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MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

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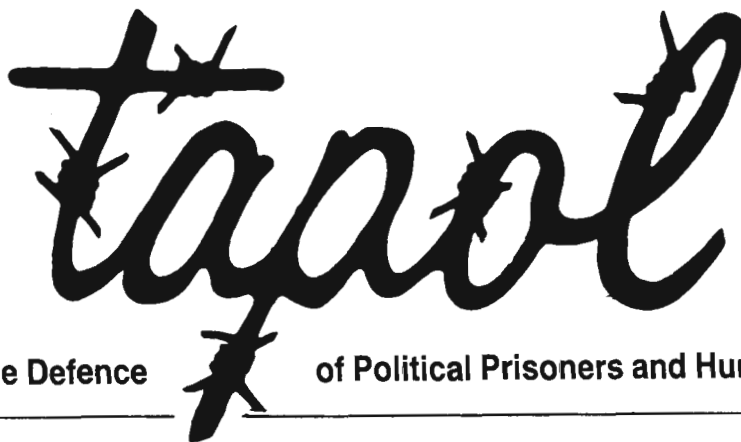
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British Campaign for the Defence

of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia

TAPOL Bulletin No.55,

January 1983

## UK ARMS EXPORTS TO INDONESIA TO INCREASE

### Warships, Missile Launchers, Security Vehicles and More Hawks

A massive increase in the export of arms to Indonesia from the UK is to go ahead, despite British government denunciations of aggression against smaller nations, made in the Falklands context, and its assertions of non-approval regarding the Indonesian military annexation of East Timor. The planned sale of military hardware could well find immediate use against the East Timor struggle for independence as well as in the protracted struggle of the people of West Papua. Atrocities in both countries are effectively condoned by the sale to the Indonesian military of such weapons as Hawk ground-attack aircraft and broad-beam frigates capable of launching Sea-Wolf missiles which are also included in a special cash contract. Eleven armoured security vehicles, costing £1.2 million are also included; these are directly usable for internal repression. In all, arms sales to Indonesia that are listed in the paper prepared by the Country Police Division of the Export Credits Guarantee Department reach a total of £340 million.

In this classified report obtained by the *New Statesman* (12th November 1982) which is now also in TAPOL's hands, stress is laid on the political sureties of arms investments.

President Soeharto, who retains the support of the armed forces, remains in firm control as President, a position he has held since 1966. Following a general election held in May 1982, the Golkar Party (a government sponsored alliance of political groups) again won a large majority of the 364 elected seats in the House of Representatives. In the absence of any effective political opposition, the President will almost certainly be re-elected in 1983 (when he will be 61). (*Parenthesis in original*)

Factors determining arms sales obviously place the appalling record of human rights violations of the Indonesian military on a low level of priority, if at all. In response to queries and protests addressed to the British Foreign Office by a number of MPs as well as by TAPOL, the government

has stated its position regarding expanded arms sales to Indonesia in the following terms:

The Indonesian occupation of East Timor is of course one of the factors taken into account whenever we consider the sale of arms to Indonesia. In general, we sanction the sale of arms because this conforms with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter which provides that states have their right to act in self-defence and to acquire arms to protect their independence. But this is not to say that we are willing to sell arms indiscriminately. We consider proposed arms sales carefully in the light of all the relevant factors and we would not grant an export licence if we thought that the equipment was likely to be used for purposes of repression or to attack British forces or those of our allies.

(Letter from Lord Belstead, Minister at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to Terry Davis, MP, 29th December, 1982)

*Please turn to page 4*

#### Lawyers Abandon Fatwa Case in Protest Against Violence ..... page 6

*Also in this issue:*

**Hawks sold to Indonesia Are Combat Planes .. page 3**

**Three More Muslims Given Heavy Sentences .. page 6**

**Journalist Refused Access to Indonesia ..... page 8**

**Seth Rumkorem Interviewed ..... page 9**

**Australian Workers Support**

**Indonesian Workers ..... page 14**

**Living Standards Sacrificed to**

**Maintain Development Spending ..... page 17**

**Book Review: A Milestone in the**

**Struggle for Democracy ..... page 19**

# THE LAW PROFESSION AS DANGER WORK

Law is generally regarded as being a comfortable profession, well-paid, safe, non-political, respectable. Any case, whether civil or criminal, is entitled to the benefit of legal advice, and lawyers who agree to help defendants or plaintiffs should be able to do so without let or hindrance.

Not so these days in Indonesia. When five lawyers agreed last year to assist A. M. Fatwa in his lawsuit against the government (see page 6), they could hardly have realised that they would themselves have become targets of acts of violence, which is precisely what Fatwa's complaint was all about. Nor could the two lawyers in Surabaya (see page 7) have dreamt that they would be detained and interrogated for holding a meeting with their clients to discuss lawful ways of obtaining proper compensation for their land.

Infringements of basic human rights have become a way of life in Indonesia, so much so that few people ever bother to

challenge them in the lawcourts. Fortunately, however, there are some exceptions, brave people indeed like Fatwa who simply refuse to allow a grievance to pass without redress even if they are taking their life in their hands by doing so. In the absence of political rights to raise such issues, the law provides the only remaining alternative.

But when law itself becomes a form of danger-work, even this rather shaky forum loses its significance. Lawyers in Indonesia will not have an easy time trying to make the simple point that freedom to conduct their professional duties is crucial to the proper running of the legal system. If this cannot be assured, laws and regulations become meaningless. It is an important issue and those who are now taking it up — the Indonesian Bar Association (PERADIN), the Legal Aid Institutes, the individual lawyers — should get all the support they deserve from those who care about human rights.

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## Readers' Letters

*We welcome comments and criticisms from our readers*

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I would like to raise a point of criticism regarding TAPOL No. 54 on the report about the South Moluccans. Even if we don't agree with their colonial past we should see that they are also victims of the Javanese neo-imperialism of today and we should not change the historical truth. The article says "... in December 1949, some 10,000 Moluccans, soldiers and their families left Indonesia to settle down in the Netherlands."

That really is not true! These soldiers were forced to go to the Netherlands. When the South Moluccans proclaimed their own republic 25th April 1950, 3,500 soldiers (inclusive of their families 12,500 persons) were on Java. The proclamation of the RMS was an act of free choice according to the Linggadjati Agreement. The Moluccan soldiers on Java wanted to be released from the Dutch army either on the Moluccans or in West Papua. The Dutch government did not agree to that; they wanted to release them on Java because sending the soldiers back home would have disturbed the relationship with the new government in Jakarta.

The plans of the Dutch government worried some Moluccans in the Netherlands so they asked the High Court in The Hague to forbid the release of the soldiers on Java. The High Court did so and therefore the Dutch government didn't know what to do: they wanted to release the soldiers neither on the Moluccans nor in Papua — and they were not allowed to release them on Java. So they decided to have them sent back to the Netherlands. The first soldiers left Java in January 1951 (not 1949). When they arrived in the

Netherlands they were settled in ex-concentration camps of the Nazis. They wanted to go home as soon as possible but the Dutch rejected their wish and so they are still there.

The small RMS fought against powerful Indonesia until 1963 when their leader, Christian Soumokil, was arrested and later executed. If the RMS had no support on the Moluccans, a 13-year guerrilla warfare would never have been possible. They had no support at all from Dutch colonialism, as the article claims, because the Dutch wanted to have a good relationship with Indonesia. So it is not fair to call the RMS a "separatist movement"; and we should remember that the Indonesian government calls the FRETILIN "separatists". If people want to discriminate against a movement they don't like they always label it as "separatist". So we should be very careful with this attribute. In the case of the RMS it is obviously not correct. I am surprised that the Dutch Indonesia Committee doesn't know that.

Klemens Ludwig  
Gesellschaft für Bedrohte  
Völker, Bonn

### Editor's Note

Many thanks for drawing our attention to the circumstances under which Moluccan soldiers and their families were compelled to go to Holland. The Dutch Indonesia Committee was referred to as the source only for the information about the court case in Assen. For the rest, TAPOL was fully responsible for the article.

# UK Hawks Sold to Indonesia are Combat Aircraft

*In view of the British government's repeated assertions that the Hawk aircraft being delivered to Indonesia are not suitable for combat use but are only the trainer version, we reproduce in full a news item that appeared last August in the Indonesian Armed Forces daily, Angkatan Bersenjata:*

27/8/1982

Two advance type Hawker Siddeley Hawks (US Hawk) landed safely at the Adisucipto Airport, Jogjakarta on 18th August 1982 at 13.30 hours. The planes, to be used by Training Wing I for the training of Air Force pilots, are further deliveries of an order for HS Hawks that was placed by the Indonesian Air Force with British Aerospace.

The two planes were flown direct from Britain by two English pilots: Jim Hawking and Peter Orme. **These Hawk HS aircraft can be equipped with bombs and rockets and 30mm**

**guns and are the ground attack version of the aircraft.** They carry a Rolls Royce Turbomeca Adour 851, with a maximum speed of 1.2 times the speed of sound or approximately 1,296 kms an hour. The aircraft measures 11.7 metres long, 4.09 metres high with a wing span of 9.39 metres. It has two seats, at front and back, each with an ejection seat to enable the pilot to jump to safety in the case of trouble during flight. (Emphasis added)

## What's coming between you and the air strength you need?

A hard-pressed inflexible defence budget is. Inflation is. Political pressures are. The demands of other services are. You can add to the list? We bet you can.

But these are what make Hawk so right for its time.

In one low-cost aircraft you get a trainer, advanced trainer, weapons trainer and highly potent ground attack combat fighter.

Without compromising performance in any of these roles.

Hawk is also simple to service. It spends a lot of time in the air, which is good for pilot morale and efficiency as well as your finances.

Think Hawk. Talk Hawk. You'll come back through that door a whole lot happier.

**HS HAWK**  
right for its time.



**BRITISH AEROSPACE**  
**AIRCRAFT GROUP**  
Kingston upon Thames, England.

This advertisement appeared in *Flight International*, 4th March 1978. In June 1978, the British Foreign Office was still insisting that "the aircraft in question are of the trainer version; equipment for their ground attack role has not been included in the sale and therefore they cannot be used in East Timor or against civilians". (Foreign Office letter to the CIIR, 19th June 1978).

The *Angkatan Bersenjata* item suggests that this is not true. The advertisement makes it quite clear there is no difference between the trainer and the combat version. Can the British Government give any assurance that the Hawks can not and have not been used in East Timor or West Papua?

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## ARMS SALES

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*Continued from page 1*

### Hawks and Armoured Vehicles

Tight secrecy always surrounds British government decisions on arms sales. It has therefore been impossible to obtain confirmation about the military equipment to be sold. From the Department of Trade document, it is clear that planned or realised deals include five more Hawk ground-attack aircraft and eleven armoured security vehicles as well as frigates. The Hawks are in addition to twelve already sold, most or all of which have now been delivered. Information now in our hands (see item on the previous page) reveals that these are ground-attack aircraft, not 'just' the trainer version.

The eleven armoured security vehicles, costing £1.2 million, are suitable for counter-insurgency operations, and military or police operations against civilians (so-called 'riot control') and therefore have direct relevance to the 'purposes of repression' referred to in the Foreign Office letter quoted above.

#### Indonesian naval expansion under way

The main item in the proposed arms deal is a Mark 15 Frigate, worth £273.3 million although the confidential report does not discount the possibility that the more modern Type 21 will soon achieve export potential. Frigates are the mainstay of the Indonesian Navy. Equipped with Exocet or Sea-Wolf missiles and a helicopter, the frigate is the ideal craft for

the Indonesian archipelago waters with the same speed but less displacement and firepower than the more expensive destroyer class.

Three small frigates of the corvette class were added to the Indonesian Navy in 1980 and 1981 in an arms sale conducted by the Netherlands Government but the ensuing protest and legal battle caused so much public concern that any further sales from Holland seemed unlikely. This may be one reason why the UK government has become the willing supplier by default of the present order of warships. At a time when regional security is the key phrase in Indonesian political rhetoric, particularly after the extension of the outer sea-boundaries to greatly enlarge the total area of the Indonesian Republic, the ten frigates or so that make up the patrol-arm of the Navy will be homing in on the "trouble-spots" in the outer provinces. While patrols converge on the sea lanes that supply Middle East oil to Japan, they also act as a blockade for the Island provinces that are aflame with independence movements in East Timor and West Papua. Frigates become the logistical backbone of the military as well as providing the firepower for many a coastal barrage.

The expansion of the Indonesian Navy cannot fail to worry people in neighbouring Papua New Guinea, a member of the British Commonwealth and a country that has been under considerable pressure and intimidation from Indonesia recently (see **TAPOL Bulletin**, No. 52, July 1982, editorial). Indonesia's new Defence Law cannot be comforting either, for it defines Indonesia's defence as being

... non-aggressive and non-expansionist. Insofar as its national interests are not under threat, (Indonesia) will not launch an attack.

## House of Commons Early Day Motion

In the House of Commons, an Early Day Motion has been tabled which has received the support of 49 MPs up to the time of going to press. The motion reads:

"That this House is concerned at the continued illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia; and urges Her Majesty's Government not to sell arms or military equipment to that country."

The MPs who have so far signed the motion are:

Frank Allaun  
Andrew Bennett  
Norman Buchan  
Jim Callaghan  
Dennis Canavan  
Neil Carmichael  
Lewis Carter-Jones  
Robin F. Cook  
Bob Cryer  
Alfred Dubs  
Terry Davis  
Ken Eastham  
John Evans

Martin Flannery  
John Fraser  
Bruce George  
Russell Johnston  
Stuart Holland  
Doug Hoyle  
Robert Hughes  
James Lamond  
Bob Litherland  
Alexander Lyon  
Bob McTaggart  
William McKelvey  
John Maxton

Joan Maynard  
Michael Meacher  
Ian Mikardo  
George Morton  
Stanley Newens  
Robert Parry  
Laurie Pavitt  
Jo Richardson  
Gwilyn Roberts  
Ernie Roberts  
Dennis Skinner  
Clive Soley  
Gavin Strang

Stan Thorne  
John Tilley  
Frank R. White  
William Wilson  
Tony Benn  
Dafydd Wigley  
Hugh McCartney  
Don Stewart  
Barry Sheerman  
Reg Race





## TWO DEAD, ONE TRIED, THREE DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL



Seven members of the family of **Teuku Cut Usman** were arrested in March 1981, immediately after the "Cicendo incident". This incident, an attack on the Cicendo police station in which three policemen were killed, was the first of a series of incidents, now believed to have been Army-inspired

provocations, which led to the downfall of Imran bin Muhammad Zein and his Muslim congregation. The second and most 'sensational' incident was the Garuda hijack. (See **TAPOL Bulletin** No.52, July 1982, page 6.)

Of the seven arrested members of this family, two have died in detention, the father and one of his sons, **Azhar Zulkarnaen**. Another son, **Ir. Army Noor**, has recently been tried, while two other sons, **Sofa** and **Safa** who are twins, and a son-in-law (whose name is not known) are still in detention. The daughter, a recently graduated doctor named **Maria** who was also arrested, has been released.

### How Did Azhar Die?

The circumstances of Azhar Zulkarnaen's 'disappearance' have not been explained by the authorities despite several attempts by defence lawyers during recent trials to seek clarification. According to reliable information given to TAPOL contacts in West Java, Azhar was being held in detention in Ciamis, West Java, at the same place as his brother, Army Noor. On one occasion, they were both being interrogated in separate rooms when Army Noor heard shots. As he was being led back to his cell, he passed the room where Azhar was being questioned and saw his brother lying on the floor. The family has had no news of him since. His mother, who had been bringing food parcels for Azhar which

were accepted by officers, was told one day that she should no longer bring food because Azhar 'sudah tidak ada' (no longer exists). During one trial, when defence lawyers asked for Azhar to be summoned as a defence witness, the prosecutor replied that there was no record of his ever having been detained.

Teuku Cut Usman's death in detention also remains unexplained although according to TAPOL sources, his death was formally acknowledged by the authorities. He may have died of 'natural' causes. He was a diabetic and the family was sending in pills for his ailment. But the fact that he several times requested pills made the family believe that the pills were not being passed on.

### Army Noor Tried for Subversion

A report on the trial of Army Noor appeared in **Tempo** (18th December 1982). He was tried together with a group of seventeen alleged members of Imran's congregation, all accused variously of planning or participating in the Cicendo and hijack incidents and/or of planning the murder of **Najamuddin**, an intelligence-planted infiltrant in the Imran group. (See **TAPOL Bulletin** No.52, p.6.)

Army Noor graduated in 1978 from the Faculty of Agriculture at Pajajaran University, Bandung and worked for two years as an agriculture extension officer in Gorontalo, Northern Sulawesi. Until his arrest, he cultivated a small plot of land in Cipeuyum Village, West Java. He is also a musician and song composer; his most recent composition, 'Pak Tani', has been recorded.

During his trial, he told the court that his 'confession' about being involved in the Imran 'affair' was made under duress, to avoid being tortured by his interrogators. As a result of brutalities inflicted on him during questioning, he was mentally ill for a month.

He is being accused, under the Anti-Subversion Law of 1963, of attempting to undermine state authority, a charge



Army Noor enters the court for his trial

## LAWYERS ABANDON FATWA CASE IN PROTEST AGAINST VIOLENCE

Five lawyers who were briefed to assist Mr. A. M. Fatwa in a lawsuit against the government decided in late October last year to abandon the case in protest against acts of intimidation and physical violence and the failure of the authorities to take a stand against this.

As reported in **TAPOL Bulletin** No. 54 (November 1982), Fatwa is suing the government, Admiral Sudomo, the Commander-in-Chief of KOPKAMTIB and three Army officers for being physically assaulted by Army officers in 1980. Not long after the first court hearing was held when the case was adjourned because those being sued failed to turn up, an attempt was made on Fatwa's life when he was assaulted and severely wounded in the face.

### Events which led to Lawyers' Protest

- \* After the suspended first hearing on 2nd October, Fatwa was contacted and told on behalf of Admiral Sudomo that the case should be dropped.
- \* Following mysterious phone calls to the office of Sukardjo Adidjojo, a leading member of the team of lawyers, Sukardjo's home was attacked by unknown assailants who threw stones, causing damage to windows and to his car.
- \* The next day, the homes of other members of the team were also stoned.
- \* Two days later, one of the lawyers received a phone call saying that "this time stones had been thrown, next time grenades would be thrown".
- \* Then the woman member of the team was warned that her husband, an army officer, could suffer setbacks in his career if she pursued the case.
- \* Then came the attempt on Fatwa's life. Shortly afterwards, Mansus, an assistant of Lieutenant-General Ali Sadikin, who, together with Fatwa is a leading member of the Peti-

*See opposite page*

## Spotlight on Tapols

*Continued from page 5*

which could incur the death sentence. In court, he strongly denied the charges.

During his trial, he also asked about the fate of his father and his brother who, he says, "died in the hands of the authorities. Why has there been no explanation about the causes of their deaths?" he asked.

He also stated: "Is this what is meant by justice and truth? Everything that happened had been planned by Najamuddin. Why then have we become the victims?"

### THREE MORE MUSLIMS GIVEN HEAVY SENTENCES

Three "followers of Imran", tried in Jakarta last December, have been found guilty of "aiming to undermine and even overthrow the lawful government" and have been given severe sentences. Iman Hidayat (22 years old) was sentenced to 20 years, Slamet Haryanto (20 years old) was sentenced to 15 years, and Rasman Cahyono (23 years old) got 13 years.

All three were tried on the basis of the 1963 Anti-Subver-

DRS AM FATWA

KHOTBAH IDUL FITRI 1402 H

### TEGAKKAN KEKUATAN POLITIK ISLAM JANGAN CIPTAKAN FIRAUNISME DI-INDONESIA



"Cancelled" (*dibatalkan*). An Idul Fitri sermon that was to have been given by A.M. Fatwa, in July 1982. The letter notifying Fatwa said that "the present situation and conditions do not yet make it possible for you to preach, in conformity with the advice of those in authority".

sion Law which enables the courts to pass such heavy sentences on charges of subversion. In the court verdict, it was stated that they had been found guilty of refusing to accept the Pancasila and of wanting only to accept Islamic law. Not only did they reject the Pancasila and misinterpret its first principle as being a justification for a belief in many gods, but they also rejected the government's "P4" indoctrination programme and criticised religious teachers who took the "P4" course. "Such ideas", declared the Presiding Judge, "clearly disrupt and undermine the nation." (*Sinar Harapan*, 6 December, 1982.)

The three accused were also found guilty of a "secondary" charge of murdering a member of the Imran congregation named Najamuddin whom they regarded as being a traitor. On this charge, the court claimed that they had been accomplices of Azhar Zulkarnaen, the man whose family now insist died while in Army custody (see item on page 00).

The death of the Army intelligence man, Najamuddin has been central to all the Imran court cases. If Zulkarnaen is the person whom the courts blame for his murder, this may go a long way towards explaining why it was found necessary to eliminate him as a crucial witness to what really happened, and to the provocative role Najamuddin is believed to have played in the whole Imran affair.



tion-of-50 Group and has been closely associated with Fatwa in many ways, was assaulted on a Jakarta street and held for several hours.

\* The Central Board of PERADIN, the Indonesian Bar Association visited the Minister of Justice, the chairman of the Supreme Court and the Commander of KOPKAMTIB complaining about the intimidation and acts of terror against Fatwa's lawyers. They asked the government to take a firm stand to stop this harassment. Buyung

### ***Statement by the Central Board of Peradin (Indonesian Bar Association)***

## **PROFESSIONAL FREEDOM IN THE SPHERE OF UPHOLDING LAW, TRUTH AND JUSTICE**

That the professional freedom of barristers is inseparable from the freedom of all those such as judges and public prosecutors involved in upholding law, truth and justice, in civil as well as in criminal cases, as the legal infrastructure needed in order to guarantee free and independent courts, as provided for in Law 14/1970 and in accordance with the principles of a State based upon law.

That PERADIN, with deep dismay, must draw attention to events which can only be interpreted as obstructing and damaging the professional freedom of advocates and of judges. These include shots fired at an advocate, attempts to shoot a judge as well as physical attacks on another judge, all of which occurred inside a court-room or in the courts, and, recently, direct and indirect physical attacks against several advocates and their property.

That although the events experienced by these advocates have been reported to the authorities, they continue to occur. Therefore, advocates who cannot respond to violence with violence have taken the path of 'non-violent' resistance by abandoning a case in protest against these arbitrary acts, in the hope of defending and restoring free and independent courts, as desired by all.

That the protest by the advocates is also a plea, full of apprehension, from PERADIN to the government authorities responsible for preserving public law and order and to the community so that it can also play a part in pressing for proper legal procedures, to safeguard access to truth for anyone without discrimination, as stipulated in Law 14/1970, in conformity with the development of law within the State's Broad Lines of Policy, and in conformity too, with PERADIN's solemn resolve to struggle for justice for all.

15th November 1982

On behalf of PERADIN Central Board:  
Haryono Tjitrosubono, Chairman  
Maruli Simorangkir, General Secretary

Nasution, Deputy-Chairman of PERADIN and Chairman of the National Board of Legal Aid Bureaux, also had several phone conversations with Sudomo. All those approaches met with no response.

\* At the second hearing of the lawsuit on 2nd November, when the defence again failed to appear, the lawyers announced their retirement from the case because their professional freedom as lawyers had been placed in jeopardy.

### **International Lawyers Groups Protest**

The Centre for the Independence of Judges and Lawyers of the International Commission of Jurists has formally protested to the Indonesian government about this case. It stated:

... unpunished acts of violence against lawyers resulting from their handling of politically sensitive cases are a serious threat to the rule of law and the independence of the legal profession.

It called upon the government to conduct a full investigation into the situation and said that affirmative action on the part of the government was necessary to demonstrate the government's intention to maintain a freely functioning and impartial system of justice.

A US-based organisation of lawyers, Public Advocates Inc, has also protested over the case and called upon the government "to halt continuing infringements on the freedom of lawyers to practise their profession in Indonesia."

## **LAWYERS ARRESTED FOR HOLDING "ILLEGAL MEETING" WITH CLIENTS**

Two lawyers, Gatot Satriadi and Sugeng Riyadi, were arrested in Surabaya as they were discussing a lawsuit with their clients, a group of 76 villagers in dispute with a real-estate company. Local officials and police broke into the meeting and took the lawyers off for all-night questioning, accusing them of holding an "illegal" meeting.

After a gruelling session with police, a public prosecutor and Surabaya municipal official, the two men were required to sign the "investigation report". Gatot refused to do so, insisting that he was guilty of nothing, but eventually signed when assured the document would not be used in court. Sugeng on the other hand willingly signed, declaring he hoped "the matter would come before a court to make things absolutely clear".

The two lawyers, one still at law school and the other newly graduated, insisted that their clients were extremely anxious about the use of their former property. The land in question was expropriated by the government in 1973 at an agreed price of Rp. 80 per square metre though the peasants eventually only received Rp 55. They were willing to accept this injustice because they had been given to understand that the land would be used "for government purposes".

However in 1982, a private real-estate company, PT Tandes Indah, started building luxury houses on the land. Seeing this, the former owners began to press for proper compensation. Repeated efforts by the lawyers, on behalf of their clients, to communicate with the company were unsuccessful. It was after this that tempers had reached boiling point and the lawyers met their clients to try to calm

*Continued on page 8*



## Washington Post journalist refused access to East Timor

**Washington Post** journalist, William Branigin, who was in Indonesia last November to write a series of articles on current developments in Indonesia, was refused permission to visit East Timor to look into reports of continuing food shortages and human rights violations. "Nor would any Indonesian military official agree to be interviewed about East Timor," he wrote. (**Washington Post**, 25th November 1982)

In a long report on East Timor, Branigin, basing himself on information collected in Jakarta, wrote of the large scale resettlement of rural inhabitants "aimed at denying guerrillas food and support". He also said that

the resettlement campaign and restrictions on villagers' movements have alienated many already distrustful East Timorese and disrupted farming that barely sustains the population in normal times.

While quoting 'well-informed diplomats' who say that the guerrilla forces are now "down to 400 with insufficient arms", he also pointed out that "Fretilin still engages Indonesian forces in one or two small clashes a month with occasional upsurges of rebel activity".

### "Timorese are very primitive" says Mochtar

Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja told Branigin, when asked about the more than 4,000 political detainees still being held on Atauro island, that Timorese were

I would say, very primitive. There is still this vendetta mentality. You might as well say they are kept apart from the other people for their own protection.

Whether 'for their own protection' or not, Branigin goes on to report that more than 170 Atauro detainees have died there since 1980, about 60 from a severe outbreak of gastroenteritis a year ago. He was able to hear the impressions of diplomats who were permitted to visit the island in September 1982, one of whom described it as "a dreary place". The camp for the prisoners is built on "barren land with a chronic shortage of water". The island's subsistence agriculture was not able to provide food for its 5,200 permanent inhabitants, let alone the influx of more than 4,000 detainees now being held there.

### Resistance in East Timor reorganised

While Indonesian government officials continue to claim that "Fretilin has ceased to exist" (**Washington Post**, 25th November 1982, quoting the Foreign Minister), members of the Fretilin External Committee in Lisbon announced to the press that they had received a document, drafted last October in East Timor, which reports a significant reorganisation of the resistance movement. Now organised under a Revolutionary Council of National Resistance, the movement has six regular companies with a total of 6,800 guerrillas, operating not only in the stronghold region of Los Palos in the eastern

sector but also in the centre and south border zones.

Fretilin spokesmen, Jose Ramos Horta and Abilio Araujo, said the guerrillas are fighting under difficult conditions and with poor arms (**Guardian**, 22nd January 1983). **Guardian** reporter Jill Jolliffe added that "regular letters from East Timor, received by refugees in Lisbon, support Fretilin claims". She said that a series of letters in the last half of 1982, all from the same person, painted a picture of improved organisation of the resistance.

The **Daily Telegraph** (20th January 1983), also reporting the Fretilin announcement from Lisbon, quoted the movement's representatives as saying that the new document, 60 pages long, contained reports of "everything significant that had happened in the territory since radio contact was lost (in 1978)". According to the document, the Indonesians "have about 30,000 troops, tanks and helicopter gunships in the territory". It said too that Indonesians continue to torture prisoners and that massacres of those involved in the resistance were common".



Continued from page 7  
things down.

Since the all-night arrest of the lawyers, the case has been discussed several times with municipal authorities. The dispossessed landowners have been offered alternative houses but this offer has been flatly refused. They demand full compensation for their land at the market price of Rp. 25,000 per square metre.

As for the meeting, the Police Chief of East Java asserts that the two lawyers "were not arrested. They were only held for questioning." The charge against them, he said, was: "That they gathered people together for the purpose of holding a meeting without permission from the authorities." (**Tempo**, 20th November 1982)

# Seth Rumkorem Interviewed

*In an exclusive interview with the Dutch newspaper, **Nederlands Dagsblad** (14th December, 1982), Seth Rumkorem, the guerrilla leader who recently left West Papua, provides important information about conditions inside the country. His account of the current strength of the guerilla movement, the OPM, is impressive. We reproduce the interview as a useful document about a struggle that is all too rarely publicised. For more information about Rumkorem's arrival in PNG, see **TAPOL Bulletin**, No. 54, November 1982.*

## **Why did you leave West Papua?**

We left headquarters in our liberated area, at the request of our people, in order to undertake a world trip. We want to make our struggle known and seek political support with the aim of bringing Indonesia into negotiations for the return of our entire territory. This journey should last for about a year. Then I will return to West Papua and resume leadership of the military struggle against the Indonesian occupation forces if negotiations have not yet commenced in the meanwhile.

## **Father Walter Lini has refused you entry into Vanuatu. What is your reaction?**

Vanuatu is clearly under very strong pressure. Nevertheless, I hope Father Walter Lini will still allow us to travel to Vanuatu. I am not seeking political asylum. I have not given up the struggle against Indonesia. I am only looking for a point from which to begin our struggle at the diplomatic level. In the meanwhile, my people are continuing with the struggle in West Papua and after my journey, I will return to this.

## **What support do you get at the moment?**

None from any country. No organisations support us. To a certain extent we have only ourselves to blame because we have done nothing to make our struggle known. We should at least give publicity to the crimes committed by the Indonesians against our people.

From the garrison towns on the coasts, the Indonesians attack the interior. These actions invariably involve the destruction of villages whose inhabitants are accused of collaborating with the OPM. Villagers are often murdered or taken prisoner. Sometimes the Indonesian air force attacks all the villages in several regions so as to force those who survive the bombardment and strafing to flee. They hope in this way to designate certain areas for colonisation by Javanese peasants or obstruct the activities of the OPM. My journey also has the purpose of bringing these misdeeds to the attention of world opinion.

## **Have you any plans to seek support from the communist countries?**

No, because we don't want the present form of oppression to be replaced by another one. In any case, Marxist theories are in conflict with the concept of social structures of the Melanesian people.

## **What kind of support do you hope to obtain?**

We want West Papua to become a free country, with a government and institutions chosen by the people. We do not want to continue any longer to be the victims of a foreign power. No attention is being paid to this struggle in the world. The UN has never set up a commission to concern itself with the plight of West Papua and its people, yet the international community shoulders a great responsibility. It ratified the so-

called act of free choice for integration with Indonesia despite the fact that the UN representative who was there at the time (Ortiz Sanz) acknowledged that grave irregularities had occurred during the voting. The result of that referendum is therefore completely unacceptable.

This violation of international law must be made known to the world and sooner or later Indonesia must be forced to negotiate. But diplomatic pressure is not enough: we must take up arms against the Indonesian occupation forces and intensify our guerrilla struggle if we want to remain in existence as a people.

The Indonesian occupation forces are not only involved in attacking villages; in the towns too they are a threat to our people. The occupying forces demoralise our young people with prostitution, and encourage them to take alcohol and drugs. Above all, everyone has been driven to desperation because they cannot get work, even those few people who have obtained an education.

## **Do you maintain ties with the other movements that are struggling against Indonesia? (East Timor, South Moluccas)**

We are struggling for West Papua and our struggle is not the same as that of the people of East Timor or the Moluccas. Since they are also suffering under Indonesian occupation, we could eventually have joint diplomatic action. There is of course a similarity between the way Indonesia annexed Netherlands New Guinea and the Portuguese colony of East Timor; in both cases, Jakarta falsified election results in order to create two new Indonesian provinces.

## **How is the OPM organised?**

After the forcible annexation of West Papua by Indonesia in 1969, several hundred people throughout almost all the



# West Papua

lesser developed parts of the country began to organise resistance. The OPM — **Organisasi Papua Merdeka** (Free Papua Movement) was set up in 1971. The OPM is a coalition of three political groupings — the liberal party, the national party and the social-democratic party. These parties were set up during Dutch colonial times. My nine co-travellers are delegates of these three groups. We wanted to make our delegation as representative as possible.

The OPM operates underground in the areas under the control of the Indonesian army, particularly the coastal towns. The organisation consists of cells (we even have one in Jakarta) which are concerned with communications and supply. In the liberated areas, the OPM functions as the central government with the usual posts of defence, finance, home and foreign affairs, information, education and local government. Our means are limited. Our troops have only 300 guns. But this doesn't prevent us from severely testing the Indonesian troops even though they are far better equipped.

On 16th August last, I myself led an operation against Indonesian soldiers guarding a camp in which there are oil-drilling installations. The Indonesian soldiers were overpowered and their weapons were confiscated. We quickly released the foreign engineers. In general, Indonesian soldiers are afraid to go outside their garrisons.

More than 100,000 victims have fallen in the war which the Indonesian army is fighting against West Papua and its

people. The Indonesians have lost more than a thousand men. Throughout the country, there are about 30,000 people active in the OPM and the entire people stand behind us. The expansion of the liberated zone is only restricted by the problems of supply, communications and organisation. The liberated zone covers more than a quarter of the country's territory, whilst the Indonesians have control over little more than a tenth.

## What is the OPM's position towards peasants who are brought in to West Papua by Jakarta?

The Indonesian military want to make the West Papuans a minority in their own land so as to be able to intensify their grip on the country. These peasants are often transferred against their will to regions that are not ready for their arrival. If they could choose for themselves, many would not come to West Papua. They too are victims of the arbitrary powers of the Jakarta regime.

## What relations do you have with Papua New Guinea?

We have been accorded an extremely warm welcome by the people in Rabaul. This is a sign of the solidarity between the two parts of New Guinea. I myself have, on several occasions, had discussions with people who were in power in the past or who are now in power in Papua New Guinea.

I regard them as friends but their freedom of action is limited, their independence is vulnerable. Who would come to their aid if the generals in Jakarta decided to reunite the island of New Guinea under the Indonesian flag?

## "WHY HAVE THEY WAITED TILL NOW TO DEAL WITH THE TIMBER RACKET?"

Under the above heading, Bill Rettob, the editor of the Jayapura-based newspaper, **Tifa Irian**, (a paper published by the Catholic Press Foundation), wrote on 16th October, 1982:

The timber-racket case in Asmat is in fact nothing new. I went to Asmat in 1978 and investigated conditions throughout most of the areas where the timber companies operate . . . The things that go on behind these operations make one's hair stand on end. The people are whipped with stingray fish-tails, soldiers use firearms against people, men and women, young and old, are forced to stand out in the burning sun, teachers are slapped in the face by members of the Armed Forces, people are forced to do *kerja-bakti* ("voluntary" labour), children are left hungry in the barracks, missionaries who come to the defence of the people's rights are threatened with being struck down. All these are but a part of the dramatic reality behind the efforts to make money from the timber trade.

The writer, while welcoming pledges from provincial officials that steps will be taken to stop these practices now that the matter has been exposed in *Kompas*, is sceptical about the results. Why?

Too many violations have already been exposed all over the place. There are still too many development operators who are slaves to their own fanatical egotism. There are still far too many Irianese, now at a transitional stage, who feel they are being

milched on their own land. Many of their rights have been trampled upon without compromise. Human exploitation of the "weak and ignorant" occurs not only in Asmat but in many places through Irian Jaya including the towns and the provincial capital. Just how many teachers bemoan their fate in remote places because they feel they are treated like exiles, living tightly packed like rabbits in warrens, in homes little better than cattlesheds. Just how many people with official jobs in the interior long for re-location, better wages, rice rations, yet people in the towns spend their time in bars, in a rat-race for wealth and status, for commissions to be earned from projects . . .

"I can understand why frustrated Irianese flee to the bush to seek freedom according to their own vision. Their rights are violated, their traditional forests grabbed, their birds-of-paradise which occupy a magical significance in their culture, shot down . . .," one Javanese teacher in Paniai told me. "We can't brand them as subversives if they resist when their rights are violated, when their aspirations are ignored", said a scientific worker in Wamena.

## Did you receive TAPOL Bulletin No.54?

**Our TAPOL Bulletin No 54, a bumper issue with 24 pages, was so bulky that it began bulging out of the envelopes. Due to lack of foresight, we used standard envelopes instead of a larger size.**

**Some copies may have got separated from their envelopes. If you didn't receive your copy, please let us know and we will send you a replacement.**



# INDONESIAN NGOs CONDEMN CULTURAL GENOCIDE

An environmentalist organisation based in Bandung, West Java has strongly condemned the compulsory logging imposed on Asmat tribespeople in Irian Jaya (West Papua). The system, it says, has brought the Asmat people "to the brinks of cultural starvation" and has "turned these proud, feared and artistic tribes into underpaid timber workers".

In a statement issued in October last year on the occasion of a National Parks Conference held in Bali (a copy of which has only just reached TAPOL), the organisation, the **Movement of Indonesian NGOs Against Rain Forest Destruction**, also draws attention to similar destruction of forest reserves in Kalimantan and Sulawesi with calamitous results for the forest communities. In Central Sulawesi, damar and ebony concessions have been given to foreign companies causing serious depletion of trees that are of economic and traditional value to the Soroako and Poso people. In Kalimantan, ironwood or ulin and the cangal tree have been plundered, seriously threatening the many crafts and skills of the Dayak tribes. Forestry concessions have encroached on the Dayaks' traditional communal lands and forced them to shorten their agricultural fallow period.

In East Kalimantan, the Dayak people have been resettled in massive schemes to become food producers for the forest-exploitation licence holders who thereby get full control and autonomy over the concession areas. Which could lead us to ask, whose forest is this anyway?

The statement described in some detail the timber racket in Asmat which was first exposed in a series of articles published in **Kompas** last October (see **TAPOL Bulletin** No. 54, November 1982). The companies operating in the Asmat region have been granted "special permits" which exempt them from the forest-preservation conditions incorporated into forest-exploitation licences. In preparation for the massive plunder of ironwood during the 1970s,

the local government started to relocate the Asmat communities from the interior to the river mouths, closer to prospective ironwood loading places and closer to government supervision.

Exploitation of ironwood rocketed thereafter; by 1979, ironwood exports from Irian Jaya had reached 280,000 cubic metres a year, a tenfold increase in three years.

Based on these figures, the Governor of Irian Jaya demanded in 1980 an extension of the special permits, extending the scandalous forced labour (to) Indonesia's most remote jungles.

The environmentalists point out that as a result of this plunder, Asmat artwork has declined rapidly. The production of traditional drums was prohibited because the local **camat** (subdistrict chief) claimed that making drums "would limit ironwooding". The production of Asmat long, dugout canoes has declined because of the depletion of **kepatang** wood. Even traditional sago (staple food) stands have been affected. The statement went on:

Enraged by this exploitation, the Asmats have frequently resorted to cargo cult activities, wife-exchange (**papisy**) ceremonies and other forms of traditional protest movements, only to be suppressed forcefully by police power. This has created an atmosphere of tension between the people on one side, and the timber companies and the local administration on the other, ready to erupt in violent conflicts.

The organisation rejects the attitude of treating forest communities as a foreign element which should be removed from the system or manipulated for external interests. They are in fact, "the guardian angels of our green paradise", the statement says, and declares its complete sympathy with "the Asmat people, the Dayak people and with every forest community endangered by mismanagement, wrong policies and greedy authorities".



Asmat villagers await orders to load logs

Kompas/Int



# West Papua

## HUNDREDS DIE IN FAMINE- STRICKEN WEST PAPUA

Many hundreds of people have died of starvation in the Jayawijaya district of Irian Jaya, the Indonesian province otherwise known as West Papua. Newspapers reporting this show that data is sketchy and the death toll could well be much higher than indicated in information provided by officials.

Tens of thousands more are in the advanced stages of malnutrition as a result of a famine that was first publicly acknowledged by some Indonesian newspapers in August 1982. In August, a death toll of 33 was given, with 5,000 said to be starving. In September, a figure of 120 dead was reported. Then three months later, after the famine conditions had clearly persisted and worsened, it was reported that sixty-two people had died in less than ten days and 18,000 were suffering from malnutrition.

The reports come mainly from the subdistrict of Kurima, though a number of deaths have also been reported from the subdistrict of Oksibil (which borders on Papua New Guinea), said to be the result of an influenza virus that has had a high death rate because of the prolonged drought.

On 25th August 1982, **Sinar Harapan** reported that 33 people had died from starvation in Kurima, and the death toll was probably far higher. A correspondent writing from the Jayawijaya capital of Wamena quoted contacts who described women and children in the villages as being in a state of extreme distress, "pale and lifeless", while men were roaming far and wide in search of edible plants. Missionaries in the area were the first to draw attention to the disaster. The paper revealed that efforts by the authorities to alleviate conditions were extremely slow, and hampered by lack of funds to purchase food supplies and finance transport. **Sinar Harapan** sources blamed the famine on the long drought; a missionary asserted that the area was subjected to annual food shortages though this conflicts with accounts given several years ago from the same region by the American photojournalist, Wyn Sargent (see below).

A.M. Suruan, a member of Jayawijaya's regional assembly (DPRD-II) who visited famine-stricken villages described people as being "paralysed, no longer capable of walking, speaking or eating, nothing more than skin and bones". He estimated the death toll in the three villages of Kusarek, Panggima and Prangguli at around 120 people. He too claimed that famine was an annual occurrence but things had never been as bad as this year. (**Sinar Harapan**, 8th September 1982)

**Kompas** (4th September 1982) reported that many people in Kurima were moving to other regions in search of food. The number of deaths given did not include victims among the Yalimo tribe in the more remote parts of Kurima, also stricken by famine; no-one had been able to estimate the death toll among these people.

In December, renewed reports of deaths from starvation appeared in the Jakarta press when **Sinar Harapan** (4th December) said that 62 people were known to have died in the previous ten days in four villages; altogether 9,000 in these same villages (Polimo, Seima, Juarima and Kualima) were suffering from malnutrition. The paper named four hamlets in Polimo as particularly serious locations of famine

and then gave an even higher figure of 18,000 as being affected by malnutrition in Polimo alone.

The District Chief of Jayawijaya, Albert Dien (formerly military commander of the district) said he had made 800 kg of rice available for these 18,000 starving people! Although way back in August, the provincial government in Jayapura had been asked to supply 180 tons of rice urgently, so far only 70 tons had been made available. Dien then admitted that the total government-held rice stock for the whole province amounted to a mere 30 tons, which was quite deplorable at a time when famine was spreading.

### What Are The Real Reasons For The Famine?

Although severe drought conditions and food shortages have been reported from many parts of Indonesia since mid-1982, deaths from starvation have only been reported from West Papua. The officially acknowledged death rate indicates a disaster of catastrophic proportions. The few descriptions of village conditions that have appeared in the press suggest a situation comparable to the famine that struck East Timor in 1978-79.

Although drought may have been a factor, it is important to consider the degree to which Papuan food production has been affected by the imposition of Indonesian rule in the region of Jayawijaya. The American photo-journalist Wyn Sargent, who lived in the Baliem Valley, near Wamena, the capital of Jayawijaya, for several months in 1972 and 1973, wrote with enthusiasm of the assiduously cultivated gardens of the Dani tribespeople in the area, and of their hill and valley farming:

I have often heard people refer to the Dani as "stone-age people" and I've thought that surely, those folks failed to see, the enormously sophisticated agricultural achievements of the Valley dwellers *who know no hunger*. (Wyn Sargent, **People of the Valley**, Victor Gollancz, London, 1974)

Sargent also wrote of the "harsh attitude of the military" towards the Valley dwellers, of their attempts to change the way they look as well as their habits. "The military bound up their heads and cut off their hair, then dumped them in the river. . . The police fought the Dani too, and they made fun of them. . . When the Dani resisted the government's efforts to "civilise" them, they were simply shot down and killed."

A further point to be stressed is that West Papua is undoubtedly far and away the most profitable of all Indonesian provinces. Oil, copper and gold produce an annual revenue for the Republic of several hundred million, whereas government expenditure for the province is paltry to say the least. Why is it that government-held rice supplies are virtually non-existent, a mere 30 tons? Why is it that funds cannot be made available to supply and transport desperately-needed foodstuffs for tens of thousands of starving people?

The shocking food crisis in West Papua requires international action and campaigning like that surrounding the famine in East Timor.

# NPN...



William Wise 1981

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## 'Starvation' as a term is no longer in fashion

Indonesia's Logistics Board (Bulog) has decided to dispense with the term "starvation" (*kelaparan*) as a stage in critical food conditions. It has opted for "more refined" expressions instead. The first stage is "the possibility of being short of food" or *kemungkinan kurang makan* with its abbreviation, KKM. This is to be used for people who only eat once a day. For those uncertain of getting one meal a day, the official term is to be "short of food" or *kurang makan* (KM). *Hongeroedeem* (HO) will be used for those with swollen bellies, no longer capable of moving. But fortunately, according to *Tempo* (23rd October 1982) which reports these latest linguistic acrobatics, no cases of HO have yet appeared in the current food crisis. Some people in Jakarta, it would seem, don't read their own newspapers.

## New TAPOL Publication

### Human Rights in West Papua

TAPOL is to publish a book on the human rights situation in West Papua. The book which will be about 70 pages long is due to appear in March this year.

The publication will describe the way in which West Papua was incorporated into Indonesia without any regard for the Papuan people's right to self-determination. It will give an account of the country's military occupation by Indonesia commencing in 1962 when UN administrative power was still formally in charge. Following the fraudulent act of 'free' choice, the population has fallen victim of land expropriation and enforced removals as the result of rapid exploitation of mineral resources by transnational corporations. Compulsory labour is used by timber companies assisted by government officials.

Separate chapters will deal with the role of transmigration in turning Papuans into a minority in their own land, the violation of human rights, the problem of refugees, and the way in which the Indonesian military establishment is attempting to crush an armed struggle aimed at pressing for a proper act of self-determination. The book will include an important internal Indonesian Army document detailing military operations against the Papuan people in 1977/1978 in the district of Jayawijaya.

Details of the price and date of publication will be announced in the next issue of TAPOL Bulletin.



## THREE PAPUAN STUDENTS ON TRIAL IN JAYAPURA

Three former students of Cendrawasih University, Jayapura (the capital of Irian Jaya) are on trial on charges of opposing the Indonesian government. The students, Simon Tutuop, Herman Heremba and Abraham Hegemur, are accused of having unfurled the West Papua flag and read out a "proclamation of the West Papua State" in front of the Provincial Assembly Building in Jayapura last year.

The prosecution claimed that they had expected OPM guerrilla forces to attack the capital simultaneously.

This is the first time, to the knowledge of TAPOL, that a trial of this nature has taken place in Irian Jaya, or that any publicity has been given to such a trial. As Bulletin readers will know, six women who also unfurled the West Papuan flag in 1980 have never been brought to trial but are still under detention, having been moved last year from Jayapura to Wamena, the capital of Jayawijaya district.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (20th January, 1983), comments on the current trial:

Coming at a time when tension is building up between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea over the outlawed Organisasi Papua Merdeka, the trial is attracting intense interest in the province.



# Australian unions support Indonesian workers' fight for the right to organise

Between November 29 and December 3, the Inter-State Executive of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) will discuss resolutions from important national and other unions that it should place on the agenda of the meeting of the International Labour Organisation in June, '83, the Indonesian government's violation of ILO Convention No.98 which it ratified in 1956. This Convention guarantees the rights to union organisation and also to collective bargaining. Following a favourable decision by the ACTU the matter will be referred to a Committee of Experts in March and later to the ILO Committee on Conventions, which will decide if the issue is to be on the agenda. This should be facilitated by the fact that the ILO has already decided to call for reports on the observance of Conventions No's 87 and 98 in June '83.

What can be examined now is the development within the Australian Trade Union movement since CARPA<sup>1</sup> undertook the task of introducing the issue about August-September. The documentation of factory labour conditions in Indonesia reached CARPA at the turn of the year in a booklet *Indonesian Workers and Their Right to Organise* published by the Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre (INDOC) of the Netherlands, dated May, '81, and an *Update* of February '82 which arrived here about mid-year, and which appealed for an Australian trade union response in support of raising the matter of the Indonesian government's violation of the ILO Convention No.98.

In all, 90 disputes were documented by INDOC and in each case factual details were given of the Company, the ownership (showing foreign multi-national or indigenous ownership) with the information about the dispute being extracts from national newspapers, magazines, etc., the source and date being given in all instances. The *Update* contained a reproduction of what was then a secret directive (but now openly acknowledged) from the Headquarters of the armed forces security apparatus (KOPKAMTIB) to its regional and district officers, to intervene in all labour disputes in respect, among other things, "of activities undertaken by workers and agitators which are leading towards disturbances in security and in the implementation of national development." Strikes, legal under Indonesian law, are in fact banned in practice on the grounds of "security and development". This directive is a further step in the armed forces strike-breaking activities and it is thought that this official document will provide the explicit evidence acceptable to the ILO that will establish a violation of Convention No.98.

With the arrival of the *Update* and its appeal for action, what had been a matter of importance now became one of urgency. CARPA first set its sights on having the ACTU consider the matter early in '83, but later, learning, as explained above, that a decision of that body would have to be in the hands of the relevant ILO Committee by March, the target had to become the ACTU meeting in Nov-Dec. this year. That CARPA and those looking for a favourable outcome at this meeting can have confidence in the result after such a short campaign and with so few forces available is

explained below.

First, a national campaign was planned. To offset the shortage of the INDOC booklets and as well to provide the essence of the documentation in convenient form, a "Summary" of the INDOC material was printed.

Between August/September-November about 25-30 unions at Federal or State level, or through one or more officials, have been contacted, either personally or by correspondence. In every case, the response has been a supportive one: i.e. of a readiness to discuss the documentation; to arrange for its review in the union journal; to consider the possibilities of resolutions; and, in some instances, even valuable advice in furthering the campaign. This support ranged over a wide spectrum of political opinions within the union movement.

Of these responses the most significant was the co-operation of the AMW&SU, (the Amalgamated Metal Workers & Shipwrights Union). Its September issue of "Metal Worker" reviewed the documentation and this was soon followed by the initiative of its President Dick Scott, from his position within the ACTU of responsibility for the Asian area and also being Regional Convenor for the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF). This action carried endorsement of the union for the campaign and along with many forms of co-operation was of incalculable assistance.

## ILO CONVENTION 98 (Ratified by Indonesian law but today violated in practice.)

**ARTICLE 1: Workers and employers shall enjoy adequate protection against acts of anti-union discrimination in respect to their employment. . .**

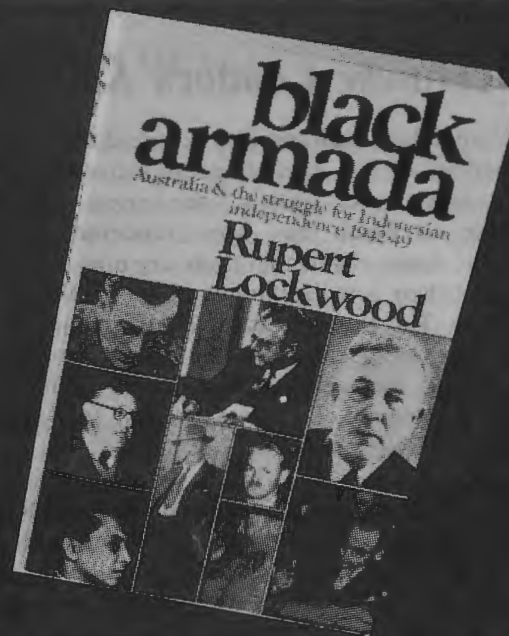
**ARTICLE 2: Workers' and employers' organisations shall enjoy adequate protection against acts of interference by each other. . .**

**ARTICLE 3: Machinery appropriate to national conditions shall be established (to) ensure respect for the right to organise. . .**

**ARTICLE 4: Measures appropriate to national conditions shall be taken (for) the regulation of terms and conditions of employment by means of collective agreements. . .**

**Black Armada: Australia and the struggle  
for Indonesian Independence 1942-49**  
By **Rupert Lockwood**  
Hale & Remington (1982)

Available from **CARPA**, PO Box K717  
Haymarket, NSW 2000,  
At special price \$12



The Waterside Workers Federation Journal "Maritime Worker" of September also carried a coverage of INDOC, and its Federal Council in September carried a resolution for forwarding to the ACTU in favour of that body placing the matter of the Indonesian government's violation of Convention No.98 on the agenda of the ILO meeting.

Resolutions or support from state or federal levels for the resolutions of these two national unions can be expected by other unions such as the BWIU (Building Workers); FED&FA (Firemen and Engine Drivers); Miners Federation; Miscellaneous Workers; Transport Workers; Seamen; Plumbers; Tram & Bus Workers; Telecommunications Workers; Railway Workers; AFULE; Liquor Trades; Meat Workers; Builders Labourers; Vehicle Builders; Municipal Workers; Operative Painters; and Storemen and Packers. Reviews will be appearing in a number of union journals, and other unions are being approached. All 55 Trades and Labour Councils in Australia have been written to and it seems likely that at least three, South Australia, NSW and Melbourne Trades Hall Council will carry resolutions. As well, each member of the Inter-State Executive has been sent a copy of the KOPKAMTIB directive and a letter reporting the extent of support.

Such a result in such a short time is due to the quality of the documentation by INDOC and the degree of activity by and the knowledge that CARPA brought to the campaign. The availability of Max Lane to visit Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney added a new dimension to the activity. As well as meeting with unionists and others personally, in Melbourne he spoke to about 40 Trades Hall delegates from about 20 unions; and in Sydney as well as speaking in the Tom Mann Theatre he will address the Labor Council. His deep knowledge of industrial and political changes and his up-to-date information was appreciated by all who heard him. His writings, too, in the *New Internationalist* and in *Arena*, in this *CARPA Bulletin* and the pamphlet he is writing for union shopfloor distribution and several other reviews, will reinforce his message that Asian workers are not the docile stereotype so often presented in Australia; that as

Australian workers are, so they, too, are trying to defend and lift their living standards against the same complaints that they are pricing their countries' products out of a shrinking market; this sometimes even being said by the same employing firm to each set of workers.

In the period ahead following what is hoped will be a favourable decision by the ACTU<sup>2</sup>, there will be the need to reach the rank and file of the unions and the wider public (the national delegation to the ILO consists of two from the government and one each from the national employers organisation and the national trade union centre, in Australia the ACTU). This will be the time too, to appeal for funds to cover the expenses that had necessarily to be made in spreading the information and gaining conviction of the need for action. Here each member of CARPA and every reader of this *CARPA Bulletin* may like to consider how they could help financially or get others to do so.

To sum up: since the massacre and imprisonment of hundreds of thousands in 1965 and the repression in Indonesia under Suharto, this present campaign offers the first opportunity to Australian unionists and people to contact and co-operate with workers' struggles in Indonesia. The black ban of 1945-46-47 by Australian maritime and other unions (copied by 13 other countries) against Dutch attempts to re-colonise Indonesia, heralded the recognition by Australian democracy that co-operation with the peoples of the area in freeing it of imperialism, colonialism and its wars, was necessary to guarantee a future of peace and security. The several screenings of the documentary film of the beginnings of the black ban, *Indonesia Calling*, and the timely publication of a second edition of Rupert Lockwood's *Black Armada* during this campaign will bring a knowledge of the history of the 1945 days to the present generation to whom it is almost entirely unknown. The promise of a revival of co-operation, leading to a lasting friendship between the two peoples, will be the aim of all democratically minded Australians. (For footnotes, turn to back page.)

(From *CARPA Bulletin*, No.12, December 1982: POBox K717, Haymarket 2000, New South Wales, Australia.)



## More Acehnese Leaders Arrested

The Army command in Aceh has also reported the arrest of 16 people involved in the Aceh freedom movement. It is claimed that with these arrests, the group opposing Indonesian rule in Aceh has been rendered virtually insignificant. The Army claims that there are now only three activists left, and their activities are confined to Aceh Pidie and Aceh Timor. The three "remnants" are named as Dr Husaini, Minister of Health of the Aceh Provisional Government, Daud Paneuek, Armed Forces Commander and Muhammad Mahmud, Deputy Governor of Peurelak. (Sinar Harapam, 6 October 1982)

Meanwhile, the representative abroad of the Aceh National Liberation Front has given the names of ten men recently arrested and now being held in Bandar Aceh military prison. All were heavily tortured following their arrest. The men are:

Tengku Salim (65)	Sayed Arbi (55)
Idris Mahmud (37)	Abdul Rahman Tjubo (49)
Djailani Perlak (23)	Mentri Abdul Hamid (48)
Marzaki Perlak (25)	Tjut Amat Pang Brani (40)
Jusuf Ali Idi (35)	Tengku Abdul Rahman Batèë
	Puteh (65)

Sayed Arbi was arrested for the second time, and Mentri Abdul Hamid for the third.

The representative also reports an incident last February when two men were tricked by Indonesian army intelligence into going on a mission to supply food for Liberation Front activists. When they arrived at the appointed place, they were shot dead by Indonesian troops.

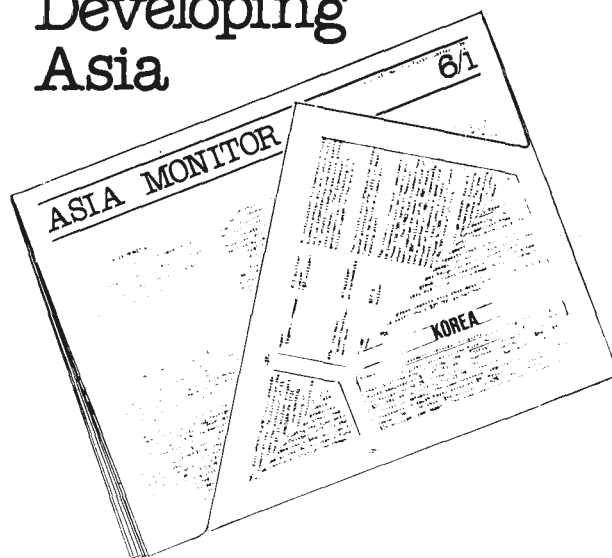
## Daud Beureuh transferred to Aceh

Daud Beureuh, the man who led the Islamic uprising against the Indonesian central government in 1953 and who was forced in 1978 to leave Aceh and live under Army supervision in Java, was transferred back to his home town in September this year.

He is now 83 years old and in failing health. His return home was made possible by a specific decision taken by President Suharto. The military commander of Aceh, Brigadier-General Audurachman, said that Daud Beureuh had been living in Jakarta since 1978, "brought there to rest" (*diistirahatkan*). Upon his return to Aceh, responsibility for his supervision and custody (*pengamanannya*) would now transfer into the hands of the Aceh Laksusda (KOPKAMTIB Commander for Aceh) "in order to prevent other individuals or groups from taking advantage of his presence in Aceh and damaging his health", the commander said (*Kompas*, 7th September 1982).

It is quite apparent from this announcement that Daud Beureuh is under house arrest. His removal from Aceh took place after the Aceh freedom movement had become active in the region. According to reports, he was forcibly removed after having been injected with something that rendered him unconscious.

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## Indonesia's 1983/84 Budget

### LIVING STANDARDS SACRIFICED TO MAINTAIN DEVELOPMENT SPENDING

The 1983/84 budget announced by President Suharto in January will have a severe impact on the cost of living particularly for Indonesia's desperately poor people. In order to maintain a high level of development spending at a time when Indonesia's foreign exchange earnings and state revenues are falling fast, the military regime has decided to cut government subsidies on petroleum and other fuels by 25% and to eliminate altogether subsidies on essential foodstuffs.

The severest impact will come from the resultant rise in fuel prices, particularly kerosene which is widely used by poorer people for cooking; the price of kerosene will increase by 70%. A similar rise will affect diesel oil, the lower-grade fuel used for bus and other road transport, whereas higher-grade fuels used for cars and taxis will only increase by between 11-33% (*FEER*, 20th January 1983). Already, in view of the subsidy cut, bus fares in Jakarta have been doubled — from Rp50 to Rp100 — although as a sop to students, the most likely source of dissent on this issue, student concessionary bus-fares have been held down to Rp30.

Essential foodstuffs to be affected by the subsidy curtailment include rice, flour, cooking oil, sugar and salt. Subsidies on fertilisers are also to be cut, which will further boost the price of rice and other foodstuffs.

The budget announcement makes it very clear that the interests of the vast majority of people have been sacrificed in order to ensure a continuing supply of funds for hugely expensive, capital-intensive development projects which are of little benefit to the poor; even the attractive-sounding agriculture projects are mostly of the kind that favour the larger land-owners, not the huge majority of peasant families who own no land at all.

For some time, it has been evident that Indonesia has suffered a sharp decrease in foreign exchange earnings because of the fall in the price and volume of its oil exports, and a decline of nearly 50% in the value of its non-oil exports. With oil accounting for over 60% of state revenues in 1982/83 (Rp 9,121 billion rupiahs out of total revenue of Rp 15,607 billion), some commentators were insisting that the only way to resolve the impending 'threat' of deficit spending without seriously affecting living standards would be by sharply reducing outlay on development. Suharto's budget speech shows that this advice has fallen on deaf ears.

#### World Bank Throws Its Weight Behind 'Development'

In fact the argument over budget policy was won in favour of 'development' several months ago when World Bank president, A.W. Clausen, on a visit to Indonesia last November, made it abundantly clear that the Bank would do everything possible to underpin the high level of spending. He announced that an estimated shortfall of \$13 billion in Indonesia's balance of payments over the coming four years could and would be covered by a combination of IGGI credit (to the tune of \$9 billion over the four years) plus \$4 billion in commercial loans from foreign private banks. World Bank

approval is of course crucial since most projects involve a combination of Bank and private financing; the latter simply would not be forthcoming without the former.

Besides World Bank support, there is, according to some international commentators, a more direct political consideration weighing in Suharto's mind, namely his felt need to strengthen his own 'claim to legitimacy' by having himself pronounced the 'father of development'. This new gimmick was first launched many months ago by General Ali Murtopo, one of the many contenders for the post of Vice-President. How, one may ask, could Suharto be awarded such a title at the very time when development spending was cut?

More crucial though to the outcome of the debate, and indeed to Suharto's benign, 'fatherly' role, is the fact that, as William Branigin reports (*International Herald Tribune*, 25th November 1982):

so many high-ranking officials and influential figures — including relatives and associates of the president — have a personal financial stake in big projects.

Branigin gives the example of a huge, one-billion dollar oil refinery contract rushed through recently even though

some government planners have argued it is not needed. It was awarded to a Japanese company represented by the president's son and a businessman close to the Suharto family.

Father of Development indeed!

#### Devaluation a further threat to living standards

With trade figures moving so heavily into deficit, there has been persistent talk of an impending devaluation of the Indonesian rupiah. To indicate the size of the problem, Indonesia has shifted from a current account surplus of almost \$500 million to a deficit of nearly \$7 billion in only two years. Gross domestic product which rose by 9.9% in 1980 only managed an increase of 2% in 1982, according to estimates. According to William Branigin, Indonesia's current foreign debt is about \$17.5 billion. Including undisbursed loans, it comes to about \$28 billion, to which should be added \$5 billion to \$6 billion in private debt (*IHT*, 25th November 1982).

With such colossal foreign exchange problems, the devaluation rumours have found a lot of supporters, so much so that many big financiers inside Indonesia, including no doubt those who husband the Suharto fortunes, have been shifting their wealth abroad to avoid sudden losses. Ironically, this wealth, now safely deposited in overseas financial institutions, could well find its way back to Indonesia in the form of private bank loans floated internationally, at a far higher rate of interest than the Indonesian state would have had to pay if that same money had been loaned domestically.

Although a major devaluation has not yet taken place, the rate of the rupiah has been steadily falling against the dollar during 1982, and now stands at about Rp. 700, a devaluation of about 10%. This in itself has caused import prices to rise. The effect of this weakening of the rupiah may become even more severe in the coming months when it is expected that

## Book Review

**Like the Shadow of an Eagle?**, published by *Arena*, Victoria, Australia, 1982, 40 pages.

Many of us working to expose repression in Indonesia encounter the criticism that we present a picture of bleakness which can only engender pessimism and a sense of hopelessness in those whom we would like to stir into action. **TAPOL Bulletins** may well come in for such criticism. "Is there nothing good to report from Indonesia on the human rights front?" The answer is unfortunately, No. And it is one with which many human rights activists inside Indonesia would concur.

But this is not to say that political developments in Indonesia, bad as they are, are unrelievedly negative. Max Lane's "Voices of Dissent in Indonesia", published in this *Arena* of print of articles on Indonesia-related topics, is an attempt to describe and analyse radical political criticism in Indonesia since the early seventies. As such, it helps to redress the balance by concentrating on the more positive side of political developments. His account is comprehensive, though occasionally misleading by suggesting, for instance, that in mid-1973, "there was now a real possibility of a change in government". It is difficult to understand how he can really believe that.

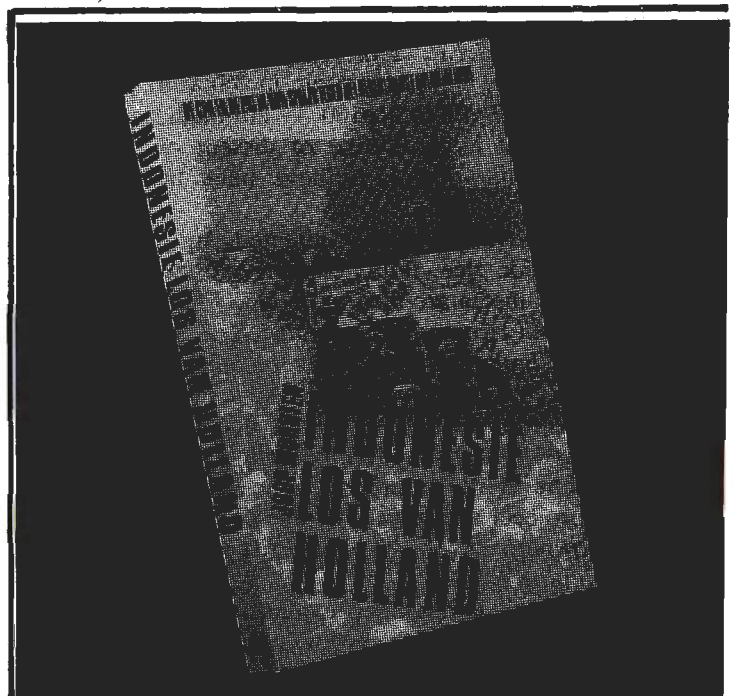
His concluding remarks concern the attitude of present-day radicals towards the pre-1965 left and point to the failure as yet of most to rid themselves of stereotype views of the old left, assisted, as he says, "by the deliberate closing off of opportunities to study the period". His exhortation to present-day radicals to study the Sukarno period applies with equal validity to the pre-1965 left as well. What emerges most clearly is the inability within the left, both before 1965 and since, to uphold the principle of democracy. This is undoubtedly a major hindrance to any mutual understanding and reconciliation.

Nonie Sharp's article, "Looking East from West Irian", sounds the alarm bells for Papua New Guinea in the face of "well-prepared contingency plans" by the military to effect PNG's political integration into Indonesia. PNG's vulnerabil-

ity is increased by Australia's unwillingness to challenge Indonesian expansionist policies. Supporting her argument, she produces a document, made available by West Papuans, describing Indonesia's programme of cultural annihilation in West Papua and the military buildup in the province which could pose a direct threat to PNG's sovereignty.

The collection of articles also includes an account by John Waddingham of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs' deliberate cover-up of conditions in East Timor, as manifested by the "don't know" stance of department officials who testified before the Australian Senate Inquiry on East Timor last year. This attitude is of course consistent with Australia's inability or unwillingness to support PNG against its threatening Indonesian neighbour.

This useful publication is available from *Arena* (PO Box 18, North Carlton 3954, Victoria Australia) or from *TAPOL* (8a, Treport Street, London SW18 2BP) for 65 pence plus postage (15 pence for UK, Europe or surface mail; 40 pence airmail).



*Indonesia Free from Holland* by Joop Morrien, published by Pegasus, Amsterdam 1982.

A history of the Dutch and Indonesian Communist Parties in their struggle against Dutch colonialism. We hope to carry a review in our next issue.

*Continued from page 17*

Indonesia will once again have to import large quantities of rice because of the decline in domestic rice production as the result of a severe drought during the latter months of 1982.

### The 'Mexico trap' for Indonesia?

Those in favour of maintaining development spending at all costs apparently ignore the possibility that petroleum prices will continue to fall and that persistent world recession will make it impossible for Indonesia to increase the present level of oil exports. Could this, ask some commentators, cause Indonesia to fall into what is now cynically being called 'the Mexico trap' brought about by sharply intensifying a country's reliance on foreign credit at a time when foreign exchange earnings are unlikely to increase? The trap snaps shut when the debtor country is unable to repay interest and loans falling due, and becomes even more beholden to the international bankers.

The generals who command Indonesia's economy and

their World Bank advisers, whose interests run parallel at the moment, appear not to be too worried about that. They can be sure, as far as the short-term problems of political disquiet is concerned, that Indonesia is a safe investment with low political risks. After all GOLKAR has just 'won' the 1982 elections, and Suharto is about to be installed unopposed for yet another term of presidency. The repressive apparatus of KOPKAMTIB is now even better placed than ever to control labour disputes; the 'opposition' parties have been completely tamed, and everything augurs well for a period of prolonged social 'peace' — unless of course these calculations misfire for unpredictable reasons. So, the 1983/84 budget, however much of a burden on the Indonesian people, will not, they believe, significantly threaten Indonesia's 'political stability'.



## A MILESTONE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

**Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam: Catatan Harian Ahmad Wahib** (Stirrings in Islamic Thought: the Diary Notes of Ahmad Wahib) published by LP3ES, Jakarta, 1981.

There is no doubt that ideas about democracy are evolving among Muslims in Indonesia. This is to be expected because, following the repression of Communists, launched in 1965, Muslims more than anyone else have become victims of military oppression in the New Order. Inevitably therefore, some Muslims now believe that the only way to drive out militarism is by nurturing its antidote, democracy. Democratic ideas are most likely to develop among Muslims because virtually the entire military power clique consists of *Abangans*<sup>1</sup>, thus making it easier for Muslims to accept the need for democracy.

Foreign observers have neglected this because at first these ideas had to face resistance from Muslims themselves. As this resistance weakened, the developing democratic ideas have become more evident. Another factor standing in the way is that the military have tried hard to confuse things by deliberate perversion of the image of Islam in Indonesia: the military intelligence agencies have vied with each other to organise "Muslim terrorism" — the "Jihad Command", the "Warman Terrorist Gang" and, most spectacular, the Bangkok plane hijack in 1981. The appearance of this book, the daily notes of a young Muslim intellectual who was killed in a road accident when he was only 31, has brought an end to this situation.

Ahmad Wahib's father Sulaeman was a Muslim teacher of religion in Madura, a Muslim stronghold. Unlike other Muslim teachers, he allowed his son to go to a non-religious school, then to a Technical College in Jogjakarta. In Jogja, Wahib stayed at a Catholic hostel, made friends with Catholic students as well as pastors, and had a chance to discuss things with such Christian theologians as Boland and Niels Mulder. Few young Muslims have followed such a path. It was an exceptional life, a life at the margin, though the ideas he developed were not marginal.

His book was published by one of Indonesia's largest and best known publishing houses, with a Preface by Mukti Ali who was Minister of Religious Affairs until 1978. Mukti Ali was himself the target of critical comment by Ahmad Wahib, for his misinterpretation of Marx and Freud, after hearing his lecture about Marx and Freud. In the Javanese tradition, criticising one's elders is disrespectful to say the least. Yet Mukti Ali wrote the Preface, a democratic attitude rarely to be found in Indonesia.

The book immediately became a best-seller: the first 5,000 copies were quickly followed by a second print of 10,000, comparable only to the success of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's books. Predictably, Muslims who oppose renewal flew into a panic and called for the book to be banned. They hoped to stop these ideas from spreading, but too late. The chicken had broken out of its shell and, as the public response proved, what Wahib wrote in the privacy of his diaries is what many Muslims want to read.

Living on the borders meant meeting non-Muslims which gave the diarist the chance to try out the things he heard, to compare the world he saw through Muslim eyes with the

perceptions of Christians, Marxists and others. Confrontation like this produced turmoil in his mind. ("I don't know whether I'm fated never to stop asking questions." "Hundreds, thousands of questions keep coming to mind, and I simply don't know the answers." — page 54.) He developed a thirst for the truth. He questioned everything, the nature of God, the place of the Prophet Mohammad in history, the meaning of his commandments. And because he waged dialogue with himself, he spoke frankly, in a clear language, free from inhibitions, free from self-censorship. He spoke with complete clarity, something unique among Indonesians who are not in the habit of calling a spade a spade.

The profusion of things discussed in the diaries makes it difficult to systematise his ideas, but there is a central theme: his effort to relate his religion to the present day or, in his own words, not only to re-interpret Islamic teachings but to relate them to the present (page 69). He rejected apologism, the glorification of Islam in bygone days (page 68). Not only that. Not everything said by the Prophet (the hadits) need necessarily be done. ("If Mohammad had lived today, I'm sure he would have changed many of his hadits." page 38). He even declared that not all God's commandments need be unquestioningly carried out. And as for the Koran, he felt the need for re-interpretation as well as for re-formulation (page 69).

He showed great tolerance towards non-Muslims. "It is not possible to use such terms as pagan or heathen these days in the way they were used in Mohammad's day. These days, there are many non-believers who are more Islamic in their way of thinking than many Muslims." As for Marx and Engels, the symbols of all that is bad in Indonesia since 1965, he said: "These two great men will get places of honour in heaven side by side with the Prophet and other holy people." (page 98). He urged Muslim intellectuals to "engage in honest, serious discussions, to reduce misunderstandings, to eliminate prejudices" with non-Muslims (page 73).

In relating his religion to the present, he was trying to resolve the basic problem confronting Muslims in Indonesia today: the role of the Muslim community in a country controlled by militarism. In this respect, his ideas took on a practical meaning because he contributed to a concept which, if accepted, can pave the way for Indonesia to be transformed from a totalitarian capitalist state into a democratic state. This is what Muslims refer to as secularism, the separation of state and religion. To understand this, we should recall the stand taken by Muslims on the eve of Indonesian independence, in August 1945. Their leaders wanted Indonesia to become an Islamic theocracy; this was stubbornly opposed by the *Abangans* as well as adherents of the minority religions. In 1957, in the Constituent Assembly, Muslim representatives demanded a theocracy and refused to compromise. The Assembly was deadlocked, which was utilised by the military to convince Sukarno to dissolve the democratically-elected Assembly and promulgate the provisional Constitution of 1945 as the country's permanent Constitution. This Constitution, drafted during the final days of the Japanese fascist occupation by people who had collaborated with the fascists, is extremely undemocratic. It



## SUBRONTOK. ATMODJO, EX-TAPOL, DIES IN JAKARTA

Former political prisoner, Subronto K. Atmodjo, a musician and song-writer who spent seven years exiled to the Buru prison island, died in Jakarta on 12th November, of lung cancer.

Long before 1965, he had made his mark as a writer of nationalist songs and as a choir conductor. He became best known for his song, **Nasakom Bersatu** (Nasakom Unite!), a national favourite during the last few years before 1965 when Nasakom, or the unity of nationalist, religious and communist forces was utilised as a slogan by President Sukarno.

Subronto studied music in East Germany and returned home to Indonesia after the 1965 events. Nevertheless, he was arrested for "involvement" in these events in 1968 and held without trial until 1977.

He converted to Christianity while on Buru, and has written a book about his conversion which has just been published in Jakarta. For the past few years, Subronto worked for the Church Music Foundation. He also composed a number of cantatas, and was invited in 1980 to become the conductor of the Svarna Gita choir with whom he gave a number of concert and radio performances.

*Continued from page 19*

vests unlimited powers in the head of state. The promulgation of the 1945 Constitution was a step back for democracy. Since then, both Indonesian presidents have ruled as dictators — first Sukarno as a civilian dictator backed by the military, then since 1965, a pure military dictatorship.

In present day Indonesia, secularism means Muslims stretching their hands out to other democrats, to Abangans, to Christians and others; it means Muslims dropping their demand for a theocracy and calling upon non-Muslims to join in a common endeavour to resolve current problems, to eliminate militarism and build a democratic Indonesia. It is in this sense that Wahib's book, and the enthusiasm with which it has been received by many Muslims, is a milestone for democracy in Indonesia. But the road to democracy needs more than one milestone; it needs others from the Abangans, the Marxists, the Christians. Unfortunately they appear to be in no hurry to respond. Eighteen months have passed since the book was published yet no ideas have come from these groups. What are they waiting for?

Jusfiq Hadjar

### Footnote

1) *Abangan*, Javanese for "the reds". Abangans are non-orthodox Muslims. Orthodox Muslims are "putihan", "the whites". These two social groups have evolved quite separately, often in competition. In colonial days, the Dutch drew the *priyayis*, the abangan aristocracy, into collaboration with the colonial administration. The "white" leaders, the *ulamas* and *kiyayis*, were shunned. Conflicts between the *priyayis* and the *kiyayis* developed as each strove to occupy commanding positions in the capitalist state which developed under the Dutch and now in the Republic. The nationalist and communist parties (PNI and PKI) were primarily composed of Abangans.

## Tapol protests against hangings in Malaysia

TAPOL has protested strongly to the Prime Minister of Malaysia following the execution by hanging of four men charged and found guilty under Malaysia's notorious Internal Security Act, 1960 (ISA) and its Essential (Security Cases) (Amendment) Regulations 1975 (ESCAR). The four men, who were hanged on 18th and 20th January, were:

Tan Chay Wa, charged with the alleged possession of a pistol.

Lim Kwang Yeow, charged with the alleged possession of one bullet.

Chiew Thiam Guan, charged with the alleged possession of a hand grenade.

Siri Chair Sae Voon, charged with the alleged possession of a gun.

ISA, like Indonesia's Anti-Subversion Law, vests unlimited powers in the authorities to arrest and detain people on political charges without judicial control, while ESCAR deprives defendants of a fair trial and makes the death sentence mandatory on all verdicts concerned with the possession of firearms.

Another 30 men are currently under death sentence in Malaysia. TAPOL also called upon the Malaysian government to halt all further executions and urged that the repressive ISA and ESCAR laws should be repealed.



## Footnotes to article on page 14-15

1. CARPA: Committee Against Repression in the Pacific and Asia.
2. At its meeting in December, the ACTU Interstate Executive decided to approach the ICFTU on the question of international action regarding the right to organise in Indonesia.



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