections. These would all be people held for upwards of ten years, the vast majority without trial, for alleged affiliation to the Indonesian Communist Party, before it was banned in 1965.

The official in charge of running the general elections in the province said they were being disenfranchised "because they have not been disciplined enough in complying with various laws and regulations. For instance, they have travelled to places outside the province without first obtaining permission from their village head. For example, a trader in timber who was in East Timor was discovered to be a former political prisoner from East Java."

In addition, the official said, "some have not been friendly towards their neighbours, and do not contribute sufficiently to mutual-help schemes. Thus, when work projects are conducted in their village or kampung, they fail to take part. Still worse, in some cases, they have had guests in their homes without informing the local residential administration" [*Merdeka*, 26 August 1986].

Australian media groups still permitted to work in Indonesia, the **Australian Associated Press** and the Australian daily, **Financial Review**. The AAP journalist has already left Indonesia, and the **Financial Review** correspondent, Michael Byrnes has been told that his visa will not be renewed when it expires in November.

It was in 1983 that the regime ordered all Australian journalists to leave. Subsequently, following lengthy negotiations between Jakarta and Canberra, these two groups were permitted to have journalists working in Jakarta. During the turmoil that followed the appearance of David Jenkins' article exposing the corrupt practices of the Suharto family [see **TAPOL Bulletin**, No 75, May 1986], they were both allowed to remain while others wishing to come and cover special events were mostly refused.

The decision to expel the last remaining Australian journalists was made public in a discussion on Indonesia-Australia relations held last month in Sydney [*Sinar Harapan*, 11 September].

Prisoners who become donors for organ transplants may get remission

The Minister of Justice announced recently that he was considering a scheme whereby prisoners serving sentences could be offered remission of sentence if they agree to have a kidney or other organ removed for transplant purposes.

It may sound incredible but there appear to be some lawyers who responded positively to the idea, concerned only that it might prove difficult to make sure a prisoner giving an organ did so voluntarily. Another objection was that, if it became known that convicts were giving their organs in exchange for remission, others in society might feel reluctant to become donors in case they were thought to have done so for the same reason! [*Tempo*, 9 August 1986]

Last remaining Australian journalists told to leave

The last two remaining Australian journalists still working in Indonesia have both been told that they may not work in Indonesia any longer. There are only two

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Three more books banned

Following the decision in May this year to ban Harold Crouch's *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, the Attorney-General, retired Major-General Hari Suharto announced on 28 August that three more books have been banned. One is a shortened version of the defence statement by retired Lieutenant-General H.R. Dharsono; the other two are books by Australians.

Two Australian books

The first is a book by David Jenkins, the Australian journalist whose article, "After Marcos, now for the Suharto billions" in the *Sydney Morning Herald* [10 April 1986], caused such a furore in Indonesian-Australian relations earlier this year. *Suharto and His Generals*, published by Cornell University, is a detailed examination of the controversy over the military's role in political affairs that broke out within the Armed Forces leadership in the late 1970s. It is based largely on interviews of army generals carried out when Jenkins was working in Jakarta as the correspondent of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. When the book first appeared two years ago, the regime already showed its displeasure by calling in for interrogation several of the interviewed generals, now retired.

The book was banned, in the words of the official decision, because its analysis "is based on the views of people who lack confidence in the success of the New Order, which were used by the writer to discredit the standing of the Head of State and his family" [*Sinar Harapan*, 3 September 1986].

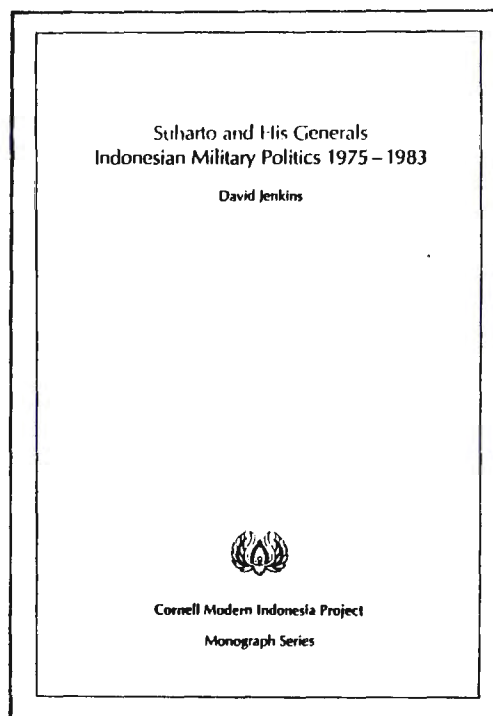
The second is the Indonesian translation of a book by the Australian scholar, Richard Robison, entitled, *Culture, Politics and the Economy in the Political History of the New Order*. Robison did pioneering research into the business operations of many military officers for his Ph. D. thesis, *Capitalism and the Bureaucratic State in Indonesia: 1965 - 1975*, and has been in the forefront of scholarly studies formulating a class analysis of Indonesia's military bureaucracy. The mimeographed Indonesian translation of the concluding chapter of his thesis has been circulating in Indonesia for many years, and was the source of much of the information contained in the David Jenkins article on Suharto's billions.

Robison's book has been banned because "it directly or indirectly undermines the government's authority, which can disturb stability and public order".

[In June this year, Robison's latest book, *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*, based largely on his Ph. D. thesis, was published by Allen & Unwin.]

Dharsono's defence plea

The Dharsono book banned by the Attorney-General bears the title *Demanding the promises of the New Order*. It is an abridged version of his defence plea delivered in court on 3 January this year, shortly before he was sentenced to ten years (since reduced to seven years) "for striving to discredit and undermine the government's authority". The same allegations are used to justify banning the book.



Play performances also banned

Meanwhile, performances of a play called *Front*, by the popular Indonesian playwright, Putu Wijaya, have been banned by the authorities in Semarang, Central Java, because "it is feared that it could cause social disturbances". An official claimed that "staging it at present will not be relevant to the orderly situation which should be maintained in facing the upcoming 1987 general elections". [AFP, 8 August].

This Balinese writer has a theatrical company of his own, with a group performing his works in English. He has written more than twenty plays, as well as a dozen novels and a large number of short stories. He won the Southeast Asian Writers' Award in Thailand in 1980, and has also won an annual award of the Jakarta Arts Council. Since 1985, he has been a guest lecturer at the University of Wisconsin in the US. [*Berita Tanah Air*, Year IV, No 6, 21 May 1986]

Three more communist prisoners executed

It is now almost certain that three more communist political prisoners have been executed, probably on 24 September. Although final confirmation is still awaited, the several reports already received from Indonesia suggest that the three men shot by firing squad were:

Sukatno, 57, who was secretary-general of Pemuda Rakyat, the leftwing youth organisation banned with the Communist Party (PKI) in 1965. He was arrested in July 1968 and sentenced to death in March 1971.

Supono, 60, charged as a member of the PKI's Special Bureau and sentenced to death in February 1972.

Waluyo, 60, also charged as a member of the PKI's Special Bureau. He was arrested in August 1967, and sentenced to death in September 1968.

Subversion trials now hit Central Java

The security authorities have produced yet another Muslim network allegedly dedicated to subversive objectives. This latest discovery has provided the lawcourts, this time in Central Java, with another wave of subversion trials, just as the assassination-plot trial of H.M. Sanusi was winding to a halt. With more than six months to run until the 1987 elections, one wonders how many more networks will be needed to keep the subversion courts busy until then.

So far, 12 men out of 16 reportedly being charged in what is termed the 'Usroh' case, have been brought to trial in Central Java. 'Usroh' is described by some defendants as an Arabic work meaning familial [kekeluargaan]. The men, who all face anti-subversion charges, appear to have done nothing more than led religious meetings. The prosecutors claim however that they each made a vow or baiat to a man named Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, the coordinator of the movement. The vow is interpreted as being a commitment to bring about the downfall of the Indonesian government and its replacement with an Islamic state.

Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is described as the leader of the Jamaah Islamiyah, allegedly Usroh's predecessor. In addition, he was convicted several years ago in connection with the armed movement in Central Java known as the 'Warman terror', but he disappeared in early 1985, while serving a 9-year sentence, and remains 'at large', so has not been produced to give evidence.

All the Usroh defendants are accused of involvement in both these earlier movements, and some confessed to meeting Ba'asyir while in detention with him. Quite apart from whether 'Usroh' exists or not and whether vows were ever taken, the worrying thing is the kind of people who are now being shown to be at risk from the regime's current paranoia.



The men on trial

Wahyono al Syafel, 34, a school teacher of religion, and Lukman Suratman, 31 a tailor, are the first to have been sentenced, each getting six years. They were tried in Sukoharjo. Both men denied the charges. Lukman's only defence witness, his brother-in-law Tohari Suradji, denied that any vow had been made and said he knew nothing about any plot to set up an Islamic state [Kedaulatan Rakyat/Suara Merdeka, 28 July].

Wiyono alias M. Said, 33, a goldsmith, is being tried in Surakarta on charges of organising Usroh throughout the sub-district where he lives, and appointing leaders in each ward of the town. He was in tears as the prosecutor read out the indictment and, at the end of the ordeal, he accused the prosecutor of hypocrisy [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 15 July]. Budi Santosa, 30, who works at an Islamic cooperative, faces the same charges as Wiyono.

Sugiman alias Yulianto, 28, who is Wiyono's brother-in-law, is being tried in Karanganyar for setting up a local Usroh branch. The defence lawyers, who argued that this was a religious matter and had nothing to do with politics, were over-ruled by the judges [Suara Merdeka, 22 July].

Most of the defendants are on trial in Klaten, where Usroh is alleged to have been organised in four sectors. Three teachers of religion from local schools are charged: Darusalam, 29, is accused of heading the 'western sector'; Slamet Riyanto, 35, is accused of heading the 'central sector'; Muhammad Sirajudin Abas,

34, is accused of attending meetings and delivering subversive sermons. His sister, a student at the state Islamic university, IAIN, testified that his views were the same as those of her lecturers [Suara Merdeka, 25 July].

The Klaten trials took a bizarre twist when MSA was also accused of possessing illegal pamphlets about the communist struggle in Indonesia [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 8 July], while Darusalam has admitted to possessing these pamphlets as well as an Usroh book written by Ba'asyir [Suara Merdeka, 12 August].

Two more sentenced

On 9 September, Sirajudin Abas was found guilty and sentence to six years. The verdict claimed, among other things, that he chose the youngsters attending his religious courses through intelligence tests, and ordered them "to shout anti-government slogans" [Sinar Harapan, 9 September]. Darusalam was sentenced on the same day to seven years.

The most recent Klaten trial is that of M. Bakir, 43, charged with recruiting former 'Warman Terror' detainees to become members of Usroh [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 5 August]. Bakir had already testified in six Usroh trials and has been very eager to incriminate others and follow up leading questions put by the judges. Add to this the

fact that he is the only defendant to have stuck to the story about there being an Islamic state plot, and it is not difficult to conclude that this is probably the intel agent collaborating with the authorities.

In Boyolali, two men who are, by some accounts brothers, are being tried for setting up Usroh in Simo. Nur Falaḥ, 28, a farmer, and Mualit, 36, a teacher of religion, both deny the charges. Mualit said in court that he had "never expected to have to come up against such a thing" as this present trial.

There is nothing unusual for Javanese to forge local networks based on family ties, allowing for a very extended form of familial relationships. Attempts to give this tradition conspiratorial overtones are summed up by the evidence of an 'expert' witness, an official of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, who was called by the prosecutor. He argued, in contradiction with well-established sociological evidence, that the 'family' or *keluarga* according to the Javanese concept, includes only father, mother, children, grandchildren and in-laws [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 5 August].

Others who are still expected to appear as defendants in the 'Usroh affair' are: Rusdi, 36, a farmer from Klaten, who is named as head of Usroh's 'eastern sector' in the town, and has already testified in five other trials; M. Salim, 30, to be charged as head of the Ngruki branch; and Sukidi al Zaid, 30, a travelling batik-cloth salesman, who has been referred to several times in Lukman's trial as head of Usroh at Langenhardjo.

One 'Usroh trial' which appears out of step with the rest is that of MDS, on trial in Ngawi, East Java, for playing tape recordings of several convicted Jakarta preachers to a crowd of twenty people in front of a mosque [Sinar Harapan, 19 July]. The prosecutor's demand for a sentence of 'only' 2 years would suggest, however, that, unlike the other trials, the anti-subversion law is not being used in this trial.

Procedural irregularities

As with all the subversion trials held since the beginning of 1985, the defendants have also been kept busy testifying in each other's trials. In some cases, they have been required to appear at their own hearing in the morning, then rushed to another town to testify the same afternoon. It is not difficult to imagine the psychological strain of all this, and not surprisingly, on many occasions, they have been unable to appear as required.

In many instances, witnesses have retracted statements made during pre-trial interrogation, complaining that they were threatened with beatings if they refused to say what was being asked of them. One witness was accused of perjury for making such a statement in court [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 5 August], and in other cases, retractions were declared to be 'unlawful' by the judges.

As with earlier trials, the witnesses brought by the prosecution do not necessarily incriminate the defendant. Thus, a police first-lieutenant, Soedarso told a startled court that he had never heard of Usroh in his district (Jatinom) until he came to court [Suara Merdeka, 22

MUSLIM TRIALS

July]. Five other prosecution witnesses, including one man who knew no Indonesian and spoke only his local language, and a becak driver, testified that they had attended a meeting but had no idea it had anything to do with 'Usroh' [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 15 July].

A phantom concept

Reading the press reports of these trials, 'usroh' comes across as a phantom concept, a manipulable device that is being used to hound and isolate the more articulate inhabitants of small towns and villages in Central Java. The aim appears to be to put the fear of the regime into the 'little people'. The trials provide the spectacle of people dazed by the horror of their unexpected fate, confronting legal processes that they do not understand, and stuttering out their denials of ever having heard of such a thing as 'Usroh'. Sadly, all are bound to end up with heavy sentences, regardless of the evidence produced in their defence.



Sanusi sentenced to 20 years

"Mere whispers are punishable under the anti-subversion law."

From the verdict of guilty against Sanusi.

Ir H.M. Sanusi, a leader of the Islamic social and educational organisation, Muhammadiyah, businessman and minister in Suharto's first cabinet, has been given a second sentence on anti-subversion charges. This time he was sentenced to 20 years, to run concurrently with the 19-year sentence passed last year. This is despite the fact that the court described much of the prosecution evidence presented during the trial as "unconvincing". It also regarded the prosecution charge about Sanusi's involvement in an alleged plot to assassinate the president in Jakarta in 1982 as 'not proven'. Nor was the court persuaded that Sanusi was involved in any plot to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia.

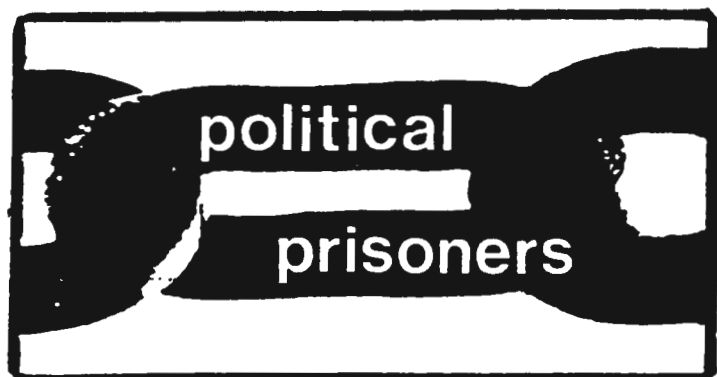
However, the charge of subversion could be upheld, argued the judges, because Sanusi used "strong words to condemn the general elections and the role of the Chinese in the national economy." The verdict continued: "Mere whispers are punishable under the anti-subversion law" [Tempo, 13 September, 1986].

Earlier sentence upheld

Sanusi's earlier sentence of 19 years has been upheld on appeal, by both the High Court and the Supreme Court.



Read Amnesty International's research paper on Indonesia, *Muslim Prisoners of Conscience*, 45 pp, published in June 1986. Available from AI Publications, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, or from your local AI Section. Price: £4.50.



Death of a witness

In May, the prosecution in Sanusi's second trial read out a statement by Muhammad Djabir, claiming that he received Rp. 400,000 from Sanusi via Marwan Ashuri, a businessman and key witness in the trial. Half went towards buying explosives and surveying Borobudur where an alleged assassination attempt was to take place. The prosecutor said Muhammad Djabir could not testify in person as he had passed away in January.

Two months later, the dead witness's nephew, Andi Muhammad Taqwa, submitted a sworn affidavit describing the circumstances of his uncle's death. The affidavit was read out in court on 10 July, 1986. [*Jakarta Post*, 11 July]. No papers published the contents of the affidavit. We publish the text of this affidavit in full to show the lengths the security forces will go to fabricate charges against defendants facing anti-subversion charges.

I, the undersigned, ANDI MUHAMMAD TAQWA, 23 years, student, address: Sambung Java, No. 10, Ujung Pandang, hereby present my testimony as a witness under oath according to the religion of Islam which I profess, in which I explain about my last visit on 24 January 1986 to my uncle, MUHAMMAD DJABIR bin ABUBAKAR, who was in detention in Jakarta.

At that time, he had the occasion to chat with me (while we were eating together) and told me of the terrible difficulties he encountered while being interrogated in connection with his arrest, when he was



just taken by officials to Jakarta in such a way that he had no idea of the reason for his detention.

Ordered to incriminate Sanusi

It was only later, after he had been interrogated by officials, that he understood the purpose and aim of his arrest and, he told me, after he had undergone several different interrogation procedures. He said he was ordered to confess that Ir H.M. Sanusi was the brains and mastermind of the plot to murder President Suharto and blow up Borobudur, in connection with his wish to establish an Islamic State of Indonesia, in cooperation with the group of the Petition of 50. In reality, he told me, he had never had any acquaintance with Ir H.M. Sanusi, what was more, had never met him, and what was even more, had never met the group of the Petition of 50.

Whereupon, he said, he was told by the investigator that if he wasn't prepared to "sacrifice" Ir H.M. Sanusi as the investigator wished, then he himself would be sacrificed. And indeed, once when I was visiting the prison a while ago, I heard an official say to some of the prisoners who shared the same fate as my uncle and who at that time were gathered together with their

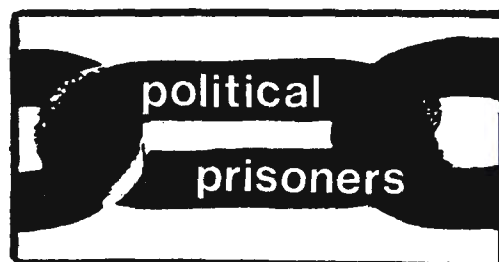
families, "If all of you want to sacrifice your prophet Ismail, then we will release you". One of the prisoners retorted, "Don't compare this to the sacrifice of the father and son (Abraham and Ismail); I am not a prophet, and I don't know who the victim will be."

And according to my uncle, those who were detained with him, to whom it so happened, he introduced me at that time, were among others: Ir Syairul Alim, M.Sc; Ir Ageng Sutisna; Drs Nur Iman; Drs Abdul Syukur; Iwan; Marwan Ashuri and his son; Herliady; Soejatmono; Mursalin Dahlan; and Barry. All of them had admitted that Ir H.M. Sanusi was the brains and mastermind of the plot to kill President Suharto and admitted other accusations that the investigator wished them to admit. My uncle, in contrast, did not do anything at all that the investigator wanted. In order to be clear about this, said my uncle, if something happens to me later, then look at my interrogation deposition and my explanation about Ir H.M. Sanusi and see whether I implicated him or not.

Signs of torture

One time, the first time my family was given permission to visit, we had the occasion to ask him how he and all the others were doing, i.e. those whose names we mentioned above. I said, "How are you, uncle? How are the conditions in prison? And why are you and the others detained?" My uncle answered, and this was corroborated by others, "We were interrogated more than what we hear takes place in the grave," and tears welled up in his eyes, and everyone could see the traces of torture on his body, which at that point had not yet healed. He said, "If the angels Munkar and Nakir ask first and strike later, [in the prison] we were beaten first and only then were we questioned, and at the same time forced to confess and denounce things we knew nothing about."

Because of this, respected Council of Judges, it got to the point that my uncle courageously spoke out and did not confess as the investigator I mentioned above wished him to do, even though he threatened that my uncle would himself become a victim and likewise his friends, because, according to my uncle, "in my estimation [Ir H.M. Sanusi] is a learned man who obeys the teachings of Islam." And he said, "I am being ordered to do that which, according to Islamic law, is called slander, and in the Quran, it says that slander is worse than murder, and murder is a major sin in the teachings of Islam."



...He said he would rather become a victim himself than confess (and so be responsible to God Almighty who would be even harder on him and give him a punishment he could not evade) and slander Ir H.M. Sanusi whom he didn't even know.

His body was in a grievous state

Respected Council of Judges, it turned out that what my uncle said when I visited him on 24 January 1986 proved correct because 24 hours after I returned home from visiting him, that is, on Saturday, 25 January 1986, I received news that my uncle was dead. And it was true what we witnessed when his body was brought that night about 2 am, guarded by several officials, to the home of Ramli on Jalan Mahoni in Tanjung Priok, north Jakarta. After my family received the body, we found my uncle's body in a very grievous state, much different than the day before when we had visited.

There were several marks we questioned, including, on

the back of his neck, obvious bruises, also on his lower back and on the lower right side of his chest, and almost all the nails of his fingers were blue, and on his calf, there was a large black welt.

Because our family was not permitted by the officials to take photographs, let alone conduct an autopsy, we were ordered to bury him immediately, and so we did the same day in Plumpang Sempur Cemetery, north Jakarta.

Respected Council of Judges, we would be most grateful to the Council if, to prove the truth of our testimony, you would order the body of my uncle exhumed and have a doctor conduct an autopsy, in accordance with the law.

This is thus my written testimony which I have made, in sound mind and body, under oath according to the religion I profess, namely Islam, and have signed it in all honesty to assist the Council of Judges uphold Justice and Truth in the investigation of the case of Ir H.M. Sanusi in Central Jakarta District Council, who has become a victim of slander.

Ujung Pandang, 25 April 1986

Indonesia buys 12 F-16 fighter aircraft

At a time of deepening economic crisis, Indonesia has decided to purchase 12 F-16 fighter aircraft from the US at a cost of \$337 million. This follows months of intense competition between the US manufacturer, General Dynamics, and the French aircraft company, Dassault-Breguet which was hoping to sell its Mirage-2000 aircraft to Indonesia.

For months, B.J. Habibie, President-Director of Indonesia's state-owned aircraft manufacturing company, IPTN, publicly favoured the French plane, stressing that the French offered a much more favourable deal by way of substantial 'offset', an arrangement whereby the foreign manufacturer agrees to purchase from IPTN goods worth a fixed percentage of the purchase price of the aircraft. This created the impression that Habibie was pushing his preference in competition with Armed Forces commander, General Murdani, who has always made it clear that he favours the US plane. [Our own report in the last Bulletin followed this line of analysis.]

It is now obvious that Habibie was using the French offer to extract a better deal from General Dynamics, to the mutual satisfaction of Murdani, the Armed Forces and IPTN.

A boost for IPTN

General Dynamics has agreed to 'offset' worth 35 per cent of the cost of the 12 F-16s. This will take the form of purchasing components from IPTN for 22 F-16s, providing 800,000 labour hours of work for the Indonesian company. The components will be made under technical specifications from the US company.

Habibie claims the deal will open the US market to the Indonesian aircraft industry, enabling it to become a qualified bidder for warplane components according to US military specifications [Jakarta Post, 4 September]. He looks forward to winning component contracts from other US aircraft manufacturers like Grumman and McDonnell-Douglas. "As a super-power, the US market is obviously far greater than the French," said Habibie [Kompas, 3 September].


Offset ensures substantial technological transfer from General Dynamics to IPTN, thus promoting Habibie's ambition to make his company a major military aircraft

manufacturer and exporter in the next twenty years or so. Habibie's highly ambitious plans seem incongruous, set against the background of an economy where manufacturing is still so backward, and has been further hit by the 12 September devaluation. Few observers believe there is real substance to his ambitions, but he relies heavily on the confidence and support he enjoys from Suharto. He of all Indonesians must be wishing that Suharto were blessed with immortality.

Aircraft compatibility in ASEAN

The F-16 deal also enhances Murdani's desire to make the Indonesian air force more compatible with other ASEAN countries, notably Thailand and Singapore, which have already purchased F-16s. The Indonesian air force favours the US plane because it is more in tune with three squadrons of fighter aircraft it now operates, notably a squadron of Northrop F-5Es and two of McDonnell-Douglas A-4Es.

Statement on EAST TIMOR
to the UN Committee of 24
August 1986



occasional reports no. 4

tapol British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights
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Occasional Reports No. 4 reproduces TAPOL's submission to the UN Decolonisation Committee. It analyses the structure of military control in East Timor, including details about the Army's Security Operations of East Timor. For price, see page 2.

East Timor on the international arena

Despite strenuous efforts by Jakarta to obliterate East Timor from the international agenda, the issue was raised at the UN Decolonisation Committee in New York, at the Non-Aligned Summit in Harare, at the congress of the International Movement of Catholic Students in Belgium and at the Pacific Peoples' Solidarity Forum in Fiji.

UN Decolonisation Committee

Although Indonesia sent no fewer than four letters to the UN Decolonisation Committee demanding that East Timor be deleted from its agenda, and on the day, protested against the presence of so many speakers on East Timor's behalf, a record number of petitioners from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) - 21 in all - addressed the Committee in New York on 15 August. The petitions continued throughout the day and late into the evening.

First to speak were the delegates of three African governments, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique and Cape Verde. All strongly supported the East Timor people's right to self-determination and pressed the UN Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, to work harder for a comprehensive settlement. They stressed the need to include East Timorese representatives in consultations currently taking place under his auspices. This issue was taken up in most other NGO petitions.

Many other issues were also addressed:

* * * * *

Lord Avebury, Chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group, UK, criticised the UN Secretary-General for confining consultations on East Timor to Indonesia and Portugal, and failing to bring together all parties directly concerned, including the East Timorese. "Should the future of Namibia be decided by negotiations with South Africa, the occupying power, and Germany, the former colonial power? Should the future of Palestine be decided by Israel and Britain?"

He was particularly dismayed at the Secretary-General's failure to respond to initiatives he himself had taken in favour of East Timorese participation. A letter he sent, conveying an invitation from **Xanana Gusmao**, commander of Fretilin forces, to meet the Secretary-General, had never been answered.

Other petitioners, **Michel Robert**, French Association for Solidarity with East Timor and **Luisa Pereira**, Portuguese Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People, criticised the UN for failing to take concrete measures against Indonesia for its abuse of international law by invading East Timor. The UN should have called for sanctions against Indonesia, said Michel Robert. "Indonesia can thus claim that there was no negative reaction from the international community."

In Lord Avebury's words, "The whole world is going to be the loser if the structure of rules for the conduct of international affairs, and particularly those concerning self-determination, which have been carefully and painstakingly built up over the forty years' existence of the United Nations, are torn up with the consent of the very organisation which created them."

Satsuki Eda, Japanese MP from the United Social Democratic Party, emphasised that the Decolonisation Committee and other UN bodies should continue to focus on



Liem Soei Liong, TAPOL's petitioner to the UN.

East Timor. He was disturbed that the Japanese government had used its vote in the Commission on Human Rights to silence discussion on East Timor.

Matthew Francis, Hobart East Timor Committee said the UN must press for Indonesia's withdrawal from East Timor, to be followed by either an ad interim Portuguese administration or ad interim UN administration to oversee the orderly departure of Indonesian troops and colonists. Under no circumstances should Indonesia be permitted to share in any ad interim administration.

Jose Ramos Horta, Fretilin, strongly attacked the 1986 UN working paper prepared by the Secretariat which claimed to be presenting a 'balanced' picture and ended up balancing facts and fiction. The fiction was the result of a relentless campaign by the Indonesian government to persuade the world that it has done wonders for the people of East Timor. "The facts of Indonesia's continuing military occupation, the continuing brutal war it wages against the people and the denial of the East Timorese people's right to self-determination have been carefully avoided."

The elections and the economy

Many petitioners were strongly critical of Indonesian plans to hold general elections in East Timor in April 1987. **Floyd Abrams**, Asia Watch, USA, and **William Felice**, International League for the Rights and Liberation of the People, argued that elections held under Indonesian occupation can never be accepted as an expression of the will of the people, as the Indonesian authorities would

have us believe. Pat Walsh, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, was alarmed at suggestions that the UN was considering observing these elections. Such a visit would be "a highly political exercise.... It could only be interpreted as tacit acceptance by the UN that East Timor is part of Indonesia."

Luisa Pereira described in detail the manipulations perpetrated by the Indonesian forces of occupation during the 1982 elections. "This farce must not be repeated. The people of East Timor must not be obliged, for a second time, to take part in an event which is totally foreign to them, which perpetuates their state of imprisonment and isolation. The Maubere people must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination."

Many petitioners spoke at length about the plight of the East Timorese, living in enforced resettlement areas which they themselves call concentration camps. In response to Indonesian claims to be investing huge sums of money in East Timor, Julia Morrigan, Indonesia East Timor Programme, Canada, said much of the money was going into status symbols like the TV station, while the people were forcibly relocated to malaria-infested coastal regions. Elizabeth Traube, anthropologist at Wesleyan University, who carried out research among the Mambai people for eighteen months, up to 1975, and Monsignor Costa Lopes, former bishop of Dili, both derided the relevance of Indonesian-sponsored economic development.



An Indonesian soldier poses with Jakarta's new colonial subjects in East Timor. [Mutiarra, 30 July-12 August 1986]

Whatever the results, they said, the basic fact remains that the people have been denied their inalienable right to self-determination.

Ben Anderson, specialist on Indonesian politics and professor of government at Cornell University, stressed that only two small interest groups reap any benefit from Indonesia's occupation of East Timor:

"One is a clique of officials and businessmen who have made great profits from monopoly control of East Timor's superb export coffee, and hope to do still better from the oil reputed to lie beneath its surrounding waters. The other is a not much larger group of senior military officers who devised and carried out the occupation,

EAST TIMOR

built their careers on it, and for reasons of face and power, cannot bear to contemplate its abandonment."

The continuing war in East Timor

Liem Soei Liong TAPOL, described Indonesia's military operations in East Timor which fall under a special, centralised military command, the Komando Operasi Keamanan Timor Timur [Security Operations Command of East Timor] or Kopskam Timor Timur, which is commanded by Brigadier-General Warsito, concurrently commander of the First Infantry Division of KOSTRAD, the Army's Special Strategic Command. "The decision to create Kopskam Timor Timur is a measure of the importance the Indonesian Armed Forces attaches to the conduct of its continuing war against the people of East Timor." He described the full range of troops at the disposal of Brig-Gen Warsito from his KOSTRAD Division, whenever military circumstances require special operations. They include infantry, tanks, strike-force troops, rapid-deployment forces as well as a whole range of sea and air support.

Human rights, birth control and transmigration

Many petitioners spoke of the continuing reports of human rights abuses, including torture, arbitrary arrests, disappearances and severe travel restrictions. Sidney Jones, Amnesty International, drew attention to the subversion trials conducted by the Dili District Court. Of 209 prisoners tried and convicted, all but two had pleaded guilty and none had appealed his or her conviction. "Amnesty International is concerned that the prisoners may not have been apprised of their right not to be compelled to testify against themselves or confess guilt, and that they may have been pressured into pleading guilty. It is also concerned that procedures might not have been adequately understood and that the defendants may have been given no choice of counsel other than a government-appointed defence team."

Jan Muter, Dutch Indonesia Committee, condemned the birth control programme in East Timor where the pill is massively given out without any information on what it is used for. There is also massive use of injectable hormone methods in 31.7 per cent of the women covered by the programme, without telling them the purpose of the injection. Furthermore, experiments have been carried out with new contraceptive methods, along with involuntary sterilisation of men and women when they are sent to hospital.

Elaine Briere, Canada Asia Work Group, listed numerous abuses, among them the expropriation of Timorese ancestral lands, the transmigration of Indonesians onto those lands, religious persecution, forced sterilisation of Timorese women, the use of the educational system to impose Indonesia's state philosophy Pancasila, and its publicly declared policy of absorbing ethnic groups into the Indonesian culture.

Many petitioners questioned the refusal of the Indonesian government to allow independent, qualified international observers to enter East Timor. In the words of Floyd Abrams, "There are few places in the world where outsiders cannot visit as tourists. East Timor is one and this only adds to the understandably widespread perception that the situation in the territory is far from the tranquil one the Indonesian authorities maintain it is."



The Church and East Timor

Robert Archer, Catholic Institute of International Relations, UK, said that during the years the Institute had worked on the question, he had met a number of East Timorese clergy working in the Territory. They all believed that opposition was stronger than before, and were unanimous in their conviction that the 1975 invasion had been deeply resented, that its effects had deeply traumatised the society and that Indonesia's presence was even less acceptable to the people today than in 1975.

Masaki Yakoyama, Asian Ecumenical Youth Movement of the Christian Conference of Asia, made it clear that East Timor has become a major issue for protestant churches in Asia, along with militarisation and nuclearisation of the Asia Pacific region. Groups in the Philippines, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea and India were developing a network of support for East Timor's right to self-determination.

Indonesia's self-damaging words

Ben Anderson showed how official Indonesian statements about East Timor contained some of the most damaging information about conditions in East Timor. Summarising the conclusions that flowed incontrovertibly from the data he used, Anderson said: "If officials of this regime concede the deaths of at least 15% of the East Timorese population of 1975; the existence of thousands of orphans as well as maimed and crippled people; overwhelming illiteracy; massive non-use of the Indonesian language; severe economic backwardness; a pervasive climate of fear and suspicion; strengthened guerrilla resistance; and the continuing need to isolate East Timor even from Indonesians -- then we can be confident that, after eleven years of brutal military occupation, the so-called pacification has failed, not to speak of integration."

Several petitioners dwelt on the support given by their own governments to Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. Klemens Ludwig, Association of Endangered Peoples, Germany, said the Federal German government "is one of the main supporters of the so-called decolonisation process carried out by Indonesia", based on its own economic and military interests. Father Seifert, a priest and member of the Christian Democratic Union had produced an extremely biased report following a recent visit to East Timor. It was so blatantly pro-Indonesian that the Diocese of Cologne had since instructed him not to visit East Timor again. As if to confirm Ludwig's warning, the Indonesian delegate, S. Wiryono, used Father Seifert's report used Father Seifert's report extensively in his statement to the Committee.

At the end of the session, the Decolonisation Committee decided to keep East Timor on its agenda next year.

UN again postpones East Timor discussion

The UN General Assembly is again likely to postpone discussion of East Timor until next year. There has been no discussion of East Timor at the General Assembly since 1983.

In a Note dated 12 September, the UN Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, reported that consultations between Indonesia and Portugal were still continuing, and that he was not yet in a position to report to the Assembly. He made no mention at all of any efforts to bring East Timorese representatives into the consultations.

When the General Assembly opened in New York on 16 September, Malaysia tabled a resolution, seconded by the Netherlands, calling for discussion of East Timor to be postponed until the Secretary-General delivers his final report.

Foreign Minister Mochtar claimed this would help the issue "to fade away". But unfortunately for him, East Timor has this year been discussed in more international forums than ever, making his 'fade-way' policy further than ever from realisation.

Non-aligned summit: Indonesia's bid for leadership fails again



Foreign Minister,
Mochtar Kusumaatmaja

East Timor has once again been the stumbling-block to Indonesia's ambitions to chair the non-aligned movement. An earlier attempt last year at the foreign ministers'

meeting in Luanda also failed. [See TAPOL Bulletin, No 71, September 1985, page 21.] For months prior to the September 1986 summit meeting in Harare, Foreign Department officials from Mochtar down were speaking confidently about Indonesia chairing the 1989 summit, a decision that would have had to be taken at Harare. Yet, President Suharto did not take the trouble to attend the Harare meeting himself, but sent Vice-President, retired General Umar Wirahadikusumah, to head the Indonesian delegation.

As it turns out, the Harare meeting could not reach agreement. The candidate with the strongest support was Nicaragua, but the Movement operates by consensus, and there were countries that opposed Nicaragua. Indonesia, the only other candidate, was supported only by some Asian countries, as even Indonesian newspapers were forced to admit. African and Latin American countries were strongly opposed. According to Tempo [13 September], "their objection was Indonesia's annexation of East Timor". The controversy will now have to be resolved at the 1988 non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting in Cyprus, when Indonesia will again try to win the leadership of the Movement.

Fretilin guerrillas examine captured weapons. This photo was received from East Timor earlier this year.



"Indonesia behaves like former colonial powers"

Speaking for Fretilin in Harare, Luis Guterres said: "Indonesia has shown no respect for the principles of non-alignment. By invading East Timor in 1975, Indonesia has behaved just like the former colonial powers" [Volkskrant, 4 August].

East Timor left out of final declaration

It is profoundly regrettable, however, that the Summit did not include East Timor in its final declaration, though claims made by Mochtar and Vice-President Umar Wirahadikusumah that East Timor was not mentioned in the discussions are pure fabrication. Nicaragua, Mozambique, Angola and the SWAPO delegation all expressed support for East Timor in their speeches.

Frustrated by the failure to win leadership of the Movement, Mochtar tried to make the most of the debacle, claiming that the exclusion of East Timor from the Declaration was the first step towards burying the East Timor issue for ever, paving the way for Indonesia to obliterate the issue from all international forums [Sinar Harapan, 10 September]. Considering that earlier this year [Kompas, 29 March], he was expressing his determination to achieve this in 1986, it would appear that he is seriously behind schedule.

Pacific People's Solidarity Forum

In August, the Pacific People's Solidarity Forum met in Suva, Fiji, in advance of the South Pacific Forum. The Solidarity Forum was convened by the Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG).

In addition to issues concerning super-power policies in the region, East Timor and West Papua were also on the agenda. For East Timor, Abel Guterres, Fretilin representative in Australia, appealed to the Pacific people and their governments to ensure that East Timor remains on the UN agenda.

The Forum questioned the validity of the so-called Act of Free Choice in West Papua in 1969, and called for an end to the international funding of Indonesia's transmigration programme. It decided to lobby for West Papua to be included on the UN list of colonial territories still entitled to independence.

Walter Lini raises East Timor and East Papua

The Prime Minister of Vanuatu, Father Walter Lini, made a point of mentioning Indonesia's two colonies at a press conference held at the end of the South Pacific Forum, in Fiji. He said they should be given priority among Pacific concerns at future meetings of the South Pacific Forum.

Catholic students international supports East Timor

An International assembly of Catholic students, meeting in Belgium in August, came out firmly in support of East Timor. With the support of all sixty delegations, except the delegation of Indonesia which walked out, the Congress of the International Young Catholic Students and the Interfederal Assembly of the International Movement of Catholic Students agreed to send a letter of concern to the UN and other international bodies.

The resolution, proposed by the Portuguese delegation and seconded by the Indian delegation, was angrily opposed by the delegation of the Indonesian Catholic Students Federation (PMKRI). Many other delegations spoke up in favour, especially delegations from Asian countries, leaving the Indonesians totally isolated.

The letter reads as follows:

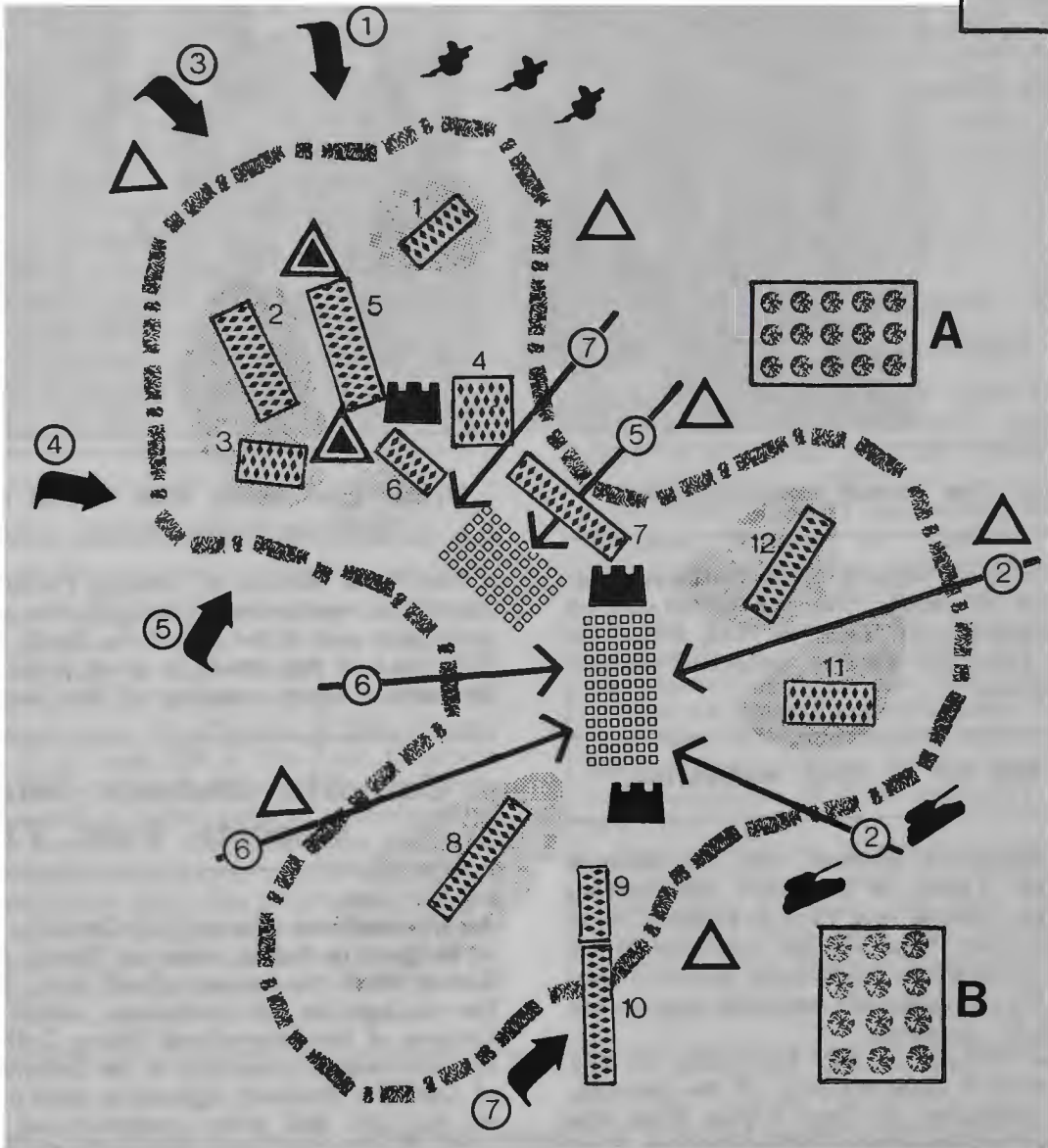
The undersigned wish to express their deepest concern at the continued occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, in flagrant violation of International Law and the right to self-determination.

Our concern is further heightened by reports from informed sources in the Catholic Church and international organisations such as Amnesty International that the Indonesian presence in East Timor has been accompanied by a blatant violation of human rights and a policy of "cultural genocide" aimed at eliminating all trace of a once culturally and historically distinct people.

The letter was signed by delegates from 53 of the 60 countries attending; other delegates had left or could not be reached for signatures. It was sent to the UN Secretary-General, the presidents of Portugal and Indonesia, the UN Commission for Human Rights, the European Parliament and Council of Europe and the Belgian and Portuguese parliaments.

LOSPALOS

Section of a military map sent abroad by Fretilin. The original is an Indonesian map captured on 20 December 1985 at Hirino Alapupulo. The details were added by Fretilin. [The map was received in Lisbon in late June 1986.]



Map : Liam Soi Liong

LEGEND

	Battalion positions.	A	SugarplantationrunbyDistrictMilitaryCommand (Kodim).
	Army posts, company strength.	B	Vegetable garden run by Txai Para military post.
	Army posts, platoon strength.		Fretilin actions against inner Lospalos. (See explanation.)
	Camps, numbered 1 to 12. (See explanation.)		Fretilin actions against camps.(See explanation.)
	Agricultural sites surrounding concentration camps.		Artillery positions.
	Inner part of Lospalos.		Tank positions.

Fretilin's map of Lospalos

On 20 December 1985, Fretilin guerrillas captured an Indonesian military map during an ambush in Hirino Alapupulo. This was a map of the *Jawatan Topografi TNI-AD* (Topographical Department of the Indonesian Army) which had been issued by Army Headquarters in Jakarta on 29 October 1984, for use by the commander of the Udayana Regional Military Command based in Bali, the Command under which the East Timor Sub-Regional Military Command falls. The map bears the code identification, *Izin Pengeluaran DPPT/149/ASD/X/84* (Issue Permit DPPT/149/ASD/X/84).

The map is much larger than maps previously captured by Fretilin. It is 110 cm by 120 cm and covers only part of the eastern region of East Timor, from Iliomar in the west to Mehara in the east. Fretilin commander, Xanana Gusmao has added a great deal of detail, showing the position of Indonesian troops and the location of concentration camps. He has also shown the location of a number of Fretilin actions in the area from August 1983 until December 1985, including ambushes of enemy convoys, attacks on military positions and attacks on concentration camps. The map as amended by Xanana was sent to the Fretilin External Committee and reached Lisbon in June 1986.

It has not yet been possible to photocopy the map because of its size and colour, but after having had a chance to study some of the details, TAPOL decided to reproduce some sections in this and forthcoming issues of TAPOL Bulletin. The first section we are reproducing here is the town and environs of Lospalos which is an important area of Indonesian military and economic activity. Lospalos is the capital of Lautem district and is also the location of a number of concentration camps.

Indonesian troop positions

Battalions 327, 312 and 417 are stationed around Lospalos, as well as a marine unit and a unit of the notorious para-commando troops, the red-berets known to the Timorese as 'nanggala' troops. [This is a sanskrit word, but is used by the Timorese to mean 'knife-carrying killers'.] Battalion 745 is stationed in the centre of the town, and is at present accommodated in the former Portuguese military barracks.

There are altogether eight concentration camps in the area (see below for details). The inhabitants of the camps come from various parts of East Timor. The Lospalos region is regarded as an important 'economic growth' centre by the Indonesian military. In addition to restricted agricultural sites around the camps for use by the camp inhabitants, the Lospalos military command runs a sugar plantation, while the army post at Txai Para runs a vegetable garden on land unlawfully confiscated from an East Timorese Chinese vegetable grower.

An eight-metre wide, asphalted road, 50 kilometres long, has recently been built by army engineers, to provide an outlet for sugar and other cash crops that are being produced for export. A controversy appears to have arisen between the military who want to transform the vicinity into a well-organised cottage garden, with a sugar factory as well as the plantation, and Governor Carrascalao who does not believe that the factory will be profitable and wants the region to continue as in Portuguese times, when it was a centre for cattle-

raising. A hydro-electric plant is also under construction, or may already have been completed.

Although Xanana's additions to the maps identify guerrilla actions, he does not give information about the number of casualties on either side, or say whether Fretilin captured any weapons. However, a report from foreign news agencies earlier this year spoke of an action in November 1985 when Fretilin forces ambushed and killed 15 Indonesian soldiers in the Lospalos area. A press release by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA), issued on 24 July 1986, refers to Lospalos as a region where constant clashes have occurred between Fretilin guerrillas and the Indonesian military for many years.

The concentration camps [Numbered as in map]

1. Kartini I concentration camp, which accommodates the population of Tei Moto and Titilari. The entrance is guarded by a 'nanggala' control post.
2. Concentration camp for the populations of Txenu Lore, Lari Natxa, Rei Soru, Lilapuhu and Setiara.
3. Lau Sepu concentration camp.
4. Motolori II concentration camp for the population of Txau Luturo.
5. Zink-roofed houses for the families of Battalion 745 soldiers. These are located next to the former Portuguese barracks.
6. Concentration camp for the Lospalos population.
8. Concentration camp of the Kakavei suco, for the populations of Maluro, Vatalata, Pai Ira, Kakavei, Vanirlo and Hirino.
9. Kartini II concentration camp for the populations of Luro, Nua Lata and Txai Vataxa. There is also a 'nanggala' post here, as the camp is situated at the southern entrance to Lospalos.
10. Camp for the families of members of Hansip [civil guard composed of Timorese conscripts].
11. Concentration camp for the population of Lere Loho.
12. Concentration camp for the population of Irara.

Fretilin guerrilla attacks [Numbered as in map]

1. Guerrilla attack from the north against Kartini I camp and its 'nanggala' control post, in December 1983.
2. An attack on the centre of Lospalos town from two directions, on 31 December 1983.
3. An attack from the north in February 1984, directed against the enemy post guarding the concentration camps.
4. An attack in April 1984 against guarded concentration camps, this time from the west.
5. In June 1984, guerrillas attacked twice, once from the north against the centre of Lospalos, and once from the west against the northern sector of Lospalos.
6. In July 1984, there was a two-pronged attack from the west against the centre of Lospalos.
7. There were two attacks in September 1984, one in the south where Hansip troops are accommodated. The other, on 12 September, came from the north and was directed against the town centre.

A bishop speaks out in support of West Papuan refugees

Bishop John Etheridge, Bishop of Vanimo, has spent much of the last two years, looking after refugees from West Papua. Earlier this year, he left Vanimo for Australia in a state of extreme exhaustion, to take a much-needed rest in Sydney, under medical treatment. The following are extracts from an interview taped by Jean MacLean, Labour Party member of the Victoria State Parliament. It was recorded in June.

The early beginnings

In early 1984, I got a call on our radio from one of my out-stations. The priest in charge there said: "There are quite a number of West Irianese people coming to the mission." It was pouring with rain at that particular time, and he said there were men, women and children. The women and men had banana leaves over their heads to keep them dry from the rain. They were walking through mud; they had their pigs and dogs with them and all their worldly goods - pots and pans and whatever else they had.

I asked the father to find out what was going on and he told me these people were fleeing from West Irian. The mission is only about three hours' walk from the border. He said these people had come across to Papua New Guinea because they were afraid of the Indonesian soldiers, they were afraid of the Indonesian Government. So we finished up at that camp with about 1,200 refugees.

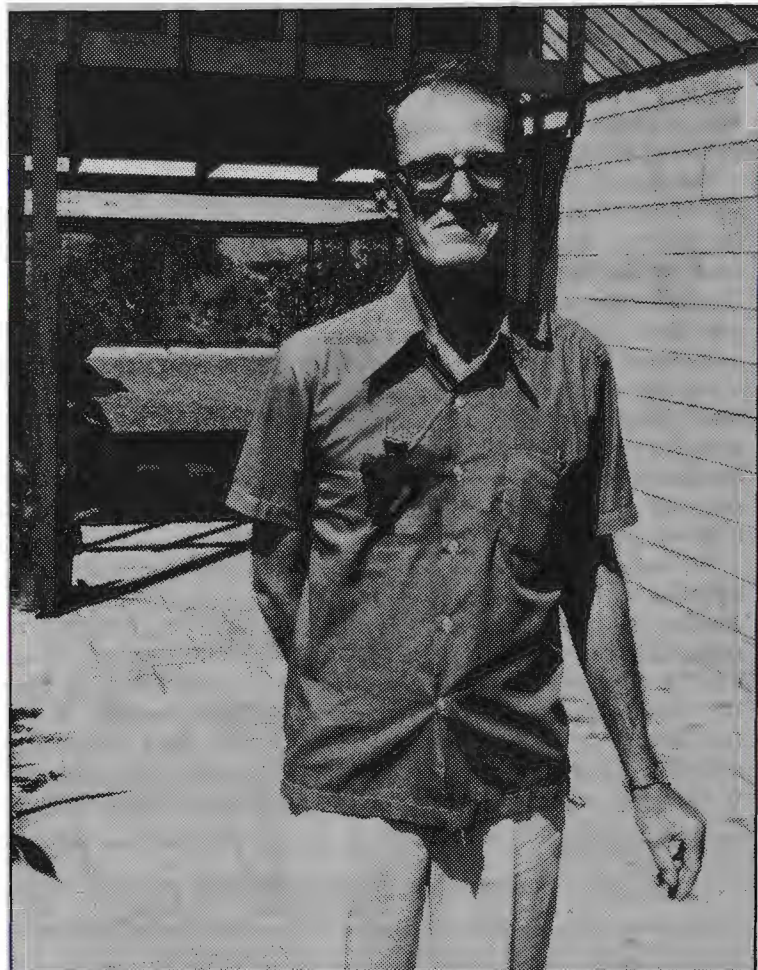
I told the parish priest there: "These people seem to be in need, they seem to be fleeing from something that's going on in West Irian, so, as Christians, we have to look after them. We should feed them, give them any medical help they need.... Get shelter for them."

"Illegal immigrants"

When it came to the notice of the government that these people had come across from West Irian into the mission, I was unofficially told to tell all these people to go back, because they were illegal immigrants and had no right coming across the border. But I said, "No way will I tell them to go back. As far as I am concerned, these people are in need of food and medical help. They are afraid to go back to their villages. They want refuge."

Not long after that, I got a phone call from a very good friend of mine who was in the government at that time. He said: "Bishop, I think you'd better get a lawyer. It looks like you're going to be taken to court." I asked why and he said, "You are accused of harbouring illegal immigrants." I said, "What illegal immigrants?" He said, "The people you are looking after. You are feeding them, you are giving them medical supplies. You are sheltering them. They are illegal immigrants in PNG. Therefore because you are looking after them, you are harbouring them and therefore you are going to be charged."

This concerned me a little, so I contacted a number of lawyers in Port Moresby and asked them if I could be charged for harbouring illegal immigrants with these people coming across. The lawyers said: Yes, if I looked after them and fed them, I could be taken to court and charged. I said: "What would the sentence be if I was charged and found guilty?" I think it was something like a 300 hundred kina fine or a three-month gaol sentence. So, I told the lawyers I would take the gaol sentence, no way would I pay the fine. I would go to gaol, and what an embarrassment it would be for the PNG government if a



Bishop John Etheridge

bishop of the church was put in gaol for helping people in need.

I heard nothing more about the court case.

Proof of human rights abuses

I believe very strongly that there are human rights abuses happening in West Irian, by the Indonesian army and the police. I've heard so many stories about the abuses. I've heard stories about people being put in 44-gallon drums of water and just left there for eight hours and after that, taken out and put in the sun for eight hours. I've heard a lot of stories of people being cut to pieces. I've seen photographs, at least two photographs, a photograph of a hole in the ground full of water and you can see just the heads - two or three heads - just above the water. The rest of the body is submerged in the water. I saw a photograph of a Melanesian person in a room of some sort of; it looked like a morgue slab bed and he was naked. It was obvious that he was dead and it looked to me that strips of skin had been taken off his legs and his feet.

So I believe very, very strongly that there are human rights abuses going on in West Irian and I believe very, very strongly that there is racial genocide going on there. The Indonesians are trying to wipe out, completely annihilate, the culture of the Melanesian people there.

Yes, I've had photographs of Arnold Ap after he died and on the photographs you can see marks on his body, bruises on his arm and his hand. I actually got a doctor to look at these photographs. The doctor said, to put it truthfully, that possibly he would not be able to stand up in a law court, but as a professional man, he would say that that man had been tortured before he died. That's what was obvious to him. There was obviously bruising on his legs - you can see it in the photograph - bruises on his legs, across his head and forehead, and his fingers and hand were white. It seemed to be that he'd lost a lot of blood or something in that area.

Australia must speak out

I myself am an Australian citizen and I believe Australia and the Australian government and people should stand up very strongly and speak out about human rights abuses going on in West Irian, and let the Indonesians know that they know that human rights abuses are going on there. I believe the Australian government should have the guts to stand up for humanitarian reasons, to stand up and say, "This is going on and we are not happy with

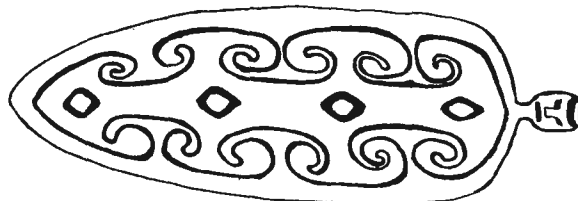
it and we want it to stop."

I'd like to go farther. I myself believe that the Indonesians should get out of West Irian and it should be an independent country. That's what I hope and pray for in the future, and I will do all in my power to try and bring that about. I think Australia has a responsibility for these people living right on the doorstep of Australia. I'm sure the Australian government knows about it, but just turns a blind eye. To me, that is a crime against humanity.

75 per cent are political refugees

There are ten thousand refugees officially, but I would say there could be twelve or thirteen thousand refugees unofficially in Papua New Guinea. Now, I class at least 75 per cent of these as refugees, as genuine refugees.

The PNG government seems to be saying that a genuine refugee is a person who is politically active against the Indonesian government. Now, there may be four or five hundred who are politically active against the Indonesian government, and I agree that they would be genuine refugees. But I also believe there are other West Irianese here who are not politically active against the government, but they are sympathetic towards the OPM. They are afraid to go back because they could be persecuted or harassed, not because they are politically active against the government but because maybe their



husband or their son or their cousin or somebody from their family is politically active.

What happens in West Irian is, if your father or husband and so on is politically active, or you are classed as a sympathiser, you are also harassed or persecuted. I know that this has happened in villages. I can give you a case that actually came to me today, that of four villages not too far from Jayapura where a number of houses have been burnt down. I understand that two churches were burnt down too. Pigs and dogs have been killed by the Indonesian army. Why? Because they accused these village people of being sympathetic towards the OPM.

I feel that the PNG government could take all these people here. There is plenty of ground in PNG so they could be resettled here. They could be an asset to the country, particularly the educated ones in Blackwater. I can understand the government having problems with some of them who are really politically active and who will continue to be politically active, even if they are made citizens of PNG. I can understand that they could cause problems.

Maybe a third country would be more advisable for them to go to, but to me, that would have to be looked at very seriously, because it would be much better for these people to be allowed to remain amongst their own people, in a sense, their own Melanesian people, so that they could live in their own culture.

Wabo camp will not be used

Following alarm over reports that Wabo camp in Western Province had been chosen to resettle hundreds of the more politically active refugees [see TAPOL Bulletin, No 76, July 1986], the UNHCR has now made it clear that plans to use the camp have abandoned. All refugees, they say, will be re-located at East Awini, Western Province.

Nearly 750 more refugees cross over

A new influx of West Papuan refugees into Papua New Guinea was reported by border authorities at the end of August. PNG Foreign Minister, Legu Vagi, announced that 747 West Papuans had reached the PNG border station of Yapsiei, and had told officials that they had been maltreated by Indonesian soldiers.

The refugees come from seven villages in the vicinity of Kiwirok, which is about 30 kms from the border and nearly 50 kms south-west of Yapsiei. They spoke of an attack on Kiwirok in March this year, and said many villagers had been killed. The villagers had been forced to watch as soldiers beheaded a Catholic catechist; another five men were shot dead during the incident. Afterwards, villagers from the surrounding area abandoned their homes and began the trek to Papua New Guinea. They also told officials that hundreds more were on the move, and were expected to cross the border soon.

PNG government worried

The PNG government is reported to be very concerned that this new influx has occurred just as efforts are being made to speed up the voluntary repatriation of refugees who have been in PNG for more than two years. According to *The Australian* [5 September], the government is critical of the UN High Commission for Refugees for delays in determining the status of the more than 10,000 refugees now in various camps, and arranging for their re-location.

But the problem of status determination could be even further exacerbated because Port Moresby is insisting that the refugees who have just arrived must be screened before they can be housed or provided with regular supplies. Initially food is being provided by the Catholic mission and nearby villagers.

It is not difficult to imagine that health conditions among the newcomers must be extremely poor, so any delay in taking proper care of them could be disastrous.

PNG opposition deputy leader supports West Papua self-determination

The deputy-leader of the Opposition in Papua New Guinea, Father John Momis, has come out strongly in favour of self-determination for the people of West Papua, expressing the view that PNG "must use all (its) efforts to bring the issue to international forums" [Post-Courier, 12 September 1986].

Father Momis was responding to a statement by Prime Minister Pias Wingti saying that PNG should, in the interests of "realism", accept that an act of Free Coice had taken place in "Irian Jaya", and that there "is nothing we can do. Irian Jaya is an integral part of Indonesia". [Wingti's statement is reminiscent of the statement made in August 1985 by Australian Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, formally accepting Indonesia's integration of East Timor.]

Father Momis sets out in detail events leading up to the 1969 Act of No Choice, as it is called by West Papuans. "It would be a particular betrayal of principles for PNG politicians to abandon the West Papuans in the name of 'realism'," he says, also condemning many in the

international community for their refusal to stand up to Indonesia. "Our refusal to deal with the reality of Indonesian rule for fear of 'offending' Indonesia has created a totally false basis to our relationship."

PNG and Indonesia to conclude Friendship Treaty

The sharp exchange between government and opposition politicians comes as Papua New Guinea and Indonesia are about to sign a Treaty of Friendship, and are in the process of exchanging military attaches. The Treaty will go well beyond the terms of previous agreements between the two countries, which were primarily concerned with regulating arrangements along the 800 km border. Efforts earlier this year to draw up an acceptable draft broke down over the question of extradition, which is bound to play an important role in bilateral relations in view of the many West Papuan refugees now in Papua New Guinea. There has been no reference to this tricky question, but an extradition treaty could put many of these refugees at risk because Indonesia regards many of them as "criminals" who must be brought to justice.

Prime Minister Wingti's statement on "realism" appears to be intended to clear the way for the signing of the Treaty which is due to take place on 20 October [Jakarta Post, 16 September 1986].

New military operations in West Papua

Reports have been received from Free Papua Movement (OPM) sources that the Indonesian army has launched a new operation code-named Operasi Sate. [This follows in the tradition of Indonesia's grisly choice of code-names, 'sate' meaning skewered meat.]

OPM reports that on 1 August, General Benny Murdani ordered five divisions into West Papua, backed by five F5 Tiger aircraft, based in Biak. The first operations took place in the region of Sarmi, Jayapura district when troop movements were supported by air attacks and marine landings along the coast.

OPM also claims to have information about forthcoming attacks, in Biak on 30 September, in Nabire on 30 October and in Kokonao on 30 November,

and believes that the operation will continue through to the end of January. These are widely scattered places, from where little has been heard recently about OPM activities. Nabire is on the north coast in Cendrawasih Bay, due south of Biak island, and Kokonao is in West Mimika, Fak-Fak district on the south coast.

News of the operation follows reports about a heightened level of OPM activity in many parts of Jayapura district (see TAPOL Bulletin, No. 75, May 1986, page 18). The operation could be aimed at breaking the back of armed resistance, in time for the April 1987 elections.



Nothing was reported in the Indonesian press about the protest against devaluation which greeted President Mitterand in Bandung [see page 20].

Sinar Harapan's "Welcome, Monsieur" cartoon suggests, however, that the press was well aware of what had happened.

Vosper-Thornycroft trying for more frigate deals



HMS Beaver, one of the two British warships that docked in Tanjung Priok. [Kompas, 4 September 1986]

A visit by two British warships to Tanjung Priok in September was the occasion for new efforts by one of Britain's leading warship manufacturers, Vosper-Thornycroft, to secure more deals with Indonesia. The two warships were on a world tour, Global 86, dedicated to seeking new orders for Britain's shipyards.

Vosper-Thornycroft has already supplied Indonesia with three Tribal-class frigates, which had been taken out of service and refurbished by the company.

Indonesia is planning to build ten frigates for its navy by the end of the century and has invited shipyards in several western countries to submit offers regarding technological transfer and design. The ships would be built in Indonesian shipyards under licence from foreign shipyards.

One of the two warships to dock in Tanjung Priok was the HMS Amazon which saw service in the Falklands War; the other was the HMS Beaver, the newest ship in the British Navy. Members of the British Global 86 team explained that the design on offer to Indonesia has undergone major improvements, based on Britain's 'bitter experiences' during naval battles with ships of the Argentinian Navy.

Foreign Office misleads Parliament about not supporting transmigration

The British government has pledged more financial assistance to Indonesia's transmigration programme, despite an official statement in Parliament that the UK does not assist the programme. An announcement of a new deal, signed in Jakarta between the British Embassy and the Department of Transmigration, appeared in the Indonesian press [Kompas, 26 July 1986].

The assistance will go towards carrying out a study of the topography of areas designated for transmigrant resettlement. The agreement covers an 18-month period, and represents an extension of a programme of cooperation that has been under way already for two years [Kompas, 26 July 1986].

Just a few weeks earlier, according to Hansard, Timothy Raison, a minister at the Foreign Office, asserted that the government "do not give direct financial or other support through bilateral or multilateral channels to the Indonesian transmigration programme". He also told Parliament that his Department "had not made an independent assessment of the impact of the programme".

Britain in fact supports the programme both directly through the involvement of the Land Resources Development Centre, and multilaterally through the World Bank, the EEC and a variety of United Nations agencies.

British nuclear industry seeks contract

Indonesia's Atomic Energy Agency, which is planning to build a nuclear reactor despite Indonesia's abundant supply of other sources of energy, has held discussions with a team from Britain's Atomic Energy Authority and several private British companies involved in nuclear energy [Sinar Harapan, 9 July 1986].

Indonesia plans to build a 30 megawatt, light-water all-purpose reactor in Serpong, West Java, and has already held exploratory discussions with teams from 7 western countries. Tenders for the project will be

invited in 1988, so that construction can begin two years later.

£140 million soft loan agreement

Britain has completed negotiations for a three-year soft loan agreement with Indonesia worth £140 million. The credit, with guarantees from Britain's Export Credit Guarantee Department, will be used for a variety of projects, including the construction of steel bridges, a colour television station in Bandung, the rehabilitation of the Jakarta radio station (which was destroyed in a fire in 1985) and the supply and installation of sea navigation equipment.

This agreement makes Indonesia the second biggest recipient of UK soft loans after China. [Financial Times, 18 July and Sinar Harapan, 21 July 1986]



"This land is to be used for project XYZ."

Western diplomats visit two sites

In a move to counter the campaign criticising transmigration, launched earlier this year in an issue of *The Ecologist*, the Department of Transmigration invited a group of diplomats to visit two transmigration sites in southeast Sulawesi. Altogether 28 diplomats from 18 countries went on the trip which was coordinated by Dr Volker Berresheim, a West German diplomat. [West Germany is, of all West European states, the most active in drumming up support for Indonesia. See "In support of genocide" by Klemens Ludwig, in *TAPOL Bulletin*, No 75, May 1986, page 15.]

According to *Sinar Harapan*, [4 September 1986], on his return to Jakarta, Dr Berresheim condemned the organisations criticising transmigration for "basing themselves on ignorance and being out of touch with reality". He insisted that he had seen no signs of Javanisation on the sites he visited, but at the same time echoed Jakarta's racist insistence that the Javanese are superior to the people who inhabit the outer islands, declaring that "we have to acknowledge that the newcomers from Java are more capable than people who live in the vicinity of the transmigration sites, particularly in

cultivating the soil".

The British and Australian diplomats who joined the trip to Sulawesi were also said to be "very impressed" by what they saw. The British diplomat, John Milne, for example, was quite satisfied to be told that rice production at the sites visited exceeded local requirements, which he called a "truly amazing accomplishment". He too attacked transmigration's foreign critics for basing their views on what he said were political considerations.

Sinar Harapan did however add that both the Australian and British diplomats thought they might be in a better position to comment if they could visit sites in Kalimantan and elsewhere.

It should also be said that sites which they were able to visit were just a few miles from Kendari, the district capital. They were accessible from Java by plane and road, in just a few hours' travel, and thus far better off than the majority of sites which are extremely remote, far from passable roads or any roads at all and out of reach of markets.



Waspada 30.4.1982

"Do any high officials ever come and visit this place?" "Yes, very often."
"Then, why have you let the road get into such a bad state?"
"Oh, when they come, they always fly in by helicopter."

The woman who returned home

The following report is taken from *Sinar Harapan*, 7 September 1986:

Gunung Kidul

"Cassava? I've always eaten cassava, here in my birthplace and there at the transmigration site. I'd like to eat something different."

The words tumbled from the lips of the woman from Kemiri village, Tepus, in Wonosari (Gunung Kidul) who had just returned home from a transmigration site. The woman,

who was carrying a two-month old baby, was sitting on the edge of a field of cassava. She wiped the sweat from her brow with a corner of her shawl, then used the tattered cloth to cover her baby's head, sheltering it from the intense heat and the dust blowing down from the chalky hills.

"However awful things may be, this is my birthplace, and I love it." Then she spoke about Bandan Dua, Kotabura in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, where the transmigration site was located. She'd stayed there for eight years. The place was a wilderness.

"I'm not going back there. I'm better off in Gunung Kidul. If they get on with making the soil arable [*pengijauan*], it will be quite fertile. As things are at

present, all we can grow here is cassava."

Ibu Praptiwiyono, 36 years old, mother of six, suddenly fell quiet. Her eyes looked sad, probably because she was tired of grappling with the hardships of life. Without being prompted, she began to tell her life story.

"It was back in 1978. Me and my husband got an offer to transmigrate to a place they said was a rice-growing area. We'd always wanted to be able to eat rice, so of course we accepted the offer. Off we went, to South Kalimantan, full of high hopes.

"Like the other transmigrants there, we received the allocation of food we'd been promised, rice, spices, a house and of course two hectares of land. We started tilling the land. We tried planting the seeds they gave us but the soil was too sandy and nothing grew. We tried not to lose heart.

"Although we had harvested nothing, we tried planting rice again. We weren't too worried about our standard of living because all our needs were still being catered for by the Transmigration Department. Then, when the second year came, we could no longer expect to receive rice seeds. So we wracked our brains. There was no other choice left but start eating cassava again, just like we had always done in Gunung Kidul.

"As the seasons and the years passed, our family came to the conclusion that all our hopes of growing rice had come to nought. So, what to do? Go back home? But, we didn't have enough money. After eight years away on transmigration, we now had two more children, a family of eight, making the trip back even more expensive. Anyhow, we scraped and saved, till we were able to return to Gunung Kidul."

"Of course," she went on, "it wasn't all bad over there. The banana trees were very fruitful, absolutely amazing. But you can't live on bananas alone, can you, especially if they fetch such a low price."

Her 70-year old father who had been out to see them for six months, butted in, saying that the fish there were splendid. "After an hour's fishing, we'd catch so much fish, we couldn't carry it all home. But my grandchildren were living on fish and cassava, and I couldn't allow that to continue."

But the worst thing of all was that the school was so far away. When it was time to for them to go to lower middle school, they had to leave school because it was so far away and the journey was much too expensive. "Seeing all this, I said the best thing was for them to go back home to Gunung Kidul."

Queuing up for water

Gunung Kidul covers an area of 1,585.36 hectares with a population of 695,500. It's very barren and chalky. [Gunung Kidul has the reputation of being the most barren region in Java, TAPOL.] No wonder there's so much interest there in transmigration. The number of families targetted for transmigration in the third five-year plan



A woman in Gunung Kidul, who walks from 9 am to 4 pm, carrying water.

was 4,787 families but 4,947 families went, 160 more families that targetted.

The revitalisation programme has begun to improve things, and some areas are now turning green. "But," said a village elder, "it's not yet possible to grow rice, only cassava, because there's not enough water. It's so bad that we still have to queue up for water once a week."

But for Ibu Praptiwiyono, the thing that makes life in Gunung Kidul bearable is that her children can go to school. "Even if they only eat cassava, at least they can go to school. That gives us hope. Let's pray they'll make a success of their lives when they grow up."

Well, it may be cassava with no cheese, but giving the children an education is worth everything. And how do they pay? "Their father can get work as a labourer in Jogjakarta," she said, "and I can get any kind of a job around here. What matters is that we can keep the stove burning."

Forestry minister calls shifting agriculture suicidal

The contempt which Jakarta-based bureaucrats have for agricultural traditions in many parts of Indonesia outside Java has been expressed by the Minister for Forestry Affairs, Sudjarwo, who described slash-and-burn, shifting agriculture recently as "a form of suicide" [Kompas, 26 August]. He claimed that this type of agriculture is a grave threat to Indonesia's rain forests and even implied that it had been the cause of the catastrophic fire in East Kalimantan which destroyed more than three million hectares of forest in 1982.

Indonesian environmentalists have published a study strongly disproving such allegations and pointing the

finger at the careless and harmful practices of lumber companies. [See, "The forests of East Kalimantan, a resource that needs speedy protection" by Erwin Ariawan and Sandra Moniaga, published by SKEPHI, the Coordinating Secretariat for Forest Conservation in Indonesia, Jakarta, December 1985.]

Although it is widely acknowledged that shifting agriculture has been practised in forest regions in various parts of the world for many hundreds of years without harmful effects, the Minister claimed that if it was allowed to continue, "Indonesia's forests will be wiped out in 50 years".

Suharto's fourth devaluation undermines political and business confidence

The Indonesian government's decision, announced on 12 September, to devalue the rupiah by 45 per cent against the dollar has hit the Indonesian people extremely hard. Within hours of the announcement, many prices had risen dramatically, and no-one doubts that, despite government promises to protect basic commodities against higher prices, the cost of living will rise substantially in the coming months.

The first organised protest against the devaluation came on 17 September when Bandung students rallied to greet Suharto's guest, President Mitterand with anti-Suharto slogans, and banners proclaiming, "Indonesia, with its 45 per cent devaluation, welcomes Mr Mitterand". A student leader told AFP they were taking advantage of the French president's visit to demonstrate, as protests were banned on campus.

Whether or not other protests have occurred is impossible to say. Jakarta Post [16 September] reported that rumours about "riots and car burnings... in various parts of the city kept reporters busy the whole evening", but claimed they found "nothing extraordinary had taken place". Under Indonesia's self-censorship system, denials are often a way of reporting the occurrence of unreportable events.

But the press have extensively reported the bitter complaints about the devaluation being expressed by businessmen and economists. As many commentators are at pains to stress, this is the fourth devaluation since Suharto's 'New Order' was established. The first was in 1971, the second in 1978 and the third in 1983. Even more ominous is the fact that the gaps have been shortening, from seven, then to five and now to three years.

The devaluation took everyone by surprise, and followed repeated assurances by government officials, from Suharto down, that no such action would be taken. Many people believed the government would not contemplate devaluation in advance of the general elections scheduled for April next year because of the devastating effect on an already declining economy. If people like Suharto and his security chief, General Murdani, were indeed worried about the destabilising impact of devaluation, it is now clear that economic conditions had got so bad that they were no longer able to postpone the drastic measures prescribed by their economic managers and international financial agencies like the World Bank and the IMF.

The crisis points

Government statements justifying the move stress that its prime motive is to boost exports because foreign exchange earnings have been so severely hit by the fall in the price of oil. According to Minister for Mining and Energy, Dr Subroto, receipts from oil fell from \$18.400 million in 1981/82 to \$12.400 million in 1985/86, and are expected to fall to \$6.600 million in the current financial year [Kompas, 16 September].

Yet few people believe that exports can be promoted by raising the rupiah equivalent earned by exporters. Petroleum, as everyone knows, is at present subject to very different market forces. Although the petroleum companies are not in need of this 45 per cent incentive, they will profit enormously from the extra cash provided by the devaluation.

Nor is much faith placed in government hopes that the incentive to exporters will boost non-oil exports. Subroto himself described such prospects as "very gloomy"

[Kompas, 16 September] while The Economist [20 September] said few items, except plywood, textiles and tourism could expect to do better in today's glutted world markets.

The aim of devaluation must therefore be sought elsewhere, in its impact on state revenues. Indonesia's economic managers are wedded to monetarism and refuse to contemplate the idea of allowing a deficit in the state budget, however deeply the economic recession may bite. Despite efforts to increase the domestic tax base of state revenues, they still depend heavily on dollar receipts from the oil companies which account for 55 per cent of revenues, and on foreign aid. The 1986/87 budget announced in January this year cut expenditure by 7 per cent, because of falling oil prices, but the budget assumed that the oil price would stabilise at \$25 a barrel; the current price is just half that.

Devaluation will enable the state to absorb huge amounts of extra rupiahs from the economy, to fund the deficit that would otherwise occur. But this can only



Radius Prawiro, Indonesia's Minister of Finance

intensify the problems of businesses outside the state system, already groaning under the weight of unduly high costs, including the high rate of interest paid on borrowed capital.

The main economic indicators show that, for all its spectacular economic growth since the military took over, the Indonesian economy is still basically a one-commodity economy, and extremely vulnerable to world market forces. Another feature is that the proceeds of the 1970s oil boom have been used to boost the state sector enormously. In 1984, the assets of public enterprises totalled Rp 78 trillion, more than double the 1980 level, while the revenues of the public sector amounted to Rp 22 trillion in 1984, accounting for 26 per cent of Gross Domestic Product. [World Bank 1986 Report on Indonesia, page 75.] Thus, B.J. Habibie, President-Director of the state aerospace company, IPTN was thanking his lucky stars that his "strategic industry grew while receipts from petroleum sales were still high" [Kompas, 16 September]. IPTN had bought its capital requirements

while the going was good, he said, and could cope with the inflated cost of imported raw materials caused by devaluation to keep up its level of operations.

Impact on private business

But the fate of private domestic industry has been very different. The private business community has been thrown into disarray by the savage rise in costs resulting from a 45 per cent increase in the price of all imported materials. Many have also taken out foreign loans and now have to repay these at devalued rupiah rates. In fact, the World Bank Report, published four months before the devaluation, noted that private businesses were still reeling from the impact of "increased debt-servicing costs as a result of the 1983 devaluation of the rupiah" [World Bank 1986 Report, page 5].

Already since 1984, businesses producing for the domestic market have been complaining bitterly about their declining fortunes. Their complaints cover a variety of problems including the high cost of infrastructure such as electricity and transportation, high interest rates, excessive state regulations as well as a corrupt bureaucracy which incurs inevitable levies and delays.

Primarily however, their problems centre on the falling purchasing power of the Indonesian people and the disadvantages of a government-sponsored system of granting monopolies to certain private companies that are closely identified with the Armed Forces leadership, in particular the Suharto family. Both these problems touch on sensitive political issues and tend to mute criticism coming from the business community.

Nobody dares to talk about the growing impoverishment of the Indonesian people, nor about the impact of burgeoning unemployment in a country where the labour force increases by about 1.6 million people every year. The government's decision after the 1983 devaluation to postpone a number of development projects already seriously affected the market for jobs. The 1986/87 budget provides for a further cut of 22 per cent in development spending, a fact which led economists meeting at a *Kompas* seminar last May to warn that, as nearly 65 per cent of capital formation comes from the government sector, the cutback in government investment "will have an enormous effect on the construction industry as well as on all industries that manufacture supplies for the construction industry" [*Kompas*, 29 May 1986].

The rising cost of living would, under normal circumstances, result in workers' demands for higher wages. Indeed, the 1978 devaluation sparked a wave of strikes in banks as well as on the factory floor that shook the country well into 1980. One of the first post-devaluation moves taken by the government this time to pre-empt such a response was a tripartite meeting convened by Minister of Labour, Admiral Sudomo, between the government, the employers and the government-backed trade union federation SPSI, which warned that "strikes, slowdown movements and lockouts should be avoided". Not surprisingly, the meeting endorsed the devaluation and agreed that everything must be done "to inhibit recriminatory statements" [*Jakarta Post*, 16 September].

While everyone talks in terms of falling rates of growth from the 5 or 6 per cent achieved during the oil boom, to 1.9 per cent in 1985/86 and even falling to minus 3 per cent in the current financial year, the impact on jobs and living standards is rarely mentioned.

Protected monopolies

The other obstacle private business must contend with is the government policy of granting monopolies over the import of raw materials needed by manufacturing

enterprises. Although this policy has already favoured Suharto's business associates since the early years of military rule (the clove and flour monopolies granted to Liem Sioe Liong being the prime examples), the policy took a new turn in 1983 with import monopolies being granted to a host of private or state-sponsored companies, all of them connected with Suharto's business associates [see Christiano Wibisono in *Sinar Harapan*, 22 May 1986]. The raw materials affected cover the manufacture of pharmaceuticals, plastic goods, lubricants and tyres, rayon fibres and steel, to mention but a few.

The justification for this system of monopolies was that it protects key enterprises (all controlled by the same set of Suharto associates) from foreign competition and helps boost domestic industry. But businesses outside this privileged clique face excessively high prices for the raw materials they need to import. The devaluation has only exacerbated their problems by adding yet more to their production costs.

The situation is well reflected in the plastics industry where a single government-controlled company, PT Mega Eltra controls all imports. Since 1984, it has introduced complicated import procedures and made its own cost calculations which no-one else in the industry seems to understand. With the market for their products already in the doldrums, many smaller companies are already closing down and the industry fears more closures could follow, with many layoffs [*Kompas*, 15 September].

Thus, when businessmen and economists stress that devaluation needs to be followed by de-regulation and a new system of commerce to grapple with the country's high-cost economy, they are, without saying it in so many words, attacking the business interests of the regime's richest families.

While few people in Indonesia have had anything good to say for the devaluation, *The Economist* [20 September] welcomed it as an act of "political bravery". One of the most forthright comments in Indonesia came from a Bandung economist, Dr Hidayat who warned that the devaluation will only make things worse although the IMF and World Bank can be relied on to welcome it. "After all, they basically control our finances, and devaluation is their classic recipe when any country which receives their loans gets into difficulties." Certainly the 1986 World Bank Report foreshadowed the devaluation as the drastic measure needed to boost Indonesia's ailing economy.

The comments of businessmen and economists have been marked by a growing lack of confidence in the government's willingness to consider the basic problems of the Indonesian economy. It remains to be seen whether the security forces can prevent any organised expression of the discontent which is clearly widespread among many sections of the people.



Pinjaman Luar Negeri = Foreign Loans
"How much more can you bear?"

Election special



An election campaign meeting for the 1977 elections. In those days, the PPP was still a Muslim party and was allowed to use the holy Ka'bah as its election symbol. Today, neither the religious beliefs nor the symbol are permitted.

The general elections due in April 1987 are already dominating political events in Jakarta, but not in the normal sense of campaigning around different policies and programmes. There is growing conflict over lists of candidates, and intense fighting inside two of the parties - PPP and Golkar - over seats and other perks. When election time comes round, the regime will call it a "festival of democracy", and world opinion will probably spare no time to discover what really went on.

In this and succeeding issues, we shall analyse the preparations for the elections in order to shed light on political processes in Indonesia today, and on the murky system known as "Pancasila democracy".

*

In the three elections held since the military to power - in 1971, 1977 and 1982 - the government's slogan has been to "make them a success" [mensukseskan]. Shorn of the rhetoric, this has meant making sure that Golkar [Golongan Karya, or Functional Groups] which became the electoral vehicle of the Armed Forces, would win with a sizable majority. "Success" has meant securing more than two-thirds of parliamentary seats for Golkar and the Armed Forces who jointly also control 100 seats occupied by presidential appointees.

Being very formalistic in approach, the Indonesian military has attached great importance to the legitimising role of general elections, for the world at large as well as for the people at home. Maybe the world at large accepts the fiction though it is more doubtful whether the voters at home are really taken in.

In many ways, the 1987 election will differ from the earlier ones. Even in 1982, one could still identify differences between the three parties permitted to contest. The PPP [Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or Development Unity Party] projected a Muslim image, proclaimed Islamic preferences and attracted Muslim voters. The PDI [Partai Demokrasi Indonesia or Indonesian Democratic Party] reflected nationalist and Sukarnoist ideals, and Christian beliefs, being composed of a curious mixture of nationalist and Christian parties.

Since these two parties were created from forced mergers in 1973, they have been constantly harassed, intimidated and penetrated, never able to develop as independent political parties. Intrigues sparked by army intelligence plus the "dropping" of government-backed favourites to take over the leadership, have steadily torn the parties apart, creating confusion and disarray. Golkar, on the other hand, has seemed in better shape, functioning as the loyal partner of the Armed Forces, bulldozing its way to electoral victory and amply funded for the razzmatazz campaigning style it has developed.

Murdani and the PDI

But now, conditions have changed. In April this year, PDI was "rescued" by the government from the disarray which had brought it to the brink of collapse. Unable to elect a new leadership when it met in national conference, a team of generals did it for them and in the process, provided one of the main contending military factions, the one loyal to General Murdani, with its own

political vehicle. Since then, loyalty to the regime is no longer the sole preserve of Golkar, though loyalty these days must cast its light through different, and contending, prisms.

And what of the PPP? These days, the Indonesian press is full of stories about conflict inside this rump. It has reached such a pitch that another "rescue" operation must surely be nigh. If the legitimising facade of a "three-cornered" contest is to be safeguarded for next year's "festival of democracy", a saviour will be needed soon though, from this distance, we would not venture to guess who that might be.

The changing Golkar

Golkar has undergone significant transformation since its reorganisation in 1983. This was the hand-wagon created by army intelligence as the counter-weight to the mass movement loyal to the Indonesian Communist Party before 1965. Notwithstanding the privileges heaped upon it, Golkar, or Sekber Golkar as it was then known, made little headway until 1970 when Suharto, needing an electoral vehicle to legitimise his seizure of power, dragged it from relative obscurity to "mensukseskan" his first general elections in 1971. From then on, it has enjoyed the protection and support of the army, helped along by iron-fist intimidation of the other parties.

The law requiring all parties and organisation to adopt Pancasila as their "sole ideology", which was adopted last year, has had one result that may not have been properly considered at the time: it has ended Golkar's monopoly as the loyal, New Order party. All parties are now ideologically the same. Suharto himself proclaimed in his state address on 15 August this year that, for the first time, elections will not be held "under the shadow of ideological conflict". Party differences these days boil down to their different labels, and nothing more.

So, why bother with elections at all? That's a question General Suhardiman, one of Golkar's founding fathers, actually raised. He came up with a novel idea. Could we not decide, he argued, that the Indonesian people have settled on a share of, say, 60 per cent of votes for Golkar, 30 per cent for PPP and 10 per cent for PDI? All we would then need to do would be select the candidates every five years. Think of all the trouble and money we could save! But Suhardiman's logic is hard to swallow for the rest of the establishment, so Golkar must still fight on the hustings.

Golkar loses some privileges

However, the loss of its monopoly of ideological loyalty is not its only drawback. The Armed Forces have also had their own re-organisation, in the course of which its special relationship with Golkar has changed. Among the many ramifications of this is Murdani's insistence that the Armed Forces parliamentary group will function more independently of Golkar. Another is that Golkar will no longer be able to rely on the undivided support of the Army on the hustings. Since the main political factions vying with each other these days are headed by Murdani, Armed Forces commander, on the one hand, and General Sudharmono, chairman of Golkar, on the other, things could indeed get tough for Sudharmono and his band.

Being the State Secretary who controls all major development decisions and the power and wealth that go with them, as well as the dispenser of thousands of appointments in the bureaucracy, Sudharmono would appear to have a great advantage over his rival. That will win him loyal followers, but will it win him votes?

Several months ago, Sudharmono set his target, a 70 per cent win for Golkar, as compared with 62 per cent in

POLITICS

1982. But since the last elections, the shape of its organisation has changed. In 1984, it became a 'real party' with individual membership and a fully centralised leadership. The old-style Golkar was a federation of groupings (called KINOs), each led by a general, where group loyalties were strong and perks were dished out liberally to preserve the group's cohesion. The favourable economic conditions during the 1970s made the 'trickle down' system work well for the trustees in each of the groups. This was the system that held Golkar together.

Centralism is proving a far more tricky system to manage. Thus, Golkar has lost the cohesion it used to enjoy, and many disputes have arisen, over the choice of governor of Riau, the expulsion of squatters in Jakarta, to mention but a few. To describe these disputes would tax the patience of the reader, but what matters in the present context is that there now appears to be a battle royal waging over Golkar's list of candidates.

The fight over seats

Fights have broken out over the centre's choices and local preferences. Many oldtimers popular with the pre-1984 KINOs or in the localities are being dropped in favour of the sons and daughters of present or deceased ministers. In his choice of candidates, Sudharmono has a lot of patronage to dispense and favours to repay. Who knows, even Suhardiman, the god-father of Golkar (who, incidentally, had the nerve to suggest recently that the Constitution requires a limit to the number of terms anyone can remain president) might be on the verge of losing his seat!

In its favour, Golkar still has the undivided loyalty of government employees, who are required to be members of the government-sponsored civil servants association, KORPRI. Although KORPRI, as a corporate body, no longer fits in to Golkar's new structure, civil servants are all expected to be members of Golkar, and will probably be under pressure to vote Golkar. But it remains to be seen whether government officials, now unaided by local commanders, can pull quite the same "weight" with voters in many parts of the country.

Another shift in Golkar's favour is that Muslims from the strongholds of the socio-religious organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama, are joining Golkar in droves, a process of 'pengijauan' or 'green-ification', as it is being

GOLONGAN KARYA



Golkar's election slogan. Typifying the regime's obsessional commitment to symbolism, the tree has 8 descending branches, while the right-hand sheath has 17 pods, and the left-hand one has 45. This is for 17 August 1945, Indonesia's proclamation day.

called. Now that PPP has stopped being Muslim, many kiais (religious teachers) together with their followers are opting for the party that has something to offer in terms of position, seats and cash. But this is not an undiluted blessing because local Golkar branches could get bogged down in new conflicts between the 'green wing' and the 'bureaucrats wing'.

It seems, then, that Golkar will have to fight the election on a more equal footing than before. But since all parties must support the state ideology and promote the government's policies and programme, the choice between the three contestants amounts to no choice at all.

Death in police custody

Several cases have come to light recently where detainees in police custody have died as a result of injuries inflicted while in the hands of the police. In some instances, the tragedy has come to light because the family of the victim pressed for an investigation, taking advantage of a new regulation in the Criminal Procedural Code enacted at the end of 1981. But as the case of one victim, Alan Siahaan, indicates, seeking justice even when the responsibility of the police is blatantly obvious, is not as straightforward as it would seem.

Alan Siahaan, 27 years, was a garlic trader in Tegal, Central Java, who had recently come to Java from his home-town, Medan in North Sumatra. He was arrested by the police in the middle of the night, on 1 June this year, and thrown into a cell. By next morning, he was so badly injured by police brutality that he was taken to hospital while still in handcuffs. He died shortly afterwards. His body was returned to his family for burial but with no statement from the police about the cause of death or the reason for his detention.

On the day of his detention, he had gone with a friend to visit an acquaintance to sort out a dispute that had arisen between the latter two men. But the person they were visiting started shouting "thieves!" as soon as he saw them at the door. While his friend immediately fled, Alan Siahaan was slow to move and was set upon by neighbours who thought he was about to stage a robbery. He was arrested and taken to a nearby police station.

Immediately after being thrown into a police cell, he was severely beaten and his head was bashed against the wall. Other inmates reported to the prison authorities that he was bleeding profusely and needed immediate treatment, but this didn't come till hours later.

Court throws out family's complaint

The family took the case to court, with the help of the Legal Aid Institute, hoping to get Alan's name cleared. They also demanded compensation for his death. The lawyers used the *pra-pengadilan* (pre-trial) provisions in the Criminal Procedural Code to demand an investigation into police treatment. These provisions introduced habeas corpus into Indonesian law for the first time.

In this case, the victim's family got nowhere. The court argued that there were no grounds for a *pra-pengadilan* hearing against the police because the police had not issued a warrant for the man's arrest. In the view of the court, this meant that he was not in police custody even though the court accepted evidence that he had been questioned by the police and thrown into a police cell. Nor would the court allow the family to sue the police for Alan's death, as death in custody is not a matter for a *pra-pengadilan* hearing. The court also chose to ignore testimony about police brutality submitted by inmates who were witnesses to his treatment.

The Tegal police chief was naturally delighted with the verdict, saying this proved that the police were not responsible for mistreating the victim.

[Sources: *Pelita* 29 July, *Kompas*, 27 August and *Tempo*, 6 September 1986.]

Man dies within two hours of arrest

Iriansyah, a sailor, was arrested by police in Balikpapan for allegedly stealing a typewriter. Two hours later, he was dead. The police claimed that he hanged himself in the bathroom. His sister refused to accept this explanation. She told lawyers that her brother's hands were free when his corpse was taken to the hospital morgue. Moreover, the police instructed doctors at the hospital not to make any internal autopsy of the body.

When the body was returned to the family, there were no documents to certify anything, and the police have offered no official explanation about Iriansyah's death to his family [*Sinar Harapan*, 17 September].

Lawyers call for greater protection under *pra-pengadilan* provisions

There is growing concern in the legal profession about the mal-treatment of people in custody, and the length of time that often elapses before a person is formally charged and tried. Some lawyers have called for regulations to be introduced regarding *pra-pengadilan* hearings because, as things stand, many aspects are wide open to different interpretations. Some courts have, for example, accepted police responsibility if a person is known to have been in their hands, whether or not an arrest warrant was issued, while others argue, as in Alan Siahaan's case, that the police cannot be held responsible if no arrest warrant was issued.

Abdul Hakim G. Nusantara, chairman of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, has just co-authored a book examining the workings of the Criminal Procedural Code from the human rights perspective. The writers attach great importance to the habeas corpus provisions of the Code but warn of its serious limitations. Lawyers "tend to be apathetic," they write, "and are inclined to wait till the case comes to court where everything can be openly raised".

The growing use of *pra-pengadilan* law is a sign of heightened consciousness about legal rights in society. However, no such hearings have yet been heard, to our knowledge, in political cases. Generally speaking, these cases are handled primarily by the army who make arrests under their special powers, and pursue the case under the anti-subversion law. One of the fatal flaws of the Criminal Procedural Code is that arrests under certain laws, including the anti-subversion law, are "temporarily" exempt from the Code's provisions.

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Readers, please note: Starting with the next issue, due out in the first week of December, we are dating the Bulletins December, February, April, June, August and October. We are not skipping a month. But the December issue will report events to the end of November, more accurately reflecting our efforts to provide readers with up-to-date news and comments.

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