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Nobel Prize a victory for East Timor

The decision of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee to award this year's Peace Prize to two leading crusaders for the rights of the East Timorese people is a stunning victory for the people of East Timor and a humiliating defeat for the regime of President Suharto which has illegally occupied the country for twenty-one years.

The decision, announced on 11 October, was received with elation by thousands of East Timorese living in exile, by the world solidarity movement and above all by the people of East Timor themselves. As for the Suharto regime, it is still trying to come to terms with this devastating setback in their efforts to stifle international interest in the issue and convince the United Nations to legitimise its unlawful annexation of East Timor.

The two 1996 Nobel laureates are: **Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo**, head of the Catholic Church of East Timor, and **Jose Ramos-Horta**, co-chairman and external representative of the resistance movement, the National Council for Maubere Resistance.

The citation says that Indonesia has been 'systematically oppressing' the people of East Timor, resulting in the loss of one-third of the population 'due to starvation, epidemics, war and terror'. It continues:

'Carlos Belo, bishop of East Timor, has been the foremost representative of the people of East Timor. At the risk of his own life, he has tried to protect his people from infringements by those in power. In his efforts to create a just settlement based on his people's right to self-determination, he has been a constant spokesman for non-violence and dialogue with the Indonesian authorities. Ramos-Horta has been the leading international spokesman for East Timor's cause since 1975. Recently he has made a significant contribution through the "reconciliation talks" and by working out a peace plan for the region.

'In awarding this year's Nobel Peace Prize to Belo and Ramos-Horta, the Norwegian Nobel Committee wants to honour their sustained and self-sacrificing contributions for a small but oppressed people. The Nobel Committee hopes that this award will spur efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination.'

The Committee's chairman, Francis Sejersted told re-

porters, when announcing the decision: 'This was about to become a forgotten issue and we wanted to contribute to maintaining momentum.' [*New York Times* web site, 11/XI]

Bishop Belo's main concern when he heard the news, which was conveyed to him during Mass, was to urge his entire congregation not to openly celebrate. Uppermost in his mind was the need to avoid confrontation between wildly enthusiastic people and the armed forces in an extremely volatile atmosphere. In his first response, Bishop Belo described the award as 'a victory for East Timorese as well as for all Indonesians'. [*Financial Times*, 13/X] But he also said his responsibilities would increase because 'there will be many questions, criticism and suspicion'. [*International Herald Tribune*, 12-13/X] When asked

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whether he 'minded' sharing the prize with Ramos-Horta, Belo said on many occasions that he Horta was 'more entitled than me to get it for he has devoted his whole life to East Timor'.



A joyous occasion: Jose Ramos-Horta with East Timorese in Sydney

Ramos-Horta, who heard the news at his mother's flat in Sydney, said that he was 'humbled' by the decision. He has repeatedly declared that the leader of the resistance, Xanana Gusmao, not he, should have shared the honour with Bishop Belo. Xanana Gusmao is a prisoner in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta, serving a twenty-year sentence passed in May 1993. In his first interviews after the news broke, Ramos-Horta saluted Xanana Gusmao as 'an outstanding man of peace and democracy, a man of courage' [*The Times*, 12/X]

Profiles

Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo was born of peasant parents on 3 February 1948 in Baucau. After attending elementary school in Baucau and Ossu and the Senior High Seminary in Dare, he went to Portugal and spent six years studying philosophy and theology. After a short period of orientation back home in 1974 and early 1975, he went to Rome for further studies. He was ordained as a priest in 1981 and is a member of the Salesian Order. He returned to East Timor in 1981.

In 1983, the apostolic administrator, the late Mgr Martinhu da Costa Lopes, came under heavy pressure from Jakarta and was forced to resign because of his repeated condemnation of human rights violations. Belo was appointed to take his place. He was seen at the time as one of the more compliant priests. In particular, he had not witnessed the horrors of the invasion and the dreadful years of war in the late 1970s and early 1980s. He was not the man

other priests would have wanted in charge. In fact, most priests boycotted his inauguration in June 1983.

It did not take him long however to start making the same complaints as his predecessor. In February 1989, he sent a letter to the UN Secretary-General calling for a referendum in East Timor and declaring: 'We are dying as a nation.'

He was ordained Titular Bishop of Loreum (in Italy) in 1988. He has enjoyed massive support from the Catholic community in East Timor during a period when membership of the Church has grown by leaps and bounds. He is not a supporter of liberation theology and said recently, when asked, that such ideas can have no place in East Timor. He is a profound and humane nationalist, a constant critic of the forces of occupation and a gentle and courageous man of his people.

Jose Ramos-Horta was born in 1946 of mixed parentage. His father was one of many Portuguese who had been banished to East Timor for his opposition to the fascist regime, and his mother is East Timorese. In 1970, he went into exile in Mozambique and shortly after, had his first brush with the feared Portuguese secret police, PIDE.

After returning home and working for a time as a journalist, he was banished to Mozambique for several years. After returning to East Timor shortly before the fascist overthrow in Lisbon, he helped to found the ASDT, the social-democratic association which later transformed into FRETILIN, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor. During the hectic months before, during and after the month-long civil war between FRETILIN and the UDT in August 1975, Horta exerted a moderating influence on his party. He was in close contact with foreign journalists and aid workers who visited East Timor in the months prior to the Indonesian invasion in December 1975. When FRETILIN unilaterally declared independence on 28 November 1975, he was appointed foreign minister and was immediately sent abroad to campaign for recognition of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. After the invasion ten days later, he represented FRETILIN at the UN for many years until the funds ran out.

He took a course in international law at Oxford University and in the Netherlands. In 1990 he set up a Diplomacy Course at the Law Faculty of the University of New South Wales where he taught for many years. In 1987, he published *Funu: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor* which provides a fascinating portrayal of his work as a diplomat.

When the resistance movement transformed itself into the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) in 1986 under Xanana Gusmao, he was appointed co-chairman and its external representative.

In 1993, he was awarded the Rafto Human Rights Prize by the Thorolf Rafto Human Rights Institute in Norway. In the same year he launched the CNRM's Peace Plan for East Timor. Earlier this year he was awarded the UNPO Prize on his dedicated work for unrepresented peoples and their organisations.

In the international spotlight

The Nobel Prize has shot East Timor into the international spotlight as no other event has done since the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991. Indeed, the two events are inextricably linked. It was only after the massacre that East Timor became a truly international issue, forcing itself onto the international conscience as never before. This year's Nobel prize, which will be awarded to the two men in Oslo on 10 December, the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the prize, is another critical turning point in East Timor's struggle to end the tragedy and suffering of twenty-one years.



Bishop Belo tries to silence young East Timorese supporters outside his office in Dili.

Media coverage has been phenomenal. There has been widespread enthusiasm and recognition for the outstanding and tireless efforts of the two laureates. But some reports have insinuated that the two men have differing, even opposing, views on the way ahead for East Timor. Certainly, it would be impossible to expect the bishop, who lives and works within the country, surrounded day and night by a hostile army of occupation, to speak the same language as Ramos-Horta who has been exiled from his country since December 1975. But few commentators have remembered that it was Bishop Belo who wrote to UN Secretary General, Peres de Cuellar on 6 February 1989, saying: 'We are dying as a nation.' He called on the UN 'to start the most normal and democratic process, ie the holding of a referendum.' He went on: 'Indonesia says that the people of East Timor have already chosen integration but the people of Timor themselves have never said this.' It was more than five years before he received a reply.

Among the hundreds messages of congratulations for Bishop Belo was one from the President of Portugal and the leaders of Lusophone countries as well as from the Vatican, expressing 'deepest satisfaction'.

Indonesia in a state of shock

As for the Indonesian authorities, they could only speak of 'shock' and 'surprise'. 'Government spokesmen took their phones off the hook as the announcement was made', wrote Manuela Saragosa in the *Financial Times* [12-13/X] After gathering their senses, the Foreign Ministry said it was 'astounded' by the decision and expressed regret that 'such a reputable institution could award a person like Ramos-

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Horta who had clearly been involved in inciting the people of East Timor to separate from Indonesia. Many commentators in Jakarta blamed the Indonesian foreign service for failing to lobby successfully against the prize. The Nobel boomerang may be the reason for Jakarta's sudden decision to replace its ambassador at the Vatican by a man who was only recently appointed ambassador to Athens.

Making it clear that it regarded Ramos-Horta as the villain of the piece, Jakarta suggested for several weeks that it could 'accept' the award going to Bishop Belo as he, unlike his co-laureate, was a man of peace. Later on, Jakarta was to change its tune. (See below.) On the other hand, Ramos-Horta was described as an 'extremist', a 'political adventurer' who has 'manipulated the people for his own purposes', a war-monger who was 'responsible for killings in East Timor' (during a period when he wasn't even there), and a man who has 'commercialised' East Timorese politics for his own interests.

There is of course no difference at all on the basic issues between the two men. It should not be forgotten however that last year, in the weeks prior to the 1995 Nobel announcement, when Belo was known to be a front-runner, a malicious campaign was launched in the Indonesian press, accusing him of inciting inter-religious conflict in East Timor. One journal even said there was a 'grand design' to corner Indonesia 'which included the nomination of Bishop Belo for this year's Nobel Peace Prize and Carmel Budiardjo's Right Livelihood Award'. [TAPOL Bulletin No. 132, December 1995]

Distracting attention from the Peace Plan

Indonesia's slanderous accusations against Ramos-Horta are nothing new. In fact they go back several years, to 1993 which was the year when he launched his peace plan. The peace plan, which is a model of moderation, proposes the phased withdrawal of troops, the cessation of hostilities and other confidence-building measures in the first two-year phase, a five-year or ten-year period of autonomy with powers vested in a democratically-elected Territorial People's Assembly, leading ultimately to the period of self-determination when a referendum would take place. In 1994, Horta sent the plan to President Suharto for his consideration. He has never received a reply.

Jakarta clearly hopes that by demonising Horta, they will destroy his reputation as a peace-maker and conceal the fact that the CNRM is dedicated to resolving the conflict in a way, as Horta has repeatedly said, that would be face-saving for Indonesia.

While the Nobel Prize has shot East Timor into such prominence and given the solidarity campaign renewed vigour, the problems bedevilling a peaceful solution to the question of East Timor will not disappear overnight. Much depends on genuine efforts by the western powers which are so supportive of Suharto to take up the cudgels for East Timor. Perhaps Portugal's election to the UN Security

Council for two years starting in January 1997 will promote this objective. More governments around the world, especially in Latin America and Africa, need to come out in support of East Timor; the Nobel Prize could greatly help in this respect.

And last but certainly not least, public opinion in Indonesia and leaders of the pro-democracy movement in par-

ticular need to understand that Indonesia's image abroad, so badly bruised by its faltering diplomatic battle over East Timor, can only be restored if the government is ready to face the need to resolve the conflict. Indeed, the huge public display of support for Bishop Belo in East Timor after he became the target of a vicious campaign of vilification a month after the Nobel Committee announced its decision should come as a salutary reminder to Indonesians that an end to the Indonesian occupation is the aspiration of the vast majority of the people of East Timor and not just the ravings of an 'extremist' by the name of Ramos-Horta. ★

Targetting Bishop Belo

After a month during which all the flak was reserved for Nobel laureate Ramos-Horta, his co-winner Bishop suddenly found himself at the centre of a government-orchestrated storm of abuse over remarks he made during an interview with a foreign journal. Suddenly he was no longer a man of peace but a man unworthy of being an Indonesian citizen and holding an Indonesian passport.

The storm burst because of some uncomplimentary remarks he made about living under Indonesian occupation. Bishop Belo has given many interviews to the foreign press over the years and he certainly tends to be more outspoken on such occasions by comparison with the occasional interviews he gives to the Indonesian media. He frequently boycotts the Indonesian press because of the way some newspapers and journals have seriously distorted his words.

During an interview published in the March 1996 issue of *Readers' Digest*, he described East Timor as a country 'stalked by terror'. Although distribution of that issue in Indonesia was blocked, nothing happened to thrust him into the spotlight. It seems that timing was of the essence. The interview that suddenly caught the regime's eye was published in the leading German weekly, *Der Spiegel* on 14 October. Things didn't get moving till a fortnight after it appeared, when government circles must have decided that Nobel prize-winner Belo was having too easy a time of it.

Published under the heading: 'They keep us as slaves', *Der Spiegel* quoted Bishop Belo as saying: 'The Indonesian military, which steals our freedom and destroys our culture, treats us as if we were scabby dogs. Justice is alien to them. The Indonesians are keeping us as slaves.' Asked whether he had tried dialogue, Belo replied: 'These people are not open to argument. When we talk, they beat us.'

The interview was conducted in June this year, during a visit to Dili by the weekly's correspondent in Beijing, Juergen Kremb.

Ministerial kick-off

The anti-Belo campaign was triggered

by Minister-Coordinator for Security and Political Affairs, Soesilo Soe-darman who said that the government was 'collecting indications' about Bishop Belo because of the *Der Spiegel* interview. 'We are investigating everything. No one, including me, is free from investigation if we violate the rules and regulations.' [*Republika*, 7 November]

Other ministers and top army generals quickly followed suit, exploding with rage at Belo's abuse of his position as an Indonesian citizen. Some proposed that Belo should be summoned by Commission I of Parliament, the DPR, to 'answer for his behaviour'. The Commission later announced that it would summon the Catholic leader in December.

It so happens that Bishop Belo was due to travel to Jakarta to take part in the annual meeting of the Indonesian



Bishop Belo and 'demonstrators' at Jakarta airport.

Catholic Council of Bishops in mid November, which he sometimes attends as an observer. His presence in the capital gave several groups the opportunity to organise rowdy protests on his arrival at the airport and outside Parliament. Several thousand people staged a protest outside the Conference venue. During one demonstration, four Timorese who took part managed to extricate themselves from the crowd and fled to the Spanish embassy where they asked for political asylum. A few days later, they were flown to Portugal. Other demonstrators later told the press that they had been paid to take part.

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to take place. On Thursday 14 November, a large crowd of youngsters and school-children held protest rallies at the university and the polytechnic. They marched to the regional assembly building where they threw stones, causing widespread damage. They also called for an apology from a paper that had demanded Belo's expulsion from Indonesia. Many taking part had come from outside Dili, travelling on trucks or motorcycles. On Friday, several thousand people gathered at Comoro Airport, having heard that Belo was due to return; they later dispersed peacefully.

Two hundred thousand gather

On Saturday when Belo returned home from Jakarta, he was welcomed by thousands of people at the airport, and later that day spoke to a huge crowd estimated at 200,000 thousand people, after saying prayers at the Cathedral. *Associated Press* quoted a local reporter as saying that entire families had been pouring into Dili from all the 13 districts since Wednesday. 'It was the largest crowd in the history of the troubled territory ever to welcome a dignitary, even bigger than the 100,000-strong throng that greeted Pope John Paul II in 1989.' Catholic priests joined the protests and used loudspeakers to urge citizens to go to the airport and welcome Belo. Posters read: 'Bishop Belo belongs to East Timor', 'Do not touch Bishop Belo', and 'Long live Bishop Belo'. Two battalions armed with automatic rifles were deployed, but military commander, Colonel Mahidin Simbolon said: 'As long as they are peaceful, we will not interfere.' [AP, 16 November] Indonesian newspapers would only admit that a crowd of 15,000 had welcomed Belo.

The Bishop spoke to the crowd for forty minutes during which time there were frequent interruptions, rapturous applause and shouts of 'Viva Belo!'. Concerned as he always is that demonstrations might lead to clashes with the security forces, with injuries or deaths, Bishop Belo called on the crowd to disperse peacefully and urged the youth not to conduct any more demonstrations. This massive show of support, provoked by regime machinations against Belo, is the most striking evidence to date of the true feelings of the people of East Timor. Jakarta has only itself to blame for this.

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Asian business supports East Timor

A survey of top company executives in ten Asia-Pacific countries conducted by *Asia Business News* and *Far Eastern Economic Review* has revealed massive support for the cause of the East Timorese. Most of those surveyed (75.3 per cent) agree with the Nobel prize being given to the two East Timorese. [FEER, 21 November]

Asked whether Indonesia should allow East Timor to secede, almost 70 per cent of the respondents said yes. (This figure excludes the Indonesians who responded.) Hong Kong executives were 100 per cent in favour, the Philippines 81.8 per cent and Japan 73.3 per cent. Other ASEAN neighbours were slightly less enthusiastic: Singapore at 66.7 per cent, Malaysia at 53.3 per cent and Thailand at 50 per cent. Indonesian business leaders voted 100 per cent against secession.

At the crack of the whip, the Belo interview suddenly became the lead story in all newspapers in the capital, with some papers devoting several articles to the issue every day. There were calls for Belo to be stripped of his passport, to be prevented from travelling to Oslo, to be summoned for questioning by the Attorney General, even for him to be expelled from Indonesia. Newspapers filed stories from Europe, interviewed the interviewer, started searching high and low for stories about Belo, even spreading innuendoes about his private life.

Bishop Belo himself remained calm throughout. In a statement issued to the press before leaving for Jakarta, he said he would need to study the transcript of his words before making any comment. In Washington, Ramos-Horta warned Indonesia against escalating tensions at home and in East Timor as the award ceremony draws near. He quoted the bishop as telling him by phone: 'Now they want to eat me alive.' [IPS, 13 November]

Many East Timorese, including some who hold top positions in the Indonesian administration, warned that if the anti-Belo demonstrations in Jakarta and other parts of Java continued, the situation in East Timor could explode.

Massive East Timorese response

Meanwhile in East Timor, groups were getting ready to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre on Tuesday, 12 November. Several hundred people demonstrated on the day itself outside the University of East Timor, despite the high tension created by the armed forces who had warned young Timorese to keep off the streets. But soon, protests in support of Bishop Belo began

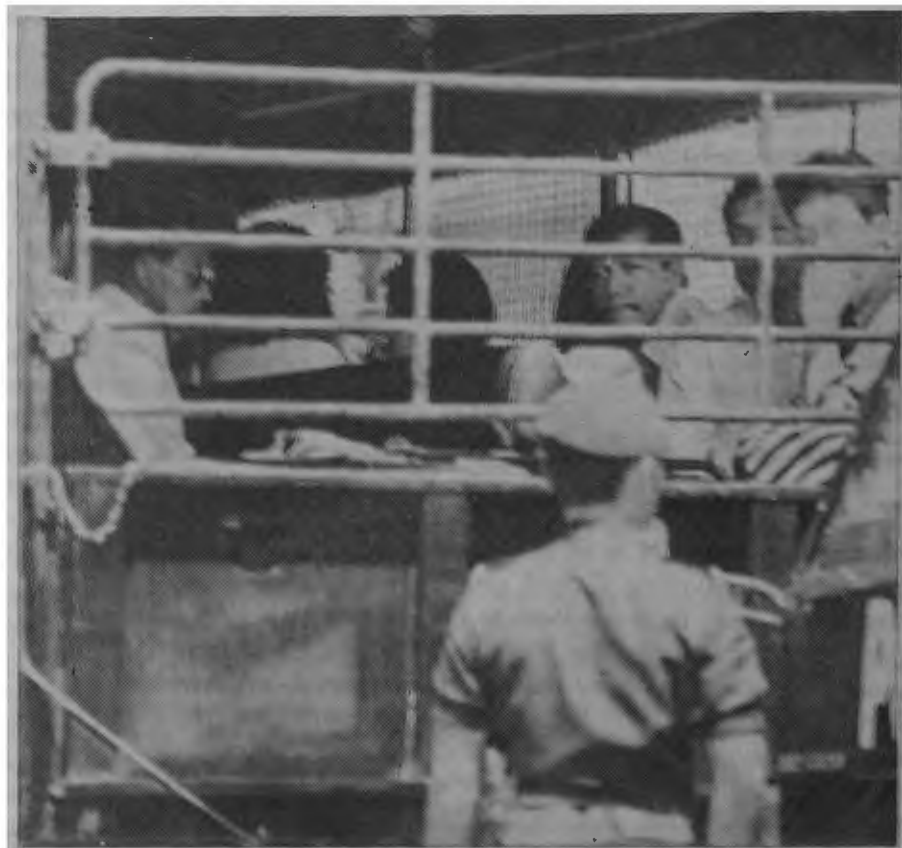
Human Rights Centre opened

An East Timor Human Rights Centre was officially opened in Melbourne, Australia on 17 October. The Centre is chaired by Bishop Hilton Deakin, with Maria Brett as the Director. The Centre has been operating since last year and has issued a number of Urgent Actions, based on carefully checked reports of abuses coming from all sources within East Timor. Its first Summary Report, covering the first nine months of 1996, was made public at the launch. Also present at the launch was Jose Ramos-Horta, Nobel Peace Laureate, who warmly welcomed the new Centre.

East Timor gathering broken up in KL

Member states of ASEAN have once again shown their determination to back the regional bully, Indonesia, by preventing activists from discussing East Timor. The Second Meeting of the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor in Kuala Lumpur was broken up by hooligans acting at the behest of Malaysia's ruling party, UMNO, while the Philippines barred East Timorese Nobel laureate Ramos Horta from visiting Manila during the November APEC summit.

The first Asia-Pacific conference on East Timor in Manila in June 1994 turned into a major international event when the country's president, Fidel Ramos, under strong pressure from Jakarta, barred more than three dozen foreign delegates, including two Nobel laureates, from entering the country. Attempts to ban the meeting were foiled when a court ruled this would be unconstitutional. As a result, the conference went ahead, was a major success and enjoyed unprecedented media attention. Since then there has been an upsurge in solidarity with East Timor throughout Southeast Asia and the Pacific. The second Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor attracted more than a hundred delegates coming from Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Singapore, Thailand, Korea, Bangladesh, Mexico, the United States and South Africa along with several East Timorese, one of whom attended on behalf of the British Coalition for East Timor.



Participants of APCET II being driven away in police vans.

The Malaysian authorities appear to have learnt nothing from the lessons of Manila. They could have ignored the second Asia-Pacific conference scheduled to take place in Kuala Lumpur from 9 - 12 November, looked the other way, and media attention might have been nothing out of the ordinary. In the event, the Malaysian authorities handled the matter far more violently than their ASEAN partner in Manila, unleashing hooligans, arresting all the participants and deporting all the foreign delegates. As the *Far East Economic Review* wrote, commenting on the use throughout Southeast Asia of extra-legal methods to smother dissent:

'The damage done to the country's reputation will take some time to live down. What would have been a minor blip on the human-rights front if the meeting had been banned was turned into a full-fledged international incident and a public-relations fiasco for Kuala Lumpur.' [*FEER*, 21 November]

A lawful gathering

Preparations for APCET-II had been underway for months with eight Malaysian organisations sponsoring the event: Suaram, Aliran, Sahabat Wanita, the Malaysian People's Party PRM, the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall (Youth Section), Awam, Just World Trust and the Centre for Peace.

Five days before the opening, Deputy Home Minister, Dato Megat Junid Megat Ayub met three of the conveners and appealed to them not to go ahead, saying the event would 'put Malaysia in a bad light as Indonesia might react negatively'. He also suggested that the event would not be in the national interest. He said nothing about a ban although AFP erroneously reported that the meeting had been banned. The following day, the organisers announced that after careful consideration, they had decided to go ahead, stressing that it was a private event, by invitation only. It would take place on the fourth floor of the Asia Hotel where all the delegates were staying. This conformed with what Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim had said, according to media reports, that the organisers would not need permission if it was held behind closed doors. Meanwhile, all senior editors were summoned by government officials and asked not to cover the conference, an order which not all papers complied with.

As a goodwill gesture, East Timorese resistance leader Jose Ramos-Horta, who was scheduled to deliver the key-

note speech, announced that he would not go 'in order to avoid putting Malaysia in a difficult position with the Indonesian government'.

On the following day, a delegate from Manila, Renate Constantino, Filipino convener of the first APCET, was barred from entering Malaysia to attend the conference. He later said he thought the authorities in Manila had tipped Kuala Lumpur off about his arrival. However, other delegates entered the country without difficulty.

Hooligans on the rampage

On 9 November, just as opening prayers were being said by an Indonesian woman delegate, Adhi Ayu Yanthi, loud noises were heard. The doors of the conference hall were shut to keep any intruders out and Malaysian stewards took up positions to protect their foreign guests. Minutes later, people outside the hall started banging on the doors and managed to smash their way in. Australian delegate Russell Anderson, who was a witness of the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991, takes up the story:

'The doors began to rock on their hinges as some participants held the door, fearing for what could eventuate. Most of us sat on the floor and took up a non-violent stance, clearing chairs away to the side. The middle door gave way and someone shouted, "they're in". I felt a chill go through me as they rushed towards us.... My mind cast back to those split seconds before Indonesian soldiers, in 1991, opened fire without warning on defenceless East Timorese.

'As they engulfed us, I thought there would be bloodshed. They pushed, and shoved and yelled insults inches away from our faces. For the next half hour we were subjected to extreme provocation. Some of us joined arms and stood around the ones sitting down. They threw chairs, tables, smashed glass, and kicked the partitions to get to people sitting on the ground.'

The participants were then given five minutes by the thugs to get out or be forced out. As they were halfway to the door, Malaysian police who had been doing nothing on a lower floor, arrived and prevented the delegates from leaving. Seven of the hooligans were arrested - but released a few hours later, without charge - while all the participants were told to disperse but minutes later were told that they were under arrest.

Asiaweek's Robert Mitton, who was among those arrested and held overnight described the hooligans as being 'pumped for action'.

'Some carried sticks, others bottles of water which they rained over the cowering delegates, others with bull horns carried out verbal assault: "We love Indonesia! We love Malaysia! We want harmonious neighbours! If you want to discuss this issue, go somewhere else. Get out! Out! Out!" Said opposition MP Lim Guan Eng, who was present: "It makes you ashamed to be Malaysian." Bar Council president Hendon Mohamad said: "It tarnished the image of the country overseas.'

UMNO youth wing involved

The hooligans, calling themselves the Malaysian Youth Action Front, were from the youth wing of UMNO, the ruling party in Malaysia which is headed by Prime Minister Mohamad Mahathir. Spearheading the attack was Saifuddin Nasution - whose name identifies him as someone from North Sumatra - political secretary of the Defence Minister

of Malaysia and secretary of UMNO's youth wing. With him were several members of its executive committee who are known never to act without the approval of the party leadership.

Prime Minister Mahathir and his deputy, Anwar Ibrahim, who were in Africa at the time, tried to distance themselves and their party from the assault. However, UMNO youth leader, Zahid Hamidi, who was travelling with the Prime Minister, confirmed that he had directed his people to break up the conference, claiming however, that 'I did not expect them to go breaking down doors... in such an unruly way'. [*Asiaweek*, 22 November]

As many commentators acknowledge, such methods are becoming the norm in Southeast Asia. The attack on APCET-II is almost an exact replica of the way in which the headquarters of Indonesia's PDI was assaulted in Jakarta on 27 July. Then too, paid thugs dressed in PDI uniforms, were used to cover up the role of the security forces in storming the building in order to oust the supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri. Only days before the APCET-II outrage, thugs hired by Burma's ruling SLORC attacked Aung San Suu Kyi as she was driving along a street in Rangoon.

And what was Indonesia's role? An Indonesian participant at the conference told TAPOL that in the hours immediately before the conference began, staff from the Indonesian embassy in KL were seen roaming in the vicinity of the hotel. A well-known Indonesian intelligence operative named Victor Tanya was present in the hotel at the time of the attack and was spotted talking to the hooligans.

What is clear is that ASEAN governments know, almost intuitively, how to act when their partners' interests are challenged. As Sidney Jones of New York-based Human Rights Watch/Asia said: 'The APCET-II debacle has put to rest any idea that ASEAN governments will allow any investigation of each other's human rights problems as long as this generation of leaders remains in power.' [*Human Rights Watch/Asia Statement*, 14 November]

*"We are dying as a people
and as a nation"*

Bishop Belo, 1987

EAST TIMOR
Getting away with murder?

Pictures and essays by
Hugh O'Shaughnessy



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Scores arrested and deported

What happened next was that everyone involved in the conference, Malaysian and foreign delegates, staff organisers, even the ten journalists who were in the hall at the time, were rounded up and taken into custody. The first to be taken away were all the foreign delegates after their passports were taken from them.. When the remaining participants gathered together to discuss what they should do next, the police officer in charge accused them of trying to continue with the conference but when they tried to disperse and leave the hall, they were blocked and placed under arrest.

Fifty-six Malaysians, including journalists, as well as three foreign journalists were taken away. All the women and some of the journalists were released on the following day; the remaining men were released in groups over the next few days. Reports at the time suggested first that they would be charged with holding an unlawful assembly, but subsequently - presumably because the meeting had never in fact been banned - the charge was changed to failing to disperse or resisting arrest. By 16 November, ten men were still being held. A police application for a three-day remand extension was rejected by the High Court and the men were released on bail. At the time of writing, it was not yet clear whether any would be formally charged; seven UMNO members who attacked the conference are to be charged.

All the deportees were driven in police vans to the Immigration Department and then taken to the airport hotel where they were left to await their departures, for much of the time without food or drink. Estevao Cabral, who was representing the BCET, told TAPOL that the hotel was

ringed by police who also roamed the corridors in large numbers. The phones in their rooms were disconnected. All were ordered to take the earliest flight back to their destinations.

Most at risk were the Indonesians and an East Timorese Ph.D student who had come to Kuala Lumpur from Adelaide. All had wanted to make their own way back. Most had lost their tickets in the confusion at the conference hall. But while arrangements were being made for them to get new tickets, the Indonesian embassy in KL stepped in and provided tickets for them all back to Jakarta. Helder da Costa, the East Timorese from Adelaide, was also provided with a ticket to Jakarta, against his wish. This placed him at great risk. He was deported first with the only woman among the Indonesians, Adhi Ayu Yanthi, representing the youth communications forum of the Muslim organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama. On arrival in Jakarta, they were subjected to four hours of questioning. It was only as a result of private representations from the Australian authorities that Helder's request to be allowed to return to Adelaide was granted.

However, the Australian government refused to protest to Kuala Lumpur over the arrest and deportation of ten Australians who went to attend the conference, on the grounds that they knew that the conference had been declared illegal (sic) by the Malaysian authorities. Amnesty International said later that this refusal to protest 'sends a clear signal that it is acceptable to detain individuals engaging in peaceful political and human rights activities' [*AI Statement*, 11 November]

The other eight Indonesians returned to Jakarta without mishap, though statements have since been made by security officers that their presence at the APCET conference is under investigation. The first to be called for questioning was Poncke Princen. ★

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mission, speaking after meeting a delegation from AJI, described the PWI action as 'deplorable'. 'AJI has never been outlawed, it is just unrecognised,' he said. [*Jakarta Post*, 18 October] Budyanta, dean of the University of Indonesia's School of Social and Political Sciences, said that the action against Goesti Emran was 'unreasonable'. 'I suspect that the magazine has revealed "undesirable" information from the government's point of view,' he said. [*Jakarta Post*, 17 October]

Two arrested for printing AJI journal

Two employees of a printing house in Jakarta have been arrested and have been charged for printing *Suara Independen*, the unlicensed publication of AJI, the Alliance of Independent Journalists. The two men, **Andi Syahputra**, 31, the printing house manager, and **Dasrul**, 60, a press operator, have been charged under Articles 134 and 137 of the Criminal Code for distributing materials defaming the head of state. If convicted they face up to six years in prison.

The printing house was raided and five thousand copies of the journal were confiscated. The raid occurred after Syahputra had been stopped by traffic police for a traffic offence; when the police discovered 300 copies of the journal in his car, they searched his home and went to the printing works.

Suara Independen is published by MIPPA, the Melbourne-based Society of Indonesian Alternative Media. It

circulated widely within Indonesia because of its coverage of uncensored reports about events that are not covered by the licensed media.

In a letter to President Suharto calling for immediate and unconditional release of the two men, the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, described their arrest as 'a blatant violation of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. [CPJ letter of 4 November]

AJI office assistant released

Danang Kukuh Wardoyo, a young man who was arrested twenty months ago when he was working for AJI, has now been released after serving the full sentence without a single day's remission. Danang was taken into custody during an AJI event in Jakarta when senior members of the organisation were held and later charged. Ahmad Taufik and Eko Maryono are still in custody, having recently been transferred to a prison in Cirebon, West Java.

The court which tried Danang ignored the fact that he was not a member of the organisation and was simply working as an office clerk while waiting to obtain a place in college to continue with his studies. ★

Carmel Budiardjo tours the US

TAPOL activist Carmel Budiardjo went on a month-long speaking tour of the US, sponsored by ETAN-US. A report of her visit will appear in the next issue of *TAPOL Bulletin*.

Continuing violations in East Timor

East Timorese youths will probably have to take the rap for the murder of an East Timorese officer in the Indonesian armed forces killed by his own superiors. Meanwhile an Indonesian soldier got off with sentence of eight months for the proven murder of a young East Timorese. Such is the justice meted out to the benighted people of occupied East Timor.

A young East Timorese named Azito Freitas from a village near Baucau was taken into custody on 28 October, on his way to Mass, and subjected to violent physical abuse to get him to confess to the killing of an East Timorese soldier and to implicate others in the murder. As a result of violent torture, he suffered a broken arm. There are grave fears for his safety and for the safety of others who may have been taken into custody in the same connection.

The East Timorese soldier, a sergeant known as Commander Juliao Fraga, was shot dead in Baucau on 24 October as he drove away from a meeting by motorbike; he had been hit repeatedly by gunfire. The Indonesian forces of occupation immediately alleged that Fraga had been killed by 'rebels' or by members of the clandestine front. However, reports from inside East Timor insist that he was murdered by members of the Indonesian army. These sources say that Fraga had raised strong objections to an order to kill a large number of young East Timorese. The order was given during a meeting with senior army officers. He was a member of Battalion 745 which is largely composed of East Timorese.

According to a report on *ABC National Radio* [3 November], three hundred members of Fraga's unit staged a mutiny, refusing to return to barracks, after attending his funeral. The incident highlights the shaky position of East Timorese who have opted to serve the occupiers, and the ever-present distrust felt among Indonesian troops for Timorese who enter their ranks.

Eight months for murdering a Timorese

An Indonesian soldier who confessed to shooting an East Timorese dead was sentenced to eight months, a month shorter than the sentence requested by the prosecutor. Passing sentence, the judge said the accused, Second Lieutenant Eka Hardianto, had never previously committed a misdemeanour and had also shown remorse for the crime. The fact that he had dependants was also taken into consideration.

The victim was Paulino dos Reis, 21, murdered on 25 April this year during a village ceremony. According to an Indonesian soldier who testified in court, he had overheard

the victim saying harsh things in his own language about the security forces and Indonesia. When he approached the man to challenge him, Paulino took offence, starting throwing stones and ran off, 'compelling the accused to fire warning shots'. The shots were not well aimed, the witness said, and Paulino fell dead. [*Kompas*, 14 July]

Two years for making petrol bombs

A month after the trial of Hardianto, an East Timorese member of the local legislative assembly (DPRD) in Manututo, Antonio Luis Soares, 26, was sentenced to two

years after being found guilty of an act of 'rebellion' and of making and possessing petrol bombs. A friend, Afonso Goncalves Viera, 19, tried on a similar charge, was sentenced to eighteen months. They were also accused of conspiring to separate East Timor from the Republic of Indonesia and of plan-

ning to hold a large demonstration on Christmas Eve last year, although the plan was abandoned at the last moment. Eight petrol bombs were discovered in Soares' home, the intention being, according to the court, to use them to destroy a number of vital installations.

The trial, which took place at the Dili district court, was attended by scores of people, in a show of support for the accused. [*Jawa Pos*, 22 August] According to earlier reports, at the time of his arrest, Soares was said to be a member of the PDI and represented the party in the DPRD.

21 sentenced for Baucau protests

Twenty-one East Timorese, all but one of whom are between the ages of 18 and 21, have been given sentences of up to four and a half years for their part in so-called riots in Baucau on 10 and 11 June this year. The protests erupted in the country's second largest town, where the main army base is located, after a member of the armed forces stuck a desecrated picture of the Virgin Mary on the wall of a mosque. Many hundreds were involved in the protests, during which three East Timorese are reported to have been killed; the identities of the casualties could never be confirmed. It was also reported at the time that dozens of youths fled into the countryside to evade the heavy-

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East Timor's longest-serving prisoner (II)

Interview with Ze Roberto Seixas who spent ten years in Indonesian prisons. The first part was published in TAPOL Bulletin No. 137, the final part will appear in TAPOL Bulletin No. 139. The interview was conducted at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva in August 1996.

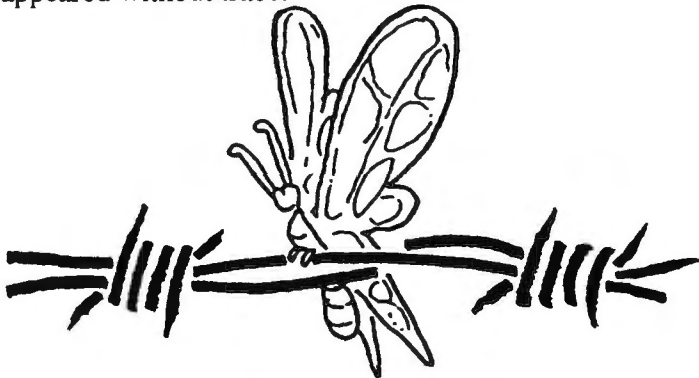
Did they have an arrest warrant or any other official document?

Nothing. I wasn't arrested, I was kidnapped. Nobody knew anything and my family was waiting for me to come home. You can imagine how worried they were when I didn't turn up and disappeared without trace.

During the first month, from November till December 1983, they refrained from using force. But from December 1983 till February 1984 they started to torture me. They hit me, electrocuted me and I was immersed in filthy water for long periods of time. At the SGI interrogation centre, several oil drums full of water were always kept ready. When I refused to confess, they would leave me in a drum for ages.

Were you the only prisoner?

Oh no. Many hundreds of Timorese were imprisoned here. In this period I was kept isolated in a small cell about 1m x 0.5m, usually occupied by two prisoners. The prisoners were coming and going. Sometimes 20 or 30 prisoners disappeared ("*dihilangkan*") at night and were replaced by a new batch of prisoners. I witnessed many people, many friends, disappearing, just like that, being bumped off ("*dihabisi*"). In my statement to the UN sub-commission yesterday I mentioned the names of several people who were killed in this period. Another group, a few dozen people, were allegedly transferred to Kupang but they also disappeared without trace.



What kind of people were they?

All sorts, civilians some of whom were activists and some of whom were former commanders in the resistance. There was also a political commissar of Fretilin, but the majority were just ordinary people. They were suspected of being links between the resistance in the mountains and the population under Indonesian control, referred to as *nurep* (*nucleos resistencia popular*, nucleus of popular resistance). Many suspected *nureps* were bumped off. Some

died in Hera, others in Metinaro or were dumped in Lake Tacitolu. Others were thrown in the sea, many people died.

To return to my interrogation, they started to torture me. My whole body was electrocuted, including my genitals. My hands and feet were tied even at the night. They used an old-fashioned gadget which has to be wound up manually to produce electric shocks, like old telephones. My body dehydrated after each of these sessions. Each time, I probably lost 3 or 4 litres of fluid.

What did they want?

They wanted me to confess to things that they had already written in advance. Part of the confession had been prepared from information they had received from informers and the rest was made up. The prisoners were a kind of project for the military, the more confessions there were, the better their chances for promotion. All the military stationed in East Timor behaved like this.

But I was stubborn and refused to confess to anything so I was very harshly treated. My whole body was electrocuted, my feet, my genitals, my ears, everything. I was beaten up, soaked in water. It went as far as being forced to sleep with another woman prisoner in front of them. She was also gang-raped by the military. This woman was somebody I knew well, the wife of a colleague. Her husband was also a detainee.

When they realised that I wasn't going to sign any confession, they tried another method, gradually poisoning my food. The spinach I got was flavoured not with salt but with a strong acid. It immediately affected my bowels. I almost died and suffered terribly for five days. I was lucky because I knew one of the officers there, a man named Kohio, a second lieutenant. During Guilherme Goncalves' time as governor, Kohio was his adjutant. He helped me to recover by giving me some medicine and I recovered in a few days. Although a *Kopassus* officer, Kohio helped many prisoners, including Octavio, a Fretilin central committee member who was in a bad shape and got medicine from Kohio.

On 6 April 1984 they moved me to Comarca prison in Dili. Only then did my family hear that I was in prison. East Timor was in a state of war. No warrants, no trials, nothing. People were being bumped off at random. I was among the first group of prisoners to be tried in court.

Helena Carascalao, the wife of the governor, went to see my family and the ICRC, the International Red Cross, started to visit me. Things became more bearable. The ICRC started to treat me, helping me to recover from my weak condition. [continued in TAPOL Bulletin, No. 139]

The 27 July events revisited

Blaming the victim has always been the tactic of Indonesian military intelligence. It is clear that the attack on the PDI headquarters in July was a military operation. The National Commission of Human Rights has confirmed that government troops were involved. Many people who were inside the party building are still missing. Meanwhile more than a hundred rioters are now on trial.

It is a public secret that two top generals: Lt.General Syarwan Hamid, armed forces chief of staff for social and political affairs, and Major-General Prabowo, commander of the special forces and the President's son-in-law, were complicit in organising the attack on the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party, the PDI, on 27 July. This came as the climax of the armed forces intelligence operation which aimed to get rid of its duly elected leader, Megawati Sukarnoputri and prevent her from standing as a presidential candidate in 1998.

President Suharto refused to face the prospect of having to compete against another presidential candidate. Many people say that Suharto has lost the *wahyu*, the supernatural powers he received as his kind of mandate to run the country as an absolute monarch. According to Javanese mystical beliefs, Suharto received the *wahyu* through his wife Tien. His abuse of power and the death of Tien, many believe, have robbed him of these supernatural powers. Some even say that the *wahyu* is floating somewhere between the present Sultan of Yogya and Megawati, the daughter of Sukarno, Indonesia's first president. Between myth and reality Megawati had to be disposed of.



Military brutality on 27 July

pate in the 1997 general elections. The real PDI under Megawati has been ditched.

The PDI masses refused to accept the Medan congress and rallied around Megawati. Almost overnight she became a national and international figure, recognised as the possible alternative to Suharto's rule. During the weeks before 27 July, Jakarta was the focus of pro-Megawati demonstrations and mass rallies. A wide variety of groups involved in the pro-democracy movement spoke at the free-speech forums at PDI headquarters. This is what persuaded the military to step in.

Clumsy military operation

Soerjadi and his supporters represent nothing and he can hardly show his face in public. In several places, PDI members have threatened to beat him up, forcing him to flee for his life. But when the party headquarters was seized, it was necessary to give an impression that Soerjadi has a mass following. Several hundred youngsters were rounded up by the military to be trained and briefed in Cibubur, a military training camp. Others were recruited in places where casual workers hang around waiting for jobs or from Pantai Kapuk, a kampung where many of these workers live. They were promised jobs with good pay. On D-day several hundred of these recruits were driven to an assembly point near the PDI office. They were given red t-

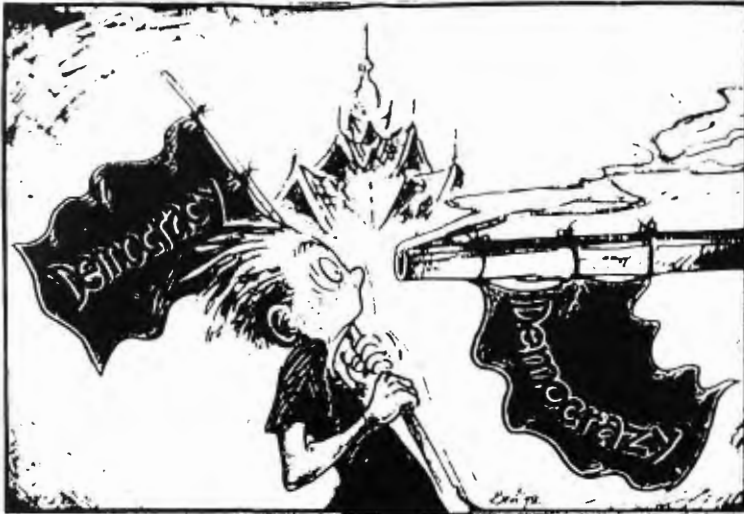
The Medan congress

The operation began when the military organised an unlawful PDI congress in Medan, forcing local PDI leaders to attend from all the provinces. Regional military commanders hand-picked the delegates, in some cases using force. Local leaders who were reluctant to betray Megawati had to face heavy pressure on their families. Many PDI 'delegates' were taken to Medan under military escort. Not for years has a party congress run so smoothly; nothing was left to chance and there was no discussion. The newly 'elected leader became Soerjadi, who was ditched by that same party, several years ago. The PDI under the leadership of Soerjadi has been nicknamed ABRI's PDI as it was chief of staff of social and political Affairs Lt.General Syarwan Hamid who ran the show. Similar operations were mounted in the 1970s and 1980s by military intelligence but in those days, the army was more or less united and loyal to Suharto. These days, however, there are different military factions with a descending scale of loyalty which makes such operations far more problematic. Despite all the pressure, some delegates to Medan told their stories to others.

After some hesitation, Suharto bestowed his approval on Soeryadi's PDI which will now be allowed to partici-

shirts and head bands to make them look as though they belonged to the Soerjadi PDI. They were also given iron bars, wooden sticks and sharpened bamboo sticks.

From 5.30 till 7.30am, when the first attack came, the people inside the building stood their ground easily against these poorly organised, unmotivated people. They were called *satgas* PDI, the PDI task force. But the next attack was led by professional forces dressed in black. These were members of the elite corps, some police but mostly from Kostrad, the reserve troops, and Kopassus, Prabowo's special troops. This was when the defence crumbled. According to some sources, forty-seven PDI members were killed on the spot. Because the attackers were not supplied with firearms, people who died in the killing were wounded with army knives and bayonets.



The seizure of the office quickly led to the riots as news of the seizure spread and people poured into the streets. The neighbourhood in the vicinity of the PDI office had been sealed off by the military so the crowds staged free speech platforms on the streets. Very soon the demonstration turned into a riot, with shops and banks being burnt. It is not clear who started the burning but several rioters who were arrested turned out to be members of the armed forces. Later that evening, an officer from Kostrad released dozens of military who were being held in prison.

Damning evidence in court

The man in charge, Syarwan Hamid, is not known for his operational or intelligence skills. Many high-ranking officers at HQ rejected the plan, including the man in charge of operations, chief of general staff, Lt. General Suyono. Bypassing Suyono meant that Syarwan Hamid executed the operation without information or backing from BIA, military intelligence. Suyono was absent on the day, having taken leave to try out his new Harley-Davidson in Northern Sulawesi. He was immediately sacked.

The recruitment and briefing of casual workers was clumsily handled. Some of the recruits have testified in the trials that have been going on against 124 rioters at the central Jakarta District Court. The defendants are split into two groups of 64 and 60 people. Testimony given by Deddy Sentani, a casual worker, was particularly striking. Called as a witness for the prosecution he suddenly retracted his earlier statements and told the court what really happened. He admitted he wasn't a Soerjadi follower and didn't even know what PDI stands for. He described how

he, together with another 200 people, were giving a briefing and equipment at a three-storey building in the Semanggi district. Somebody called Tanjung had promised him a job as a security guard in Sentul. He was paid Rp 40,000 (about US\$15) for taking part in the attack.

The story of Kampung Kapuk

A graphic account was published in a new tabloid weekly, *Adil*, on 16 October, about the recruitment of casual workers in Kampung Kapuk. Two days before the 27 July attack two people came to Kampung Kapuk, a very poor slum district in West Jakarta. They said they needed people to guard 400 hectares of land in Sentul, near Bogor. The pay was attractive, Rp 70,000 in daylight hours and Rp 20,000 at night. Fifty people accepted the offer and were assembled in a nearby market square. From there they were taken in seven vans to an assembly point where another 200 people were waiting from places as far apart as Cibubur, Tanjung Priok, Kramatjati, Jelambar, Jembatan Besi and Jembatan Tiga. Nothing happened until the next morning, so several people decided to go home and were given their fares.

Late on Friday, 26 July, they were suddenly all taken by bus to the Gedung Artha Loka building on Jalan Sudirman. At 4 am the next morning they were divided into eight units by unidentified security officers. Red t-shirts with the slogan 'PDI, Congress supporters', were handed out. Confusion broke out when the Kampung Kapuk recruits who were supposed to be guarding a plot of land were taken instead by seven trucks to the PDI building. As they marched towards the building, somebody suddenly shouted: "Attack!". From inside the building the defenders started to throw stones and rocks. The security officers among the attackers told them to start throwing stones back. They got trapped in between: in front were the defenders of the PDI building and behind were several columns of military dressed in black. Several of the attackers were injured. One named Uju fell in the battle that ensued. He died after being hit by a stone but according to official reports, he died of a heart attack. Suddenly there was a command for all the red shirts to retreat. The black shirts attacked and raided the PDI headquarters.

Other witnesses have also given important evidence. Suharto [a different one], an officer from the Jakarta metropolitan police, admitted in court that he saw security officers raiding and entering the PDI office. Soon after that, the PDI defenders were arrested and taken away to police HQ.

The first trial sessions were very emotional. The defendants shouted at the prosecution witnesses, mostly police and military officers, because they were distorting the truth. The defendants are very angry because they and not the attackers were arrested and they, the victims, are facing prosecution. One defendant shouted emotionally: "What kind of court is this? My head was bleeding because of the attack. But now I am a prisoner while my wife and children are suffering". Other defendants called for Soerjadi to stand trial. Mat Ismanto, another defendant, shouted: 'They should face trial because our country is based on rule of law. To be fair, drag Soerjadi to court'. The public filled all the court-rooms in the three-storey building and yells were heard ringing out everywhere.

The Komnas Ham findings

Komnas Ham, the National Human Rights Commission spent many weeks investigating the 27 July events and came out with a version of events that contradicts the government version on many points. According to Komnas Ham figures, 23 persons are still missing, there were 5 deaths, 149 were wounded and 136 arrests (up to 3 August 1996). The Commission also found that one of the dead had died of gunshot wounds, contradicting government claims that no firearms were used.



The PDI Office before the attack, full of red banners

Komnas Ham was under very heavy pressure from the military and President Suharto, in particular about the number of missing persons. In earlier bloodbaths like the Tanjung Priok affair in 1984, nobody dared to dispute the official casualty figure. This happened for the first time after the Santa Cruz massacre of 1991, because of the persistence of the East Timorese.

Komnas Ham concluded that the government and security forces had 'become excessively involved' in inner party affairs and had taken sides 'disproportionate to their function as overseers of politics and security'. The Commission also concluded that the rioting that followed the attack on the PDI office was 'influenced by the use of force' during the take-over of the PDI Head office building.

It recommended that the government should not intervene and take sides in political conflicts, that the forces which attacked the building should be called to account as well as those on the other side, that the government should make available information about the victims including those who are still missing and those who died and that correct legal procedures should be enforced during the arrest and investigation of those involved in the riots.

The Commission has received wide acclaim from human rights circles inside and outside Indonesia. Bambang Widjoyanto, chair of YLBHI, the Legal Aid Institute said: 'Brilliant, but the important thing is whether the government will act on the recommendations'.

Brig.General Amir Syarifuddin, ABRI spokesperson, had no comment to make. 'If they have data which differs

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from ours, the armed forces will check it. But we will not comment on the commission's statement', he told Kompas.

Internal divisions

The 27 July 1996 events are being compared to the Malari events in 1974 when large crowds demonstrated in Jakarta against the mounting Japanese investments in Indonesia. The Malari events brought out into the open a clash between two wings of the military: sections of military intelligence and sections of the military at headquarters. Dozens of people were arrested and many spent years in prison.

The 27 July riots occurred at a time of deep conflict in army headquarters over whether such brutal force should be used against PDI members. In many ways the aftermath is following the Malari pattern: many people will face trial and more than a hundred senior officers in the armed forces have already been demoted or transferred. The political impact of *Majuli* (*Malapetaka Juli*, July Tragedy), as 27 July is now being called, is huge in comparison with Malari. Divisions at the top have widened since July and the tactic of blaming third parties, in particular the PRD and Mochtar Pakpahan, has been taken to extremes. Twenty-one people are now in custody and the trials are due to start early December. *

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Belo: 'I will go on speaking out!'

At a press conference in Dili on 25 November attended by several dozen foreign journalists, Bishop Belo pledged to keep on speaking out for his 'terrorised' people. While acknowledging that the Vatican discouraged involvement in politics, he said: 'As a bishop, I have the moral duty to speak out for the poor and the simple people who, when intimidated or terrorised, cannot defend themselves or make their suffering heard.'

Belo said that some of the words he had used had been 'manipulated' by the journal. 'Some expressions and generalisations are wrongly attributed,' he said. 'I wish to apologise to whoever has been offended (by the interview)', adding that he took moral responsibility for the contents.

Outside in the streets meanwhile, hundreds of young Timorese demonstrated, waving anti-Indonesia banners. One showed Suharto holding two bloodied skulls, with the inscription: 'Suharto eats Timorese bones.' A demonstrating student told journalists: 'We have to defend our country. The information in the magazine article is correct.' [AFP, 25 November]

After his rapturous return to Dili the previous week, Belo had been 'visited' by the so-called Muspida, which includes the top military, police, administration and prosecution officials, in a clear attempt to browbeat him into making an unequivocal apology for the interview. However, he did no such thing.

The anti-subversion trials

Besides 124 people who are being tried for rioting on 27 July, another 108 persons, mostly political activists, have been arrested since then. Most have been released but at least 15 are still being held and will face trial under the draconian anti-subversion law. Another 120 people have been summoned for questioning by the military, the police or the Attorney General's office.

A massive witch hunt has been started against anyone involved in the PRD (*Partai Rakyat Demokratik*, People's Democratic Party), a new political organisation and its affiliated organisations, *SMID* (*Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi*, Indonesian Students Solidarity for Democracy), *STN* (*Serikat Tani Nasional*, National Peasants Union), *PPBI* (*Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia*, Centre for Indonesian Workers Struggle) and *JAKER* (*Jaringan Kesenian Rakyat*, Network for People's Art). [See also *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 137, October 1996]

The PRD has become the main target for everyone in the regime, from President Suharto down. PRD is alleged to have masterminded the 27 July riots, or in President Suharto's own words, it 'clearly conducted activities which had the characteristics of insurgency'. [*Jakarta Post*, 8 August] At least 15 key members of PRD have been arrested, including Budiman Sudjatmiko, Petrus Haryanto, Garda Sembiring, Ignatius Putut Ariantoko, Ignatius Pranowo, Ken Budha Kusumandaru, Yacobus Kurniawan, Suroso and Victor da Costa. In September three other PRD members were arrested in Central Java: I Gusti Anom Astika, Wilson Nurtiyas and Wignyo bin Mardi (later released). Three others: Dita Indah Sari, Coen Hussein Pontho and M. Sholeh were arrested earlier in July for involvement in a strike in East Java [see *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 136, August 1996]. The majority are likely to face charges under the anti-subversion law.

Di-bon by BIA

The arrests of the PRD people have violated the Procedural Criminal Code. The entire procedure, from the moment of arrest to interrogation and preparation for trial has been a travesty. Most of the arrests were conducted by agents of BIA, the military intelligence, notorious for their torture methods. Although officially they are held by the Attorney General's office, they are often *di-bon* (loaned out) to BIA in Pasar Minggu, a notorious torture centre. *Di-bon* is an Indonesia term that came into use during the Orde Baru; it means that someone held in custody by one agency is taken for interrogation by another agency, almost invariably military intelligence. This happens when the authorities want to extract information from a detainee by whatever means necessary. In the days of the late 1960s witch-hunt, *di-bon* was often the prelude to disappearance.

Torture

The majority of PRD detainees have been tortured by BIA agents. Visitors have seen wounds and black-and-blue bruises caused by beating and electric shocks. Defence

lawyer Dwiyanto Prihartono complained to the National Commission of Human Rights: 'Three of our clients were physically and mentally tortured by unidentified agents at the agency [BIA].' Ken Budha Kusumandaru and Garda Sembiring were beaten all over while Putut Ariantoko said he had been given electric shocks with a small device, the size of a cigarette box, on 12 August.



Wilson at a demonstration. Earlier this year he visited 11 European countries and made many friends and contacts.

BIA interrogators have apparently drawn a distinction between the PRD prisoners; On the one hand, there are the 'diehards' like Budiman and Wilson, but others, according to BIA officials, are still open to persuasion. The diehards have been treated somewhat more humanely while people like Ken Kusumandaru and Garda Sembiring have been subjected to what is called 'normal' treatment, in other words, torture. Garda Sembiring has been treated particularly badly because he has refused to answer any questions and is regarded as being very uncooperative.

The PRD people have shown remarkable courage and have smuggled out statements calling on people outside to

continue the struggle. Wilson wrote an open letter to Indonesian workers, encouraging them to continue their actions, while Budiman issued a statement on the occasion of 12 November, commemorating the Santa Cruz massacre.

The defendants have no illusions that they will get justice from Indonesia's kangaroo courts and view the proceedings as political trials. The defendants are expected to make a number of strong statements during the trials.

Mochtar Pakpahan, the Medan scapegoat

The only anti-subversion defendant outside the PRD group is Mochtar Pakpahan, the independent trade union leader. He has now been informed that a Supreme Court ruling quashing a four-year sentence passed in 1994, has been rescinded. This means that he will be required to serve the four-year sentence. The sentence has still about three years to run.



The Anti-Subversion Law

Pakpahan who chairs Indonesia's largest independent trade union, the SBSI, was tried in 1994 on charges of 'incitement' in connection with mass actions of workers in Medan in April 1994. More than eighty SBSI leaders and activists were tried and sentenced at the same time. Pakpahan was sentenced by a lower court to three years but a higher court added one more year. However, on appeal, the Supreme Court quashed the sentence on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence for a conviction.

Pakpahan's lawyers have expressed outrage at the reversal of the Supreme Court ruling. One of his team, Sakemto, told AFP, the French Press Agency: 'This is Indonesia which we claim as a state of law but where the prima donnas are power and politics.' [AFP, 19 November]

The reversal came about following a request last March by the prosecution, seeking a review of the Supreme Court ruling. Many lawyers argued at the time that there was no legal basis for the prosecution to seek a review. According to Supreme Court judge, Adi Andoyo Sucipto, who headed the Court's team that ruled in Pakpahan's favour, 'only the defendant or his beneficiary can demand a review'. [AFP, 19 November]

Political analysts believe that Pakpahan's reinstated four-year sentence is the result of pressure from the military. The Medan protest rallies of 1994 were an embarrassment for the military who were very upset when he was released. They have been looking for a way to strike back at Pakpahan and have him put away till the presidential elections of April 1998 are over.

Mochtar Pakpahan has become an acclaimed international trade union figure. In many countries actions have

been launched to demand his release and in the international arena he has already been compared to people like Lech Walesa in the old days of Solidarnosc.

Ten cases ready for trial

On 22 November the Attorney General's Office announced that the subversion cases of Mochtar Pakpahan, Budiman Sudjatmiko and eight other PRD detainees were ready for trial. Some will go on trial separately while others will be tried together. Attorney-General Singgih has alleged they were involved in an 'underground movement', with plans to disrupt state security which was why they were being charged with subversion. [Media Indonesia, 23 November]

There have been no subversion trials for more than a decade. Even Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader, was not tried for subversion. The trials of the so-called rioters [see separate article] have made it clear that the real culprits behind the 27 July riots were the security forces under the command of several high-placed generals. It will be difficult, even in these stage-managed political trials, to put the blame on people like Budiman and Mochtar Pakpahan. The only thing that they could conceivably be charged for is their criticism of government policies, but half the population could be charged for this.

[As we were going to press, the prosecutors in the two PDI mass trials (see above) submitted their summing-up. They asked for the acquittal of eight of the defendants and sentences of four and a half months or less for all the rest. Defence lawyer Bambang Widjojanto said the very mild sentence requests from the prosecutor could pave the way for serious investigations to be conducted into the actions of leaders of the Soeryadi-PDI who were involved in storming the PDI office when many people were wounded or went missing. R.O. Tambunan of the special PDI defence team said he would be handing over crucial evidence and videos to the police for the purposes of these investigations.] *

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PARTNERS IN REPRESSION:

The reality of British aid to Indonesia

Paul Barber

PARTNERS IN REPRESSION: The reality of British aid to Indonesia I

The Situbondo tragedy

On 10 October a riot exploded in Situbondo, a small town in East Java. In five hours, five people were killed, 25 churches destroyed and a number of schools set aflame. The Situbondo court was reduced to ashes and several shopping centres, a Catholic orphanage, a Chinese temple, offices and cars were destroyed by mobs. The riot, the worst religious riot in years, represents a deeper conflict. In the last few months churches have been attacked in many parts of Indonesia, including Jakarta and Surabaya.

Situbondo is a sleepy provincial town on the north coast of East Java. The sub-district of Situbondo has a population of almost 600,000 people, 95 per cent Muslims and about 10,000 Christians. Many Madurese who are pious Muslims also live there. Until now, Situbondo district has been known for its religious tolerance, with a large number of Protestant and Catholic churches. Why was this tolerant community torn asunder by a frenzied, destructive mob?

The events

It started with the trial of a 23-year Muslim Abdul Saleh, charged for allegedly insulting the prophet Mohamad and a famous local religious leader. Muslims in East Java and Madura have a tradition of joining *tarekats*, Muslim sects, so East Javanese are used to living with many religious views and interpretations. Saleh reportedly belonged to *tarekat Muhammad* which has only a hundred followers, and holds unorthodox views about religious practices. He was unemployed and earned his keep cleaning and guarding a mosque. What is strange is that this man with a limited knowledge of basic Muslim teachings became the central figure in this tragedy.

The trial became the rallying point for local anger. He had had an argument with his uncle regarding Kyai As'ad, a local charismatic religious leader. When Kyai As'ad died several years ago, he came to be regarded as a holy man. From the start the trial was the centre of controversy, with large crowds demanding the death sentence. The numbers attending the trial grew each day, at the start 500, then 1,500. On 10 October when the verdict was announced, 3,000 people gathered outside the court. When the five-year sentence was announced, emotions exploded. When the crowd attacked the court, the judge, the prosecutors and the defendant escaped through the back and the riot began. At its peak, more than 10,000 people were involved.

Big question marks

Why did the authorities allow the trial to go ahead when it was clear that the situation could erupt into violence? After an earlier session, the defendant Saleh, though heavily protected by security guards, was beaten up by the crowd when he left the court. In a country like Indonesia



The Mount Zion Bethel Church in shambles. The walls are covered with obscene, blasphemous graffiti.

where the security approach is routine, the police and military could not have been unaware of the situation.

It was several hours before military and police enforcement arrived in Situbondo, much too late to prevent the loss of life and mass destruction of property. Rev. Ishak Kristian from the Pentecostal church, his wife Kristiana and three children were trapped inside their church and burnt to death.

Situbondo is the heartland of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest social-religious organisation in Indonesia with 30 million members. The NU leadership in Situbondo was very much against the trial. NU leader Kyai Haji Sofyan said: 'I warned people not to put Saleh on trial as it would only distract people from Qur'an studies. Our NU branch meeting felt it should not go ahead as it might be used by third parties to create disturbances.' But the authorities ignored the warning. Kyai Cholil, another NU leader in Situbondo, also appealed to the authorities not to go ahead. On the last day of the trial, both NU leaders were out of town. Many people believe that their presence, could have prevented hysteria from breaking out..

Another question is the absence of security forces. Although the situation was so highly charged, no extra security measures were taken on the day of the verdict. Whose decision was it for so few troops to be present?

Provocation and orchestration

As court officials and the defendant were being rushed to safety, a rumour spread that Saleh was taking refuge in a church, giving the signal to start attacking churches. Within minutes, twelve churches and school buildings in Situbondo were on fire or destroyed, and buildings in nearby cities were coming under attack. In Wonorejo four churches were burnt or vandalized, in Asem Bagus three churches were reduced to ashes, in Besuki four churches and a Chinese temple were attacked, in Ranurejo three churches were burned down and in Penarukan three churches were destroyed. The fact that it happened so quickly suggests that it was well organised.

In preparation for the attack on the court, gasoline was taken from a nearby service station and parked cars and motorcycles in the vicinity were set aflame in a well-planned operation. Then eight church and school buildings were torched simultaneously. Witnesses say that a convoy of trucks carrying about 2,000 men arrived from a westerly direction and these trucks were used to transport the mobs to other churches. Eyewitnesses confirm that the vandals were not from Situbondo. Many town officials stood by, watching. The few troops present moved away to protect nearby residential areas. The mob swelled in size and people from Situbondo began to join in. Many were armed with steel pipes, mallets, hoes and sickles. When three trucks and a number of motorcycles drove to St Joseph Catholic Church in Ranurejo, they were led by a policeman on a motorbike.

Eight religious organisations issued a joint statement in Jakarta on 1 November claiming that the Situbondo incident was not an inter-religious conflict but the result of political machinations because outsiders had started the riots. The National Commission of Human Rights also believes that third parties were involved and the riots were well planned. Secretary-general Baharuddin Lopa called on the government to create a conducive climate to enable dialogue and allow the truth to emerge.

A volcano that can erupt any time

The government has denounced the Situbondo riots and says it will punish the rioters. Fifty-two people have been arrested and two, Musawi and Samsul Hadi, will be charged with being responsible for the riots. The majority of the defendants are pupils from a local *pesantren* (Muslim school) and a junior technical college. It is doubtful whether these trials will really get at the truth. Another fifty-five people are on a list of wanted suspects, allegedly involved in the riots in Penarukan, Besuki, Asembagus and Banyuputih.

The two senior provincial officials, the governor, retired Major-General Basofi Sudirman and military commander Major-General Imam Utomo, both made meaningless statements, while military leaders in Jakarta suggested that the riot was probably orchestrated, without saying how or by whom.

Different theories have surfaced in the press and on the Internet. By and large people agree that Situbondo is ridden with social problems, in particular land conflicts. Government policies have marginalised peasants. In the near future, Royal Dutch Shell, in a joint venture with Bimantara, the company of Bambang Suharto, son of Suharto, will start building a \$1.5 billion refinery, causing even more evictions and social and environmental upheavals.

Situbondo is not an isolated case. In the past few months, churches have been torched in Pasuruan, Surabaya and Jakarta. The Surabaya incident on Sunday 9 June was particularly vicious. Within a few hours, ten churches were robbed and set aflame, and people were attacked or sexually harassed. The demonstrators went systematically from church to church. The incident was not reported in the Surabaya press and was hardly mentioned in the national press. The provincial authorities failed to explain anything satisfactorily and nothing has been done to bring the perpetrators to justice. The signs are that the Situbondo affair will share the same fate.



Only a cross remains amid the ruins

In the last five years, more than three hundred churches have been attacked. At first, the attacks seemed to be isolated incidents, but events in 1996 suggest that there is a well-organised plan to disrupt the social fabric and destabilise the political situation.

Stifling social and political climate

Indonesia's New order is a free market economy with a fossilised political system. For thirty years, Suharto has depoliticised Indonesian society. Since 27 July, he has turned the clock back to the early years of his rule: a straight-forward military dictatorship. Political life is state controlled, giving no space to grassroots organisations. The corporatist state was formalised into law in the eighties and has been maintained in being to this very day. Such conditions are not conducive to the growth of healthy relations between myriad social, political, ethnic and religious groups. Pancasila 'democracy' excludes the participation of local communities from decision making while the absence of unfettered political debate has paralysed society. More 'Situbondos' could happen any day.

The free market system operating in Indonesia has created enormous gaps between rich and poor. With millions of poor people in the cities and villages unable to eke out a living, Indonesia is like a volcano that could erupt at any time. The role of the *kyais*, the Muslim teachers, has eroded as the free market has penetrated village life. Loyalty-ties that held society together in the past are evaporating fast.

The military often suppress public protest with great brutality, as happened in Tanjung Priok (1984), Lampung

(1989), Aceh (the late 1980s) and at the PDI headquarters earlier this year. Social and political conflicts are never resolved in a democratic way. Such brutality has spread resentment and hatred among those who were victimised. The mob violence in Situbondo was an example of suppressed anger misused by third parties.

East Java bears the added burden of having two senior officials known for their incompetence and offensive behaviour. The governor flaunts his skills as a pop singer while the military commander is even more dull-witted than most of his peers.

Political destabilisation

Indonesian political life has a long tradition of conflicts along ethnic and religious lines which have been used to destabilise the political situation. In the Sukarno era, his enemies often incited anti-Chinese riots. History could now be repeating itself on a much larger scale. Most reports suggest that security forces were directly involved in the riots. Although the military still play a crucial role in society, they have lost economic clout in the past fifteen years with most of the wealth going to Suharto's cronies and family. The Situbondo riot has resulted in destabilisation. The question is, who gains politically? Top military officers, in charge of law and order, are likely to think twice before provoking religious or ethnic conflicts because things can so easily get out of control. It is more likely for regional commanders to use such a ploy to enhance their position, reaffirming the need for their presence, killing two birds with one stone, creating destabilisation while enhancing their own position.

Another problem is that poorly-paid lower-ranks reap rich rewards by working as security guards for businesses. Riots bring in extra earnings because offices and shops need special protection. Such gangster-ism is now a structural part of business life, bringing in extra fees from factories for local military commanders.

ABRI and Islam

Fanatical Muslim groups may also have been involved in the riots. Since the birth of the Republic, there has been animosity between ABRI and political Islam. Islamic regional rebellions dominated the political scene up to the mid sixties. Political Islam in Indonesia covers a wide spectrum of beliefs; most Muslims are mainstream and tolerant but small, extremist sects have always existed though many have tended to keep themselves to themselves. But social conditions today provide fertile soil for extremist groups that may be inclined to use violence against an affluent middle class, many of whom are urban Christians and Chinese. The riots in Medan in 1994 and the July riots in Jakarta quickly turned against banks and shopping centres.

Suharto's close alliance with Habibie and ICMI, the Muslim Intellectual Association, has placed many Muslim intellectuals and bureaucrats in prestigious positions. For the first time in the history of the world's biggest Muslim country, the position of Muslims in the hierarchy is being reflected more proportionately. It has also affected daily life. Qur'an incantations are to be heard in five-star hotels as well as in the slums and villages. The Muslim press is

flourishing and Muslim self-esteem is growing. As always, there is a down side to these positive developments. Small groups favouring an Islamic State have always been present and they are sometimes penetrated by military intelligence agents. More often than not, their members end up in jail. It is more than likely that some sects are being fostered by sinister forces to attack Christians and their churches.

Christians and the Orde Baru

Most Christians have felt that the Orde Baru system has given them protection and political access. For many years Suharto's cabinets had a disproportionate number of Christians. This was also the case in the armed forces. There was little urge to join forces with the pro-democracy movement. Pancasila, the state doctrine, was seen as giving adequate protection for freedom of religion. Statements by church bodies like the PGI for the Protestants and KWI for the Catholics have tended to be pro-government.

This is now changing. Suharto's 1993 cabinet included only three Christian ministers and most senior ABRI officers are Muslims. The absence of democratic structures is now backfiring for minority groups. This is acutely felt in Situbondo where fear now engulfs Christians who have nowhere to pray on Sunday and are gripped by a sense of being surrounded by hostile neighbours. *

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handed crackdown by troops against the protesters in the streets.

The trials of the twenty-one were grossly unfair as none of the accused was allowed to have lawyers. One lawyer who had been requested to act on behalf of one of the accused discovered that the trial had begun when he turned up to see his client. He was not allowed to enter the court, and was told that his client 'did not need legal representation'.

Altogether 144 East Timorese were rounded up after the Baucau 'riots'; it is not known whether any or all of those who have not been brought to trial have been released. [*East Timor Human Rights Centre, Melbourne, UA, 9 October*]

Disappearances

Ten people from the village of Waihulae, near Viqueque, were taken into custody by the elite army forces of KOPASSUS, on 15 November. The troops arrived at the village at crack of dawn, surrounded the houses and ordered villagers to present themselves in front of the village office. Six men were thereupon tied up and driven to a nearby army post. When relatives of the men went to the post to ask about their whereabouts, they were told that the men had jumped out of the vehicle and fled into hiding. The relatives say they have not been able to locate the men since.

Later that night, four men residing in the nearby village of Samalari also disappeared.

It is feared by relatives that the ten men, nine of whom have been identified by name, have been taken into custody by the army in connection with the killing of a man named Atimeta, shot dead, according to local sources, by members of the Indonesian armed forces. As with the case of Juliao Fraga, it would appear that the army will seek to place the blame for his death on members of the resistance. [*East Timor Human Rights Centre Urgent Action, 21 November*] *

New legal aid body set up

A new institute, the Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Institute, PBHI, to be known as 'In Light', was set up in Jakarta on 9 November. Several of the leading officers are activists who were formerly on the staff of YLBHI, the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, which was caught up in a serious internal dispute earlier this year. The conflict was resolved amicably some months ago with several members leaving to form the new body.

In its founding statement, In Light states that many non-governmental organisations, endeavouring to move towards a democratic civil society, have been held back by cumbersome bureaucracy and internal vested interests. In states its intention to work for its aims within a constitutional framework, accepting the Pancasila and based on the provisions in the Indonesian Constitution which guarantees basic human rights. Its main objectives will be:

1. To provide legal aid to the poor and to those who are uninformed about their legal rights.
2. To work for a system of government that conforms with the rule of law.
3. To work for a democratic political system.
4. To work for a system of law that protects basic human rights.

In Light is chaired by barrister, Luhut Pangaribuan, with criminologist Mulyana as general secretary. Hendardi has been appointed executive director. The board includes Bonar Tigor Naipospos of the democratic reform organisation PIJAR and the humanitarian group, MIK. Plans are under way to set up regional branches in Yogyakarta, West Java, West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi.

Government crackdown on NGOs

The government has announced that it intends to take 'firm measures' against 32 so-called 'problem' non-governmental organisations. According to Minister-Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, Soesilo Soedarman, who refused to name the targeted NGOs, they have failed to advocate the state ideology, Pancasila and have been involved in unlawful activities. 'Action will be taken, just wait for it,' he said. [*Jakarta Post*, 1 November]

Following the 27 July events in Jakarta, the offices of several NGOs were raided, among them a women's group and the human rights institute chaired by Pöncke Princen, LPHAM. It seems clear too that some environmental NGOs, including the forest campaigning group, SKEPHI, as well as the leading environmental network, WALHI, are being targeted, along with INFID, the network organisation for Indonesian development NGOs.

Going by what ministers have been saying recently, the measures will include even tighter control over NGO funding, especially grants received from abroad. They will also be required to adhere formally to the state ideology, a requirement that until now has been demanded only of so-called 'social organisations' or *organisasi masyarakat*. This was stipulated in one of five draconian political laws enacted in 1985 but does not apply to legally-constituted foundations, which is the legal status of all NGOs. The intention now appears to be to extend the provisions of this law to NGOs.

Activist sentenced to four months

Oka Dwi Chandra was released from Kebon Waru prison in Bandung on 20 November after serving a four-month sentence. He was arrested on 22 July during a demonstration protesting police brutality against the PDI. The authorities alleged that Oka used violence against a policeman and was sentenced under article 170 of the Criminal Code. Oka is a well-known political activist, a member of *Pijar* and *Aldera*. The court room was packed, with hundreds more rallying outside the court house.



Amin Baharuddin on trial

Similar charges have been brought against another activist from *Pijar*, Amin Baharuddin. Bahar, as he is known to his friends, attended a prayer meeting at the mosque of the Universitas Indonesia to commemorate the death of three students in the Ujung Pandang demonstrations last April. After the meeting, the students decided to continue the commemoration by marching to TIM, the cultural centre nearby. The security forces tried to prevent the march and a scuffle broke out. Bahar, a non-violent activist, tried to calm down the angry students but got arrested instead. Police pulled and dragged him by the hair about 100 meters while hitting and kicking him. He was thrown into a truck and has been in custody ever since.

On 18 October Amin Baharuddin read his defence plea called: 'Restore People's Sovereignty'. In a strongly-worded plea, Bahar spelt out his grievances: the collapse of human rights, no legal protection, the obscure state of people's sovereignty, the decline of social justice and the growth of corruption, collusion and the use of state funds to develop 'status symbol' projects. He denounced military institutions like Kopkamtib, Bakorstanas and Babinsa as organs outside the law.

Rejecting the charges, he described the trial as an orchestrated effort by the government to discredit demonstrators. His trial is still continuing.

Villagers accused of insulting President

Five villagers living in Tujunganon, Wonosobo, Central Java, were recently arrested by the local military for allegedly possessing leaflets discrediting the Suharto government. Investigations are still under way to find out where they obtained the leaflets. The five are said to be members of the (much reviled) PRD but the commander of Kodim, the district military command, Lt. Col. M. Sahid, thought this was unlikely as they are not well enough educated for that. After being held for questioning, the five were released and are under orders to report themselves regularly.

Suspicious about the five have been aroused because the parents of one of them is known to have been 'involved' in the events of 1965 in which the Indonesian Communist Party was (allegedly) implicated. [*Republika*, 26 October] ★

Journalist's murder: A police cover-up

Police investigations into the brutal murder last August of an investigative journalist are shaping up into a blatant cover-up in order to protect powerful local interests in the district of Bantul, Central Java, which clearly had a hand in the crime. The journalist, **Fuad Mohammad Syarifuddin**, was fatally injured by two men in his own front room last August. Udin, as he was known to his friends, had been writing a number of articles in the Yogyakarta newspaper, *Bernas*, exposing a web of corruption in the local administration, leading to the office of the district chief (*bupati*) of Bantul. He continued to publish his reports even though he had been warned that his life might be at risk. [See *TAPOL Bulletin* No 137, October 1996] The murder of Udin has been front-page news ever since, and has sparked anger among journalists and lawyers who doubt whether the police investigations will lead to the true culprit.

Soon after Udin's death, the Bantul chief of police asserted that there were no political motives to the crime and even suggested, to the deep distress of his widow, that the murder was related to an alleged extra-marital affair in which the murdered man was involved. The Bantul police are also being accused of confiscating a note-book from Udin's home, containing incriminating information about various scandals surrounding officials of the local administration.



"Poor Udin, he's dead but still being persecuted" *Jawa Pos* 30 October 1996

More than two months after the murder, the Bantul police force arrested a chauffeur named Dwi Sumaji, claiming that he had confessed to the crime. He is alleged to have slain Udin because his wife, a school-friend of Udin's, was carrying on an affair with him. Within days, the claims were being hotly disputed. The dead man's wife, Marsiyem, who opened the front door to let her husband's assailant in minutes before the attack, denied that the police suspect was the man she saw. The suspect's wife insists that her husband was with her at the time of the murder, and a lawyer acting for the suspect says that whereas during the first interrogation when no lawyer was present, Dwi Sumaji confessed to the crime, he reversed his position when a lawyer was present.

Lawyers acting for Udin's wife have publicly accused the police of framing an innocent man in order to divert attention from the true cause of the murder, namely retribution for his exposure of the activities of corrupt local officials.

Independently of the police investigations, three groups have reached the conclusion that Udin's murder was related to his professional work as a journalist. First to produce its findings was a fact-finding team set up by the independent journalists' association, AJI, which compiled a detailed chronology of events leading to Udin's death. This was used as the basis for the report published in *TAPOL Bulletin* No 137. Then Komnas HAM, the National Human Rights Commission, came to the same conclusion. The Commission also accused the police of procedural errors in the arrest of Dwi Sumaji and of violating his basic rights. Most recently, a fact-finding team set up by the local branch of the Indonesian Association of Journalists, the PWI, has reached the conclusion that Udin was killed in retribution for the reports he had been writing just prior to his death.

While the investigations were underway, the Bantul chief of police who was handling the case was suddenly removed from his post and transferred to a remote police command in eastern Indonesia. The Udin case was taken over by a more senior police commander, the chief of police of Yogyakarta. The transfer follows a row within the police force over procedural errors surrounding the arrest of Dwi Sumaji. However, he is still regarded as the prime suspect and is likely to go on trial soon, sealing a cover-up which will protect powerful interests in the region.

PWI triggers editor's downfall

The Jakarta branch of the Indonesian Association of Journalists, the PWI, has withdrawn its endorsement of Goesti Emran, editor of a recently launched weekly, *Detektif & Romantika*, (*D&R*) for failing satisfactorily to provide details about all journalists employed by the magazine. PWI endorsement of the editor of any publication is crucial to its eligibility to acquire and keep a licence to publish (SIUPP) which is issued by the Minister of Information.

This action typifies the role played by the PWI which, far from protecting its members against actions by the authorities, functions as the long-arm of the Information Ministry in regulating and sanctioning journalists. Tarman Azzam, chair of the PWI Jakarta branch, is editor-in-chief of *Harian Terbit*, an afternoon paper owned by a company controlled by Harmoko, the Minister of Information.

D&R, which was set up three months ago works closely with *Tempo Interaktif*, the Internet version of the banned weekly, *Tempo*, where many of its often hard-hitting reports are reproduced. It also has several journalists who are members of the independent journalists' alliance, AJI, on its staff, all of whom were formerly employed by *Tempo*.

The PWI's action has forced *D&R* to start looking for another editor-in-chief in order to avoid closure.

Criticism of the PWI for this blatant violation of journalists' rights has come from a variety of sources. Albert Hasibuan, a member of the National Human Rights Com-

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Sixteen more Hawk warplanes for Indonesia

President of the Board of Trade, Ian Lang, has confirmed that sixteen more Hawk aircraft, in addition to the 24 already being delivered, will be sold to Indonesia. The Defence Department has confirmed that British armoured vehicles were used against students in Ujungpandang.

Indonesian Air Force Chief Sutria Tubagus told reporters in October that fourteen British Hawks have already arrived in Pekanbaru, Riau, with the other ten due to arrive by March 1997. He said the additional sixteen will arrive during 1998. Meanwhile, as part of the Armed Forces Day celebrations, five senior Air Force generals flew the Hawks in and around Jakarta. It was the first public appearance of the Hawks since their arrival in Indonesia.

Hawk aircraft in rocket testing

Hawk aircraft and F-5 Tigers recently took part in tests to fire Folding Fin Aircraft Rocket (FFAR). The rockets were fired from a height of 2,000 feet by the F-5 flying at 450 knots an hour and by the Hawk aircraft, flying at 400 knots. The rockets succeeded in destroying the target area. The purpose of the exercise was the test the effectiveness of the FFARs which have been manufactured by Indonesia's aerospace company, IPTN. The exercise also showed that the two aircraft and their pilots are capable of functioning effectively. A number of senior air force officers were on hand to watch the exercises which took place at the Air Weapon Range in Pulung, Ponorego, East Java from 11-15 November. [*Suara Pembaruan*, 20 November]

Horta: UK is 'greatest arms smuggler'

East Timor activist Jose Ramos-Horta on a visit to Brazil, blasted Britain as the 'greatest arms smuggler' to Indonesia, calling the sale of weapons to Indonesian occupiers of his homeland 'immoral'.

Ramos-Horta, joint winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize, said he had asked Brazil's President Fernando Henrique Cardoso to act as an envoy of East Timor in convincing countries like Britain to turn against Jakarta.

'Britain is the greatest arms smuggler to Indonesia', he charged, saying British weapons were being used to carry out 'the crime of genocide' against the East Timorese.

Labour's Shadow Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, has meanwhile said that the next Labour Government 'will not issue export licences for the sale of arms to regimes that might use them for internal repression or international aggression. Nor will it permit the sale of weapons in circumstances where this might intensify or prolong existing armed conflicts or where these weapons might be used to abuse human rights'. On the face of it, this should mean a reversal of the present government's policy.

Whitehall acknowledges UK arms used

The British government has finally admitted that British made weapons have been used to repress the democracy movement in Indonesia. In a letter to a CAAT (Campaign Against Arms Trade) supporter in September, and again in answer to a question in Parliament, government officials

and ministers admitted that Alvis-made armoured vehicles were used against students in South Sulawesi in April this year.

The student demonstrations were broken up when the Alvis armoured vehicles broke into the Islamic University of Indonesia (UMI) in Ujungpandang, closely followed by troops wielding firearms, batons and bayonets (see *TAPOL Bulletin*, No135, June 1996). Panic ensued as students beat a hasty retreat. The bodies of three students were later discovered all bearing stab wounds. The assault, led by the Alvis armoured vehicles, sparked protests and mass demonstrations by students in many parts of Indonesia.

Andrew Greenaway, a senior official in the defence export office of the Ministry of Defence, said in his letter that discussions had taken place with the Indonesian authorities regarding the 'incident at Ujungpandang' and that the Indonesians 'recognised that the use of force had been excessive'.

F-16 sale to go ahead

As reported in the last Bulletin, the proposed sale of F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia by the United States was put on hold by officials because of the crackdown on the democracy movement and growing opposition to the deal by members of the House of Representatives. However, following a whirlwind visit by Winston Lord - the US Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs - to Jakarta in mid-October, it now looks like the sale will go ahead with the deal being submitted to Congress for approval as early as January 1997.

Responding to American criticisms, Indonesian State Secretary Moerdino, told the Indonesian Parliament that the F-16 deal was not a priority for Indonesia. He went on to say that it was only because of the attractive soft-loan purchasing sale that Jakarta agreed to the purchase.

German warships

The last two German warships of the thirty-nine purchased by Dr. Habibie, Minister for Research and Technology, have been commissioned into the Indonesian navy following extensive refitting. The deal was highly controversial; although purchased for US\$12.7m, an estimated US\$320m has been spent on refurbishing them. The Indonesian navy made it known that it did not want the ships.

Move to get BAe injunctions overturned

In Britain, seven activists who have been served with injunctions by British Aerospace (BAe) for protesting about the Hawk deal go to the High Court in London on 19 December to get the injunctions overturned. Supporters are invited to come to demonstrate outside the court. Contact Chris Cole on 0181 653 1678 for more details. *

The Clinton-Ryadi scandal

Over the last few months, a pattern of influence-peddling, cronyism, official secrecy, corruption, Presidential dissembling and the misuse of political power has emerged among the leaders of the world's third-most populous nation. And economic interests in the fourth-largest nation have played a key role in the emerging scandal. Nevertheless, the President remains in office, having secured his position for another term.

In a strange role reversal, a Western 'democratic' government and political party are being exposed as the recipient of questionable payments from Asian companies. And, although such 'gifts' may be the norm in Indonesia, the American press is increasingly outraged when it happens secretly at home.

Influence peddling

The scandal began to unravel when it became known that Clinton acquaintance James Riady was a major donor to the Democratic National Committee. The Indonesian-American Riady is the son of Chinese-Indonesian billionaire Mochtar Riady (Lie Mo Tie) and represents his Lippo Group in the US. The facts dribbled out - aided by Republican election-year opportunism and hindered by White House disingenuousness - and Americans eventually learned that Riady has visited the White House twenty times, including six meetings with President Clinton. Although Clinton aides at first called them 'social visits', they now admit that important policy matters were discussed.

The Lippo Group has assets in banking, real estate, and securities, and links with Liem Sioe Liong's powerful Salim Group. But their US political connections are Lippo's claim to fame. James Riady moved to Arkansas 19 years ago, and began to develop relationships with soon-to-be-Governor, Bill Clinton. As his American patron rose in stature, Riady's influence grew, developing personal and business relationships with many who would later go to Washington with the new President. When Clinton crony Webster Hubbell had to resign as Attorney General in the face of criminal charges, Lippo gave him a job. And Clinton hired a key Lippo employee, John Huang, for an important position at the Commerce Department, where he used political connections to develop lucrative ties between businesses in Arkansas, China and Indonesia.

Later, Riady and Huang convinced Clinton to move Huang to the Democratic (Party) National Committee, where he directed his successful fund-raising efforts at Asian-Americans. Although US law prohibits foreign individuals or corporations from making political contributions, Huang worked close to the limit. The Democratic Party has had to return nearly half of the \$2.5 million Huang raised for the 1996 campaign due to its questionable sources, many of whom were closely linked to the Lippo Group. Although Huang has now left the DNC and remains unavailable to the media, other White House and Democratic Party officials are trying to execute what was termed, in Nixonian Watergate days, a 'modified limited hangout'.

In addition to campaign finance regulations, it is against the law for individuals in government positions to use their position to benefit themselves, businesses they have ties to, or political campaigns. Accusations of this sort are flying

fast and furious in Washington these days, and there may be criminal charges. Some Republican politicians are hinting that the President has committed crimes for which he could be removed from office, but Republican fund-raising tactics differ little from those of the Democrats. Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich called for hearings on human rights in East Timor and a suspension of all US relationships (including arms sales) with Indonesia until the scandal is fully investigated, but his ardour may cool now that the election is over.

Policy issues discussed

In face-to-face meetings, Riady urged Clinton to meet Suharto in Tokyo in 1993, to open up US trade with China, and to end a US investigation to remove Indonesia's trade preferences because of pervasive violations of workers' rights. Although Clinton did adopt these policies, his administration denies it was because of Riady's urging. And they could be telling the truth - many others, including major US businesses with much more clout than Riady's Lippo group, were also pushing for corporate profits over human rights. In any case, the Clinton Administration's tilt toward Suharto continues policies of every administration, Democrat and Republican, since 1965.

As President Clinton comes under increasing pressure, he needs to prove that his policies have not been bought. In recent press conferences, he has cited his administration's ban on exporting small arms to Indonesia because of East Timor as an example of his integrity. In fact, the ban on small arms (recently expanded to include armoured vehicles) was taken to ward off stronger Congressional action. At the moment, the Administration is promoting two of the largest U.S. weapons sales ever to Jakarta -- \$400 million of Northrop-Grumman E2C Hawkeye early warning aircraft, and \$200 million in F-16 Falcon fighter jets. Next year, Clinton wants to restore and expand US taxpayer-funded military training aid (IMET) for Indonesian soldiers, which was banned by Congress after the Dili massacre and allowed only for non-military subjects since 1995, when the Republicans took control of Congress.

As the investigations continue, advocates for democracy, human rights, and self-determination for Indonesia and East Timor have an opening. Americans have discovered Indonesia, which heretofore was often ignored by the media. We must push for deeper understanding both of the Suharto regime (which is usually ignored in coverage of the Lippo scandal) and of the role of multinational corporations, including US-based ones, in shaping government policies. And we must work to reshape those policies - public scrutiny can, perhaps, counteract cronyism and bribery in the ostensibly democratic system of the United States. *

RTZ-CRA joins forces with Freeport

In August, a tailings dam burst at a Bolivian mine, sending 400,000 tonnes of heavy metals and contaminated sludge cascading down the Rio Porco and into streams and farmland. 50,000 campesino farmers are now threatened with poisoned water and contaminated land. The New Scientist called this 'one of the worst environmental disasters ever to strike Latin America'. COMSUR, the company responsible (owned mainly by the Bolivian President) said it had built dykes along the rivers which were containing the wastes, a claim that was met with derision by scientists.

Half way across the globe in West Papua, the Freeport mine is now ditching around 125,000 tonnes of copper-contaminated mine waste each day into the Ajikwa river. These sediments are also choking marine life, destroying farmland and blighting fresh water supplies. Here too, the company has been constructing dykes (levees) to mitigate the impacts of siltation and avoid building a proper tailings dam. Here too, the company's activities are supported by the country's president. And in both Bolivia and West Papua, the companies have a highly influential junior partner, British mining giant, RTZ-CRA.

Most powerful mining company

The world's most powerful company, for 35 years RTZ-CRA has built up an unrivalled expertise in three main areas. Technically, its ability to exploit huge multi-mineral deposits is unsurpassed; and its tenacity is legendary.

For political adroitness it knocks spots off all other mining companies (and many other multinationals): Chile's military and South Africa's Apartheid rulers both gave fa-

voured treatment to RTZ during the seventies and eighties, and a US presidential advisor once declared that the company 'acts in many respects as a sovereign nation'.

In practical terms, its ability to identify potential schisms within local communities and exploit them (*divide et impera*), has long been at the cutting edge of its corporate policy.

Nearly three decades ago RTZ targeted the Indonesian archipelago as a potential cornucopia of minerals (see box), a decision borne out over the last two years, as Indonesia has become the mining industry's first or second favourite port of call. The country fits the RTZ-CRA's exploitation profile to a tee. Geologically, Indonesia is accessible (deposits are often near the surface, usually high grade and extensive, and close to rivers or the sea). Economically, the regime operates a neo-liberal Contract-of-Work system, with generous tax breaks, repatriation of profits and provision for foreign control. Politically RTZ-CRA enjoys long standing and close associations with the Suharto business empire who have a minority stake in its Kelian mine, which

RTZ-CRA in Indonesia and West Papua

* 1970 RTZ sets up Joint Venture (JV) with US Bethlehem Steel to explore in Sumatra.

* 1975 Indonesian regime proposes leasing one million hectares of West Papua to RTZ subsidiary CRA for an integrated timber development scheme which never materialises.

* 1977 RTZ starts exploring for gold in Kalimantan and copper and base metals on a 17,000 km² concession in Sulawesi.

* 1987 PT Batubara buys coal from CRA in Australia.

Kaltim Prima coal mine comes under construction; from 1990 CRA will manage the mine with BP as a 50 per cent JV partner, developing it into the country's biggest single coal producer.

RTZ enters JV with Battle Mountain Gold of the US to investigate precious metals in Kalimantan.

* 1989 CRA obtains gold exploration concession in Aceh, North Sumatra.

* 1990 CRA takes over 90 per cent of Kelian Equatorial Mining and constructs Indonesia's biggest single gold mine, along the Kelian river in East Kalimantan. Within weeks of the mine opening in 1992, over 600 drums, previously used for cyanide, sweep into the Kelian and Mahakam rivers, leading to accusations of widespread pollution and damage to health.

* 1995 RTZ purchases 12 per cent of equity in Freeport McMoran Copper and Gold (FMX), with an option to buy another 6.55 per cent. RTZ agrees to finance expansion of the mine and mill and 40 per cent of Freeport's exploration in West Papua, to the tune of US\$850 million.

* 1996 RTZ-CRA plans to set up RTZ-CRA Indonesia to consolidate its interests in West Papua and the country as a whole. Approval expected in 1997 for six new COWs: East Kalimantan (3), Aceh (1) and Sumbawa and Halmahera.

the President personally opened in 1992. Moreover, Suharto gave the company a rare personal audience when it was seeking further opportunities in 1995.

Freeport incompetence

Both as an explorer and social fixer, Freeport has proven to be incompetent, unconcerned and under-financed - until RTZ's intervention in West Papua in 1995. Though it had located several massive new deposits associated with, or close to, the Grasberg site (the current mine), the US company had the capacity neither to investigate them fully nor bring them into production. RTZ has underwritten the entire 1995-1996 exploration programme, as well as the expansion of the mill (throughput could rise to an astonishing 200,000 tonnes within a year). What the British company will get in return - 40 percent of output plus an equivalent stake in future finds - was bought remarkably cheaply, considering virtually no major capital costs were footed. No wonder the company's former CEO, Robert Wilson in March 1995 called the Grasberg deposit 'the one really large international copper deposit we would like to get involved in round the world'.

Freeport has clearly reaped more than the benefit of increased production and exploration potential. As TAPOL readers will be well aware, the US company's problems didn't stop at lack of finance. Hammered by indigenous (largely Amungme and Komoro) opposition, mounting criticisms by the environmental NGO, WALHI, and above all the findings of four major human rights investigations in the mining region last year, Freeport desperately needed to show it was at least beginning to meet international criteria in environmental management and social policy.

The first challenge was partly met by an environmental audit carried out by the Australian branch of Dames & Moore. Interestingly, although these consultants had been hired before RTZ officially joined forces with Freeport, the British company has a close association with D&M - it won a lucrative contract from RTZ-CRA earlier this year.

The second challenge - that of meeting escalating indigenous protest at the very existence of the mine - had left Freeport hopelessly outflanked. It unnerved RTZ as well, but they had some capacity to deal with it. RTZ-CRA's London office drafted in its own Aboriginal affairs advisors, an anthropologist who had done work in West Papua, and later Tom Burke (ex-director of Friends of the Earth when, ironically, it too was openly challenging RTZ) as trouble-shooters.

The upshot was classic RTZ pragmatics. Freeport-RTZ challenged - obliquely rather than head-on - the status of Lemasa (the representative Amungme organisation) by setting up a rival organisation. It has pledged 1 per cent of its annual revenue to community development (which is being channelled through the Indonesian/Irian Jaya administration) and the quadrupling of employment for 'local Irianese'. Over and above this, it has promised compensation - initially around US\$500,000 a year - for the loss of Amungme and Komoro customary land rights. This is the master-stroke for, together with a little publicised social audit released earlier this year, it acknowledges that the much vilified 1974 'land rights agreement' was unacceptable, while at the same time implicitly rejecting legally-enforceable customary land rights (adat). It is almost exactly what RTZ-CRA is offering Aboriginal Australians in Queensland in order to gain access to a huge zinc deposit,

while weakening the gains apparently made under the 1993 Native Title Act.

Over the last five years, the Grasberg mine has earned itself more than a few footnotes in Indonesian history. Unfortunately, some groups pledged to support those struggling against this huge project continue to ignore the role played by the British-Australian company in this bloody saga. This serves RTZ-CRA's purposes of hiding behind its status as a minority partner, while it remorselessly builds its influence within Freeport and indeed across Indonesia.

One day we may wake to find that RTZ-CRA has gained effective control of Freeport and become the single most important foreign multi-national operating in the archipelago. Don't say we were not warned.

Three new books on East Timor

Constancio Pinto with Matthew Jardine, **East Timor's Unfinished Struggle, Inside the Timorese Resistance**, South End Press, Boston, 1996. 292 pp. Send \$18 plus \$2.70 postage/handling to ETAN, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.

Peter Carey, **East Timor: Third World Colonialism and the Struggle for National Identity**. Conflict Studies 293/294, Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism. 1996. Copies from RISCT, 136 Baker Street, London W1M 1FH. £10 plus p&p 60 pence.

James Dunn, **Timor, a People Betrayed**. The Jacaranda Press, 1996. This is a revised and updated second edition of the 1983 edition. Write to the publishers at 65 Park Road, Milton, Queensland, for details.

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