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Students against military intervention

Heavy-handed military repression of students in Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, who were protesting against higher bus fares has sparked protests and mass demonstrations by students in many parts of the country. Six people died during the army clampdown; hundreds were injured and there were many arrests.

Ujung Pandang has a long history of student militancy but never before has a local protest movement there been the inspiration for nation-wide protests for justice and against military intervention on university campuses. After two days of protests during which there were violent clashes in the city and on campus between students from all the main universities and the security forces using tear-gas, four army tanks drove up to the entrance of the University. To the amazement of everyone around, two of the tanks crashed their way onto the campus of the Islamic University of Indonesia (UMI), destroying vehicles inside. Troops wielding firearms, batons and bayonets rushed into the university buildings, racing up the stairs to lecture rooms and laboratories, to track down the ring-leaders and disperse the huge crowds that had gathered on the third day of the protest.

Many casualties

The sound of gunfire spread panic, causing hundreds of students to beat a hasty retreat across a wide river running along the back of the campus. Most were able to swim to safety or were helped out of the deep, muddy water by people living on the other side but the bodies of three students were later discovered. All of them bore stab wounds sustained during the assault by troops, meaning that their deaths were the direct result of the army's brutal invasion of the university premises. Claims by the regional army command that their deaths were due to drowning and unrelated to the protests are demonstrably false. The army even alleged that the dead students fell into the river after being chased by other students for not wanting to take part in the demonstration.

But according to Pasigai Nasirudin, Director of the Ujung Pandang Legal Aid Institute, six persons were killed during the army crackdown, five of whom have been identified. They are: **Syaiful Bya**, 21, a student of architecture at UMI, **Tasrif bin Daming**, 21, a student at the UMI economics faculty, **Andi Sultan Iskandar**, 22, also at the

UMI economics faculty, **Adnan**, regarding whom no further details are known, and **Siri Juana**, an economics student at the '45 University who was beaten by troops while being chased and fell off a hanging bridge linking the University campus with a nearby mosque. The sixth casualty could not be identified because the body was removed from the hospital before identification took place.

The army insists that only three died and this figure has now become the official tally, used in all reports and comments about the tragedy.

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The father of Andi Sultan Iskandar said that after seeing the body of his son, it was clear that he had not died from natural causes. 'There were stab marks on his cheek and back. I demand that those security forces responsible should be dealt with in accordance with the law.' The father of Tasrif also demanded action. 'Why do they say my son died from drowning when there was blood flowing out of his eyes, nose and ears up to the time we buried him.' [GATRA, 17 May]

More than two hundred people were injured during the clampdown, many of them seriously. Dozens were arrested; at the time of writing this report, seven were still being held and others were being sought.

The trouble started when the mayor of Ujung Pandang announced a seventy percent hike in fares on the most widely used form of public transport, the *pete-pete*. After failing to convince officials to reverse the decision, students from UMI, demonstrated for a whole day, burning tyres, overturning vehicles and buses and bringing traffic in the city to a halt. During clashes with soldiers and police, many people were injured as the security forces used batons and threw teargas bombs. On the second day, students from other universities in the city joined in, bringing the numbers on the streets to many thousands. For three days, the city of Ujung Pandang was brought to a virtual standstill and the incident, which soon became known as *Bloody Ujung Pandang*, was being reported extensively in the mass media.

Confronted by such strong opposition, the mayor, on instructions from the provincial governor who was on pilgrimage to Mecca, suspended the price increase. By this time, however, the protests were no longer directed at the cost of public transportation but focused on army and police brutality, calling for those responsible for grave human rights violations to be charged and punished.

Komnas HAM steps in

Although senior army officers sought to deny that there had been any abuses, protests at the brutality used against the students grew in vehemence. The Rector of UMI, Professor Mokhtar Noer Jaya, spoke out in forceful terms against the invasion of university premises by tanks and heavily-armed soldiers. He decided that damage on the campus, including vehicles that had been wrecked by the advancing tanks, would not be repaired or removed until it had been properly examined as evidence of what had happened.

The clamour for justice grew to such a pitch that *Komnas HAM*, the National Commission for Human Rights, was forced to send a commission of inquiry, four days after a group of students made the long journey to Jakarta to urge the Commission to investigate. Leading the inquiry was Commission secretary, Baharuddin Lopa, who is closely related to one of the dead students.

The Commission members later announced that they had found spent bullet cartridges and had examined windows and walls that were pock-marked with bullet holes - refuting army claims that the troops had not opened fire - and had also found traces of blood in the interior of several university offices. They said the bodies of the three dead students were all badly bruised. It may be necessary for the

bodies to be exhumed to enable autopsies to take place, said Baharuddin Lopa. The Commission concluded that the security forces had acted in excess and had committed human rights violations.

Lower-ranking officers face trial

Although the Commission's team of inquiry has yet to publish its full report (it rarely does more than make public its general conclusions), the publicity given to the team's findings forced the local military command onto the defensive. After changing his tune to the extent of admitting that some of his men may have acted 'disproportionately', the regional military commander, Major General Sulatin, announced on 13 May that three officers and nine other NCOs would face charges for 'reacting excessively' to the student protests. Calls for the army to set up a Military Honour Council to investigate the affair were turned down on the grounds that only lower-ranking soldiers would be charged.

All this is true to form. The army has been compelled to stage military trials in response to widespread condemnation of acts of brutality in East Timor, West Papua and, most recently, in Madura (see article about the Nipah trial). Invariably, lower-ranking officers or soldiers are forced to take the rap for 'procedural violations' leaving higher-ranking officers unscathed and the institutional system unchallenged.



In many universities solidarity demonstrations with the students in Ujung Pandang were held

Nation-wide protests

The bloody events in Ujung Pandang quickly led to student protests in a number of cities throughout Java. A three-day protest by hundreds of students in Bandung, West Java led to clashes with security forces during which a number of people were wounded and needed hospital treatment.

In Jakarta, hundreds of students went to the Parliament building, carrying an object in the shape of a corpse covered in blood. This was only one of several student protests to Parliament. In Surabaya, East Java, students from all the main universities staged a demonstration outside the office of the rector of Airlangga University, the state university, strongly condemning the army's invasion of the UMI campus. Similar actions took place in Jember, Malang and Jombang, all in East Java.

In the main Central Java university town of Yogyakarta, a number of protest demonstrations took place. In several, the demonstrators clashed with security forces.

Hunger-strikers assaulted by thugs

Five students in Surabaya, who started a hunger strike out of frustration at the lack of progress in seeking redress for the military brutality in Ujung Pandang, were set upon by a gang of thugs, forcing them to abandon their strike temporarily. The action was organised by SMID, Students' Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia, which has been in the forefront of solidarity actions for the students in Ujung Pandang.

The hunger strike by five students began on 20 May after about fifty students failed to get any response to the demands they had put to members of the regional legislative assembly. Several hours into the action, the five were viciously attacked by a gang of about fifty men. Three members of the strike support group were injured in the fracas and equipment to facilitate the action, including their megaphone and posters, were destroyed. Police officers on duty nearby did nothing to intervene.

Two days later the hunger strikers reassembled, now seven in number and on the second day, they were joined by another three. The vicious physical attack had the effect

of increasing support for the strikers; a poster protest-parade was organised which went to the regional legislative assembly again, with demands for an end to military intervention on university campuses.

Such a physical attack is yet another example of the *pre-man* factor, now being used by the regime against legitimate activities of the pro-democracy movement. (See separate article.)

Journalists manhandled by troops

Journalists who were covering a student protest in Surakarta, Central Java, were struck in the face by soldiers and dragged onto an army truck nearby. Their cameras were seized. A journalist named Much Sidiq from *Wawasan* said that an officer approached him and demanded that he hand over his camera. When he said he was a journalist, the officer slapped him several times in the face. Budi Sardjono of *Yogya Pos* described how an officer grabbed him by the collar and dragged him onto a truck. He and others were only allowed off after other journalists protested. Nine journalists, all members of the official journalists' association, PWI, have signed a protest letter, ask

ing the association to lodge a formal protest with the military command in Surakarta. [*Jawa Pos*, 2 May]

Six demonstrations in a day

During a single day, the Parliament building in Jakarta was targetted by no fewer than six different groups of people demonstrating about a range of issues. First to appear were *Pijar* activists, with a packet of demands about the escape from prison by a well-known corruptor, Eddi Tansil who made his way out with the help of the Chief Warder, and about a raging scandal regarding collusion at the Supreme Court. Then no fewer than sixteen different NGOs grouped together to complain about the use of violence in land disputes. ★

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Inadequate response

Amnesty International has described the trials as 'an inadequate response to the human rights violations found to have been committed in Irian Jaya since October 1994'. The organisation, in a report: *Full Justice? Military trials in Irian Jaya* [Document ASA 21/17/96] complains that the regional army command, which was in charge of the investigation, has not published the methods or the findings of its investigations making it impossible to determine the scope of its inquiry or the conclusions reached'.

At the time the army's inquiry was under way, TAPOL received reports from sources in Timika that villagers were placed under great stress and that persons who were used by the army to testify about the massacre were not the same as the persons who had testified in the earlier inquiries, and could not be trusted. In any case, the trials went no further than dealing, totally inadequately, with the Hoesa killings, without bringing anyone to justice for the many other kill-

ings, acts of torture and arbitrary arrests that were well documented, not only in the report by Bishop Munninghoff, but also in an earlier report, published in April last year by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. These both concluded that there had been at least 37 killings and disappearances since late 1994.

As with the Nipah case, the army command responsible for the abuses comes out of the 'inquiry' untarnished. While others feel it necessary to welcome the fact that the army has put some of its members on trial as a step in the right direction, TAPOL feels that these trials amount to a cover-up, leaving the army to carry on its abuses unchecked. ★



Tien Suharto and the succession

Soon after the death of Tien Suharto, the government proclaimed seven days' mourning. Newspapers bore headlines such as: The nation is crying. But many people saw her death as a cause for celebration. The day she died, Idul Adha, the day of offering according to Islam, became a joyous day for many. Tien's departure from the scene will have a great impact on Suharto's rule, with people speculating that he may decide to step down in six months time.

Although she kept herself more in the background in the last decade or so, the wife of President Suharto, Siti Hartinah Suharto, 71, was, to the end of her life one of the most controversial figures in Indonesia. Over the years she made many enemies. She died suddenly of a heart attack at the Gatot Subroto Army Hospital, Jakarta on 28 April; she was known to have been in poor health for some time.

She was buried with full military honours in the three tier Astana Giri Bangun family mausoleum, some 50 kms east of her home town, Solo, in Central Java which was built at huge expense in the early 1980s. The mausoleum stands higher than the tombs of the Mangkunegaran, the sultans of Solo. The Suharto family obviously regard themselves as the new dynasty of Indonesia, much higher placed than a mere local sultan. She was buried like a queen.

Ibu Negara

Tien was called *Ibu Negara*, a title carrying far greater weight than First Lady. Literally translated, it means Mother of the Nation. In the very first years of Suharto's rule, Tien indeed behaved like an Ibu Negara, forever meddling in state affairs. In the early seventies, she was instrumental in getting a new marriage law adopted which made it almost impossible for Muslims to take a second wife. Cabinet ministers and close presidential aides knew very well that they had to watch their step. Tien had a crucial say in the appointment and sacking of highly-placed persons.

Javanese traditionalists

Tien and her husband have always conducted themselves according to Javanese custom. Every Monday and Thursday the couple soaked themselves in a tubful of water and flowers which is the traditional way to preserve their power. Tien would usually chew her traditional betelnut when meeting European head of states, as a symbolic gesture.

While Suharto was a commoner, Tien had true blue blood coursing through her veins. She was a descendant of the first king of Mataram, usually known as Pangeran

Sambernnyowo. On all important family occasions, Tien would deck out the Cendana residence in yellow, the colour of Javanese royalty.

According to Javanese traditional beliefs, a ruler can only rule by virtue of possessing *wahyu*. In Suharto's case, it was Tien who 'inherited' the *wahyu* as a person of royal descent. Being a woman, she has to share this sacred heritage with a man. As a widower, Suharto has lost the *wahyu* which, according to Javanese *dukuns* (soothsayers), is now finding its way to somebody else.

Building the Suharto dynasty

She is thought to have been one of the richest and most unscrupulous women in Asia. During the early days of Suharto's presidency, she commanded immense power in



Some analysts estimate that the Suharto dynasty is worth US\$ 50 billion

economic affairs. It was as if nothing could happen without her consent. She always made sure that perks from major business ventures went to herself or one of her relatives.

In 1971, her unscrupulous business activities shot into the limelight with the construction of one of the most infamous projects with which she had been involved, the Indonesia-in-Miniature tourist project, known as Mini-Indonesia. It was built on land on the outskirts of Jakarta, taken over after the occupants had been evicted without proper compensation. The 26 pavilions 'represented' each of the provinces. The costs were covered by 'voluntary' contributions from regional administrations and business-

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Para-military gangs to the fore

Para-military gangs are as old as the Indonesian republic. Under the New Order regime, para-military forces emerged in the seventies, often as an extension of the ruling party, Golkar. In periods before the elections which are held every five years, they are particularly busy. At other times, they tend to stick to their everyday function in the underworld of organised crime.

During the independence struggle from 1945 to 1950 a variety of *pemuda* (youth) groups emerged, some with genuine political motives while others were para-military gangs who used their enhanced status to harass ordinary citizens or extort money from Chinese shopkeepers. Such gangs have always managed to survive but the New Order era has injected new blood into this kind of organised crime.

The role of the military in the first years of the New Order was all-powerful. Their influence dominated the very fabric of social life. As the years went by, lower-ranking officers began to recruit lumpen youth to take control in the localities where they were stationed, particularly businesses and shopping centres. It became the custom for shop-keepers and businessmen to fork out 'protection' money to local organised gangs. As with the mafia, yakuza or triad gangs, the gangs became more professional, spreading their influence to high places, while the top gangsters became respectable citizens.

The foot soldiers of the gangs are called *preman*, originating from the Dutch term *vrij man* or free man. While most organised crime gangs are only interested in money, extortion often leads to political alliances with elite factions as well as providing a convenient way to earn a living.

Political gangsters

Prior to the military takeover in 1965, political youth groups emerged which were directly organised by the military. The most vicious of all was the youth organisation of *Soksi*, a corporatist trade union led by Colonel Suhardiman. *Soksi* was set up primarily to counter *Sobsi*, the pro-Communist affiliated trade union. In the red drive after October 1965, *Soksi* members were in the front line, beating up people, burning offices and inciting the crowds.

In the seventies new groups emerged, often led by sons of army officers. The names of the groups are often directly linked to military units or divisions. Some organisations have become well established youth organisations; they include like *AMPI* and *Pemuda Pancasila (PP)*. Others like *AM Siliwangi* or *AM Diponegoro* only get active during the elections when the ruling party Golkar needs people to attend rallies and mass meetings. *PP* has become a nationwide organisation with branches in all the major industrial centres. *PP* offices are to be found in Chinese business quarters and in the industrial areas. Its chairman Yapto Suryosumarno, son of a retired army Major-General, is influential in high places. A jet-setter, he has notoriously expensive hobbies: safari hunting and island hopping on his exclusive, white yacht. Yorris Rawejai, the executive head of *PP*, is nowadays known as Indonesia's Al Capone.

Notorious for his involvement in gambling and prostitution rackets, he remains virtually untouchable by the law because of protection in high places.

Intimidation and terror

The political atmosphere in Indonesia is definitely changing. The pro-democracy movement is gathering strength and people are sick to the teeth after decades of authoritarianism. The old style of military intimidation is losing its effectiveness, which is a good reason to promote the *preman*.

In several important political events, the role of the *preman* has been clearly exposed to the public eye. The spectacular action by Indonesian and East Timorese activists on 7 December last year, when they occupied the Dutch Embassy, was marred by the presence of dozens of *preman*. Not only were several activists severely beaten up but also the Dutch ambassador, Brouwer, who tried to intervene. The thugs actually entered the embassy grounds, an illegal act under international law. It would have caused a huge diplomatic incident if military intelligence had entered an embassy so they hired a bunch of thugs to do the dirty work.

The *preman* all wore new Reebok trainers and the majority wore similar T-shirts, part of their fee. Some people have identified them as members of a youth gang, most of whom come from the Moluccans and operate in the Blok-M area, the major bus terminal in Jakarta. At a time when the number of demonstrations is mushrooming everywhere, the *preman* are having a heyday, with plenty of jobs to handle.



Terror against Bintang and his supporters

The outspoken former MP has been a constant target of the *preman*. No sooner had he arrived back from his European visit that the harassment started. His house was stoned and his car vandalised. He received many death threats by phone and his trial [see separate item] became a showcase of political thuggery. Part of the public gallery was always filled with thugs shouting obscenities and threatening Bintang supporters who were also present in the courtroom in large numbers. The court officials condoned the activities of the thugs but arrested Bintang supporters, if they cheered the defendant. While the anti-Bintang people were free to circulate pamphlets, the Bintang supporters were frisked and allowed to enter the court room only after handing over their ID card.

Some nasty incidents occurred during the trial sessions. Outside the courtroom the hired thugs frequently attacked Bintang supporters and in the courtroom, always tried to provoke the pro-democracy crowd. Several people were arrested, all from the pro-Bintang camp, for allegedly creating disturbances in the courtroom. Pro-Bintang activists could see that the leader of the *preman* group, a notorious gangster called Udin, had a very cosy relationship with the court police.

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men. Anger at the project erupted into student protests, the first to occur since Suharto took power in 1965.

By the early 1970s, she was popularly known as 'Madame Ten Percent', a play on her name Tien which is the Dutch word for 'ten'. No one could conduct any profitable business without giving her at least ten per cent of the proceeds. Later, the nickname changed to 'Madame Fifi', Madame Fifty-Fifty. She chaired a number of private 'charitable foundations' which were funded by business projects run by Suharto cronies. It is therefore hardly a matter for surprise that she was the one who killed off the anti-corruption campaign in Indonesia in the early days of the New Order.

Sons and daughters

In April 1986, relations between Indonesia and Australia were seriously undermined when Suharto reacted furiously to an article published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* by David Jenkins entitled, 'After Marcos, now for the Suharto billions' which focused largely on Mrs Suharto's business interests. According to one joke doing the rounds at the time, she was said to be in the 'mining business' - 'That's mine, that's mine.' Tien embodied one principle that has marked more than thirty years of Suharto rule: that of making no distinction between what is private and what is public.

But by the late 1980s, her role as the chief money-grabber for the Suharto family had passed to her sons and daughters and more recently also to the grandchildren. Some of the angriest ripostes coming from Suharto have been provoked by criticisms circulating in society about the ways in which Madame Tien was known to rake in the

Terrorism against KIPP

The newly-established *KIPP*, the Independent Committee to Monitor the Elections, which has won such widespread support since its inauguration, has become the latest target of political thuggery. Established in March, *KIPP* already has branches at village level. So far, nineteen chapters have been established in the different regions.

In Lampung, South Sumatra, the initiation meeting of the *KIPP* branch was disrupted by the authorities and Bambang Ekalaya, a local activist, was taken away for interrogation. In Medan, the local LBH (Legal Aid) office, which was being used as the temporary office of the *KIPP* chapter, was seriously damaged when a fire bomb was thrown inside.

In Surabaya, East Java, and Banten, West Java, counter *KIPP* organisations have been established. The Governor of East Java, retired Major-General Basofi Sudirman, gave his blessing to the setting up of *BIP-KIPP*. Functionaries of the ruling party Golkar are now determined to set up shadow organisations wherever *KIPP* has a chapter.

In Banten, the situation turned particularly grim. According to reports, about 3,000 youngsters who have been trained in the martial arts are being used to block the establishment of a *KIPP* chapter. There was a show of force by a few dozen *preman* marching in the streets, brandishing machetes.

It seems clear that, as the political situation intensifies in the run-up to the general election in April 1997, the *preman* will be used more often by military intelligence. ★

cash. Only a few months before her death, Suharto suddenly rallied to her defence once again, almost out of the blue.

Given that Mrs Suharto was widely acknowledged to be a close confidant and political advisor to Suharto, the talk in Jakarta after her death has been about whether it will affect his decision to seek another term in 1998. What is certain is that his oldest daughter, Mbak Tutut, vice-chair of the ruling party, GOLKAR, and herself a businesswoman of immense wealth and power, will assume the role played until now by her mother. That will greatly enhance her political prestige.

The succession issue

The succession issue is now one of the main topics of conversation in Jakarta. The Javanese political *dukuns* are already predicting Suharto's downfall. One of the more consistent rumours circulating is that Suharto will announce his decision to retire in six months time. In such an atmosphere, politicians and public figures are making increasingly bold statements. Abdurrachman Wahid, influential leader of the Muslim organisation *Nahdatul Ulama*, recently stated that Suharto should prepare his successor; otherwise chaos could erupt if he suddenly leaves office. Pro-democracy leaders are increasingly demanding that Suharto should quit. The new political party PRD has adopted a two-word slogan: "*Presiden baru* (a new President), while the activist umbrella organisation, *Pijar*, takes the position that Suharto should not be a candidate next time round. On 11 March, a symbolic day for Suharto, 40 *Pijar* activists went to parliament carrying a big banner bearing the text: *We need a new President*. That is a sentiment most people in Indonesia will warmly endorse. ★

Soldiers go on trial

In recent months, lower-ranking soldiers have gone on trial in several places for 'procedural errors', following outcries against killings and acts of brutality by members of the armed forces. In all cases, the trials and sentences have been nothing more than a sop to national and international condemnation of the behaviour of the security forces.

It would seem that members of the armed forces, especially the lower ranks, are going through what can only be described as a crisis of confidence. They are, after all, only doing their duty when they go out and quell troublesome people yet when things explode and complaints are made against army brutality, those in command produce a few lower-ranking officers as sacrificial lambs, have them tried in military courts, given lenient sentences and dismiss them from the army. Such solutions satisfy no one, neither the victims nor the human rights activists, and are sure to spread a lot of discontent in the army.

A couple of weeks after the Ujung Pandang tragedy (see separate time), the Central Java regional military commander, Major-General Subagyo Hadisiswoyo tried to restore confidence when, commenting on student protests in Yogyakarta sparked by the events in Ujung Pandang, he claimed that incidents in East Timor, Timika, Medan, East Java and Ujung Pandang as well as acts of indiscipline within the army were 'being used to corner the army'. Speaking at a roll-call of officers under his command, he said that people out to change the system of government regard the armed forces as the force standing in their way. (Many would say, 'Hear! hear!' to that.)

Soldiers need to refine their tactics and avoid violating the procedures, he said. 'In face of rising social tensions, every action we take must be based on the laws in force. If you keep this in mind, you needn't have any hesitations about taking action.' As if to emphasize the need for strong action, he accused the younger generation of Indonesians of engaging in acts of 'savagery' [*Kompas*, 7 May]

Weary of authoritarianism

A comment in a Hongkong-based newspaper quotes critics as pointing to evidence of a 'volcano effect', when tension builds to an exploding point and people grow weary of decades of authoritarianism. Those who stand on the other side of the 'barricades' see recent events as a sign of 'an accumulation of frustration with violations of the law and human rights and with undemocratic practices.... If the government continues to defend its programme and take harsh action to silence its critics... we in Indonesia will face very serious problems,' said labour leader, Muchtar Pakpahan. According to the human rights activist, H.J.C. Princen: 'People know lies are being told. They are tired of living in a state occupied by its own army.' [*South China Morning Post*, 11 May]

At present all the army has to offer are military trials which, in turn, are bound to spread discontent among the lower ranks, storing up yet more problems for the regime.



HABISI!



Finish them off !!

The Nipah trials

Four soldiers went on trial in April for their part in a massacre in September 1993 when four villagers were shot dead in cold blood and three were seriously wounded as they were protesting against their land being measured for a dam. The incident occurred in Nipah, district of Sampang, on the island of Madura, East Java in September 1993. A woman and a young boy were among those shot dead. The incident became a major national scandal when the local Muslim *ulama* expressed indignation that the authorities had simply failed to consult the local community about construction of the dam.

Several hundred villagers were protesting from across a stream and clearly posed no threat whatever to the officials or troops. The dam, construction of which was suspended after the outcry, would have submerged seven villages without offering any compensation to the families affected. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 120, December 1993]

The four who went on trial were: First Lieutenant Sudjak, who was in charge of the army team which was there to protect the land-demarkation officials, and two of his subordinates, Sergeant M. Said Riyadi and Private Siswanto, as well as Sergeant Bambang Edy Cahyono of the *Sabhara* (anti-riot) police unit. Among the witnesses called were four villagers who were present at the time; three were wounded when the soldiers opened fire.

Needless to say, none of the soldiers was accused of manslaughter, let alone murder. Sudjak faced a much lesser charge of 'failing to pass on orders from his superiors' to the soldiers under his command, while the others were charged with 'failing to carry out orders'. Sudjak was also accused of failing to do anything to assist the victims of the slaughter and failing to report the deaths until the following day.

The military court sentenced Sudjak to two years and four months; the others received sentences of between twenty-six and nineteen months. All were dismissed from the armed forces.

Villagers complain of leniency

Relatives of the four shot dead have expressed indignation at the leniency of the sentences meted out and say that they intend to take their grievance to the National Human

Demonstrator shot dead in Ngabang

A demonstrator named Taku, 51, was shot dead and fifteen people were wounded when troops opened fire on a crowd of about two thousand protesters, following the abduction and disappearance of a local resident by troops because of a minor traffic incident outside their barracks.

The incident occurred in Ngabang, a small town in West Kalimantan, a region inhabited by Dayaks where feelings have been running high for some years because of the presence of Indonesian army troops who behave in a hostile way towards the local people, a mark no doubt of racism towards local Dayaks.

According to Abdul Hakim G. Nusantara, who chairs the human rights organisation, ELSAM, troops at the *Armed* ('field artillery') barracks in Ngabang frequently punish motor cyclists who ride past their barracks at what they consider to be too high a speed, whereas anyone who protests at such unwarranted behaviour is immediately accused of being 'PKI'.

The demonstration occurred on 8 April, three days after Jiming, 28, was abducted by ten *Armed* soldiers. At the time, reports circulated that he had died at the hands of his abductors, leading to strong protests and an outburst of fury. It was later confirmed that he sustained severe injuries from torture at the hands of his abductors. The huge crowd marched to the Ngabang military headquarters and, according to the local military commander, attacked the building, torching offices and deflating the tires of vehicles parked outside.

According to the military commander, Major-General Namoeri Anom, his men opened fire 'in self defence' because the crowd was behaving 'savagely'. But according to ELSAM, troops opened fire on the crowd before it had reached the army's headquarters.

Seven Jakarta-based NGOs have called on the National Commission for Human Rights to send a fact-finding mission to Ngabang to investigate a number of human rights abuses that have been reported there. They have also called for those responsible in the army to be brought to justice.

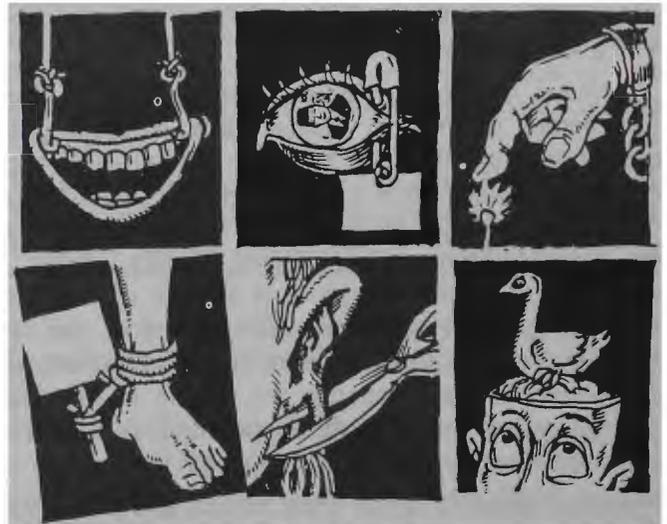
Two other shooting incidents, involving troops were also reported at around the same time. One occurred in the West Java town of Serang, when a police officer 'unintentionally' pulled the trigger when he was trying to break up a crowd of riotous football fans on 6 April. Earlier, troops opened fire on a fishing vessel near Natuna island; a fisherman from Purwokerto, Central Java was killed. [*Jakarta Post*, 11 April]

Rights Commission. A lawyer from the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute, Ansori, wondered why only low ranking soldiers were put on trial. 'The trial did not touch on the responsibility of the military corps,' he said.

He also said that the officers and officials responsible for the outrage should also have gone on trial. They were Lieutenant-Colonel Bagus Hinayana, who was regent of the district of Sampang at the time, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sugeng Wiyono, who was local military commander. [*Jakarta Post*, 8 May]

The Hoesa massacre trial

On 31 May 1995, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on several hundred West Papuan villagers in Hoesa village, killing eleven people, among them children and the local Protestant minister. The shooting happened while the people were at prayer. The massacre was documented in a July 1995 report by the Bishop of Jayapura, Bishop Munninghoff and later confirmed, albeit in general terms, by the National Commission for Human Rights in a brief summary of its findings published on 22 September 1995.



The massacre and the wave of human rights abuses that preceded it, was reported widely in the Indonesian press as well as internationally, forcing the military once again to carry out its own investigation and bring a few of its men to justice.

Four soldiers were tried before a military court in Jayapura in January and February 1995. Two privates, Titus Kopogau and R.H. Renyaan, were charged with the murder of three (not eleven) civilians. Private La Ode Zahudin was charged with being an accomplice to murder. They were also charged with disciplinary offences under military law. Although the maximum penalty under military law for this type of killing is fifteen years, the first two were found guilty and given sentences of two years and three years respectively, while the third was given a one-year sentence.

A fourth soldier, Second Lieutenant Mardjaka, was charged for giving false testimony because he had reported that ten villagers had been killed at Hoesa village. According to the army's version, only three civilians were killed. He was sentenced to one year and four months. All four were dismissed from the army.

continued on page 3

More actions against the arms trade

The campaign in Europe to bring a end to the export of weapons to Indonesia has continued unabated, in face of growing signs that governments in western Europe are abandoning all concerns about human rights abuses and the occupation of East Timor to renew their arms trade with the Suharto dictatorship.

BAe AGM brought to a halt

The Annual General Meeting of British Aerospace on 1 May was brought to a halt by protests from token shareholders who attempted to storm the platform, after a grueling question-and answer session which went on for several hours. Outside the building, hundreds of peace campaigners condemned the sale of arms to the Indonesian dictatorship. The lively protest was organised by Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) which has collaborated for many years with TAPOL, providing it with primary research and specialist data. A symbolic die-in was organised by NVDA (non-violent direct action) groups on the road in front of the venue. Inside, the board of directors was subjected to a barrage of questions on many aspects of its trade with repressive regimes and its manufacture of land-mines.

Question time was dominated by the company's involvement, along with arms-manufacturer, Vickers, in bringing pressure to bear on the British government to deport a Saudi human rights activist, Dr Al Masari, after the Saudi government warned that his activities from a London office could jeopardise Britain's biggest arms deal, worth \$10 billion. The issue was raised by Labour MP, George Galloway, following a major scandal in the UK about the intrigues of British arms dealers in defending the interests of their overseas customers.

The sale of Hawk trainer and combat aircraft to Indonesia was vigorously opposed by Tom Hyland of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign.

The company's chair, Bob Bauman, would only say, in response to many questions from the floor on the ethics of the arms trade, that 'ethics is a very elusive subject'.

What with the variety of actions inside and outside, the protests against BAe's deadly trade with Indonesia were well reported in the next day's newspapers.

20 more Hawks for ABRI?

Days before the BAe AGM, it was announced in Jakarta that negotiations were underway for a new contract with BAe to sell another twenty Hawks fighter aircraft to Indonesia. 'We need more Hawks to fulfil our air force squadron needs,' said Air Marshall Sutria Tubagus, chief-of-staff of the Indonesian air force. He also announced that President Suharto had approved the purchase of nine F-16 fighters from Lockheed Martin in the US. [Reuter, 26 April]

Soon after the AGM on 1 May, it was announced in Jakarta that the first three Hawks contracted in June 1993 had already arrived and would be on display at the *Indonesia Air Show '96* to be held in Jakarta in June, at which Britain's Red Arrows and Golden Dreams would also perform.



Arms sales contract

Meanwhile, a week of action, 'Arms off East Timor' took place in many parts of Britain from 25 - 31 March. Every BAe site was the focus of a protest of some kind. There was a weekend peace camp at the Warton site where, in January, the 'Seeds of Hope' East Timor Ploughshares women successfully smashed up and destroyed a Hawk being readied for Indonesia. BAe workers were leafleted about the military regime for which they were, in effect, working and local phone-in programmes were used to get the message across.

In London a 24-hour vigil outside the Foreign Office was attended by nearly one hundred people and a petition signed by around 20,000 people was handed in to Minister of State Jeremy Hanley by a delegation which consisted of Ann Clwyd MP and Nick Harvey MP, along with Ann Feltham of CAAT and Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL.

Arms sales on the up and up

Speaking at a seminar on the arms trade at the European Parliament on 13 May, Liem Soei Liong of TAPOL said that whereas in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991, there was a marked shift away from trading in arms with Indonesia, it now appears that Europe has adopted the cynical credo of *business as usual*. He gave a quick and incomplete rundown:

- * The UK has started delivery of Hawk fighter planes. Also in 1994 a deal was made for the sale of 50 Scorpion light tanks, suited for heavily wooded territory like East Timor, West Papua and Aceh.

- * We are also hearing consistent reports about the use of electro-shock batons against workers demonstrating in Jakarta and Tangerang. It is commonly known that several types of these batons are manufactured in the UK.

Horta writes to Seeds of Hope women

While on a visit to Britain in April to deliver an address on East Timor to the Royal Institute for International Affairs, Jose Ramos-Horta sent the following letter to the four 'Seeds of Hope' - East Timor Ploughshares women, Lotta Kronlid, Andrea Needham, Joanna Wilson and Angie Zelter who are awaiting trial at Ridley Prison, Lancashire:

'Dear Lotta, Andrea, Jo and Angie,

'There are no words, language, rich enough to enable me to express my emotions and gratitude for your generosity and courage in standing up to the mighty British arms industry.

'The people of East Timor will always remember the four women who disabled a British fighter plane on the ground, before it took off for its bombing missions.

'In twenty years of resistance, we were never able to shoot down an aircraft. You did it without even firing a single shot and without hurting the pilot.

'I will be ready and more than happy to appear in court to testify. In the meantime, keep up your courage. Justice will prevail! A big hug to you all!'

The four women are likely to go on trial in July or August this year.

* In Germany, an export license was approved for the delivery of 'Wiesel' airborne armoured vehicles in an order worth 100 million DM. These vehicles are specially suited for KOSTRAD's Rapid Deployment Force to quell urban and rural revolts. Another disturbing German export item is the highly sophisticated Heckler & Koch semi-automatic machine-gun which has been used for years by ABRI's special troops. The Indonesian navy is also to purchase the MSG 90 type of this rifle. The Heckler & Koch machine-guns which are portable, light and easy to use, are ideal for use against crowds and demonstrators.

* In March this year the Finnish government issued an export license for the export of 60 armoured troop-carriers to Jakarta.

* The Swedish Social-Democratic Government has now reversed its policies and is prepared to sell at least three Bofors naval cannons, worth 35 million SEK.

* The Belgians have started to upgrade 12 F-5 fighter planes at a cost of US\$40 million. Simultaneously the Belgian company SABCA will install a new avionics suite and carry out structural repairs and rewiring for Sidewinder anti-aircraft missiles.

*The Dutch government has agreed to deliver firing-systems for Indonesian naval patrol boats.

'The European Parliament has adopted a series of fine resolutions regarding Indonesia and East Timor,' he went on, 'including calling for an arms embargo. We haven't seen any proper feedback on at the national level; quite the contrary. I urgently appeal to everybody present here: politicians, civil servants and members of NGOs to reverse this development. Stop arming Indonesia is a just demand.'

Vigorous campaign against Swedish deal

News that the Swedish government had decided to allow the export of three or four naval cannons to Indonesia has become the target of an international campaign. In 1994, the Swedish Social-Democrats, while still in opposition, adopted a categorical policy of ending arms sales to Indonesia. But once it had won power, after the 1995 general election, the policy came under pressure from the powerful arms lobby. In April this year, the betrayal was clear when the Bofors cannon deal was approved. Many peace, human rights and church-based organisations in Sweden have grouped together to oppose the deal which has also been widely condemned in the Swedish press. ✪



Vanishing trick

Eddy Tansil, arguably Indonesia's most notorious white-collar criminal, disappeared from Cipinang prison, Jakarta, in May. In 1994 he was jailed for 20 years for defrauding a state bank for almost US\$ 500 million. He had become a kind of celebrity, making business alliances with people in high places like Sudomo, the former Chief of the Security Body, *Kopkamtib* and Tommy Suharto, the president's youngest son. His trial was front page news for many weeks.

His escape has raised huge questions about the treatment of VIP prisoners. Public anger escalated as the details of the escape emerged. He had his own comfortable compound in prison, complete with colour TV, video and CD player. He used a hand phone and pager for communication with the outside world. He ordered his food from posh Chinese restaurants. He often left prison to see his family and made regular visits to his office. Some businessmen even claim that they continued to play golf with Eddy. This however is not an isolated case. Money to prison wardens can produce wonders. Another Cipinang inmate, a former banker, was recently charged in court by a woman for sexual harassment somewhere in the city.

Eddy Tansil's jailbreak proceeded without a hitch. Supposedly going on a hospital visit, a prison warden took him home by car, which was apparently quite routine. Eddy must have prepared his escape for months. Within hours of the 'hospital visit' he had disappeared into thin air.

Public anger was so vociferous that President Suharto had to issue an urgent call to the security forces and the public to track him down.

An orchestrated trial

The Bintang trial was a political trial par excellence. In the end, what happened during the trial was of no consequence. Bintang had to be punished and the sentence had most likely been set long before the trial started.

On 8 May 1996 the court sentenced Bintang to two years and ten months prison. Bintang's first reaction was: "The verdict is wrong and unjust. I do not accept the decision and will appeal". His wife shouted at the judges: "This is a verdict by order. Everything is orchestrated".

Bintang and his defence team made strenuous efforts to prove his innocence [see *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 132, 133 & 134]. They even called witnesses from abroad. But it was all in vain. Judge Sjofinan Sumantri decided that it was proven beyond doubt that the defendant had smeared the good name and insulted President Suharto. This was supposed to have happened during a discussion with students in Berlin, Germany. The prosecution demanded four years and the court passed a lesser sentence because Bintang had 'behaved decently' and had never previously been charged.



A pro-Bintang demonstration in front of the courthouse

Emotions run high in court

Bintang's trial attracted a huge public. The public gallery was always packed and many of the Bintang supporters had to remain outside. At the same time his trial also attracted political gangsters [see separate item]. The thugs were there to intimidate and provoke the public. At the final session more than 500 supporters assembled in front of the court and marched in a small demonstration towards the old part of the city. The thugs were absent; apparently they already knew that Bintang would receive a heavy sentence. One of the students who attended the final session became very emotional when he heard the verdict. He shouted and threw a shoe to the judges. Luckily, the shoe missed the target.

In April 1995, the Attorney General issued an order banning Bintang from going abroad. This year, the order was renewed. Meanwhile, pending his appeal to a higher court, Bintang has not been placed in custody, at least for the time being.

Since April last year when Bintang faced possible dismissal from Parliament, his case has been under investigation by the Geneva-based Inter-Parliamentary Union. A resolution adopted by the Union's Inter-Parliamentary Council on 20 April 1996 regrets that Indonesian law allows the 'recall' of MPs and considers that in making the

offending statements for which he has been tried, the former MP was merely exercising his right to freedom of expression. The Bintang case will continue to be examined by the IPU's Committee on the Human Rights of Parliamentarians.

New political party

Bintang's case is exceptional in several respects. In other political trials, the defendants were in custody prior to the trial. When Bintang arrived back from his visit abroad, he was still member of the Indonesian parliament, which should have given him immunity. It took several weeks for Bina Graha, the presidential office to bring about his expulsion from parliament. He fought the expulsion in a separate case which he lost.

Before he went on a speaking tour to Europe, the outspoken Bintang had strong ideas about setting up a new political party. His disputes with the leadership of his own party, the PPP, were getting worse by the day. After his return, Bintang spoke on several occasions about his new political party, which will be called the United Democratic Party. With a jail sentence now pending, it is unclear whether the new party will be set up soon. ☆

Human rights briefs

Karl Marx under guard

The Cold War may be over but in Suharto's New Order Indonesia, nothing much has changed, at least as regards our 'bearded uncle', as Marx is affectionately known by some Indonesians. All the books of the nineteenth century revolutionary have been banned since 1966; however, a year ago, it was announced that academics were now allowed to read these dangerous works. But it's not so straightforward as it sounds.

The National Library in Jakarta is probably the only government institution that holds a collection of Marx's books. So are they accessible? Well yes, but only under special conditions. For a start, you can't take any of these books home. The curator of the library, Mastini Hardjoprakoso, recently explained that anyone wanting to read the books must produce a written permit from the Attorney-General's office. But even with your permit, you will only be allowed to read the books in a special section of the Library, under the watchful eye of a guard. And to avoid contamination on the shelves, all books on Marxism and Communism are separated from other collections.

'Not everyone can have access to them,' she said, 'because this has to do with national security.'

The Library even turned down a request from the Armed Forces History Centre to read the books because they failed to produce a permit from the Attorney-General's office. [*Jakarta Post*, 16 March 1996]

'Ex-PKI' still disenfranchised

Tens of thousands of alleged members and supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which was banned in 1965, will once again be denied the right to vote in the country's general elections in April next year. The security authorities are once again in the process of conducting a check-up of all PKI suspects to ascertain their 'reliability' as citizens in order to decide whether they should be permitted to vote. The Home Affairs ministry has now determined that 1,157,820 are 'ideologically fit enough' to take part, and 20,706 are not. It seems that the eligibility to vote of the three 1965 prisoners released last August, former foreign minister, Dr Soebandrio, Air Marshal Omar Dhani and former police intelligence chief Brig-General Soegeng Soetarto, was not even considered. [*Jakarta Post*, 4 April]

In East Nusa Tenggara, meanwhile, a government official, Colonel Rachman Idin, said that 272 'ex-PKI' would be excluded from voting next year. 'We are considering allowing 13,336 to take part in the elections because they have been found by the government to have behaved well,' he told journalists. [*Jakarta Post*, 3 April]

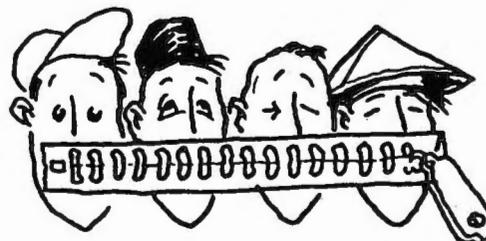
Australian scholar denied entry

Harry Aveling, the Australian linguist and specialist in Indonesian literature, was denied entry into Indonesia when he arrived by air in Bali. He was intending to visit the

country for two weeks to study the latest developments in the Indonesian language and collect more works to be included in an anthology of contemporary Indonesian poetry which he plans to publish shortly.

He told the weekly *Tiras* that his exclusion had come as a complete surprise. He has visited Indonesia on four occasions since 1989 without difficulty and has no idea why he was now being blacklisted. Aveling has translated several of the works of Pramoedya Ananta Toer whose writings are all banned in Indonesia but Aveling could not understand why this might cause him to be excluded; others who have translated Pramoedya's works were not being refused entry, he said. The Immigration Directorate's assertion that Aveling has been blacklisted because of East Timor was highly questionable, according to Aveling, who said that, in fact, he supports Indonesia on the question of East Timor.

Two senior Australian academics who are currently spending six months as guest lecturers at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Herb Feith and Lance Castles, have reportedly been prohibited from discussing domestic political affairs. Feith told *Tiras* that he has never been denied entry. However, according to the guidelines of the agency, the Australian Voluntary Board, which arranged his lectureship, he is not touching on contemporary Indonesian politics but confining himself to the history of Indonesian politics up to 1965 and to general international issues. [*Tiras*, 2 May] ★



continued from page 23

words of Bung Karno, the actions should actually be attributed to the PKI leaders having fallen into a trap.'

The final chapter analyses the reactions of a random sample of younger people to a questionnaire asking them what attitude should be taken towards the 1965 events. Sixty-two per cent of the respondents thought that people involved in the 1965 events should now be forgiven; eighty-eight per cent agreed that the 'ET' mark on the identity cards should be abolished and eighty-one per cent agreed with the award to Pramoedya Ananta Toer of the Magsaysay Prize.

In his Foreword, Goenawan Mohamad concludes that the volume formulates the right questions rather than attempting to provide answers. In their own Introduction, the authors draw the following conclusion from the questionnaire. Evidently, the youngsters who responded were no longer obsessed by the Communist scare. 'To the generation which will soon grow up, maybe the most important problem will be, how to protect themselves from being crushed by "globalisasi".'

Wim F. Wertheim

Bayang-Bayang PKI banned

On 22 April, the Attorney-General issued an order banning the sale, distribution or possession of the ISAI publication. The reason given is that the book discusses a 'number of theories about the 1965 events which are based on a distortion of the facts or which mystify the historical facts relating to the events, adding insinuations. Such things can spread false and deceptive views which can cause unrest and disrupt the public order'. [*Kompas*, 17 May] #

Hostage drama ends in tragedy

The hostage crisis in West Papua which began in January this year when the OPM captured twenty-six people including seven Europeans, ended on 15 May when nine of the remaining eleven hostages were released during a massive army operation. Tragically, however, two of the four Indonesian hostages were battered to death by an unknown assailant.

The crisis began when 26 people were taken hostage on 8 January by an OPM unit under Daniel Kogoya, operational commander for the IIIrd OPM Command which operates in the Jayawijaya region. This force covers the whole concession area of the Freeport copper and gold mine and is led by Kelly Kwalik, a former school teacher who joined the OPM in the early 1970s and who was involved in the spectacular attack on Freeport's slurry pipes in 1977.

All the hostages were members of, or in some way connected with, the Lorentz Expedition Team 1995 which began a programme of research in November last year, at a time when political tension in the region was very high because of growing opposition to the Freeport copper and gold mine. Among the dozens of victims of Freeport-related human rights abuses perpetrated during 1995 were four members of Kelly Kwalik's family, a fact that intensified his personal animosity towards the company and his desire to hit hard at a regime that has allowed the company to devastate the sacred land of his Amungme tribe.

The fact that seven of the hostages were European, four Britons, two Dutch and one German, drew world-wide attention to the kidnap; for the first time ever, many newspapers took a critical look at conditions in West Papua and its annexation by Indonesia in 1963.

At first, Christian missionaries negotiated with the OPM for the release of the hostages but were unable to continue when the hostage-takers presented a demand for a free West Papua which the army was not prepared to consider. It was at this point, on 26 January, that TAPOL sent a letter to Kelly Kwalik, urging him to release all the hostages. It has always been our view that hostage-taking is not an acceptable form of struggle although we recognised that the action on this occasion scored dramatically by putting the issue of West Papua onto the international agenda. We have reason to believe that our letter was delivered to Kwalik.

During his talks with the missionaries, Kwalik demanded that the International Red Cross should mediate, an initiative that eventually bore fruit, after some hesitation in Jakarta.

ICRC takes over

By the time the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) took over as mediator on 7 February, thirteen hostages had already been released, including the German, Frank Momberg. All the others released were West Papuans. The kidnappers' request that Momberg might act as a mediator by returning to the group with proposals from the army was not fulfilled for reasons that are still not clear.

The ICRC's involvement was seen at the time as a favourable development. TAPOL certainly saw it in this light because it raised the issue to the international plane, although, at the time, we felt that the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights should have played this role and wrote to him early in February urging him to intervene. The ICRC's involvement also brought great relief to the hostages as they were able to make contact with their families and to enjoy the benefit of frequent medical check-ups by ICRC medical staff as well as receive supplies of medicine, food and clothing. Certainly, the kidnappers did nothing to obstruct the agency's access to their captives. All the hostages have spoken warmly of the sacrifices made for their comfort by local villagers. However, throughout this period, the army conducted wide-ranging search operations while at the same time maintaining an increasingly repressive presence in the whole area, intimidating local inhabitants; several reports of killings and rapes reached TAPOL during this period.



The hostages still in the jungle

These army operations forced the captors to shift their location repeatedly. In all, the hostages say they set up camp in seventeen different locations, an arduous ordeal for them all, especially for the Dutch woman who was four months pregnant at the time they were kidnapped. Surprisingly however, she is the one who has survived the ordeal in the best state of health.

In March, the OPM released two more West Papuan hostages, a local priest and Abraham Wainggai, who was released on 18 March, two days after his close relative Thomas Wainggai died in prison in Jakarta where he was

-serving a 20-year sentence for subversion. Waingai's funeral in Jayapura was the focus of huge riots against Indonesia's presence in West Papua.

From then on until the end, there were eleven hostages, all of whom had been part of the Lorentz Expedition. They were: four Indonesians, **Yosias Lasamahu**, 32, **Navy Panekenan**, 29, **Adinda Saraswati**, 26, and **Jualita Tanasale**, 32, all of whom are members of the Biological Science Club of Universitas Nasional in Jakarta; **Markus Warip**, 36, a West Papuan who lectures in anthropology at Cendrawasih University in Abepura; a Dutch couple, **Mark van der Wal**, 35, who, like the hostage freed earlier, **Frank Momberg**, works for the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), and his partner, the pregnant **Martha Klein**, 32, who is on the staff of UNESCO's office in Jakarta and who was visiting Mark when the kidnap took place; and four Britons, **Daniel Start**, 21, **William Oates**, 22, **Anna McIvor**, 21, and **Annette van der Kolk**, 21, all graduates of Cambridge University who joined the team with their own programme of research.

Two-track strategy

Throughout the three months of the ICRC's involvement, it was clear that the army itself was in two minds about what was going on. For some at ABRI (the armed forces) headquarters, the involvement of an international agency was deeply resented as an act of international interference and there were frequent statements, particularly from ABRI chief-of-staff for general affairs, Lieutenant-General Soeyono criticising the agency, and arguing that this was a domestic affair and therefore the release should be left to ABRI. However, the decision to bring the Red Cross in was taken at the highest level, by President Suharto himself, no doubt under strong pressure from the Dutch and British governments who hoped throughout that the crisis would be resolved without the loss of life of any of their citizens.

Military operations connected with the hostage crisis were placed under the command of Suharto's son-in-law, Brigadier-General Prabowo Subianto, commander of the army's special forces, KOPASSUS. This sidelined the regional military commander, Major-General Dunidja. It was undoubtedly the close relationship between Prabowo and the ICRC that also infuriated officers like Soeyono, reflecting rivalries and jealousies within ABRI sparked by the fact that so many top generals are now Suharto loyalists.

Militarisation, the order of the day

Very early on in the crisis, when missionaries were still acting as mediators, Prabowo set up headquarters in Wamena, Jayawijaya district and extra troops were brought in from KOPASSUS, the army's strategic command, KOSTRAD, and from other territorial commands in addition to troops from the Trikora military command based in Jayapura.

In mid April, a Task Force for the Hostages' Release was set up under the command of Brig-General Prabowo, now based in Timika, a Freeport company town, much nearer to the action and just 125 kms from Geselama, the village which, for most of the final weeks of the crisis, was the location where the hostages were held.

According to *GATRA* [23 May] which gives a detailed account of the army's operations throughout the crisis, a number of the top generals in operational and intelligence

affairs, were based at Task Force HQ in Timika airport: Major-General Syamsir Siregar, director of BIA, the army's intelligence agency, Brig-General Prabowo Subianto, Trikora command chief-of-staff Brig-General Johni Lumintang, Brig-General Zacki Anwar Makarim, Director A at BIA, and Brig-General Suedi Maurasabessy, deputy assistant of operations. About six hundred troops were attached to the Task Force, and a number of helicopters were present and kept in constant readiness.

In March, TAPOL had received information about a tragic accident in which three schoolboys were killed and three were injured in Kenyam I village, near Mapnduma, while handling a hand-grenade which had been left among a pile of food parcels by soldiers of the Kuasari patrol unit which had left the village in haste after a soldier had raped a local girl and the aggrieved parents had failed to obtain compensation for the affront. There were also reports of the abduction of two villagers who later turned up seriously wounded at a hospital in Jayapura. Until now, these villagers had probably hardly ever seen an Indonesian soldier.

Besides these atrocities and acts of intimidation, army intelligence was engaged in a deliberate policy of sowing discord between the different tribes that inhabit the region. In particular, they have been busy recruiting members of the Nduga tribe to infiltrate OPM ranks or make approaches to the kidnapers as if on a genuine mission to mediate. As we know, OPM units enjoy the support of hundreds of villagers in many places and the chances of infiltrating these support groups would be considerable.

Although it has never been officially acknowledged, clashes also took place between Indonesian troops and the OPM. In one such clash early in April, according to TAPOL's own sources, and later confirmed in the *GATRA* account, two soldiers were killed by the OPM. This was followed soon after by a tragedy of a different kind when a KOPASSUS soldier went on the rampage at Timika airport, killing shooting dead sixteen people, including ten special forces' officers and men, five civilians and a New Zealand pilot, and injuring many more. The soldier ran amok after recognising that one of the two who had been killed by the OPM was a close friend. The army claim that he went berserk while sick with malaria and have not acknowledged that any of their men were killed by the OPM.

Negotiations break down

During most of April, talks between the ICRC and the OPM leaders made little progress, although regular contact with the hostages was maintained. With the help of accounts available at the time of writing from Dutch and Indonesian hostages who have spoken to the press and information available to TAPOL in London at the time, it has been possible to piece together a picture of what went on.

At Kwalik's behest, the ICRC sought statements from OPM leaders overseas. They urged him to release the hostages but he seems to have been unclear as to who was who in the OPM structure abroad for, in the event, he failed to comply with their wishes. Subsequently, he sought and was given guarantees from the army (for what they were worth) that it would keep clear of the area when the hostages were released, and an undertaking from the ICRC that it would maintain a presence in the territory after the end of the crisis. The latter was very understandable because an international agency would need to monitor conditions in the wake of the release, when the army would take revenge not only on the OPM but also on the local inhabitants.

Meanwhile, according to the hostages' accounts, there was a dispute within the OPM between Kwalik and Silas Kogoya, who like Daniel Kogoya (the man who had carried out the kidnappings), is from the Nduga tribe, not an

Amungme like Kwalik. During the latter part of April and early May, neither Kwalik nor Daniel Kogoya were on hand when ICRC mediators turned up for talks; they only met other OPM fighters, Titus, Silas Kogoya and Daud, all Ndugas, who seemed more inclined to release the hostages.

At a meeting with Silas on 1 May, according to the Dutch hostages [*NRC Handelsblad*, 22 May], an ICRC suggestion that the release should take place on 8 May, International Red Cross Day, implying that this would give the event a high international profile, was accepted though not, it seems, in consultation with Kwalik. Nevertheless, preparations went ahead for a ceremonial pig feast to celebrate the occasion at Geselama. Arrangements for the event had been underway for several weeks and the scale suggests that the army must have been involved. The feast was attended by hundreds of local villagers. There was an air of excitement but in the event, Kwalik stepped onto the specially-built podium and declared that the releases could only take place after recognition of a free West Papua. The mood turned sombre, the hostages burst into tears and the ICRC returned to Timika empty-handed.

On 9 May, the ICRC team returned for the last time, having been told by Silas that he would try to convince Kwalik to change his mind. But they were unable to speak to Kwalik so the ICRC team returned to Timika and announced that they were discontinuing their mediation efforts. It was at this point that drama turned into tragedy. Within hours, army helicopters were in action and the great military rescue operation had begun.

Massacre in Geselama

Both the Dutch hostages and Markus Warip confirm that, within hours of leaving their camp in Geselama, now under the guard of Silas Kogoya and about twenty OPM guerrillas (Daniel Kogoya and Kwalik had gone off in another direction), they heard shooting, explosions (possibly hand-grenades) and saw a great deal of gunfire smoke. A week later, reports reached TAPOL of a massacre in Geselama when army helicopters landed there later on 9 May and started shooting at villagers who approached the planes, apparently under the impression that these aircraft were connected with the ICRC. One of these reports names seven Geselama inhabitants who were shot dead on that day, while another report gives a much higher death toll.

The following days were horrific for the hostages who were on the run all the time, but even more so for the local inhabitants. Martha Klein told *NRC Handelsblad* that during the six days before their release on 15 May, 'we met entire village communities, men, women and children, on the run'. Without the presence of independent observers to monitor the situation on the ground, it will be impossible to discover the true extent of the tragedy that has befallen the local inhabitants.

With the aid of special equipment called a 'drone', a small pilotless plane armed with heat-sensory devices, the army was able to keep track of the whereabouts of Silas and the hostages. Although the British and Indonesian governments have both denied it, many commentators say that British military advisors, probably from SAS, were on hand during preparations for the army's military rescue operation.

Nine released, two murdered

Around midday on 15 May, scouts sent out by Silas reported that Indonesian troops were at the bottom of a mountain slope which the group was just descending. They were ordered to turn back, though the Dutch couple refused to do so. The other hostages struggled back up the moun-

tain with the two Indonesian men ahead. At this point, according to Adinda Saraswati, 'someone new appeared, brandishing a machete. This was someone new, a new OPM member who we had not seen before.' [GATRA, 23 May] The man began to hack her fiancé, Navy Panekenan to pieces and then went on to hack Yosias Lasamahu who was apparently also hit by a poison arrow. In terror, the others who had begun the ascent turned and fled. When they waded into the river at the bottom, they bumped into a group of Indonesian soldiers. The nine were taken away to safety and the bodies of the two Indonesians were found later; they had died from loss of blood.

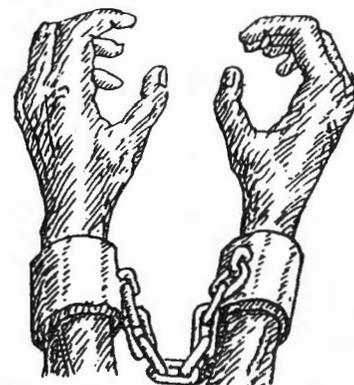
Shortly before the Dutch couple fled into the river, Silas appeared and, burying his head in Mark van der Wal's neck, wept, asked forgiveness for what had just happened, then disappeared into the bush.

All reports of the dramatic release assume that the man who killed the two Indonesians was a member of the OPM but the evidence is missing. The Indonesian regime has used this to condemn the OPM as 'terrorists', according to one Jakarta daily, the 'worst terrorists in the world'. He was certainly a West Papuan but he could well have been acting at the behest of the troops who were so near at hand. During the hostage crisis, many people believed that army intelligence would need a few dead hostages so as to prove to the world that OPM fighters are all savages and murderers. Adinda's testimony casts serious doubt on claims that the Indonesian hostages were killed 'by one of the captors', as almost everyone is now insisting. Moreover, even though Adinda as well as Anna McIvor, who also saw Navy being attacked, would certainly have told their rescuers immediately that the two hostages had been badly battered, the army feigned ignorance at first and did not acknowledge that they had been killed for two days, as if they had something to hide.

Urgent need for international monitors

After reporting the hostages' dramatic release and their emotional homecomings, the world's press soon turned its attention to other things. But back in Indonesia, the army has vowed to pursue Kelly Kwalik and capture him 'at all costs'. Inevitably, this will include major operations against the local inhabitants, many of whom have shown sympathy for what the OPM is rightfully seeking to achieve. While Prabowo and his men have emerged from the event covered in glory, the kidnap saga has ended up being a serious setback for the OPM. Whatever his intentions in refusing to allow the release to go ahead on 8 May, Kwalik played into the hands of the army, giving them added justification to step up their operations in West Papua.

Grave atrocities are very likely; indeed some have already been reported. It is essential for an independent international monitoring team to be sent to the region without delay. A thorough investigation into the deaths of Lasamahu and Panekenan is also essential, so as to find the true culprit. ★



West Papuan human rights?

Amungme leader sues Freeport

Tom Beanal, leader of the Amungme tribal council and outspoken defender of the rights of tribal people whose lands have been devastated by the activities of Freeport McMoRan Copper and Gold mine, has filed a suit for damages against the US-based company at a court in New Orleans. This follows a derisory response from the company in April after massive riots brought the mine to a standstill for three days in March.

This is a class action in which Tom Beanal is acting individually and on behalf of persons similarly situated. In other words, he is representing the interests of other tribal people, including the Komoro tribe, as well as the Amungme people.

The lawsuit cites a range of human rights violations perpetrated by the company and its security officials against the local inhabitants, largely as set out in the report on human rights abuses by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. It goes on to list in detail the environmental violations which have degraded the natural waterways, deforested the rain forest and contaminated the region's surface and ground water, all of which are 'tantamount to eco-terrorism' and has caused the 'hollowing of several mountains which are beautiful, natural resources of the glacial mountain range in the region, spontaneous re-routing of major rivers, the death of a large tract of sago forest and the increase in levels of toxic and non-toxic materials and metals within the river systems of the area'.

Eco-terrorism and cultural genocide

The lawsuit also argues that the human rights violations and eco-terrorism 'have destroyed the rights and culture of the Amungme and other indigenous people... resulting in the purposeful, deliberate, contrived and planned demise of a culture of indigenous people whose rights were never considered.' Damages of six billion dollars are sought, not including punitive damages, along with a series of remedies which include an appropriate tailing disposal policy, cessation of all open pit mining, the release of relevant environmental data, demilitarisation of the company's security forces and the creation of a trust fund to be administered and operated for the exclusive benefit of the indigenous people.

The case was filed in a US court because national remedies in Indonesia have been exhausted due to the inadequacy of the judicial system and the obvious conflict of interest between the Indonesian government, which holds a ten per cent share in Freeport's Indonesian subsidiary company Freeport Indonesia (FIC), and the defendant. As Beanal stated at a press conference in Jakarta shortly before departing for the US, the inadequacy of the Indonesian judicial system was revealed in a case taken to court in Indonesia in 1994 by the leader of the Ohee tribe in West Papua, whose demands for compensation for land had been upheld by the Supreme Court, the highest court in the land, yet declared soon after to be 'unenforceable' by the executive. Furthermore, a case filed by the environmental NGO, WAHLI, in a Jakarta court last year was dismissed as being 'inadmissible'. It is well known in Indonesia that the judici-

ary is *not* independent and has been forced to change its mind on several recent final verdicts, after pressure from Suharto.



The lawsuit has aroused great interest in the US, especially among academics and activists at a number of universities in New Orleans and Austin which have been campaigning for years against the New Orleans-based company. The case was filed two weeks after tribal people had met top executives of the company in Timika.

A company spokesperson has described the lawsuit as 'frivolous and opportunistic'. Freeport is exerting all efforts to impugn the integrity of Tom Beanal, using the text of a letter which he signed shortly after the meeting with the company (see below) in which he said that he wanted to establish a close working relationship with it. What Freeport refuses to acknowledge is that many things people do in Indonesia, especially in a place like Timika, where regime repression is particularly harsh, do not reflect their true wishes.

In the words of his lawyer, Martin Regan, Tom Beanal, 'an internationally respected tribal leader, has undertaken a courageous course of action... It is imperative that the indigenous people of Irian Jaya present their well-founded claims against Freeport here in the US where free speech and access to the courts are well-honoured principles. Truth is not what is bought and paid for in glitzy advertisement campaigns but that which emerges when the light of justice shines through the haze of misinformation.'

Tom Beanal speaks at Loyola

Shortly after arriving in New Orleans, where he will attend court hearings, Tom Beanal addressed a meeting at Loyola University when he spoke eloquently of the traditional values of the Amungme people, of the cultural and ecological destruction caused by the Freeport-McMoRan mining operation and other outside forces, and of the reasons for his suit against the mining corporation. The audience, consisting primarily of activists from a variety of community and student organisations, was highly appreciative of his presentation. He explained the Amungme values of unity with nature and the people's spiritual ties to the land. He discussed the history of displacement of tribal people, destruction of sacred sites, health problems, damage to crops, ecological disruption, and social ills of many kinds. His presentation constituted a powerful indictment of Freeport for its role in social and ecological injustices.

The presentation included a lengthy question period and concluded with a slide presentation with commentary by the speaker.

The event was sponsored by the Loyola Environmental Studies Programme, the Delta Greens, Freeport Watch, the Sierra Club, Pax Christi, the Loyola Green Club and the Blueprint for Social Justice. Tom Beanal's appearance received considerable press coverage. Several local TV news crews were present; in addition to a New Orleans Times-Picayune reporter, several reporters from out of state, and student journalists.

Terror dominates meeting with Moffett

How different was this from the terror that prevailed throughout Timika when Jim-Bob Moffett, president-director of Freeport McMoRan Copper & Gold, turned up on 13 April to meet with representatives of the tribal people and give his response to demands that were presented to the company on 14 March, in the wake of three days of riots which wrecked many company offices and installations. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 134, April 1996] Before travelling to Timika for the meeting, Moffett held a meeting with President Suharto with whom he has close personal and business relations.

Since the beginning of the month, troops had been moved into the region on a massive scale for a show of force. Special forces *Kopassus* troops as well as troops from the army's strategic command, *KOSTRAD* were there in large numbers to reinforce territorial troops from the regional command. Observers estimated that by 5 April, around three thousand troops had been brought in to intimidate the population in preparation for the meeting which Moffett had pledged would be convened in thirty days. Timika airport was in army hands and commercial flights were permitted only with army permission. Truckloads of troops patrolled all the roads and towns, and foot troops patrolled the villages, as if the region was under siege. Twelve army helicopters were brought in and used to buzz the area, and a warship was stationed at the entrance to the company's main port. Soldiers were stationed in every one of the company's security posts and kept a close watch on company employees. The day before the meeting, the office of Lemasa was raided while members of the council were holding a meeting.

This show of force created an atmosphere of intense intimidation well in advance of the meeting and meant that the chances of local inhabitants giving vent to their true

WEST PAPUA

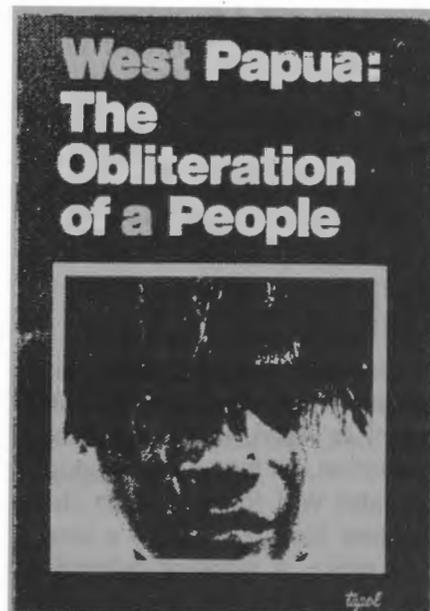
feelings about whatever the company would offer were nil. On the day the meeting took place, troops were standing watch over dwellings everywhere.

A derisory response

The meeting on 13 April consisted of addresses by the provincial governor, the military commander, the chief of Freeport Indonesia and Moffett himself. The contents of the company's offer were presented but not discussed. It consisted primarily of an Integrated Timika Development Plan promoting community development projects, the funds for which would be coordinated by the government 'with significant input from the local people'. Freeport said that it would dedicate 1 per cent of its revenue over the next ten years to fund a programme that would include vocational training. This share was calculated to amount to \$15 million annually which is in fact no larger than the amount the company claims to have spent annually for several years already. The company also promised to double the number of local people in its workforce in the next five years.

Freeport's public relations personnel went into action immediately, claiming that agreement had been reached or a deal struck with the Amungme people based on the company's offer. They even circulated the text of a letter by Tom Beanal, claiming that it represented the Lemasa tribal council's acceptance of the offer. On 25 April, Freeport even published a one-page advertisement in a New Orleans newspaper proclaiming: 'An agreement has been reached with our Indonesian neighbours.' But this was simply untrue. In a statement issued on 14 April, the day after the meeting with Moffett, the Council said the Freeport offer 'failed to address the roots of the problem' and ignored the demands of the Amungme people relating to recognition of their right to exist, to sustain a livelihood and obtain compensation for the damage inflicted on the environment, for their natural resources and for the human rights violations to which they have been subjected. This is a far cry from Freeport's promise of community projects, without even a hint that the local inhabitants would be the ones to administer the funds.

The claim that Beanal had 'struck a deal' was soon shown to be pure fabrication, when he boldly and courageously announced his intention to sue the company. ★



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May Day, a day of strikes

Almost twenty thousand workers from eleven companies in the industrial belt of Metropolitan Jakarta decided to down tools on 1 May, Labour Day. Since 1965 when the Suharto government came to power, May Day has never been celebrated, being seen as a Communist tradition. Last year, for the first time, workers and students gathered on the streets in Jakarta and Semarang to re-establish the tradition of May Day. This year, a series of strikes took place to mark the occasion.

The industrial belt around Jakarta, in particular Bekasi and Tangerang, are typical of Indonesia's industrial wasteland. Row after row of ugly manufacturing factories; the landscape is barren, there are no trees, no city planning, only the burning tropical sun. In the early morning hours or late in the afternoon, tens of thousands of workers in their working clothes stream in and out of factories, reminiscent of Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*. Working conditions are deplorable, wages are pitiful and conflicts with the management are a regular occurrence.

Workers at eight factories in Tangerang and three in Bekasi joined the strike action on May Day. The eight in Tangerang included PT Bertoni Sari Jaya which produces shoes; the wood processing PT Sunwood; a leather factory PT Tara Multi Mandiri; a chemical factory PT Eternal Buana Chemical Industries; a shoe factory PT Koryo International Indonesia; an electronics factory PT Noble Star; a food processing factory PT United Brand and a chemical factory PT Cimone Jaya Chemical. More than 15,000 workers joined the strike actions.

Workers at a steel factory, PT Jagat Baja Prima Utama Work Shop did not go on strike but sent a delegation to the National Commission of Human Rights the previous day to present their grievances.

In Bekasi the companies hit by strikes were PT Subur Jaya Teguh, a car spareparts manufacturer; PT Surya Adiles, a shoe manufacturer and PT Yudistira, which produces spareparts. All the factories were brought to a standstill.

What were the issues?

In all cases, payment of the minimum wage, known by its acronym *UMR*, was the main grievance. Since the *UMR* was raised by the government in April, many companies have tried to delay its introduction, or worse, have sought to prove that the new wage rates will force them to close down. In the case of PT Bertoni Sari Jaya (BSJ) a workforce of 7,000 people went on strike. A workers' delegation negotiated in vain for eight hours with the management.



Workers on strike, a daily feature in Indonesia

The stumbling block was how the new regulation would apply to day-labourers. According to the new regulations, wages should be paid for the whole month - in other words for 30 days. The management was only prepared to pay for a 25-day working month so a strike was unavoidable.

The strike at Jagat Baja Prima Utama Work Shop was about the right to organise. On 18 April the management reached an agreement with the workers for the establishment of a union branch. A Collective Labour Agreement was signed; agreement was reached about bonuses and the management promised not to sack the ten workers' representatives. In the event, the company did nothing to implement the agreements; on the contrary, on 22 April, four of the representatives were summoned by the management. They were interrogated and sacked. The four were accused of having incited the workforce and causing trouble on the shopfloor. Company security guards were ordered to exclude the four from the factory grounds. Ninety workers supported the four by demonstrating and filing a complaint to the National Commission of Human Rights on their behalf.

A new source of conflict

The Labour Minister's decision to raise the minimum wage by around ten per cent has resulted in a clash between the ministry and many industrialists who complain that they are unable to pay the higher rate and stay in busi-

ness. The minimum wage varies from place to place: in Jakarta it is now Rp. 5,200 or about \$2.40 a day. In East Java, it is Rp. 4,000. But besides raising the daily rate, the ministerial decree now requires the daily rate to be paid for a total of 30 days a month, instead of the number of days actually worked as previously.

Thousands of businesses have pleaded for time to increase pay and the ministry has said that postponement will be permitted in certain cases. However, the workers are naturally pressing the bosses to pay up immediately. The annual ministerial decree raising the minimum wage is always a time for more strikes but this time round, the wave of strikes has caught everyone by surprise.

Strikes with political demands

While most strikes deal with basic demands like getting the minimum wage, some strikes in Surabaya went further. About 4,000 workers from four factories in the industrial area of Surabaya went on strike on 27 March. The compa-

US workers locked out by Indonesian conglomerate

Workers at a company in Charleston, Illinois are locked in a dispute with an Indonesian-owned US based company, Trailmobile Corp. which manufactures transport trailers. The company is owned by the Gemala Group, a company of Indonesian-Chinese tycoons with a long-standing relationship with Indonesia's military dictatorship.

In 1992, Trailmobile imposed a wage freeze on its workers and in a proposal made on 21 January 1996, it demanded another three years of no wage increases. It also proposed other concessions, such as elimination of job assignment rights for overtime work. Six days later, the workers rejected the proposals by 865 votes to 72, and on 21 January, they were confronted by a lock out.

A leaflet put out by the local union, United Paperworkers (UPIU) Local 7591 examines the company's Indonesian connections, tracing them to the Wanandi family, two members of which, Sophian and Jusuf played a crucial role in institutions that helped the military prepare its invasion of East Timor. Sophian chairs the Gemala Group which grew out of a foundation that manages businesses owned by the Indonesian army's strategic command, *KOSTRAD*; he is now involved in 'tourist development' in East Timor. Jusuf helped set up the Centre for Strategic and International Studies and assisted in galvanising diplomatic support in the US and Europe for the Indonesian invasion.

The youngest Wanandi brother, Edward Ismanto, is chair of Gemala North America and manages the family's North American interests. Gemala bought Trailmobile in 1991 and combined it with its Canadian trailer operations purchased two years earlier. The company operates an overall low-wage, runaway shop strategy; it has closed down union-represented plants in Canada, putting hundreds of people out of work, and shifting its operations to non-union plants in the US.

The Gemala Group owns businesses in Australia and New Zealand, and in Europe and has tie-ups with Japanese capital. One of its battery-making factories is based in Wales.

LABOUR

nies are located next to each other, reflecting the explosive labour situation in East Java. The companies are: PT Barindo Anggun Industri (BAI), PT Daimaster, PT Wangta Agung and PT New Sidomulyo. The new political party PRD, the People's Democracy Party, was prominently involved in the action. Together with the new union PPBI (Indonesian Centre for Workers Struggle) the strikers raised some interesting demands. Besides demanding that the minimum wage should be raised to Rp 7,000, the workers demanded that a wage-slip should accompany the wage; they also demanded transport and lunch allowances and finally that the military should stop intervening in labour disputes.

PPBI chairperson Ditasari, interviewed during the strike, explained the political conditions: "*Welfare for workers can never be achieved if the political system is not overhauled. The New Order regime has curbed the freedom of workers to organise themselves. It means workers don't have the means or tools to fight the power of capital*" (*Suara Independen*, No.9/II/April 1996).

The workers also demanded the repeal of five draconian laws enacted in the early eighties which destroyed the last remaining freedoms of Indonesian civil society. The five laws turned Indonesia into a corporatist state, which is now being challenged everywhere. The PPBI Surabaya chapter denounced allegations that it masterminded the strike. "*We can't mastermind workers. We are organising them. Without organisation, the strength of the workers cannot be unified into one resistance*".

SBSI vows to continue struggle

The *Indonesian Prosperous Trade Union (SBSI)*, Indonesia's leading independent trade union, celebrated its fourth anniversary in April with a meeting at its new headquarters. The chairperson, Muchtar Pakpahan stressed that despite numerous difficulties, in particular pressure from the government, the union would continue to struggle on behalf of Indonesian workers.

Harassment by the authorities had had a very damaging effect on the union, forcing many members to quit and branches to close down. Whereas membership reached 125,000 in the early years, it had now declined to 60,000. Only fifty of the 97 branches still remain, of which 17 are active. Muchtar said about five thousand SBSI members had been sacked in the past four years.

The union suffered a severe blow when the authorities arrested hundreds of its functionaries and members in Medan, North Sumatra, accusing union leaders of 'incitement' after the mass demonstrations of workers in the city in April 1994. Altogether 243 SBSI union activists were arrested, of whom 89 were tried and jailed.

Among those arrested was Muchtar Pakpahan himself. Although his four-year sentence was later quashed by the Supreme Court, the prosecution service is now trying to re-open the case, regardless of the fact that this is quite unlawful. ✪

Killings in East Timor

At a time when social unrest has been erupting in many places in Indonesia and the hostage drama in Timika has drawn to a close, reporting about East Timor has been slack. Headlines in the Indonesian press have focused on other issues but this does not mean things in East Timor have improved.

On 16 May, the military in Dili announced that they had pre-empted an action by the clandestine front. Military Commander Colonel Mahidin Simbolon told the press the following day that the actions of the clandestine front were aimed at crippling all the vital installations in Dili. Some 50 home-made Molotov cocktails had been found in an abandoned house, in the Kuluhun village, near Dili, together with rifles, ammunition and T-shirts portraying Xanana Gusmao. So far nobody has been arrested, but Simbolon said that the names of the suspects are known.

Killed for burning a flag

Two weeks earlier Andre de Sousa, 52 years old, was shot dead by security officers in a street in Comoro. The ill-fated man was known to be a mental patient. During the horrific years after the invasion, he lost six children. Andre Sousa's brother is married to Xanana Gusmao's sister, Manuela. In Portuguese days, Andre de Sousa worked for the Dili education service.

While all the Indonesian flags in Dili were still flying at half-mast to mourn the death of Madame Tien Suharto, Andre de Sousa suddenly grabbed a flag and started burning it. A second flag was also burned. Police reports said that a security officer chased him and fired a warning shot. When Andre de Sousa refused to respond, the officer aimed at his legs but instead hit him in the head (sic). His body was taken to the nearest police post.

Demonstration in Baucau after killing

Around the same time, a high school student Paolo dos Reis from a village near Baucau was shot dead by military. He was accused of having links with the armed resistance and was taken in for interrogation. Three days later, on 29 April some 1,000 young Timorese demonstrated in the streets of Baucau protesting against the two deaths. The demonstrators were very militant and shouted slogans supporting the jailed leader Xanana Gusmao and calling for an independent East Timor. They marched from the new town to the old part of the town.

The protests against the two killings had started a day earlier at a church festival in Wailili, a village near Baucau. The festival was attended by Bishop Belo who also addressed the protesters. Colonel Andreas Sugianto, chief of the East Timor Police reported that between 30 and 60 youth were involved, waving banners.

Brutality at the German embassy

On 16 April, eight East Timorese entered the compound of the German embassy in Jakarta. Since November 1994 more than 100 Timorese have done the same thing in dif-

ferent embassies; most have been allowed to fly to Portugal. Timorese are still regarded as Portuguese and hence, EU citizens. This was the first time East Timorese had used the German embassy.



On this occasion, things turned sour. The Indonesian security guards who had evidently not been properly instructed, rejected the eight and handed them over to the Indonesian authorities. Since the beginning of the year, military intelligence have been on high alert in the district of Jakarta where most embassies are located, to prevent East Timorese from entering embassy grounds. The military arrived at the German embassy almost immediately and dragged the eight out of the premises. Right in front of the German embassy and within sight of Reuters' cameras, the eight were severely beaten. They were then taken to *Kodim*, the local Military Command, for interrogation. The next day they were handed over to *Polda Metro Jaya*, the Jakarta police HQ and again the following day they were taken to *Kodam*, the Jakarta military HQ.

Jose Ramos Horta, the Timorese leader abroad, lodged a formal complaint with the German government, as well as the Portuguese government. The German government delivered a protest to the Indonesian government and the Indonesian ambassador in Bonn Hartono Martodiredjo was summoned to the German foreign ministry while the German ambassador in Jakarta delivered an official protest to the Indonesian foreign ministry.

The German press criticised the German embassy for refusing asylum to the Timorese. *Frankfurter Rundschau* condemned the incident as 'a moral failure' due to Bonn's eagerness to curry favour with "promising Indonesian trade partners". *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* linked the refusal with Chancellor Kohl's forthcoming visit to Indonesia in October.

In the end, after a great deal of suffering in the hands of the Indonesian security, the eight Timorese were able to leave for Portugal and arrived in Lisbon on 26 April. A few days later, a ninth Timorese entered the German embassy and has since left for Portugal.

Disappointment in Geneva

Since 1992, the annual session of the UN Human Rights Commission has regularly adopted consensus statements on East Timor. This happened in 1992, 1994, 1995 and again this year. While a resolution (like the strongly worded one adopted on East Timor in 1993) is adopted in condemnation of the target country, in theory at least, a consensus statement has the advantage that the country targeted accepts the contents which are supposed to be binding. However feeble the previous consensus statements were, this year's was even worse. Nothing agreed in previous years has been implemented by Jakarta, apart from allowing the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to visit East Timor. The report of the High Commissioner on his visit to East Timor and Indonesia was made public during the session. (UN document E/CN.4/1996/112).

For instance, the statement expresses 'satisfaction' over greater access for the international media and humanitarian organisations. In actual fact, foreign journalists have been kept out of the territory since last August. Australian journalists were given access in May this year along with the Australian ambassador for a carefully stage-managed trip but other foreign journalists in Jakarta were kept away. Italian and Canadian journalists who have visited East Timor recently did so as 'tourists'.

As for Jakarta, it found the statement 'acceptable' because it several times used words like 'satisfaction' and 'welcome' about developments in East Timor. A foreign ministry spokesman was pleased that the statement on made reference to a 'thematic rapporteur' visiting East Timor before the end of 1997, rather than a 'special rapporteur' because the former is not designated to 'investigate' while the later would carry out investigations into gross human rights violations. Jakarta was also happy that the statement now speaks only of the need for 'further clarifications' regarding the Santa Cruz 'incident' which means, he said, 'that they have accepted our report'. [*Jakarta Post*, 29 April]

The atmosphere in Geneva among the country missions was disheartening. In previous years, the shock caused by the Santa Cruz massacre still reverberated, but this year many delegates showed little interest. The diplomatic performance of Italy, which held the EU presidency and which was still without a government, was pitiful; there was no concerted effort to speak of, while the major European countries seemed unwilling to do anything to upset Jakarta. French diplomats even seemed to be lobbying hard for Jakarta. As we say elsewhere in this Bulletin, it's all geoeconomics these days.

EAST TIMOR

On the other hand, Indonesian initiatives this year proved fruitless. An Indonesian bid to win a seat on the Sub Commission for Prevention of Discrimination was defeated. The Indonesian delegation included a number of top generals and senior officials from the foreign ministry. Brig. General Zacky Anwar (Director A of BIA, the Military Intelligence) and Major General A. Rivai, former military commander in Udayana which covers Bali and East Timor, were both on the team.

But, within the NGO community, the East Timor issue was well represented. East Timor was the focus of two seminars which were held during the session. One dealt with the cases of Western Sahara, East Timor and Tibet and the other dealt with East Timor, West Papua and Indonesia. Both were well attended. Several Timorese leaders abroad, notably Jose Ramos Horta and Jose Luis Guterres were present at the session as well as four young embassy Timorese (who reached Portugal after seeking asylum in various embassies) who testified about their sufferings at the hands of the Indonesian authorities.

Many international NGOs also mentioned East Timor in their submissions. TAPOL, speaking for Liberation, was represented by Liem Soei Liong who also participated in the second seminar. ✪

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Using the Internet to fight censorship

While in other parts of the world, governments are worried about how to keep pornography and racist or fascist propaganda out of the Internet, the Indonesian government's problem lies elsewhere. Increasingly pro-democracy groups are using the Internet to channel information and views. So far the government has been unable to do anything about it.

Since March this year the popular weekly *Tempo*, banned in June 1994, has been appearing on the Internet. The *Tempo* editors decided to appeal against the ban in court and much to everybody's surprise, they won their case against Minister of Information Harmoko. The court ordered Harmoko to withdraw the ban and also decided that the journal should be allowed to resume publication. A high court decision confirmed this and the matter is now before the Supreme Court. Pending the final verdict, *Tempo* is being published on the Internet, produced by a core of journalists who decided to stick with the banned journal.

Prior to the 1994 ban, *Tempo* tried to keep afloat (in the end without success) as a mainstream political weekly, but the Internet version contains more in-depth journalism. Readers in Indonesia with no access to email will have to wait for *Tempo* in hard copy, but in the meantime the magazine is available on <http://www.idola.net.id/tempo/>

Suara Independen

Another magazine that regularly appears on email is *Suara Independen* (Independent Voice), the journal of AJI, the Independent Journalists' Alliance. Previously called *Independen*, the AJI journal has become an excellent source of information on Indonesian political and economic affairs. It is hard-hitting and gives a wealth of information which the muzzled Indonesian press dare not touch. Besides appearing on apakabar@clark.net, *Suara Independen* also appears on hard copy. For obvious reasons subscriptions must be paid to an overseas address: P.O. Box 173, Surrey Hills, 3127 Victoria, Australia. This is one of a growing number of magazines which refuse to comply with the official requirement for a licence to print and publish.

In its brief existence, *Suara Independen* has become a professional monthly, run by journalists who lost their jobs in the 1994 censorship drive by the government. The April issue contains articles on eviction of people in the urban areas, the role of the para-military in harassing the pro-democracy movement, workers' strikes, and the heavy handed methods the military have used to quell the revolt in Abepura, West Papua. Anyone who reads Indonesian and wants to follow contemporary events in Indonesia should subscribe. This publication is essential reading.

Kabar dari Pijar

Another publication that appears both in soft and hard copy is *Kabar dari Pijar* (KDP, Pijar Report) published by the activist front *Pijar*, which includes a variety of views. *KDP* highlights a variety of burning political and human rights issues. The most recent issues have dealt with the Sri Bintang trial and the growing number of workers' strikes.

The Internet issue is accessible through the same email address as *Suara Independen*.

The new political party *PRD* (*Partai Rakyat Demokratik*) and its associate organisations, *PPBI*, *SMID* and others also use the Internet effectively. Chronologies of workers' strikes and other actions are now posted regularly on the Internet making it more accessible to a wider public. *PRD* has developed a tradition of posting the more important items in English as well.

ABRI and the Internet

The Indonesian authorities are at a loss to know how to grapple with the free flow of information on the Internet. Realising that they are unable to stop this flow, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and ABRI, the Indonesian Armed Forces have both decided to join the Internet. But the many heated disputes between a growing number of Indonesian Internet subscribers on a wide variety of issues is worrying the top brass. Government policies are often attacked and criticised. The occupation of East Timor, the brutal behaviour of ABRI and the oppressive nature of the government have become the accepted view among Internet subscribers.

Lt.-General Syarwan Hamid, ABRI chief-of-staff for social and political affairs, recently described some of the information coming through the Internet as 'garbage' and warned that it could lead to the spread of 'wrong ideas'. Although Internet access is still limited to a select group of Indonesians, he argued that these people are the opinion makers and can have a harmful influence on the public. This, according to this highly-placed officer, 'might turn ordinary people to acts of savagery, believing as they do that the ends justify the means, when they see the gap between hope and reality. [*Kompas*, 8 May 1996]. Syarwan Hamid said that ABRI has compiled a list of those who portray ABRI in a negative light.

Indeed, as articles elsewhere in this issue show, the security forces are having to step in much more frequently to quell social unrest. The Indonesian public is getting more and more weary of decades of authoritarianism. ✪

New Publication:

The Indonesian Press in 1995 Annual Report 1995

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In memoriam Oei Tjoe Tat

Oei Tjoe Tat died in hospital in Jakarta on 24 May 1996. During the last years of his life, his physical suffering was immense. After prostate cancer was diagnosed, he had to undergo all kinds of treatment and a stroke rendered him partially paralysed. Then, two months before his death, he had another stroke. Oei's will to live was phenomenal but his body could no longer stand the pace.

Both editors of *TAPOL Bulletin* knew Oei Tjoe Tat personally and cherish many fond memories. He was a man of high principles and represented everything good about the *Orde Lama* (the Sukarno period): the struggle for an equitable and just society and a nation of political and economic self-reliance.

In every sense Oei was a *peranakan* Chinese, coming from a family which has lived in Indonesia for many generations. He was born in Solo, the heartland of Java on 26 April 1922. He spoke Javanese at home with his parents and at school he spoke Indonesian and Dutch. He speaks fondly about his ancestors who fought the Dutch in the famous Java War of 1825 on the side of the Javanese Prince, Diponegoro.

His father ran a business and Oei Tjoe Tat grew up in relative comfort. Like many *peranakan* Chinese of his generation, he was among the first to enjoy higher education. In 1947 he obtained a law degree from the Rechtskundige Hogeschool in Jakarta and worked for a law firm for many years. He was also active in several organisations like *Sin Ming Hui* and later *Baperki*.

The *peranakan* Chinese in the Sukarno period were politically much more pluralistic than now. Many *peranakan* were active in political parties right across the political spectrum, often combining this with social activities. By contrast, the *Orde Baru* of Suharto has turned many Chinese into 'economic beasts'.

President Sukarno was very fond of Oei Tjoe Tat. Not long after Oei joined the leftist pro-Sukarno party, *Partindo*, he was asked to join the cabinet as Minister of State

and Special Assistant to the President. The military take-over in 1965 marked the beginning of a long period of misery for Oei Tjoe Tat, his wife and their four children.

In 1966 he was arrested and after a brief period of house arrest, he was detained in different prisons. After being held without trial for ten years, he was tried in 1976. As with all *Orde Baru* political trials, his trial was a travesty of justice. Although there was no substance whatever to the charges, he was sentenced to 13 years 'for destroying or undermining state authority'. Membership of *Baperki* and *Partindo* was enough to punish him harshly. With remission, Oei was released on 30 December 1977, after serving more than 11 years.

Although as an *ex-tapol* (political prisoner), Oei was treated like a social outcast, he soon became active again. He joined several discussion groups with politicians of his generation, but more important, he managed to build bridges with the young generation. Always in a wheelchair, Oei often attended gatherings and was regarded as part of the growing pro-democracy movement.

In mid 1995, Oei Tjoe Tat published his memoirs, skillfully edited by Stanley A. Prasetya and Pramoedyana Ananta Toer; it was reviewed in *TAPOL Bulletin* [No. 130, August 1995]. The book has become an important source of information for a young generation eager to know what lies behind the 'official version' of the 1965 events. Within a few months, his book was banned. This publication, completed in the final year of his life, will be his lasting contribution to an understanding of contemporary Indonesia.

I have always admired Oei Tjoe Tat's vitality and enthusiasm. The last time we met, in June 1994, I had the feeling that this would probably be the last time we would meet. I am deeply grateful to him for all the experiences he shared with me. Oei Tjoe Tat was a man with a big heart and many will mourn his departure. I wish his wife and four children the strength to face their deep personal loss.

Liem Soei Liong

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my analysis was a double agent working for the armed forces to infiltrate the Communist Party.

As for the military commander from whom Sjam directly or indirectly received his orders, in my article reproduced in the book under review, I suggested the Kostrad commander, Suharto himself, as a plausible candidate. In this connection the authors, like me, refer to the highly compromising meeting on the night of 30 September 1965 between Suharto and one of the main plotters, Colonel Latief, a few hours before the seven generals were kidnapped. The book also quotes Manai Sophiaan who writes that, after his talk with Latief, Suharto should have reported to his superiors (p.84). But it is wrongly stated that Suharto and Latief met again at the Military Hospital on 1 October. Also, on p.27, my recent article 'Indonesia's hidden history of 1965: When will the archives be declassified?', published in *Kabar Seberang* 24/25, is mistakenly attributed to Van den Heuvel.

Another chapter considers whether the 'coup' could also be described as a clandestine CIA operation. The authors carefully studied the writings of Peter Dale Scott, Geoffrey Robinson and Frederick Bunnell. Bunnell in particular has disputed the claims made by H.W.Brands in his article: 'The US didn't topple Sukarno'.

In Chapter IV, the authors draw the conclusion that a major factor which led to the 1965 tragedy was the fact that the Communist Party allowed its chairman Aidit, in collaboration with his unreliable associate Sjam, to pursue an adventurist strategy in breach of the peaceful, parliamentary road re-affirmed in successive PKI congresses. In 1966, this adventurism was sharply criticized in *Criticism and Auto-Criticism*, clandestinely circulated by Party leaders who were still at large. One top leader, Sudisman, who was arrested soon afterwards, repeated this criticism at his trial in December 1966 (pp.112 ff.). The authors rightly argue that the Party as a whole cannot be held accountable for the actions of a tiny group of irresponsible leaders. 'Maybe,' they write, 'to borrow the

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BAYANG-BAYANG PKI (Images of the Indonesian Communist Party), with a foreword from Goenawan Mohamad, published by ISAI (Institute for Studies on Free Flow of Information), Jakarta, December 1995, 180pp.

For the first time since 1990 when the *Washington Post* and other US newspapers published revelations by the journalist Kathy Kadane about the role played by US diplomats in the 1965/66 massacre of thousands of Communist cadres in Indonesia, these events have again become the topic of vigorous public debate in Indonesia. What appears to have happened is that a new generation which has grown up in recent decades, unburdened by the traumatic experiences of their parents, wants to know what exactly happened in those critical years. People have started to question the veracity of the official version which has served to underpin the New Order ideology.

In the past few years, several books have been published which are critical of the official version that the former President Sukarno who was deposed by Suharto and Nasution was guilty of involvement in the tragic events. One important book, published in 1994, was written by former member of Parliament and diplomat Manai Sophiaan, *Kehormatan bagi yang berhak - Bung Karno tidak terlibat G30S/PKI* (Honour to one who deserves it: Sukarno was not involved in the 30 September/PKI movement). Another was the autobiography by Oei Tjoe Tat, a former minister and one of Sukarno's close collaborators, which was published in 1995 and banned a few months later.

But what was missing in Indonesia until recently was a publication critically dealing with the central accusation of the Suharto regime, that the 1965 events happened as the result of an attempt by the Communists to take power by force. It is this topic that is dealt with by the book under review.

There are a number of foreign works by experts in Indonesian history which discuss the 1965/66 events all of which have been scrupulously studied by the members of the ISAI team that undertook the research on which *Bayang-Bayang PKI* is based. But competent Indonesian historians living in their own country have until now shrunk from seriously and critically dealing with this hot issue. All the more do the youthful members of the ISAI team deserve our admiration for having had the courage to publish the results of their investigations and their evaluation of the different versions of the sequence of events.

A scientific approach

What is particularly striking is the professionalism of their methodology. They begin by studying the accounts by staunch defenders of the official version and interviewed several of these people. But they also studied sources that are critical of the role played by the Indonesian military establishment, as well as by foreign powers, and interviewed several people considered as being crucial informants on certain details. The method of the ISAI team was 'to cover both sides'. To the New Order regime, such an approach is totally unacceptable.

After a short Introduction, the first chapter asked the crucial question of who was the *dalang* (puppet-player) behind the 30 September Movement. For the regime, the reply is clear: the PKI. As recently as 1994 the Indonesian government again propounded this position in a White Book: *Gerakan 30 September: Pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia. Latar Belakang, Aksi dan Penumpasannya* (The 30 September Movement: Insurrection of the PKI. Background, Action and its Eradication). According to every White Book published by the Suharto regime, the PKI organ responsible for the insurrection was the *Biro Khusus* (Special Bureau) set up to infiltrate the Indonesian armed forces. According to the latest White Book, the strategy that culminated in the 1965 insurrection was adopted at the PKI Congress in 1955.

But as the authors show, in 1955 the PKI adopted the strategy of a peaceful, parliamentary struggle to achieve its aims (pp.134/5). It was this strategy that accounted largely for the PKI's successes at the national elections of 1955 and regional elections of 1957.

Bayang-bayang PKI looks closely at Sukarno's assessment of the 1965 events when he was still president, in January 1967. In a supplement to his Nawaksara speech of 1966 to the MPRS (Provisional People's Consultative Assembly), he said he had arrived at the following conclusion:

- "1. The PKI leadership was *keblinger* (had fallen into a trap);
2. 'Nekolim' (Neo-colonialism and Imperialism) had been engaged in subversion.
3. Some elements had behaved in a malicious way".

Evidently, Sukarno was of the opinion that the PKI, rather than being responsible for the murder of the generals, had fallen victim to a provocation. It was this declaration that provided Sukarno's enemies with the pretext to depose him as president.

The authors look closely at a number of foreign sources which have tried to demonstrate that the so-called 'coup' was the result of a provocation by certain Indonesian army circles. The hypothesis that a 'premature Communist coup' was provoked so as to enable the army to strike decisively at the left-wing forces in Indonesia, has been advanced for example by Geoffrey Robinson, and by Coen Holtzappel of Leiden University (who is Dutch, not German).

The authors quote at length from my article 'Whose Plot? New Light on the 1965 Events', published in 1979 in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. In that article I attributed a crucial role in the whole affair to Sjam (Kamaruzzaman), to whom Aidit, PKI the chairman, had entrusted the task of penetrating and subverting the Indonesian armed forces. But Sjam, appointed by Aidit to head the secret branch, which since 1965 has been referred to by the New Order as the Special Bureau, according to

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ERRATA to TAPOL Bulletin No. 135, June 1996

1.

Regarding the murder of the two Indonesian hostages

In the article *Hostage Drama ends in Tragedy*, we wrote on page 15, column two, about the man who killed the two Indonesian hostages, that '(H)e was certainly a West Papuan but he could well have been acting at the behest of the troops who were so near at hand'.

Since the Bulletin went to press, we have had access to more accounts by Indonesian and British hostages. They make it clear that the two Indonesian hostages were killed by men who were part of the group who held the hostages captive during the final stage of their captivity, from 8 May until the day of their release on 15 May. Daniel Start has stated that Navy Panekenan 'was killed by one of Kelly Kwalik's henchmen who had been travelling with us all week' and Yosias Lasamahu 'was murdered by the local preacher. Although I did not know the preacher from before 8/5/1996, he had his family with him at times and was well known'.

2.

Kindly note that the military onslaught against students in Ujung Pandang, reported in *Students against Military Intervention*, page 1, took place on 22 - 24 April.