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# Freeport killings confirmed

*A major operation is under way in West Papua to remove tribal people from the vicinity of the Freeport copper mine. The armed forces are being used to protect the company which won a huge new concession that will destroy the natural wealth of millions of hectares of rain forest and dispossess many thousands who have nurtured the forests for thousands of years. Numerous protests against the company and brutal retaliation by the armed forces has left 37 people dead and many arrested.*

The operations by the Indonesian armed forces, ABRI were in response to actions launched by the armed resistance, the OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*), which included flag-raising ceremonies by the OPM and other groups, as well as peaceful demonstrations. The army's operations have had a devastating impact on the local, civilian population, causing loss of life and spreading fear.

Just as alarming are reports of the large-scale resettlement of tribal people from land they have occupied for thousands of years. It is clear that there is a major operation underway to crush all resistance to the company and to physi-

cally 'cleanse' the territory of local people who are regarded as a threat to the activities of the company.

Fragmentary reports published in previous *TAPOL Bulletins* have now been confirmed in a report published on 5 April 1995 by the Human Rights Office of ACFOA, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid based on eyewitness accounts given to a visitor to the area earlier this year. The report, broadcast on Australian television, prompted the Australian government to seek clarifications from the Indonesian government.

## TEMPO defeats Harmoko in court

A decision by TEMPO journalists and the magazine's founding editor Goenawan Mohamad to take Information Minister Harmoko to court over the loss of their publishing permit has been crowned with success. The court ruled that the Minister acted unlawfully and decided that the weekly should be allowed to publish again.

The ruling, announced by the Jakarta State Administration Court, the PTUN, on 3 May 1995, came as a complete surprise to the 43 former TEMPO journalists and their team of lawyers and has been hailed by many as an historic decision. This is the first time that an Indonesian court has taken a decision in defiance of government policy over the question of press bans. The verdict will also bolster the pro-democracy movement in Indonesia which has tried to fight the bans on a number of fronts.

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It is clear that the entire region dominated by the operations of *PT Freeport Indonesia (FI)*, is now in ferment because of renewed protest against the company's operations. In 1994, a new concession was granted to the company, extending its concession area from 10,000 hectares to 2.6 million hectares. [For details about the significance of this expansion, see *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 128, April 1995.] According to rebel leader Kelly Kwalik, this will affect thousands of indigenous people, with more lives devastated, the environment and culture degraded and yet more people displaced.

He told AFCOA's source that the OPM marks 1 July every year, West Papua's independence day, with flag-raising and is "absolutely opposed" to the presence of Freeport which has grabbed land and exploited mineral resources within sacred sites. It was the 1994 commemoration that sparked the incidents that have led to so many deaths.

## 37 deaths as more troops sent in

Following the actions and protests at the beginning of July 1994, troops equipped with automatic weapons and backed up by aircraft were sent into the region of Hoesa, Tsinga, Tembapapura and Mile 50. New check-points were



*Amungme and Dani schoolgirls watched by an Indonesian soldier*

set up to monitor the daily activities of the local population. When the Tsinga valley became a battle-field between the OPM and the armed forces (*ABRI*), some two hundred people who were caught in the crossfire fled into the forest for safety. Because *ABRI* suspected the villagers of supporting the rebels, they clear-cut plants in their traditional fields, burnt down houses and stole property from the church in Tsinga. According to eyewitnesses, troops searched the villages of Tsinga and Hoesa, hoping to capture and punish civilians, especially those related to the rebels in the bush. Six relatives of Kelly Kwalik disappeared after being interrogated and tortured at an *ABRI* post in Timika in November.

The various actions from July till December resulted in 37 deaths, which included 22 civilians and 15 members of

the OPM. However, since troops were still searching for suspects and detaining people when the report was compiled, the toll could be much higher.

## Violations on Christmas Day

On Christmas Day, 25 December, there was a peaceful demonstration in Tembapapura when rebel forces raised the West Papuan flag at a location between two *ABRI* posts. As people from various villages were going to church, they saw a large crowd, some armed with bows and arrows, spears and a few fire-arms, marching, singing and shouting slogans around a flag-pole on which the OPM flag had been unfurled. Troops and Freeport security men soon appeared, surrounded the crowd and opened fire. There was no shooting from the side of the rebels. In the confusion, one person pulled down the flag and ran off into the forest, followed by others in the crowd. A civilian who was trapped by the shooting on his way to church was killed, hugging the flag-pole.

Following this incident, four soldiers broke into the church, looking for 'suspects'. An officer alleged that members of the congregation must have provided food for the rebels and supported the people who had unfurled the flag earlier that day. "Are you Christians or communists?" he barked, striking fear among all those present. Meanwhile, a member of the congregation who had not yet entered the church, hesitated not far from the entrance when he saw troops surrounding the building. He was then surrounded by troops and shot dead.

Six Dani tribespeople who had attended the service later caught a bus to Timika but never arrived at their destination. Eyewitnesses say that they saw one of the men trying to get out of the bus through a window, wearing a blindfold and with his hands tied behind his back.

## Thirteen men arrested and tortured

On the following day, troops carried out searches in a number of villages and arrested nine Amungme people; during further sweeps on 27 December, four more were arrested.

Concerned at the detention and maltreatment of their neighbours, the villagers had a meeting on 29 December with army officers and Freeport officials, to press for the release of the thirteen. Representatives of the three sides then went to the army post where the detained men were being held, to discuss their fate. They were told that, before being released, the men would have to sign documents confessing that they had helped the rebels.

After persistent torture with electric shocks and razor blades, twelve eventually 'confessed'. The thirteenth man refused and was ill-treated for several more weeks.

The ACFOA lists the names of sixteen of the civilians who have been killed or who have disappeared and are presumed dead. Six Dani men whose names are not known complete the list of twenty-two.

## Confirmation from the BBC

The BBC's Catherine Napier went to Timika a month after the story broke and spoke to tribal leaders. They told her that 'more than twenty native people have been killed in clashes with government soldiers' in the past fifteen months in the area surrounding the Freeport mine. Leaders of the Amungme people told the BBC that the killings were 'part of a pattern of intimidation by the military against the native population'. They said that army operations against the OPM 'had led to the deaths of at least seven civilians... and more than a dozen others has been killed by soldiers in unrelated incidents' [BBC World Service, 22.V.1995] This report fully confirms ACFOA's account with regard to civilian deaths; it does not include the deaths sustained by the OPM forces.

## ABRI and Freeport denials

Following the exposures in Australia and Canberra's call for an investigation, ABRI claimed that only one person had been killed. The army command in Jayapura said that the man killed was shot while trying to escape after hoisting the OPM flag near the Freeport site. He also admitted that three people involved in the flag-raising ceremony had been arrested. [Jakarta Post, 15.IV.1995]

Freeport has also denied that any atrocities occurred. Claiming that the company's presence 'had benefited the indigenous people', a spokesman said that 'military troops are responsible for the company's security' and that company security personnel do not carry arms'. [Jakarta Post, 8.IV.1995]

The Indonesian foreign ministry admitted that there had been 'disturbances' in the vicinity of the mine but accused ACFOA of engaging 'in its usual practice of Indonesia-bashing by disseminating a fabrication.' [Indonesian Observer, 11.IV.1995]

## Killings at Easter

In April, TAPOL received an eyewitness account from Timika about two killings over the Easter weekend. The first victim, Kris Macawayao, 21, was involved in an argument with friends after a drinking spree on Good Friday, 14 April. As they were nearing a church and arguing about whether to attend the service, a group of soldiers attacked them with punches. Two of the men escaped but Kris was pinned down on the ground and seriously assaulted. He was then taken to an unknown destination.

Some hours later, his brother, Yuvensius, who had been picked up several days earlier by the army, was ordered onto a truck. To his amazement, he met Kris on the truck, badly wounded and with his face swollen and bruised. The truck sped off and as it turned round a sharp bend, the driver braked hard, causing Kris to fall off. His head struck the hard surface of the road. By the time they reached him, he was dead. The soldiers told Yuvensius to say that his brother had thrown himself off the truck.

The second killing occurred in Ewamki Lama, five miles from Timika airport, after the Easter Sunday service. Three men were on their way home from church. The atmosphere was already tense because of a stabbing earlier that day. The men were challenged by troops at an army post and explained that they were returning home from church. A scuffle broke out and one of the soldiers pulled out a weapon and aimed it at a man called Yunus. He opened fire and

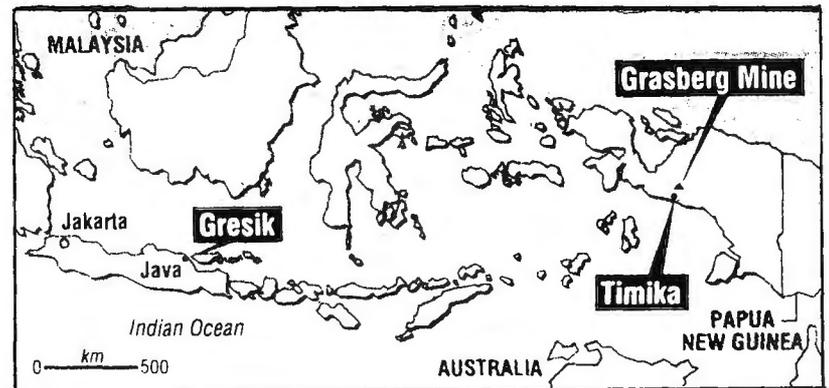
## WEST PAPUA

killed the victim.

A large crowd of more than six hundred witnessed the atrocity. Later the body was returned to his home in a coffin but when the family and a priest wanted to open the coffin to take a photograph, the troops who had brought the body home refused to allow this to happen.

## Enforced resettlement

Since the beginning of 1995, there have been reports of the planned resettlement of at least two thousand indigenous people away from inhabited areas in the vicinity of the Freeport copper mine. A source close to the local people informed TAPOL that the people threatened with removal live in the Waa valley, the Tsinga valley and the Arwaa valley. The order to move was conveyed to them by security personnel of the company.



A leader of the Tsinga community told the TAPOL source:

*'If ABRI, the government and the company want to move us, you must also move the mountains, valleys and everything else that is ours, to the new place. Otherwise, you might as well murder the lot of us because we will never agree to move from our ancestral land, the land which is our entire lives and on which our survival depends.'*

The mass resettlement has since been confirmed in a statement by the regional military commander, Major-General I Ketut Wiradana, reported in *Cendrawasih Pos* some time early in April. 'The Trikora military command... working in cooperation with other agencies such as the Transmigration Department, the Social Department and PT FIC (ie, Freeport) will resettle the Tsinga inhabitants in a specially designated area'. The chief-of-staff of the command later said that between three hundred and five hundred families (the equivalent of about two thousand people) would be resettled. [Kompas, 28.IV.1995]

In the August issue, the following books will be reviewed:  
**SUBVERSION AS FOREIGN POLICY**, Audrey R. Kahin and George McT. Kahin, New Press, 1995  
**MEMOAR OEI TJOE TAT**, Oei Tjoe Tat, Penyunting: Stanley Adi Prasetyo, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Hasta Mitra, 1995

# A visit full of difficulties

*Suharto may not have wanted his visit to Germany in April to become front-page news, but he has only himself to blame. It was his outburst of anger against demonstrators that kept it in the spotlight for weeks. His visits abroad are a regular target for protests, and he should be used to that by now. But it was the small demonstration in Dresden that made Suharto's blood boil.*

Already a year before, Suharto's visit to Germany had been well publicised. Indonesia was declared Germany's special partner at the Hanover Fair, the biggest industrial fair on earth, providing Suharto and his entourage with the chance to show off Indonesia's economic successes. But the darker side of Indonesia, its human rights violations, were also spotlighted.

More than twenty German NGOs collaborated to plan a programme of activities to protest against the visit, including press conferences, exhibitions, lectures, demonstrations and picket-lines. Timorese, West Papuans and Moluccans were invited to attend some of the events, to provide information about the current human rights situation in their territories. Before and during Suharto's visit, the German press focused attention on the negative aspects of Indonesia and Suharto's

reputation sank to a new low.

Even before the Indonesian ruler left Jakarta, difficulties had begun to surface. A visit to Weimar had to be called off because the Weimar City Council decided by a large majority that Suharto was not welcome. Several items on the itinerary had to be cancelled or rescheduled because of the protests. The Mayor of Hanover was reluctant to receive Suharto as a guest and voiced criticism of the human rights situation in his speech of welcome. The only person to keep mum on these issues was Chancellor Helmut Kohl who adopted the business-as-usual line. Although a lot of business deals were concluded, Suharto's visit to Germany did not run smoothly and a larger section of the German public is now aware of the true state of affairs in Indonesia.

## Suharto's visit to Dresden

*At the heart of Suharto's vituperative outburst against Indonesians for having allegedly 'masterminded' demonstrations against his state visit to Germany were the events in Dresden. We invited German activist, Claus Röhl, to describe what really happened.*

Even before the Indonesian President, Suharto, arrived in Dresden on 5 April, the visit was bogged down in difficulty. The President had been invited by Kurt Biedenkopf, Minister-President of Sachsen. He was to have been asked to sign the city's Distinguished Visitor's Book but the City Parliament had not been asked for their approval. On hearing about the plan, the Mayor of Dresden, Herbert Wagner, said he would not consent to the plan for Suharto to sign the Book. Four political parties in the Parliament, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Bürgerfraktion, SDP and PDS, which together comprise the majority, issued a joint statement declaring that Suharto was not welcome in the city because of human rights abuses in Indonesia.

The Indonesian President was to have attended a performance at the Semper Opera but the orchestra flatly refused to perform for a dictator. As discussion of the visit continued, Minister-President Biedenkopf said that he was willing to welcome Suharto but expressed great sympathy for people who demonstrated against the Indonesian regime's human rights violations.

### Big support for the demonstrations

No fewer than twenty-seven human rights groups, church groups, civil rights groups and political parties in Dresden

called on the people to demonstrate against Suharto, among them Bündnis 90/Die Grünen and Neues Forum. It was a demonstration organised by the people of Dresden. It is quite ludicrous to accuse Indonesians of being responsible for these activities.

Steffen Heitmann, Sachsen Minister of Justice, was at Dresden airport to welcome Suharto on his arrival. From there, the delegation went to the city's most famous building, the *Zwinger*. There were about one hundred demonstrators waiting in the inner court. As the President approached, they made a great deal of noise, banging saucepans and drums, blowing whistles, blowing trumpets and shouting through megaphones: 'Suharto, murderer, murderer, murderer! Free East Timor! Go home, Suharto.'

Then hundreds of leaflets floated down from above the gate, with information about human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor. A number of banners were unfolded with such slogans as: 'Kapan pulang dari Timor Timur' (When will you quit East Timor?), 'Indonesien raus aus Timor' ('Hands of East Timor' in German), 'We should not cooperate with murderers', 'Suharto Dalang Segala Bencana' ('Suharto is the cause of all disasters'), 'Suharto in Indonesia, a suppresser, in Germany a wel-

come guest', and many more..

About seventy tourists in the vicinity joined in the activities and Suharto and his entourage had to make their way to the picture gallery past a very large crowd of people. Security forces were on hand to prevent the demonstrators from coming closer than three meters, which is routine practice for the German police in dealing with demonstrations. Outside the gallery, a large crowd stood around, creating a terrible din which made things difficult for the Indonesian president, so the visit to the gallery was cut to twenty minutes. When he entered the *Zwinger*, Suharto had a broad smile on his face but he left looking very grim.



*Foreign Minister Ali Alatas makes a gesture to demonstrators from inside the bus. Photo Claus Röhl.*

From there, he went to *Hotel Kempinski*. Although it is only seventy metres away, he went by car. There were more demonstrators in front of the hotel; they continued with their action for about two hours in the presence of a number of journalists and four TV channels. Although the itinerary included a trip to the world-famous porcelain manufacturer in Meissen, Suharto preferred to remain in the hotel for the whole of the afternoon.

*Continued from page 24*

## Security forces out in strength for NAM

Altogether 4,894 troops from all sectors of the army were mobilised in a special operation to protect a ministerial meeting of members of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Bandung, as well as a commemorative gathering to mark the 40th anniversary of the Asia-Africa Bandung Conference, held in 1955. The latter event was attended by UN Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

In a mass show of force in advance of the event, Major-General Soebandi, the West Java chief-of-police, stated that it was necessary 'to anticipate all eventualities.... We will not tolerate any efforts or activities from whatever source aimed at obstructing or disturbing these events.' He added

## POLITICS

For me, the atmosphere was reminiscent of the reunification of East and West Germany in 1989 when people from the former East Germany went out onto the streets, demanding reunification and civil rights. The inhabitants of East Germany know from experience the power that people can exert if they join forces to pursue a common goal. They know what it means to live in a democracy and what it means to live under a dictatorship.

At 6pm, a crowd of about four hundred people gathered outside the Opera. Amnesty had asked people to go there to listen to talks about the human rights situation in Indonesia. Students from East Timor also spoke about the resistance and the human rights situation in their country. The Timorese were in Germany at the invitation of *Watch Indonesia* which arranged for them to make a tour round the country.

With evening approaching, Suharto was still holed up in *Hotel Kempinski* so some of the demonstrators decided to make their way to the hotel but were prevented from approaching the building by the police. The demonstrators then went in the direction of the *Hilton Hotel* where the Minister-President was waiting to receive the Indonesian President and his entourage for an official dinner.

The Indonesian delegation were driven to the dinner by bus but on the way, the convoy was halted by demonstrators. Suharto, Habibie and Alatas were all sitting in the front seats. Confronted by a chain of people, holding hands, the bus had to turn round and make a retreat. A banner with the words, '*Kapan pulang dari Timor Timur*' was plastered onto the windscreen and remained there for several minutes before being removed. The action had clearly made the Indonesians extremely upset. We could see Mrs Alatas make a gesture with her hands to her head then pointing to the demonstrators.

Alatas was particularly arrogant. Several times he showed his fist and gesticulated with his middle finger pointing upwards.

After the bus reversed and made its way to the *Hilton Hotel* along a different route, the demonstrators made their own way to the *Hilton* and stood outside, making a hell of a noise for about an hour.

*Claus Röhl, East Timor Group, Watch Indonesia, Germany*

that, if successful, the preventive measure would 'enhance the reputation and credibility of the Indonesian state and people on the world stage'.

The police chief claimed that the security situation in West Java was 'reasonably stable'. He went on: 'Anyone, whether students or factory workers, trying to organise disturbances such as demonstrations, should be warned that the security forces will not hesitate to take firm action against them.' [*Pelita*, 21.IV.1995]

## Sri Bintang, the Dresden scapegoat

*Sri Bintang Pamungkas, Indonesia's most outspoken MP, was invited to Germany by several German institutions to give a lecture on the Indonesian economy. Little did he realise that this rather innocuous trip would bring down the wrath of the Suharto regime on his head.*

A few days after angry demonstrations had occurred in Dresden against Suharto [see separate item], the Indonesian press was full of reports about this wayward MP.

On his journey home from Germany and several Asian republics, Suharto delivered a furious attack on Indonesians for allegedly organising demonstrations in Hanover and Dresden. He even called them 'traitors' who were 'insane and irrational'. No names were mentioned, but later that day, Lt. General Soeyono, armed forces chief-of-staff for general affairs, said that the government had proof that three well-known critics were involved in the demonstrations, Goenawan Mohammad, former editor of *Tempo*, the banned weekly; Sri Bintang Pamungkas, PPP politician who entered parliament in 1992, and Yeni Rosa Damayanti, a student activist released from prison in December 1994 after serving one year for insulting the head of state.

During his trip, Bintang gave lectures at the Humboldt University in Berlin and the University of Hanover, and talks to Indonesian communities in several German cities and Amsterdam. He and Yeni Damayanti were present at the demonstration in Hanover but had no part in the organisation. None of the Indonesians mentioned by Soeyono visited Dresden. Goenawan Mohammad had left Germany weeks before Suharto had even arrived.

### Bintang's popularity soars

Before all the commotion about Dresden, Bintang had been headline news for months. A graduate from Iowa University, US, he was a lecturer at the Technical Faculty of the University of Indonesia and got a PhD in economics. In 1992 he entered Parliament on the PPP ticket, a decision the PPP leadership was soon to regret. Once in Parliament, Bintang behaved like a member of the opposition, criticising the government's economic policies. He became the only MP with the courage to say that the military should go back to the barracks. In a country where opposition politics is officially banned, Bintang emerged as a single fighter.

Under pressure from the government, the PPP leadership decided to sack him as an MP, and the process was underway before he left for Germany. His 'recall' needed the endorsement of President Suharto which eventually came on 8 May, by which time Bintang was embroiled in charges about the events in Germany



*Sri Bintang Pamungkas, politician with a heart.*

Hardly a man to bow to pressure, Bintang has always gone onto the offensive. When his conflict with the PPP emerged, he announced that he would be setting up an independent political party. Under the Constitution this is legitimate but the Suharto regime has introduced laws which recognised only three parties, GOLKAR, PDI and PPP. The two latter parties came into being as the result of the forced fusion of eight political parties in 1971.

Bintang's conflict with his party and his ideas about a new party were like a breath of fresh air, making him a popular public figure. Attempts by the regime to incriminate him over events in Germany have only enhanced his popularity.

### Police interrogation

Before returning home from Europe, Bintang knew that he would face serious allegations. On his arrival in Jakarta, his passport was withdrawn and a 'cekal' order issued, preventing him from leaving the country. On 16 April he was summoned by the police 'as a witness' for interrogation regarding violations of article 134 of the criminal code (insulting or undermining the dignity of the head of state). The interrogation went on for three days from 18 April, at the intelligence subdirectorates of police headquarters.

The summons was based on a police report dated 10 April, supposedly written in Germany but the officer who signed the report had not been to Germany and could not have written a first-hand account. For three days Bintang cooperated, while insisted on his rights as a member of parliament. According to Law no 13/1970 he could only be

interrogated after explicit authorisation of the President but all the police authorities could produce was a letter signed by Minister/State Secretary Moerdiono.

Bintang and his defence team continued to challenge the basis of his summons. The police report was obviously a fake and the lack of presidential approval was a stumbling block for the authorities. For a time, it looked as though things were calming down, but this was just the calm before the storm.

On 6 May Bintang received another summons from the police, but this time 'as a suspect'. In the meantime his discharge as MP had been endorsed by Suharto meaning that presidential approval for the interrogation was no longer required. On 11 May Bintang and his lawyers responded to the summons. This time, the police were treating Bintang as a suspect under articles 104, 131, 134 and 137 of the criminal code, covering crimes against state security and the dignity of the President. Bintang refused to be interrogated, presenting instead a series of demands and withdrawing earlier statements he had made as a 'witness'.

### Bintang as scapegoat

From the outset, Bintang declared his innocence, which was confirmed in numerous press reports quoting German NGOs like the German branch of Amnesty International, Society for Threatened Peoples, IMBAS, Watch Indonesia and the Hanover University students' union. They all insisted that they were responsible for organising all the activities during the Suharto visit. Some Indonesian journalists spent hours making expensive long-distance calls to Germany; others made special visits to the cities involved, only to come up with the same conclusion. Demonstrations in Hanover, Düsseldorf and Dresden and public meetings held during the state visit were legitimate democratic events, for which Bintang could not be held responsible.

In their determination to construct a case against Bintang, the police announced that they would be sending a team to Germany to carry out special investigations but this backfired when it became clear that the German authorities could not, under their own Constitution, permit a foreign police force to do any such thing, particularly over events that were perfectly legitimate under German law.

Another factor that could cause embarrassment for the regime is the intervention of the Geneva-based Inter-Parliamentary Union which has written to the Speaker of Parliament, Wahono, seeking clarifications. The IPU intervention was made public by deputy-speaker Soerjadi who warned that if procedural mistakes had occurred, the Bintang case could become the focus of world attention.

Having failed to pin Bintang down over the demonstrations, the police investigations then shifted ground, with attention now focused on what he said in his lectures and in the talks he gave to Indonesian communities in several German cities. It remains to be seen whether the police and the attorney-general's office can construct a case that would be acceptable to a court of law. But rumours of Bintang's imminent arrest have circulated in Jakarta for weeks. So, what is really behind the farce?

### Reflecting the regime's weakness

Lately, Suharto has been prone to temperamental outbursts, often when on a plane, homeward bound. The problem is that Suharto's overseas visits are often marred by

protests, demonstrations or remarks by his hosts about human rights violations. This time, the explosion took several days to build up, and he was in such a frenzy when the moment came that he was unable to express himself in Indonesian but reverted to his native Javanese.

The emperor was in need of scapegoats and his most loyal lackeys came up with the three sacrificial lambs. While Yeni is still abroad attending a course on human rights in Holland, it has been left to Sri Bintang to face the twists and turns of this highly unusual case. The name of Goenawan has dropped from view, for the time being at least.

During the earlier interrogation, unidentified persons stoned Bintang's house and destroyed the rear window of his car. Ignoring the principle of presumption of innocence, the PPP board, officially still Bintang's party, publicly apologised to Suharto, even before Bintang had been officially charged.

Publications like *GATRA* and *Republika* have done their best to publish insinuations against Bintang. *GATRA*, which is often mistakenly referred to as the continuation of the banned *TEMPO*, has published lengthy reports about the anti-Suharto actions in Germany, describing them as part of a grand conspiracy of East Timorese, Acehnese, West Papuans, Moluccans and anti-Suharto Indonesians to undermine the New Order Government. TAPOL has not escaped attention, particularly Liem Soei Liong, who was alleged to have helped mastermind the German campaign. They cannot accept the fact that there is a groundswell of protest in countries like Germany whose governments are bent on promoting close economic ties with the Suharto regime, regardless of its appalling human rights record.

Scapegoating innocent people like Sri Bintang and Yeni Damayanti is a significant turn of events. Analysts see this as another sign of weakness of Suharto and his clique. If the regime were indeed solid, demonstrations in Dresden would be just a ripple on the ocean. Sri Bintang recognises this and has come up with the idea that he is being used as an 'intermediate target', the ultimate target being Suharto himself. This theory is borne out by the extensive coverage of the Dresden affair and numerous interviews of Bintang and Yeni, all of which have been counter-productive for Suharto. The public has been able to enjoy reading about events that were an acute humiliation for Suharto and the high-ranking officials who accompanied him to Germany.

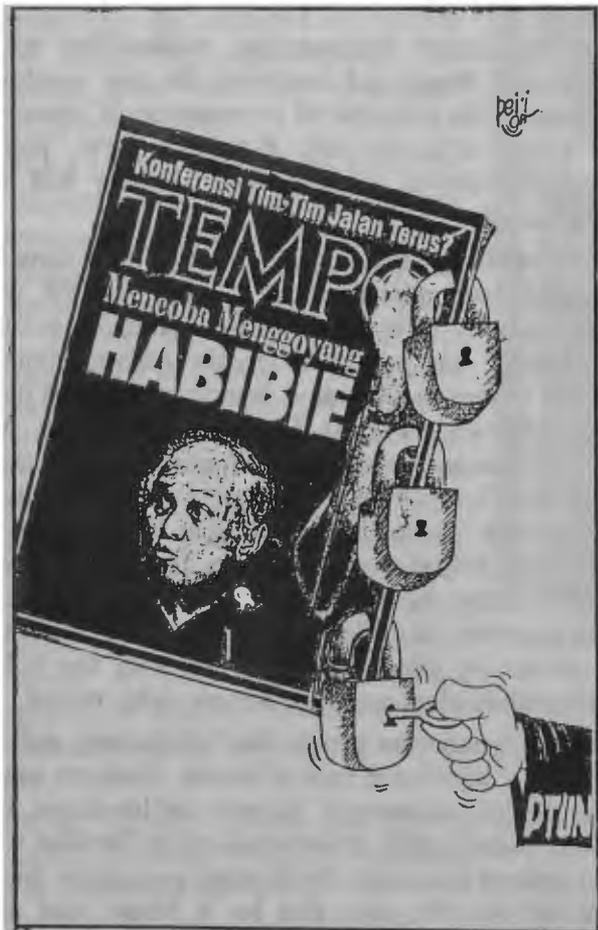
The Bintang affair has revealed many cracks within the ruling elite. Leading ABRI figures have been saying different things about Bintang. Hardliners like Lt. General Soeyono have virtually declared him guilty while ABRI's spokesperson in parliament, Major-General Abu Hartono, speaks about the presumption of innocence. Habibie, Suharto's link with Germany, now wants to hush up the whole affair, afraid that the German authorities might get annoyed with all the fuss about such a triviality.

But whatever happens to Bintang in the coming weeks and months, he is bound to play a major role in post-Suharto Indonesia.

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It was remarkable that the verdict was announced on 3 May, World Press Freedom Day, a fact warmly welcomed by Frances D'Souza, director of Article XIX: 'We couldn't hope for better news on International Press Freedom Day.'

*TEMPO*, along with two other weeklies, *EDITOR* and *DeTik*, was banned on 21 June last year when the Information Minister revoked its licence (SIUPP), because President Suharto had been angered by their increasingly bold reporting of government policy and conflicts between top-level regime officials.



Surabaya Pos, 5 May 1995

The court described Minister Harmoko's ministerial decree as 'authoritarian'. Many journalists and media workers have been trying without success for years to challenge Harmoko's Decree by seeking a Judicial Review. The court challenged Harmoko's claim that revoking a licence was not the same as banning a publication. The Information Department was ordered to restore the licence to *TEMPO*, and to pay costs.

The three-man panel of judges also found that the Minister had not even acted within the terms of his own Decree, because he failed to consult the Press Council before passing down a decision to revoke a licence.

The court verdict is an acute embarrassment for Harmoko, one of President Suharto's most loyal associates who, in addition to serving as Information Minister for a third term, was last year appointed to chair the regime's political party, GOLKAR. [See Harmoko Profile in *TAPOL Bulletin* no. 128, April 1995]

An attempt by *DeTik* journalists to take over the licence of a defunct publication called *Simponi* came to grief when the Information Minister prevented the journal from continu-

ing to appear by asserting that its editor did not have the necessary endorsement from the government-endorsed journalists' association, the PWI. *EDITOR* journalists have been able to start up a new publication under a different title, *TIRAS*, in a joint venture with Alatief, a company owned by the Minister for Labour.

However, *TEMPO*'s licence was hijacked by timber tycoon, Bob Hasan, who now publishes a weekly called *GATRA* which shamelessly defends the regime and has shown itself to be the mouthpiece of the intelligence forces.

## A complete vindication

In a landmark ruling, the court decided that the ban was in violation of Basic Press Law No 11/1966 which specifically excludes censorship and banning. But it went further by ruling that Harmoko's Ministerial Decree 01/1984, giving himself the power to revoke licences is in contravention of the Basic Press Law and should therefore be withdrawn.

There was jubilation in court when the verdict was passed and many congratulations for Goenawan and the *TEMPO* journalists for scoring such a stunning victory.

Judge Benyamin Mangkoedilaga who chaired the panel of judges, speaking to journalists later, said: 'Let us hope that we have made a small contribution to the 50th anniversary of Indonesian independence.' He also stressed that the court had considered the case purely on its merits as an administrative issue, ignoring the political aspects of the case.

However, it is generally agreed that the three judges risked placing their careers in jeopardy by so defiantly rejecting the government's case.

## Goenawan explains

In an interview given shortly after the verdict, Goenawan Mohamad said the idea to go to court had originated from some of the younger journalists on the staff.

*We decided to go to court because we wanted to expose the contrast between our position and that of the Information Ministry, which banned us without giving us the chance to defend ourselves. We also wanted to restore confidence in the lawcourts. Our third reason was to make the TEMPO case more transparent to the public, particularly to those suddenly deprived of their right to a source of information.*

He said that going to court was just one way of fighting for press freedom. 'The struggle for press freedom is a political struggle leading to the restoration of democracy.' But he directed his comments also to media workers, urging them to learn from the example of the judges who had taken such risks. 'Are media workers not deeply ashamed to be continuing to conduct their professional work in an ambience of fear? Do they feel comfortable having others take risks so as to change things for their benefit?'

## Harmoko to appeal

Even as they were still savouring the taste of victory, *TEMPO* journalists were in no doubt that their battle still has a long way to go before they can even start to think of producing the next issue of their very popular journal.

After the ruling, it was clear that Harmoko would appeal against the decision but he waited for a meeting with President Suharto before making his official announcement.

Harmoko quoted Suharto as saying that 'in order to uphold justice and rights, the process of appeal must be upheld.' By making it clear that his decision to appeal had presidential backing, Harmoko's strategy is clear. He hopes that this will make it more difficult for the higher courts to repeat the 'blunder' committed by the lower court.

There are two levels of appeal, the High PTUN and the Supreme Court. These two courts do not conduct their hearings in public. In the past year, there has been clear evidence of meddling by the Executive, curbing the independence of the Judiciary. Last year, a Supreme Court decision upholding the claim for compensation by families ousted from their land by the World Bank-funded Kedung Ombo dam, was reverse, after considerable pressure from Suharto on the Chief Justice. More recently, the Chief Justice has taken the

extraordinary step of effectively nullifying a Supreme Court decision confirming huge damages for a West Papuan family for land taken by the provincial government, by declaring that the decision 'cannot be executed because the provincial government has no public property and cannot therefore pay damages'. Both these decisions have been widely condemned by many in the legal profession.

The *TEMPO* verdict could well be reversed but the PTUN decision which has been widely reported in the Indonesian press, is the best possible publicity against a demoralised regime and a minister who has been shown to have acted in violation of the law.

## Persecution of independent journalists

*Harassment and persecution of independent journalists has continued, with more bans and the livelihoods of journalists under threat. Four media workers will go on trial very soon*

As with the independent trade union, *SBSI*, the regime will avoid banning the fledgling *Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI)*, so as to evade international opprobrium but will instead harass the organisation, in the hope of rendering it ineffective.

### Four media workers to go on trial

The four media workers awaiting trial are Achmad Taufik, chair of the presidium of *AJI*, Eko Maryadi, editor of the organisation's publication, *Independen*, Danang, a staff worker of *AJI*, and Tri Agus Siswomihardjo, editor of *Kabar dari PIJAR*, publication of *PIJAR*, the activist human rights group. The four men were all arrested in March this year, Tri Agus on 9 March when the *PIJAR* office was raided and occupied by security forces, and the other three on 16 March, after police raided an *AJI* social event being held at a Jakarta hotel. The offices of both organisations are now occupied by the police.

### AJI's publication banned

In an order dated 28 March but not made public until the middle of May, the Attorney-General pronounced that *AJI's* publication, *Independen* had been banned because 'it contains writings that will discredit the government ..... and spread unrest that will cause the people to distrust the government.

Normally, it is for Information Minister Harmoko to ban publications but in this case, he had to call on the Attorney-General to step in. The publication had never asked a licence from the ministry so there was nothing for Harmoko to revoke.

*Independen* began to appear soon after *AJI* was set up last August and by the time the security forces raided the *AJI* March event, it had become the leading publication in Indonesia's alternative press. With all the mainstream press unable to report on controversial issues, *Independen* became essential reading for many people, including generals, politicians and government officials. It enjoyed a booming

trade on the streets and had attracted a large number of subscribers, with a circulation of 12,000. The latest issue was No. 12.

### Journalists' jobs on the line

In March, the Jakarta branch of the government-backed journalists' union, the *PWI*, announced the expulsion of thirteen journalists because they had signed the *Sirnagalih Declaration*, *AJI's* founding document, and had become members of *AJI*. *PWI* interference is the latest weapon in the regime's armoury against independent-minded journalists. Publications can be prevailed upon to sack journalists who are not *PWI* members. No publication can hope to obtain an Information Ministry licence if its editor-in-chief does not have *PWI* endorsement.



## CENSORSHIP

One immediate consequence of the *PWI* dismissals was that *SWA*, a monthly journal, dismissed Goenawan Mohammad, the former *TEMPO* editor, as its editor-in-chief.

A number of other *AJI* members and activists have been affected, some by outright dismissals, others by being shifted to non-journalistic posts:

\* **Satrio Arismunandar** and **Diah Prekasa Yoedha**, both *Sirnagalih* signatories, were sacked by *Kompas* after they refused to relinquish *AJI* membership.

\* **Santoso Iskak**, *AJI* secretary-general, has been sacked by *Forum Keadilan*. Two other *AJI* activists, **Ayu Utami** and **Imran Hasibuan**, both *Sirnagalih* signatories, have been shifted from the editorial staff to the marketing department.

\* **Lenah Susianty** and **Ati Nurbaiti**, both *Sirnagalih* signatories, have been told by *Jakarta Post* that they must quit *AJI* or lose their jobs.

## LABOUR TRIALS

# World pressure releases Pakpahan

*In a surprise move, the Supreme Court ordered the release of SBSI leader, Mochtar Pakpahan, pending the Court's decision on his appeal against conviction and a four-year prison sentence.*

The announcement of Pakpahan's release from prison in Medan on 19 May was greeted jubilantly by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) General-Secretary Bill Jordan in Brussels. 'This is wonderful news both for Pakpahan and for free trade unionism. Pakpahan was unjustly arrested and sentenced by a government which could brook no opposition. This shows that international pressure can force governments to act.'

### Supreme Court explains its decision

In an unprecedented move, the Indonesian Supreme Court admitted that it was indeed world pressure that forced it to release Mochtar Pakpahan before the Court had taken a decision on his appeal. But the Court said that if it upholds his conviction and sentence, he will have to return to prison.

Deputy chair of the Court, **Adi Andoyo Soetjipto**, said that Pakpahan had been released because the deadline for the Court decision to issue a ruling, 110 days from the day the appeal was lodged, had expired. According to Article 28 of KUHAP, the Procedural Code, the appellant must therefore be released.

### Court usually waives the rules

He said the Court does not normally abide by this rule but takes advantage of a special decision, the Ujungpandang Accord, allowing the Court to waive the Procedural Code stipulation and keep the appellant in prison beyond the 110 days. This happened in the cases of the eight appellants convicted for the murder of labour activist, **Marsinah**, all of whom remained in prison until the Court had ruled on appeals although the 110 days had expired.

'We have decided to stick to the regulation in the Pakpahan case because it has been under the spotlight of the international workers' organisation. If Pakpahan had remained in

\* **Hasudungan Sirait**, a *Sirnagalih* signatory, has been shifted from the editorial staff to library research at *Bisnis Indonesia*. **Meirizal Zulkarnain**, an *AJI* activist, was forced to promise the publication in writing to stop all further *AJI* activities.

\* **Roy Pakpahan**, an *AJI* activist, has been warned by his employer, *Suara Pembaruan*, to stop all *AJI* activities

### IFJ mission visits Indonesia

A five-person mission of the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists, headed by secretary-general Aidan White, visited Indonesia in mid-April. Its highly critical findings were made public at the IFJ's Triennial Conference in Spain in May.

The mission condemned victimisation of journalists and the tradition of self-censorship. It called for an end to the licencing system and for the introduction of a new legal framework for freedom of the press. It also strongly condemned the arrest of the four media workers mentioned above and called for their immediate release.



*An emotional welcome for Pakpahan at Jakarta airport.*

detention, we feared that Indonesia would come under attack from the international community for not upholding the rule of law,' **Adi Andoyo** told the daily. [22 May 1995]

But **Adi Andoyo** also said that this does not mean that the chair of the SBSI has been fully released. If the Court rules that the appellant is guilty, then he will have to return to prison to serve the remainder of his sentence.

**Mochtar Pakpahan** told *Kompas* that if the Supreme Court rules that he must serve his sentence, then "like a law-abiding citizen, I will comply. **Sukarno** [Indonesia's first President] and **Nelson Mandela** of South Africa had to go through such an experience for the sake of the struggle", he said [*Kompas*, 20 May 1995]

# May Day celebrated in Indonesia

*Indonesia's New Order has always seen International Labour Day as subversive, a remnant from pre-1965 days when 1 May was an important day to celebrate. This year, for the first time in thirty year, workers and students ignored the ban on May Day celebrations and held demonstrations in Jakarta and Semarang. This is a sign of the growing strength of the labour movement in Indonesia.*

In Jakarta and Semarang, the capital of Central Java, the May Day rally was organised by the newly established *PPBI*, (Centre for Indonesian Workers' Struggle) and *SMID* (Students' Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia). The actions were intended to restore the May Day tradition and articulate the demands of Indonesian workers. A key demand was for *UMR*, the Minimum Wage, to be increased to Rp 7,000 (about US\$ 4.50) which is nearly twice the present level.

Other key demands were the right to organise and the release of union leader, Mochtar Pakpahan and other political prisoners. In Semarang, some 400 people were prevented by the police from reaching the provincial legislative chamber and a scuffle broke out between workers and the security forces. Sixteen workers and students were arrested but released the following day. Banners carried by the demonstrators read: "Workers are exploited, the people suffer", "We don't want *SPSI*" (the official union), "In a democracy, why are the workers curbed", "7,000 Rupiahs Now!". (*Suara Merdeka*, 2.V.95)

In Jakarta about a hundred people went to the Ministry of Manpower to deliver their demands. Afterwards, several people including Dita Sari, the secretary-general of *PPBI*, were arrested. *YLBHI*, the Legal Aid Bureau protested to the authorities, arguing that: "Demonstrations are a lawful way of expressing aspirations, especially when formal channels don't work and dialogue always ends in deadlock" (*Jakarta Post*, 3.V.95).

## Wave of strikes continue

It is clear from press reports that labour unrest remains at the top of the agenda. One of the main issues recently has been the decision to increase the regional *UMRs*. In Greater Jakarta, it was raised to Rp 4,600 (US\$ 2.20) and in Central Java, to Rp 3,050 (US\$ 1.37). Even these semi-starvation wages are not paid by many companies, resulting in conflict at the workplace. The following cases are typical.

## Tenacity of PT YMS workers.

As reported earlier (*TAPOL Bulletin* No 128), the conflict between the *PT YMS* management and the workers goes back to June 1994. This garment company in Surabaya, East Java, employs mostly women workers. The conflict reached a climax last December when the management suddenly decided to close the factory gates, declaring itself bankrupt. All the workers were declared redundant.

A series of actions followed (see *TAPOL Bulletin* 128, April 1995) and officials from the local Manpower Office

agreed to endorse one of the demands, for an annual bonus plus one month's wages. But other demands had not been met so the workers were far from a victory and the case went to arbitration. In February, a verdict was announced.

The official procedure for labour conflicts is to take them to an arbitration committee, the *P4* (*Panitia Penyelesaian Perselisihan Buruh*, Committee to Resolve Labour Conflicts) which has regional and national chapters and includes representatives from the government, the company and the workers. But genuine worker representation is non-existent and even if it did exist, the two other components command the majority. The national and local arbitration committees are typical examples of corporatism, which is dedicated to harmony between workers and bosses, leading inevitably to rulings against the workers.

*PT YMS* won on all fronts. The *P4P*, the central arbitration committee, accepted that the company had gone bankrupt, backdated to November 1994 and from that moment, all the workers were declared redundant. This trick meant that all the workers' demands since December 94 were null and void. In a move to tie up the dispute, the management offered the seventy workers Rp 23 million in compensation, on condition that they accept redundancy.

## New wave of actions

This decision contradicted an earlier decision of the local Manpower Office which had worked out a compromise, promising to pay the workers money owed by the company, including overtime pay, as well as recognition of their right to menstrual leave. The situation was aggravated when the workers discovered that the company had set up a new garment factory in another place.

The workers then decided to resume their actions. They set up camp in front of the Manpower Office. About 70 workers, mostly women, remained there for four days before security officers turned up and drove them away. The workers decided on-the-spot to hold a demonstration and marched to the centre of Surabaya, causing a traffic jam. The police arrested the demonstrators. Thirty-four workers are now awaiting trial for the demonstration and the sit-in at the Manpower Office.

The *PT YMS* case is typical of actions where a new form of organisation emerges on the factory floor. The *Perwakilan Buruh* (Workers Representation) at the *YMS* factory consists of twelve people who have been democratically elected. The security forces have not succeeded in splitting the workers from their leaders.

## Strike against SPSI fees

The official union, *SPSI*, is virtually non-existent and when it does show a presence, it is usually as an extension of the management. In Kudus, Central Java, the heartland of the *kréték* (traditional clove cigarette) industry, dozens of *kréték* workers demonstrated in front of the Manpower Office on 5 and 6 April to protest against wage cuts introduced without their consent or knowledge. Although the regional *UMR* had been increased, the benefit was offset by a compulsory levy to support the annual congress of *SPSI*. The workers were indignant that an *SPSI* levy of Rp 1,000 was being automatically deducted from their wage packets. Although *UMR* had gone up by Rp 300, they had lost three times that amount to the *SPSI*.

## Marsinah case overturned

In May the Supreme Court acquitted seven people who had been found guilty of involvement in the murder of Marsinah, the labour activist. In November last year, the 17-year sentence of Yudi Susanto, the boss of the company where Marsinah worked, was quashed.

The trials were a travesty of justice. It was clear from the start that the eight defendants were being used as scapegoats. The Marsinah murder has received international attention and activist Marsinah has become a heroine for the emerging labour movement in Indonesia. Human rights activists and the National Commission of Human Rights have strongly criticised the way the case was handled in the courts. The lower courts took no account of clear evidence that the defendants had been severely tortured to extract information and confessions. The police in East Java have promised to reopen their investigations into the murder.

This ruling by the Supreme Court is one of a series of court rulings which suggest that there are serious efforts by some judges to act independently from state power.

## Bus workers on strike

There were many strikes by bus drivers during the month of April. On 28 April the busy Solo-Yogya route was hit by an all-out strike by the drivers. Many thousands of passengers were stranded at the *Tirtonadi* bus terminal in Solo and the *Umbulharjo* terminal in Yogya. Two days earlier, a bus conductor was involved in a row with a police sergeant at the terminal. It became physical and Sutono was fatally shot. The next day, a huge crowd attended the funeral, and buses stretching for more than one kilometre joined in. There were no buses on the Solo-Yogya route that day or the next day. Military and traffic police brought out whatever vehicles they could to provide a restricted service.

On May Day thousands of workers in Tangerang, part of the industrial belt of Greater Jakarta, went on strike. Workers at six factories went on strike for better working conditions, joined by 250 mini-bus (12-seaters) drivers. There were two main grievances: the bad state of the roads

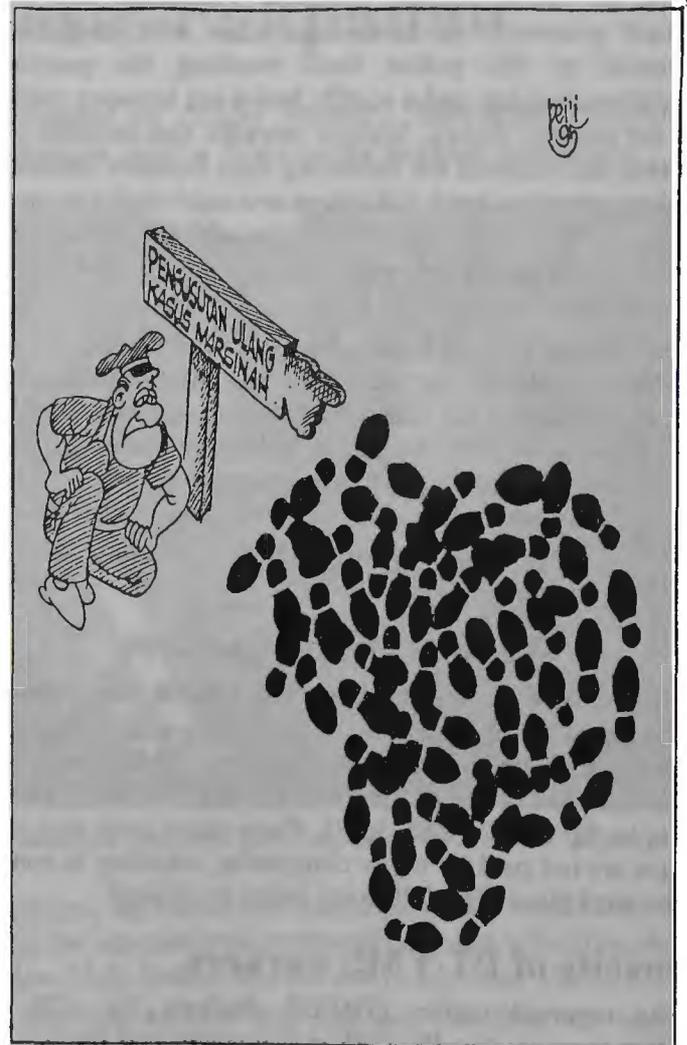
despite high road taxes, and unfair competition from the big buses. Previously the Cikokol-Legok route had been the monopoly of the minibuses.

Security officers arrested some of the demonstrators who used their buses to block the traffic, causing huge traffic jams. Later that day, ten bus drivers were allowed to meet members of the provincial assembly. Many promises were made to improve the situation. Bus drivers have vowed to take more action if things do not improve fast.

## SBSI Anniversary celebration halted

A small celebration to commemorate the third anniversary of *SBSI*, the independent trade union, was halted by the authorities. Security officers told the 60 guests that the gathering needed an official permit. Among the guests were Tom Murphy, the labour attaché of the US Embassy, Valentin Suazo, director of the Asia-America Free Labour Institute, and several foreign journalists.

The authorities have a clear strategy towards *SBSI*. Although the union has not been banned, it is being prevented from functioning properly. Key members have been put in jail and the union's office is constantly disrupted. Its bank accounts have been frozen and the phone lines tapped.



*Re-investigating the Marsinah case*

*Surabaya Pos, 11 May 1995*

## Criticism from international bodies

Criticism of labour conditions in Indonesia is now coming from many quarters.

Nisha Agrawal, World Bank expert, told a seminar in Jakarta that : "Effective, democratic, plant-level worker

organisations...may be able to play a positive role and reduce some of the costs associated with workers' unrest" (*Indonesian Observer*, 28 April 1995). She also criticised the yellow union SPSI, saying: "The ineffectiveness of SPSI is reflected in the fact that unionisation rates in Indonesia are amongst the lowest in the world. These rates would probably rise if workers had free and independent unions to choose from". She concluded that investors were not only interested in the cost and quality of labour but also in an environment that promotes peaceful labour relations.

John Shattuck, US Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights paid a high profile visit to Indonesia and East Timor in April, with labour rights high on his agenda. At a press conference in Jakarta, he voiced concern at the lack of guarantees for workers' freedom of association and at military intervention in labour affairs. Shattuck's strong words upset many officials who even accused him of interfering in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

Suwarto, director-general for industrial relations and labour standards, defending the indefensible, denounced Shattuck, complaining that "he seemed stubborn and would not accept the government's explanation" (*Jakarta Post*, 24 April 1995). According to Suwarto, Washington will never be satisfied with labour conditions in Indonesia as

long as it uses its own yardstick to evaluate the progress.

In Geneva, Indonesia's performance was strongly criticised by the International Labour Office for the second year running, because many workers' basic rights are still denied by employers and the government, including the right to organise. ILO spokesperson in Jakarta, Herman v.d. Laan, referring to a recent ILO report, said: "...Indonesia needs to promote some fundamental labour rights and provide effective labour dispute mechanisms" (*Jakarta Post*, 29 April 1995). The ILO report by the Committee on Freedom of Association of the ILO Governing Body, mentions poor working conditions as well as abuses of workers' rights in Indonesia, El Salvador and Peru. Grave violations of human rights have occurred in the three countries, including assassinations, torture and arbitrary detentions.

The ILO cannot impose sanctions but gives recommendations for action by member states. This time, the ILO has asked the Indonesian government to recognise the freedom of association and review its labour policies, including the prohibition to set up alternative trade unions.

## In memoriam: Jacques Leclerc

Jacques died in April after a long illness. He bore the pain with great fortitude and remained in good spirits up to the end.

Jacques was an exceptionally good historian with a great understanding of many aspects of Indonesian history, especially about the history of the labour movement. Shortly before his death, he was investigating in the symbolism of the Suharto regime and had just completed a study of the symbolism of the Pancasila Monument as a stick to beat the left, and also published an article on the tradition used in the postage stamps of the regime.

Our friendship goes back many years. I fondly recall the long discussions we had on many topics regarding Indonesian history. He visited Holland frequently for his academic research, browsing through newspapers of the Netherlands Indies in the twenties and thirties. Like a proper Frenchman he often insisted that we have dinner at one of the best Indonesian or Chinese restaurants, combining politics with a good meal.

He had other great qualities. As a good academic he was very argumentative, a great person with whom to debate. His knowledge about people never mentioned in contemporary Indonesian history, who contributed to the labour or the left-wing movement, was phenomenal. He knew the day, month and year of so many events. His memory was like a computer. With his help, I learned to appreciate the work of many Indonesian rank-and-file figures on the left.

Jacques was what you call an 'involved' (in French, *engagé*) academic, in contrast to ivory tower academics, and took part in campaigns against human rights abuses in Indonesia. Perhaps because he was French, he was relatively unknown, working as he did outside the centres of Indonesian studies in Holland, Australia and the US, but I regard Jacques' academic works as among the best.

He was a good friend of TAPOL, paying close attention to everything we wrote, a critic who never failed to let us know if he thought we went wrong. Goodbye Jacques, we'll miss you dearly.

Liem Soei Liong

## In memoriam: Michele Turner

It was Shirley Shackleton who first told us the sad news of the death of Michele Turner. Many in the international East Timor solidarity work may not realise how she brought the East Timor drama into her personal life by interviewing East Timorese refugees who live in Australia. The experience was often so distressing for her that she suffered emotionally. Her inspiration for the research came from her grandfather who told her, when she was a young girl, about how the Timorese had supported the Australian commandos during the Pacific War.

After years of tireless efforts, her book *Telling* came out, a gripping tale of personal Timorese experiences under the Indonesian military jackboot. We had no idea then that this would be her last work, in fact her life's work. Our condolences to her family.

TAPOL Editors



## Kartini Day focuses on basic women's rights

*A number of women's groups have used this year's Kartini Day commemorations as an occasion to press for a campaign on behalf of basic rights for women in the factories and the fields. They have also denounced the present style of women's organisations which reproduce the authoritarianism of the Suharto regime.*

Kartini Day, 21 April, marks the birth 116 years ago of Kartini, the Javanese woman who challenged the backward position of women in Javanese feudal society, pressed for equality for women and managed, during her short life, to take steps to set up schools for women.

For the first time in thirty years, a number of women's groups swept aside the traditional ceremonial nature of Kartini Day events devoted to activities like cooking contests, flower-arrangement and beauty contests, to hold a series of protest demonstrations at the tomb of Kartini in Rembang, Central Java and in the town of Rembang itself. When she died a few days after giving birth to her first child, Kartini was the wife of the resident of Rembang.

The protests reflect the recent upsurge in activity by women's groups which place themselves firmly within the pro-democracy movement now gathering momentum in all sections of society.

### Close down women's affairs ministry!

Gathered at the grave of Kartini in a demonstration organised by *Solidarity for the Liberation of Indonesian Women* based in Yogyakarta, Central Java, several hundred women listened to speeches from women activists about the intense exploitation of women in the factories and fields and their lowly status as compared to men. Damairia Pakpahan said it was time to raise a voice of protest at the way the authorities interpret Kartini's great contribution to women's rights as being simply for women to care for and serve their husbands and children. 'They forget that Kartini struggled against the oppression of women,' she said.

She spoke of the humiliating treatment of women who apply for jobs in industry, often being subjected to body inspection. Their rights to menstrual leave and time to suckle their babies were largely ignored. Still worse, women factory workers were frequently victims of sexual harassment. In many regions, women were being forced to exercise birth control because it was said that having too many babies was an impediment to development. Marital abuse is also ignored and treated as if it was nothing unnatural.

The Ministry for Women's Affairs was strongly criticised to doing nothing about basic rights. When Marsinah, the woman labour leader was murdered in May 1993, the Ministry said nothing. When women working overseas as domestic servants were subjected to sexual harassment and even killed by their employers, the Ministry said nothing. 'We demand the closure of the Ministry,' she said, to enthusiastic support from the many women attending the protest.

Rebecca Harsono accused the government of doing nothing to protect young women workers. 'When women sent overseas to work (mostly as domestic servants) are

sexually abused and then killed, no autopsies are carried out, nor is there any follow-up action, unlike what happened recently in the Philippines,' she said. Government policy is clearly aimed at the domestication of women, she said.



Concerns about women's liberation is focused only on the achievements of career women and greater facilities for women in education, whereas the key issue is democracy, she said.

Other speakers called for the dissolution of *Dharma Wanita*, the women's organisation for state employees, *Dharma Pertiwi*, the organisation for wives of members of the armed forces, and the PKK, the Family Welfare Movement. The two women's organisations are structured around the position of the wives of officials; it is always the wife of the minister who chairs the departmental branch, and so on down the hierarchy.

### Four protesters arrested

The graveside demonstration proceeded without interference from the security forces but during the three-hour event in Rembang, when declamations and poetry-reading were part of a 'Free Speech' [*Mimbar Bebas*] programme, the police kept close watch. There was tension throughout as attempts were made to halt the event which was held in the courtyard of the Kartini Museum. After a long verbal tussle between those on the platform and the police, four activists, Dadang, Cicik, Damai and Fenny, were summoned to the local military command to be interrogated about the event which, the police said, had gone ahead without a permit.

Sources: *Forum Keadilan*, 11.IV.1995; *Bernas*, 23.IV.1995; *Jakarta Post*, 24.IV.1995]

### Round-up of women's groups

The defiant Kartini Day protest prompted coverage in the press of alternative women's groups and their activities. The following is taken from a lengthy article in *Suara Pembaruan* [24.IV.1995]

The *Joint Secretariat for Yogya Women [Sekretariat Bersama Perempuan Yogya]* grew out of a number of women students' study groups which focused on gender problems. They concentrated on studying women's problems and helping people to develop a consciousness about gender problems particularly among peasants, workers, low-ranking employees and domestic servants. One of the group's activists, Dian Gayatri, took the example of bar women, most of whom do not recognise the extent to which they are exploited. The group also carried out an action in support of itinerant sellers, many of whom are women, when they faced a huge increase in the rent for their carrying equipment, which resulted in many of them having to abandon their business activities. 'We may not have been able to change policy yet but we did manage to establish public awareness and the women are now conscious of support that they enjoy from other groups'.

The *Yayasan Annisa Swasti - Yasanti* - has concentrated on bringing working women together to share their experiences, shop-assistants as well as factory workers. 'Women who leave the countryside for a better life in the towns are still the victims of very low pay,' said Kumara Dewi, director of Yasanti. What these women need, she said, is training

to acquire basic skills to improve their chances of employment. 'True, there are quite a number of women in government or in business, but outside these spheres, millions upon millions of women are economically and socially extremely backward,' she said. She recognised that discrimination is rooted in Javanese culture which treats women as 'backroom people' and it will take a long time to eliminate such attitudes.

In Jakarta, *Kalyanamitra* came into existence more than ten years ago, in 1984, to become involved in the conditions of factory workers. It has concentrated on collecting data about the treatment of women at work and now provides information and back-up to women who encounter sexual harassment and abuse in their place of work.

A group set up at the Airlangga University in Surabaya, *Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Airlangga*, is involved primarily in study, research and public service. It has succeeded in getting gender problems incorporated into the university curriculum; a regular seminar on Gender and Development and a course of the Sociology of Gender.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

### Security forces use violence in Maumere

*There have been violent clashes in Maumere, Flores, following a provocative attack on the Communion Host in a local Catholic church. One person was killed and several people were arrested and tortured when large crowds protest against signs of leniency at court proceedings to punish the culprit.*

The provocation occurred last December when a Javanese immigrant, a Muslim, attended a church service, took the Host then spat it out, to the dismay of the congregation. The man, Didik Warsito, was later arrested and is now on trial.

The trial has been closely watched by local inhabitants, who feel strongly that the accused should be severely punished. When on 28 April the prosecutor asked for a sentence of three years and eight months, and a fine of Rp 7,000 (about £2.00), mayhem erupted. Missiles were thrown and the courthouse was later burnt down.

The intensity of local feeling reflects resentment at the growing predominance of people from other parts of predominantly-Muslim Indonesia in Flores where Catholicism is the main religion. It mirrors the resentment also felt in East Timor against Buginese and other ethnic groups which now dominate many sectors of the economy.

#### Security forces get tough

During the protest on 28 April, five people were taken into custody and reports immediately circulated that they were being tortured. As crowds gathered to protest, a truckload of police arrived and started shooting at the feet of the crowd. Many were injured. As the shooting intensified, one person was killed.

Large crowds then attacked and occupied the police station and later burned it down, reportedly first removing the photos of

the president and vice-president so that they could not be charged with subversion.

The clashes intensified when a Javanese trader stabbed a local inhabitant. Things continued to run out of control as local people set upon an Indonesian soldier caught in a brothel and beat him to death. Army reinforcements were flown in from Kupang, West Timor and seventy people were rounded up; they were later released after intervention by a Florinese MP flown in from Jakarta.

Reports of finger-nails being pulled out and heads being bashed against the wall have circulated as troops search for those responsible for the soldier's death.

According to Jakarta Post [1.V.1995] three days after the incident, the streets were deserted, the schools were empty and the shops were closed. 'People from outside the town came in trucks to show support for the demonstration,' local residents said.

The Maumere incident shows that ethnic conflict is not confined to areas where independence from Jakarta is the issue. What is particularly alarming is that forces among the newcomers are using religious provocation to divert attention from the genuine grievances of the local population.

Source: *Merdeka*, 30.IV.1995, and *Jakarta Post and Suara Merdeka*, 1.V.1995. Also a protected source.

## Calls for amnesty for PKI prisoners

*The Suharto regime is coming under renewed pressure at home to show some leniency towards tapols (political prisoners) convicted for their alleged role in the 30 September 1965 coup attempt which paved the way for the Suharto Coup of October 1965. There are also calls for the systematic discrimination against ex-tapols to be ended.*

Nearly thirty years after the events of October 1965, public discussion of the fate of prisoners and ex-prisoners is still couched in the language of the regime which insists that the Indonesian Communist Party masterminded the coup attempt on 1 October 1965. By placing the blame on the PKI, a claim that has never been scrutinised in Indonesia, Suharto was able to divert attention from his own Coup which he launched on 1 October 1965, hours after he had foiled an aborted coup attempt, the so-called 'G30S'. The Suharto Coup seized power from President Sukarno in stages; it also legitimised the ferocious onslaught of the armed forces under Suharto against the PKI and all its members and sympathisers. This left at least one million people dead by early 1966.

The men now serving harsh sentences were all unjustly convicted in show-trials conducted for the purpose of eliminating the PKI and undermining the legitimacy of the government of President Sukarno. The men still in prison on fabricated charges should, by rights, be fully exonerated and the more than a million people still being persecuted for alleged 'involvement' in the coup attempt should all be rehabilitated. But since Suharto's power grab is based on these falsehoods, the chances of this happening while the Suharto regime lasts are virtually non-existent.

### Inhumane treatment

But on humanitarian grounds alone, there are watertight arguments for all the twenty-six men still serving sentences to be released without delay. The twenty-six, eleven more than the list published in *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 125, October 1994, are all in their late sixties or well into their seventies. Many are ailing and by any standards, should be allowed to spend their last years with their families.

We were recently informed by a reliable source who was himself a convicted political prisoner, of eleven additional names:

#### Nusakembangan, Central Java

Joseph Rabidi

Wali

Pujo Sumarno

#### Tanjung Morawa, Medan, North Sumatra

Sutan Mansur Pasaribu SH

#### Labuhan Ruku, Kisaran

Atmo, SH

Robertus Hendry Purnomo, SH

Hadan Lubis, SH

#### Padang, West Sumatra

Johan Rivai

Y. Suropto

Jayusman

Four death sentence prisoners, Asep Suryaman, Sukatno, Bungku and Marsudi, are still incarcerated in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. Ruslan Widjajasastra died in April in a pitiful state of paralysis (see box). Now we hear that another of the death-sentence prisoners, Sukatno, is rapidly declining in health, paralysed and unable any longer to care for his own physical needs.

Under the cruelly inhuman system of law that operates in Indonesia, the life-sentence prisoners have no prospects of remission and will end their lives in prison. Others with fixed-term sentences have all certainly spent more than their terms. These men should all be released without delay on humanitarian grounds.

In addition, more than 1.3 million ex-tapols, who were never tried or convicted of anything, are still living under the stigma of 'involvement in the G30S/PKI coup attempt' and have the initials ET stamped on their identity cards. This deprives them of many of their civil rights and even stigmatises their offspring and close relatives. They are, as human rights lawyer Yap Thiam Hien once said, people who are 'civil dead'.

### Calls for an amnesty

In October last year, MIK, the Indonesian Society for Humanitarianism, convened a seminar to examine the fate of present and former political prisoners, in particular those still being held in connection with the 1965 events. A member of the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM), Bambang Suharto said that the Commission had appointed a team to consider how to treat the tapols. While acknowledging that the convicted prisoners had served long enough "and should be released", he said the Commission had appointed a team to find a solution. This came after a visit by the Commission to Cipinang Prison in March last year when many other tapols pleaded for the death sentences of the PKI tapols to be commuted to life. But this is hardly reflected in the opinions of leading Commission members (see below).

In April this year, the senior politician, Ruslan Abdulgani went further, calling for all the elderly convicted prisoners to be granted amnesty, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Republic on 17 August 1945. He argued that others who had taken rebellious ac-

tions against the Republic in the past had been granted amnesty in a spirit of reconciliation and even that the government had restored relations with China after severing ties in 1966 because of that country's alleged support for the G30S.

Support for Ruslan Abdulgani's appeal came from many quarters, including human rights activists and lawyers. This prompted a flurry of news reports on the issue during the month of April.

The Minister of Justice, Oetomo Oesman, however, would have no truck with such ideas. He said that the only path for these prisoners was to ask for clemency from the President. In a move to pave the way for more clemency requests, a regulation had been introduced last November enabling convicted prisoners who have already sought presidential clemency to submit a second request. This is unlikely to attract men who have been found guilty on political charges related to the events of October 1965 as they cannot accept that they are guilty of anything, whereas a plea for clemency means accepting guilt.

But any leniency towards the 1965 prisoners seems to have been ruled out. In March, Justice Minister Oetoyo said all prisoners would be offered three months' remission to mark the 50th anniversary but political prisoners would not be included. [*Jakarta Post*, 17.III.1995]. Ali Said, chair of the National Commission on Human Rights, has also rejected any talk of amnesty, saying that the men still represented a threat to society. Ali Said, an army law officer who started his career presiding over several of the extraordinary military tribunals which meted out death sentences in the late 1960s, shows no remorse for the sentences he passed and has not the slightest inkling of the concept of human rights. Another Commission member who rejected amnesty was Baharuddin Lopa, head of the Prison Directorate at the Ministry of Justice and secretary of Komnas HAM.

### Ruslan Widjajasastra passes away

Ruslan Widjajasastra, 78 years old, passed away on 1 April 1995, after spending twenty-seven years in prison. He was arrested in 1968 in South Blitar, East Java and brought to trial six years later. The charges against him, for which he was sentenced to death, were that he, with others, had attempted to re-establish the Indonesian Communist Party which had been (unlawfully) banned by the military regime.

Throughout his many years of political activism, Ruslan helped to build many of the mass organisations that defended people's rights in the fifties and sixties, including the trade union federation, *SOBSI*. During the sixties, he was active mainly in the peasants' union, *BTI*, becoming a member of its central council.

For a number of years, Ruslan was known to be very ill in his cell and in the final years, he was totally paralysed. All pleas for a release on compassionate grounds were ignored.

After his death, his body was handed over to the family. His funeral in Jakarta was attended by a large crowd of people, including old friends from pre-1965 days and the younger generation of political activists who got to know him during the time they spent in Jakarta's Cipinang Prison.

### Ten students convicted in East Timor

Ten East Timorese students have been sentenced for participating in a three-minute demonstration outside the University of East Timor in Dili on 9 January. The action took place on the day the UN-sponsored talks between the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers were taking place in Geneva. Another six are still in detention awaiting trial.

The ten who were sentenced are: **Jose Antonio Belo**, who led the demonstration, 18 months; **Jose Gonco Pinto**, 26 months; **Paulo Jorge Amaral**, 30 months; **Carlos Bosnes Barreto**, 30 months; **Zito Lemos Barreto**, 21 months; **Inacio de Jesus Santos**, 20 months; **Alexandrino da Costa**, 26 months; **Jose Henrique**, 25 months; **Pedro da Costa**, 26 months; and **Alfredo Lopes**, 24 months.

Jose Antonio Belo, like all his colleagues, insisted that the court had no right to try him as he is a citizen of East Timor, not of Indonesia and the action they took was worthy of praise, not punishment. Sentenced after several of the others had been convicted, Belo told the court that the sentence he

had been given was too light. Although he had led the demonstration, others had been given much heavier sentences than him. [*Jakarta Post*, 9.V.1995]

The men were charged under Article 154 of the Criminal Code for insulting the government.

### Students complain to Commission

Twenty-seven East Timorese students who are studying at various universities in Java were arrested when they arrived back in Jakarta by ship, after go on vacation in East Timor. They were questioned by the police for eight hours, on the suspicion that they were planning an action during the visit to Indonesia of the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Later six of the students made a formal complaint about their treatment to the National Commission for Human Rights. They also strongly objected to a statement by the public relations officer of the Jakarta police alleging that they were intending to seek political asylum abroad. [*Kompas*, 2.V.1995]

## Peace activist jailed for conscience

Readers of *TAPOL Bulletin* may already know of peace activist Chris Cole, the man who spent five months in jail in 1993 for entering British Aerospace (BAe) premises in Stevenage and disarming BAe equipment worth £500,000. At the time Chris pleaded his disarmament action "was for all the infants who are threatened by BAe weapons, from Northern Ireland to East Timor". Inside the factory, he damaged nose-cones for Hawk fighter-trainer aircraft.

Now Chris, 31, is again in prison, serving three 6-month sentences to run concurrently for breaking a court injunction which had ordered him to steer clear of all BAe premises. He admitted, during the High Court trial, to putting his name to a "call to action" stating that "despite the fact I am enjoined from trespassing on BAe property, I intend to take part in (this) demonstration and I urge you to join us to non-violently disrupt BAe's warmaking". Chris later took part in a mass trespass at a BAe factory in Stevenage and a sit-down on the runway at a factory in Warton.

In his defence Chris quoted Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the German pacifist priest who was executed 50 years ago for his opposition to the Nazi regime. Chris said: "It is our task as Christians to not only bind up the victims beneath the wheel, but also to put a spoke in that wheel. I honestly cannot see how I can put a spoke in the wheel that is BAe which grinds over the poor in the third world to put profits in the pockets of shareholders in Britain by staying outside their fence".

In a letter to 'Stop The Hawk Deal' coalition, Chris says: "I'm sure it was right to break the injunction. BAe causes *nothing* but misery, death, and destruction in its quest for profits. It follows that we who believe in life, peace and justice must resist BAe and its warmaking. For the people of East Timor and for those struggling to resist the dictatorship in Indonesia, we here in Britain must do our bit to stop BAe's deals".

### British Aerospace AGM

The British Aerospace (BAe) Annual General Meeting was held at a central London hotel on 4 May. On the same day, a women's vigil was held outside the Indonesian Embassy, round the corner from the BAe AGM, as a symbol of solidarity for women in Indonesia.

Protest against the inhumane sales of British arms to the Indonesian military dictatorship was carried out by several groups outside the hotel. About 150 people with placards took part in a demonstration, with speakers calling for an end to the Hawk deals between British Aerospace and Indonesia, approved by the government.

A group of non-violent direct action (NVDA) people, covered in red 'blood' paint, threw themselves on the ground at the hotel entrance, to the sound of taped recordings of sirens and screaming, to symbolise the end result of BAe's war equipment. Photographs of the action and the protest were featured in all the main UK papers the following day.

Two peace activists climbed onto the roof of the hotel and unfurled a huge banner reading 'BAe = Murder by Proxy'

Inside, at the shareholders' meeting, an action group of 37 people dominated questions to the board, focusing on the ethical aspects of the arms trade.

### Stop the HAWK deal

June 10th is the second anniversary of the signing of the 1993 contract between British Aerospace and Indonesia for 24 Hawk fighter/trainer aircraft. TAPOL, as part of the "Stop the Hawks - No Arms to Indonesia" coalition, will be campaigning nationwide to inform as many people as possible about Britain's role in arming Indonesia.

Local groups of Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) and other peace organisations throughout the country will be carrying out polls, stalls, leafleting, vigils and name burning, an East Timorese custom, on June 10th, as a way of bringing the issue to the attention of the British public.

The number of East Timor solidarity groups has increased significantly in Britain, as part of the British Coalition for East Timor. Preparations are underway in Britain for the 12 November International Day of Action, and a mass lobby of Parliament on 7 December.

### Jobs for the boys

Hugh Culver, currently Acting Director of Communications at British Aerospace, has been appointed as Director of Communications at Conservative Central Office. How much closer could you get!



Mass protest outside the BAe AGM

## The clandestine front a major threat

*Army Chief-of-Staff General Hartono has declared that the East Timorese clandestine front is "more dangerous than GPK", GPK being the term used by the Indonesian authorities to describe those who take up arms to resist Indonesian rule. General Hartono's complaint is that the clandestine networks are virtually impossible to detect since they mingle with the people.*

The clandestine front is extremely problematic for the Indonesian security forces. During a visit to East Timor in May, General Hartono explained why ABRI sees the clandestine front as the number one threat. "They can infiltrate everywhere, not only in East Timor but also in the big cities" (in other words, in Indonesia, TAPOL).<sup>i</sup> According to Hartono, members of the clandestine front function as ordinary members of the public, while secretly using their positions in society to support GPK (Security Disruptor Gangs) activities. Many are thought to work as civil servants in the Indonesian provincial administration or in other ministerial offices in Dili.

### Three categories of resistance

General Hartono has more than once highlighted the difficulties ABRI is facing and recently made his first trip to the eastern part of the archipelago, visiting East Timor, West Papua and Maluku, apparently to sort out these problems.

In Dili, the General met senior military officers for a two-hour session on security. At the top of the agenda was clandestine activity in East Timor, West Papua and Aceh. According to Hartono, "undercover activities exist everywhere, but the best organised are those in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh".<sup>ii</sup> He divided the East Timorese resistance into three categories, the *forças* (from *forças armadas*, armed resistance, TAPOL), the *cellula* and the clandestine. In ABRI-speak, the first category refers to those who carry arms; the *cellula* is the unarmed resistance seen as auxiliary forces for the armed resistance, while the clandestine consists of 'faceless' people, who-mingle with the public.

Hartono has instructed all ten territorial military commands, from Sabang to Merauke, to monitor and list the names of the leaders of any clandestine movement which could undermine stability. Listing the names of clandestine activists, says General Hartono, will also help local governments to track elements down.

Hartono's emphasis on the clandestine front has caused something of a stir. The Indonesian press has covered the



*Three East Timorese from the Clandestine Front demonstrating in Dresden. The slogans read: When will Indonesia leave East Timor, and Indonesia out of East Timor*

issue at some length and several journalists have managed to interview Timorese clandestine members about their activities and strategy.

### Like fish in water

Theories about guerrilla warfare always speak of the necessity for resistance fighters to enjoy the support of the population and live like 'fish in water'. The clandestine front in East Timor fits this description; as described by K, a clandestine activist somewhere in Indonesia, they are represented in all layers of Timorese society and scattered in different cities. "There are clandestine members in every city where there are East Timorese students."<sup>iii</sup> According to K, the clandestine front also reaches out to different parts of the world. They are carefully organised in cells, to prevent leaks and infiltration. Their aim is to support the *Maubere* struggle, another name for the struggle for independence. A few recent examples which have hit the headlines and humiliated the Indonesian government are the actions of Timorese students during the APEC conference last November and the participation of Timorese clandestine members in the anti-Suharto demonstration in Dresden, Germany.

## Interview with LLK

Another member of the clandestine, LLK, was interviewed by Denny Rismansyah of *TIRAS*, somewhere in Dili. LLK said he had been arrested twice but released because of lack of evidence. According to LLK: "Our efforts are concentrated on dominating the information network.; that is one of our strengths"<sup>iv</sup>. In the interview, he said:

**Q: What is the role of the clandestine?**

To function as couriers to gather information, funds and other things for those in the bush or abroad. Also to launch actions in the different regions of East Timor, in order to attract world attention.

**Q: In what way is the information provided?**

Like a chain. Formerly, we used leaflets, but that was easily detected. Now we do it orally, from person to person. Only when we reach the bush is the message written down in code on paper to be passed on to those in the bush. Or those in the bush go down to the villages to the clandestine houses. Those in the bush also have radios. In fact, before his arrest, Xanana used a handphone. Another way is to make calls on the many public telephones in Dili, using phone cards. We also write letters abroad. But once, one of our members was caught sending a letter to Canada.

**Q: But the phone can also be tapped?**

Yes indeed, which is why we use code language, Tetum or Portuguese. Or we use faxes and if necessary, the modem.

**Q: But there are no modem facilities at the Dili post office.**

Don't forget, there are many clandestine members outside East Timor, who live in big cities like Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya. Fax messages go to them. This is the effect of global communications: the whole world can be informed within two hours about what happens here. The Liquisa affair is an example. But in addition, members of the clandestine also have good external links and it is just a matter of contacting them. Easy, isn't it?

**Q: Do you receive financial aid from abroad?**

The East Timor question must and will be resolved by the Timorese themselves, not by other nations.

**Q: How do you recruit people for the clandestine movement?**

Especially young people who haven't started their professional careers. We recruit people through friendships, sometimes within the family, or persons from the same village having the same experience. Some know each other because of kinship, others don't know each other at all. Should someone be arrested, the person doesn't know who initiated the actions or who the leaders are. A kind of cell system.

**Q: How many members does the clandestine have?**

It is not easy to tell, because we don't have membership cards. But in Dili alone, there are about 5,000 to 7,000 members. Outside Dili I don't know. (*Tiras*, 13 April 1995).

he emphasised the importance of the shift from armed struggle to political struggle.

## The clandestine and the political struggle

The shift from the armed struggle to the political struggle also means that the clandestine front now shoulders much greater responsibility. It is the clandestine front that has to convey the demands of the East Timorese to the outside world. It is undoubtedly true that the actions of the clandestine have helped to thrust East Timor onto the international agenda.

As explained in the interview, the clandestine front has two major activities. The first takes place mostly in clandestinity, providing information to other sections of the resistance and vice versa, networking with groups in Indonesia and abroad. The other, launching actions in order to attract publicity, takes place out in the open. Over the years the clandestine front has sustained many casualties from this type of activity.

The Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991 was a high point but also a low point for the clandestine front. The massacre was a turning point because it re-established the Timor drama in the world's conscience, but this was at the cost of the lives of many innocent young Timorese. The clandestine leadership could not have foreseen that the Indonesian military would commit such a bloodbath.

The clandestine front has also learned how to benefit from foreigners who visit East Timor, whenever conditions permit. Channeling information or organising small demonstrations has been established as a pattern in the last few years. Despite all the efforts of Indonesian diplomats, reporting about East Timor in the international press has been consistently unfavourable for Indonesia.

As LLK says, networking has become one of main strengths of the clandestine. Information about human rights violations in East Timor now travels fast by contrast with elsewhere in the archipelago where violations often go unreported for months before reaching the outside world.

Over the past few years, many clandestine activists like Constancio Pinto, Domingos Sarmiento Alves (whose interview appears in this Bulletin), Jose Amorim Dias and Luciano da Valentin Conceicao have been forced to go abroad following involvement in clandestine actions. But there have always been others to take their place. That is the strength of the clandestine, the guarantee that this crucial part of the resistance will survive and fight on until victory is theirs.

<sup>i</sup> *Forum Keadilan*, 27 April 1995

<sup>ii</sup> *Jakarta Post*, 5 May 1995

<sup>iii</sup> *Forum Keadilan*, 27 April 1995

<sup>iv</sup> *Tiras*, 13 April 1995

LLK gave a figure of 700 people armed guerillas and another 400 unarmed, auxiliary forces a much higher figure than that given by the Indonesian military. At the same time

## East Timorese student leader interviewed

*Domingos Sarmiento Alves took over the leadership of RENETIL, the East Timorese students' organisation in 1994, after the arrest of Fernando de Araujo in 1991 and Jose Antonio Neves in 1994. The following interview was conducted while Domingos was on a visit to London. Now living in Lisbon, Domingos is best known for escorting Robert Domm to meet Xanana Gusmao in the bush in 1990 and leading the sit-in of East Timorese students at the US embassy in November 1994.*

**Where were you at the time of invasion of East Timor?**

In Ossu, my birthplace, near Viqueque. I was eleven. We heard about the civil war in Dili in August 1975 from relatives. We heard that FRETILIN was in control and were appealing to the Portuguese to return and continue with the decolonisation process.

**What about school?**

We were on vacation; the *liurai* [local chief] said the schools would open again but my father didn't want me to go back before seeing how things would develop. It was very tense; we heard about Indonesian troops crossing the border in September and October and about the killing of the five foreign journalists in Balibo.

News of the invasion on 7 December spreadlike wildfire. We heard about many Chinese being killed and women being raped in front of their husbands. Many people fled from Dili, including my cousins who came to our village and told us everything.

**When did the Indonesians reach your area?**

They entered Baucau on 10 December but they didn't have an easy time. Fierce battles raged for 42 days, especially around Kaibuilori, near Fatumaca. FALINTIL was well armed and stood its ground. Many Indonesian soldiers lost their lives. Every day, people in the town saw truckloads of bodies of Indonesian soldiers coming back from the front. Scores must have died each day. Sometimes, we heard, eight hundred would go into battle and only eight or ten return alive. My uncle witnessed all this.

My family and I were in Venilale, high up above Baucau and we could see the smoke bellowing from Baucau. After 42 days, FALINTIL was outflanked when Timorese from the UDT and Apodeti showed the troops a route behind FALINTIL lines.

I didn't like FRETILIN much at the time because they had committed some atrocities. An uncle of mine was killed by FRETILIN because he was critical of them.

After the Indonesian army won the battle south of Baucau, they swept south to Viqueque and didn't return to our region until September 1976 when they stationed troops in Venilale and Ossu. By then, all the inhabitants had fled to the countryside.

**What was your first personal experience of Indonesian troops?**

In 1977, when Ossu was occupied by two battalions, the 310th and the 330th. That was the worst period in my life. FALINTIL had been forced to withdraw. Our village came un-



*Domingos Sarmiento Alves in London*

der attack and we were all forced down. Fighting was going on all round us.

About three hundred of us, adults and children, surrendered and were rounded up at 8pm one day and driven to an old school building. All the doors were guarded. The next morning, the soldiers searched our belongings for weapons. They took everything valuable including my mother's antique ear-rings. She wept but my father said: "They are not more precious than your soul. The main thing is to stay alive."

We stayed in the building for several months. For the first two months the soldiers gave us food but then we got nothing, no rice, nothing. At first we killed horses for food and when none were left we ate leaves. Fighting was going on in Ossu so it was not safe to go out to look for food. For several months we ate nothing but leaves. We were all starving, just skin and bones, like skeletons.

From 1977 to 1979, all the thousands of people who surrendered were treated like that and many died. We had no tears left to weep for the dead.

**When did you leave Ossu?**

My father had a heart attack in 1978 and I was allowed to take him to Viqueque. There I saw more terrible things. A number of young Timorese women, members of the women's organisation, OPMT, were being held by *Kodim*, the local military command. Every night one would be taken by the troops

and raped, sometimes as many as three rapes a night. We children had to watch this. This was when I began to hate the Indonesian soldiers who I thought were 'communists'.

## What made you think that?

They used to say FRETILIN was communist because they treated everything, including women, as common property. The things they did were an affront to our Timorese traditions. Sometimes soldiers would ask to marry a woman. If she refused, the whole family would be killed so they had to agree. Once, a friend happened to look at an officer's wife. He took offence, dragged the boy out and killed him. This may sound incredible but many eyewitnesses can testify about such atrocities.

I stayed in Viqueque for several years. It was occupied by the 202nd battalion. They took people out every night and kill them. So many people died.

## Did you have to work for the army?

Yes, most boys were drafted in as TBOs, auxiliary personnel, to carry things for the soldiers and do all kinds of jobs.

## When did you get back to school and go to university?

In 1981, they started rounding up all males over nine years old in Viqueque for a campaign to capture guerrillas, the 'fence of legs' campaign or *Operasi Keamanan* (Security Operation). I didn't want to go so I fled to Dili. My nine-year old brother was forced to take part. Only very elderly men were exempted. Even the women had to help, supplying food and so on.

They didn't round people up in Dili because things there were open to outside scrutiny and the International Red Cross was there.

I entered senior secondary school and graduated three years later. We pupils talked to each other a lot about the killings, the torture; we knew everything. We thought hard about what to do but were at a loss for ideas. When we heard that scholarships were being given to study in Indonesia, lots of us applied. We were screened, gave all the right answers; I was in the first group of nine sent to Java. I went to study English literature at the Christian University in Surabaya.

After several years, we began to discuss how we could work for independence. That's how RENETIL was born, the National Resistance Organisation of East Timorese Students. Fernando de Araujo, a student in Bali, also one of the first nine, was elected the first secretary of our new organisation. We told resistance leader Xanana Gusmao about our plans and he gave his consent. My task was to recruit members as more and more East Timorese students started arriving in Java and Bali.

## What about that the meeting between Robert Domm [an Australian lawyer] and Xanana Gusmao?

That was in 1990. The Indonesians were saying the armed resistance was a spent force, so we wanted to do something to prove that it wasn't true. People said it was extremely risky to take a foreigner to meet Xanana in the bush because the army had been hunting him down for fifteen years. My uncle thought I was crazy and believed we would be caught.

But I started planning the *Tubarai Netin* operation. I had never met Xanana. I made contact with the clandestine leaders, including Constancio Pinto, and we agreed on a plan. There were seven of us in the estafette, including me, a cousin and an uncle. We made contact with people in Australia who were in-

terested in the idea and they decided that Robert Domm, a lawyer working for a trade union, would be the one to meet Xanana. I was with Robert throughout the perilous journey into the interior, while others went ahead by bus or on foot, checking the route. It took many hours to reach our destination. We got there in the late afternoon. The interview went on from 6pm until 3am. I helped a bit as interpreter. The journey back to Dili lasted from 7 - 11am, then I slipped out of Dili and went back to my studies.

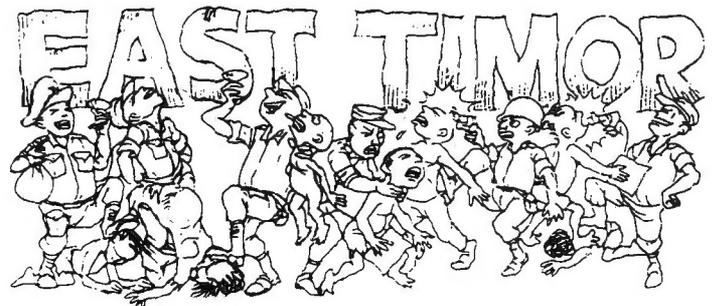
## How did the security forces get wind of your involvement?

I made a stupid mistake. Robert and I bought plane tickets from Surabaya to Dili and I bought my ticket at the same time as him. We travelled separately but they tracked me down. The search for his escort started after the interview was made public abroad, about two weeks after the trip.

On 23 November 1990, I was sitting at home typing my dissertation when some intelligence officers asked: "Where's Domingos Sarmiento?" I said: "He's gone to Dili." They told me to tell him they wanted to see him about something very important. The moment they left, I fled, still wearing my slippers. I went to friends in Malang. It's a pity it happened when it did because I was so near to getting my degree.

I was RENETIL regional secretary for East Java at the time. I resigned immediately and handed over to a woman colleague. When Fernando heard that I was in such danger, he came to Malang. We decided that I should go to Jakarta. At first, we discussed the idea of my going to an embassy to ask for asylum. I did go to the British embassy to tell them I was in trouble. Their response was rather ambiguous though they said they would try to protect me.

During my first two months in Jakarta, I visited seven embassies. I started passing on information, documents from Xanana, lists of people who had been arrested. I was still thinking about leaving the country but Xanana said I should stay in Jakarta.



## How did you survive?

With difficulty. I stayed with a friend who had hardly any money and we often ate nothing for days. Sometimes we went to a friend's home for a meal. I couldn't get a job because I had no identity card or diploma. Then I got a job teaching English at a subsidiary of the state oil company, Pertamina for two years till the company ran out of cash and I started looking for private pupils. I kept going like this for quite a time.

As for RENETIL, when Fernando was arrested in November 1991, Jose Antonio Neves took over and when he was arrested in May 1994, I took over. The Indonesians think that if they arrest a leader, everything will collapse but we always keep going.

## Timorese prisoner elected as NUS vice-president

*Fernando de Araujo, a founder of the East Timor students organisation, Renetil, who is currently serving a nine-year prison sentence in Cipinang Prison in Jakarta, was unanimously elected as the honorary vice-president of the National Union of Students (NUS) in Britain at the end of March. This is a significant step forward in British student solidarity with the Timorese student resistance.*

The campaign for Fernando's election was conducted by TAPOL, the British Coalition for East Timor, and the Campaign Against Arms Trade, in cooperation with NUS members, and in itself served to raise the profile of East Timor with students around the country. The organising committee arranged for Domingos Sarmiento Alves, who led the occupation of the US Embassy in Jakarta last November and is now living in Portugal, to visit Britain before and during the Conference (see page 22 for interview with Domingos). He spoke at well-attended public meetings in Oxford, Bradford, Hull, Coventry, Manchester, Lancaster, Liverpool, and Preston, as well as giving a public talk in London and attending the Campaign Development Day of the British Coalition for East Timor, the Lloyds Bank AGM, and, of course, the NUS Conference itself.

Some NUS members have been active in the Lloyds and Midland Boycott for years, and now that Lloyds is underwriting the Alvis tank sale to Indonesia there is an opportunity for us to work closely together. Protests outside and within this year's AGM were extremely successful and well-reported in the press, drawing further attention to the Alvis deal.

The NUS has a membership of over 850 student unions and a total of one and three-quarter million students in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Their main role is to represent students to the press, Parliament and, as they say, "the outside world". The students who initiated this campaign believed that the election of Fernando de Araujo as honorary vice-president would draw attention to his situation and to the issue of East Timor, and would make students more aware of their own responsibility towards East Timorese student activists. Their hopes proved well-founded when Fernando was voted in by every one of the student unions at the conference, an extremely unusual event. Literature and material about East Timor, Indonesia, and British arms sales were distributed widely, and it is unlikely that anyone left the conference without being made more aware of the issues.

Fernando de Araujo was 26 years old when he was arrested in November 1991, at his home in Bali, where he was a student. He was accused of being involved in organising a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November, calling for an investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre, and of sending out information about human rights abuses in East Timor. The security forces who arrested him also planted hand grenades in his house, apparently intending to frame him on charges of armed insurrection, although this did not come up in his trial.

Rather, the prosecution focused on his efforts to send out information about human rights abuses; for instance, he sent news of the Santa Cruz massacre to foreign journalists, for-

eign embassies, and Amnesty International. He was also accused of contacting the International Red Cross. These actions were considered to constitute "spreading hostility against the government", and Fernando received a nine-year jail term in May 1992. "Why," he asked at his trial, "are people like me, who are trying to find a solution by peaceful means, subjected to all kinds of intimidation and harassment?"

Fernando will now serve as honorary vice-president of the NUS for the next four years. This election will, in some sense, oblige the NUS to be active on the issues of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia, and self-determination for East Timor. Follow-up plans are now being discussed, including the establishment of a student urgent action network and further awareness-raising on campuses.



Fernando, when told that he had been elected, sent a statement to NUS members which reads in part:

"You have bestowed a great honour and confidence in me by electing me as Honorary Vice-President ... I welcome with a deep sense of pride and joy the high honour of your decision to elect me, a son of East Timor.

"... My people would jump for joy if the NUS were to organise seminars on East Timor at all the universities in your country. The souls of my people who have been massacred would rest in peace up in heaven if the members of the NUS were to march to the government demanding a boycott on the sale of war material to Indonesia. Freedom for East Timor would draw closer if the governments of the European Union were to state their support for a referendum in East Timor.

"The Maubere people and the Indonesian people very much need your support. There are many Indonesian pro-democracy activists, most of them students, here with me in prison because of their struggle for democracy in this Republic.

"... My dear friends, East Timor is a small, isolated spot in a remote eastern corner of the world map, but I am absolutely certain that the National Union of Students will turn its struggles, its loss of life and sufferings into something much more visible to the world community."

## Pram's prison memoirs banned

The Buru prison labour camp memoirs by Indonesia's leader writer, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Nyanyian Sunyi Seorang Seorang Bisu*, Silent Song of a Mute, has been banned. News of the ban first appeared in the Indonesian press on 14 May although the Attorney-General's banning order was signed on 19 April. The order alleges that circulation of the book "could cause commotion or restlessness, disturbing public order" and "could spread wrong ideas among the public about the Government".

Published on the author's seventieth birthday, it tells the harrowing story of the 13,000 thousand untried tapols from all walks of life who were shipped to the island from 1969 and forced to perform arduous labour on the land. One of the nine essays describes the many deaths of tapols and lists the names of more than 800 men who died during the ten years of the existence of the camp.

A review of the book was published in *TAPOL Bulletin* No 128, April 1995.

## Toy hammers and video banned

The local government in Pemalang, Central Java has banned hammer-shaped blow-up toys for fear the toys may 'introduce the symbol of communism to children'. The social-political department of the district government issued a decree banning the toy after the local security agency found evidence that the toys symbolise communism which is in conflict with the state ideology, Pancasila. Apparently someone must have been shocked by the sudden realisation that the hammer is a part of the symbol of communism, the hammer-and-sickle.

Swep H.S., chief of the 'sos-pol' department, the section of government departments which is always in the hands of the military, said that there was an inscription on the toys which "could be interpreted as an indirect way of telling children about communism". [*Jakarta Post*, 21.III.1995]

Another dangerous communist symbol has been removed with the banning of a Nintendo video containing images of the hammer-and-sickle. Police chief of Central Java Adang Rismanto said the cassettes had been seized from several shops in Semarang. He admitted the symbol might be difficult to find as it appeared only in the 20th frame of a 1,200-frame video game. [*Jakarta Post*, 26.IV.1995]

## Soothsayer to go on trial

The highly-respected Javanese soothsayer, Permadi Satriowihoho, is to go on trial soon, according to the Attorney-General's office, for offending religious sentiments. Under Article 156a, he faces up to five years in prison. The alleged offence is based on a lecture he gave in April last year when he is said to have impugned the integrity of the Prophet by comparing him to a dictator, during answers to questions from the audience. Permadi insists that the remark has been taken out of context, while General Rudini and human rights lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution, who were both in the audience, have denied that Permadi's remarks were offensive.

At first, Permadi faced the wrath of the regime because he made a prediction that 1995 would be a turbulent year and suggested the names of possible presidential successors. The furore exploded a year after the prediction was made,

after the tape of the radio interview containing the remark began to circulate widely in Central Java.

But there are others waiting to prefer charges against Permadi. One is the government party, *GOLKAR*, who intends to take him to court for allegedly comparing the party with the Communist Party. The former commander of the Central Java military command, Major-General Soeyono, who was recently promoted to become armed forces chief-of-staff for general affairs, even accused Permadi of being involved in clandestine activities, an example of how far some top officers will go to bad-mouth people who refuse to speak the language of the regime.

## Radios must stop broadcasting politics

The authorities in Yogyakarta, Central Java have ordered all local private radio stations to stop broadcasting programmes that deal with political issues. According to the provincial office of the Information Ministry, such programmes run the risk of stirring up public opposition to government policies. Radio stations were told to be careful when planning programmes, including those dealing with commercial affairs, so as 'not to provoke restlessness among the public and cause social conflict'. [*Jakarta Post*, 1.IV.1995]

The censorship move follows the furore over the circulation of a tape cassette of an interview on a local radio, *Unisi*, in 1993, of the well-known psychic, Permadi, which stirred the hackles of the provincial military command. The hounding of Permadi, which now appears to have become a popular national sport, has led to his detention and police interrogation.

*Continued on page 5*

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