



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Tapol bulletin no, 91, February 1989

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1989) Tapol bulletin no, 91, February 1989. Tapol bulletin (91).
pp. 1-20. ISSN 1356-1154

The publisher's official version can be found at

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Suharto authorised the death squads

President Suharto has now publicly admitted that he personally authorised the death-squad killings which swept Indonesia in 1983 and 1984. His personal involvement in and support for the killer campaign is made clear in a statement contained in his autobiography entitled, *Suharto: Pikiran, Ucapan dan Tindakan Saya* (Suharto, My Thoughts, Sayings and Deeds) which is due to be published in February.

In 1983 and 1984, death squads composed of members of the paracommando unit, then called Kopassandha, roamed the towns and villages of Indonesia shooting people on sight and at close range. It was estimated at the time that between five and ten thousand people were killed. At the time, no-one in the regime took responsibility for these extra-judicial killings. Although the army was widely known to be involved, the press was not permitted to make any hint of this and could only refer to the killers as *penembak misterius* (mysterious shooters) or 'petrus' for short. In his autobiography, Suharto says:

"The newspapers were full of articles about the mysterious deaths of a number of people, calling it the shooting of gangsters or 'the mysterious shootings' (*penembak misterius*) or 'petrus' for short, and so on.

"There was nothing mysterious about it at all. What actually happened was that beforehand, people were feeling very afraid. They felt threatened by criminals, robbers, murderers and so on. There was no peace of mind. It was as if there was no peace of mind in this country. All there was was fear. Those criminals exceeded all bounds. They not only broke the law but they behaved beyond the bounds of humanity. For example, an old person would be robbed and on top of that murdered. Isn't that beyond the bounds of humanity? If they want to steal things, okay, but don't murder the victim on top of that....

"It was quite beyond the pale. Was it right to do nothing? Of course, we needed to have our own treatment, firm measures. What were these firm measures? It had to be treated by means of violence. But this did not mean just going out and shooting people, dor! dor!, just like that. No. But those who tried to resist, like it or not, had to be shot. Because they resisted, they were shot.

"Then, some of the corpses were left lying around, just like that. This was for the purpose of 'shock therapy' (original: English). This was done so that the general public would understand that there were people around capable of acting against such behaviour, capable of grappling with the problem."

This admission has been widely reported in the Dutch press, with papers recalling that, at the height

of the killings, the Dutch Foreign Minister, Hans van den Broek on a visit to Indonesia, tried very hard to seek clarifications about the killings but was told by General Murdani, then armed forces commander-in-chief, that the deaths were the result of 'inter-gang warfare'.

HIS LAST TERM ?

This is not the first time the story of Suharto has been published. His previous biography, written by the Swiss journalist O.G.Roeder, *The Smiling General*, was quite flattering but apparently not sufficiently so for the Indonesian dictator. Now, his autobiography, as told to Ramadhan K.H., a well-known writer, and Guffron Dwipayana, a senior civil servant, is to appear in bookshops all over the country. It consists of 102 chapters and is 557 pages long, including about one hundred pages of photographs. It is published by *Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada*, a publishing company owned by his eldest daughter,

Please turn to page 9

Human rights

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| Press control gets even tighter | p. 2 |
| The group who don't belong anywhere | p. 7 |

Land disputes

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Chinese quarter to be destroyed | p. 3 |
| Kedung Ombo mass evictions | p. 4 |
| Lampung villagers' homes burnt | p. 6 |

Red Drive

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Clean-environment confusion | p. 8 |
|-----------------------------|------|

West Papua

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|
| Border incursions 'will continue' | p. 10 |
| Scott Paper investment in Merauke | p. 11 |

East Timor

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Ali Alatas versus Europe | p. 12 |
| Military and security operations | p. 13 |
| The future management of East Timor | p. 14 |
| At the UN Decolonisation Committee | p. 15 |
| Jakarta puts pressure on UN experts | p. 16 |
| East Timor campaign in Japan | p. 17 |
| Church becomes extension of the army? | p. 18 |

Book review

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Keith Foulcher's book on Lekra | p. 19 |
|--------------------------------|-------|

Press control gets even tighter

The Indonesian Journalists' Association, PWI, is now under direct military control with the election in December of a senior military man as its chair for the coming five years. Major-General Soegeng Widjaja, editor-in-chief of the army's newspaper, *Berita Yudha*, was unanimously elected to the post at the PWI Congress in Samarinda, after the former chair, Zulharmans, announced that he would not be standing. It is widely believed in Jakarta that Zulharmans is under a cloud because of an alleged "unclean" person among his relatives.



Members of the new Central Board of the PWI listen as their new chairman reports the congress results to President Suharto. [*Kompas*, 13 January 1989]

The new chair, a retired officer, has a long career in army thought control, having for years been head of the Thought Control Centre (*Pusat Pembinaan Mental*) of the armed forces. He was also for a time in charge of public relations at the army's security agency, *Kopkamtib*. Until recently he was the official spokesperson of the armed forces faction in Parliament but was then switched to becoming the spokesperson of Golkar's parliamentary faction.

His selection as the man to run the journalists' organisation signals the total acquiescence of the journalistic profession to army control.

IN PRAISE OF EUPHEMISMS

The retiring chair of the PWI has provided a startlingly frank admission of how Indonesian journalists have learned to write. "The use of euphemisms," he said, "is very correct. The tendency for the Indonesian mass media to use euphemisms when writing about 'sensitive' topics is one of the characteristics of the Pancasila press." [*Kompas*, 24 November]

The speech of Harmoko, Information Minister, at the PWI congress is a classic example of the regime's triumphalism in its absolute control of the nation's press. He devoted much of his address to advising the organisation of the need to keep its ranks clean of communist infiltration. Communication between PWI branches needed to be tightened up to make sure that 'PKI cadres' were prevented from worming their way into branches from one part of the country to the other. "It is not enough," he said, "to prove that you

are not ex-PKI or not the offspring of an ex-PKI. If your way of thinking smacks of PKI, then out you go. The press and the PWI have a vital role to play in expurgating communist thought. This is why the environment and working methods of the Indonesian press must be free and clean."

Turning his attention to the role of the press in criticising government, he said: "I don't ridicule criticism from the press; some criticisms can be of use to the government. But it must be acknowledged that some criticism has got out of control and is even very dangerous". [*Jakarta Post*, 30 November]

A few weeks later, Harmoko expressed confidence that the press has now learnt to be 'prudent' in its reporting, giving him reason to believe it would not be necessary to shut down any more newspapers. "I am most depressed when I have to sign the revoking of a publishing permit," he said. [*Jakarta Post*, 23 December]

Another sign of confidence came with a statement by Admiral Sudomo, now Minister-Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, who was for a long time commander of the army's security agency, *Kopkamtib*. He said he would instruct the Press and Graphics Directorate of the Information Ministry to stop the practice of 'phoning editors' (the way in which editors are 'informally' instructed on what to print and what not to print). Such phone-calls are not



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needed, he said, if the communications between the government and the press are properly preserved. [Jakarta Post, 30 December] It need not be assumed that the 'phone culture' will stop just because Sudomo says it should.

After the new PWI executive made its formal appearance before the President, the new chair declared: "Newsmen should not be afraid or confused when the government summons them in connection with their reportage. Newsmen should go no matter what agency summons them." Asked by journalists which agencies have the right to summons them, Sugeng Widjaja brushed the question aside. "Don't be confused. Just come (sic)." [Jakarta Post, 13 January 1989]

It has also been announced that no-one will be able to work in the press unless she/he is a PWI member. In addition, press cards will now be issued only by the PWI, not by editors.

CENSORSHIP

All schools in Central Java have been instructed to stop using 3 English-language encyclopaedias because, according to Suwardi, the head of the provincial office of the Department of Education, "they contain items viewed as offending the Indonesian state". They are: *Human Heritage: A World Story*, *The Encyclopaedia of Historic Places* (first

volume) and *The Encyclopaedia of the Third World* (second volume).

All head-teachers in the province have also been instructed to black out all the pages dealing with Marxism and with the works of Pramoedya Ananta Toer in *Ensiklopedi Indonesia* because, according to Suwardi, these pages "are harmful for the students' mental development". [Jakarta Post, 6 January]

According to another newspaper, in addition to these encyclopaedias, 130 (sic) English-language reference books have been withdrawn from use in schools because they "denigrate the Indonesian government". [Suara Merdeka, 5 January]

It is not clear whether these instructions have been introduced as a local initiative or have come from the Department of Education in Jakarta.

Meanwhile, in Medan, North Sumatra, the well-known Indonesian poet and playwright, W.S. Rendra was prevented from including two of his poems in a poetry-reading evening in the city. He was to have read nine poems, but a poem called *Orang-orang Miskin* (The Poor) and one called *Sajak yang ditulis di UI* (A Poem written at the University of Indonesia) were banned. [Kompas, 6 November 1988]. ★

Chinese quarter to be destroyed

It is not uncommon for precious buildings in old city centres to be flattened by bulldozers for the sake of modernisation. Lack of a sense of history and heritage is a common disease among city developers and municipal bureaucrats. In the case of metropolitan Jakarta, many old districts like Pasar Pagi, the famous wholesale market, and Lokasari in Jakarta's Chinatown had to make way for roads and shopping centres. One of the few interesting places left in Jakarta, a district known as Segi Tiga Senen, the Senen Triangle, is now being targeted by the municipality. But faced with unjust conditions, the stubborn resistance of the residents has made this case of rejuvenation headline news.

SEGI TIGA SENEN

To those familiar with the centre of Jakarta, the Senen Triangle is more than just a name. Situated near Pasar Senen, one of the oldest markets of Jakarta, the Senen Triangle has been a residential and business centre for many generations. The Senen Triangle is bordered by two busy thoroughfares, Kramat Raya and Senen Raya; along the east side runs Jalan Pasar Senen. The Dutchman, Justinus Vinck, built the Senen area some 255 years ago and in many buildings traces of 18th and 19th century styles are still recognisable. The architecture of the houses is Chinese in origin, rich in decorations. An old Chinese temple is still functioning there.

Already under Sukarno, in 1961, when the retired general, Sumarno was governor, there were plans to destroy the area, but the project was postponed. The Senen Triangle is home to 540 families, some 1,900 persons, covering about 6.1 ha. 95 per cent of the residents are of Chinese descent most of whom run

LAND DISPUTES



Two typical buildings in Jakarta's Senen Triangle, soon to be reduced to rubble. [Tempo, 25 June 1988]

small businesses: restaurants, beauty parlours, acupuncture surgeries, goldsmiths, orthodontists and tailor shops as well as shops selling household goods, sportswear, clothing and traditional medicine. The

Triangle traders and professionals employ some 2,000 people as craftspeople, salespeople and so on. Many have been living there for generations and it is feared that following modernisation, many original residents will disappear from the area for ever.

MUNICIPAL PLANS

The original houses in the Triangle will be destroyed and replaced by a modern shopping centre, a hotel, shops with residences on top and office facilities. The whole project is in the hands of PT Sarana Jaya, the contractor chosen by the Jakarta municipality, and PT Pembangunan Jaya, the major development project developer in Jakarta. Last October it finally became clear for Triangle residents that the compensation the city was offering was quite unreasonable. The residents had no guarantee that they could return to the area and rent business premises in the new shopping centre because Sarana Jaya is reluctant to give priority to the original residents. Moreover, the city government has offered the Triangle residents a piece of swamp-land in Sunter, North Jakarta, far from the centre of the town and no place to start new businesses. But gravest of all is the compensation. Around 85 per cent of the residents do not own their homes and shops. According to city regulations they are entitled to only

Rp 37,000 (about \$25.00) per square metre whereas the price of land in Sunter is Rp. 75,000 a square metre. Owner occupiers will get Rp. 400,000. For their houses they will get Rp 20,000 per square metre but building a new house will cost at least 20 to 25 million rupiahs.

The majority of residents have started to organise. They have filed complaints to the local authorities and the local assembly. Up to mid-December, the majority of residents were still refusing to accept the compensation. The Legal Aid Institute (LBH) lawyer, Abdul Fickar Hadjar, supports their case and has demanded that new houses be provided which are similar in standard to those they are abandoning. Referring to a 1970 regulation, the lawyer said that tenants should get 50 per cent of the compensation given to owner occupiers.

In the meantime Sarana Jaya are getting more and more impatient. Construction is scheduled to start in the first week of April, by which time all the houses should be demolished. In January, it was reported that the demolition of the houses would be postponed until after Chinese New Year on 6 February. Moh. Yusuf, an executive of Sarana Jaya, said the postponement would allow the residents to pull down their buildings themselves.

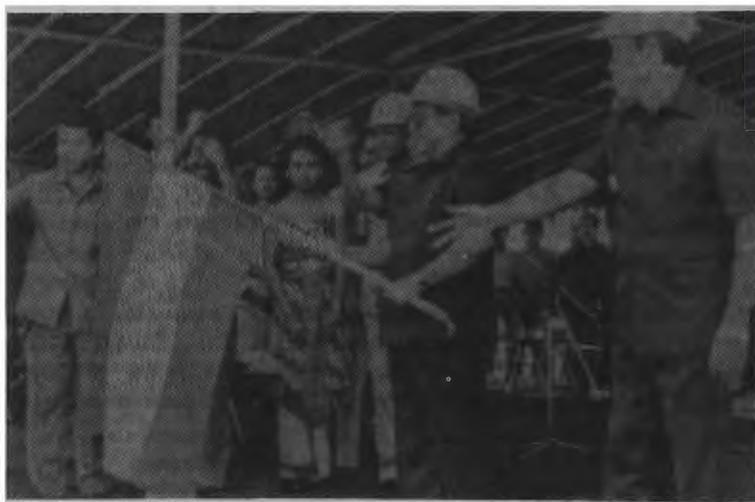
A great injustice is being done to a small but courageous group of Jakarta residents. If nothing is done, many original Senen Triangle residents will not only lose their livelihoods; they will also become homeless as the compensation is far from adequate to build new homes. ★

Kedung Ombo dam causes mass evictions

Thousands of peasants who rejected the terms of compensation for land that is required for the World Bank-funded Kedung Ombo dam in Central Java, refused to shift away from their homes right up to the moment when the flood-gates were closed on 16 January and their land began to be inundated with water. All attempts by the local authorities to persuade them to leave failed. The Kemusu peasants have waged a resistance that is unparalleled in contemporary Indonesia. One newspaper has placed this in the Javanese tradition of *balelo* or disobedience, a "refined form of protest". [*Kompas*, 15 January 1989]

A total of 1,828 heads-of-family or about 8,000 people continued to refuse the compensation and rejected the offer of alternative land in several nearby villages. Their lives and homes were placed in jeopardy when the local authorities announced in late December that a special team, headed by the sub-district military commander, had been set up to organise the removal of the families. The team had instructions to move people out by force and to place them in custody in specially constructed barracks if necessary. It also announced that it had a supply of boats at hand to rescue people who became submerged as the waters rose.

When the dam was ceremonially opened on 14 January, in the presence of the governor of Central Java and the Minister for Public Works, the whole area was placed under tight security, making it impossible for anyone, including journalists, to enter the villages at the centre of the protest. There were soldiers everywhere and journalists were told that they would only be permitted to make 'coordinated and orderly visits' under official supervision. [*Kompas*, 15 January] At the time of going to press, we had only seen two press reports, one in *Kompas* which does at least report the restrictions on press coverage of the



Officials opened Kedung Ombo dam, as people were driven from the land. [*Jakarta Post*, 15 January 1989]

event, and one in the *Jakarta Post* which reads like a government handout. *Kompas* also reports that according to local inhabitants, "the waters spread rapidly, causing panic among the inhabitants of Cermai village, Kemusu, one of the villages whose inhabitants had refused to move".

In the face of such a cover-up about what happened to the people of Kemusu, TAPOL has written to the World Bank for a report of the circumstances in which the land was cleared.

For several years, Kemusu peasants have tried to negotiate with the authorities about the compensation on offer but without success. The compensation offered ranged from Rp. 280 a square metre for dry riceland up to Rp 780 for premises. Efforts to persuade the peasants to transmigrate failed to sway

those living in Kemusu sub-district who insisted on the right to remain in the region and wanted to receive alternative land of similar size and quality.

In their dispute with the authorities, they sought the assistance of the Legal Aid Institute and other agencies to try to convince the authorities to enter in consultations but to no avail.

The ROLE OF THE WORLD BANK

Nearly 75 per cent of the cost of the Kedung Ombo is provided by the World Bank. The project is also financed by the Asian Development Bank and Japan's Exim Bank. Although the World Bank has established guidelines on social issues associated with involuntary resettlement which would, if properly applied, protect the Kemusu peasants from the treatment to which they have been subjected, there is no evidence that the Bank has taken any action on their behalf, apart from a visit to the area last May by a World Bank official. The results of that visit were never made public.

In reply to a telex from TAPOL to the Bank on 11 January 1989, asking what steps it had taken to prevent the evictions and to require the Indonesian government to act in accord with the Bank's guidelines, the Bank cabled a reply the following day saying that "several months ago we understood that about 700 families had not agreed to the government's offer for land compensation and resettlement but that negotiations were continuing".

This is erroneous on two counts. First, the number of families is far in excess of 700. Admittedly, press reports which we have carefully followed have given conflicting figures throughout the dispute, but it is surely expected of the Bank which maintains a large staff in Jakarta that it would have informed itself of the number of people under threat of eviction. In addition, it is simply not true to say that negotiations have been held with the peasants. The local officials under the district chief, Colonel Moh. Hasbi, have been uncompromising in their 'take-it-or-leave-it' attitude over compensation. The evidence is that so much pressure and intimidation has been used against the Kemusu peasants to persuade them to accept the compensation offered that, for the past few months, they have simply refused to attend any meetings with officials.

Faced with continued resistance over compensation, the authorities announced in December that the money allocated for the land had been deposited with the court for collection by the peasants, meaning that the landowners could no longer claim any rights over land that was now considered to be state-owned.

A PITIFUL ALTERNATIVE

Once the Kemusu inhabitants had refused to trans-migrate, the authorities announced that alternative land had been made available for them in a cluster of villages nearby, centred around the village of Kayen, Juwangi sub-district, in the district of Boyolali. It sounded like a real bargain as it would cost them only Rp. 160 a square metre to purchase land in their new home. So why did the Kemusu inhabitants refuse the offer? The reasons were shrouded in mystery for months, as readers were treated to a constant barrage of press reports describing Kayen as "quite a fertile region" and claiming that various facilities including a school, a clinic, a village hall and a mosque, had been built there. The peasants were said to be unreasonable, stubborn and headstrong, holding out against reasonable, patient and humane officials.

It was not until mid-January that a report appeared

in *Kompas* describing Kayen as a worthless area, an arid plain without any supply even of drinking-water, let alone water for cultivation. It was, the paper said, a new village, whose construction was 'half-forced' (*setengah dipaksa*), to provide a home for the people of Kemusu. Settlers in Kayen would have to abandon any idea of continuing to live as farmers and shift to other occupations. Water-well probes as deep down as 137 metres had failed to reach the water table. Moreover transportation to the nearest town is very expensive while the nearest road is 5 kms away by foot. [*Kompas*, 14 January]

World Bank must press for compensation, says TAPOL

In a letter to Barber Conable, President of the World Bank, on 19 January, TAPOL protested "at the Bank's apparent lack of action to protect these 8,000 people from forced eviction. It is beholden on the Bank to protest in the strongest terms to the Indonesian Government against the way in which these families have been treated. Surely it is not too late for the Bank to insist that these victims should be properly compensated for the land they have lost and for all the difficulties they have experienced. The Bank cannot evade responsibility for the fate that has befallen these families."

TAPOL also drew attention to the secrecy and the security measures surrounding the events in Kemusu on 14 January when the dam was inaugurated. It urgently asked the Bank "to inform us of anything you know about the events in Kemusu on that day."★

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Lampung villagers' homes burnt

Almost a thousand houses have been burnt or torn down by the local government in a brutal attempt to evict the inhabitants of three villages in the Pulau Pangung district of Lampung. The government team, headed by the sub-district chief and assisted by forestry officials, the military and the police, were ordered by the Governor of Lampung, Major-General Poedjono Pranjoto, to start burning houses in November. The villagers are to be resettled in transmigration sites in Riau and Rawa Jitu in North Lampung. Ironically the villagers, originally from Java, first started settling the area in 1953 as transmigrants and now they are being forced to move again because their coffee and clove plantations lie within an area recently accorded 'protected forest' status. According to *Jakarta Post* (2 January 1989), only 575 out of 2,376 families in the district have agreed to move out.

The Governor, responding to accusations of inhumane activities at a recent press conference, said that it would be more inhumane to allow the villagers to remain in the forest as their occupation of the land was causing floods downstream.

Vice-governor Subekti Harun denied rumours that a baby was inside one of the houses which had been burnt down and gave assurances that officials had been instructed to destroy only houses which had already been vacated (*Jakarta Post* 2 January). But *Tempo* (7 January) reports the case of an unfortunate villager of Desa Airnangan who had obviously not already left: his house together with all the contents was burnt down. In the report this man explained that the farmers were not opposed to government plans for reforestation, but that they wanted to remain in the area until the next harvest in April this year. The local government's excuse for ignoring such requests was that several years ago an agreement had been reached that the farmers would leave the area after two years' notice. The families still refused to move after the deadline had passed, claims the government.



A house-owner sits in front of the burned out remains of his home. [*Tempo*, 7 January 1989]

At the press conference the vice-governor also stated that the villagers would be moved out in stages with no more house-burning (*Jakarta Post*, 2 January), but according to the *Tempo* article, since then the sub-district chief has ordered the burnings to continue.

According to a recent *Kompas* report [14 January], the Interior Minister Rudini denied that houses still occupied had been burnt. He claimed that some farmers had returned to the area in order to harvest their coffee on the orders of the rich Chinese plantation owners.

The government's recent concern for the protection of forests does not, it seems, extend to the people who live in them. There are around 31,000 families living in the protected forest in the southern Lampung area. It can only be hoped they will not all suffer the same fate. ★

Muslim schoolgirls win their case

A group of schoolgirls from a school in Bogor, West Java, who filed a lawsuit against their head teacher in a dispute over wearing head-scarves at school have won their case, following an out-of-court settlement. The head teacher agreed to withdraw two letters sent to the girls' parents insisting that wearing head-scarves in school was in breach of regulations regarding school uniforms, while the girls, represented by their parents and assisted by LBH lawyers, agreed to withdraw their claims for damages and to cover the costs of the case.

Although the girls had continued to attend school

wearing their scarves, they were ignored by all the teachers. [*TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 90, December 1988]

The girls may now wear their head-scarves and other pupils at the same school who had agreed to comply with the head teacher's prohibition have taken to wearing head-scarves again.

However, the Ministry of Education's regulation prohibiting head-scarves in school is still in force so it remains to be seen when the next conflict over the issue emerges. [*Tempo*, 31 December 1988] ★

The group who don't belong anywhere

For many years now many ethnic Chinese have lost their legal status in Indonesia. Regarded as aliens, the Indonesian authorities have recently ordered this ill-fated group of people to re-register. Those who fail to do so will be punished severely. As an almost entirely forgotten group, it is worth studying how this matter grew to such a sorry state of affairs.

THE PP 10 REGULATION

It all started with the racist measure introduced by the Indonesian Government in 1959, the PP-10 or Government Decree No 10/1959 severely restricting the trading activities of ethnic Chinese in the countryside. From then on, small Chinese traders virtually lost their livelihoods as their economic activities were restricted to the district and provincial capitals. Many small shopkeepers had no other option but to choose to 'return' to China. This option was made possible because of an agreement reached a few years earlier between the People's Republic of China and Indonesia. Those who were waiting to be shipped back to China were issued documents by the Indonesian Government for one purpose only: to leave the country. These documents, known as *EPOs* (Exit Permits Only), identify all those who have so far failed to travel back to China.

A STRANDED GROUP

According to figures issued by the Directorate of Immigration, an estimated 40,000 left for China in the early sixties aboard Chinese ships while about 100,000 opted for Indonesian citizenship or took other options such as migrating to other parts of the world. Altogether about 35,000 people remained as aliens with nothing more than their *EPOs*. It should be noted that

official figures of the immigration department are notoriously unreliable; the figures given for the number of *EPO* holders vary from 5,000 to 35,000.

For years, it seems, this group was non-existent. It was never mentioned in the press. It did not seem to be a major problem for the Indonesian authorities until General (ret'd) Ismael Saleh, the Justice Minister, decided to re-register the *EPO* group. They were given one year in which to re-register, from 15 September 1987 till 15 September 1988, at local immigration offices.

One important political fact should not be forgotten. Following the military takeover in Jakarta in October 1965, bilateral relations between Indonesia and China rapidly deteriorated and after an attack on the Chinese Embassy in Jakarta by right-wing demonstrators in October 1966, diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed and have still not been restored. In two major cities, Jakarta and Medan, it is known that *EPO*-holders were put into quarantine camps specially built for them. The conditions in the camps were known to be appalling, but in the course of time, things gradually improved, not because the Indonesian authorities were humane, but because the Chinese managed to change things in the camps. It is likely that more camps exist, particularly in Kalimantan, but due to lack of press reporting, nothing is known about them.

RE-REGISTRATION

It is too much of a coincidence that the re-registration of the Chinese aliens has occurred simultaneously with the campaign launched by certain groups in the armed forces against 'the latent danger of communism' and the 'imminent threat of the PKI'. Till today, Suharto and his generals still claim that China was involved in the coup attempt of October

Indonesia: Muslims on trial

Published by: TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

Since early 1985, more than 150 Muslims have been tried, convicted and sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment in Indonesia for giving public sermons critical of the government, conducting religious courses not approved by the authorities, or producing leaflets or journals that denounce government policy. Some were held responsible for bombing incidents that were never properly investigated.

The trials followed the army's crackdown on a demonstration of Muslims in September 1984. Dozens, possibly even hundreds, were killed when troops opened fire on the unarmed crowd. The trials took place at a time of deep disquiet in Indonesia about the military government's imposition of total ideological conformity, preventing organisations from proclaiming Islamic or other religious principles.

Indonesia: Muslims on trial analyses the trials, placing them in the context of the continuing conflict between Indonesia's Muslims and the military regime.

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1965, which has been the major stumbling-block for the restoration of relations between the two countries.

Although formally, the EPOs who are apparently scattered in various parts of the country (with the exception of those who are registered in the camps) have had a full year to re-register, the seriousness of the matter only became apparent in August 1988, when Indonesian newspapers started to file reports about the 'PP-10 Chinese'. General Roni Sikap Sinuraya, the newly appointed director-general for immigration, stated in Parliament that those who fail to re-register will be sternly punished. [*Jakarta Post* 15 September 1988]. A few days later, General Ismael Saleh, using similarly aggressive words, stated that those unwilling to re-register would be arrested. On this occasion the Minister estimated that there were 5,000 persons 'left over' from the PP-10 category. [*Suara Merdeka* 20 September]

Early in December, the Justice Minister announced in

Parliament that over 2,000 PP-10 aliens had failed to register. According to the data of the Justice Ministry, of the 4427 EPO-holders, 2,085 have used the opportunity to re-register. Of this group, 1,830 have been given an immigration document while 225 others are still being processed. It means that more than half, or 2,329 EPO-holders, have failed to appear and the Minister has instructed the local police to trace these people so that they can be prosecuted.

Although the authorities time and again have stated that nothing will happen to those who re-register, it is apparent that fear is widespread among most of these PP-10 aliens. One thing they fear is extortion. As with most matters in Indonesia, in order to get something done through the bureaucracy, bribes have to be paid or the services of brokers hired. It could cost hundreds of thousands of rupiahs simply to acquire new immigration documents confirming that one has been registered, a fact that understandably makes the already harassed alien even more afraid.★

RED DRIVE

Clean-environment confusion rumbles on

General Wahono, the new chair of the government party, Golkar, has recently become a very frustrated man, confronted as he now is with resignations and dismissals of senior Golkar functionaries who have been victimised by the current witch-hunt against people alleged to come from a politically 'unclean environment'. Heads are rolling because people who have been active in Golkar have now been discovered to have a father, an uncle, a mother-in-law or whatever, who is, was or is believed to have been a former political prisoner or PKI suspect.

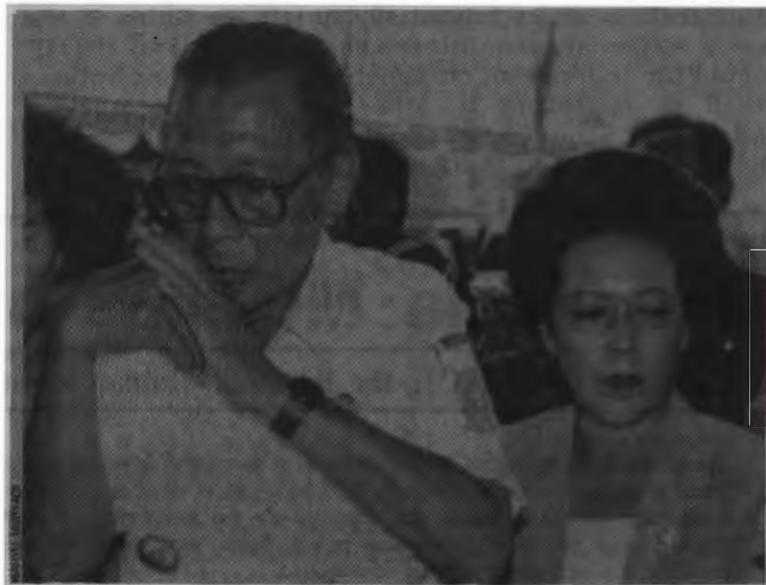
Claims and counter-claims have been flying around about interpretations of what 'environmentally clean' actually means. Some senior officials insist that clear criteria must be laid down while General Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander-in-chief and chairman of the new agency *Bakorstanas*, has declared this to be impossible, preferring to have the matter for each individual settled on what he calls a 'case by case' basis after the necessary screening.

Asked when a consensus was likely to be reached, General Wahono, who is confronting embarrassing calls for 'unclean' people in Golkar to be removed, said: "I hope soon. This situation can no longer be tolerated." [*Jakarta Post*, 15 December] (Incidentally, to add to the confusion, the *Jakarta Post*, which can be normally relied on to use reasonably good English, has now taken to writing about people being 'ecologically' clean!)

The commander of East Java, Major-General Sugeng Subroto, has emerged as a leading zealot in the current anti-communist fervour. While the present campaign has more to do with discrediting the Golkar that took shape under its previous chair, General Sudharmono (who has now almost completely vanished from the political scene), the underlying effect will inevitably be felt by former political prisoners and members of their families, the voiceless victims in the present hullabaloo.

In East Java, a new acronym has been concocted, 'terlibat lingkungan tidak bersih', abbreviated to

'terlibat LTB' which means 'involved in an unclean environment'. The head of the province's Social-Political Directorate, a kind of political commissar, has promised to removed 'a number of people who are *terlibat LTB*' at the highest level in the provincial government. One senior Golkar functionary who



Mrs Asri Soebarjati, after her resignation, and a sad General Wahono. [*Tempo*, 14 January 1989]

resigned not long after he spoke is Mrs Asri Soebarjati, the chair of the province's regional assembly, a long-standing Golkar leader in the province. She has now admitted that her father was a member of the pro-communist teachers' union, PGRI-NV. In the words of Major-General Sugeng, her crime is that she always mentioned as her parent an uncle who cared for her as a child. It was a friend of hers (sic) who revealed to the authorities that this was not her real parent. [*Tempo*, 14 January 1989] Her forced

resignation apparently stunned Wahono who knew her well during his term as governor of East Java which came to an end last year.

BAKORSTANAS

Under the new dispensation, Bakorstanas has the task of handling the former prisoners and the general issue of the 'latent communist threat'. All the relevant files are being passed on by Kopkamtib to the agency and its regional bodies, *Bakorstanasda*. All investigations will be in the hands of the territorial apparatus (ie. the army) and the intelligence. [*Kompas*, 10 December]

General Try Sutrisno has promised that a regulation is soon to be enacted providing for a new clearance document to be called *surat keterangan bersih diri* or 'personal cleanliness certificate'. Persons needing a certificate will have to be screened for a number of things: their thought processes (*sikap mental*), their environment (i.e. family background), personal outlook, attitude towards the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, their politics, religion and sense of dedication, and other matters. [*Suara Karya*, 14 December]

What has been most embarrassing is the 'environmental' witch-hunt, that is, the insistence on looking at a person's family connections. Considering the numerical strength of the PKI and PKI-related organisations especially in Java before 1965, there is

continued from page 1

Siti Hardyanti Rukmana otherwise known as Tutut.

In it, the aging ruler holds forth on all kinds of matters, national issues, his relations with other generals, a defence of his family's business activities and so on. Although the book is not available in the shops, sizable quotations have appeared in the press.

One of his more surprising remarks is the suggestion that his present term as President will be his last. Suharto, now 67, is quoted as saying: "If I can complete this term in 1993, I will be 72 when I resign. Considering the low life expectancy in Indonesia, 72 years is way above average." According to Suharto, his family share the same opinion. "So it is no exaggeration for people to say that my installation as President on March 11, 1988 was the last one for me."

Most political watchers in Jakarta do not take Suharto's comments seriously. It is generally interpreted as being a clever move by a cunning ruler to let the succession battle rage on and when the power blocks have crystallised, Suharto will emerge and embrace the strongest block. Or even more devious, Suharto is deliberately creating a chaotic situation and then, like Nasser in Egypt many years ago, the people will clamour for him to remain at the helm.

REWRITING HIS OWN PAST

Another important feature is the way Suharto denigrates the role of his most loyal aides, including deceased generals like Ali Murtopo and Sudjono Humardani, who were both very instrumental in the sixties and seventies. As a member of his inner core and a long-time personal assistant, Ali Murtopo for example had to execute the dirtiest jobs for his boss, including stage-managing the "Act of Free Choice" in West New Guinea, emasculating the political parties, incriminating and eventually destroying the student

RED DRIVE

hardly likely to be anyone in Golkar who is not related in some way to someone suspected of communist sympathies. Sutrisno keeps on insisting that the 'clean environment' criteria is not a government invention and was not specifically mentioned in a 1982 regulation on screening. However, if his list of future criteria does become part of the regulation, the confusion is hardly likely to end.

FORTY EX-PRISONERS

Forty former political prisoners were arrested in a village on the outskirts of Jogjakarta, Central Java when they were 'caught red-handed' attending an illegal (sic) meeting. They had come together in order to consider how to bring about a change in their status so as to be able to claim their pensions.

The arrests came to light in a report of members of Parliament, following visits to the regions. The MP who presented the report said that although the stated aim of the meeting was said to have been securing pensions rights, it could well have been convened to discuss "covert forms of solidarity so as to continue with the political struggle". [*Merdeka*, 17 November]

★



Tutut, the oldest of Suharto's daughters, gazes reverentially at her father. [*Tempo*, 7 January 1989]

movement and giving innocent Muslim activists a terrorist image. Especially in the early years of the New Order, Ali Murtopo was an indispensable figure for Suharto.

Now Suharto says the following about the ever loyal Ali Murtopo: "Many believed that he decided everything for the government. This may be because 'he spoke well, he was a man of courage, or as my personal assistant, he was the one everything depended upon. It is not true. After his death, the government continued to run just as well as before".

About Sudjono Humardani, Suharto's main *dukun* or soothsayer, he said: "People who think he was my teacher in *kebatinan* (Javanese mysticism) are wrong. He used to ask me more about it than the other way round. He once said: 'Pak Harto is my teacher.'" The two generals can only sigh in their graves to hear Suharto giving them so little credit.

★

Border incursions "will continue"

In response to repeated protests from the Papua New Guinea Government about border incursions by Indonesian troops, the Indonesian Government has stated bluntly that border incursions will continue to occur "as long as the OPM (the West Papuan armed resistance movement) continues to engage in illegal (sic) activities in the border region". [*Papua New Guinea Times*, 10-16 November 1988]

The statement was made in an official note to Port Moresby from the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas. He was replying to the latest protest from PNG Foreign Minister, Michael Somare, after an armed raid across the border on 22 October 1988, the seventh Indonesian troop incursion in 1988.

Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, reiterated the point saying that the command of Indonesian troops in the border province was left to officers in charge there. It was up to them to decide whether to pursue OPM fighters across the border. [*Post Courier*, 14 November 1988.]

The statement seems to have satisfied the PNG government. Far from protesting at this presumption of a natural right to violate a neighbour's borders, Somare returned home from a meeting with senior Indonesian officials to discuss bilateral issues, and said it was enough if the two countries kept in close contact. He said he thought the Indonesian troops involved "had a cause to cross (the border) which has been explained to us and it is understood from our end". [*Post Courier*, 8 November]

This is clearly an attempt to cover up the serious nature of Indonesian military activity along the border. The following incidents have occurred since April last year:

* Two men were killed in PNG by Indonesian troops illegally camped there. Hendrikus Tabuni was shot dead on 3 April, and the next day, Elly Jikwa was killed. The nationality of the two men has been kept secret. The troops remained in the area for three months, up to 24 July, despite orders from the PNG authorities to withdraw.

* On 3 July, a helicopter carrying 13 Indonesian soldiers landed in the village of Irim Kwi, Western Province, deep inside PNG territory; they cut down fruit trees to set up a base and remained for five days.

* Later in July, soldiers not in uniform in an Indonesian patrol boat inside PNG waters opened fire on PNG troops in Ingembit. PNG troops apparently returned the fire to make the intruders withdraw. [*The Dominion*, New Zealand, 29 November 1988]

* In July, as many as 500 Indonesian soldiers crossed



The Times of Papua New Guinea, 27 Oct - 2 Nov 1988.

into PNG and set up camps. A PNG press report in mid August said they had been camping near two PNG villages, Mepan and Kwem, in Western Province, ten kilometres from the border since 7 July, and had been physically assaulting villagers. [*Niugini Nius*, 12 August] During the incursion, there was an exchange of fire between PNG and Indonesian troops. [*Niugini Nius*, 31 August]

* The 22 October incursion involved an Indonesian platoon which raided a village in West Sepik, capturing 8 villagers; the villagers were later released. ★

UN peace-keeping force needed

The Pacific Islands Monthly, in a detailed analysis of the secret border 'war' going on, said that PNG "cannot mount an effective deterrent to Indonesia's ceaseless violations" which alleged to be in search of OPM guerrillas. The journal argued that there was an obvious role for a UN-sponsored Pacific peacekeeping force - including PNG troops - in supervising the troubled border. [See David Robie, "The Silent Border Struggle" in *The Dominion*, New Zealand, 29 November 1988]

There is now talk in PNG of forming a border helicopter squadron, consisting possibly of two aircraft, but it is admitted that such a squadron will not become operational for at least two years. ★

Democratic rights under threat in PNG

There is a growing threat to freedom of expression in Papua New Guinea. Students and church leaders are afraid to speak out about West Papua and East Timor because of the activities of Indonesian agents, informers and spies collaborating with the authorities in Port Moresby.

A consultation by the group, Melanesian Solidarity for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, held last August in Port Moresby, adopted a resolution which said:

"The harassment of Papua New Guinea citizens, be
please turn to page 12

Scott Paper to invest in Merauke

The campaign against Scott Paper, the US-based company planning a massive eucalyptus plantation project in West Papua (see *TAPOL Bulletin* No.90), is gaining momentum. Logs from the plantation in the Southern regency of Merauke will feed a pulp mill producing 1,000 tons of pulp per day, and a wood-chipping plant, expected to produce 4,000 tons a day.

Ten Indonesian NGOs issued a statement in December questioning the government's granting of a 790,000 hectares concession to the joint venture company PT Astra-Scott Cellulosa, without first carrying out an environmental impact analysis, as required by Indonesian law. SKEPHI, the Indonesian forest conservation group, said the project, with a land area covering one and a half times the size of Bali, will "...bring disaster to the forest of Irian Jaya and cause serious social unrest to native Auyu tribes in the area..." The Auyu people's traditional lands with their thousands of acres of sago forest may be ruined if the project proceeds. [*Jakarta Post*, 10 December].

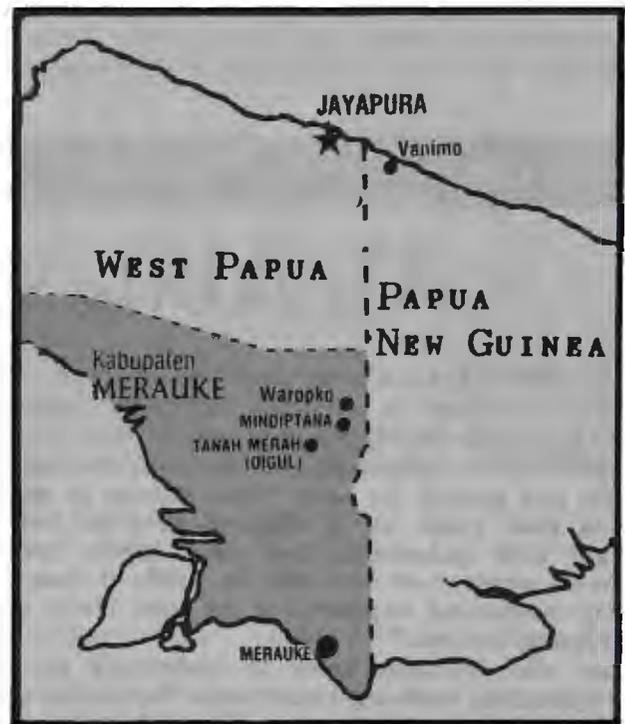
In response to the NGO statement Forestry Minister, Hasjru Harahap said there was no need to worry about the project. Exploitation of forest resources was not against the Guidelines for State Policy, he said, as long as projects are designed to improve the people's welfare and provided that reforestation is assured. [*Jakarta Post*, 15 December].

"The people" obviously does not include the local tribal groups. They are bound to lose traditional rights over their lands and, when the logging starts and the pulp and wood-chipping plants start production, they are to unlikely to be employed by PT Astra Scott Cellulosa. The company will favour the readily available cheap labour of Javanese transmigrants.

Scott Paper tried to allay fears about the project in an interview with the *BBC World Service* in November by promising "impact studies" costing \$8 million over two or three years and stating Scott's desire to work

"hand-in-hand" with the local people. But when pressed the managing director, Barry Kotek, refused to commit Scott to withdraw if it found the local people opposed to the project.

Meanwhile, Scott's reputation in the US and Canada is far from spotless. Environmentalists have campaigned against Scott on pollution and pesticide issues to the extent that the company may pull out of North America altogether. This means that Scott's need to go ahead with the project in Merauke will be even more pressing. ★



West Papua: The Obliteration of a People



tapol

West Papua: The Obliteration of a People

Published by: Tapol, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

West Papua, formerly Dutch West New Guinea, has been an Indonesian colony since 1963. The changeover took place during a period of severe repression, under Indonesian military occupation, yet it received formal United Nations approval.

Since then, the West Papuan people have suffered racial discrimination, arrest and detention, torture, massacres, disappearances and extra-judicial killings. A liberation movement has taken root. Many thousands have been killed as the result of military operations to suppress this movement.

West Papua has become a centre for transmigration, Indonesia's vast resettlement programme. West Papua's copper, petroleum and timber have contributed substantially to Indonesia's revenues and foreign exchange earnings.

The first two editions of this book appeared in 1983 and 1984. This third edition, published in response to continuing demand, has been substantially revised and up-dated, with new data on military operations, an appendix on the murder of the well-known West Papuan anthropologist, Arnold Ap, and recent information about the exploitation of West Papua's natural resources.

Publication date: December 1988
160 pages including 7 pages of photos
Price: £3.50, plus postage
ISBN 0 9506751 5 6

they indigenous to this country or born in West Papua, West Papuan refugees or permissive residents, by those who support the Suharto regime, is to be opposed and exposed vigorously in public by lawful means, including court actions, petitions to parliament, demonstrations and the use of the media both here and elsewhere."

The resolution spoke of fear among students that they may not get jobs because of adverse security reports, fear among bishops of antagonising certain sectors of the government and the fear among West Papuans that they may be deported.

According to *Niugini Nius* [24 October 1988], there was considerable anxiety among participants when it became clear that an officer from the Indonesian embassy had "invited himself" to the meeting and was taking notes of everything being said. "His arrogant attitude and presence almost caused a division among the participants. Some academics were forced to boycott (the meeting)." According to this report, the

anxieties over the Indonesian presence caused the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace to withdraw sponsorship from the consultation, though the Commission later denied this.

Resolutions adopted by the consultation included the following statements:

* West Papua and East Timor are colonised territories, a fact that can no longer be avoided by the PNG government.

* The right of the people of East Timor and West Papua to determine their destiny... can no longer be denied.

* The governments of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu should support the cause of East Timor and West Papua before the UN Committee of 24 (the Decolonisation Committee).

* A greater effort should be made to upgrade dialogue with the international peace movement and ensure adequate representation at all meetings of the world peace movement and the Melanesian Spearhead Group. ★

EAST TIMOR

Ali Alatas versus Europe

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas used the occasion of his end-of-year report to warn the European Community not "to be manipulated" by Portugal on East Timor as this could have repercussions on relations between the EEC and ASEAN. He said: "West Europe in general regards East Timor as a bilateral problem between Portugal and Indonesia. But ever since Portugal became a member of the EEC in 1986, it has been actively mobilising support for its East Timor policy in European forums."

Alatas who normally tries to underplay the East Timor question, claiming that it has "withered away" or is "just a ripple in the ocean", now frankly admits that it is still very much on the international agenda. He said: "There are even signs that Portugal is increasing its attempts to make things difficult for Indonesia especially in the European Community and the European Parliament".

THE VISIT OF CHEYSSON

The recent visit to Jakarta of EEC Commissioner, Claude Cheysson also gave Alatas some nasty surprises. When he was French ambassador in Jakarta, Cheysson was apologetic about Indonesia's invasion of East Timor but now as EEC Commissioner, Cheysson has unexpectedly criticised Indonesia on the way East Timor was taken over. This should have been done through the United Nations and the people of East Timor should have been consulted about their future, he said.

In his report, Alatas also admitted that East Timor was raised on many international forums during 1988. He complained about 'misinformation' among politicians and told all Indonesian diplomats to work hard to counteract this.

Alatas was quoted as saying he is keen to go to Strasbourg, the seat of the European Parliament, to inform members of the European Parliament about East Timor though when this is supposed to happen is not clear. After saying nothing for months it is now clear that Indonesia is trying hard to recover from its

humiliating defeat in the European Parliament last year. This new diplomatic offensive suggests that Alatas has been forced into action on instructions from Suharto himself.

Letter from Beate Weber

Beate Weber, one of the four members of the European Parliament who visited East Timor last August on a trip that Jakarta hoped would swing the Parliament into rejecting a resolution condemning Indonesia, has written an open letter to the Indonesian Government.

Her letter dated 11 January is addressed to the Indonesian ambassador in Brussels, and raises questions about the actual situation in East Timor, especially regarding the 'opening up' of the territory.

"Very specially I want to put this question as I got the information that some 3,000 persons had been arrested in East Timor in a huge security operation surrounding the visit of the President... to Dili. As this obviously took place only a few months after our visit to East Timor, I wonder why such a problem could arise without being mentioned to us before. We had always been told on request that there were no more serious problems and that the population totally accepts the presence of the Indonesian State on this part of the island of Timor. If the operations mentioned above took place, there is a clear contradiction between what we had been told and the real situation, a fact I would regret very much.

"May I also ask you about the present chances for a referendum being taken in East Timor... which is one of the main interests in (our mission's) report and the decision of the European Parliament in September 1988." ★



Massive military and security operations in East Timor

In the last quarter of 1988, there was an upsurge in military and security activities in East Timor. There were reports of defections from the Indonesian side, or troops being arrested for clandestine activities and in the days before and after President Suharto's visit to Dili on 1-2 November, of no fewer than 3,000 arrests. Then, at the end of December, Fretilin forces attacked two neighbourhoods in Dili, Lamane and Taibisse. These activities did not augur well for the so-called 'opening-up' of East Timor, much discussed in Indonesia since the middle of 1988.

*

The Information Bureau of Fretilin in Lisbon reported on 26 December that the build-up of Indonesian troops began in August, in particular in the rugged mountainous region of Matebian. In August, 15 battalions were operating there, supported by aircraft and heavy artillery. Two months later, the number of battalions increased to 25, to safeguard security during Suharto's visit. By November, the number had risen to 32 battalions, making it a military operation not unlike the grim years of 1978 and 1979.

Fretilin also spoke of fierce fighting in the Matebian mountain range, with heavy casualties on both sides.

Sources in Jakarta, quoted in both the *BBC World Service* and in *The Guardian* [12 December] also spoke of a massive security operation at the time of Suharto's visit when about 3,000 people were arrested, two to three hundred in Dili alone. One of the arrested was said to have been holding a grenade just a few hundred yards from the president. Pamphlets were circulated in Dili criticising Indonesia. In Hera, a Dili suburb, an Indonesian flag was torn up and burnt.

Fretilin reported in a press release on 31 December that two platoons from battalions 744 and 745 plus 25 militias were being held in Comarca Prison, Dili for involvement in clandestine activities with the resistance. Most of the 3,000 people detained had been released, but according to Fretilin, seven students of the S. Jose School were still being held "along with public servants and Indonesian transmigrants".

"BARBARIC TREATMENT"

On 5 December, Mgr Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of East Timor issued a Pastoral Note, strongly condemning the mass arrests and maltreatment of detainees. He wrote:

"Both before and after the coming of the President, many people were taken into custody for interrogation. Following interrogation, some were placed under arrest and others, as well as being detained, were slapped, beaten and tortured.... This method, which has become routine in Timor, is condemned by both civilised law and Christian morality. We express herewith our disagreement, since the fundamental rights of the individual have been abused, as well as the dignity of men and women. We oppose this barbaric system and condemn the lying propaganda, according to which human rights violations do not



Suharto looks on as members of the Pramuka scout movement perform in Dili. [*Tempo*, 31 December 1988]

exist in East Timor." [Quoted in *East Timor News*, 8 January]

Many of the detainees belong to a new nationalist organisation called the Association of St Anthony, an offshoot of the Catholic Church. Eight leaders were arrested prior to the president's visit as a precaution.

LARGE-SCALE DEFECTIONS

Some of the arrests were connected with the defection of 250 Timorese who fled into the bush, taking 150 weapons. The group was apparently led by Alfonso Pinto, a former member of the Regional Assembly of East Timor.

The intelligence chief of Korem, the Resort Military Command, Colonel Slamet who was responsible for the president's security during his visit, was held responsible for these defections and was replaced by his deputy, Colonel Bimo Prakoso. The *Guardian* had suggested that he was removed for overreacting about the security situation. ★

STOP PRESS

When Fretilin forces attacked the Taibesse post at the end of 1988, as mentioned above, they damaged an army ammunition dump, killing 84 soldiers. 27 more were wounded, many of whom were rushed to Jakarta.

Fretilin sources in Darwin also say other towns came under attack on New Year's Day, including Baukau, Viqueque, Lospalos and Alas. ★

The future management of East Timor

After much high-level confusion in Indonesia following a call by Governor Carrascalao for East Timor to be 'opened up', it was decided at the end of the year to grant East Timor 'equal status' with Indonesian provinces. It was announced in Jakarta that as from 29 December, the 1974 Law No 5 on Regional Government would apply to East Timor. Whether 'equal status' means opening it up to greater access is yet to be seen but the deteriorating security situation does not augur well for Carrascalao's plans.

Two groups have been vying with each other over developments in East Timor. One group consists of civilians like Carrascalao, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and General Rudini, the Interior Minister, who have been pushing for change so as to improve Indonesia's image. The other group is composed primarily of officers who have been involved with East Timor for years and who want to keep things as they are, in the grip of the army, so as to keep control of the economy.

One side favours a so-called *Operasi Senyum* or Smiling Operation to win the hearts and minds of the population while the other side goes for a tough, security approach and argues that handling the East Timorese with kid gloves means asking for trouble.

Under the previous commanders-in-chief, General Yusuf and General Murdani, both policies existed and were applied as conditions demanded. Colonel Purwanto, who was Korem commander in the early eighties, advocated the smiling policy but was dismissed by Murdani because Fretilin forces grew stronger as a result.

The present armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno, although an old East Timor hand himself, has been much less involved with the East Timor

adventure than Murdani and Yusuf who kept control of security and military operations in their hands. This is not the case with General Sutrisno and it is not surprising that people like Carrascalao used this 'power vacuum' to call for the 'opening up' of the region.

"PROVINCIAL" MANAGEMENT

East Timor has never been run like an Indonesian province. With regard to the military structure, on top of the territorial structure there is a special command called *Koopskam* to cope with security and keep the territory on a war footing.

In 'civil' affairs, besides the provincial administration under the governor, there are two rarely-mentioned structures directly under Jakarta's control. Interior Minister General Rudini said on 12 December that these two structures, the *Tim Koordinasi Antar Departemen Urusan Timor* (Coordinating Inter-Departmental Team on East Timor) chaired by the Secretary-General of the Interior Department, and the *Tim Pelaksana Pembangunan Pusat* (Central Team for Development Implementation) directly under the commander-in-chief, should now be reviewed. This suggests that Rudini wants them dissolved now that the objective of 'ensuring East Timor's integration' has been achieved.

The first team is under Major-General Nugroho, a tough intelligence officer who was in charge with running the 1987 elections and was most likely also responsible for stage-managing the elections in East





**Cantolenda Maubere
Hananuknanoik
Maubere
The legends
of the Mauberes
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Pinturas e desenhos de António P. Domingues

TIAMOR

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1988

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Pinturas e desenhos de António P. Domingues

Distribuição para Portugal: DIGLIVRO, Rua Ilha do Pico, 3B - Pontinha • 1675 Lisboa
Preço: 4.000\$00

Distributor for other countries: FABC, Rua Caetano Alberto, 19 • 1000 Lisboa, Portugal
Price: US\$30,-Dol.

Timor. The second team was in the hands of General Murdani as commander-in-chief. This, combined with his overall supervision of Koopskam, made him the virtual boss of East Timor. Now that East Timor is to be run like 'an ordinary province', the role of the Interior Ministry will be enhanced, but this is the most highly militarised part of the bureaucracy anyway.

Although Rudini promised that East Timor would be opened up by the new year, all that changed was East Timor's status as a province. But in order to test the significance of the change, several Indonesian journalists tried to book as passengers on the Kupang-Dili flight only to find that they still needed special permits. People in Jakarta who tried to book a flight to Dili had the same experience.

For East Timorese who collaborate with the Indonesians, 'opening up' would bring obvious advantages. For the Carrascalao family with its coffee interests it would mean an end to the monopoly of PT Denok, the company owned by the Indonesian military. Jose Antonio Dos Reis Araujo, chairman of the Regional Coordinating Board for Capital Investments and eldest son of East Timor's first puppet governor, has complained of the difficulties foreign investors face as long as East Timor continues to be subject to special security measures as now. When a group of Indonesian businessmen visited Dili recently, none of them showed any enthusiasm and the tour ended in failure.

Another high-ranking East Timorese in favour of

'opening up' is Jose Gonçalves, director of the East Timor Regional Development Bank. The son of the second puppet governor of East Timor Guilherme Gonçalves, he wants development projects like road building, bridge construction and water-works to be encouraged so as to promote the creation of a local indigenous class of entrepreneurs. As yet, all that has happened, according to him, is that East Timor has changed from a street-hawker economy into a taxi and bus economy. ★

CARRASCALAO AND THE TELEPHONE

After the new telephone exchange was installed in Dili last July, Governor Carrascalao got a nasty shock when he tried to make an inter-local call on the first day. He was unable to make his connection, banged the phone down and sought an explanation from the security people. He was told that not all conversations could take place over the phone. There is a system of selection but no-one seems to know what the criteria are. This made Carrascalao realise that East Timor was not yet open. [Tempo, 31 December 1988]

East Timor at the UN Decolonisation Committee

We continue below our summary of petitions at the UN Decolonisation Committee in August 1988 when 21 petitioners, individuals as well as organisations, spoke about East Timor. Other petitions were summarised in *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 89.

Roque Rodriques, member of the Central Committee of Fretilin, said that there are at least 20,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor in units stationed everywhere, down to the smallest towns. "Baukau airport, built by the Portuguese in the late 1960s and capable of receiving almost any aircraft, has been closed to international traffic since 1975, having become a major military base. No foreign visitors to East Timor have ever been allowed to approach this airport."

Meanwhile the resistance movement had grown in size, strength and organisational capability while Fretilin and the UDT, now linked in a national convergence, represent the overwhelming majority of the people. Discrimination in the schools has made the youth more restless while students in East Timor and in Indonesia have suffered harassment, imprisonment and assassination.

Rodriques described Indonesian promises to open East Timor up as lies. "We even heard that an international telephone service had been inaugurated. (Before the Portuguese left), there was a telephone network linking every district and the country with the rest of the world. Journalists could send their stories by telex. Today, East Timor is completely cut off from the outside world."

Referring to the International Red Cross, he said its presence consists of an occasional visit by a nurse. "The ICRC is not fulfilling its mandate which, inter alia, calls for prison visits, tracing missing persons and protection of civilians in areas of conflict. Hundreds of prisoners in remote military camps have had



Bishop Patellio Finau of Tonga, a petitioner for East Timor at the UN Decolonisation Committee last August. His statement was summarised in *TAPOL Bulletin* no 89.

no protection whatsoever. They are not even recognised as political prisoners or POWs."

He described Indonesia, which ironically is a member of the UN Decolonisation Committee, as a "stone-age conqueror". The East Timorese favour negotiations with Indonesia without conditions. He called for a referendum or free elections under UN supervision, unless an alternative formula is found in negotiations held under conditions mentioned above. A free East Timor would work towards regional cooperation and would apply for membership of ASEAN, he said.

Moises do Amaral, representing the UDT, was sure that any referendum would result in total rejection of integration. He said that Indonesian attempts to

persuade Timorese in Australia to visit East Timor had been rejected because people knew this would be used as propaganda by Indonesia.

He strongly condemned Indonesia's acts of physical and cultural genocide. "This crime has stopped for a while due to international condemnation but we have serious reason to believe that it may continue if the free world accepts the *fait accompli*."

UDT believes that Indonesian colonialism is much worse than Portuguese colonialism ever was. Unlike Indonesia, Portugal has repeatedly pointed out that it does not have territorial ambitions over East Timor.

The UDT and Fretilin, he said, had reached an agreement of equal footing and cooperation, and Indonesia should now consider seriously the necessity of a dialogue on an equal footing with the National Convergence set up by UDT and Fretilin.

Rui Quartin-Santos, representing the Portuguese government, listed recent international actions on East Timor's behalf:

* The UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities decision of September 1987 on new human rights allegations, later endorsed by the UN Human Rights Commission in February 1988.

* The EEC-ACP, with members from 78 countries from Africa, the Caribbean, the Pacific and Europe adopted a resolution in October 1987, upholding East Timor's right to self-determination.

* The Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting in October 1987 adopted a resolution inviting all the parties concerned to reach a settlement in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

* At the UN Human Rights Commission in March 1988, several governments and NGOs drew attention to abuses in East Timor. He mentioned in particular the statement of Cristiano Costa, who recently left East

Timor, whose statement at the UN Human Rights Commission was circulated at the UN by Portugal.

* The Pope referred to East Timor when receiving the credentials of the new Indonesian ambassador.

* For the first time in March 1988, the Twelve EEC had agreed a common position on East Timor, supporting negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal to achieve an internationally-acceptable solution ensuring the Timorese people their rights and cultural identity.

* The (draft) resolution of the European Parliament adopted in March.

Kozabura Yamada, for the Japanese Dietmen's Forum on East Timor, referred first to last year's petitioner, a Japanese ex-serviceman who was part of the Japanese occupation forces in East Timor during the Pacific War. He himself fought elsewhere in the Japanese army for six years without realising what sort of war it was. Those who wage wars of invasion, he said, carry out information control and oppression of dissidents. "They encourage brutality against the enemy and change the character of persons."

He told the Committee that the 74 members of the Dietmen's Forum had agreed to join the new organisation, *Parliamentarians for East Timor* and intend to augment those working for the East Timor cause by taking full advantage of this new framework.

"Between Japan and Indonesia, the economic relation is close. Indonesia is the largest recipient of aid from Japan. But our government has never told her friend Indonesia that she should stop the invasion of East Timor. So we pledge to do our best to encourage the Japanese government to be strong and sincere enough to demand (that) its close friend, Indonesia, (has) the will to make peace." Referring to PM Takeshita's pledge at the UN Special Session on Disarmament to contribute to world peace, he said: "If Japan really wants to make a contribution towards world peace, it has to give top priority to the East Timorese cause."★

Jakarta puts pressure on UN experts

In a report on the proceedings of the August 1988 meeting of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the International Commission of Jurists said that the most heated discussions on human rights violations took place regarding Iraq and East Timor.

"The situation in East Timor was the focus of interventions by Portugal and Angola. Portugal noted that Indonesia had failed to comply with the request made by the Sub-Commission resolution 1987/13 to allow unrestricted access and facilities to humanitarian organisations and instead had 'established a veritable barricade around East Timor'. A draft resolution reiterated this request and called on Indonesia to observe the human rights of the people of East Timor. Despite ample evidence of continuing gross violations of human rights in East Timor, a strong lobbying effort by Indonesia resulted in the 10 (for), 9 (against) and 5 (abstentions) passage of a motion to take no action on the resolution."

Regarding the nature of Indonesian lobbying, the ICJ commented:

"While some experts including William Treat (USA) complained of being harassed by NGOs in support of particular resolutions, only expert Asbjörn Eide

(Norway) raised the more troubling question of government pressure on experts. The People's Republic of China (concerning Tibet), Indonesia (concerning East Timor) and Iraq were each reported to have contacted governments asking them to put pressure on their supposedly independent experts. In the case of Indonesia, for example, two experts not only withdrew their names as co-sponsors of a resolution on East Timor, but voted in favour of a motion not to consider the resolution." [See International Commission of Jurists, *The Review*, No 41, December 1988, pages 30-31 and 34-35.] ★



East Timor campaign in Japan gathers momentum

Two East Timorese refugees, Jose Guterres from Lisbon and Jose Gusmao from Darwin, spent nearly four weeks in Japan from 18 November till 9 December, as part of a Freedom and Independence for East Timor campaign organised by the Free East Timor Japan Coalition. The two Timorese spoke at more than 20 public meetings in cities throughout Japan, from Sapporo (Hokkaido) in the north to Naha (Okinawa) in the south.

Gusmao who was arrested by the Indonesians in 1978, eventually left East Timor in 1985 and is now a member of the Fretilin committee in Darwin. Guterres works at the Fretilin office in Lisbon. He was arrested in 1979 and after his release from detention on Atauro, he worked for the International Red Cross in Dili until his departure for Lisbon in 1987. During his stay in Japan, he delivered an aide memoire on the operations of the Red Cross in Timor to Hatano Riboh, Japanese delegate to the UN Human Rights Commission.

The meetings were well reported in the national and local press and on television. In one city, there was a 20-minute programme on TV.

The rally in Okinawa, held on December 7, the eve of Japan's launching of the Pacific War, highlighted a theme that emerged almost everywhere: the East Timor issue as a mirror of the repressive nature of Japan's economic role in Asia today. Many who attended the rallies reacted with shock to revelations about conditions in East Timor and with disgust and anger at Japan's economic and diplomatic support for Indonesia's genocidal war.

PROMOTING JAPAN'S COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

The speakers drew attention to the support which Japan gives to Indonesia and asked people to put pressure on the Japanese government to stop giving economic assistance. They also pointed out that Japan's relations with Indonesia were largely determined by commercial considerations. "Japan cannot do things unfavourable to Indonesia because it depends on Indonesia for about 15 per cent of its oil imports. Japan is putting higher priority on its economic benefits than on the lives of the people of East Timor", said Gusmao.

Japan is Indonesia's largest economic aid donor country. It also has extensive trade links with Jakarta. At the UN, it has been one of the most vociferous supporters of the Indonesian takeover of East Timor.

The two Timorese visitors spoke in particular about the Y8.3 billion in aid from Japan to jam non-official radio transmissions. They cited a facility in Kupang, West Timor to monitor and locate the origin of 'illegal' shortwave broadcasts. Fretilin's clandestine shortwave broadcasts to Australia, reopened in 1985, are believed to be a prime target of these monitoring facilities. "Radio communications are the only means with which people in East Timor can convey their present situation to the outside world," said Gusmao. He told a meeting of the all-party parliamentary forum for East Timor, which has the support of 78 members of the Diet, that a lot of people had since been killed by Indonesian bombardment of the area in the vicinity



Jose Gusmao speaking at a meeting of the Diet Forum on East Timor. Jose Guterres is seated on the right.

of the station.

According to *Japan Times* [13 December 1988], an unnamed Japanese Foreign Ministry official acknowledged that the government had helped finance a facility "to prevent illegal radio communications from jamming legal and emergency communication links in Indonesia" but denied that the aid was intended to destroy the independence movement in Indonesia. Gusmao, a former high school teacher who now lives with his wife and family in Darwin, strongly denied that Indonesia was contributing to the development of East Timor by, for instance, building hospitals. He told the many audiences he spoke to the heart-breaking story of how one of his own children was killed in hospital when staff turned off the oxygen tube into an incubator. In fact, the baby should never have been put into an incubator because its weight, at 2800g, was normal. The night before, his wife had fed the baby, but the next morning they were told that the baby had died. There were pink spots on the baby's body indicating that it died of lack of oxygen. A nurse at the hospital said: "This happened because the child's father was a Fretilin member."

Gusmao had many other examples of serious medical abuse. One concerned a relative who was given a Depo Provera injection without her knowledge. She later became pregnant but then had a miscarriage. A friend who went to hospital for treatment was given medicine which made him vomit. He was able to treat the complaint by taking a traditional anti-toxin. When he complained to the doctor, he was told that it was an accident. But the same 'accident' occurred again. This explains why people in East Timor have so little faith in the medical facilities made available by the Indonesians in Timor.

FAST GROWING SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

The East Timor Coalition which organised the speaking tour was formed in July 1988 to facilitate coordination among eight solidarity groups. These are called 'citizens' groups' which are unaffiliated with political parties or trade unions. The Catholic Peace and Justice Commission also belongs to the Coalition and the all-party Diet Form on East Timor participates as an observer. Besides the groups in the Coalition,

numerous groups all over Japan jointly or independently organised meetings in each locality. At the end of the tour, a new group was set up in Sapporo; this group includes a number of Japan's indigenous Ainu people.

The Indonesian embassy made its own efforts to undermine the impact of the tour. At the final meeting in Musashino, near Tokyo, personnel from the embassy (these are likely to have been some of the thousands of Indonesian students studying in Japan) distributed Indonesian pamphlets on East Timor in the Japanese language. ★

Church becoming an extension of the army?

Last August, AFP in Jakarta reported that the Catholic Church in East Timor was nearing a critical stage in negotiating with the guerrillas about surrendering to the Indonesians. This was not the first time the Church had had high-level contacts with the guerrilla command but it was the first time that doubt was cast on the Church's role.

The following is based on information assembled by the church-based group in Lisbon, *Peace is Possible*:

THE FATUMACA MEETING

In July 1988 Father Locatelli along with some Timorese planned a meeting with the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao. Father Locatelli, an Italian missionary and director of the Fatumaca vocational school near Baucau, has had links with the resistance for some time. He once started urging those still seeking refuge in the mountains to come down and guaranteed their safety. He saved many lives, with the result that many East Timorese are grateful to him. However these people were driven into the hands of the Indonesian army and sent to resettlement camps so that the Indonesians were also grateful.

His school is caught up in similar contradictions. While Timorese people appreciate his efforts, the Indonesians finance the school and affirm their rights over it. Father Locatelli is the only priest allowed by the Indonesians to go to Fretilin areas to officiate at weddings and administer the Holy Mass.

THE ROLE OF THE VATICAN

As long ago as April 1986 Locatelli helped organise a meeting between Monsignor Belo, the Apostolic Administrator, and Commander Xanana Gusmao which was held in Fatumaca school on the night of 25 April. Monsignor Belo suggested that, to save the lives of the guerrillas and their families, they should leave the country after laying down their arms. He was, it seems, merely transmitting a message from the Vatican, but not necessarily backing the plan himself. Commander Xanana's answer was clear: "We are not defending personal interests; are they going to remove all the Timorese from East Timor?"

In a letter to Monsignor Costa Lopes, the former Apostolic Administrator now living in Lisbon, Xanana criticised the Vatican for sending "the Apostolic Administrator and his Italian and Spanish collaborators" to ask the resistance "to capitulate". This letter was dated March 1988, nearly two years later. *Peace*



Madame Tien Suharto, with Bishop Belo, at the newly-built cathedral in Dili. [*Kompas*, 3 November 1988]

is Possible believes that more encounters must have occurred in the intervening period. It is almost certain that the Indonesian military command did not know about these encounters, but at a later stage realised what was going on.

The role of the Vatican, like that of Locatelli, can best be described as slippery. On the one hand, the Pope has appealed to the Indonesian Government to respect "the ethnic, religious and cultural character of the East Timorese people", while suggesting to the East Timorese resistance that they surrender.

At the diplomatic level, Monsignor Canalini, the Pro Nuncio in Jakarta has told the Indonesian press that the East Timorese Church cannot be integrated with the Indonesian Church as it would be tantamount to recognising political integration and, as he says, "the



Vatican cannot do that". But the Pro Nuncio has asked Mgr Belo to participate in the activities of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference and to apply its decisions in the diocese of Dili.

Vatican deviousness can best be seen in the recent installation of Mgr Belo as Bishop. Those not familiar with church practices will not be aware of the difference between a titular bishop and a Resident Bishop. Belo became Titular Bishop of Loreum, a place somewhere in Italy, while the position of Resident Bishop of Dili remains vacant. This keeps all sides happy; the Indonesians are content because the Dili diocese is now run by a bishop and the Portuguese Church is satisfied because the Vatican avoided appointing a resident bishop for Dili until a just solution of the question of East Timor has been found.

ARMY SETS A TRAP

In July 1988 Father Locatelli, Joaquim Guterres, 'Ernesto', a link with the Resistance, and Aleixo Ximenes, head of the Baucau Regional Assembly, were scheduled to meet the resistance, including Xanana Gusmao. But what was the purpose of the encounter?

How did the Indonesian army get to know about it in advance? As it turns out, an Indonesian platoon accompanied the four under the pretext of safeguarding their safety. When the guerrillas approached the Locatelli team, the red-beret platoon surrounded them. Fortunately, Xanana had stayed behind with reserve troops. It was now the turn for the guerrillas to surround the Indonesian military. A fight started and all the Indonesian soldiers were killed. Joaquim Guterres and 'Ernesto' were later taken prisoner by officers from the Baucau garrison and subsequently taken to Dili for interrogation (and torture) at Koopskam, the special military command. Father Locatelli was later also taken to Dili and interrogated. Aleixo Ximenes is reported to have fled, taking refuge at Mgr Belo's home.

These incidents explain why relations between the resistance and leading members of the church have become strained, although it may be that, in this particular case, Locatelli was more or less a hostage of the Indonesians. The Vatican and leading members of the Catholic Church in East Timor need to be called to account for the way they have ignored the aspirations of the East Timorese people. ★

BOOK REVIEW

Keith Foulcher, *Social Commitment in Literature and the Arts: The Indonesian 'Institute of People's Culture,' 1950-1965*, Centre of South East Asian Studies, Monash University, 1986.

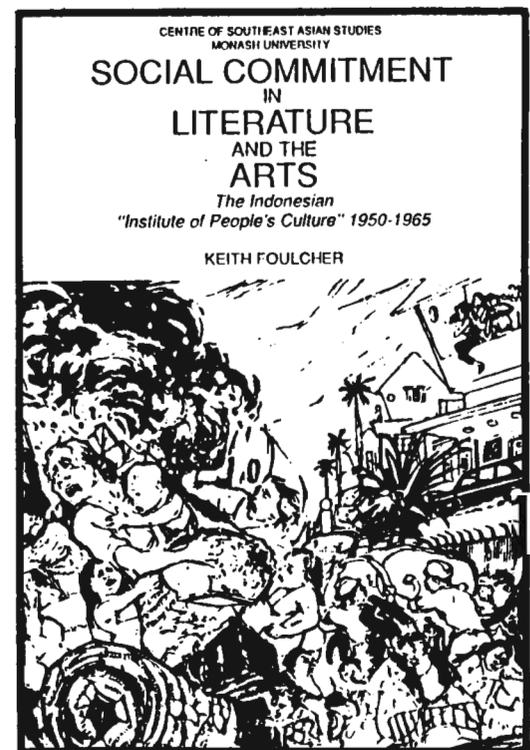
The Institute of People's Culture [*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*] or Lekra as it was known, was one of the many mass organisations smashed in 1965, along with the Indonesian Communist Party. Outlawed by the army as soon as General Suharto seized power, many of its members were thrown into jail, disappeared or were killed in the slaughter unleashed in October 1965.

Those who survived have not been able to resume cultural work because of continuing persecution. Pramoedya Ananta Toer is just one of the better known of these silenced victims of persecution.

Keith Foulcher's study of the evolution of Lekra is, to my knowledge, the only attempt to look sympathetically at one of the organisations destroyed with such ferocity when Suharto came to power. The value of this study goes beyond what it says about Lekra; it provides insights into the conflicts that polarised political life in the decade preceding the calamitous events of October 1965.

The leftwing tradition in Indonesian literature represented by Lekra has been pilloried and caricatured by those who gained the ascendancy in the world of culture under military rule. Those in whose hands the history of modern Indonesian literature has till now rested, the Dutch linguist and critic, A. Teeuw, and his Indonesian disciple, H.B. Jasin, have shown nothing but contempt for Lekra, seeing it as being "ideologically motivated" and hence losing "its last vestige of credibility or conviction as an artistic creed". Foulcher sets out to correct this view, arguing that there can be no justification for treating 'literature' and 'ideology' as discrete categories.

A problem he addresses is Lekra's focus on the socially-committed content of artistic works while



failing to develop its own ideas about the kind of aesthetics which would have best served the literature it sought to promote.

FLOURISHING UNDER GUIDED DEMOCRACY

The most productive years of Lekra's existence were undoubtedly the years of Guided Democracy (1959-1965) which created a climate conducive to its interests. There was a flowering of arts in the regions, and many regional folk-drama groups joined the organisation. Lekra however was biased in favour of the unitary ideology and did not promote literature in regional languages, believing it was necessary to build a national culture in order to build a strong Indonesia.

It championed government policy and attacked

cultural workers it considered to be out of step, resulting in a fierce polemic between Lekra writers and those opposed to the government. Similar conflicts developed among trade unions, peasant, youth and student organisations. But it is only the conflict that flared up in the cultural field that still reverberates. This is primarily because Pramoedya, himself a leading protagonist in that polemic, has succeeded, despite the difficulties he faces as a former prisoner, in re-appraising the roots of radical, modern Indonesian literature, and challenging the standard version.

International recognition of Pramoedya's prolific writings since his release has aggrieved many former rivals and provoked them into pursuing him relentlessly, trying to discredit him for his contributions to the pre-1965 polemic. That polemic has therefore been a focus of much attention recently.

Although Lekra championed government policy, it was itself a target of military repression, giving the lie to the claim that it was somehow responsible for the difficulties its opponents faced under Sukarno. In 1960, Pramoedya spent nine months in prison for publishing a book in defence of the Chinese minority. Writings of many other Lekra poets and playwrights were banned in 1961 and 1962.

THE MANIKEBU AFFAIR

The polemic culminated in Lekra's opponents issuing a statement in 1964 called *Manifesto Kebudayaan* or Cultural Manifesto, which became known as 'Manikebu'. They acclaimed universal humanism to be their guiding principle and rejected Lekra's political commitment, but Foulcher sees through the strategy and suggests that, behind this 'universalist' creed, Manikebu was a covert move by the army to confront Lekra.

Foulcher's suspicion of army involvement has recently been confirmed by Goenawan Muhamad, a Manikebu signatory and now editor of *Tempo*. In a recent essay he set out to defend the anti-Lekra campaign, levelling many allegations against the banned organisation, while knowing full well that no Lekra member in Indonesia could ever reply.

After condemning the persecution of those, like himself, who were regarded as counter-revolutionaries under Guided Democracy, Goenawan wrote: "It must now be admitted that this repression can hardly be compared with that suffered by pro-communist writers and intellectuals after the PKI was violently and bloodily destroyed in 1965." Yet, he adds that Manikebu "had no illusions about what their fate might have been had the PKI come to power". How does one compare the evils committed by Suharto with assumptions about 'what might have happened'?

Goenawan frankly acknowledges the army's role in the anti-Lekra offensive. The meeting at which Manikebu was first discussed was attended by someone certainly not a writer, from Soks, an army-sponsored organisation. He also says that the leading Manikebu signatory, Wiratmo Soekito, worked for the army's secret service, and when Manikebu supporters held a writers' conference in 1964, the facilities were all provided by the army.*

A FLAWED ASSESSMENT

Foulcher draws attention to the PKI's increasingly interventionist role in Lekra affairs which included moving towards a policy of subjecting the works of Lekra writers to criteria established by the party. He suggests that such intervention had begun to sow

the seeds of conflict between the PKI and Lekra, but before this could flare up, both had fallen victim to a diabolical bloodbath.

He criticises Lekra for failing to assess correctly the strength of its political opponents. "The ideology and practice set in motion after 1955 and especially Lekra's identification with the state after 1959, brought it to a politics of confrontation before objective conditions could ensure ultimate success, whatever the outward signs of confidence and bravado. Enemies could be isolated and humiliated but the nature of political power in pre-1965 Indonesia meant that they were not thereby made powerless. They retained links with sources of actual power and now had good cause to harbour their own vendettas." [page 128].

Foulcher has included, in their Indonesian origin and in English translation, a number of poems and short stories by Lekra writers, some of which deserve recognition as classics of Indonesian literature.

Carmel Budiardjo

* Goenawan Muhamad, *Peristiwa 'Manikebu': Kesusastran Indonesia dan Politik di Tahun 1960-an* (The 'Manikebu Affair: Indonesian Literature and Politics in the 1960s) in *Tempo*, May 1988.

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Black Brothers in Australia

The five members of the Black Brothers pop group who were arrested in Vanuatu on 14 June 1988 for an alleged breach of the country's immigration laws have been allowed to go to Australia. They arrived in Australia on 11 November, and their families followed a few days later. The 18 strong group is now being housed in Canberra by the Melanesian Solidarity/NFIP (Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific) network. All have been given temporary residence permits valid for 6 months, and have applied for refugee status. They plan to resume their activities as a pop group and a major concert is planned for April this year.

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