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~~TAPOL~~

The Indonesia ~~X~~ Human Rights Campaign

TAPOL Bulletin No. 96

December 1989

Lampung massacre trials under way

A new wave of political trials is now under way in Indonesia. The defendants are all Muslims, accused under the anti-subversion law of seeking to undermine the state and replace the state ideology with a different set of beliefs. They are presented as armed rebels who murdered army and police officers and planned attacks on government offices and a newspaper office.

The purpose of the trials held so far is to legitimise the slaughter unleashed by army troops who shot dead dozens, perhaps more than a hundred, villagers in the village of Talangsari, Lampung, South Sumatra, on 7 February this year. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No 92, April 1989] Beyond that, the regime hopes once again to portray Indonesia as facing the threat of a Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the state.

The first trials started in September in Lampung, South Sumatra, followed a few weeks later by trials in Bima, Nusatenggara, then in mid November, by more trials in Jakarta. There is also a hint that trials may take place in Kolaka, South Sulawesi.

5 life sentences and a 20-year sentence

The first six men tried in Tanjungkarang district court, Lampung, Herianto bin Yusuf (25), Zamzuri bin Muhrroji (46), Sri Haryadi alias Sofyan bin Sukan (22), Fadillah alias Sugito bin Wiryo Prawito (30), Muzaeni alias Munjen bin Ismu Prawiro (24) and Sugiman also known as Sugeng Yulianto bin Marto (30), have all been given life sentences, except Muzaeni, who was sentenced to 20 years. They were charged and found guilty under the anti-subversion law as well as under the Criminal Code, for their involvement in a Muslim congregation led by a Muslim spiritual leader, Warsidi. Warsidi himself was shot dead during the massacre of 7 February.

The regime has, true to form, concocted a name for the Warsidi movement. After initially recognised that Warsidi and his followers were part of a congregation called *Komando Mujahideen Fisabilillah*, that name disappeared from press reports, giving way to *GPK Warsidi* or *Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan Warsidi*, 'Warsidi's security disruptor gang', the name by which all the trials are now identified.

The trials basically set out to establish the army's version of the events that led to the massacre. This is that Warsidi's group refused to comply with government regulations, that Warsidi ignored a summons by the local authorities, that when the authorities visited the group's 'hideout' (sic) to discuss their concerns 'peacefully', they were attacked and an army officer, Captain Sutiman, was killed. On the next day, when they tried to retrieve Captain Sutiman's body, they were attacked by arrows and swords as a result of which 27 villagers (the government figure), including Warsidi, were killed.

The Warsidi group had also allegedly planned an attack on a local military command (which did not happen) to rescue colleagues who were in custody.

Call for independent inquiry rejected

Immediately after the Lampung Massacre, the Legal Aid Institute and the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights in Jakarta wrote to the authorities calling for an independent inquiry but their letters have never been answered. The demand was repeated by Jusfiq Hadjar, speaking for the Regional Council on Human Rights in Asia at the August 1989 meeting of the UN sub-commission on human rights in Geneva. The official Indonesian observer delegation ignored the call, asserting that the government "has completed its full investigation" of the incident.

Other accounts have never been investigated, including an account received by TAPOL and reported in *TAPOL Bulletin* No 92, April 1989. This said that the massacre was the climax of an army operation to quell social unrest in the region, launched by paracommandos of the army's elite corps, *Kopassus*, under the command of Captain Sutiman. In January 1989, several members of the Warsidi congregation were taken into custody and were brutally tortured by Captain Sutiman and his men. In retaliation, Sutiman

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was ambushed and taken hostage on 3 February and an offer was made to swap him for the detainees. When troops attacked Talangsari, according to this account, Sutiman was still alive but because the attack continued relentlessly, Sutiman was killed by his captors.

Although we have no way of verifying this account, we noted in our report in April that the South Sumatra military commander, Major-General Sunardi said, in his very first statement, that the troops had entered the village "to rescue an army captain held hostage by the rebels". [Jakarta Post, 10 February]. That this account never surfaced again does not mean it is not true.

Judging from the lengthy reports appearing in the press, the media has been under instructions to give the court proceedings ample coverage. However, these instructions were tempered by a warning from the chairman of the Lampung high court and the Sospol chief of the Lampung administration (the army official who keeps overall control of social and political developments) "not to report certain things involving national stability". In an official briefing before the trials began, journalists were told to check their reports with the authorities. [Merdeka, 13 September]

The press was also warned not to exaggerate the Warsidi affair and treat it as a 'local' matter. This does not square with the emphasis in all official pronouncements on the link between Muslim activities in Lampung, in Nusatenggara and in Jakarta. The authorities have also constructed their case in such a way as to establish a link between Warsidi and the usroh movement, a pious religious sect which was hounded in a series of trials during 1987 and 1988.

Ignoring land issues

The regime has been at pains not to permit any discussion of the social issues which provide the setting for the emergence of Muslim opposition groups in Lampung, in particular the mounting dissatisfaction over land throughout the province. Even *Tempo*, which has reported these land conflicts at length on numerous occasions, published a detailed account of the government's case as the trials were about to commence, but said nothing about land problems.

Initially it was believed that agri-businesses based in Jakarta were making a bid to control land that has for years been successfully cultivated by Javanese transmigrants. There are now reports that the armed forces plan to take direct control of a large part of South Sumatra. Earlier this year, the armed forces announced plans to construct a huge military training base in Baturaja, South Sumatra, just north of Lampung. The base will cover 43,000 hectares and will be 'the largest military base in Asia'. The area has already been cleared of elephants and tigers. Since 1984, when the site was chosen by then armed forces commander, General Benny Murdani, the land has been cleared of inhabitants. [*Tempo*, 5 August, 1989]

As regards army plans for Talangsari, the site of the Lampung Massacre, *Suara Merdeka* [13 and 14 October 1989] reported that the provincial army command is proceeding with the 'rehabilitation' of the area where Warsidi and his followers lived, constructing new houses, re-settling the population under army control, and blotting out its character as an 'Islamic village'. The area has been closed since February; the SM team claimed to be the first to have been given access for eight months. They were told that the provincial command is to buy up all the land in the area and will build a new pesantren on the



Fadillah, in front, and Herianto, on their way to a court session. [*Editor*, 30 September 1989]

spot where the massacre took place, which will be run by the military.

Defence lawyers rejected

Five of the six defendants refused the services of defence lawyers, saying that they depend only on Allah to guide and defend them. They appear not to have challenged evidence produced by the prosecution in court. The one charge which they all rejected was that they were involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the government. Their case, insofar as anything came through in the press, was that they had been part of a Muslim community with Warsidi as their spiritual leader. They had set up their own pesantren, were resentful of the cavalier treatment of poor and defenceless villagers by army and civilian officials, disagreed with the government's family planning programme, were unwilling to pay taxes, regarded the Pancasila as man-made and hence inferior to Islam, and refused to honour the national flag.

They produced no defence witnesses, nor did they apparently discuss material submitted during the trial in their final statements or defence pleas. The prosecutor in Zamzuri's trial interrupted the defendant's statement several times, complaining that "this is a sermon, not a defence plea".

Several insisted that the number of casualties far exceeded the official figure of 27 though none of the press accounts say whether they gave estimates of their own. Fadillah argued that their movement had been formed because local officials failed to show any concern for the interests of the poor. None raised any objections when their sentences were announced and all refused to appeal.

The judges, in passing such severe sentences, used expressions like "the defendant showed no remorse", "was not willing to study Pancasila", "assumed an arrogant posture" or "called the court process a show-trial". In one verdict, the judges said the group in question could not be called 'a movement' because "it was small, had no organisational structure, no regular source of funds and existed only to cause trouble. It was like a roof with no pillars to hold it up and therefore could easily crumble." This was why, he said, the term 'GPK' had been used.

Odd man out

The only defendant to accept legal counsel offered by the court was Sugiman. Unlike the others, he was deferential, apologetic and sought the court's forgive-

ness. His background throws light on his likely role as an agent of the security forces who had infiltrated the Warsidi group. Sugiman was tried in 1986 and sentenced for involvement in the usroh movement in Central Java. His ten-year sentence was reduced on appeal to seven years; the Supreme Court quashed his sentence in March 1988 and he was released, the only one of many dozens of usroh prisoners to be treated with such leniency. The other five defendants ostracised him, clearly regarding him as a traitor. The animosity towards him was such that he was detained separately.

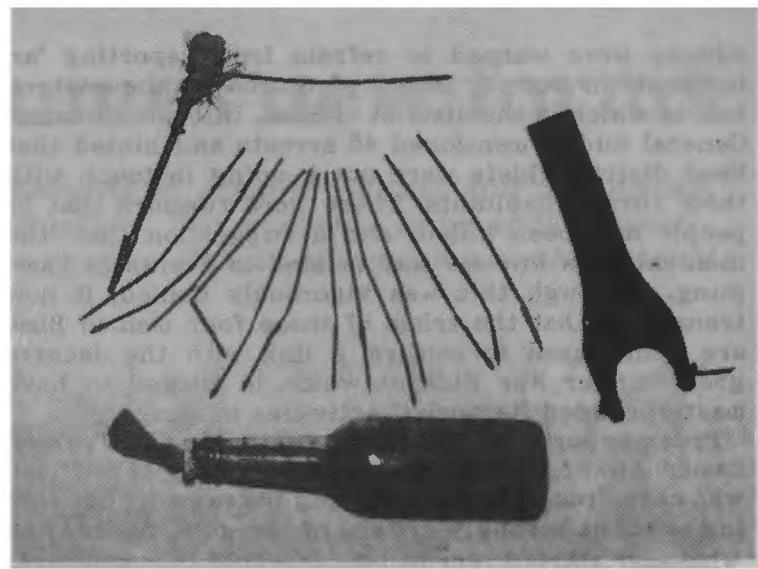
The trials were conducted with the usual disregard for the rights of the defendants. Although by law, defendants should be protected against self-incrimination, the trials were held simultaneously; each of the men were called as witnesses in the other trials and were cross-examined about their own activities. Apart from the defendants and other members of the Warsidi congregation who were later tried, all prosecution witnesses were soldiers and policemen or local government officials. They were not subjected to any cross-examination. Two witnesses for the prosecution from Jakarta and two from Central Java were not allowed to appear in person so the court allowed their testimony to be presented in writing.

By putting the Warsidi followers on trial first, the regime has sought to establish the 'terrorist' image of the current Muslim opposition. A group in Jakarta is being branded as the coordinators of a nation-wide campaign against the government. This is clear from *Tempo*'s account of the government's case on 30 September. This is not the first time the journal has opened its columns to such disreputable reporting. The weekly asserts that the so-called 'terrorist dimension' of the Warsidi group did not originate in Lampung but in Jakarta, organised by former karate national champion, Nur Hidayat, who selected Warsidi's congregation in Talangsari as the 'Medinah', the place of retreat for their movement. While Warsidi was the spiritual leader, Nur Hidayat proclaimed himself the 'emir' or military commander. Plans to arm Warsidi's followers with poisoned bicycle spokes and molotov cocktails are said to have originated in Jakarta.

8 more defendants

As the first six trials were drawing to a close, eight more men were brought for trial. They are: Marsudi alias Pak Su bin Martopawiyo, 50 years, the older brother of the murdered Warsidi, Tardi Nurdiansyah, 16 years, the youngest of the all defendants, Abadi Abdullah, 22 years, Arifin bin Karyan, 34 years, Fachrudin, 30 years, Musonif, 24 years, Riyanto, 33 years, and Mulyadi bin Jaimo, 33 years. Mulyadi is the only one to have agreed to be defended by a lawyer

MUSLIM TRIALS



These are the weapons with which Warsidi and his followers planned to overthrow the state. [*Tempo*, 30 September 1989]

and denied at the commencement of his trial that he was part of the Warsidi congregation, saying he had been slandered.

Distorting a rebellion

By calling the Lampung movement 'GPK-Warsidi', the authorities have acknowledged that an organised rebellion was in the offing. However, its purpose during the trials was to conceal the causes for revolt, portraying those involved as Muslim fanatics bent on using terrorism in a conspiracy to overthrow the state.

In our April 1989 issue, we published an account from a correspondent in Jakarta analysing the background to this rebellion and arguing that the activists in Talangsari had no illusions about the threat of a direct confrontation with the military, for which they were physically unprepared. They had therefore decided that while some followers dispersed into the forest, others would stay behind to withstand an army attack, a so-called 'suicide squad'. The way the defendants have deported themselves during the Lampung trials would seem to confirm that analysis.

Source: This report is based on a wide variety of clippings from *Kompas*, *Pelita*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Merdeka*, *Suara Merdeka*, *Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*.

The Bima trials

On 19 and 20 October, two sets of trials began in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara. The defendants are mostly much older than those being hounded by the courts in Lampung. They are H.A. Ghany Masykur, 64 years, a leading member of the local Muslim organisation, Muhammadiyah and a teacher at the Bima Muhammadiyah University, M. Nur Husen, 65 years, a retired official of the local education office and once Golkar member of the district and provincial legislative assemblies, Ahmad Husen, 52 years, the brother of Nur Husen, who works at the local education office, and Zainul Arifin, in his early thirties, recently graduated from the local Islamic college, IAIN.

Twenty-two more people are and are likely to be tried in the near future. [*Kompas*, 11 October] Accord-



ing to *Tempo* [5 August], the Bima affair, unlike Lampung, did not involve any 'physical' action but was confined to criticising the state and President Suharto.

The government has succeeded in concealing the background to the events that led to these arrests. Two weeks after the Lampung Massacre, newspaper

editors were warned to refrain from reporting 'an incident' in Dompu, island of Sumbawa, the eastern half of which is the district of Bima. Interior Minister, General Rudini mentioned 45 arrests and hinted that local district chiefs were not keeping in touch with their rural inhabitants. There were rumours that 11 people had been killed, and a suggestion that 'the incident' was in some way related to events in Lampung. Although this was vigorously denied, it now transpires that the trials of these four men in Bima are being used to confirm a link with the Jakarta group under Nur Hidayat which is alleged to have master-minded 'terrorist' activities in Lampung.

Press reports of the trials mention a fifth person named Anwar bin Muhamad not (or not yet) on trial, who came from Jakarta, inflaming passions by delivering sermons strongly critical of the government, and who later started recruiting adherents to a congregation dedicated to the establishment of an Islamic state. As with the Lampung trials, the Bima trials are confined to alleged anti-government Muslim groups with no mention of any social conflicts that may have fuelled the discontent. For some idea of what may be involved, we refer readers to an article in *TAPOL Bulletin* No 93, June 1989, page 15.

The Negara Islam trials

A series of trials are under way in Bandung, West Java in which a number of Muslim preachers are being accused of 'discrediting the Pancasila state' and seeking to replace it with an Islamic state. These are known as 'NII trials' [*Negara Islam Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic state]. According to *Tempo* [5 August], altogether five persons will be tried in Bandung.

The first to go on trial was Emeng Abdulrachman, 47 years, in August who was found guilty of subversion on 31 October and sentenced to five years. Emeng Abdulrachman has already served a three year sentence starting in 1982 for alleged involvement in the so-called 'Warman Terror Command' (known by the initials, KTW), an earlier bogey of the security forces. Emeng was accused of travelling round West Java, giving lectures, stirring up hatred and discrediting the government. He was also alleged to be an NII 'district commander'. He strongly denied the charges, insisting that his lectures, delivered only in his own mosque, were intended to spread the teachings of Islam and made no reference to overthrowing the state. He had also been trying to assist people victimised for alleged connections with 'KTW'.

As his trial was about to end, another person identified only as 'ASM' (probably Syaiful Malik) appeared in court to face similar charges. He and 'Es Sop' testified as prosecution witnesses in Emeng's trial. Perhaps 'Es Sop' will be the next to come before the court.

In another trial, a student, Husni bin Muhamad, 21 years, was sentenced in Bogor in July this year, to three years for subversion, for giving sermons to discredit the government and scheming to replace the Pancasila State with an Islamic State. This defendant refused the services of a lawyer. [*Kompas*, 10 July]

The Jakarta trials

Seven men went on trial in Jakarta in mid November, as a continuation of the Lampung trials. The names of several other men have also be mentioned so it is

likely that more trials will follow soon.

The trials of Nur Hidayat (30 years), Maulana Abdul Latif (32) and Ridwan bin Casari (45) opened on 13 November. On the next day, Achmad Fauzie and Abdul Fattah Oosim went on trial, and a week later, Dede Syaifuddin and Sukardi were charged.

Ridwan bin Casari, described as a 'former member of Darul Islam in West Java', has agreed to be defended by lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute, Jakarta. His lawyers say that he denies being a member of the Nur Hidayat group. All the other defendants, like most of the Lampung defendants, have refused to allow lawyers to defend them. All are being charged under the anti-subversion law and could face the death sentence.

Hidayat is accused of scheming to bring about an Islamic system of society in Indonesia, based entirely on Islamic law, in accordance with the Qu'ran and the hadis. This would mean replacing the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the basis of the state.

'Islamic villages'

The first stage of his plan, according to the indictment, was to create 'base camps' or 'Islamic villages' to train people ready to die as martyrs for the cause; these bases would then be used to spread disruption. In the second stage, it was planned to set up 'base camps' in all parts of Indonesia, while in the third stage, there would be assassinations, explosions, hijacking, the dissemination of pamphlets, and the organisation of demonstrations, leading eventually to the overthrow of the government and the establishment of an Islamic state.

In the sermons delivered by followers of Nur Hidayat, members of the present government were allegedly classified into three groups, nationalists (including Suharto and Try Sutrisno), socialists (including Murdani, Panggabean and Sudomo) and communists (led by Sudharmono). Whichever of these group were in power, Muslims would be at a disadvantage.

At a meeting last December, Nur Hidayat was appointed *amir musafir* (commander in chief) and a decision was taken to turn Warsidi's village in Cihideung, Lampung into a 'base camp'; all members of the group in Jakarta were ordered to retreat to Cihideung by February. One member, Muhamad Ali alias Alex, took 300 arrows which he had made himself. Nur Hidayat allegedly instructed other members to travel to various regions, Mataram and Bima in West Nusa Tenggara, East Kalimantan, South Sulawesi and South and North Sumatra. The only envoy who succeeded in winning support was Achmad Fauzie who had been sent to Bima.

On hearing about the army onslaught against Cihideung on 7 February, Nur Hidayat and his friends drew up a document, giving their account of what had happened; this was later distributed to foreign embassies in Jakarta. They also allegedly planned a series of explosions and assassinations, in an attempt to distract the army's attention from the continuing crackdown in Lampung.

Giving his initial response to the indictment, Nur Hidayat said that it was only after they learnt about the killings that occurred in Lampung that they began to consider armed actions. "Before that event, we never talked about weapons or violence." | *Tempo*, 18 November and *Kompas*, 14 November 1989|



Student protest assumes new forms

With student protests in Yogyakarta and Bandung growing in scale in August and September, the military decided to act quickly to defuse the situation. The students have shown creativity, devising new forms of action while keeping up a regular flow of information to the outside world.

Yogyakarta

Students say 'no' to the military

It was on 8 September that troops were called out to quell a student demonstration protesting at the 8-year and 7-year sentences passed against Bambang Isti Nugroho and Bambang Nugroho. [See TAPOL Bulletin No 93, 94 & 95 for reports about these trials].

Since the "bloody incident" of 8 September, the students have taken various actions. On 9 October, a Yogyakarta Student Communications Forum delegation went to parliament to ask for a fact-finding team to investigate the behaviour of the security officers. They complained that troops had beaten up dozens of students who took to the streets in protest against the verdicts. They told members of the four parliamentary fractions: "Three students were hospitalised with serious injuries and 30 were held for questioning." In response, 13 MPs, including the highly vocal woman police officer, Colonel Roekmini, herself a graduate of the university, visited Gajah Mada University on 19 October to discuss the students' complaints. This was not a fact-finding commission but, by all accounts, the discussions were frank on both sides. One student stressed that the protests were not intended to defend the defendants personally, but to uphold the principle of freedom of expression. He denied accusations that the campaign had been engineered by extreme left groups. Another raised the issue of land confiscations and criticised the authorities for dragging in the question of PKI infiltration whenever students raised land issues.

Many student publications have reached the outside world, publicising the case of the "two Bambangs". The alternative magazine, *Neraca Hak Azasi*, Human Rights Monitor, is now essential reading for anyone wanting to follow the situation in Indonesia.

The trial of the third student defendant, Bonar Tigor Naipospos, is expected to start early next year. Coki, as he is known to friends, is very popular and his trial is likely to be a new focus of solidarity.

A smear campaign

The authorities have depicted the defendants as leftists, but have failed to isolate the two Bambangs; students representing many political views joined the action for freedom of speech and against censorship. Yet the military have persisted with the tactic.

Two weeks after the protest in Yogyakarta, Major General Wismoyo Arismunandar, military commander of Central Java, summoned all university and higher education heads to warn that student actions were threatening national stability. He claimed that the actions had been masterminded by 'certain people' bent on creating instability. Then, intelligence chief, Colonel Adang, alleged that all the student actions, including the disturbances in Bandung, had been planned in Yogyakarta, by Bambang Subono, Bonar and Bambang Isti Nugroho (all of whom were behind bars!). Press reports did not reveal what measures the educational authorities were required to take. On 26 September, a delegation of students met the



Troops manhandling a student protestor in Yogyakarta on 8 September.

Yogyakarta police and military chiefs, at the students' request. Ahrul Latief, the chief prosecutor in the trials of the two Bambangs, was also present. Latief alleged that the Palagan study group had become subversive when Bambang Subono made contact with former PKI people, including former political prisoners. The police chief, Colonel KRM Rusdihardjo pleaded for good relations with the students, recalling the days of 1965. Although press reports do not say how the students responded, it is clear from student pamphlets that have since reached us that this kind of advance has been flatly rejected by the students. The recurring slogans are: "We are not your allies!" and "We want democracy!".

The Yogyakarta demonstrations took place in response to the clampdown of a university-based study club. Instead of halting the study clubs, the signs are that the revival of campus activism in Yogyakarta is here to stay with greater conviction than earlier generations of student protesters. As Yamin, a Yogyakarta activist, remarked: "This regime has been in power more than 20 years, and it's already killed a million people". [Newsweek, 6 November] Reference to the mass killings of 1965 is a new element in the thinking of the present generation of campus activists. Not yet born or still in their infancy in 1965, they do not carry the hangups and traumas of that dark period of Indonesian history.

[Sources: *Suara Merdeka*, 28 September & 19 October, *Surabaya Pos*, 28 September, *Jakarta Post* 10 & 20 October.

Bandung

ITB under military control

By late September, the conflict between ITB students and the university authorities had reached boiling point, with Rector Wiranto refusing to give way to the students' demands. Meanwhile, student protests were

STUDENT PROTESTS

spreading to other university cities.

Education Minister Fuad Hassan held that the ITB conflict was an internal matter to be solved by those directly concerned. But for the military in Jakarta, the ITB events were becoming a security threat.

Back in July, Defence Minister General Murdani, commenting on the Tienanmen incident, boasted that such things would never occur in Indonesia as they would be stopped at an early stage. In line with this tactic, the *Polkam* (politics and security affairs) ministers gathered on 25 September to discuss the rising tide of student activism. General Try Sutrisno armed forces commander-in-chief and concurrently chief of *Bakorstanas*, was assigned to solve the ITB problem. The *Polkam* meeting, attended by all top generals, rejected ITB Rector, Wiranto's policy of exacerbating the conflict and ordered him to begin dialogue with the students. The earlier planned trip of the Rector to West Germany was cancelled at the last minute. This helped defuse the conflict. The lecture strike was called off and campus life returned to normal. On 28 September, General Soedibyo, chief of *Bakin*, military intelligence, insisted that nothing serious had happened in ITB, saying that the press had exaggerated things. He confirmed that the government had decided to intervene to prevent the protests from spreading.

New protests

But the appearance of normality at ITB is deceptive. None of the student demands has been met. The 11 arrests, 9 dismissals and more than 20 suspensions still stand.

On 3 October, 13 women students from *Kelompok Perempuan Anti Kekerasan* (women's group against violence) went to parliament to demand a just solution for the ITB students. They asked parliament to set up a fact-finding committee and called for the release of their detained ITB colleagues, arguing that the expulsions and detentions were human rights violations.

A month later, another group emerged: *Gerakan Melawan Diktator* (*GMD*), Movement Against Dictator(s). It is not clear whether it is Rector Wiranto or General Try Sutrisno (or both) who they see as dictators. The group held a picnic on the lawn in front of the Rector's building. There were no yells; instead slogans were scrawled on posters around the lawn, demanding the withdrawal of all the Rector's decisions and the release of the 11 detainees. Security officers stepped in and arrested the alleged leader of the group, Syahganda Nainggolan. The next day a larger group of 100 students protested, demanded to know why Syahganda had been arrested.

The ITB saga is far from over and as long students remain in detention, feelings on campus could boil over at any time.

[sources: *Suara Karya* 26 Sept. 1989, *Pelita* 26 Sept. & 4 Oct., *Jakarta Post* 29 Sept., *Indonesian Observer* 3 & 4 Oct., *Kompas* 23 Oct., *Tempo* 7 Oct. & 4 Nov., *Editor* 4 & 11 Nov. 1989.]

11 ITB students under army detention

The eleven ITB students arrested after campus protests against a talk by Interior Minister, General Rudini on 5 August, are still under detention, in the hands of the West Java *Bakorstanasda*, the provincial agency of the army's security agency, *Bakorstanas*.

Two Bandung lawyers from the city's Legal Aid Institute (LBH), Amartiwi Saleh and Dindin S. Maolani, authorised by the students to handle their cases, have publicly criticised the role of *Bakorstanasda*

which ought not to be holding the students at all. This army agency now exists in place of the former *Kopkamtib*, represented in the regions by the *Laksusda* which always interfered in 'special cases' when persons are picked up for political reasons to face charges under the anti-subversion law. When *Bakorstanas* took over in 1988, it was said that it would not have an 'operational' role, and that criminal investigations would be left to the police. The handling of the ITB students contradicts this.

It was *Bakorstanasda* that arrested and detained the students, but when their first sixty days in detention expired, they were transferred from army detention to prison, complying, it would appear, with the Criminal Procedures Code which stipulates that after sixty days, detainees must be in the hands of the public prosecutor. But not long after, the students were moved back to *Bakorstanasda*. When the lawyers challenged this, the West Java military commander, Major-General Arie Sudewo, said this was at the request of the students and that prison accommodation was 'over-crowded' and 'unsuitable'. The lawyers are sceptical. If accommodation is a problem, they should be allowed home under house or town arrest, until such time as the authorities decide whether or not they are to be tried.

The police say the students are being held for ' harbouring feelings of antipathy towards the government' and that, if charged, it would be under the Criminal Code, not the anti-subversion law. If found guilty, they would be liable to sentences of up to 7 years. The lawyers have been told, however, that the students' cases are 'special' (a term normally reserved for subversion cases) because "intellectuals are involved".

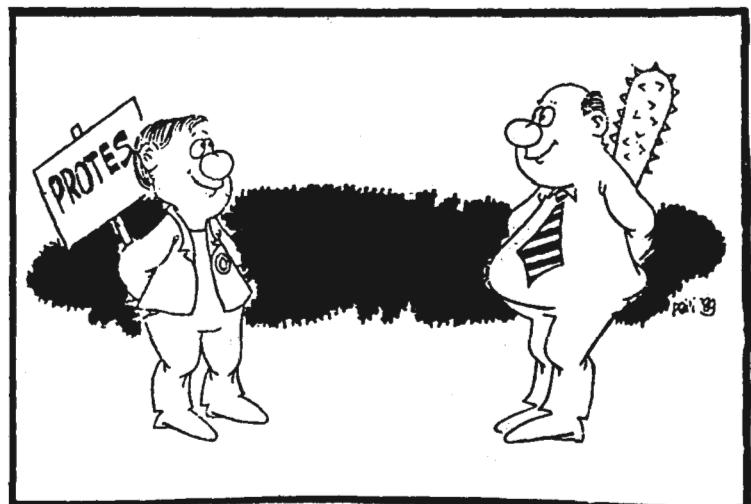
One explanation for the confusion is that, whatever the Criminal Code may say, the army's security agency, *Bakorstanas*, has taken over the affair. Another is that while local security officials favour their release to avoid fuelling anger on campus, the 'justice' ministry has received instructions "from above" (ie. from the President) to press charges. [Far Eastern Economic Review, 23 November]

Stop press

It has now been confirmed that two ITB students, Arnold Purba and Moh. Jumhur Hidayat, are to go on trial in Bandung on 29 November. They are the first two to be arrested on 7 August. It is not known whether the other nine under arrest will face trial. This could turn out to be another occasion for student solidarity actions.

Although the charges have not yet been made public, it must be assumed that they will be charged with subversion, presumably for the 'crime' of having disrupted a Pancasila course.

Surabaya Pos 23 September 1989



Why I am in prison

By Bambang Isti Nugroho

My parents named me Bambang Isti Nugroho. To the Javanese ear, this is an expression of hope and confidence by the family. Only now have I come to realise that, whatever my parents may have hoped, this name is powerless. Indeed! Now, today and for years to come, I must languish in prison. Oh, God, give me the strength and patience to cope with my misfortune!

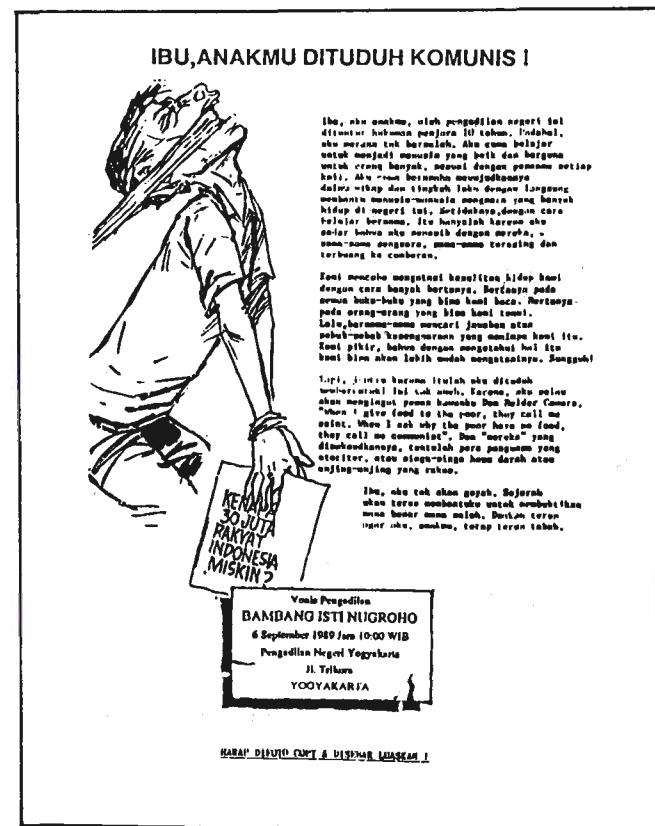
I fail to understand why such a thing should have happened to me. I was all confused when the judges fell for the things thought up by the prosecution. I could not understand why I should have to be punished because I often held opinions that differed with government statements. Still less could I understand why I should be accused of setting up a new political party because I studied theories and ideologies in my study group. My heart was in turmoil.

I can say in all honesty that I am not anti-government, still less anti-Pancasila. I am just someone who completed lower secondary school and wanted to follow my own burning curiosity. I have no profound grasp of theory, nor am I capable of coming to brilliant conclusions. Not at all! I have not advanced that far, not yet mastered ideological discourse. Hence, it was very alien for me to hear the prosecutor speak about *subversion*. My heart shuddered when I heard that word because – and I repeat – I have never rejected Pancasila, still less have I been anti-Pancasila or anti-government. As I sit behind bars, I still cannot understand why I was charged with subversion. My thoughts scream out. Do I deserve such a terrible, such an incomprehensible fate? Why has such a terrible thing befallen me?

Under pressure to confess

Where did this misfortune which led to my loss of freedom, start? It all started when Bambang Subono, a final year student at Gajah Mada University, was arrested as he sold books by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, a few hours before the books were banned by the Attorney General. That was a year ago. A week later, I was working in the Chemistry Laboratory where I had a job as a junior employee, when I was taken into custody by a security official without a warrant and taken to Korem. I was placed under arrest. There, in that awful place, I was interrogated and forced to confess that I was the one who had distributed the books Bambang Subono was selling. For the first time in my life, I was cruelly treated in that ghastly place. My health suffered, I was under enormous stress and my mind was distraught. Under terrible physical pressure, I was forced to do all in my power to keep clear-headed, to be absolutely honest and not hide anything I had done. I was quite certain that justice and truth would prevail in court and I refused to admit to anything I had not done.

For months as the interrogations proceeded, I denied the charges and allegations made by the prosecutor in his attempt to corner me. Then finally, came the moment for me to write my defence plea, my last chance to avoid being sentenced. I could only pray that my defence plea would echo beyond the walls of the courtroom and would not be stifled by a storm of hypocrisy. I felt certain that my voice would



One of the leaflets produced by Yogyakarta students to support Bambang Isti Nugroho and Bambang Subono. The heading: "Mother, they say your son is a communist!"

be heard by God.

Looking back

Through the barbed wire which surrounds my cell, I look back at my past. A secondary school student with a thirst for knowledge, I made every effort to study, while at the same time working very hard for my family. I met up with some friends and we started studying and discussing things together. I wanted to learn as much as I could from them about society, culture, politics, economics and other things. With my limited ability to write, I circulated some of my articles, to share the knowledge I had acquired with others having a similar background, people not lucky enough, because of poverty, to have a completed their formal education. I was very enthusiastic and refused to allow poverty to plunge me into despair. I had a feeling of fullness and completeness. I persuaded impoverished young people, weighed down by poverty, not to waste their lives moaning.

In the process, I set up a study group with like-minded comrades. It was never my intention to set up a party. This was thought up by the prosecutor in his attempt to corner me. *Palagan* which means battlefield was the name of our group. It did not initiate political actions and had no belligerent thoughts towards anyone. *Palagan* means battle of ideas, the spirit of confrontation between opinions and of argumentation. I acknowledge that this study group of mine frequently held discussions but I

refuse to accept that these intellectual activities should be considered subversive.

It is true that I have read books by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, but I read and studied them long before they were banned by the Attorney General. It is true that I often talked about how the gap between rich and poor was getting wider, how a strong state was making society weak, about the cultural domination of a particular social group. But the fact is that I was only citing the thoughts and writings of experts and scholars published in the press. If I have been imprisoned and accused of being a communist because of the things I said, why have they been left alone? I have never for a moment regretted saying the things I said because I am sure it fits in with reality, with the concrete conditions I see around me.

I was convinced that I should not be one-sided and only study the things I heard over the radio broadcast by the government but that I should also learn from newspapers that do not always agree with government policy. Was it wrong for me to pursue my

curiosity and study other people's ideas? Was it wrong to disagree with government officials? It is a great pity that this knowledge of mine, the things I learnt in this process of study, has resulted in sacrifice. I have had to pay a heavy price for the things I learnt about society, about poverty, corruption, military domination and the authoritarian Indonesian state. It has brought separation from the woman I love, from my mother, from my beloved brothers and sisters and comrades. It has landed me behind bars. Nobody knows the trouble, my sorrow!!!*)

*) The last sentence is written in English.

Sentences upheld

Bambang Isti Nugroho's sentence of 8 years and Bambang Subono's sentence of 7 years have both been upheld on appeal. The appeal was heard by the High Court in Jogjakarta on 22 October. [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 23 October]

Lawyers face intimidation

Human rights lawyers who have become involved in student cases and industrial disputes are facing intimidation from the authorities. The Institute for the Defence of Human Rights in Jakarta has reported the following incidents.

Legal Aid Institute, Bandung

Lawyers at the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) in Bandung, West Java have recently helped people involved in disputes over peasants' land rights in Badega and Cimerak and the arrest of eleven ITB students (see separate item).

The first two ITB students were arrested by Bakorstanasda on 7 August and in the next few days, nine more were taken into custody. Six asked LBH-Bandung to act for them.

* At 6 am on 7 August, former LBH-Bandung director, Mrs Amartiwi M Saleh, received an anonymous phone-call warning that she would be killed if she engaged in such cases. Later that morning, LBH director, Dindin S. Maolani, received a similar threat by phone. Since then, threatening calls and anonymous letters have been received almost daily by Mrs Amartiwi and the LBH-Bandung office.

* Several weeks after the arrests, LBH-Bandung lawyers protested to Bakorstanasda because they were being prevented from visiting their clients. Thereafter, the intimidating phone-calls increased.

* The parents of some of the students are under pressure to persuade their sons not to appoint LBH lawyers.

* On 21 August, after the lawyers sent a second protest letter about access to their student clients, the gates at the homes of Amartiwi and Maolani and the LBH-Bandung office were tied up with chains covered in human faeces.

* On 24 August, burning plastic pails were thrown at Maolani's home.

* On 9 October, objects resembling sticks of explosives with batteries, wire and detonators, were attached to Mr Maolani's car parked near his house.

LBH-Sumatra lawyer could lose licence

The South Sumatra Bakorstanasda has asked the South Sumatra high court to review the permit to practice of Saiman, director of the province's LBH, for allegedly acting beyond his powers in a dispute involving workers at a rubber company, CV Panca Samudera. [According to an administrative decision several years ago, the Justice Minister can revoke a lawyer's licence to practice on the recommendation of the provincial high court.]

Bakorstanasda claims the dispute was still in the hands of arbitration and the LBH should not have taken the case to court. Palembang LBH is also alleged to have given courses to the workers, inciting them to go to court. The agency alleges that the workers seeking LBH assistance include some people with 'unclean' political environments, suspected as members of the now-banned communist party (PKI).

Saiman has strongly denied these allegations. He took a defensive and unprincipled position regarding workers suspected of PKI links, saying they had, of their own accord, withdrawn from the case.

On 2 May 1989, intelligence officers of the South Sumatra military command summoned, interrogated and detained four workers employed by CV Panca Samudera. After Saiman wrote to the commander protesting at these arrests because the dispute is a civil action, he was summoned and interrogated by Bakorstanasda.

After the army called for Saiman's permit to be reviewed, he was summoned by the Palembang high court on 20 July; he told the court the LBH had not persuaded workers to take their case to court but had been authorised by them to seek a settlement. Legal aid to the workers, he said, conforms with Article 27 of the Constitution and Article 35 of Law No 14, 1970.

Communist suspects still under supervision

The Madiun district administration keeps a close watch on the 9,000 former members of the communist party (PKI) living in the district "in order to prevent infiltrations". The head of the region's Sospol office, Herman Tjokroprawiro (the army officer who spearheads the army's 'social-political' function) said the authorities continue to maintain vigilance against "all manner of infiltrations and the latent danger of the PKI".

Most 'former communists' in the district are classified as C1 and C2 (lower-ranking suspects) and "give no sign of anything suspicion, but vigilance must be maintained," he said, because the PKI struggle continues "regardless of time and place". [*Pikiran Rakyat*, 24 October 1989]

Such pernicious warnings, repeated *ad nauseum* by local officials, keeps alive the spectre of the 'communist threat' and is certain to keep suspect families in a continual state of anxiety.

The Madiun Sospol chief said that he was responding to a recent statement by Lieutenant-General (ret'd) Kharis Suhud, chairman of Parliament, calling for greater supervision of former communists. Herman said supervision was routinely carried out on a monthly basis by village heads and includes re-checking their personal data and giving them guidance by "involving them in activities organised by village heads". (This means that communist suspects are subjected to compulsory labour imposed by local officials.)

Referring to allegations that 'PKI suspects' had infiltrated the district administration, Herman said indoctrination and re-vetting was under way to make sure that such a thing could never happen. Members of the general public were urged to be constantly on the lookout for any moves by former communists and report to the authorities if they discovered 'new suspects' or learned that a suspect had died.

140 suspect teachers pensioned off

In the same district, 140 teachers who were vetted as 'communist suspects' were shifted from teaching to administrative posts some time ago. According to the district education office chief, they were suspect because before October 1965, they were members of the PGRI-NV, the teachers' union that was banned for allegedly being under PKI influence. Their degree of 'involvement' did not go beyond paying membership dues, he said.

106 of these 'suspects' have already been obliged to take early retirement and the other 34 will soon follow suit. The education chief admitted that there was no evidence that they had "tried to influence their pupils to oppose the Pancasila"; on the contrary, they had striven extra hard to perform well professionally. [*Surabaya Pos*, 14 October 1989.]



12 justice office employees dismissed

Meanwhile in West Java, 12 employees working for the provincial justice office have been sacked because they were C2 or C3 category 'communist suspects'. The justice office chief denied charges that these people were 'not guilty', backing his statement by declaring that they had been dismissed on the basis of four executive decisions regarding political screening, the most recent being a 'screening decision of Kopkamtib on 29 March 1989 (by which time this security agency had ceased to exist!). [*Pikiran Rakyat*, 13 October 1989]

How families suffer as well

Passing judgment in a lawsuit in which a former regent from East Java, Soendoro Hardjoamidjojo was awarded Rp 15 million in damages because an author had named him as a former member of the now-banned Indonesian Communist Party, the judge said the plaintiff deserved compensation and rehabilitation "because society shuns communists".

He went on: "If a man (is) accused of being a communist, not only he but his family as well suffered." [*Jakarta Post*, 17 November 1989]

Such is the automatic acceptance of political discrimination in Indonesia that a judge could make such a remark without a word of comment.

Dani re-settlement begins

An army operation to re-settle the Dani tribespeople in low-lying areas has now begun. The re-settlement programme was announced soon after the Baliem Valley was hit by an earthquake in August when about 120 people were killed. This natural disaster has been used as the pretext to move some 45,000 Dani people to a region more accessible to government control. [*TAPOL Bulletin*, No 95, October 1989]

The operation is code-named *Operasi Hupla*, using an expression which children make after doing a jump. Reporting from Wamena, *Suara Pembaruan* [1 November 1989] describes this as an army civic action operation using army engineers, police, and social affairs and public works personnel, 'assisted' by 122 Dani people. They are clear-felling the re-settlement site and putting up shacks to house the thousands of tribespeople who will be forced to abandon their forest habitat for prefabricated houses of wood and corrugated iron, with all the material being transported from outside.

The Dani are going to be brought down from the mountains by helicopter to a site in Elelim, Kurima sub-district which is to accommodate 2,500 people. The lengthy report describes at great length the arduous tasks being undertaken by the pilots and other personnel; the effect of the move on the Dani people is totally ignored.

Rumbblings in Aceh

Admiral Sudomo, Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, announced in October that his office was investigating the background to many incidents in Aceh. Although news about Aceh in the Indonesian press is very limited, the occasional reports that do appear suggest a serious level of unrest.

In our August issue [Tapol Bulletin No. 94], a survey pointed to a number of incidents, but since then, there have been many more. It is not easy to identify any particular theme. There is a strong undercurrent of distrust for everything coming from the *pusat*, the centre (meaning Jakarta). The National Liberation Front of Aceh/Sumatra has strong pockets of resistance in the area. Aceh's distinct traditions, embedded in the Muslim faith, are also a source of conflict with influences coming from other parts of Indonesia. Last but not least, centuries-old traditions of trade with neighbouring countries and the cultivation of cash crops are threatened by the emergence of Indonesia as a modern state with a centralised tax system, customs regulations and a different set of criteria for land ownership. Recognising the uncomfortable relationship with Aceh ever since the birth of the Indonesian republic, all governments in Jakarta have had to handle Aceh as a 'special case'.

Human rights abuses

In November, the Aceh/Sumatra Liberation Front external office in Sweden issued a report on human rights abuses perpetrated by the 'Javanese Indonesian regime', the term used for the government in Jakarta. It listed the names of persons murdered by the Indonesian army, the names of people who have disappeared or have been arrested since the beginning of the year. Three persons, Yusuf Ahmad, 50 years, Zainuddin Faqih, 45 years, and Ibrahim Puteh, 51 years, were reported to have been shot dead by Indonesian troops, while a fourth, Yunus Abdullah, 53 years, died after being interrogated and barbarically tortured. He was released on 14 February but died several days later from internal injuries. The four are all from Pidie district, but the report did not explain why they had been abducted by the Indonesian army. Two others, also from Pidie, Guru Ibrahim, 35, a schoolteacher, and Muhammad Arif, 52, an informal leader, disappeared after being arrested in the middle of this year.

Since the beginning of the year, many arrests have taken place. The report refers to mass arrests in early October, when more than 750 persons, farmers, businessmen and students from villages near the city of Lhok Seumawe in Pase district, North Aceh, were taken into custody; most are in Lhok Seumawe prison with others scattered in jails throughout the Pase district. The Aceh National Liberation Front is compiling a full list of names and addresses of the detainees. Another 12 names, arrested earlier this year, were also listed in the report.

This report of mass arrests in Lhok Seumawe in October tallies with news in the Indonesian press, although the Front's figure of the number arrested is far higher than that being given in the media, whose accounts can be expected to be unreliable.

Two serious incidents occurred in September. Early in the month, about a hundred security troops were moved into two villages in Lhoknga sub-district, Aceh Besar district, apparently to put down an 'inter-youth



Teungku
Abdurrahman.

Editor 14 October 1989

squabble'. The police chief would not say anything except that things 'were not yet clear'. But *Suara Pembaruan* [7 September] said this was "the umpteenth time such an incident had occurred but it represented the bloodiest one since the 1960s". [Quoted in *Indonesia News Service*, No. 221, November 10, 1989]

Later that month, armed men said to be members of the Aceh/Sumatra Liberation Front, attacked an army post near Lhok Seumawe and seized an M-16 assault rifle before fleeing. [Straits Times, 28 September 1989]

Unwelcome entertainment

There appears to be widespread rejection of entertainments in the region. On 20 September a riot broke out after a concert by the Indonesian pop singer, Dina Mariana. The crowd attacked the podium, destroying the equipment and burning down the stage. The riots escalated when the news spread that two youngsters had been arrested by the police. The crowd then turned their anger on the police by attacking the Peusangan police station which was ransacked and burned down, along with all the police vehicles on the premises. Only after the arrival of truckloads of troops from Lhok Seumawe did the crowd disperse. According to the Aceh police, 64 people were rounded up and taken to Kodim, military command in Lhok Seumawe for interrogation.

This is the third major incident this year in the district. Earlier riots broke out after a film show and after a circus performance. The circus management suffered huge losses as the tent was destroyed in the fire. [Editor, 30 September and *Suara Pembaruan* 3 October 1989]

After a series of incidents and riots [see Tapol Bulletin No 94], the authorities decided to impose strict controls at the borders between *kecamatan* or sub-districts. This is a highly unusual step to take, not unlike the controls on internal travel in East

Timor. Any resident wishing to travel to another sub-district must show his/her identity card, the KTP. The new rule led to much disquiet, with local authorities implementing it differently from place to place. Some officials made it obligatory for inhabitants to pay their local taxes before receiving their KTP. Amiruddin Hamzah, the sub-district chief of Peudada, narrowly escaped when 30 angry villagers assaulted



his car following disturbances, and troops were used to handle the attack. Later, six village heads resigned in protest against the rule. [Editor, 28 October 1989]

Another riot that got out of control occurred in the capital, Banda Aceh. On 28 October, the weekly, Aceh Post, under its new manager, the media tycoon Surya Paloh, reported that a gambling racket was operating on the grounds of the Syiah Kuala University. Infuriated students demanded proof or a correction by the editors. When this was refused, they started organising protests outside the journal's office. Police units,

ACEH

backed by the mobile brigade and military police, were called in to protect the building. But as the protests intensified, the operation was reinforced by 600 red-beret commandos flown in from Jakarta. The crowd could not be calmed until the editor himself made a public apology, admitting that the report had been a mistake. [Editor, 11 November 1989]

Many events in Aceh go unreported in the press; the above incidents are simply too big to kept secret. Jakarta is moving fast to cash in on Aceh's rich abundance of cash crops, minerals and tropical forests. But discontent has grown apace; the Acehnese are not the beneficiaries of this exploitation. Those in charge of law and order in Jakarta seem to realise that a time bomb is ticking away in Aceh and could soon explode.

Preacher on trial

A popular Muslim preacher, Teungku Abdurrahman, 27 years, has gone on trial in Lhok Seumawe district court, charged with giving inflammatory sermons. Large crowds inside and outside the courtroom cheered the defendant on.

Teungku Abdurrahman was accused of urging his congregation "not to respect the red-and-white flag, to refuse to pay taxes and to demolish the civil registry office". When he preached at open-air meetings, held with official permission and attended by local army personnel, he allegedly shouted: "Long live Free Aceh!" Following one of his sermons, crowds who had been whipped into a frenzy by his words allegedly attacked a passing vehicle with the local chief-of-police inside. The vehicle was attacked with sticks and stones. The prosecutor told the court that order was not restored until a company of troops arrived on the scene.

The accused described the charges as pure fabrication. To cheers from the public, he acknowledged that he had indeed criticised the government but always in a constructive way.

Abdurrahman attended the trial wearing a white robe and turban, the typical dress for devout Muslims in Aceh. [Editor, 14 October 1989]

Reader's letter

Dear Editor,
In its 2 September 1989 issue, the Indonesian news-weekly *Editor* reported on a seminar in which I participated in August in Jakarta. In your October issue, quoting *Editor*, you reported two of the opinions attributed to me: that the US government (a) had not supported the Indonesian military's operation to destroy the PKI, but (b) had taken comfort from the success of that operation, in view of the difficulties the US was experiencing in its own war against communism in Vietnam.

In your October issue you qualify the first opinion as "groundless". I agree. Washington did welcome the elimination of a communist future for Indonesia. Am I then contradicting myself? Not at all. *Editor* mis-reported what I said.

In the October 1967 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Richard Nixon wrote that the US stand in Vietnam "provided a shield behind which the [Indonesian] anti-communist forces found the courage and capacity to stage their coup". At the seminar in Jakarta,

I disagreed with this "shield theory". I said that to my knowledge, Washington's stand in Vietnam had not caused the Indonesian army to destroy the PKI. The Indonesian army had its own reasons. Anti-communist American officials in Saigon, I said, were probably more encouraged by the accomplishment of their Indonesian counterparts in Jakarta than the other way round.

In short: I did not say that the US government did not support the Indonesian army's decision to eliminate the PKI. What I said was that the US government's stand in Vietnam did not cause the Indonesian military to eliminate the PKI.

The fault lies with *Editor*, not with you. I have written to him. But I would appreciate your printing this correction so that readers of the *Bulletin* will not misunderstand my position. Thank you.

Donald K. Emmerson,
University of Wisconsin,
Madison, USA.

Scott Paper withdraws from Merauke project

In a sudden and unexpected reversal of policy, Scott Paper announced on 13 October that it had withdrawn from the US \$654 million, 550,000 ha eucalyptus plantation/pulp mill project in Merauke, West Papua. The people of the Digul Valley and their forests have been given a reprieve. But for how long? Jakarta is determined that the project should go ahead and another partner be found. Recognising this, environmentalists and human rights organisations worldwide are preparing to do battle with the next contender.

Scott's stated reason for pulling out was that "extensive studies" had shown the company no longer needed eucalyptus pulp from the Merauke project to fulfil its anticipated pulp needs, but would turn to "more cost-effective recycled and high-yield fibres". Although Barry Kotek, managing director of the now defunct joint venture Astra-Scott Cellulosa, was not prepared to admit that the decision had been influenced by the international campaign, according to a more recent report, Kotek admitted that NGO pressure had been responsible [Tempo 4 November, 1989].

Most are convinced that Scott did pull out because of campaigning by human rights and environmental organisations; Scott received at least 6,000 protest letters from around the globe and in August, the California-based Rainforest Action Network took out a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* ranking Philip Lippincott, President of Scott Paper, with George Bush and President of the World Bank, Barber Conable, as men who would decide the fate of the world's rainforests and by extension, the world's children. Even the Indonesian Forestry Department's Armana Darsidi, director general of land rehabilitation and reforestation, attributed withdrawal to fears of a consumer boycott. [Jakarta Post 23 October] Indonesian NGOs who oppose the project welcomed Scott's decision, but are aware they may have to deal with companies less responsive than Scott - the first multinational investor to pay the NGOs any attention. One source in Merauke told the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 2 November, that Scott had gone ahead with the social survey despite objections from its joint-venture partner, Astra. Scott is no paragon of virtue, however; North America the company has been fined for violating health regulations and polluting the environment. Scott was ranked second worst in a pollution performance survey and accused of secrecy by the Council on Economic Priorities.

The suddenness of Scott's withdrawal - informing

Indonesia of the decision on the same day as the news was made public in the US, made the blow to the Indonesian government all the more devastating. Fed up with Western based multinationals too easily cowed by international NGOs perhaps, Darsidi said the project would be offered to Asian investors. He said five foreign companies - two South Korean, two Taiwanese and one Japanese (misgivings about NGO pressure in Japan have since surfaced) - were interested in developing pulp companies in Indonesia. [Jakarta Post October 23, 1989]

More recently, after meeting the President, Forestry Minister Hasjrul Harahap said the government hoped Astra's new partner would be an Indonesian company, adding that Scott had withdrawn because of inefficient management.

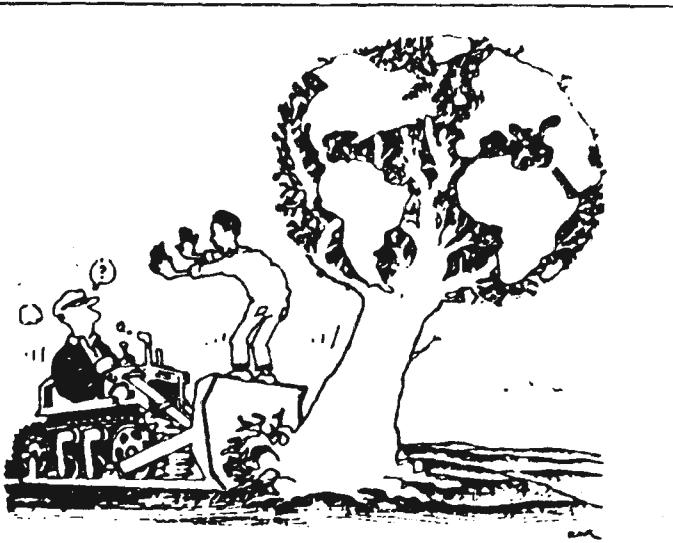
Astra plans for Kalimantan

PT Astra, one of Indonesia's largest conglomerates, is pushing ahead to expand into the paper and pulp business. In addition to the Merauke project, it plans to establish a similar project in East Kalimantan. According to a report in *Setiakawan* [September/October 1989], the journal of SKEPHI, the NGO Network for Forestry Conservation in Indonesia, the \$505 million project comprising 200,000 ha eucalyptus and *albazia* plantations, a 559,000 tons/year chip plant and 300,000 tons/year pulp mill, will be linked to the transmigration programme. Local Dayak who practise shifting cultivation, and sedentary farmers in the concession area will be displaced; under the monocultural timber estate model, the natural tropical rainforest will be lost.

Carving up West Papua's forests

Logging is already underway in one of the world's largest remaining tracts of mangrove forests in Bintuni Bay in the western part of West Papua, financed by Japan's paper giant Marubeni. Meanwhile, Asmus MacLean, an Australian company, is planning an industrial complex based around a 600,000 ha concession in the Mamberamo River area in the north. Neither company recognises local land ownership rights and the Marubeni-financed project, PT Bintuni Utama Murni, has failed to carry out an environmental impact assessment for its chip mill due to start operating shortly in Bintuni Bay. An impact assessment for the Mamberamo Forest Products project, the MacLean joint venture, is due to start at the same time as logging, early next year.

SKEPHI is opposing the wholesale exploitation of West Papua's forests. In October, it launched a campaign to have the area designated a "World Heritage Site", based on ecologically sustainable development, taking local environmental, cultural and political factors into account. The government's policy of divorcing production from conservation by dividing



the forest into areas which must be left untouched, freeing others for total exploitation - and therefore devastation - is criticised by SKEPHI. Instead, they should be interlinked: production should be based on ecologically sustainable exploitation, and thereby ensure conservation.

Massive expansion of pulp and paper

SKEPHI faces an uphill task. The government is determined to develop West Papua and forests elsewhere, in line with the strategy to boost the non-oil and gas sectors of the economy. Although long-term sustainable exploitation of non-timber resources is more viable than logging, the short-term option is the one favoured by the powerful timber tycoons and their associates in government.

Paper and pulp play a major role in these plans: 57 pulp mills will be built in the next 15 years. Already paper output has grown by 150% in the last five years, and capacity is expected to come close to two million tons a year by the end of 1990. Although existing paper companies will expand, the industry is expected to attract plywood entrepreneurs. "King of the jungle" Bob Hasan already has a stake in the paper industry and one of his plywood companies, PT Kiani Sakti, is planning to move over into pulp.

Currently, paper manufacturers import a lot of their pulp, because Indonesia lacks an adequate supply of suitable fibre. Apart from 10,000 to 15,000 ha in South Sumatra, little timber from existing estates is available for pulping. On the basis of a report by a Finnish consultancy firm, the government is negotiating with the Asian Development Bank to fund four plantations.

Indonesia plans to develop 1.5 million ha of timber estates during the current five year plan as a major part of the reforestation programme. While such reforestation efforts may be encouraged and funded by multilateral development banks, environmental and human rights organisations point out that monocultural timber estates, managed as businesses, with control concentrated in the hands of the concession-holders, are no replacement for natural forests whose rich variety of products plays an essential role in the economy of communities living in and around them. Traditionally, it has been these communities who have managed and benefitted from the forests, but with the intensified commercialisation of forests, traditional land rights and access to the forest is denied them: along with the forest resources, their way of life is disappearing.

The probability that the timber estate target of 1.5 million ha will be achieved is remote: much of the hundreds of thousands of hectares of timber estates planted over the past 10 years have not survived. This means that pulp mills will have to run on timber from existing forest cover, accelerating the destruction of Indonesia's over-exploited natural forests.

Forest people lose out

We summarise two recent reports in the Indonesian press about forest people whose lands have been seized by timber companies.

Muris tribe in Demta, Jayapura district

90 families of the Muris tribe are distraught because the land and trees where they live and on which they for their livelihood have been clear-felled by PT You Liem Sari, a South Korean timber company. Everything, including their sago, banana, durian and mango trees, has been cut down to make way for a road leading to the company's site.

Muris forest is located on land which is now part of a 400,000 ha forest concession owned by the company,

FORESTRY

part of the South Korean One Construction Co. The Indonesian partner is P.T. Kebun Sari. *Tifa Irian Minggu* reports that company operations have had a very negative impact on the area. Wild animals and birds living in the forest have also been gravely effected.

The tribespeople complain bitterly that all the promises made by the company, to instal electricity, build houses, give half the jobs in the company to local people and provide education to local children, have come to nought. [*Tifa Irian*, 31 August, quoted in [*Suara Papua*, No. 3, November 1989]

Anak Dalam tribe, South Sumatra

Anak Dalam tribespeople living in four places in Musi Banyasin district, South Sumatra, are distressed by developments making it impossible for them to preserve their forest-based life-style. Their forests are now in the control of concession holders. They have been prohibited from gathering anything from the forest and even arrested and beaten up for going in to pick fruit. When they cut down some trees for their own needs, they were handcuffed and beaten up and the trees were dumped in the river. Such things are happening to all the tribespeople who try to gather anything in the forest.

This sorry state of affairs was reported to a social affairs official by the tribal chief. The official later admitted that the forest people were being ill-treated, but spoke in terms typical of the patronising attitude of his department: "They should be approached, guided and given advice so that the benefit is mutual. This is also the responsibility of the concessionaire." The concessionaire is identified only as PT 'WL'. [*Suara Pembaruan*, 3 November 1989]

West Papua: The Obliteration of a People

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The
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of a People

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

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Pope John Paul's visit to East Timor

Pope John Paul's visit to East Timor on 12 October thrust East Timor onto the world's headlines when people at the mass shouted pro-independence slogans, unfurled a pro-Fretilin banner and were then ferociously attacked in the presence of the world's press. This shattered Jakarta's plan to use the visit to legitimise integration. Many arrests took place and Bishop Belo, apostolic administrator of East Timor, complained about people being beaten up in order to make false confessions.

Attendance at the mass

Although 400,000 were expected, only 80,000 turned up. There was tight security round Taci-Tolu where the mass took place, and most who came arrived in naval vessels and army trucks from West Timor and other parts of Indonesia. Bishop Belo told the foreign press many of the faithful were afraid to come for fear of the army. Before the mass, when the Pope drove to Dili to consecrate the new cathedral, the streets of Dili were deserted.

There is reason to believe that the poor attendance was the result of the fact that the security-conscious Indonesian military were afraid that if hundreds of thousands came, it could create a situation beyond their control; if Fretilin staged a demonstration, the Pope's visit could turn into pro-Fretilin event. Reports have been received of Timorese villagers who travelled by foot for days were told to go back home, while 15,000 people from Kupang, Atambua and Kefamenanu in West Timor were shipped in by naval vessels, regardless of cost.

Haribowo, a senior official from Jakarta, said that those wanting to attend the mass had to carry their KTP or identity card. Yet many East Timorese have no KTPs. *Suara Timor Timur* [11-17 October 1989] reported that of the 70,000 people living in Dili who are entitled to KTPs, only 30,000 had so far received their cards. Many Timorese, watching the security buildup weeks before the Pope's arrival, were discouraged and decided to stay at home.

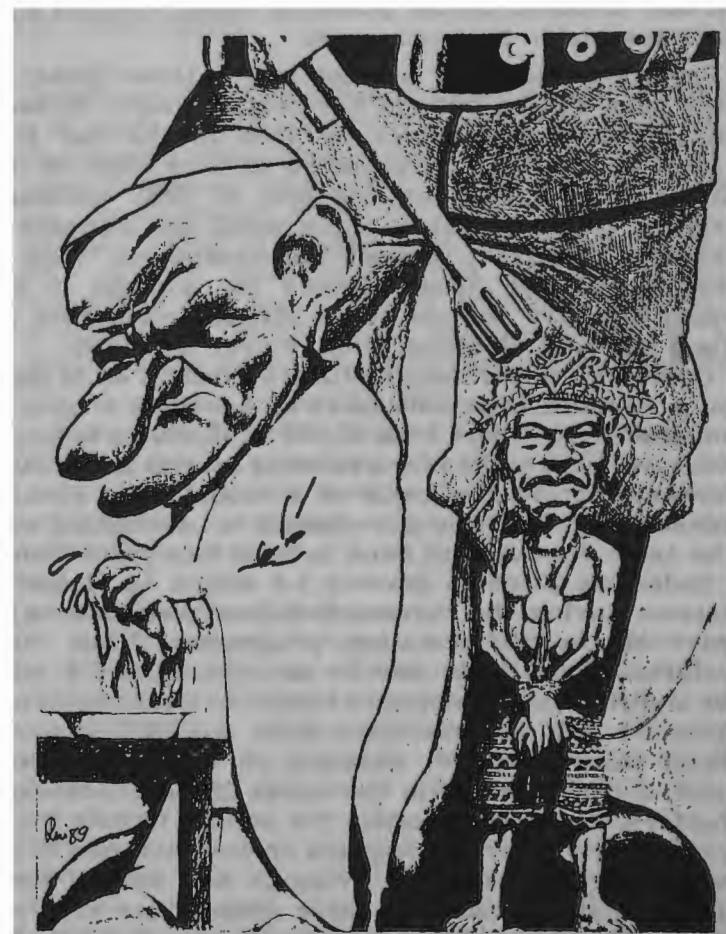
The Pope's sermons

In his sermons before coming to Dili, the Pope praised the Indonesian state-doctrine Pancasila. In East Timor, he acknowledged that "many innocent people" have died, called for "reconciliation" between the Timorese and the Indonesians, and said that "respect for rights which render life more humane must be further assured". He also said: "I pray that those who have responsibility for life in East Timor will act with wisdom and goodwill towards all." He said nothing to embarrass the forces of occupation; on the contrary, he appealed to them only to treat their victims better, in effect legitimising their presence. He even avoided saying anything about birth control, reserving criticism of Indonesia's family planning programme to a statement on the last day of his Indonesian tour, in Medan. On only one issue did he resist pressure from Jakarta - he refused to integrate the East Timor church into the Indonesian Bishops' Conference.

Fretilin has expressed deep disappointment because the visit implicitly endorsed integration. The former head of the East Timor church, Mgr Martinho Costa Lopes expressed great sadness because the people of East Timor wanted the Pope to say something positive but he confined himself to abstractions.

Demonstration at the mass

The fullest accounts of what happened were written by journalists of *La Stampa* (Italy) and *El País*



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(Spain). According to *La Stampa* of 13 October, only they, an Australia TV team and some Indonesian journalists, stayed to the end.

Just as the Pope was ending the mass with "*Ite missa est*", dozens of people started shouting independence slogans in Portuguese and Tetum. Some broke the security cordons shouting "Long live the Pope" and were beaten back by security forces using truncheons. The Pope watched for a few moments but did not show any concern at the behaviour of the troops. Later a Vatican spokesman said the Pope "had not been disturbed by the protests". As he left, the site turned into a battlefield. Then, a second wave of several hundred demonstrators approached the altar, unfurling a banner which said "Fretilin greets the Pope". The troops became more violent, beating them to the back of the esplanade while journalists waged their own battle with the troops. Two had their cameras snatched and the film exposed. The demonstrators defended themselves by throwing chairs and stones at the troops. The Pope immediately left East Timor, cancelling a meeting with ICRC officials. There is no evidence that he protested to his hosts about what was happening even though he had just spoken about the need to respect people's rights.

The arrests

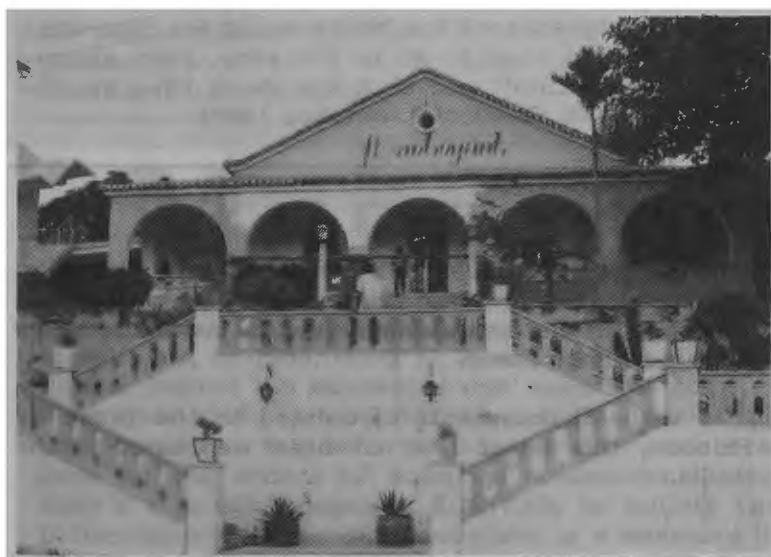
According to Bishop Belo who was contacted by phone the following day, 40 demonstrators were arrested and were being tortured and beaten by the military to make confessions that would implicate the church. Another five had taken refuge in his home. Later the number taking refuge there rose to 28.

The bishop said: "I am shocked that the military is extracting false confessions under torture. The boys were trying to express their discontent with the situation in East Timor. It is a lie that the church is in any way involved in the demonstration." He asked the Pope to intercede on behalf of the victims but so far the Pope has not done so. [Press communique of Australian Coalition for East Timor]

Bishop Belo continues to speak up

The bishop spoke to foreign journalists before and during the Pope's visit. In September, he told Barbara Mead of *The Catholic Leader* [10 September 1989]: "Bishops and priests can speak out but the people cannot. They dare not speak out for their rights. They know there will be revenge." He told *Kyodo* [11 October] that he had been interrogated for three days about his letter to the UN. He spoke out against Indonesia's birth control programme and said: "The people fear they are in danger of genocide and have strong sympathy for Fretelin."

According to the BBC, he said that children waving Indonesian flags to greet the Pope at the airport had been obliged to do so by the army who, "like God, are omnipresent". "The bishop has not softened his stance," said Juliet Rix of the BBC. "Many believe he is firing his last shots... and that after a decent interval will be transferred away from East Timor." [Juliet Rix on BBC Radio 4, 14 October]



From hotel to torture centre, now back to hotel.
Flamboyant Hotel in Baucau. [Photo: Jan-Erik Forsberg]

Foreign press reporting

No fewer than 123 foreign journalists joined the Pope's entourage and army spokesmen stressed that all efforts would be made to allow them to report freely. Armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno announced that reporting on East Timor would not be bound to any restrictions.

The Indonesian administration may now be regretting this. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas later accused the foreign press of 'one-sided and bias' reporting. Virtually all reports portrayed East Timor as being under Indonesian occupation while many focussed on human rights violations and the resistance to Indonesian rule. For a few days East Timor was not just a remote speck on the globe.

EAST TIMOR

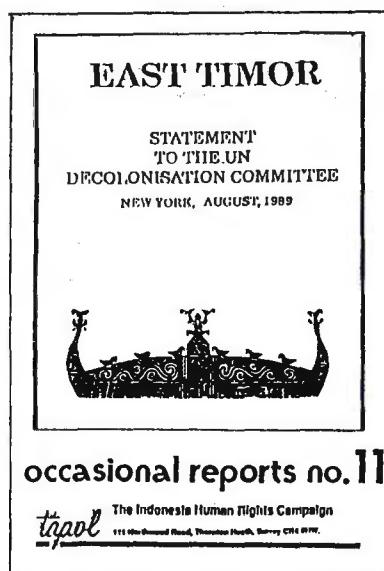
Open letter to the Pope

Following his visit to East Timor, TAPOL wrote an open letter to Pope John Paul urging him to intercede on behalf of the many East Timorese in detention and being tortured and beaten up for demonstrating in favour of independence during his mass. It reminded him that Bishop Belo had asked him to intercede:

We would remind you that the Indonesian authorities have a record of extreme brutality in East Timor.... If they so ferociously beat back the demonstrators even in your presence and the presence of the world's press, it is not difficult to imagine what they are doing now that world attention has again turned away from the country.

The letter pointed out that even though the Vatican still stands by the UN position not to endorse Indonesia's illegal occupation, "the context in which your visit took place implicitly endorses Indonesia's illegal annexation". In conclusion, TAPOL wrote:

Your actions in East Timor did nothing to bring the East Timorese people any closer to a peaceful solution to their 15-year conflict with Indonesia. On the contrary, while hundreds of thousands who did not or could not attend your mass must be feeling bitterly disappointed, those who did attend left for home only with abstract messages ringing in their ears. Meanwhile, dozens of people are now suffering at the hands of torturers for daring to demonstrate in your presence. If any significance is to be attached to the statement in your homily in Taci-Tolu that "respect for rights which render life more humane must be further assured", it is behooved on you to urge the Indonesian Government to release without delay all those who have been arrested and call upon it to desist from further acts of repression against people trying to speak out in favour of independence.



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including postage

Occasional Reports no. 11 contains TAPOL's submission to the 1989 meeting of the UN Decolonisation Committee and focusses on the militarised structure of the Indonesian administration in East Timor and the truth about the 'opening up' of East Timor.

Killings in East Timor

Several lists of East Timorese murdered by Indonesian troops since the beginning of 1989 have been compiled by the Jakarta-based Institute for the Defence of Human Rights. These lists were sent by H.C. Princen, chair of the Institute, to armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno. In a letter dated 6 September accompanying one of the lists, Princen wrote: "According to information we have received, these persons have been murdered; it is our hope that you will investigate this report and take measures against those responsible."

The list sent on that occasion consisted of 26 persons killed from January to August 1989. The youngest on the list is Norbertus Freitas, a schoolboy of 16, from Ussoluga village, killed on 14 January, while the oldest is Gaspar da Sousa, a farmer, 60 years old, from Kaibada village, killed on 11 June. Three of the victims were members of Indonesia's own militia forces: Aleixo Ximenes, an army auxiliary (TBO), 30 years, killed on 25 March, Domingos Guterres, 27, a farmer and member of wanra, killed on 8 January, and Francisco da Sousa, a farmer and member of ratih, 27 years who was killed on 8 August.

A second list circulated by the Institute, summarises the repression unleashed in preparation for the Pope's visit in October, involving "large-scale executions and arrests in East Timor". The campaign "created a situation of terror and insecurity everywhere; people were not allowed to move anywhere without permission from the authorities".

The document asserts that more than a thousand young persons were arrested and held in detention cells of Kopskaam (the special operations command for East Timor) and 'intel' (army intelligence). It lists the names of four young people murdered on 20, 21 and

27 of August at an army post in Ossu, and a fifth youngster, Domingos Maria Neto Mok, taken into custody at the same post, who has since disappeared.

It also records that on 27 July, troops of Battalion 328, under the command of Colonel Prabowo (son-in-law of President Suharto), killed a young man, Booi-lo, in the remote village of Caiwata, in the sub-district of Ossu. Two days later, troops of the same battalion killed seven people out gathering firewood. Only one has been named, a secondary school pupil named Geraldo da Silva. In August, two inhabitants of Baucau (names not known) were killed by troops of Battalion 407, as they were walking to their plot.

(Princen's letters to General Try have gone unanswered. The general's only response has been to summon Princen for interrogation about his activities on behalf of the East Timorese.)

Visitor reports killings

From a document written by a recent visitor to East Timor, there is information of killings, some of which may be cases listed by Princen. Two people were killed near Fatumaca, south of Baucau, on June 11, when returning from their rice-fields, looking for palm-wine outside curfew hours. They were shot on the spot and their decaying bodies were not discovered for three days. Ossu, midway between Baucau and Viqueque is described as being "in the grip of fear". On 17 July, three young men were found cutting wood beyond the permitted area. They were accused as spies, tied up together and shot. On about 20 July, an old man grazing his buffalo was shot a short distance outside the allowed area and on 23 June, a 15-year old schoolboy died in Loilubu when soldiers who entered his house asked for cigarettes. When he told them to go to the shop, they shouted 'Fretilin! Fretilin!' and shot him dead. [See Supplement to AETA Newsletter, October 1989]

Princen writes to the Pope

H.C. Princen, chair of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, in a Memorandum to Pope John Paul on the occasion of his visit to Indonesia on 9 October, said that as spiritual leader of a large part of the world's population, the Pope could hold discussions with heads of state or individual people to end the violation of human rights.

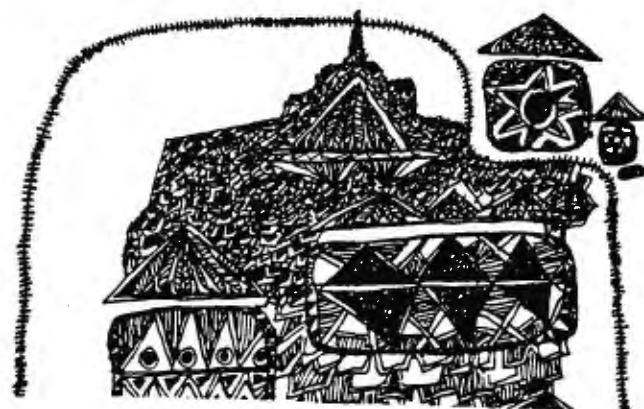
Princen was careful to refer separately to Indonesia and East Timor. "When we mention Indonesia and East Timor within one breath, it is not our intention to recognise any status quo, but to relate human rights violations in East Timor to those committed elsewhere in Indonesia."

Not only in East Timor have thousands been killed, arrested and cruelly treated since the integration of the territory, but in Indonesia itself, in 1966, hundreds of thousands were killed as they held views disliked by the authorities. Islam, the religion of the majority in Indonesia, has met with many difficulties in daily life because its adherents are said to be against the state ideology Pancasila. Islamic leaders are being jailed upon charges of subversion and endangering national stability.

Irrespective of the political problem of who is the rightful reigning power in East Timor, the Indonesian Institute for the Defence of Human Rights strongly requests that Your Holiness convince the Indonesian government to stop arresting and detaining people who do not fully support integration with Indonesia

and to treat detainees in accordance with humanity. Similarly, we beg Your Holiness to call on Catholic members of the occupying forces to cease executing people in East Timor.

As with all documents circulated to the press by Princen, this letter has not been mentioned in the media.



The question of East Timor was raised at the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Belgrade in September this year. Mozambique's president, Joaquim Chissano, defended East Timor's inalienable right to self-determination and said the situation there is "a matter for grave concern". His country wishes to see frank and serious talks between the interested parties to end this situation. Angola's president, José Eduardo dos Santos, urged NAM to follow the question of East Timor and said the UN Secretary-General should continue his efforts. The president of Guinea Bissau, Joao Bernardo Vieira, said he was in favour of the Timorese people deciding their own future and condemned the fact that it "continued to be wrapped in a cloak of silence". [East Timor News, Monthly Memo October 1989, quoting *Diario de Notícias* 5 and 7 September, and *Expresso*, 9 September, 1989]

Two months later, the head of Indonesia's parliament, retired General Kharis Suhud, told the press, after reporting to President Suharto about the Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting in London in September, that Portugal seems no longer to have the support of African countries like Mozambique and Angola. "They have begun to understand that what we are doing in East Timor is not like what Portugal alleges." [Kompas, 17 November 1989] Apparently, Suharto forgot to brief him about what happened in Belgrade.

Hunger striker draws response from Labour Party

In reply to a letter from Paul Barbara, who went on hunger strike in support of East Timor at the beginning of October, the Labour Party's Neil Kinnock, Leader of the Labour Party, wrote assuring him that the Party supports "the right of self-determination for the people of East Timor" and calls "for the implementation of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514 of 1960".

Paul Barbara, a London cabman, campaigns hard for East Timor. In 1986, he made an attempt to cross The Channel to France, on a raft made by himself in the shape of a cross.

Neil Kinnock's letter came as Paul Barbara entered the fortieth day of his hunger strike. It was such a categorical statement of support for East Timor that he decided to call off the strike. He went on strike to get positive statements not only from Neil Kinnock but also from the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and from Pope John Paul. Neither of them replied.

After spelling out the stipulations of UN Resolution 1514, Neil Kinnock's letter continued:

Ann Clwyd, Labour Member of Parliament for Cynon Valley, was one of seven British Parliamentarians who visited East Timor in March this year. In a statement to the UN Decolonisation Committee in New York on 14 August 1989, Ann Clwyd urged the Committee to consider the conditions under which a plebiscite might be held:

- a. *The cessation of hostilities between Indonesia and the forces of resistance, three months in advance of the plebiscite.*
- b. *Strict international supervision by a team appointed by the UN and including representatives of the Portuguese Government.*
- c. *Withdrawal of all Indonesian troops.*
- d. *Indonesian civilians in the territory should not be permitted to take part in the plebiscite.*
- e. *Universal suffrage.*

We deplore the abuse of human rights in East Timor and will continue to call for an end of such abuse and the release of all political prisoners.

Mass murderer dies

Sarwo Edhie, who led his troops in the slaughter of communists in 1965, died in November after a long illness. During the massacres that swept the country in October 1965, Sarwo Edhie, then commander of the para-commando regiment, RPKAD, was sent to Central Java on the orders of Suharto, commander of the army's strategic command, KOSTRAD, to initiate the indiscriminate killing of communists, in a massacre in which an estimated one million people were killed.

As US journalist, John Hughes shows, after staging a massive show of strength in Semarang on 19 October 1965, which triggered attacks on PKI property and the homes of leftwing activists, Sarwo Edhie's troops moved south to take control of the major cities. It soon became clear that there were not enough RPKAD troops to mount operations in so many places at once so Sarwo Edhie began training and arming vigilante bands of youths to scour the villages for those suspected of communist sympathies. Hughes quotes Sarwo Edhie as telling him:

*In Solo, we gathered together the youth, the nationalist groups, the religious organisations. We gave them two or three days' training, then sent them out to kill communists. [John Hughes, *The End of Sukarno*, Angus and Robertson, London 1967, page 151.]*

As the Indonesian press eulogises 'one of the country's greatest soldiers', whom *Editor* [18 November 1989] hails on its cover as 'the man who crushed the PKI', it is as well to remember that Indonesia is one of the few countries where confessed mass murderers go unpunished and are allowed to die heroes.



Colonel Prabowo's mission to East Timor

Since Prabowo Djojohadikusumo married Suharto's youngest daughter in 1983, "the marriage of the year" as it was called, he has been the man to watch. None of Suharto's three sons pursued a military career, becoming instead successful businessmen. But military credentials are still crucial in Suharto's Indonesia, so increasingly people are asking: is Prabowo the true heir to Suharto's throne?

Prabowo's background

Prabowo has the necessary breeding for a president's daughter and Tien Suharto is known to regard him as her favorite son-in-law. For the upright First Lady, it is a gift from heaven that the Prabowo match with Siti Hediati has worked out so well. Although the couple have modern views on marriage, their match was arranged in the traditional way. The match-maker was Prabowo's commander, Colonel Wismoyo Arismunandar, a cousin of Madame Tien. In 1983 Wismoyo was commander of the notorious *Kopassus*, the red-beret commandos; he now holds the position of commander of the Central Java Diponegoro division, the division which Suharto commanded in the fifties.

Prabowo comes from a highly regarded Javanese family. His father is the 'eminence grise' of Indonesian economics, Professor Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, who has held a number of ministerial and academic positions in the Sukarno and Suharto eras. From 1958 to 1966, he was a rebel, having joined the break-away PRRI movement in Sumatra which wanted to secede from the republic. Prabowo spent much of his youth abroad with his family, and went to school in the UK, the US and Malaysia. It came as something of a surprise when, after completing his secondary education, he opted for a military academy. From here, he joined the red berets, the toughest unit in the Indonesian armed forces.

His first tour in East Timor

In 1978, during the intense military campaign against Fretelin, Lieutenant Prabowo, a fresh commando, was sent to East Timor to get his first taste of battle. During a year-long tour of duty, he gained much combat experience. It was a platoon under his command that captured and murdered the president of Fretelin, Nicolau Lobato. The man who pulled the trigger was Yunus Yosfiah, who ten years later became Indonesian military commander of East Timor. Armed forces commander-in-chief, General Moh. Yusuf, who was responsible for the aerial bombardment of East Timor from 1977 to 1979 was finally able to claim some military achievements in East Timor. Prabowo shared the limelight because of his first military feat.

The pros and cons of son-in-law status

When he married into the Cendana (palace) family, he soon became the subject of gossip in Jakarta. After promotion as major, he became deputy commander of a special anti-terrorist unit called Detachment 81 (probably because it was set up in 1981). Some observers believe that this detachment was responsible for the death squad killings in 1983. According to Max Lane,

There does not seem to be any mystery about (the killings) in Jakarta. Most informed people are convinced that those responsible are members of Detachment 81 - the anti-terrorist squad of the elite paratroop battalion, Kopassanda (now Kopassus). (National Times, 19-25 August 1983).

Being Suharto's son-in-law brought him benefits but it also had its disadvantages. As a middle-ranking officer, he had to show respect for his superior officers. But at official receptions in the palace, Major Prabowo, the president's son-in-law, met his military superiors on a different footing. This led to tensions with more senior officers who were not willing to allow a young officer the privilege of special consideration in his promotion chances. It was obvious that if he was to boost his career, he would need to mark up some spectacular achievements. Even his father-in-law, the dictator, could not risk unnecessary tensions with leading generals for the sake of Prabowo's career.

To make things easier, Prabowo was given other assignments, not directly linked with the army high command. This is where the killings initiated by the Detachment 81 death squad fit in. Once this campaign terminated, part of the detachment became a special unit to protect the Cendana family.

Praetorian guard

It is often still mentioned under its old name, but a new name has emerged, *Kateda (Kekuatan Tenaga Dalam)* or 'inner-strength force'. 'Tenaga dalam' is commonly used for people skilled in the martial arts,



"The marriage of the year."

who require a combination of physical prowess and meditation. Cynics in Jakarta call this special palace guard '*tukang kepruk Cendana*', or the 'Cendana bone-crushers'. As head of state, Suharto has his official palace guard, so it is not entirely clear why he needs an unofficial guard as well. Insiders see Kateda as a kind of praetorian guard, a highly trusted shield to protect the president, should a powerful group within the army try to oust him. Here is Suharto's weapon with which to 'clobber' his opponents. The assassination of the South Korean dictator, Park Chung Hee, was a salutary reminder of how things could go wrong.

Another of Kateda's tasks is the protection of the extensive family business interests.



Prabowo's second tour in East Timor

Prabowo's assignment to East Timor early this year was at first puzzling for many Jakarta watchers. Why should Prabowo, the potential heir, risk his life in war-stricken East Timor? Soon enough it became clear that Prabowo had specific military and political assignments, taking him a step further in his military career. By now a lieutenant-colonel, Prabowo's military tasks were well defined, to mop up 'terrorists' in the war zone, in particular the eastern part of East Timor. Having now returned to Jakarta, it is obvious that the primary aim of his tour of duty was to secure the region in preparation for the Pope's visit.

He undertook this tour of duty as commander of Battalion 328, a detachment of the West Java Siliwangi division. Battalion 328 includes *Kujang*, a special paratroop unit. But Prabowo also took along his own men from the Kateda detachment. Prabowo's presence in East Timor was throughout high profile. Besides

PROFILE

the many raids, mass arrests and summary executions carried out by Prabowo's troops in Baucau, Viqueque, Los Palos, Manatuto, Same, Ainaro and Dili, he also made several public speeches, in Baucau, Viqueque and Los Palos. The arrests, said Prabowo, were necessary to make East Timor safe for the Pope. But he also attacked the Catholic Church, bluntly condemning the priests, nuns and catechists as the chief opponents of *integrasi* and warning them that the military would not tolerate this.

At the same time, he created his own infrastructure of former members of Apodeti, the pro-Indonesia party before 1975. In the first years of the occupation, Apodeti men occupied positions throughout the administration but when Mario Carrascalao was appointed governor, most Apodeti people were dismissed. It was Prabowo who gave the Apodeti people another lease of life by organising them to perform specific intelligence tasks.

As part of the security assignment his task was to destroy 'the remnants' of the resistance. To the people in Venilale, the presence of Prabowo's troops plunged their region back into an atmosphere reminiscent of the war in all its former ferocity.

His political tasks are more difficult to define. In preparation for the 'opening up' of East Timor in January this year, certain political conditions had to be created. Firstly, with the church becoming obstructive, Prabowo had to keep the church in tow. However, as if in open defiance to Prabowo, Bishop Belo took everyone by surprise by calling on the UN to conduct a referendum. It was Prabowo who organised a protest in front of Bishop Belo's house in May this year.

His second target was the governor, Mario Carrascalao. Although the governor is still seen as a useful instrument for Jakarta, his attempts to break up the economic monopoly of the army had to be prevented. Also, though no-one doubts Carrascalao's pro-Indonesian credentials, he is known to protect his countrymen and women, whenever possible, from random arrest and torture. For a combination of reasons, Carrascalao's position has declined considerably in 1989. A few months ago, a vice-governor was appointed. Colonel A.B. Saridjo is an old hand in East Timor, for long the regional secretary and before that, in command of military intelligence. With this background, he is not a man to take a back seat.

The importance of military intelligence

Prabowo's Apodeti network is now showing its teeth and counter-insurgency forces have infiltrated the relatively open structure of popular resistance in the cities. A major feature in present-day Indonesia is the pervasive social control down to village level. As a trained intelligence operator, Prabowo has tried to apply this by forcing East Timorese to spy on each other. Many of those recently arrested in sweeps against the guerilla movement have not been executed but pressed into service against their former comrades. If they refuse, their next of kin are the ones to suffer. It has been Prabowo's special contribution to create an atmosphere of blackmail and terror, an atmosphere of mutual distrust in present-day East Timor.

Significant failures

The impact of Prabowo's combined commando-intelligence campaign, typical for the red berets, has been widely felt in East Timor. Many have testified to the worsening repression in the past year and journalists who have taken advantage of the greater access all

speak of the fear everywhere. Still, it could be argued that Prabowo's 1989 campaign in East Timor has not been an unmitigated success. The demonstration against Bishop Belo in May turned into an expression of overwhelming public support for the bishop. Far from wilting under the Prabowo lash, the church has gained in stature and Bishop Belo for the first time decided not to attend the October 1989 meeting of the Indonesian Bishop's Conference. The integration of the East Timorese Church with the Indonesian church is farther away than ever.

But the greatest calamity of all was the demonstration, complete with banners, during the Pope's visit. All the careful planning, the body searches and the

stringent measures to stop Fretilin supporters from attending failed to prevent this expression of defiance against Indonesian rule and the call for independence, attracting the attention of the world's press.

Prabowo is now back in Jakarta and slated to take over an important command post in Kostrad, the army's strategic command, probably as commander of one of its two rapid deployment battalions. People even tip him to become army chief-of-staff in a few years' time. Father-in-law Suharto clearly places high hopes on Prabowo whose recent tour of duty in East Timor has given him a wealth of experience and a series of military achievements that the generals will find hard to ignore.

WEST PAPUA

The Jayapura subversion trials

Details about the subversion trials held during the past few months in Jayapura are still hard to come by. Although the West Papuan nationalist, Dr. Thomas Wainggai, is known to have been sentenced to twenty years and his wife Teruko to eight years, the verdicts of twenty others who have been tried are not clear. A leaked police document itemising the reasons for holding the people arrested on 14 December reflects the flimsy basis for the subversion trials under way in West Papua.

The document produced by police chief investigator, Major Soeyitno, dated 2 January 1989, lists 37 detainees, ranked according to the alleged level of involvement in the ceremony at the Mandala Sports Stadium, Jayapura on 14 December. A West Melanesian State was proclaimed and a flag was unfurled in the presence of sixty or seventy West Papuans. The following is a slightly abridged version of the list:

Dr Thomas Wainggai is the 'leading participant' who:
* Harboured feelings of antipathy towards the Indonesian government and aimed to set up a West Melanesian State.
* Conceived the idea for a West Melanesian State and prepared the documents for establishing the State.
* Gathered people to implement his plan and mobilised and contacted people for the ceremony.

Rev. Ones Waromi, Rev. Melkianus Numberi, Rev. Aminadap Oropa, Rev. Martinus Marani and Leonard Wainggai were his 'chief assistants' who:
* Together with Dr. Wainggai, held meetings to plan and conspire to commit a crime, to implement his concept for a West Melanesian State.
* Mobilised people on his instructions, and contacted officials, the governor of Irian Jaya, the military commander and the chief-of-police as part of their criminal conspiracy.

Mrs Teruko Wainggai and two unnamed people were 'makers of the flags' who:
* On Wainggai's instructions, bought cloth at Abepura market, Jayapura to make four West Melanesian flags.

Mrs Henny Arwam, Dominggus Watopa, Rev. Robby Fonataba, Barends Waromi and Rev. Alex Wamea were 'ceremony organisers' who:
* Were involved in meetings to plan the proclamation ceremony and unfurl the West Melanesian flag and, together, implemented these plans.

Yance Wanggai, Hanok Arwan, Rev. Luther Karubaba, Hendrik Wairara, Yanheri Anderi, Nicholas Wanggai,

Gustaf Wanggai, Robby Woru, Anton Maniani, Yan Fonataba, Marthen Rewang, Daud Karenay, Yacob Koridama and Permenas Marani were 'persons who unfurled the flag':

- * Some knew of the plans and were appointed to unfurl the flag.
- * Others knew nothing but were present and were then appointed to carry the flag.
- * Together, they unfurled the West Melanesian flag.

Four are 'stauch sympathisers', who:

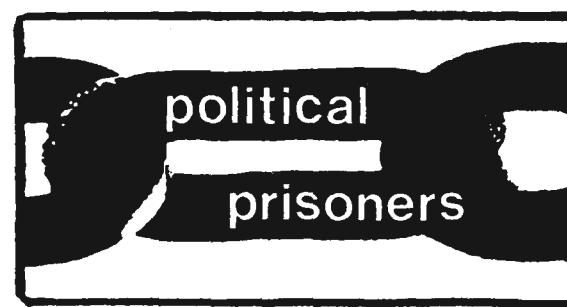
- * Made contact with people and encouraged others to come in on the plan.
- * Helped the preparations and knew long in advance of the plans.

[These four were all tried and sentenced in August. They are Karel Karenay who got 6 years, Mrs Aliance Karenay (3 years), Tony Aninam (5 years) and Sem Mansay (6 years).]

Finally, the police document lists five 'weak sympathisers' who:

- * Knew of the ceremony only when it was about to be held.
- * Were invited to attend and were only aware of what was to take place then and there but could not extricate themselves and leave.

[These five have been tried and were sentenced on 13 September. Welhelmus Wanggai who got 2 years, Eliezer Arobaya (3 years), Anton Manyani (3 years), Amos Jitmau (two-and-a-half-years) and Justus Markus Manori (3 years).]



This is Waena Military Prison situated between Lake Sentani to the west and Jayapura to the east, where Dr Wainggai, his wife and a few dozen West Papuan political prisoners are now being held. Dr Wainggai is alone, in the small central building; Mrs Wainggai and other women are in the farthest cell of the rear building on the left, while the men are in building also on the left, which is only partly visible.

The cells do not have walls, only iron bars, so that the jailers can see the prisoners night and day. As there are too few beds, several women sleep on the concrete floor with nothing but a thin mat. Six men are accommodated in each of the cells, with the toilet facilities inside. There is much concern for their health because of the cold nights and the danger of malaria.



LAND DISPUTES

More raw deals at Kedung Ombo

Around 1,400 families, flooded out of their homes by the World Bank-financed Kedung Ombo dam in Central Java earlier this year, still face an uncertain future. Thousands of villagers rejected government attempts, backed by intimidation, to persuade them to transmigrate to Sumatra. It was not the government's intention to give cash compensation that would enable the families to buy replacement land near the dam. [See past issues of *TAPOL Bulletin* for background.]

In the greatest mass defiance of government development plans seen in recent years, the families refused to move; so in June this year, the government was forced to compromise. Replacement land around the dam was offered to those families who had refused to collect the compensation deposited for them at the local court. Out of the 1,400 families who consistently refused to leave the dam area, only 640 families were regarded by the authorities as qualifying for this replacement land in two new villages either side of the reservoir. The families would receive a plot of land for their home and garden in one of the new villages and another, larger, plot for rice cultivation. They would also get cash compensation for the house and crops that had been flooded.

But this concession is beginning to turn sour. Many dozens of families who have settled in the two villages have now been refused the cash compensation to which they are entitled, having been told that other persons, allegedly members of their families, have already collected the cash. This has led to a dispute with officials over who it was who collected the money. Some of the families (press reports are not clear how many) are now seeking redress and have lodged formal complaints with the police in order to discover who allowed unauthorised people to collect their money. They have also appealed to the governor of Central Java to resolve the matter; when he intervened to resolve the dispute last May, he promised to have everything settled by 17 August this year.

In addition, officials are now saying that the cash compensation and additional land comprise a 'single

packet' which will not be handed over for several months, possibly not until March next year when the dam is to be formally inaugurated by President Suharto. As a result, families in the new villages are having to make do with what they can grow on their 500m² garden plots and in rice fields on the shore of the dam which are now becoming submerged, with the onset of the wet season. [*Tempo*, 11 November and *Suara Merdeka*, 28 and 31 October 1989]

Others to be transmigrated?

Even worse off than the families already resettled in the new villages are the other families still living in makeshift settlements in the dam area who do not qualify for replacement land; they are the ones who collected the inadequate compensation under pressure from the authorities. Now that less attention is being given to the dam dispute, little is known of their fate.

A report in *Kedaulatan Rakyat* [4 November 1989] says that 900 Kedung Ombo families are to be transmigrated to North Sumatra in the near future. But it now appears that a new dispute has arisen because the authorities are arranging for them to go as spontaneous transmigrants, meaning that they will have to pay their own way, which they are not prepared to do. The report claims that all these families have already signed documents confirming their willingness to move away from Java. It is yet to be seen what means of persuasion were used.



Farmers continue to resist golf link

Vegetable farmers in Cimacan, West Java, who have been defending 32 hectares of land that they have tilled for more than 30 years, against a deal to convert it into a golf-course, are now facing a civil action in court. The lawsuit was filed by the village administration and PT BAM, a company which plans to create new tourist attractions in the Puncak, the mountain range between Jakarta and Bogor, for long a recreation haven for the capital's elite.

The lawsuit seeks to prove that the farmers' continued presence on the land, in defiance of orders to move, is illegal and could cost them Rp. 100,000 a day in damages. The farmers base their claim on a 1961 regulation permitting farmers who have tilled land for more than thirty years to win title to the land. The village administration, after initially supporting this claim, decided to lease the land out to property developers for Rp. 90 million for a thirty-year lease.

The golf-course plan violates earlier decisions to treat the area as a buffer zone to protect one of the few remaining tropical forests in Java. The forestry network, SKEPHI, also supports the farmers, arguing that there is other infertile land in the vicinity that could just as suitably be used by golfers. Construction of the golf-course has already begun even though the environmental impact assessment required by law has not been undertaken. The farmers, however, have continued to grow their crops. After confronting the combined forces of local administrators and property developers backed by the government, with the Interior Minister, General Rudini leading the way, the farmers now confront the lawcourts. Rudini evidently believes that the deal will keep local administrators well funded and take a load off the executive.

One-sided 'justice'

Twenty-eight farmers are in court representing the 287 farmers whose livelihoods are at stake. The Cianjur district court hearing the case has shown itself to be firmly on the side of the plaintiffs. Its first move was to question the credentials of the farmers' defence team provided by the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute. After this was successfully challenged, the judges then ordered the dispute to be settled behind closed doors, excluding the lawyers, in the



Demonstrators in favour of the golf course. Company employees were warned that their wages would be cut if they did not take part. [Tempo. 18 November 1989]

hope of splitting the 28 farmers facing the action. When this resulted in deadlock, the court announced that it was placing the land under a temporary confiscation order giving the court powers to remove the farmers; however, the court made it clear that this would not affect PT BAM's operations.

A statement by General Rudini, who has thrown his weight firmly behind the developers, that all but 28 of the farmers had agreed to settle was challenged in the press as pure fabrication. Soon afterwards, a demonstration supporting the company, said to be representing the villagers of Cimacan, was exposed as a 'rent-a-crowd' composed mostly of company employees.

The Cimacan dispute involves a group of reasonably prosperous farmers serving a lucrative market, who have the law and a host of environmental protection regulations on their side. Insofar as one can judge from the press, they appear to have public opinion on their side as well. Yet the government has stuck in its heels, supporting a project that is designed to attract foreign tourists and keep foreign businessmen happy, to the detriment of small farmers.

SKEPHI speaks out in Japan

Although Bintuni Bay, the most westerly region of Irian Jaya (West Papua)*, has been declared a natural reserve and protection forest, and is recognised as the most extensive, pristine mangrove ecosystem in Asia, it is now being heavily logged by Indonesian timber companies. In 1985, the Indonesian government banned the export of logs in 1985, yet in the same year PT Agoda Wai Hitam, a subsidiary of the Djajanti group (owned by Bob Hasan), started logging mangrove trees and exporting them direct to Taiwan.

Other companies logging in Bintuni Bay are PT Bintuni Utama Murni Wood Industries with 137,000 ha

of concession forest, and Pirngadi, jointly with Marubeni, which has been given control over 135,000 ha. Marubeni, a giant Japanese trading company, has lined up paper companies in Japan ready to buy chips produced in Bintuni. Another company now devouring Bintuni's mangrove forests is PT Sagindo Sari Lestari, with a concession of 270,000 ha. This company runs a sago powder mill in Tomu village, Bintuni, and plans to sell its products to a plywood factory in Seram, Maluku and to the nuclear power industry, as well as exporting them to Taiwan, Hongkong and Japan.

Reporting these grim facts, a representative of SKEPHI, the NGO Network for Forestry Conservation in Indonesia, in Sorong, told a forum of JATAN, the Japan Tropical Forest Action Network, in Tokyo in September, that "solidarity should be developed at

*) This report summarises a document which uses the name Irian Jaya, not West Papua.

the local, regional, national and international level... (involving) local people, so as to empower the movement".

Local communities threatened

The operations of large companies in Bintuni Bay has led to conflict between the companies, the government and the local community over traditional land rights and social and economic conditions. Local communities are now being marginalised, he said, unable to tap the benefits from these forests which they have enjoyed for generations. If they become involved in felling trees for the companies, the prices are often low, while protest is dealt with by powerful bodies in a position to oppress the community.

He said that local cultures are intimately tied to the mangrove forests. Its fruits are edible, the bark is used for dyeing fish nets, while the timber is used for building materials, firewood, as a tool for tapping sago and for knife-handles. There are a thousand and one benefits from mangroves.

He spoke of the traditional role of women in exploiting the forest, gathering fish, crabs, woodworm, shells, shrimps, fruit and young leaves for food, while the men go out hunting, collecting garden products or taking jobs outside the community. These activities form the basis for their community life. The forest lands are communally owned, so when large companies take over, compensation creates many difficulties, with the communities always the losers. Furthermore, the companies are more interested in employing outsiders than local labour.

The fate of Bintuni Bay villagers is now being decided in Jakarta or even by Marubeni in Japan; hence a strong environmental movement cannot survive without solidarity and a strong network. He said that SKEPHI in Sorong, the organisation's national network and JATAN, have started a campaign to save the mangroves in Bintuni; the campaign is not

only directed at Marubeni but aims at saving the mangroves of Irian Jaya as a whole.

Environmentalists warned

The State Secretary, Major-General Moerdiono, has warned environmentalist NGOs not to use environmental issues for political purposes. He alleged that there were signs these issues were being used "to destabilise" the situation. He complained in particular about efforts to raise such matters internationally. The warning came along with an announcement that a national conference on the environment will be held under government auspices next April to discuss the environment and forestry in particular, as a reaction to world concern about forestry destruction in Indonesia. [Kompas, 18 November]

While he mentioned no names, it is not difficult to interpret this public warning, issued by one of the most powerful men in the executive, as a threat to SKEPHI, the forestry conservation network, whose actions against environmental degradation have been widely reported in the press.

Astra's Merauke project to continue

Moerdiono's statement came two days after Forestry Minister Hasjrul Harapan attacked forestry NGOs (also without naming names) for their vocal opposition to the exploitation of forests in Irian Jaya, and stressed that the paper and pulp venture in Merauke would go ahead, regardless of Scott Paper's withdrawal in October. He said that Astra has been encouraged to form a consortium with national not foreign companies, in effect acknowledging that foreign companies could be expected to respond to NGO protest, as Scott had done. [Kompas and Jakarta Post, 16 November 1989]

East Timorese students call for Indonesian withdrawal

About a hundred East Timorese students in Indonesia have sent a plea to the UN Secretary-General, calling for an immediate referendum in East Timor as the only way to reach a viable and peaceful solution. The statement dated 7 September, is signed by about a hundred students, with a covering letter signed on their behalf by Carlos Silva Lopes and Agapito Cardoso.

The statement calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Indonesian troops, bureaucrats and immigrants from East Timor and demands the participation of the National Convergence, composed of Fretilin and the UDT, as the legitimate representatives of the East Timor people in all international forums and negotiations seeking a solution. It expresses support for the position taken by Bishop Belo in his letter to the UN on 6 February which reflects the political and religious feelings of the people and calls on the UN to halt the violation of human rights, the institutionalised persecution, arbitrary imprisonment, torture and summary execution of Timorese.

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World Bank's unflagging support for transmigration

Despite rumours circulating to the contrary, the World Bank has not withdrawn support from the transmigration programme. The California-based NGO, Rainforest Action Network, recently described transmigration as a "colonization effort ... so widely discredited that even the World Bank has withdrawn its support". But sadly, this is not the case.

Such a mistaken impression is likely to have arisen from a shift in the way the Bank supports transmigration. After a campaign launched by TAPOL, Survival International and others [see *The Ecologist* Vol 16 No 2/3, 1986] the Bank announced it would no longer be funding the development of new transmigration sites but would be financing the rehabilitation and improvement of existing sites under the Transmigration Second Stage Development (TSSD) programme. Anne Booth writing in *Bulletin of Indonesian Studies*, is in no doubt about the Bank's continuing role: "...Although the World Bank and other agencies will continue to finance transmigration projects during Repelita V, it appears that much of the funding will be devoted to further development of existing sites, rather than to new projects..." (our italics) ('Repelita V and Indonesia's medium term economic strategy' in *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* Vol 25 No 2, August 1989).

The most recent edition of *Environesia* contains a critique of the World Bank's involvement in the transmigration programme and details the Bank's new \$154 million loan currently under review. The funds will be used to improve 9 existing sites, (5 in Sumatra, 2 in Kalimantan and 1 in Sulawesi), with activities focusing on the development of infrastructure, tree crops, and services. In conjunction with the transmigration loan, two more are being proposed for tree crop development - a \$100 million "Nucleus Estate Phase II Project" and a \$45 million "Smallholder Estate Tree Crops Development" loan. These will also target existing settlements although "reports indicate possible new land developments" (*Environesia*, the publication of WALHI - the Indonesian Environmental Forum, September 1989).

Keeping their hands clean?

By claiming to provide funds only for the rehabilitation of existing sites, the Bank believes it can wash its hands of responsibility for those aspects of the programme - displacing indigenous landowners and clearing their forests for new sites - which most blatantly violate human rights and destroy the environment. By appearing to distance itself financially, the Bank even implies disapproval of the development of new sites. But to fund any part of the programme is to support the whole. The World Bank's funds may indeed be channelled only to existing sites, but this means government funds, otherwise tied up in improving sites, are freed for the development of new sites. And there is no doubt that the programme is going ahead full steam: the target for the current five year plan is 550,000 families or about 2,200,000 people. (The deepening debt and the fall in oil prices largely account for the lower target as compared with the 1984-89 target of 750,000 families which appears to have been achieved) The emphasis is on spending

as little as possible out of government funds, but keeping the numbers up: the government only plans to assist 180,000 families who will be sent to old-style food crop sites, while the rest will be *transmigran swakarsa*, (self-financing) and will be directed towards producing export-oriented cash crops. Transmigration Minister Lt. Gen. Soegiarto recently announced that 40,000 families would be sent to work on tree farms [*Pikiran Rakyat* 11 November 1989], while others are destined for plantations, fisheries, even industrial estates and tourism.

West Papua

Even in West Papua, where sites have failed abysmally - some families have been "re-transmigrated" to other islands - the programme is to continue. Governor Bas Suebu recently announced that people should not be easily influenced by negative comments from certain groups in foreign countries. "Transmigration is a government programme, and must be carried out." And, "Irian Jaya will continue to be a transmigrant-recipient province". (quoted in *Jakarta Post* October 2, 1989)

The human and environmental cost of transmigration is incalculable. Indigenous landowners have been pushed aside, their forests felled, their lives devastated. The transmigrants themselves have not even benefitted; a recent survey showed that 80% of sites had failed to increase their standard of living (see *TAPOL Bulletin*, No 93, June 1989). With Bank funds continuing to pour in, as more forests and forest-dwellers fall victim to transmigration, the human and environmental costs will mount.

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