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British Campaign for the Defence

of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia

TAPOL Bulletin No 52

July 1982

East Timor

NEW FAMINE FEARED, SAYS VISITING NEWSMAN

An American journalist who visited East Timor in May confirms that the country is "beset by widespread malnutrition and hunger. This year's grain harvest was a dismal failure; now, as many Timorese suffer through longstanding food shortages, they face a new wave of famine, the second in five years."

Rod Nordland, S.E. Asia correspondent for **The Philadelphia Inquirer**, who has shared a Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting, spent 11 days in East Timor, interviewing villagers, Catholic workers including the acting Bishop of Dili and aid officials. He took weights and measurements of a group of children he met in Dili and came to the alarming conclusion that most were suffering from advanced malnutrition. "... the incidence of disease is essentially unchallenged by the province's inadequate medical care ... and anti-insurgency measures imposed by a military government have stripped Timorese of their civil rights."

The full text of Mr Nordland's article is printed on pages 9 to 12.

Timorese Catholics Speak Out

Priests, sisters and brothers of religious orders working in East Timor have spoken out in a document entitled "A Reflection in Faith", compiled for the Indonesian Major Religious Superiors Conference held last year. The following are extracts from the document which we hope to publish in full in the next issue:

"We do not intend giving an analysis of the East Timor problem, but only to reflect together on the faith of the East Timorese people in the actual situation ..."

We recognise that a sincere communication demands a long process because despite many similarities of community and faith, we have very different backgrounds. We hope our communication will be successful, based on deep reflections from us all, both in our own groups, and as a group together ...

We must all realise that the Indonesian National Army which liberated Indonesia from the colonial power in an astonishing manner will never liberate the people of East Timor ...

What has taken place during these five years is mostly

invasion, war, looting, the destruction of the indigenous population, territorial subjections, colonial exploitation, the expulsion of the indigenous population ...

... the people's way of life has been turned upside down and the basis of the community life has been destroyed. Masses of the population have been forced to shift in large numbers to places far away and unknown. Consequently, apart from having lost all their possessions, there is alienation and disintegration of families. There are continually new orders from above on 'security' which actually destroys and confuses the people. People who have been concentrated in (certain) areas and who live in dire poverty, in an atmosphere of false peace, have been forced to accompany the army to the mountains.

The people do not have a voice, and live in fear. Indeed the people live in a situation of continual war, and thus must be silent, and submissive. The produce of their soil is seized ... The army monopolises everything. Confronted by this situation the people do not get an explanation for any of it. Thus they suffer more and feel their faith more ...

Our connections with the Universal Church, with the Religious and the wider world were suddenly cut off. We are the religious of East Timor who still together with the people were suddenly thrown into emptiness and alienation for six years until we became the silent Church of East Timor ...

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PNG AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN WEST PAPUA

Papua New Guinea is one of the few countries in the world where human rights abuse committed by the Indonesian administration in West Papua is well reported, widely acknowledged and strongly condemned. People there follow with alarm Indonesia's policy of transmigration which is turning Papuans into a discarded minority in their own land. Many West Papuans, fleeing from Indonesian repression and bombing raids, have taken refuge in PNG. In May last year, the Students Council of the University of PNG organised a Tribunal, presided over by Justice Bernard Narakobi, which found Indonesia guilty of numerous human rights violations after hearing details about the imprisonment without trial, torture and murder of West Papuans. West Papuans who testified at the Tribunal, including Eliezer Bonay, the first Indonesian-appointed governor of Irian Jaya (the name by which West Papua is known in Indonesia), were compelled to leave PNG soon afterwards and seek refuge in Sweden. Their continued presence in the country was seen by the PNG government as "endangering relations with Indonesia".

As we report in this issue (page 3), during the recent general election campaign in PNG, when these conditions in West Papua again became an issue, Indonesian troops carried out border incursions into PNG, bombing and terrorising villages. The true objective of these incursions has since been made clear in a long statement issued in Jakarta by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies and published in the Indonesian press. The CSIS complains that some "Papua New Guinean writers have pointed to the need for a new government which would be more responsive to the popu-

lar demand for support for their Melanesian brethren in Irian Jaya, and which would help, or at least tolerate, the activities of the OPM (Free Papua Movement)". It then warns PNG politicians "not to make hostile statements about Indonesia *which could boomerang*" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25th June, 1982, emphasis added). The statement, adds the FEER, while glossing over the "alleged" border incursions, calls for "greater efforts by Port Moresby to maintain good bilateral relations". The CSIS statement is described by FEER as "a veiled threat of stronger Indonesian reaction".

We would remind our readers that the CSIS is headed by General Ali Murtopo and run by a group of "special operations" (OPSUS) personnel, the very people who were put in charge of Indonesia's intelligence operation to de-stabilise and annex East Timor. Elsewhere in this issue we summarise CIA daily briefings, from August 1975 to February 1976, which reveal a great deal about how that operation was conducted, in full view of western governments. One wonders what briefings the CIA is producing these days about Indonesia's activities in PNG and whether it will take as long as seven years before they reach the light of day.

PNG's future as an independent state is clearly under threat; the Indonesian military make no secret of that. Central to this threat is the PNG's stand on the question of West Papua's right to self-determination and the very survival of the Papuans now living under Indonesian rule. Because of this close connection, recent developments in PNG are a matter of concern to anyone working to defend human rights in West Papua.

WATER CELL IN JAYAPURA

Free West Papua (January 1982) reports:

There are five official prisons in Jayapura, the capital of West Papua, and scores of unofficial places of detention, military cells and interrogation rooms, the existence of which is a carefully-guarded secret.

Most notorious of the prisons is Ifargunung prison, at the foot of the 5,000 foot high Cyclops mountains and close to Sentani Airport. Its notoriety comes from the 4x4x4 metre underground concrete bunkers which can be turned into drowning pools by the turn of a tap. Many West Papuan nationalists have found their end in these 64,000 litre death traps. The practice is to strip the prisoner naked and order him into the bunker which is then slowly flooded to the desired level. The prisoner is left there for as long as it pleases the prison officials, which may be from overnight to 72 hours. On occasion, sadistic prison officials completely flood the bunkers, drowning the prisoners like rats.

One person is known to have survived such treatment by allowing himself to float between the water surface and the ceiling, a gap of about one foot, and treading water gently for several hours. Some survivors of the water treatment later die of exposure when the entire skin

lifts off like a ripe banana skin.

The second most feared prison is Hamadi prison. It has the tightest security system; the officials are recruited from special Indonesian naval units and it also boasts underground cells. It is rumoured that many persons lost without trace, like Martin Jelmau, Peneha Torey, the brothers Mandatjans and Fritz Awom may still be living in these subterranean dungeons.

The three remaining prisons are POMDAM prison of the Military Police where most of the imprisoned West Papuans are being held, KODAM-17 Prison at Angkasa, headquarters of the 17th Indonesian Military Command where Martin Tabu* and Bob Kubia, William Yebleb and Duit Piager are being held, and the general purpose prison at Abepura where political prisoners are mixed with criminal prisoners.

(This is the second report TAPOL has received of water cells for political prisoners. See *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 50, March 1982, page 17 for a description of the water room in Jalan Gandhi Prison, Medan.)

*More recently, it has been reported (see *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 51, May 1982, page 16) that Martin Tabu has been executed in April.

INDONESIAN RULE IN WEST PAPUA

Border Incursions Threaten New Guinea

Indonesian troops violated the border between West Papua and Papua New Guinea, terrorising villagers, no fewer than four times during May this year. Indonesian claims that these border incursions were part of a search for hostages who were captured last October by the OPM (Free-Papua Movement) when it attacked a timber factory during operations in the vicinity of Jayapura, the capital of West Papua.

These incursions took place during the weeks preceding the June general elections in PNG and have been interpreted there as a deliberate attempt by Indonesia to threaten military action against any future PNG government should it reverse the present government's policy of collaborating with the Indonesian Government in its drive to crush the OPM. Many people in PNG are acutely conscious of the possibility that their country could, like East Timor, fall victim to open aggression from Indonesia.

Transmigration is "Removing Papuans from the Scene"

The border incursions helped focus attention in PNG on conditions in West Papua and the continuing gross violation of human rights. Indonesia's policy of submerging the Papuan population by means of massive transmigration (resettlement)

from Java and other parts of Indonesia was raised repeatedly during the election campaign. There is no doubt that a large number of transmigrants, some "official" and some "spontaneous", have settled in West Papua during the last decade or so and that many more are arriving all the time. Estimates of the numbers already settled vary from 300,000 to a million. Indonesian Vice-President Adam Malik claimed during a recent visit to Merauke, on the border of West Papua, that "nine million Javanese" would be settled in West Papua. This figure was quoted by Willem van Kemenade, **NRC Handelsblad** correspondent, in an interview with Harun Zain, Indonesia's Minister of Labour and Transmigration (**NRC**, 9th June 1982). Kemenade asked Zain how long it would take to settle that number of people in West Papua, to which Zain replied, without refuting the figure, that the rate of settlement depended on "scientific considerations" such as the suitability of the infrastructure.

While numbers is certainly an important aspect of the problem, it is far more crucial to understand the underlying political, economic, social and cultural objectives of transmigration. An American law professor, Henk di Suvero, who was visiting senior law professor at the Law Faculty of University of PNG in 1981 gave one of the most comprehensive accounts of this in an article published in **The Times PNG** (22 May 1982), after a trip to West Papua. His account is worth quoting in full:

I was told that one million persons have been transmigrated since 1970 and one million more would be moved in by year 2000. This compares to the present Melanesian population of about 1,300,000. The transmigration programme serves multiple purposes. Most important it is designed to create a Javanese majority and to make Melanesians a minority in their own country. What lies ahead is a relative population constriction that will rival the constriction and subsequent annihilation of the Indians of North America and the Aborigines of Australia.

It is also designed to provide a secure labour force in key sectors of the economy. For instance for 1981-82, 1,050 families or 5,000 persons are planned to be "dropped" near the oil fields of Manokwari and another thousand families will be "dropped" near the (oil) fields of Sorong. This guarantees a safe labour force and ties in with Pertamina, the national oil company's policy of non-employment of Melanesians in the oil industry. That began in 1969 and the

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Six West Papuan women who have been held without trial since August 1980. They were arrested after unfurling the West Papuan flag in place of the Indonesian flag outside the Governor's office in Dock II suburb of Jayapura. The women are Maryones Yarona, Florida Yakadewa, Persila Yakadewa, Regina Yakadewa (back row) and Barbalina Ikari and Dominggas Fisrewa (kneeling).

According to reports from West Papua, the women have been raped by their gaolers; Florida Yakadewa is now pregnant as a result. The women are all adopted by Amnesty International, and a campaign for their release is being launched in West Germany by Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker.

DUTCH ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA INCREASING

The military-industrial complex has recently come to play a crucial role in Dutch-Indonesian relations. This is very clear from material distributed and speeches delivered at a conference on **Trade in Repression** held in Amsterdam on 5th June by the Dutch Indonesia Committee. The conference brought together a diversity of organisations, including those concerned with Third World issues and the peace movement, as well as anti-militarist groups and pressure groups working within the Dutch trade unions. Other Dutch-based solidarity groups also attended, as well as church organisations, Amnesty International, TAPOL, and Indonesian, West Papuan and Moluccan groups.

One of the main objectives was to consider Holland's rapidly

growing arms trade with Indonesia as part of the overall pattern of Dutch relations with Third World countries, and to consider the possibilities for joint action between organisations involved in one way or another with opposing the arms trade. A comprehensive dossier produced for the conference analyses many aspects of Dutch arms exports which have sharply increased in the past decade. According to SIPRI, the peace-research unit in Sweden, Dutch exports of complete weapons systems, representing only part of the total trade in arms, rose more than 500% from 1976 (\$29 million) to 1980 (\$162 million). Holland takes ninth place in the world league of arms exporters.

Officially, Holland is bound by policy decisions adopted in

continued opposite

Papuan labour force was soon afterwards retired from the industry.

Lastly it is designed to establish a line of villages at the border with Papua New Guinea, and in future years, along key roads that will be cut into the interior. The idea is to make militarily secure an otherwise hospitable area for OPM activities. For instance, the 1981-82 plan calls for 500 families to be settled at Arso, near the West Sepik border; and near Merauke in the south, near the Western Province border, 900 families will be dropped at Kurik, 500 at Bupul and 900 at Semangga at Tanah Merah. By the end of next year there will then be over 100,000 new Javanese inhabitants next to PNG's south west border.

This vast planned migration — probably the largest the world has ever conducted under the auspices of a central government in such a short space of years — is quickly changing the country from a Melanesian one into an Asian one. The ubiquitous mosques with their onion shaped cupolas made out of sheet tin are eloquent symbols of this change, strangely contrasting against the familiar New Guinea landscape.

Medical Conditions of Papuans "Alarming"

While transmigration moves rapidly ahead, the health conditions of the Papuans are visibly deteriorating. Medical facilities provide virtually no protection against new diseases and natural population growth appears to have been brought to a standstill, if not actually reversed. A Dutch television film on West Papua, which was shot in October last year and shown in the Netherlands in February, provides revealing evidence about this.

The film reported that the medical situation in some parts of West Papua is alarming; cholera in Asmat, whooping cough and venereal disease in Baliem Valley, and yaws and measles were all on the increase. Poor nutrition plus a lack of medicines and medical personnel were resulting in needless deaths, and there were numerous reports of small and large scale epidemics sometimes leaving hundreds of people dead.

The film contained an interview with Dr Vriend, a Dutch doctor working alone at a hospital in Wamena which, with 24 beds, serves an area with 60,000 inhabitants. He was asked:

What new diseases have been introduced here?

Whooping cough appeared for the first time during the Dutch period. This had a tremendous effect on the population. And since then many diseases have been introduced. Of course flu came in because that is caused by a virus, and it spread inland from Nabire and Enarotali. But since then all sorts of tropical

diseases have appeared as well, that is, those which can affect people living at high altitudes.

. . . sexually-transmitted diseases are rife now, aren't they?

Yes, they spread in epidemic proportions because people here have a very different concept of morality.

When were these diseases introduced here?

In 1962.

The (Dutch Parliament) report says this could be disastrous because these diseases adversely affect fertility. Others say that it is not that serious. What is the true position?

The epidemic as such is on the decline at the moment . . . But the resultant infertility is every bit as serious as in Africa which is quite alarming . . .

. . . has the epidemic of sexually-transmitted diseases with its serious consequences for the fertility of the Dani tribes really reached such a bad state?

Yes, it is very bad.

A Dutch missionary, Jan van der Horst, who works in the mountains where life is unbearably hard, told the film team:

90% of people here have goitre, infant mortality is more than 60%, the average life expectancy is about 31 or 32 years. Yes, and then there is yaws which has caused many deaths, and respiratory diseases and that sort of thing.

A Dutch sociologist, Theo van de Broek, who is well acquainted with the conditions in West Papua, told the team:

I think illegal (spontaneous) transmigration mainly affects the towns . . . Whether they come from Sulawesi or Java or another province makes little difference; the point is that most of them are very dynamic people . . . So they eventually manage to occupy positions which the local people and everyone else here also want. Opportunities for the indigenous people are gradually disappearing, which creates a number of problems . . .

There is one phrase in the (Dutch Parliament) report: "the Papuans are slowly disappearing from the scene." Is that what you envisage?

Yes, I do. This is all part of what is going on. It is undeniable that at the same time as the breakdown of the isolation of the Papuans is taking place, another sort of isolation is taking place, their personality is being uprooted, broken down . . . I feel that the development policy which is now being pushed very hard is going much too fast. And on top of that, other factors such as transmigration play a very important role. So, precisely because of the presence of other groups, the tendency for Papuans to disappear worsens unless one starts to favour the groups which have fallen behind.

the 1970s to subject arms exports to restrictions based on the human rights record of the importing country, and to refrain from exporting arms to countries involved in territorial disputes or when there is a danger of their being used for internal repression. Yet, at the height of Indonesia's war of aggression against East Timor, the Dutch government authorised the export of three naval corvettes to Indonesia despite strenuous efforts to halt the sale. A court case brought at the time by the Committee and a number of other petitioners, charging the government with breaching state policy, was thrown out on the grounds that the petitioners were "not interested parties"; Fretilin, one of the petitioners, was declared to have "no legal standing".

As one speaker at the conference explained: "We had no illusions that we could stop the sale; we wanted first and foremost to draw public attention to Indonesia's aggression in East Timor and to Dutch support for this aggression."

Holland, with its long colonial involvement in Indonesia, has strong pressure groups with a vested interest in maintaining close economic ties with Indonesia's military regime. Speakers at the conference explained that this made it particularly difficult to stop the arms trade with Indonesia, although arms to other countries such as Chile had been stopped. Even trade union leaders display a strong resistance to campaigns to stop arms sales to Indonesia, and effective action among workers has to be built up from the grass-roots level.

The government employs many devices to circumvent official restrictions that would certainly exclude Indonesia from any deals with Dutch arms manufacturers. In some cases, companies deal through third countries; in others, they enter into consortia with arms manufacturers in other countries. The government has compiled a list of "strategic" goods subject to the formal restrictions. By narrowly defined this term, many goods of evident strategic value are beyond official scrutiny. One of the preparatory documents produced for the conference points out that telecommunication apparatus and equipment required for sea and air transportation, which comprise a substantial share of Dutch exports to Indonesia, clearly have a crucial significance for the Indonesian military even if they are, formally speaking, sold for "civilian" use. Fokker F-27 and F-28 aircraft figure high among Dutch exports to Indonesia

and are particularly suitable for use in outlying regions, for short-distance operations with small airports. Their significance in such areas as West Papua, where the government faces persistent and widespread opposition, cannot be underestimated.

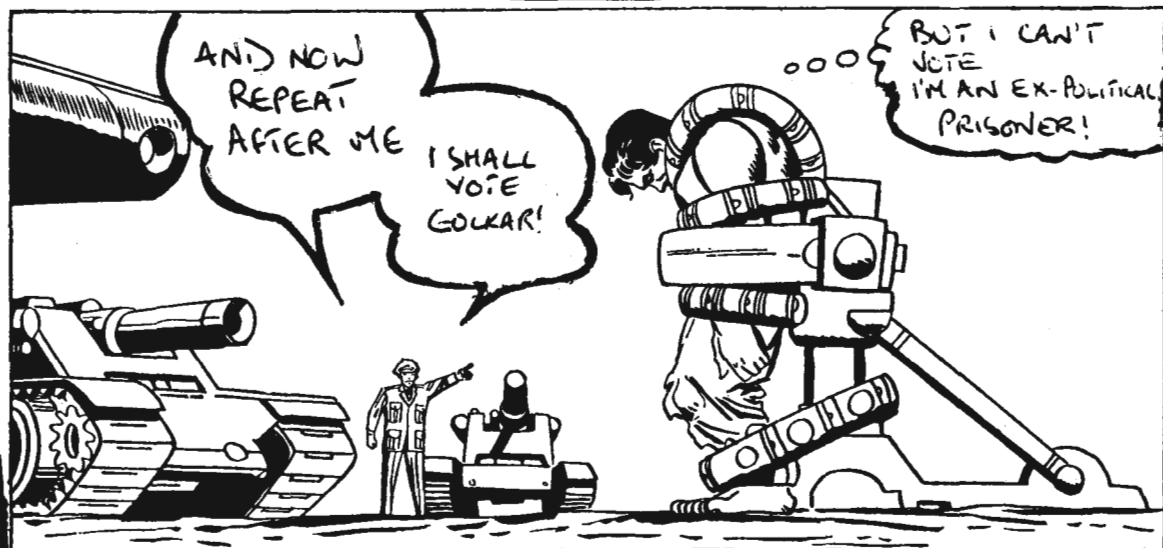
The conference dossier (produced unfortunately only in Dutch) provides detailed descriptions of the activities and output of four major Dutch arms manufacturers: **Fokker**, **HSA** (Dutch Signals Apparatus) a Philips offshoot, **DAF Trucks** and **Rijn Schelde Verolme**, the shipbuilding company which built the corvettes for Indonesia. All these companies have sharply increased the military component in their output since the mid-seventies and all have major contracts with Indonesia.

The conference did not aim at creating a joint organisation; it was convened to encourage the sharing of experience and to discuss ways in which broadly-related organisations might work together to grapple more effectively with the task of halting the dangerous trade in weapons of destruction to repressive governments in the Third World.

The conference dossier, price 15 guilders, is available from the Dutch Indonesia Committee, Minhasastr. 1, Amsterdam 1094 RS (Giro Account number: 30.65.720)

Three Repatriated West Papuans in Detention

Three West Papuans who were forcibly repatriated from Papua New Guinea last year are now reported to be in detention in Jayapura. The three men, all of whom had enjoyed permissive residence status in PNG and had lived there for many years, are Bob Kubia, a teacher, Fred Pieger, a businessman and Willie Jebleb, a health worker. According to **Free West Papua**, January 1982, they were all being held in cells at the headquarters of the 17th Military Divisional Command, together with Martin Tabu, the guerrilla leader who was captured in 1978. As we reported in **TAPOL Bulletin No. 51**, Martin Tabu has since been executed.



THE "HIJACK" TRIAL

Efforts to Expose State Provocateurs Thwarted by the Court

Imran bin Muhammad Zein, a young Muslim tried for allegedly planning the hijack of an Indonesian plane in March last year, was sentenced to death by the Bandung District Court on 13th March.

This is the case which Buyung Nasution, the human rights lawyer, described in an interview with TAPOL as a "frame-up" because even though Imran had for some considerable time been making outspoken statements attacking the government and Suharto, all of which was known to the intelligence forces, no action was taken against him; on the contrary he was even provided with help by the authorities. Yet other Muslims who behaved far less recklessly were being arrested at the time. (See **TAPOL Bulletin**, No. 50, March 1982, pages 3-9.)

The pronouncement of Imran's death sentence, depicting him as a "terrorist", coincided with the commencement of the 1982 general election campaign and is believed by many to have been deliberately timed to discredit the Muslims as a political force. Many other Muslim trials were also being held at the same time.

Imran was accused, as the "spiritual leader" or *imam* of his *Jama'ah Islam*, of inspiring and planning several acts of violence, notably the hijack which ended in Bangkok when Indonesian special troops stormed the plane, as well as an attack two weeks earlier on a police station in Cicendo, West Java when several prisoners—associates of Imran's—were freed and three policemen were killed. The other charges were plans to replace the Pancasila with the laws of Islam, efforts to undermine the lawful government, the seizure of weapons, and attempts to obtain arms and other material assistance from foreign sources. He was also accused of planning the murder of Najamuddin, a leading member of his group.

Imran denied all the charges. He told the court that one of the most important things that had provoked his mood of anger had been a document published by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies which he had been given by a former Army general, Ishak Djuarsa. This document claimed that after the 1982 elections, Indonesia's Muslim community would be "wiped out". Djuarsa appeared as a witness only after repeated delays; he denied having given Imran the CSIS document, and claimed too that he knew nothing about a book by Ben Anderson which Imran said the witness has also given him.

Crucial Witnesses Not Called

Imran was defended by a team of lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute. Their efforts to call crucial witnesses to testify about the hijack were all unsuccessful. The prosecution with the help of the court refused to allow the co-pilot of the hijacked plane who survived (the pilot was shot dead) to appear as a witness, nor were any of the passengers or any of the crew allowed to appear. Before the trial too, all these witnesses had been under strict orders not to give interviews to the press.

Defence demands to find out precisely how many hijackers

there were, and how many were captured alive and killed in captivity were also unsuccessful. The defence lawyers stressed that information about all this was contradictory and unclear. In reply to a request that postmortem reports on the hijackers be made available to the court, the prosecution merely submitted death certificates which did not mention cause of death. A request for information about where the bodies had been buried was described by the prosecution as "irrelevant", even though one of the dead men was the brother of the accused.

According to the defence, Najamuddin, the murdered man who had gained the confidence of Imran and had become his right-hand man, was in fact a plant from government intelligence. Najamuddin was murdered by followers of Imran. Imran told the court that they had all become deeply suspicious of this man; even though he had planned the Cicendo attack and had gone to East Java in search of weapons for the group, he was not arrested later when others in the group were rounded up.

"I am inclined to regard this as being in actual fact the case of Najamuddin, for he played such a big role," said Abdulrachman Saleh, defending lawyer, in his concluding defence plea. Yet, the lawyer went on, he was no more than a man executing the orders of others. The real "brains" behind the affair has not been revealed during these hearings, he told the court. "Is it really true that the accused is a terrorist? Is he not rather just a young Muslim who fell into a trap?"

Sources: *Tempo*, 27 February and 20 March, 1982; *Merdeka* 4 February and 1 March, 1982.



Imran and his three defence lawyers

OTHER MUSLIM TRIALS

A considerable number of Muslims have been tried in the past few months. It is not easy to receive details; occasional press clippings only provide fragmentary information about one or two trials. The following summarises this information, and provides just a glimpse of the nature of these cases:

Romadon bin Jakarsi (35 years old), a teacher of religion, and **Safari bin Turmuji** (30 years old), a worker at a rice-hulling factory, were tried in April and May this year in Cilacap.

They were both accused, under the 1963 Anti-Subversion Law and a combination of articles from the Criminal Code of "offending and undermining Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution" and of "undermining State power and the authority of the lawful government". As members of an Islamic organisation, *Jama'ah Islamiyah*, they allegedly "spread hostility and disorder for the purpose of setting up an Islamic state".

On 5th May, they were found guilty and sentenced respectively to 5 and 7 years imprisonment, with deduction for time already served. They have both been in detention since late 1980.

Five of the witnesses who appeared for the prosecution (whose names are not mentioned) are also under detention. A sixth witness, Sudiyatno, who refused to collaborate during the court and remained silent when questioned, is to be held as a "hostage" (*sandra*); he is reportedly to be tried for this offence and may also come up for trial for being himself a member of *Jama'ah Islamiyah*. Announcing the "hostage" detention, the court declared that the period served in this respect will not be included in time deducted when a sentence is eventually passed. (*Sinar Harapan*, 6 May, and 10th April 1982.) According to independent information reaching TAPOL, Sudiyatno (33 years old) who is a student in Jogjakarta, has

been under detention without trial since June 1979.

Other Muslim prisoners who, according to independent sources, have recently been on trial are:

Abdul Sungkar, arrested in November 1978, now in Magelang Prison.

Ashifuddin, arrested in June 1979, now in Magelang Prison.

Arman Jauhari, arrested in June 1979, now in Magelang Prison.

M. Thohari, arrested in December 1978, now in Jogjakarta Prison.

Abdul Malik/Purwanto, arrested in December 1978, now in Magelang Prison.

In Purbolinggo, Central Java, another Muslim political prisoner, identified only by his initials as Msr bin Myd (38 years old), a secondary school teacher, was tried for similar offences. At a hearing on 9th April this year, the prosecution demanded a sentence of 10 years. There are no details of the court verdict. *Sinar Harapan* (10th April), reporting the trial, said the courtroom was packed especially with law students from Purwokerto.

All the three men on trial are said to have been "chairmen" of district "commandments/residencies" of the *Jama'ah Islamiyah*.

There are, in addition, seven Muslim prisoners currently on trial in Purwokerto. No further details are known.

MUSLIM PRISONER DIES IN MAGELANG PRISON

Muhammed Hasyim, a Muslim political prisoner from Wonosobo, was arrested in 1979 and detained first in Semarang then in Magelang Prison. He was arrested by LAKSUSDA-Central Java (Central Java Security Command) on charges of involvement in the "Warman Terror", originally referred to as the Jihad (Holy War) Command. He was to have been tried shortly.

While in prison, Hasyim fell ill; a doctor diagnosed his illness as hepatitis and said he should be treated in hospital. The process of getting him into hospital however proved difficult (communications between Magelang Prison and Semarang were not good) so he waited several days. His condition worsened, and only then was the order given for him to be transferred to hospital. Although physically very weak, he was taken to Selama Hospital handcuffed and under guard by seven fully-armed military policemen. In hospital, he was kept under continual guard.

After treatment in hospital for a few days, his condition improved and he was returned to prison. But still being weak and with a bad diet and unhealthy conditions, his illness returned and he was again transferred to hospital. In all he was moved back and forth from prison to hospital three times.

Finally, the doctor said there was no point treating him in hospital. His illness was due to his physical surroundings and

he should, the doctor recommended, be given better conditions of detention. Hasyim's family and the prison governor reported this to LAKSUSDA and asked for permission for Hasyim to be allowed home, under house arrest. There was no reply, and his condition grew worse until eventually his stomach and legs became swollen. When his family visited him on 17th February at 4.00 pm, he was unable to rise from his bed and his body was swollen even further. LAKSUSDA had still failed to reply to the request that he be detained outside, and was not even granting permission for family visits. Soon after the family left the prison on that day, Hasyim died, at 6.00 pm.

For more news about Muslim prisoners, please turn to page 18

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TALES OF TORTURE

“ Indonesian soldiers took hold of the legs of small children and threw them in the air a number of times and smashed their heads against a rock. There was a woman who asked that one of the children be given to her after the mother had been killed. At that time, a soldier permitted the woman to take this small child, but a few minutes later he grabbed the child and killed him. The poor woman who asked for the child was not so wise because she too was then killed.

There was one other who asked for one of the children to be given to her . . . the army person did not want to hear her pleadings and in front of everyone destroyed the body of this small child who had done no wrong. And then the soldier opened his mouth, showing his teeth with a smile, and said a sentence which we consider to be part of the wisdom of Java. He said: ‘When you clean your field, don’t you kill all the snakes, the large and small alike?’ ”

Eyewitness account, from East Timor, 1981

“ On the first day that I arrived, the big shock and sadness for me was to see two civilian men carrying three heads of our brothers from the bush . . . Accompanying these men were (Indonesian soldiers) with a revolver and a knife. They took the heads to bury in a cemetery . . . The heads were in a bag which was thrown into a hole without covering them with a cloth or anything. ”

The report says the three dead men were members of a Fretilin group who visited a neighbouring village, Lacle. Five other Fretilin soldiers were killed 10 days later. Indonesian troops ordered villagers to behead the corpses . . .

“ Indonesian soldiers joked about the heads delivered to them and some of them even put

cigarettes into the mouths of the dead heads and said: ‘Smoke! Don’t you like cigarettes?’ ”

Eyewitness account, Manatuto, East Timor, 1981.

“ Some people from the bush surrendered. All were suffering from a lack of clothing and had been sheltering in caves. They were immediately divided into two groups. The first group of five women were placed on one side and later taken away by helicopter. The second group, all of them males, both youths and adults, consisted of 20 people. At the same place where they stood, this group of people were shot dead by the marines. Their bodies were covered with dry grass and leaves, and the whole thing was set alight.

Eyewitness account from Lacluta, East Timor, 2 September, 1981 ”

* * * *

These and other testimonies were presented to the Australian Senate Enquiry investigating the situation in East Timor, during an *in camera* session held in May this year. The material was presented by Australians who have made a detailed investigation about incidents which occurred during Operation Security (*Operasi Keamanan*), conducted from June to September last year by Indonesian troops in East Timor.

The evidence they collected, some of which was published in the *Melbourne Age* (15th May 1982), also includes detailed eyewitness accounts of interrogation with torture of prisoners and their subsequent execution, more accounts of the massacre of hundreds of villagers at Lacluta last September, reports of bombing raids during 1978 and 1979 as a result of which thousands of Timorese lost their lives, and allegations that a number of people have disappeared after arrest and interrogation.

“ELECTIONS” IN EAST TIMOR

The Indonesian government claims that the results of the “elections” held in East Timor in May this year prove that the people of East Timor accept integration and support the Indonesian Government. As a military power in illegal occupation of the country, elections held under any circumstances are in gross violation of the Timorese people’s right to self-determination.

The conditions under which the “elections” were conducted in East Timor and the results now being officially claimed only show how farcical this “exercise in democracy and self-determination” really was.

* All indigenous East Timorese parties were disbanded immediately after annexation. None of the Indonesian parties has any roots whatsoever in East Timor, yet they all “contested” the elections.

* Lopez da Cruz, the Indonesian-appointed deputy-governor of East Timor, himself revealed the meaninglessness of any political campaigning when he told a *Sinar-Harapan* journalist (SH, 5 May 1982) that “the only contest between the

three contestants was about who could decorate the polling booths best”.

* The official returns recorded a turnout of 101.05% (sic) out of which GOLKAR is said to have received more than 99% of the votes cast.

Number of voters:	306,507
Number of votes cast:	309,734
GOLKAR	308,046
PPP	666
PDI	1,022

These figures were reproduced (without comment) in several Jakarta dailies on 7th and 8th May.

At the polling booths, there were three separate boxes, one for each of the “contestants”. The *Sinar Harapan* journalist reports that there were “three white boxes” for the parliamentary votes and “three yellow boxes” for the local assembly election. (SH, 5th May, 1982)

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Friday, May 28, 1982

Hunger

Under Indonesia, Timor remains a land of misery

By Rod Nordland
Inquirer Staff Writer

DILI, East Timor — East Timor, the former Portuguese colony that was forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1976, is a land beset by widespread malnutrition and hunger. This year's grain harvest was a dismal failure; now, even as many Timorese suffer through longstanding food shortages, they face a new wave of famine, the second in five years.

Adding to the misery of East Timor, the incidence of disease is essentially unchallenged by the province's inadequate medical care; a six-year guerrilla war continues to disrupt the populace, and anti-insurgency measures imposed by a military government have stripped Timorese of their civil rights.

Thousands of people are political prisoners — most of them simply because they are related, often distantly, to a fighter with the guerrilla

group known as Fretilin — the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor. Hundreds of thousands have been relocated in a policy to depopulate the countryside and deprive the guerrillas of civilian support.

These are some of the conclusions reached during an 11-day tour of the province of East Timor, the first visit by an American journalist in two years and one of the few allowed to an independent outside observer in the six years of Indonesian rule. They are conclusions that are supported by a number of clergymen, civilian officials and aid organizations.

Nevertheless, Indonesian officials hotly contest them all. According to these officials, there was no poor harvest this year, only isolated food shortages; there is no famine, only isolated cases of malnutrition; there are no political prisoners, just a reha-

(See TIMOR on 20-A)



Philadelphia Inquirer / ROD NORDLAND

East Timorese children face futures of starvation and disease

TIMOR, from 1-A

pillolation center where the relatives of guerrillas are kept for their own good; the countryside has not been depopulated, it has been "resettled."

"We have nothing to hide in East Timor," Adm. Sudomo of Indonesia's Command for the Restoration of Peace and Order said recently when he issued the invitation to visit the province, which has been a source of international concern since the mid-1970s.

Year after year, the United Nations has condemned as illegal Indonesia's forcible takeover of East Timor and has demanded that it withdraw its troops and allow for self-determination. Portugal itself has refused to acknowledge the annexation, insisting that Fretilin is the appropriate governing power of a free East Timor.

The recent visit included tours by helicopter and jeep of 15 towns and villages in eight of the province's 13 districts. Despite almost perpetual close monitoring by Indonesian military and civilian officials, it was still possible to see obvious signs of large-scale malnutrition and disease, as well as overt oppression.

It also was sometimes possible to meet independently with Timorese in and out of government, with clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in the mostly Catholic province and with average Timorese from many walks of life.

While many of the scores of Timorese interviewed were frankly fearful about talking, dozens did so nonetheless, saying, as one did, "Please tell the world so they can help the Timorese people." At least six of those interviewed, it was learned, were summoned afterward to military intelligence headquarters and interrogated about what they had said, often for many hours.

The picture that emerged was one of a population that widely regards the Indonesians as a foreign occupying force. Even many leaders who once favored annexation by Indonesia have become disenchanted — in some cases openly — with Indonesian rule, or at least with the military officials that represent it here.

The behavior of those military authorities "can only be described as being the behavior of conquerors toward a conquered people," said a petition signed by a pro-Indonesian member of the provincial assembly, Joao Pedro Soares, and sent last year to the central government in Jakarta, Indonesia's capital, appealing for relief. A short time later, Soares and three other East Timorese members of parliament whose names appeared on the petition disappeared, re-emerging after a month to swear that it was a fake.

The Indonesian rule has been characterized by fear and marred by accusations of torture and widespread abuse of civilians by soldiers.

There are virtually no civil liberties. Peasants are told to whom they must sell their coffee and at what price. No one may leave his village or hometown without permission. Telephone calls and telegrams to places outside East Timor are forbidden. No one may leave the province without special — and rarely granted — permission. That applies as well to the more than 4,000 citizens of other countries who live in the province. According to military police statistics, there are 916 Portuguese nationals and 3,158 Taiwanese nationals on East Timor; many of them have requested and been refused permission to return to their own countries.

The Timorese have already suffered a great deal since the 1974 revolution in Portugal brought to power leftists who initiated a precipitous decolonization of Portuguese holdings around the world. One of those holdings was the eastern half of the island of Timor. (West Timor had been a Dutch colony until joining Indonesia when that country won independence from the Dutch on Dec 27, 1949.)

In East Timor, the initial struggle for power after decolonization ended when the leftist, pro-independence Fretilin wrested control from two other parties, UDT, or Unity, which wanted to remain a colony of Portugal, and Apodite, a small minority party that favored integration with Indonesia.

Fretilin declared the short-lived Democratic Republic of East Timor on Nov. 28, 1975. A week later, Indonesian paratroopers and marines invaded Dili, and within a few months they had taken over most of East Timor. In July 1976, it was proclaimed Indonesia's 27th province.

But serious fighting with the Fretilin guerrillas did not end, and the years-long disruption interfered with planting. The ultimate result was a major famine that devastated the province between 1978 and 1980, with great loss of life.

Word of conditions in East Timor leaked out and, although Indonesia initially denied reports of the famine, in 1980 and 1981 the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Catholic Relief Services of the United States were allowed to begin a relief program in the province. It was terminated last year by the Indonesian government, which said it was no longer necessary.

How many people died in the fighting and famine before the relief program began may never be known for sure, but based on Indonesia's census figures, there were only 550,000 persons in East Timor in 1980; in 1974, the Portuguese authorities had counted 650,000.

The conclusion that may be drawn from these figures is not as obvious as it appears, because the Portuguese census was a voluntary one: People were asked to go to their local admin-

istrative centers to be counted, but many lived far in the mountains and did not make the trip. Under the Indonesian regime, on the other hand, people have been concentrated in towns and resettlement centers, and the 1980 census was a thorough, door-to-door affair.

Nevertheless, Catholic authorities doubt the Indonesian results, and the church's own census puts the current population at 425,000, a loss of 225,000 people from the Portuguese figure.

While still recovering from the terrible famine of the late 1970s, Timorese agriculture was dealt another blow last year, when, just as the planting season was beginning and only a few months after the government had ordered the relief program ended, the Indonesian army launched Operation Security.

Every male in the province age 13 or older was ordered into the mountains to help the army to conduct a giant sweep designed to finish the Fretilin once and for all. The civilians, mostly armed with sticks and farm implements, formed human chains and encircled the rugged mountain fastnesses where the guerrillas were believed to be hiding. Army troops moved ahead of them, theoretically to beat their quarry into this human net.

Many of those caught in the net, however, were civilians who themselves had resisted government attempts to make them leave their homes in the mountains — the traditional dwelling place for Timorese — and move to resettlement centers.

According to the top church authority here, apostolic administrator Msgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, who is widely known as "the bishop," at least 1,000 civilians perished in the operation, which lasted from two to four months between June and September 1981. In one action alone, he said, 500 civilians were killed at Lac-lut in Viqueque District.

"Many Timorese were killed, including ... innocent children, pregnant women and defenseless people without any crimes except their willingness to be independent from all oppression," Msgr. da Costa Lopes said in a recent interview here.

The Indonesian government says, officially, that Operation Security was a success and that it reduced the ranks of Fretilin to 300 men, sharing 120 weapons. Privately, however, several officials say there are still as many as 1,200 armed guerrillas at large.

The greatest casualty of Operation Security, in fact, was the 1981-82 corn and rice crop, much of which was not planted before the rainy season began in September because the men of East Timor were with the army in the mountains.

That crop was to have been harvested in March, but it was a disaster, according to Msgr. da Costa Lopes, clergy elsewhere in the province and other independent sources. The International Committee of the Red Cross, which still has one representative on East Timor, stated in a report in March that, according to official figures, the anticipated crop of 40,000 to 60,000 tons of maize and 30,000 to 40,000 tons of rice would not be har-

vested in 1982 because of bad weather, attacks by rodents and "movement of population in the second half of 1981 [which] made planting in some areas, specially in the south, insufficient."

According to clergy here, the result has been a famine or near-famine in many parts of the province, particularly in Baucau and Viqueque districts in the east, where the continuing fighting between government troops and Fretilin guerrillas has been most severe.

Msgr. da Costa Lopes hesitates to use the term "famine"; he prefers to say that more than half of the population in those districts, where more than 100,000 people live, has "insufficient food to maintain life." In addition, he said, hunger and malnutrition are endemic throughout the country.

"In Viqueque, they begin to eat the *sagu* [boiled palm pulp], and this is a sign for Timorese that famine is coming," he said.

Other clergymen stated the case more strongly. "If you quote me as saying this, I'll be killed," said one, who was recently in the eastern part of the province. "Famine is always a relative term, and there is hunger and malnutrition all over the country, but it's truly a famine in this region" of Baucau and Viqueque.

One of the worst-hit towns in Viqueque, according to Msgr. da Costa Lopes, is Uatolari, a mountainside town close to the scene of the heaviest fighting. Not so, said East Timor's vice governor, Francisco Xavier Lopes da Cruz.

"The bishop, you know, he just stays here in Dili, he doesn't go very often to the mountains," Lopes da Cruz said. "Uatolari, they have a surplus, plenty of corn. The military commander told me he bought 26 million rupiahs [about \$41,000] of corn, so how could they be starving in Uatolari?"

"The truth is," he added, "no famine here in East Timor — you can see one or two people who don't have enough food, but not a famine."

A prominent Timorese viewed the issue of famine politically. Like many, he was clearly sympathetic to the guerrilla movement: "The Fretilin is a symbol of resistance" to Indonesia, he said. "In the heart of the people there will always be resistance. That's why I think the Indonesians are happy to see famine. The Timorese people will always be a problem so, they figure, just eliminate the problem."

When a party of officials and a reporter descended on Uatolari by helicopter, the grassy public square immediately was crowded with scores of children, standing just at the edge of the rotor wash. Many of them appeared to be severely malnourished, with the classic distended bellies and stick-like limbs that denote long-term, serious hunger.

Or so the reporter thought. Hans Meier-Eybers, the project director for a Catholic Relief Services agricultural recovery program in East Timor, a \$5 million, U.S. government-funded program, thought otherwise. Meier-Eybers, a Swiss, surveyed the children critically and said, "They



Sara Lemos and Domingos Marais are chronically malnourished; of 22 Lahane

look like healthy kids to me. Sure, they're a little dirty, but that is all."

An Indonesian doctor, S.C. Kurniati, approached and was asked if he thought the children appeared to be malnourished. "You can see for your self," he said, seeming a bit taken aback by the question: "These children are all malnourished."

In another mountainside town in Viqueque District, Uato Carabao, which was also visited by helicopter, the picture of apparent starvation was the same. Tucked onto a narrow, cloud-covered shelf on the mountain's edge, Uato Carabao also is close to the fighting and, as a result, the town's residents are forbidden to go up the mountain slopes to tend their fields. As the helicopter touched down briefly, people emerged, wraithlike from the mist and stared without smiling while the helicopter picked up visiting medical personnel and swooped off again.

Although visits were permitted to the districts of Los Palos and Baucau, reportedly the past and present sites of the heaviest fighting with Fretilin, they were confined to the district capitals. No visits at all were permitted to places like Lufa in Los Palos, and Batumacela, Begula, Quelcal

22 Children of Lahane

Name	Age (yrs.)	Sex
1. Domingos Caravello	9	M
2. Zay	10	M
3. Domingos	5	M
4. Joao Dorego	11	M
5. Domingos Oliveira	8	M
6. Alverio Sarmento	2	M
7. Fernando da Costa	5	F
8. Saviel	7	M
9. Rosari da Silva	2	F
10. Juli Perera	22 mos	F
11. Nelson Sarmento	6 mos.	M
12. Mocarta	11	M
13. Molaco	10	M
14. Domingos	8	M
15. Domingas	7	M
16. Madeleina	7	F
17. Fernando	5	M
18. Alfonso	4	M
19. Manuel do Santos	9	M
20. Domingos Marais	10	M
21. Berelotte	11	M
22. Sara Lemos	10	F

* Measured just under the navel, on iliac crests of pelvis.

* Right wrist, maximum distance between the styloid processes at the

** Left bicep; subject standing, arms relaxed at sides.

** Right calf; subject standing.

Eighteen of the 22 children listed above are slowly starving in the capital of East Timor.

On May 9, I secretly visited the Lahane resettlement area in the city of Dili and weighed and measured people to assess claims of starvation in East Timor. I was urged to stop by police who were summoned to the scene, but not before recording vital statistics of 22 children under the age of 12 — the group that nutritionists say most clearly shows evidence of malnutrition or its absence.

The data were assessed using anthropometric tables originally compiled by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and since adopted by the World Health Organization as an international standard of malnutrition.

In technical terms, 18 of the 22 children fell into the category of "chronically malnourished," meaning that their food intake had been so inadequate that their growth was seriously, and probably irreversibly, stunted. Nutritionists say that in a normal population, even a 1 percent incidence of chronic malnutrition would be alarming.

The four children who, according to the measure-

East Timor

LOCATION: The eastern half of a small island, north of Australia.

POPULATION: Disputed. Estimates range from 400,000 to 500,000.

AREA: 7,383 square miles.

CAPITAL: Dili.

GOVERNMENT: As a province of Indonesia, it is under the Indonesian national parliament.

HISTORY: East Timor was colonized by Portugal in 1522. Adjoining West Timor was first a Dutch colony, but in 1974, it became an Indonesian province. In 1975, until 1974. In that year, after several years of seeking independence and those wanting to remain Portuguese pulled out. The political turmoil convinced the Indonesian government to seize the area in a move condemned by the United Nations Assembly.

But a pro-Indonesian assembly in East Timor, which has been "stacked" by Jakarta, voted to remain part of Indonesia, which formally incorporated it as its 27th province. The pro-independence guerrilla movement, however, continues to fight Indonesian troops, and many live in fighting or in the resulting famine.

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Wt. lb.	Ht. feet	Waist in.*	Wrist in.*	Chest in.	Bicep in.** in.	Calf in.**
46.3	3'9"	22.0	3.54	23.2	5.50	8.27
45.2	4'	22.0	3.54	22.8	5.11	8.27
16.5	2'4"	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
48.5	4'	20.1	3.74	21.7	5.50	8.66
47.4	4'	20.8	3.54	22.0	5.50	8.27
21.0	2'6"	17.7	2.95	17.3	4.72	5.91
39.7	3'6"	20.9	3.54	21.7	4.72	9.06
39.7	3'7"	20.9	3.15	20.9	4.72	7.48
26.5	2'6"	20.5	3.15	19.7	5.11	7.99
19.9	2'6"	17.3	2.95	16.5	4.13	5.51
13.2	2'	17.3	3.54	16.1	4.72	5.90
48.5	4'1"	21.7	3.54	22.0	5.11	8.66
46.3	3'11"	21.3	3.54	21.7	4.92	7.87
32.3	3'7"	18.5	3.54	20.1	4.33	7.28
37.5	3'7"	20.1	2.95	20.1	4.72	7.48
30.9	3'4"	17.3	3.15	18.9	4.33	6.30
33.1	3'4"	19.3	3.15	20.5	4.33	7.09
24.3	2'10"	18.9	2.76	18.9	4.53	6.69
43.0	3'9"	19.7	3.54	21.7	5.11	8.27
40.8	3'10"	19.3	3.15	21.3	4.33	7.48
39.7	3'9"	19.7	3.94	21.7	4.92	7.87
45.2	4'	19.7	3.94	21.7	4.92	7.87

*distal ends of the radius and ulna.

nts, were healthy all were on the low side of the standards. (They are numbers 5, 7, 10 and 11 on the chart.)

all 22 children said they were hungry. Many bore signs of malnutrition: Some had bloated bellies and black-like limbs; the black hair of one had turned orange; many suffered from skin diseases and other ailments commonly associated with malnutrition.

Several hundred people live in the Lahane area. Most of them moved from their mountain farms by government order in 1980, in an attempt to deny civil support to Fretilin guerrillas active in the mountains. In Lahane, they cannot farm, and most have no steady work in Dili.

Although their resettlement area, unlike many of the more than 100 in the province, is not remote, several residents said no aid had been brought to Lahane this year. Each family has a card recording visits of the Indonesian Red Cross with food and medical aid. On each of a dozen cards examined, the last visit noted is September 1981.

— Rod Nordland



Lahane children measured for the chart above, 18 are starving

and Laga in Baucau — where clergy- men say widespread starvation exists.

In Baucau, district administrative staff member Sinago, an Indonesian, introduced Sister Osario Saurez, a Timorese nun who is principal of the Catholic primary school there.

She listened as Sinago described what a success Operation Security had been. "Every time we go to a village now," he said, "they are happy to see us."

"Because of the political situation," Sister Saurez said quietly, "because the people had to help the military for the Operation Security, they were not able to plant the fields."

"There is plenty of food here," Sinago said insistently, and a little nervously.

The nun continued to contradict him with a soft-spoken resolve that clearly astonished some of the officials present. "We are very short of food, namely in Baguia, Quelcal and Laga. But even here the food is not sufficient, the health care is not sufficient. Last year it is better, this year it is worse because of Operation Security."

The problem has been complicated,

she explained, because much of the population has been resettled in the lowlands, far from the mountainside fields. In Baucau District, for instance, 61,000 of the 74,000 people in the district now live clustered around the town of Baucau proper.

"They can grow enough food there," said Sinago.

"More than 50 percent of the people are short of food," Sister Saurez said.

Evidence of serious food shortages can be found all over the country, not just in the hard-hit areas in the eastern districts. On a trip to Aileu, a mountain district just 30 miles south of the capital of Dili by rough jeep road, malnourished people were a frequent sight along the way.

At a resettlement village called Saburia, just outside the district seat of Aileu, the party, which included half a dozen military and civilian officials as well as a journalist, stopped to see the corrugated tin houses the Indonesian government had built for people resettled there from the mountains.

Saburia lies in a deep mountain valley. The village chief is a Timorese, but his "assistant" is an Indonesian; they and a military intelligence major named Marsidik accompanied the journalist as he interviewed residents.

Bernardo, 56, who lives with his wife and 10-year-old son, sat on the bare dirt floor of his house, which was devoid of possessions of any kind; there was also no sign of food in the house. Asked how the harvest had been, he surveyed the circle of officials and, after a long pause, said, "There is not enough to eat."

The next house was identical, except that nine persons lived in it and that it contained a piece of furniture, a table. Under the table — the coolest place at midday in the tin house — lay a boy sweating and shaking in what his family said was a three-day-old malarial fever. Other children in the household had bloated bellies and emaciated limbs. Thomas Ferreria, the family spokesman, was asked through an interpreter about his family's condition.

"Tell him," Maj. Marsidik warned Ferreria in Indonesian, "that it's OK here."

Ferreria did as he was told.

"So even though the crops are bad, you have enough food for the whole family?" he was asked, in English.

"Tell him you have enough until the next rainy season," said Marsidik in Indonesian.

"We have enough until the next rainy season," Ferreria said.

At the Betora parish church, on the outskirts of Dili, Sister Josephine Boddallo, a Spanish Carmelite nun who has worked here since 1979, single-handedly runs a clinic in which she sees 160 seriously ill people a day, including "many, many cases of malnutrition," she said. Most of the patients come to her clinic because the government-run facilities often have no medicine and no medical personnel.

"Tuberculosis is the most common disease, but hunger is the biggest problem," she said. "They come here and I give them medicine for TB, but then they go home and they have no

food in their houses, so how can they get better?"

In the Lahane neighborhood of Dili, where hundreds of families have been forced to live in temporary huts along the steep banks of a mountain stream, severe malnutrition is widespread and apparent. Most of Lahane's residents were moved to Dili from their farms in the surrounding mountains; in Dili they have no job skills and little work.

Of 22 Lahane children under the age of 12, whose body weights and measurements were taken on May 9, 18 were proved to be chronically malnourished, according to standards adopted by the World Health Organization.

"If the situation is this bad in Dili," said Msgr. da Costa Lopes, "you can imagine what it's like in Baucau or Los Palos. I've been there — to Laga, Baguia, Los Palos last October. Even at that time there was hunger, and now it is far worse."

East Timor's de facto ruler is an army colonel named A.P. Kalangie. A non-Timorese who holds enormous power despite his modest title as East Timor provincial secretary, he noted in a recent interview that Indonesia had refused an Australian donation of 1,000 tons of corn because Australia had continued to criticize conditions in East Timor, which is only 350 miles off its north coast.

In place of the Australian grain, Col. Kalangie said, the Indonesian government is itself sending 1,000 tons of grain to East Timor. "But we won't just give it away," he added. "If you give people something for nothing, they get lazy."

"Yes," agreed Catholic Relief Service's Meier-Eybers, "and soon you have an island of beggars."

"That's what they are always telling me," said a priest in Dili. "We have to stop bringing in food so the people will make it for themselves, but these people are working hard and still they are hungry."

"What I cannot understand is the reluctance of the Indonesian government to allow one independent team to visit East Timor to see the real situation and assess its normality for themselves," said Michael Whiteley of Australian Catholic Relief, which in the past has been active in raising aid money for the Timorese.

"East Timor has enough foreigners who are refereeing us," Col. Kalangie said testily. There are two. Meier-Eybers is one of them, and agreed heartily with Kalangie. The representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Cedric Neukomm, is the second. He declined to be interviewed.

"The Red Cross doesn't want to say the truth," said Msgr. da Costa Lopes, "because they are afraid the Indonesian government will throw them out, and they want to stay to provide some help."

"When we were kids," said a man from a Portuguese-Timorese family, "our mothers used to say to us, 'Don't eat so fast, the Indonesians aren't coming.'" It was something the East Timorese long feared.

In December 1975, when the Indonesians finally did come, Col. Kalangie was one of the commanders of the invasion.

Tr's history

Southern Indonesian island, 350 miles

range from 425,000 to 550,000.

Indonesia, East Timor holds seats in

by the Portuguese in the 16th century. Then, after World War II, Dutch colony. Then, after World War II, Dutch colony. Then, after World War II, Dutch colony.

East Timor, widely regarded to have requested annexation by Indonesia, 7th province on July 17, 1976. A left-wing movement known as Fretilin has continued thousands of people have died either

He recently contrasted Indonesia's takeover with the current dispute over the Falkland Islands: "The British generals are bad. You don't give a little bit, a little bit, you go all at once. Like what we did here, is all at once — *bok!* — and then explain to the rest of the world that we are here. That is how to do it, like the Russians in Afghanistan."

Now he is enthusiastic about the government's far-reaching resettlement policy. Since "integration," 150 new resettlement centers have been built and 50 more are planned by the end of this year, he said. To make it easier to control the population and to provide food and medical aid, education and other amenities, people have been moved from the mountains to these resettlement villages, usually in the lowlands, he explained.

"It is the new Indonesian civilization we are bringing," Kalangie said. "And it is not easy to civilize the backward peoples."

While the resettlement scheme may be effective in denying support to the guerrillas, critics say it has serious flaws. There was a good historical reason for the Timorese aversion to the lowlands: Malaria there is virtually epidemic, water supplies are poor and irregular, and the climate is far hotter than that of the highlands.

Still, under Indonesian rule the province's road system is being vastly improved; color television — as Kalangie is fond of pointing out — was introduced here even before it came to Portugal; there are new public works in virtually every large town, public buses now travel the highways and dozens of government schools have been opened.

"In many things, the Indonesians have done very well, far better than the Portuguese," a Timorese who is generally pro-Indonesian said in an interview. "Only in social justice and health have they fallen down." Later he was seized by military intelligence and interrogated for hours about the interview, according to well-informed sources.

"A referendum now would go in favor of Indonesia," said Lucio Engenio da Encarnacao, 55, manager of the Dili Hotel and a Portuguese citizen who has been trying unsuccessfully to get Indonesian government permission to leave. "I have to admit that in transportation, education, many areas, the Indonesians did in five years what Portugal didn't do in hundreds of years."

"As for freedom," he concluded, "We never had it under Portugal so we don't miss it now."

"Sure, in Portuguese times, many things were bad," said a former colonial government employee. "But it's not a comparison between Indonesia and Portugal, but between Indonesia and the independence we could have had."

"This whole island is just a big prison," said a part-Timorese man who holds Portuguese citizenship and said he wanted to join his family in Australia. According to reliable sources, he is one of 700 Portuguese who have been registered with the Red Cross as would-be emigres. "We are being held hostage here until Portugal recognizes Indonesia's take-

over of East Timor," he said.

The people on Atauro Island are hostages of a different sort. Thousands of Timorese are being held on the island, 15 miles north of Dili, and Indonesian authorities have announced their intention of keeping the internees there until every last known Fretilin guerrilla surrenders. Authorities freely acknowledge that the only reason they are being held there is that they are related to known or suspected guerrillas.

Between June and September last year, 3,785 such people — entire families, including young children — were moved to Atauro and left there with no food supplies, according to church sources. Quiet pressure by

"She said they are grateful to the government who take care of them so they don't feel they are prisoners, but like others they can live as they want," the interpreter translated.

He was asked to inquire how long she thought her brother would stay in the mountains.

"God knows," she replied, her head still bowed.

Kalangie acknowledged that at least some residents of the camp were not pleased to be there. "You know, east or west, home is best," he said. "But maybe some of those who are in the mountains will feel their family is unhappy so they will come down. It is a positive system."

And if they don't come down, he

petition was filed.

Soares, during a tense interview at his home here, first denied ever having visited Lubis. Then, when a reporter mentioned having seen a photograph Lubis had taken of him during the visit, Soares said, "I might have been in their offices, but I didn't take part in this."

One of the central charges in the petition was confirmed by Manuel Carascalao, a prominent coffee planter. Timor produces some of the world's best coffee, much of it grown on small, individually owned plots that provide a source of cash income for peasant families who otherwise make a subsistence living growing corn, rice or cassava.

After integration with Indonesia, Carascalao said, the military authorities granted a coffee monopoly to a Java-based company, P.T. Denok Hernandez International, and all growers, small and large, were ordered to sell their coffee to Denok, which became the only authorized exporter.

The Denok firm is widely believed to be owned by Maj. Gen. Leonardus "Benny" Murdani, Indonesia's chief of military intelligence and the man in ultimate command of East Timor.

The prices Denok set for the purchase of coffee were absurdly low; currently they are about 25 cents a pound for arabica coffee and 18 cents for robusta, less than half what buyers pay growers in Java and in other places in Indonesia.

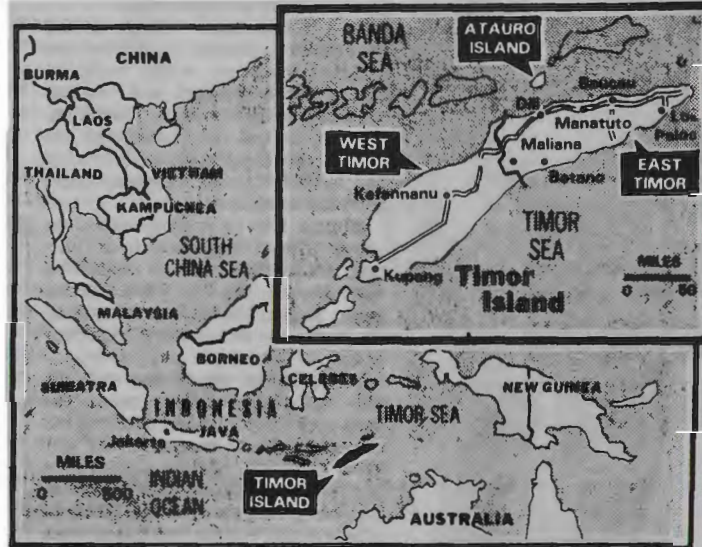
Meanwhile, because of food shortages, the price of rice and other staple foods here is twice what it is elsewhere in Indonesia. The result is that a peasant grower cannot purchase a 50-cent pound of rice with the proceeds from a pound of his coffee.

"During the coffee harvest" in June and July, a knowledgeable Timorese said, "there are searches at all the military checkpoints — but they're not looking for guns. They're looking for coffee."

The soldiers make sure the coffee is sold to Denok, and growers are even prohibited from trading or bartering their coffee for basic necessities in local markets.

One evening, a young Timorese man fell quickly into step beside a reporter on Dili's Rua Antonio de Carvalho. "We are not allowed to speak to foreigners," he said. "But I just want to tell you. Before, we had Portuguese colonialism. Now, we have Indonesian colonialism."

When Indonesians began consolidating control in the province, they told everyone that the East Timorese people would be *sama sama*, which in Indonesian means roughly, "everyone equal." The slogan was less than successful, however, since in Tetum, the chief Timorese dialect, *sama sama* means "trample, trample."



the International Committee of the Red Cross persuaded the Indonesians to allow the Red Cross to begin an emergency feeding and medical-care program in February.

But by then, according to Indonesian government figures, 176 internees had died in an outbreak of contagious disease. Some think it was cholera; others say it was gastroenteritis. Both are conditions that could have been aggravated by the crowded conditions in what the government calls the "rehabilitation camp."

It consists of 55 plywood and corrugated-tin barracks, each measuring 20 by 60 feet and housing an average of 65 people. For privacy, the inhabitants hang plastic sheets as room dividers.

"It is for their own good, and they like to be here," Col. Kalangie contended during a guided tour of the camp. He said many of the internees had been harassed by guerrilla relatives, or forced to provide them with food, and he asked, "Does this look like a concentration camp to you?"

In Barracks B-2, many of the more than 50 inhabitants were there because they were related to a single Fretilin member, Onrato da Costa; some were only cousins or distant in-laws. Da Costa's sister, Amelia da Costa Fernandes, was asked through an official interpreter how she felt about being imprisoned.

The interpreter repeated the question and Miss da Costa Fernandes, with bowed head and frightened expression, mumbled one or two words.

said, the prisoners of Atauro Island will stay where they are.

The most serious civil-liberties challenge raised in East Timor came last year in the petition of the four assemblymen, who stressed the lack of legal recourse under military authorities.

"Although five years of integration have passed, although security has been restored by stages and in a variety of ways, although the masses of people have constantly made endless sacrifices," it said, "it is not yet possible to experience the implementation of law and discipline in this young province of East Timor."

The petition cited numerous instances of murder, torture and sexual assault by soldiers and officials against civilians. "These people or groups commit murders without due process or the laws concerning investigation. Feelings of fear are widespread among the people...."

All four of the men who signed the petition now repudiate it as a forgery and say they had nothing to do with it. Msgr. da Costa Lopes said he felt sorry for the men, who he maintained were forced to recant after having been held in solitary confinement on the island of Bali for a month.

The author of the petition is believed to have been Joao Pedro Soares. According to Mulya Lubis, Jakarta director of the Legal Aid Society, Soares visited the society's offices to seek protection after the

THE TIMOR PAPERS

The **National Times**, Canberra (May 30th-June 5th and June 6th-12th, 1982) has reproduced lengthy quotes from CIA top-secret reports on Indonesia's preparations for, and launching of, its invasion of East Timor. The quotations, taken from the CIA's confidential internal newspaper, the *National Intelligence Daily* as well as from the US Defence Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and the State Department, cover the period from 11th August 1975, just prior to the coup attempt by the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) up to 13th February 1976, after Indonesia had successfully thwarted attempts by a UN envoy to visit Fretilin-controlled areas.

The documents are of crucial significance in understanding many aspects of the tragic events that led to Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. They reveal callous indifference on the part of western powers to events about which they were clearly well-informed, involving the denial of East Timor's right to self-determination, and which led to the well-documented genocidal onslaught against the Timorese people.

The following brief summary covers some of the salient points only:

(1) US and Australian intelligence had a detailed, day-to-day knowledge of Indonesia's invasion plans for the invasion of East Timor and of the numerous military attacks against East Timor territory launched across the border from Indonesian Timor, starting early in September 1975 as Fretilin forces gained the upper hand over the UDT and pro-Indonesian groups in East Timor clearly failed to win popular support.

(2) Indonesia pursued a "two-track" policy in its invasion and take-over. There was on the one hand clandestine activity inside East Timor to set up and support pro-Indonesian groups and to incite chaos and disorder which could then be used as the pretext for intervening militarily so as to "establish law and order". On the other hand, there was direct military intervention, carried out initially under the guise of "exercises", moves to "rescue" Indonesian diplomats, and the use of Indonesian "volunteers". Later these covers were dropped, and overt military intervention took place.

(3) The two tracks were complementary, but a conflict of interest did develop, between Ali Murtopo in charge of clandestine activity and Adam Malik, then Foreign Minister who favoured a diplomatic solution, on the one hand, and the military commanders who were keen to invade speedily, on the other. On 8th September 1975, it was reported for example that for Ali Murtopo, "military action would be tantamount to

a vote of no confidence in his ability".

(4) The overriding consideration for General Suharto in delaying overt military action was to make sure that there would be sufficient "justification" for such action, so as to ensure that the US and Australian governments would not feel compelled to object publicly. His troops were equipped almost entirely with US weapons and he was well aware that the formal terms of delivery permitted their use only in defence and not in an act of aggression against another country.

As it was, the USA made no objection though it followed closely the course of Indonesian military aggression across the border during the months from September to November 1975. The Indonesian assault on Dili, launched on 7th December, was deliberately delayed till after President Ford's visit to Jakarta had been completed, to avoid "embarrassing" the USA.

(5) The Portuguese Government seriously considered requesting the Indonesians to intervene directly in East Timor and formal discussions to this end actually took place. The idea only foundered because the Australian government, locked in its own internal disputes, would not respond to a Portuguese request that Indonesian intervention should be conducted jointly with Australian troops. For several weeks, Suharto hoped that the Indonesian invasion could take place under the cover of a Portuguese plea for help but this eventually failed to materialise.

When Indonesia finally captured Dili, Portugal was compelled to protest, to sever diplomatic relations with Indonesia and to make a call at the UN for an Indonesian withdrawal. Portugal's failure to carry out a decolonisation process and an act of self-determination in East Timor goes a long way to explaining that country's subsequent lack of effort to mobilise international condemnation of Indonesian aggression and solicit concrete action such as sanctions to halt the aggressors.

(6) Malaysia allowed its weapons to be used so that Indonesian invading troops would be using weapons not traceable to Indonesia.

(7) In early 1976, Indonesia deliberately and successfully thwarted a visit by a UN envoy to Fretilin-held territory, as part of a mission authorised by the UN Security Council. They actually planned to sink the ship that was to be used to take the envoy from Darwin to the south coast of East Timor, thus preventing him from setting out.

Barrack B-2 Atauro Island holds more than 50 people believed to have relatives among the guerrillas. 'They like to be here', an official said.



TEMPO BACK, PELITA STILL OUT

After a ban lasting two months, the major Indonesian weekly, **Tempo** was allowed to resume publication on 12th June. In an editorial statement published in the first issue, the editors pledged to continue with the same policy and to uphold the standards of reporting they achieved before the ban.

On the other hand, **Pelita**, the Muslim daily is still banned. Reports from Jakarta suggest that the paper's publishing permit may have been cancelled permanently.

Protests from IPI, PEN and others

The **International Press Institute** sent the following protest to President Suharto and KOPKAMTIB chief, Admiral Sudomo:

Your Excellency

The International Press Institute, an organisation of nearly 2,000 leading editors in Africa, Asia, the Americas and Europe, wishes to protest strongly against the continued banning of the newspaper **Pelita** as well as the banning of **Tempo**.

We are most concerned to see that your authorities appear to extend further restrictions and controls on the media, which could not possibly be in the interest of your country's image in the free world and violates the declaration of human rights.

I would be grateful if you would assure our members through me that both **Tempo** and **Pelita** will be allowed to resume publication without any further delay.

Peter Galliner, Director, International Press Institute, Zurich.

International PEN sent the following protest cable to President Suharto:

International PEN, world association of writers, is deeply concerned at news of indefinite banning of **Tempo**. We are proud of having last year elected a PEN Centre in Indonesia and earnestly request you to reconsider this infringement of the freedom of the press.

Per Wastberg, International President; Alexandre Blokh, International Secretary.

The **International Federation of Journalists**, which had protested in April against the banning of **Tempo**, renewed its protest in June, and addressed its cable to Information Minister, General Ali Murtopo:

Sir,

In the letter I sent you on April 26, 1982, I expressed the deep concern of this Federation at the closure of the independent weekly **Tempo**.

Since then, we have also been informed about the banning of **Pelita**, the daily newspaper of the Muslim Party.

As we feel that both leading publications were banned as a direct result of their reporting of events during the election campaign in your country, we cannot but condemn this infringement of press freedom which, for our Federation, implies free access of the people to diversified sources of information.

We therefore urgently ask you to abolish the measures taken against both publications.

We have a similar request regarding the reported banning of a series of British, French, Dutch and Australian newspapers.

Yours sincerely,
Theo Bogaerts, General Secretary.

Foreign Newspapers Banned

A number of foreign newspapers have been prohibited from circulating in Indonesia since 25th May. They are: **Figaro**, **L'Aurore**, **France-Soir**, **NRC-Handesblad**, **The Observer** (London), and the **Sydney Morning Herald**. **Le Monde** has not been formally banned but is no longer available in Jakarta.

In March, the Indonesian authorities had decreed a ban against the circulation of **The Australian**, starting 1st April. **The Australian** normally sold about 500 copies in Indonesia, mainly to expatriates. The Indonesian Embassy in Canberra described this ban as a "cooling-off period" instituted by Indonesia on western coverage of Indonesian affairs. "The government is afraid some reports by foreign news agencies may prejudice Indonesian voters", an Embassy spokesman said. (**Australian**, 30 March, 1982.)

*It is understood that a new weekly, firmly dedicated to supporting the government, may soon start appearing in Jakarta. The new venture apparently has the backing of Information Minister Ali Murtopo who is believed to have put **Tempo** out of action temporarily in order to undermine its finances and marketing.*

Trade Union Journal Banned

Dynamika, the monthly journal of the Union of Metal and Ceramic Workers/FBSI has been banned by order of General Ali Murtopo, Minister of Information, at the instigation of the FBSI. The ban was imposed on 7th November 1981.*

The decree gives the following reasons for prohibiting the further publication, printing and distribution of the journal:

- (1) "... that the publication was converted from appearing weekly to appearing monthly without first obtaining permission from the Department of Information ..."
- (2) "... that it had departed from the letter and the spirit of its permit which states that this publication 'is intended as a means of information, guidance and education which should not contain any analysis or treatment of material that is of a practical political nature'. **Dynamika** did not focus its attention on matters of an informative nature but rather, concentrated on matters that are controversial and antagonistic which is not in keeping with Article 1 (2) ... etc"
- (3) "... in view of these deviations, the Central Board of the All Indonesia Federation of Trade Unions (FBSI), as the basis organisation of the Metal and Ceramic Workers Union, deemed it necessary to write to the Minister of Information suggesting that the Registration Permit of **Dynamika** be withdrawn because its contents tended towards tendentious issues and conflict with fellow executive members of the FBSI."

*A copy of the Information Minister's Decree was published in the May 1982 issue of **Berita Tanpa Sensor** (Uncensored News), published by **Gerakan Demi Hak-Hak Azasi Manusia dan Demokrasi**, the Indonesian Movement for Human Rights and Democracy based in Europe.

A Case for Pancasila

The Attorney General of the Indonesian Government has recently banned and prohibited the circulation of all books by Mr. Hamran Ambrie, a Muslim convert of many years standing. Mr. Ambrie has so far published 17 titles about his Christian faith which he has tried to reformulate in the context of his Muslim background. Some of his books are apologetics in relation to Islam. Some others are refutations of distortions of Christianity in Muslim publications.

The belated ban naturally raised questions. SINAR HARAPAN, one of the major dailies in Jakarta enquired in an editorial whether the office of the Attorney General had read Mr. Ambrie's publications before issuing the banning order. It was skeptical about this as Mr. Ambrie's writing total about 2800 pages, and between the request for the ban and the announcement of the ban there were only a few days.

Mr. Ambrie has himself now appealed to President Suharto for justice in his case. In his letter of 17th May 1982, he pointed out that the circulation of his books had never been prohibited till he published the title *No prophesy from the Prophet Muhammad in the Bible* in reply to Prof. H. Hosbullah Bakry's publication "Jesus the Prophet in Al Quaran and Muhammed the Prophet in the Bible". He has regretted

that a country which upholds Pancasila and believes in religious tolerance and freedom outlaws one citizen who explains and defends his religious faith while, at the same time, allowing another to challenge and ridicule others' faith.

It is understood that the NCC of Indonesia is also examining the matter.

Christian Conference of Asia News
June 15th 1982



POLITICAL PRISONER STILL HELD TWO YEARS AFTER SENTENCE COMPLETED

The Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta is to make a formal complaint to the Supreme Court and the Department of Justice on behalf of a political prisoner whose sentence expired in 1980 but who is still in prison in Balikpapan, South Kalimantan.

The case came to the attention of the Institute when the wife of the prisoner, Hadi Surono wrote complaining that he was tried and sentenced to 13 years for charges in connection with the 1965 events. The 13-year sentence was passed with deduction in late 1975. Hadi Surono was arrested in December 1967 which means that his sentence expired at the end of 1980, yet he is still being held in Balikpapan Prison. She explained that neither he, the defendant, nor the prosecutor appealed against the sentence. Mrs Surono asked the LBH to press for her husband's immediate release.

Abdulrachman Saleh, a lawyer and director of the LBH, said that, counting automatic remission to which the prisoner is entitled, he should have been released some time in 1979.

"This case is proof of the existence of a cruel web of bureaucracy. It is the duty of the prison director to make investigations with the court which tried the prisoner. If the sentence has been completed, the prisoner should be released", he said. "This man is fully entitled to sue the state for compensation." (Kompas, 5 May, 1982)

(Editor's Note: In 1980, TAPOL received information about dozens of tried prisoners in Balikpapan whose releases have been delayed by bureaucratic confusion and deliberate procrastination. In some cases, appeals against sentence made by the accused were being used as the pretext for postponing release; the authorities claim that the tried person cannot be released until the appeal has been heard, a process which frequently takes many years. In one case, release was delayed because the prosecutor who appealed against the sentence had died, and legal processes had to be started all over again.

It is to be hoped that Mrs Hadi Surono's action in bringing her husband's case to the attention of the LBH will pave the way for all the other cases to be taken up as well.)

EXPULSIONS, ARRESTS AND STRIKES

In a number of clashes with university authorities and the security forces recently, students in several parts of Indonesia have been involved in actions and strikes to protest against the suspension, expulsion and arrest of their colleagues.

The current wave of campus repression should be seen against the background of the systematic suppression of the student movement since 1978 and associated with the name of Daud Jusuf, Minister of Education, a man close to General Ali Murtopo and his special intelligence agency, OPSUS. Jusuf's policy of "de-politicising" the campuses followed in the wake of the clampdown on the student movement which began in 1977 shortly after the general elections of that year and reached a climax in January 1978, just two months before the presidential election. The main thrust of the 1977/78 student movement was opposition to the uncontested re-election of General Suharto as President and sharp criticism of corruption and the deteriorating living conditions of the people.

In order to neutralise the student movement and prevent it from ever again becoming a force for political protest, the government imposed its policy of "Normalisation of Campus Life". Central to this was the dissolution and prohibition of elected student councils and their replacement by closely-supervised student-faculty bodies and student senates, with all campus activities rigorously policed by the university authorities backed up, when necessary, by armed troops.

With the active collaboration of virtually all rectors, in

particular at the state universities, the government has succeeded in curbing student activity and effectively dismantling the independent student press. Yet, time and again since 1978, incidents have occurred on a number of campuses, particularly in Jakarta and Bandung, proving that in spite of the repression, many students remain defiant. Despite the government ban, students still have their representative councils, among others at the University of Indonesia (UI), Jakarta, and the Bandung Institute of Technology. Campus meetings have been held for dissident politicians, and in September last year, students of the Faculty of Social Sciences at UI defied a university ban and held a meeting which was addressed by the well-known ex-political prisoner, Pramoedya Ananta Toer. All four students held responsible for that meeting were immediately expelled and later arrested. (See box)

EXPULSIONS AND A STRIKE AT UI

UI students have persisted in electing a Student Council and those chosen to lead the Council have been systematically victimised. In 1981, the elected chairman of the UI Student Council Biner Tobing, was expelled. His place was then taken by Peter Sumariyoto who was soon suspended and threatened with expulsion. Shortly after his suspension, Professor Nugroho Notosusanto, the Army's official historian and chief



UI students protest. The banner reads: "We Want Peter Back"

Peter Sumariyoto.

TWO MORE UI STUDENTS ARRESTED

TAPOL Bulletin in May (No. 51, page 19) spotlighted the fate of Rafendi Djamin and Alexander Irwan, the two UI students who were expelled last October, then arrested, released and re-arrested for their part in organising a lecture by Pramodya Ananta Toer at the Faculty of Social Sciences.

Shortly after that issue went to press, TAPOL was informed that the other two students expelled for that incident have also been re-arrested. They are Widi Krastawan and Verdi Jusuf, the son of Jusuf Ishak, a director of the publishing company *Hasta Mitra* which publishes Pramodya's books.

So now, all four expelled students are back again in detention.

continued from opposite page

ideologue of Indonesia's new educational system, was appointed as Rector of UI in place of Profesor Mahan Mardjono who had on occasion shown himself to be insufficiently heavy-handed with the students. Nugroho's appointment was greeted with a wave of student protest, during the course of which posters appeared warning that the campus was being "taken over by the jackboot". A few weeks later, the Student Council held a general election rally in defiance of a university ban, and Peter Sumariyoto was then expelled for engaging in activity that could, Nugroho said, "send the University up in flames".

In protest against this expulsion, the students launched a lecture strike demanding the reinstatement of both Biner Tobing and Peter Sumariyoto. The strike which lasted for several days was virtually complete on the Salemba campus and well supported in several major faculties. In the face of intensified repression and divisive tactics, the chairmen of the student senates of all the faculties at UI issued a joint statement on 6th April, in which they declared the suspension of all Student Senates, thus effectively cutting off relations between the students and the university authorities.

Since then, no further reports of student activity at UI have been received but towards the end of April, a delegation of seven student representatives from faculties at the Pajajaran State University, Bandung visited Parliament in Jakarta to express their solidarity with UI students and to protest against the expulsion of Biner Tobing and Peter Sumariyoto. They also called upon Parliament to restore all state universities "as institutions of the state, not of the government".

Sources: *Sinar Harapan*, 1 April; *Tempo*, 10 April; *Merdeka*, 26 April 1982.

STUDENT STRIKE AND ARRESTS IN JOGJAKARTA

Meanwhile in Jogjakarta, Central Java, a major university town, another issue has led to student protest. In January this year, three students at the Institute of Education (IKIP) were suspended for failing to stand up at a meeting when President Suharto entered the hall. (see *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 50, March, 1982). This led to student protest culminating in a lecture strike in April after the failure of repeated attempts by the students to meet the Rector, Drs St. Vembriarto.

During the strike which lasted three days and ended only when armed troops were brought in, slogans such as "Withdraw the Suspensions" and "The Rector is a Dictator" were plastered on walls.

In the repression which followed, five students have been arrested and two others, sought by the Army, have gone into hiding. A joint statement issued by the student senates of all faculties at the Institute protested strongly about the arrests and against interference in campus affairs by the security forces.

Sources: *Merdeka*, 19 April and 22 April 1982.

THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS PROTEST IN RIAU

Some two thousand students at the Riau University in Pekanbaru marched in protest to the Riau Police headquarters on 12th May in protest against a police officer who had beaten up a student following a street accident between vehicles driven by police and by students. The students refused to leave the premises until they had been given an assurance by the Rector that the Police Chief would investigate the affair. (*Merdeka*, 12 May 1982)

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Apart from incidents in Jakarta, including the student election rally held on the UI campus which led to Peter Sumariyoto's expulsion, little is known about student involvement in election activity except for Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi. A report by Richard Cowper from Jakarta in early May revealed that troops entered the campus of Hasanuddin University in the city and arrested about 80 students after students had demonstrated against a GOLKAR rally. A mass student protest through the streets of the city took place on the next day. Troops fired on the students and, according to Richard Cowper, "a number of people are understood to have been killed with several dozens injured". The same incident is spotlighted by Adam Malik, Indonesian Vice-President, in an interview with the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (21st May 1982), when he said:

The violence in Sulawesi was a direct result of a long-running feud between very radical and outspoken students of the Islamic institute for higher learning there (the Hasanuddin University—*Ed.*), and other youth groups, specifically GOLKAR, and violence broke out when a large demonstration marched past the institute's campus.

* * * * *

It is not possible to speculate on whether a resurgence of student protest followed by the inevitable repression will occur again in the months leading up to the presidential election early next year. But the above events taken together would suggest that, despite the severe repression of the past four years, many students are in a mood of defiance. The policy of de-politicisation has been far less successful than the government claims. On some campuses at least, unity has been forged around the right of students to retain their independent, elected councils, and the tradition of solidarity with victims of repression is firmly rooted.

OUT SOON!

THE TIMOR DRAMA: PORTUGAL AND EAST TIMOR April 1974-December 1975

by Joao Loff Baretto

with an introduction by Adelino Gomes and Jill Jolliffe

This book, based largely on testimony submitted to the Permanent People's Tribunal on East Timor, in Lisbon, June 1981, gives an in-depth account of Portugal's policy on East Timor from the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 to the Indonesian invasion in December 1975. It covers much of the ground dealt with in the confidential **Timor dossier** which was declassified last year by President Eanes after public pressure. Publication of the dossier followed the showing of a TV programme strongly critical of Portugal's conduct in East Timor.

The dossier, 867 pages long, contains the official report of a military enquiry set up in 1976, together with a 223-page report by Lomos Pires who was Governor of East Timor from November 1974 till December 1975. A 12-page summary of the dossier, compiled by Jill Jolliffe and published in **Timor Newsletter** (June 1982) gives but a glimpse of the confusions and frustrations accompanying Portuguese administration, and the degree of support given by some Portuguese officials to Indonesian takeover plans.

The Timor drama, written before the release of the **dossier** and anticipating much of its material, is now available in English. It is an accessible alternative to the **dossier** which is unlikely to be published in English, although, as **Timor Newsletter** points out, it obviously reflects the author's own interpretation of events.

Price: US\$5.00 (including air postage). Discount for bulk orders; rates available on enquiry.

Copies available from the publisher: Timor Newsletter, Rua Damasceno Monteiro, 14A-R/c, 1100 Lisbon. Kindly include payment with your order (no Australian dollars, please).

Dutch police confiscated a TAPOL poster during a protest vigil in Amsterdam on the opening day of this year's meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia. They claimed that the slogan *The Butcher of Jakarta* above a collage of Suharto was offensive to a friendly Head of State and was unlawful. Dutch law does not in fact prohibit "offensive" statements unless the Head of State in question is visiting the country. A complaint against the police is being lodged with the Amsterdam Court by the Dutch Indonesia Committee which organised the vigil, and TAPOL.



MUSLIM PRISONERS IN CENTRAL JAVA MALTREATED

TAPOL has received reports giving details of the torture and maltreatment used against Muslim political prisoners now being held in Mlaten Prison, Semarang and Wirogunan Prison, Jogjakarta. They include the following:

- * Interrogations, often lasting several days, are sometimes carried out at gunpoint. During interrogation, prisoners are subjected to electrical torture: their toes are tied together with wire connected to the chair on which they are sitting, and current is passed through the wire. Prisoners under interrogation are not permitted to say their daily prayers.
- * Nails are driven through the prisoners' small fingers. Finger nails and facial hair are ripped off, skin and all. Matches are pushed under their nails, match-head first, then lit. As the prisoners scream with pain, the guards watch laughing. Prisoners are ordered to hold their heads inside an empty drum which is then beaten very hard, driving them to distraction.
- * They are held in windowless cells, without washing facilities, for days at a stretch. They are given no food, and have to sleep on the bare floor. Sometimes, they are tied up naked and left for days, then beaten with iron rods and chains.
- * They are forced to do push-ups, moving forward. Their

torturers then jump up from behind, landing on their backs. On occasion, they are submerged in water, then clubbed about the head.

- * Women prisoners are subjected to the same tortures as the men. They are sometimes stripped naked and ordered to adopt improper postures or be beaten. On occasion, men and women are left together in darkened cells to taunt them into making sexual contact.
- * Women whose husbands are sought by the Army are held hostage and forced to divulge their husbands' whereabouts. Prisoners' wives are summoned by officers, then raped; some have been forced to divorce their husbands, then marry officers.
- * Prisoners are placed in cells with criminal prisoners who are ordered to beat them. One prisoner, after being maltreated in this way, had to have an operation because of the wounds inflicted.
- * In Wirogunan Prison, prisoners summoned one by one into a room where officers were waiting, were clubbed and beaten with chains. Although some were badly injured, no medical treatment was provided.

ROUND-UP OF PUBLICATIONS ABOUT INDONESIA, EAST TIMOR AND WEST PAPUA

E. TIMOR UPDATE

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Published by: E. Timor Human Rights Committee, Box 363 Clinton Station, Syracuse, New York 13201, USA.

WEST PAPUAN OBSERVER

publishes analytical reports and up-to-date information about the resistance and about conditions in West Papua, and also information about West Papuan activity in the Netherlands. Published, in English, by **Stichting Werkgroep Nieuw-Guinea** (New-Guinea Workgroup Foundation). Published every two months; now in its sixth volume. **Annual subscription:** 17.50 guilders (25 guilders, support sub) overseas: \$10.00 (\$15.00, support sub).

P.O. Box 6717, 6503 GE, Nijmegen.



January
1982
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A monthly newsletter, containing news, views and information about the West Papuan struggle for freedom. Now in its first year of publication. Queries on subscriptions, etc., to editors.

Editorial address: West Papuan Information Centre, P.O. Box 6186, Boroko, NCP, Papua New Guinea.

TIMOR INFORMATION SERVICE

Number 35

50 cents*

March/April 1982

publishes up-to-date reports from East Timor, comments on recent statements and articles, chronology of events in or concerning East Timor. Published six times a year in Victoria, Australia. Has appeared regularly since 1976. **Annual subscription:** Institutions A\$5.00, individuals A\$3, in Australia and overseas surface mail. Please enquire for airmail rates.

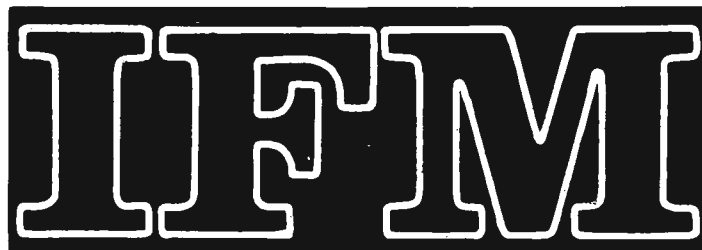
Editorial address: P.O. Box 77, Clifton Hill, Victoria 3068, Australia.

Timor newsletter

an independent bulletin of news about East Timor

publishes news and reports about East Timor, including up-to-date information from Timorese refugees in Portugal. Focuses in particular on developments regarding East Timor in Portugal, Portuguese press reports, etc. **Editor:** Jill Jolliffe. After a year's trial run, will now appear occasionally, with special supplements. For details, write to editor.

Editorial address: Rua Damasceno, 14A-R/c, 1100 Lisbon, Portugal.



INDONESIA FEITEN EN MENINGEN

(Indonesia, Facts and Opinions)

Publishes analytical articles, translations and up-to-date news briefs about all aspects of life in Indonesia, and about Dutch-Indonesian relations. Published six times a year, in Dutch, by **Komitee Indonesië**. **Annual subscription** (outside the Netherlands): 30 guilders; (inside the Netherlands) 20 guilders.

Available from: Komitee Indonesië, Minhasastr. 1, 1094 RS Amsterdam, Netherlands.



publishes original articles, translations and comments about Indonesian political, economic and social affairs. **Editor-in Chief,** Letus Tarung. Published quarterly, in Indonesian, by **Perhimpunan Indonesia Raya**. Now in its second year of publication.

Editorial address: c/o Erwin Ramedhan, 46, Rue St. Lambert, 75015 Paris, France.



berita tanpa sensor

News Without Censorship

publishes documents from dissidents, petitions, and personal statements, which are censored in Indonesia. Original documents, all reproduced in Indonesian.

Published by **Gerakan Demi Hak-Hak Azasi Manusia dan Demokrasi** (Movement for Basic Human Rights and Democracy), in Europe. **Price:** 25 guilders a year for indeterminate number of issues. Five issues have appeared since November 1981, in the first year of publication.

Available from: R. Tombokan, Frans Hallsstr. 14, 3781 EW Voorhuizen, Netherlands.

berita indonesia

(Indonesian News)

Publishes a wide range of selected press cuttings from the Indonesian press (all in the original) and occasional clippings from the **Far Eastern Economic Review** and other non-Indonesian journals. Published monthly, since 1977 by **Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia** (Indonesian Students Association) Amsterdam Branch.

Subscription rate: (minimum 4 months) 15 guilders.

Editorial address: p/a Leksmondhof 16, EM Amsterdam, Netherlands.

BOOK REVIEW

Atmakusumah, **Kebebasan Pers dan Arus Informasi di Indonesia** (Press Freedom and the Flow of Information in Indonesia), published by Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (Institute for Development Studies), Jakarta, 1981.

"Don't ask me to look for information that can get me into trouble. If I'm arrested and put in prison, who is going to defend me?"

This was the response of a journalist working for the Indonesian official news agency, **Antara**, when asked to look for more detailed information from Army officers, among others, about events that both media people and the general public found hard to understand. The request had come from Atmakusumah, then working as co-ordinator of **Antara** reporters. "If I had asked him to unearth material that we being deliberately concealed by people in authority, I think he would have resigned on the spot."

Shortly after this incident, Atmakusumah himself resigned from **Antara** and has since written for various newspapers including **Indonesia Raya** (banned in 1974), foreign news agencies and a variety of weeklies and periodicals. The incident occurred way back in 1968 and is reported in an article written a year later about the dismissal of two **Antara** journalists. Their crime? They had reported a road accident involving the cars of three Army generals which were being driven at high speed. The source of the item was a press release issued by the Jakarta police, but a day later the report was denied and the press release was withdrawn. Yet the two journalists were sacked for using the accident to "make political innuendoes" against generals though no-one denied that these men were indeed the owners of the cars involved. The charge of "political innuendo" lay in the fact, says the writer, that both men were "suspect" because of the journalistic work they had done before 1965; one had worked for the nationalist daily **Suluh Indonesia** (banned in 1965) and the other had often carried out photographic assignments for President Sukarno.

Relegated to a footnote in the same article is an extremely important piece of information: in October 1965, a quarter of all newspapers existing in Indonesia at the time — 46 out of 163 — were banned by the Army. Yet despite this startling fact, despite the abrupt dismissal of the two journalists and, the writer could have added, the fact that dozens if not hundreds of journalists were then in jail, he nevertheless, in a later article published in February 1980, describes this early period of the New Order as one of the few periods in post-1945 Indonesian history when "real press freedom existed".

This blind spot about the first years of the New Order mars the writings of many people who now criticise army rule. It is as if the destruction of a massive segment of the Indonesian press, plus of course the wholesale murder and arrest of millions of people, had simply never happened, and that the first press clampdown by the Army occurred only in January 1947 when a dozen or so publications were banned.

This apart, Atmakusumah's collection of articles, spanning the period from 1968 to 1981, provides a comprehensive picture of the parlous state of the Indonesian press under the New Order. The collection includes the two chapters on press freedom which he wrote for the 1979 and 1980 annual reports of the Indonesian Institute for Legal Aid. The latter reproduces the humiliating pledges extracted from the editors of major Jakarta dailies in 1978 as the price for renewal of their publishing permits after the crackdown against the press in January 1978. Several articles in this collection describe how the men in power, invariably of course generals, pass out vague statements with hidden meanings for publication in the press. "explaining" events which no-one is allowed to know anything about because of reporting prohibitions. This is not communication, he writes, but monologue, comparable to stars flickering in the sky, emanating a light that is inaccessible and incomprehensible to the general public watching from afar and denied the right to know what people are really talking about. The Indonesian press is full of such reports.

There is, he says in another article, a "bullet theory of communication" according to which people in high places use the press to fire off information at passive targets, meant not to inform but to create the required reactions. Fortunately, as he points out, the reactions are not always those intended but often cynicism and mistrust. In an article

about the student press, he praises the role of campus newspapers which have tried so hard to provide an alternative source of news. One striking example of their success was the detailed reporting of the 1978 student trials hardly mentioned at all in the national and regional press. This was a time when student papers sold tens of thousands of copies. But things are very different now as most student papers have been shut down or compelled to confine themselves to campus affairs.

From the wide range of topics discussed by Atmakusumah, one gets an impression of the present state of media communication in Indonesia. It is a situation that cannot be summed up merely in figures about the number of papers banned and the number of journalists arrested or dismissed. The most devastating result is a press that is incapable of reporting anything regarded by those in power as dangerous and which therefore confines itself by and large to reporting government handouts and the verbalistic rantings of officials who aim not to inform but to mislead and manipulate public opinion.

continued from front page

We are aware that we were 'persuaded' to have relations with the Indonesian Church which is the nearest Church and which is authorised by the Government and Army to straight away create relations with us. We hope that this 'persuasion' develops an honest meaning . . .

We must also acknowledge that we do not yet understand why the Indonesian Church and the Universal Roman Church have up till now not stated openly and officially their solidarity with the Church, people and Religious of East Timor. Perhaps this has been the heaviest blow for us . . . We felt stunned by this silence which seemed to allow us to die deserted."

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