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## Bishop Belo calls for a plebiscite

The head of the East Timor Catholic Church, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, has made an appeal to Peres de Cuellar, Secretary General of the UN, "to start in Timor the most normal and democratic process of decolonisation, the holding of a referendum". In a letter addressed to the Secretary General on 6 February, Bishop Belo said:

*"The decolonisation of Portuguese Timor has still not been resolved by the United Nations... The people of Timor must be allowed to express their views on their future in a plebiscite. Hitherto the people have not been consulted. Others speak in the name of the people. Indonesia says that the people of Timor have already chosen integration but the people of Timor themselves have never said this. Portugal wants to let time solve the problem. And we continue to die as a people and a nation."*

Bishop Belo has also written to Mario Soares, the President of Portugal, and to Pope John Paul II. Mario Soares, who delivered Bishop Belo's letter to the Pope during a visit to the Vatican on 8 April, said both letters, which are identical, "describe the persecution of Catholics by the Indonesian authorities and the situation in which the Timorese find themselves". [*East Timor News, Subject Memo no. 1/1989*]

For the first time since he became head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Belo has taken a clear stand on East Timor's fate. It was not till late May that Jakarta publicly acknowledged the Bishop's initiative, after the national news agency, *Antara*, reported that the letter had been published in a Portuguese journal. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas condemned it as "regrettable" while Minister-Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, Admiral Sudomo rebuked the Bishop for not expressing his views "through the proper Indonesian channels".

### The background to Belo's latest move

Bishop Belo took over as Apostolic Administrator of Dili after Mgr da Costa Lopes was forced to resign in 1983 because of Indonesia's resentment of his criticism of conditions in East Timor.

Belo accepted an invitation to attend meetings of the Indonesian Episcopal Conference but only as an observer. When decisions seemed contrary to the interests of the East Timor church, he raised this with the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta, but without result.

At the Vatican's request, Belo held a secret meeting in April 1986 with resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao to propose that they give themselves up in exchange

for safe conduct to leave the country. Xanana asked whether this offer applied to all Timorese. This led to mistrust within the resistance of the true intentions of Vatican diplomacy. Later, Xanana wrote to the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta: "If the Vatican takes (the Church's) moral support away from the people, either the Indonesian or other hand-picked priests will put an end to the remaining respect and confidence which our people have towards the Church..."

At his consecration as Titular Bishop of Lorium (Italy) in June 1988, Belo said: "Up to now the diocese of Dili has not wished to form a union with the Indonesian Episcopal Conference (KWI)". But in February 1989, the KWI chair said that this union "is just a formality seeing that Mgr Belo sends his seminarians to Flores and Java and invites teachers from these dioceses."

A Portuguese journal, *Seminario* recently accused Belo of "not being honest" about the situation in East Timor. As a church leader, "you should not be afraid however much you are threatened".

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# Human rights abuses in East Timor

*In a letter to the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta, dated 16 February 1989, Bishop Belo records the following violations of human rights:*

In Dilor-Lacluta, Carlos Mendes da Silva, 22 years old, and Luis da Cruz, 20 years old, were shot dead by troops of Battalion 726 on 31 October 1988. These shootings took place in public in the presence of 15 persons. There were eighteen bullet-wounds in each body. The Bishop said he had the names of the 15 witnesses.

Troops of the same battalion were responsible for beating up seven civilians, Araujo Fernandes, Agustinho Lo'o, Francisco Parada Martins, Luis Ximenes, Loi'Ouela, Alarico Martins and Moises Ximenes, all from Ahio village, Dilor.

The following executions were perpetrated by the military: 4 persons in Ossu, 5 persons in Lacluta, 2 persons in Viqueque, 2 persons in Gariwai-Baucau and 1 person in Luro. Local Timorese officials were warned not to say anything about these executions, on pain of losing their jobs and their lives.

Meanwhile, the following information, from clandestine sources in Indonesia, was published by Fretilin's Information Office (GIF) in Lisbon in March and April this year:

Thirteen civilians were recently executed in Gariwai-Baucau by troops of Battalion 318, during a military operation against Fretilin guerrillas. The victims were three girls, six boys and three elderly men.

Late last year, four Timorese were killed in Zumulai, a village near the border with West Timor, accused of having links with the guerrilla. The four men were Alarico Barreto, 47 years, Serpa Pinto, 28 years, Armando, 41 years, and Tomas Likoloi, 33 years.

In January this year, troops of Battalion 328, the battalion under the command of Major Prabowo, the son-in-law of President Suharto, killed twenty Timorese, accused of being in contact with the guerrillas.

## Major Prabowo's wave of arrests

Major Prabowo, thought at first to be more reasonable than other paracommandos, has earned himself a reputation for brutality which explains why his life has been threatened in pamphlets circulating in East Timor. As a result, according to *Gema Warta*, his head-



*It has become a custom for the armed forces commander to spend Lebaran, the end of Ramadhan, with the troops in East Timor, a rare public acknowledgment that Indonesian troops are there in large numbers and need special attention on the main annual festival. Here he is, surrounded by soldiers and their families in Dili on 7 May.*

quarters has been reinforced and 150 extra troops are on guard to protect his person.

But the President's son-in-law has also become embroiled in political intrigue. When he was first in East Timor in 1978, he was close to Apodeti leaders but since then they have all been ousted. Prabowo mistrusts Governor Carrascalao, a former UDT leader, because so many of his close relatives overseas are very active in Fretilin or in the UDT. He has therefore made moves to restore Apodeti members to power and reportedly held a meeting with them on 4 May at which plans to remove pro-Fretilin and pro-UDT people were discussed. This led to a wave of arrests throughout East Timor, particularly in Baucau, Viqueque, Manatuto, Same, Ainaro and Dili. •

## Pope to visit East Timor?

*Plans for the Pope to visit Indonesia and East Timor in October have led to conflicting views about the East Timor visit between Indonesia, Portugal and the Vatican and within the East Timor Church and society. As yet it is impossible to be sure that the visit will go ahead.*

When it was announced in March that Pope John Paul would visit Indonesia from 9-14 October, as part of a trip to the Far East, it was said that he would visit East Timor on 13 October, a very sacred day in the Portuguese Catholic calendar. Reports from a Church radio in Rome in March strongly suggested that the Pope had made his visit to Indonesia condi-

tional on the inclusion of a visit to East Timor. As for Suharto, he has long resented the Pope's failure to visit Indonesia, knowing that this is because of Indonesia's unlawful annexation of East Timor.

But as a Portuguese weekly, *O Jornal* commented, such a visit to East Timor "would go against all the rules of diplomacy; the Pope would enter the territory" ▶

under the auspices of the occupying power while for the UN, and for the Vatican, Portugal continues to be the legitimate administering power". [Quoted in *East Timor News Memo 1/1989*] Indeed, the armed forces newspaper in Indonesia, *Angkatan Bersenjata*, fully confirmed this when it wrote: "The visit is very positive for Indonesia because it promotes international recognition for the integration of East Timor."



East Timorese children out collecting firewood. A photo taken by Lord Rea, one of the British parliamentarians who visited East Timor in March.

### East Timorese society caught in a dilemma

Whatever the conflicts that have arisen between the Vatican, Portugal and Indonesia, it is the Timorese who face the most profound problem. Any devout Catholic community living under persecution would fervently welcome the Head of their Church, hoping not only for solace but also for support in their struggle for self-determination. Hence the Fretilin-UDT national convergence in Lisbon welcomed the visit. Fretilin external leader, Abilio Araujo, rejecting the idea that the visit would be seen as recognition of Indonesian integration, said: "He is going solely at the invitation of the Apostolic Administrator... We expect that he will give words of comfort and affection to a suffering people who have lost more than 200,000 of their own flesh and blood." [Sabado, 29 April]

Yet, according to Australian journalist Chris Crys-tello, Timorese priests have written to the Pope protesting against the visit which "would constitute a formal act of recognition of integration". They protested against the very idea of holding an open-air mass in Taci-Tolu, near Dili, where tens of thousands of Timorese were tortured and massacred by Indonesian troops while other suggested locations were turned down. Nor could they accept plans to celebrate the Mass in Indonesian and not in Tetum even though there exists a rite in Tetum recognised by the Vatican.

Bishop Belo himself, having already made clear his own views about the need for a plebiscite, faces a

dilemma, being the Vatican representative in East Timor, responsible for ensuring that the visit - if it goes ahead - is a success. His dilemma is painfully apparent in a Pastoral Letter published on 15 April which reveals the extent of opposition to the visit in East Timor:

*...the Pope will preside at a Eucharist in the only site capable of holding 100,000 people which is that of Taci Tolu. His Holiness feels he cannot return to Rome without setting foot on the soil of Timor and transmitting words of comfort, hope and spiritual and moral support to his Timorese children. It is he himself who wishes to come. He knows that his gesture is susceptible to political interpretation but he has decided to run the risk of being mis-interpreted and will come to visit THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR....*

*...Let us prepare for a veritable conversion:*


*The priests: Are we united with the Pope? Do we wish him to visit our diocese or are we indifferent? Or do we criticise his visit?*

*The religious: As 'professionals' in the faith, one cannot understand how the religious could also contribute to there being a climate of indifference and apathy amongst the faithful towards the Pope's visit to Timor.*

*The laity: If Timorese Catholics are the first to mistrust the Pope's visit, if they show themselves indifferent or questioning towards news of the papal visit, the question to ask is: are we Catholics? If we do not want this Pope to visit, what other Pope are we waiting for?... Dearly beloved faithful, an attitude of authentic faith behoves us to accept the Pope, whether or not he is to our taste.*

*My conclusion: As the Apostolic Administrator, that is, as the Pope's representative in East Timor, I have elected to say the entire truth regarding the Pope's visit. It is my duty to do this even though it may be painful.*

Statement on EAST TIMOR  
to the UN Committee of 24  
August 1988



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Occasional Reports No 9, TAPOL's submission to the 1988 meeting of the UN Decolonisation Committee, focusses on the militarised structure of the Indonesian administration in East Timor and the tight system of control which this imposes on the people.

# Portugal's terms for a parliamentary mission

*The UN-sponsored talks between Portugal and Indonesia are now bogged down over disagreements regarding the terms of a Portuguese parliamentary mission which has been invited to visit East Timor.*

If diplomacy can be compared with a game of chess, Indonesia played its opening gambit when it invited a Portuguese parliamentary mission to visit East Timor in February 1988. It took ages for Portugal to respond but it has now agreed in principle under conditions made known to the Indonesians early in May. Jakarta clearly has difficulty accepting the Portuguese proposals.

## Bypassing Indonesia

One of the conditions agreed by the Portuguese Parliament's special multi-party commission for East Timor is that the mission should travel direct to East Timor without landing on Indonesian territory. This is because the Portuguese must avoid recognising Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. Also, it should be an investigative or fact-finding mission, it should have freedom of movement and be able to meet anyone. [*Kompas* 13 May 1989]. From other sources, TAPOL has learnt that Portugal wants a number of journalists from different countries to accompany the mission as well as experts in different fields.

A meeting between the UN Secretary General, the Indonesian envoy, Nana Sutresna and his Portuguese counterpart, Fernando Reino, in New York on 9 May discussed the mission's "terms of reference, the timing and other indispensable aspects". The Indonesians are due to respond to Portugal's conditions at a meeting in New York at the end of May.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has repeatedly emphasized that the mission should be for observation, not investigation. On 11 May, *Merdeka* reported that Ali Alatas had agreed to plans for an "observation mission" from Portugal to visit East Timor, but on 13 May, *Kompas* reported from New York that the Indonesians are still studying the proposals. Then *Jakarta Post* reported on 15 May that the two coun-

tries could not find a mutually-acceptable wording about whether it would be an 'observation' or 'investigative' mission and "differed on the interpretation of the words".

After a meeting with the President, Ali Alatas said the Portuguese delegation would be allowed to go anywhere in East Timor, like recent delegations from Australia and the UK. The Ann Clwyd interview (see page 5) shows what this means in practice.

## A two-pronged strategy

The Portuguese proposals are embarrassing for Indonesia. Rejection would be a setback for Indonesian diplomacy, proving they have something to hide. So, to put Lisbon on the defensive, Ali Alatas has accused the Portuguese of behaving hypocritically, attacking Indonesia's invasion of East Timor at international gatherings while holding talks with Indonesia at the UN. While Alatas speaks as if Indonesia has agreed to accept the Portuguese mission, meaning that Portugal will be held responsible if the visit does not materialise, he has left it to Theo Sambuaga [see *TAPOL no 89, October 1988*] to reject some of Portugal's demands. Sambuaga is the MP given the task of hosting foreign missions to East Timor while parrying criticism regarding Indonesian brutalities in East Timor.

Commenting on the proposal that the mission should bypass Jakarta, Sambuaga said: "The government will surely not accept the plan. As host, Indonesia has the right to decide where our guests will go. If Indonesia accepted the plan it would be tantamount to acknowledging Portugal's rights to the province". (*Jakarta Post* 15 May 1989).

In a few weeks time, it will be Indonesia's turn to make the next move in this chess match.

No 1, February 1989

## DOWN TO EARTH

A MONITORING SERVICE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

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TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE FOR INDONESIA

It is now nearly ten years since the 'World Commission' produced its report 'Our Common Future' which called for a radical restructuring of the world economy to avert environmental catastrophe. To consider this threat, the United Nations' World Commission on Environment and Development, as it is more correctly known, addressed the concept of 'sustainable development' by which development is made to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

The Commission's intention lay in the demonstration of the intimate links between the problems of poverty, environmental degradation and the over-exploitation of natural resources, in so-called 'developing' countries, and the need for a new paradigm of development, one which recognises the importance of the protection of human rights and social justice. The proposals advanced by the Commission include:

- achieving food security for rural people, both through revising land tenure regulations and through land reform;
- encouraging local people to give their own decisive voice in formulating policies about resource development in their areas;
- protecting the rights of vulnerable social groups;
- increasing the institutional capacity of developing countries to deal with local and environmental issues and to ensure that environmental policy-making and implementation is based on the participation of protected areas.

Indonesia is a glaring example of a country where these basic pre-conditions for achieving 'sustainable development' are lacking. Rural populations are denied any voice in decision-making and the Government is pursuing an unbridled policy of uncontrolled population land 'clearance' settlements under Government supervision. Sustainable development in Indonesia has largely remained a goal where the process has led to rapid profound social disruption and to the destruction of the environment. Both in Java and on the outer islands in Java there is a rapid decrease in the fertile intensification of agriculture, encouraging the concentration of land in the hands of a few and poor survival. Many urban-based people are becoming the second and third urban, while city-dwellers are purchasing agricultural land as profitable investments.

These trends have caused a rising rate of displacement and reduced the Government's determination to press on with its 'transmigration' programme. Despite this, Indonesia has not progressed land reform, undertaken the issue of rural people and improved institutional participation in the outer islands. By increasing the numbers of 'transmigrants' (transmigrants) moving, the Government has maintained population levels in the outer islands, with the result of over-exploitation and reduced energy efficiency in the outer islands.

# DOWN TO EARTH

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# MP speaks about her East Timor visit

*Ann Clwyd, Labour Party MP for the Welsh constituency of Cynon Valley, was one of seven British parliamentarians who visited East Timor on 7-8 March. The following is an interview she gave to TAPOL shortly after her return home.*

*Q. Which officials did you meet in Dili?*

A. The first official we met was the Governor. He talked to us, or rather, at us for over an hour. I got irritated because I was hoping for a question-and-answer session so I created a diversion by walking out of the room. This was a delegation of MPs and I thought it a bit insulting to be talked at rather than having a brief introduction followed by a discussion.

Anyway, he stopped at that point. He was talking in English and very rapidly. He had said that everything was now open and we could see what we liked. So having read Amnesty's reports and your own accounts, I asked to go to Comarca Prison.

Whenever we asked about political prisoners in East Timor or Indonesia, the existence of political prisoners was always denied. They said there were categories of prisoners, but no political prisoners. I put it to the Governor that although he said that there had been economic improvements in East Timor, Indonesia was being criticised for persistent human rights violations. He said we could visit the prison and some officials went out of the room. Within two hours, we were in the prison.

*Q. Did he answer any questions about human rights?*

A. Yes. He said that violations occur. "If it is done by the military, I send a note in my own hand to the army asking for action. I send them the information I have been given, but they always deny it. I asked, for instance, to see someone who was burnt by cigarettes but they didn't send the person to me. We hear about everything that happens in East Timor. I do believe that there are some real cases of abuse and occasionally I get apologies from the army and the police." He talked about a system of parole for those in prison. He said a delegation of the Red Cross had recently visited. He sometimes gets names of people being held but usually only the Christian names, not family names, making it difficult to check.

*Q. Could you say something about your prison visit?*

A. I went to Becora Prison with Lord Rea and a Tory MP, with an interpreter from the British Embassy. We were told the prison was a minimum security prison, that none of the guards carry weapons, and that they teach skills to the prisoners. I don't know whether the guards are soldiers; they were not in uniform.

*Q. Could you tell whether the prisoners you met were Timorese?*

A. No. It was night-time when we got to the prison. A prison official told us all the prisoners were allowed home for a week at Christmas. Then we met the prison governor. I asked to meet Alexei Gutierrez. He was dressed in civilian clothes. He's a very slight man. I asked the Indonesians if they would leave us and they all went. During our conversation, an official from the British Embassy interpreted for us.

Alexei told us he had been a go-between in negotiations with Fretilin. He was tried and got a 12-year sentence which was later reduced on appeal to seven years. He told us he had been tortured on two occasions, from 24-26 October 1986, and then from 9-12



*Father Locatelli talking to British parliamentarians in Dili at the start of their visit to East Timor. Ann Clwyd is seated on his right. [Photo: Lord Rea]*

November 1987. It was when he was still in the hands of the military. After being transferred to prison, he wasn't maltreated any more. He said he'd been given a week's leave at home at Christmas. He told us that all prisoners had been moved from Comarca to Becora Prison in 1987 and that there were altogether 14 political prisoners in Becora. He'd been well treated there; it was when he was in military hands that he was badly treated. Asked if there was anything we could do, he replied that he needed clothes, food - any sort of help. He said he'd be grateful if his case could be brought to the President's attention.

Then we asked to meet Fretilin prisoners and we picked three names from the list we had from Amnesty whose names we saw on the cells. There was a courtyard in the middle with cells round the sides. Everybody was out of the cells, in the central area, and we met them there. We met three other Fretilin prisoners - Gil Fernandes, Luis Mari and Felix. Felix told us that he still supports Fretilin.

*Q. I understand you were supposed to meet Bishop Belo. Was that at your request?*

A. No, our hosts put that on the itinerary but we didn't meet him. They said he was not available. We had no idea he had written to the UN about a referendum. When we arrived at the hotel from the airport, a priest, Father Locatelli, was waiting for us.

*Q. What did he tell you?*

A. It was a very awkward conversation. We had just arrived at the hotel from the airport and we sat with him in the dining room. He spoke in English. But there was an Indonesian sitting there. The man from the Embassy got annoyed that the Indonesian had stayed there and had words with him afterwards.

*Q. I would imagine he was a security man. We hear that Hotel Turismo is crawling with security men, especially when foreigners are there.*

A. You could well be right. Anyway, the priest was obviously very uncomfortable. He didn't answer most of our questions directly but shrugged his shoulders, saying only: "Well that's how it is", and so on. We spent about half an hour with him.

*Q. So, he told you nothing although he'd taken the initiative to see you?*

A. Yes, he was obviously very uncomfortable. We talked about it afterwards amongst ourselves and agreed he was under some kind of pressure. I think he found the presence of the Indonesian too inhibiting. He wanted to meet us but the impression we had was that he had to operate within difficult surroundings, and he had to watch it.

*Q. What else happened on your first day?*

A. We had arrived late in the afternoon, then spent half an hour with the priest, then had a meeting with Carrascalao, and later went to the prison. That was all there was time for.



*Lieut-Colonel Hidayat being sworn in as district chief of Ermera at a ceremony attended by the British MPs. Hidayat was previously one of the three assistant governors appointed in East Timor last year.*

*Q. Did you meet any Timorese other than those on your official programme, apart from Carrascalao?*

A. No, we didn't meet any other Timorese at all. No-one. There was no time to go out sight-seeing or meet anyone. The next day, we went to an official ceremony where we shook hands with people. We had no idea who they were.

*Q. What was your impression of the ceremony?*

A. This was obviously a high-powered affair. We arrived half an hour early and were taken into the school-hall. There were crowds of people outside. Inside, a group of well-dressed, smart-looking women were seated who, we were told, were the wives of officials from Jakarta. Sitting across the room were much darker-skinned people who were East Timorese members of the regional council. The Governor was conducting an installation ceremony and he spoke at great length again, for about an hour. An Indonesian official later told me this was nothing. He's been known to go on talking all night.

[Lieutenant-Colonel Hidayat was being installed as bupati (head of district), replacing a Timorese, Thomas Goncalves. [*Suara Pembaruan*, 13/3/1989]

We really had no contact with ordinary Timorese. The ceremony took place, then everyone applauded politely. Then there was a receiving line and everyone politely shook hands with the Governor. Afterwards, we went into a room, and met the military commander briefly and had some refreshments. He told us there are 12,000 troops in Timor, that 60% of the personnel in the army, police and civil defence were Timorese. He said the troops are there to build roads, help the reforestation programme and build churches for Catholics.

By the time that ceremony had finished and we got back to Dili, there was no time to go anywhere else. It was almost time for us to return to Jakarta. We had earlier asked to go to the east, possibly to Baucau. Later when we returned to Jakarta, I made a point of expressing our disappointment that we had no opportunity to go there. When we asked the Governor, he said: "You don't have enough time and we anyway don't have any helicopters available to take you there." In fact, we saw five helis in Dili.

When we met Defence Minister General Murdani, I said we were very disappointed not to be able to go to the area where we were told the resistance exists. I said I saw five military helicopters on the ground but he said they weren't available for our use.

*Q. What is the value of a trip like that?*

A. It raises your consciousness about an area of the world that you might not have taken much interest in. It gives you the opportunity to learn something about the background. You feel ashamed you didn't know that between one and two hundred thousand people had recently been massacred. For me there was a feeling of sorrow that I wasn't aware of it when I was a member of the European Parliament.

*Q. Would you say the visit gave you some insight into what has been going on there?*

A. No, I'd couldn't say that about a visit of less than two days. But it had the effect of making me very keen to ask parliamentary questions and seek information about East Timor.

*Q. What would you advise others who go to Timor?*

A. Get well briefed not only by the foreign ministry but by those who know the situation, to be able to ask the right questions and see the right people.

\* \* \*

**Correction: Forced sterilisation in East Timor**

We have learnt that young women can be given anti-tetanus injections to protect babies in the first weeks of birth, many years before becoming pregnant. That families suspected forced sterilisation when all the girls and no boys were injected in Dili schools is a measure of the mistrust of Indonesian medical facilities in East Timor. [See *TAPOL Bulletin* 92, page 19]

# Chinese Opera cancelled

A Chinese Opera troupe from Taiwan which was to have performed for a week in Jakarta was prevented from appearing because of a last-minute ban by Bakin, the state intelligence coordination agency. The ban was made known to the organisers a few hours before the first performance was due to start on 18 April. One of President Suharto's sons-in-law is involved in Yayasan Tunas Bangsa, the company which organised the visit.

The ban was imposed because the performances "might harm national interests and adversely affect the government's national assimilation programme which aims to assimilate people of Chinese origin into the Indonesian populace as a whole".

All foreign cultural performances must obtain permission from a Commission for the Evaluation and Examination of Foreign Artists which is composed of Bakin, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Police Force, the Trade Department and the Information Department. According to the *Jakarta Post* [21 April], permission had already been granted but this was overruled by Bakin. The paper said obtaining permit is a long-drawn-out and expensive affair, requiring approval of several agencies and the police and no fewer than 12 pass-photos for each artist.

*Kompas* [21 April] pointed out that the ban should not have come as a surprise; for many years, Chinese script has been prohibited, and Chinese-language newspapers have been forced to close as have schools which teach the Chinese language. Even, we may add, ads in journals imported from abroad which use any Chinese script are blacked out by the censors.



*Restoring friendly relations with China has always been fraught with fear and suspicion. [Kompas, 23 April 1988]*

Various explanations have been offered for this ban which is widely seen as a slap in the face for the Taiwanese business community with investments of nearly one billion dollars in Indonesia while Yoga Sugama, the Bakin chief, is known to be the patron of the Taiwanese community in Indonesia. The most popular theory is that the ban was the work of the deputy head of Bakin, enacted while Yoga Sugama was recovering from a heart attack in hospital.

# Six more publications banned

The Attorney-General has banned Robin Osborne's book, *Indonesia's Secret War: The Guerilla Struggle in Irian Jaya*, a biography of Tan Malaka by the Dutch historian, Harry Poeze, three books about *usroh*, an Islamic movement many of whose activists have been convicted of subversion in the past few years, and a publication called *Demi Demokrasi*, published in Holland by the *Gerakan Demi Hak-Hak Azasi Manusia dan Demokrasi* (Movement for Human Rights and Democracy). Osborne's book is said to be full of "false facts" while the book about Tan Malaka "contains Marxist-Leninist-Communist ideology which could incite people, particularly the younger generation".

H.C. Princen, chair of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, has written to the Attorney-General protesting against these bans and recalling Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He said Tan Malaka was acknowledged as a Father of the Revolution. In a recent public opinion poll among students in Jogjakarta, Tan Malaka scored highly in popularity, along with the late president, Sukarno, Ayatollah Khomeiny and Arief Budiman, a social

science lecturer at Satya Wacana University in Salatiga.

*Demi Demokrasi* is the organ of a small but very vocal group of Indonesians in Europe which also publishes *Berita Tanpa Sensor* (Uncensored News). Recent issues of *Demi Demokrasi* have contained articles by Jusfiq Hadjar vigorously denouncing the Pancasila.



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# On trial for belonging to a study group

*In two trials now under way in Jogjakarta, Central Java, two young men stand accused of spreading unrest and of being in possession of Marxist-Leninist and other leftwing literature. For the first time in many years, the courts are again hounding leftwing suspects. This time, the anti-subversion law is being used against people charged with nothing more than possessing undesirable books and holding discussions.*

A university laboratory employee who was a member of a discussion group is on trial "for spreading splits, conflicts and disorder" and "storing, disseminating, reproducing and selling" books by Indonesia's internationally famous novelist and author, Pramoedya Ananta Toer.

Bambang Isti Nugroho, 29 years, was arrested on 20 June 1988, eleven days after a Jogjakarta student, Bambang Subono had been caught selling copies of Pramoedya's books outside a performance of the play, *Tahanan* (Prisoner). Bambang Subono, a political science student at Jogjakarta's Gajah Mada University, was taken to the District Military Command and found to be in possession of sixteen books by Pramoedya. Shortly afterwards, intelligence officers searched his room and found a letter from the university library reminding him to return Maxim Gorki's *Mother* in its Indonesian translation (by Pramoedya) which Bambang had lent to Bambang Isti Nugroho. As a result, Isti Nugroho was arrested as well.

At first, Isti Nugroho was held because he owned copies of Pramoedya's books but this is now a subsidiary charge, the main charge relating to his activities in the Palagan study group of which he was a member. A public prosecutor alleged a few weeks before the trial that "80 books smacking of communism" had been found in his room. To further incriminate him, it was also alleged that he had an "unclean environment" as several "blood relatives were members of the communist party or associated organisations". [*Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 28 March]

## A popular cause

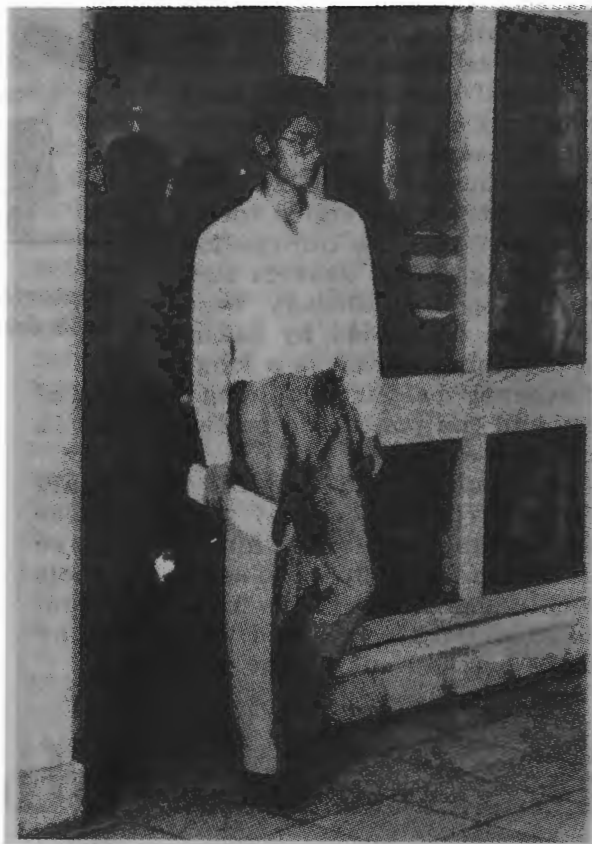
The court hearings have been attended by hundreds of students shouting their approval of everything Isti Nugroho says, causing the presiding judge to threaten several times to clear the court.

The indictment accuses Isti Nugroho of saying, at study group meetings, that "the government's development programme favours the middle class, that women in the countryside are worse off than women in the towns, that economic development has not yet reached the lower classes and that the system of government is very undemocratic".

Isti Nugroho also invited the Australian scholar, Keith Foulcher, to give a talk on 'Literature and Society' when Foulcher spoke about writers who were members of Lekra (outlawed in 1965 along with the Indonesian communist party) and described Pramoedya's novel *Gadis Pantai* as a book of high aesthetic value, "even though the accused knew full well that *Gadis Pantai* contains communist teachings and is banned in Indonesia". [*Kompas*, 26 April]

Defending himself in a demurrer at the start of the trial, Isti Nugroho agreed that he owned books by Pramoedya which he had acquired long before they were banned, and did not see why they were said to contain communist teachings. The study group he belonged to was a place for intellectual exchange and

had no political purpose. Nor was it true that he led the group; he had not completed his schooling whereas other members were university students. As for the Keith Foulcher lecture, how could he have known anything about the alleged communist content of *Gadis Pantai* since the lecture took place in 1986, long before the book was published in Indonesia?



*Bambang Isti Nugroho.*

One newspaper said the trials of the two Bambang would be of exceptional interest because, for the first time in years, "people of the extreme left" are being tried, after several years when only "people of the extreme right" have been on trial. [*Java Post*, 4 April]

## Ill-treated

When members of his family were allowed to visit Bambang Isti Nugroho for 10 minutes two days after his arrest, he appeared tired and unable to speak. They later heard he had been beaten about the face, doused with cold water and told to stand under a powerful spotlight. In September he moved to Wirogunan Prison in Jogjakarta and his case was transferred to the public prosecutor, but he was not permitted to meet his lawyers. On 30 September, his lawyer Nur Ismanto complained that the defence team had been prevented from meeting either of the two suspects. "Under the law, they have the right to be accompanied by a lawyer, during interrogation and during

court sessions."

In a move showing public sympathy for the accused, three well-known figures in Jogjakarta, Father Y.B. Mangunwijaya, the Muslim leader, Jusuf Hasyim and historian Professor Kuntowijoyo asked the public prosecutor last October to release Isti Nugroho from prison because he is the only bread-winner of the family. They undertook to guarantee his presence at court hearings. When the trial commenced, the judge rejected this request.

#### Subono's trial held amid protest

The first hearing of Bambang Subono's trial, which commenced a few days later, was almost brought to a standstill when security forces tried to prevent the distribution of a six-page brochure by a group called *Front Mahasiswa* (Student Front) which gave a chronology of Bambang's arrest and detention and condemned the procedures employed. Many students were present in court, in support of the accused.

The charges concentrated on alleged activities undertaken since 1981 to distort and undermine state ideology. Since then, he had acquired, possessed and disseminated banned communist books. In his case too, the possession and dissemination of books by Pramoe-dya was used only as a subsidiary charge.

Responding to the indictment, Bambang did not deny he had sold books by Pramoe-dya; he had done it to earn money. Like Isti Nugroho, he failed to see how these books promoted Marxism. He owned a number of left-wing books but they were for his personal use, not for dissemination. [*Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 5 May 1989]

[Additional material from *Inside Indonesia*, April 1989]

#### Kuntowijoyo warns against hasty action

Historian and lecturer at the Faculty of Letters, Gajah Mada University, Professor Kuntowijoyo, in a statement clearly reflecting on the trials of the two Bambang, has warned the government not to prosecute people who criticise it for being communists. Hasty actions by the lawcourts along these lines will only create the impression that the government is running scared and is facing a crisis. It is without foundation to say that anyone who uses class analysis is a Marxist; class analysis is also used in Islam and Christianity, he said. [*Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 29 April] •

## Human rights activists meet Dan Quayle

*Departing US ambassador, Paul Wolfowitz, talked about the need for economic 'openness' in Indonesia to be matched by more political openness. His successor, John Monjo, has promised "to place more openness in politics and respect for human rights on my agenda".*

During his visit to Indonesia in May, US Vice-President Dan Quayle discussed human rights violations on several occasions. Quayle has apparently been given the job of discussing issues which President George Bush would prefer to avoid in the Administration's dealings with other states.

Before leaving for Southeast Asia, Quayle was asked by thirty members of Congress to express concern about human rights conditions "on the militarily-occupied territory of East Timor". Although Indonesia announced that East Timor had been officially 'opened', the signatories went on, "international human rights groups have not yet received permission to travel freely.... (It) is our hope that the (Indonesian) government will permit increased access and freedom of movement throughout the territory by humanitarian organisations, and the investigation of hundreds of disappearances of East Timorese which have occurred since Indonesian's invasion and occupation of the former Portuguese colony".

"We are also concerned about human rights in Indonesia proper," the letter continued. "Although the Indonesian authorities deny it, respected human rights organisations have reported that as many as 400 persons have been detained for 'subversion', many for nothing more than exercising their right to free expression."

Although Quayle did discuss East Timor with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and President Suharto, nothing is known about the content.

#### Unprecedented

He took the unprecedented step of meeting three human rights activists, H.C Princen, chair of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, Abdul Hakim Nusantera, chair of the Indonesian Foundation of Legal Aid Institutes, and Slamet Bratanata, a



*H.C Princen, chair of the Institute for the Defense of Human Rights, visiting H.R. Dharsono, in Cipinang Prison, on Lebaran.*

member of the Petition-of-50 Group. According to the Indonesians, the initiative for the meeting came from both sides.

Princen later told foreign press representatives that he told Quayle there is no political or press freedom in Indonesia. Issues raised included the Lampung massacre, East Timor, Kedung Ombo and the plight of some 600 (not 400) political prisoners. Neither Princen nor Bratanata is allowed to travel abroad.

After the meeting, the three men said they felt encouraged by this opportunity, "the first time a high political figure from the world's most powerful nation had met with government critics in a non-communist state." They called this a turning point in US promises to be even-handed towards leftist and rightist regimes. [*Indonesian Observer*, 2 May] •

# Yap Thiam Hien dies at 75

Yap Thiam Hien, who died in Belgium on 24 March, was widely acknowledged as Indonesia's most outstanding human rights lawyer. He had just arrived in Belgium to attend a meeting of NGOs when he was taken ill and passed away a few hours later, after undergoing surgery.

Yap was well respected internationally through his active participation in the work of the International Commission of Jurists, the World Council of Churches, and as a founding member, with Adnan Buyung Nasution and Mulya Lubis, of the Regional Council for Human Rights in Asia. But it was as a consistent champion of Indonesians held in detention without trial on political charges, during the Sukarno and the Suharto regimes, that he will best be remembered. During Sukarno's Guided Democracy, he called for the release of Sutan Syahrir, Moh. Natsir, Moh. Roem and Mochtar Lubis, leaders of the Muslim party, Masyumi, and the social-democratic party, PSI, who were held for years without trial.

After General Suharto came to power, he defended a number of Suharto's victims charged with subversion: Dr Subandrio, Sukarno's first deputy prime minister and foreign minister, who was sentenced to death in 1966; Colonel Latief, one of the group of officers who plotted the kidnapping of seven generals on 1 October 1965, and several PKI defendants who were tried for alleged involvement in the October 1965 events. In the mid 1980s, he was also involved in several of the trials of Muslims following the Tanjung Priok massacre in September 1984.

In January 1974, Yap Thiam Hien was himself arrested along with many student leaders, for allegedly giving them encouragement, at the time of the student movement that culminated in the mass protest on 15 January 1974 against the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka. He was held without trial for over 11 months and was released on Christmas Eve 1974. He helped found the first Indonesian Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta and set up the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights together with H.C Princen.

## A passionate plea for justice

Within a few months of his release, Yap took on the defence of a PKI prisoner named Asep Suryaman who was sentenced to death. It was during this trial that Yap made his most outstanding contribution to the exposure of injustices that were (and still are) being perpetrated against the regime's alleged opponents.

It was at the Asep trial that the practice of questioning defendants before the prosecution had presented all its the evidence against the accused was challenged for the first time. Yap stoutly defended Asep's right to remain silent while the prosecution was still presenting its case, in line with the procedural code, rejecting the court's argument that it had long been the practice to ignore the code.

In his concluding defence statement, Yap made an impassioned plea on behalf of the political prisoners suffering in detention without trial. It was his own 11-month experience and first-hand knowledge of conditions that led him to make a rare public statement condemning a situation that had continued for nearly a decade already.

*"The tapols are treated like the dregs of society... They live a sterile life, devoid of all hope and full of*

*anxieties for their loved ones (leading) them to break down under the strain. Some have gone mad, others have committed suicide, some have tried to rebel against their predicament with horrifying consequences. 'We are like leaves, just waiting to fall to earth and become one with it,' said one tapol. 'Help us to get our freedom back, to rejoin our defenceless families.... Please, Mr Yap, now that you are free, do not forget those of us who are still in captivity.'"* [See TAPOL Bulletin, No 12, October 1975.]

But Yap was himself the target of vengeful public prosecutors. On more than one occasion, in relation to the non-political cases he defended, he was charged



for statements made in court in defence of his client's interests. Indeed, shortly before his death and despite his age, he was sentenced to a prison term for allegedly insulting someone against whom he levelled a charge of corruption during the course of court proceedings. The thought of having to serve this sentence is believed to have caused him anxiety and to have contributed to the attack which brought his life to an abrupt end, far from home and family.

## An 'old fogey'

In a tribute to Yap, Mulya Lubis, close collaborator and former chair of the LBH, said Yap always defended his clients with great courage, exposing corruption, deceit and unlawful practices without fear. "This is why Yap was often so unpopular among law enforcement agencies, including lawyers. This is perhaps

why the chair of the Central Jakarta District Court, when passing sentence on Yap, described this frail man as 'an old fogey, the older he gets, the worse he gets'. This sounds very cynical but it is also recognition that Yap vigorously upheld his conviction in the need to preserve law and justice for the dignity of humankind." [Tempo, 13 May]

### Compensation for ex-tapols!

"In my opinion, by releasing the tens of thousands of prisoners without trial - admitting in other words, that they have always been innocent - the government was not bestowing any favours on them. Rather, it was simply restoring them their rights. And it is not enough just to release them. They must be rehabilitated and paid compensation for the great harm they have suffered...."

"I myself spent eleven months in a military prison where the majority of prisoners were said to be communists or fellow travellers... Even if they were communists, is it right that they should have been arrested? Was it because they were members of lawful, recognised political parties? I can see no reason for this. On the basis of which law were they arrested, detained and held for such a very long time? I regard this as a grossly inhuman act of injustice. The people and the government in particular will have to realise that justice must be done to these people."

[From an interview of Yap Thiam Hien by Vara, the Dutch radio station, on 7 May, 1980.]

### MILITARY

# Discussing the succession

*Ever since President Suharto hinted in his autobiography that this might be his last term in office, the succession has become a topic of discussion. At first, people were a little cautious but now the papers are devoting many column inches to it.*

#### The '45 generation: different approaches

There are differences of emphasis between those who want to pave the way for the post-Suharto era. Take for example General Soemitro who was vice-commander of ABRI (the armed forces) and Kopkamtib chief in the early 1970s. This outspoken retired general, a well-known opponent of Suharto, more or less avoids discussing the rather complex and delicate matter of how to de-throne Suharto. He has plunged instead into a discussion of the post-Suharto era and the qualities the future top executive of the Indonesian Republic should possess. He wants someone who is a cross between Suharto and Sukarno who both, he argues, have good and bad qualities.

General Soemitro assumes that General Suharto will leave office in 1993. Others are not so sure, feeling that Suharto's hint was no more than a trial balloon. According to this interpretation, Suharto had raised the issue of his resignation in order to see how his opponents react and watch the political contours change and new alignments emerge. Having seen what happened to Asian dictators like Marcos and Chun Doo Hwan, Suharto will want foolproof guarantees for himself and his family before he is willing to step down. The openness with which the succession is being discussed is probably exactly what Suharto intended should happen.

Another retired general, Sayidiman, one of the few who can be regarded as an intellectual, is a frequent contributor to the debate. Like Soemitro, he is attached to a think-tank based round *Teknologi dan Strategi Militer*, a military journal which has become a rallying point for anti-Suharto officers. They seem to have agreed on a division of labour. Sayidiman has avoided talking about the succession, concentrating on ways to 'revitalise' Indonesian democracy. Sayidiman writes primarily about how to turn the DPR, the lower legislative chamber, into a more effective organ for controlling the President. Under the constitution,

the President is only accountable to the MPR, the upper house which meets once every five years. In between, the executive is all-powerful and answerable to no-one. Sayidiman also talks about ending the system of having a large number of appointees in the DPR and the MPR. He has even proposed that ABRI members should take part in elections like everyone else, no longer enjoying the privilege of a fixed number of seats in the two legislative bodies.

By suggesting that the MPR should convene more frequently, Sayidiman has opened up the prospect of Suharto being removed from office by means of impeachment.

It is also being proposed that there should be more than one candidate for the highest office. Until now, Suharto has always been elected unopposed. Another retired general, Suhardiman, made such a proposal last year when talking about the succession for the first time. Suhardiman was elbowed out of the DPR and is now a member of the toothless advisory body, the DPA, composed of grey-haired ex-politicians and



General Suharto being sworn in to serve his fifth (and last?) term as President, in March 1988.

retired generals, a high-class dump where Suharto can dispose of people he no longer needs.

It has been left to Admiral Sudomo, Minister-Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, to reflect (more or less) Suharto's views. He is reported to have told a foreign correspondent in Jakarta that it was not clear whether Suharto would stand down in 1993, but in any case it would be a couple of decades before a civilian could take over.

**The younger generation**

Not much is known about the way of thinking of the younger generals who now run ABRI. General Murdani who was ABRI commander until he was pushed aside and appointed Defence Minister at the beginning of last year, has not contributed to the discussion, except to say that the switch-over could be 'a little rough'. It is well known that most of the men in the general staff are critical of the President on several crucial issues. The role and direction of Golkar is a major source of conflict. Since 1983 Suharto has used Golkar increasingly to implement important decisions.

Nor were the ABRI generals at all happy about the way the Vice-President was chosen at last year's MPR session. They even staged a protest, fronted by Brig-General Ibrahim Saleh, who risked his career by publicly questioning the procedure at the session. This same Ibrahim Saleh was recently despatched to Central Java by his new boss, Murdani, to hold discussions with the Catholic priest, Romo Mangun about the Kedung Ombo Dam conflict, taking sides, as it were, with the victims. In so doing, he seems to have been representing the majority of generals now leading the armed forces. ABRI generals have seized upon the Kedung Ombo issue as a good opportunity to embarrass Suharto.

The way the student protests have been 'tolerated' by the military is also a sign that many in ABRI are dissatisfied with the Government's (read: Suharto's) handling of current social conflicts. But although dissatisfaction is great, none of these generals has publicly spoken about the succession. The command-

er-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, still regarded as loyal to the President, recently appealed to all sides "to restrain themselves". This can be interpreted as a sign of weakness. Political observers are already comparing Sutrisno with General Yusuf, the toothless ABRI commander in the late seventies. It is the group of young generals who graduated from the AMN military academy in 1960, 1961 and 1962 who control the fire-power and who will therefore have the decisive say for or against Suharto.

The battle of the succession is being fought out in the '45 generation - Sumitro and others versus



*Four of Indonesia's top generals. Centre right: Army chief-of-staff Lt-Gen. Edi Sudrajat, shaking hands with Lt-Gen. Adolf Sahala Rajaguguk, his deputy. Extreme left, Brig.Gen. Surjadi Sudirdja. Extreme right, Maj-Gen. Soegito.*

Suharto and others. But it is the younger generation of generals who are in a position to decide the outcome. Needless to say, no civilians have contributed (or dared to contribute) to the succession debate. Such sensitive matters are still strictly a matter for the military. •

**STUDENT PROTESTS**

# A new generation of student protest

*For almost ten years it has been relatively quiet on the student front in Indonesia. The severe measures taken by the government in early 1979 crippled student activism. But now a new generation of activists has emerged. Students are once more acting as a social, moral and political force.*

**Local, not national issues**

The 1970s Indonesian student movement dealt with off-campus, national issues. The present generation has also taken up off-campus issues but with a difference - whereas previously, student activists attacked government policies, the army or the Suharto family, present actions are focused on local issues, supporting people evicted from their land.

Student unrest became noticeable early in 1988. Although at first the protests were directed at the university authorities, by the end of 1988, students had broadened their demands. In December, Bandung students raised the Badega evictions, while in Jog-

jakarta, students celebrated Human Rights Day. Early this year the Badega issue was picked up by women activists. Then, a movement called *Gerakan Sadar Wisata* criticised the harmful effects of mass tourism in several parts of the country.

The Kedung Ombo dam (see separate item) angered students all over Java. Committees of solidarity with the victims were set up in many places and a variety of activities were organised. In Bandung students burned an effigy of the mayor, believed to be involved in the forced eviction of people in Kacapiring, to make way for a shopping mall. A similar issue in Tangerang, West Java was also taken up by students

in Bandung, Bogor and Jakarta.

Of special interest is the 'single issue' action by the *Gerakan Anti Kekerasan*, the Anti Violence Movement, condemning military violence, from the Tanjung Priok massacre in September 1984 to the Lampung massacre this year. This movement attracted thousands of students in Jogjakarta and Jakarta, comparable to the movements of ten years ago. Another single issue campaign is protest against the 25% rise in electricity prices announced in April.

Student demonstrations in the last few months have cause unease in the government. Student protest is likely to continue to play an important role in Java and may spread to the other islands.

### NKK and BKK

In 1978, the Education Minister imposed a policy called NKK, *Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus* or Normalisation of Campus Life and decreed the creation of BKK, *Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan* or Student Coordination Body. NKK muzzled the students; the student press, the only free press in the country, was banned and replaced by a press controlled by university rectors. University leaders sympathetic to student demands were dismissed and rectors were held responsible if anything went wrong on campus; the university authorities were turned into an extension of the law and order authorities. Even sporting and cultural events now needed a permit from the rector. The study duration was cut, with students having to achieve a certain number of units or face expulsion.

BKK replaced democratically-elected student councils by a senate, involving faculty as well as students and under the control of a special assistant to the rector. The risk of being a student activist was enormous. Bakin, the military intelligence, compiled black-lists of student demonstrators with serious consequences for job opportunities or the chance to continue study abroad.

In the 1970s, many student leaders were arrested and tried. Although they used the courtrooms as a political forum, they received heavy prison sentences. With the risks so high, the present student vanguard has weighed the consequences, seeking new forms of student actions, avoiding direct criticism of the government or the President. If ABRI (the armed forces) were to become the direct target, they would strike back hard. Instead, local authorities have become the target although, as everybody knows, they implement central government policies. As nothing falls from the skies, it is important to see how the present student activists have developed their political skills.



Students holding an Anti-Violence Rally outside IKIP (Teachers' College) in Rawamangun, Jakarta. Their banner reads: 'We are anti-violence'.

### The new generation

One important facet now is linking up with victimised villagers. As one Bandung student put it: "People's suffering cannot be represented unless we endure the suffering together with them". [*Kompas*, 5 April 1989]. This spirit was evident when Bandung students went on a 65-km march to meet the Badega peasants and walked long distances to support the Kedung Ombo families remaining in the flooded areas.

Regarding the spread of information, with the student councils and the free student press banned, the present generation had to start from scratch. The need to communicate brought new bodies to life. Commonly known as Student Press Bodies, they developed a nationwide network which has been instrumental in coordinating activities like the Kedung Ombo campaign. Student bulletins have become the rallying point of activists, where strategies are discussed.

Another new phenomenon is the study group. Although study groups have always existed, they have become centres of social concern. While some function at an intellectual level, most have become part of the new activism. Worsening economic conditions, the gap between the rich and the poor, have encouraged many students to join a study group. The term NATO, 'No Action, Talk Only', is used to characterise some groups but many participants have become dissatisfied with intellectual exercise. Dr. Ichlasul Amal, a lecturer at Gajah Mada University in Jogja, describes the rapid growth of the study groups as a reaction to the rigid BKK structures and a counter to traditional extra-university student organisations like HMI and GMNI for Muslim and nationalist students. Having been formally recognised by the government, these organisations dare not identify with student actions.

Several study groups have decided to study Marxism, a forbidden fruit in Indonesia. The German philosopher has been nicknamed *Oom Jenggot* or Uncle Beard. The ban on Marxism is like a boomerang. The violence against communists in 1965 happened before the present generation of students was born.

A third layer of student activists received their training outside the campus. Because of the clamp-down on independent political organisations, the 1980s became the era of the NGOs, some of which have developed projects at grassroots level. Although not revolutionary in character and often functioning as an extension of government, they have become the training ground for many young cadres from the



An enthusiastic pianist is told to calm down. "Don't play rock 'n' roll, keroncong style is more suitable!" [*Suara Pembaruan*, 15 April]

cities.

### Official reaction

Though the army has been used against the students and there have been a number of arrests, the security forces are avoiding major confrontations and most people arrested have been held for interrogation, then released. The worst incident occurred in Bandung on 12 April when troops attacked students protesting outside the mayor's office, injuring many protesters. The incident has become known as the 'Merdeka tragedy', named after the street where the incident took place.

Some retired generals and senior politicians have expressed sympathy with the student protests. More surprisingly, the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno has said that student actions reflect dynamism in a stable country and that demonstrations are permitted "as long as they remain 'mature' and do not become 'disorderly'." [Kompas, 9 April 1989] On the next day however, Brig-General Nurhadi, head of the Armed Forces Information Directorate, stressed that a 1970 ban on student rallies was still in force. The ban was issued by then commander of the security body Kopkamtib, General Sumitro who was ousted from office in 1974. Ever since, he has been critical of Suharto and now supports the students. Their actions, he said, "can restore the ethical standards of the leaders, because up till now, there are leaders who no longer listen to the voice of parliament, still less to criticisms in the press". [Suara Merdeka, 15 April 1989] The retired general said the students should distinguish between 'demonstrations' and *unjuk rasa* which means 'expressing one's feelings'. By using '*unjuk rasa*', the students have been able to sidestep the ban on 'demonstrations'.

Perhaps Admiral Sudomo was referring to Sumitro when he warned that the students were being manipulated (*ditunggangi*). Admiral Sudomo replaced Sumitro as Kopkamtib chief in 1974 and later clamped down on the 1978 student demonstrations, closed down student newspapers and shared responsibility for the NKK/BKK decrees. While Sumitro is now an ordinary citizen, Sudomo still holds office as Coordinating-Minister for Political and Security Affairs. His position on current student actions has been vacillating, one day saying the demos are 'within tolerable limits' and the next day, after meeting President Suharto, berating the students. On one occasion, speaking for Suharto, he said the rectors were 'worth zero' in leadership. Sudomo said the President wanted all the rectors to meet to discuss the problem.

The rectors were divided on whether to have this meeting. The rector of Airlangga University in Surabaya said: "If it were only to discuss student protests, it would be a waste of money". [Jakarta Post, 19 April 1989] The President's call for a meeting was even rejected by Education Minister, Fuad Hassan who said that rectors were not appointed to monitor off-campus activities. The Minister's support for a watered down NKK/BKK is backed by many university authorities; he is even said to be in favour of abandoning the measures altogether but important decisions in Indonesia are made not by Ministers but by the President. Interior Minister, retired General Rudini, has also shown sympathy for student demands. His office is frequently visited by student delegations, and is the focus of sit-ins and picketing. Like Fuad Hassan, Rudini also seems prepared to risk the fury of the President.

However, lurking behind these sympathetic noises is a move among senior armed forces generals to mar-

ginalise and eventually remove Suharto. The students could yet become pawns in an intra-regime struggle aimed at bringing Indonesia under new military leaders who will be no more sympathetic to democratic principles than the Suharto clique.

### Suharto's attitude towards the students

The President does not normally express his views in public. It is for ministers to convey the President's views after an audience at Bina Graha, the Presidential Office. Suharto first voiced anger about the student actions through Admiral Sudomo, when he held the rectors responsible for the protest. Although student actions were primarily aimed at the failure of government projects and policies, there were banners in Bandung and Kedung Ombo declaring, "*Gantung Suharto*" (Hang Suharto). The State Secretariat, which is under Suharto's supervision, is reportedly preparing to replace NKK/BKK. According to one report, the sole BKK body may be replaced by several organisations, including an elected student body. The role of lecturers and administrators will be limited to consultative status. But it is doubtful whether democratic rights will be restored on campus.

### Former student leaders speak out

Marsilam Simanjuntak, a 1966 student activist, compared the voice of the students to a loudspeaker. They function as a medium to channel social problems whose voice deafens the ears of the rulers. But they have a clear message. "We have to believe the authenticity of their movement. They have volunteered themselves to voice the message of the people". Hariman Siregar, a 1974 student leader, believes the student movement is the only institution still functioning. All other institutions are dead. Heri Akhmadi, 1978 student leader, regards the present student movement as 'more pure and genuine' than previous ones. In his day, student councils were still recognised by the authorities. The political situation today is much less favourable. "I salute them. They will have to work much harder than my generation". [Jakarta Jakarta, 9 April 1989]

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# 13 Badega peasants sentenced

Thirteen peasants tried for attempting to defend the land they have worked for forty years have been given sentences from seven to sixteen months in jail. Their crime was to pull up tea seedlings and marker stakes belonging to a private company PT SAM, licensed by the local government to establish a tea plantation on the land occupied by the peasants [see *TAPOL Bulletin* 92].

The land had been leased to a private company which collected rent from the peasants, but reverted to the state in 1980 when the lease was not renewed. The government planned to resettle victims of the Gunung Galunggung disaster on the land and establish a PIR (smallholder estate) project but through lack of funds the scheme was abandoned. Then PT SAM stepped in, acquiring the lease in 1986, although the Badega peasants had been attempting to gain government recognition of their ownership rights since 1984. Their claim, based on a regulation which states that farmers are given priority for the possession of neglected plantation land if they have worked it continuously, was rejected by the district chief.

In court the public prosecutor accused the five alleged ringleaders of inciting the peasants to oppose the authorities at least three times since 1986 and of forming an organisation. Damage to PT SAM property was estimated at Rp 153.51 million.

## Students march in support of Badega 13

Hundreds of students demonstrated outside the local assembly building, yelling "Free Badega, free Badega" as the verdict on the Badega 13 was passed in the Garut court. Some two hundred students from Bandung set off for Garut on a 63 km march in support of the peasants. By the time they reached Garut, their numbers had swelled to 400. As they approached the court, their path was blocked by a company of anti-riot troops with dogs. The students then gathered outside the local assembly and demanded to speak to the head, but were denied access to the building.



Students on their 'long march' to Badega, to express solidarity with peasants whose land has been expropriated.

When the district chief came out instead, the students expressed their dissatisfaction at the way the authorities were dealing with the Badega case and asked him to cancel the PT SAM lease and free the 13 peasants. He said that the matter was now in the hands of the National Land Board (BKN).

Attempts by a police chief to persuade the demonstrators to disperse failed. Eventually seven students met the head of the assembly. One student commented: "We're still not satisfied with his answer." The protesters still demanded the return of the Badega land to the peasants and freedom for the Badega 13.

[Source: *Kompas*, 13 March and *Editor*, March, date unknown.]

# Playing down the Sumbawa affair

*Early in March, newspaper editors received phone-calls from officials warning them not to report events on the island of Sumbawa. The Lampung massacre a few weeks earlier hit the headlines but the Sumbawa incident is still veiled in secrecy.*

## Rudini's slip of the tongue

News about Sumbawa would probably have never reached the light of day had Interior Minister, General Rudini, not revealed some of the facts. When on 22 March, journalists asked the retired general about Sumbawa, he said the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara (NTT) had "gained control of the situation in Dompu and caught 45 persons involved in the matter" [*Merdeka*, 23 March 1989]. He added that the Dompu, Sumbawa affair was related to the Lampung affair. "The two incidents teach us that village and district heads should always visit their people in rural areas to check on the conditions". [*Jakarta Post*, 23 March 1989]. These remarks were widely reported

while there were persistent rumours that 11 people had died in Dompu.

A few days later, Rudini had to eat his words. He now denied that there was any connection between the Lampung and the Sumbawa cases. In between, commander-in-chief General Try Sutrisno had rejected Rudini's account, saying that the incident in Bima (the name of the entire eastern part of Sumbawa and the capital of eastern Sumbawa) stands alone and is a local matter. If an issue is played down, it usually means something serious has happened.

## Government policies

Conflict between the population and the authorities



is nothing new in Bima. In the mid seventies a local rebellion was quelled after a conflict with the bupati (district head). The fierce, independent-minded people from Bima have always created problems for successive rulers, Macassarese, Dutch, Japanese Javanese. Since the early 1970s, the authorities in Jakarta have intensified efforts to destroy the tradition of swidden cultivation in Bima while ending traditional village control over land and turning it over to private ownership. While officials assert that swidden cultivation contributes to forest fires and slope erosion, experience in Bima shows that swidden cultivation is the only way to farm the steep, rocky slopes that constitute much of the Bima landscape. The Agriculture Department in Jakarta distributed candlenut seed to the population in 1975, with directions to plant them everywhere, hoping that it would replace swidden farming. This policy failed as there was no viable market for the new product. [See Jeffrey D. Brewer, "Traditional Land Use and Government Policy in Bima", in *The Real and Imagined Role of Culture and Development: Case Studies from Indonesia*, Michael R. Dove (ed), Honolulu, 1988.]

Dompus, the district in Bima where the difficulties have arisen, has become a major transmigration site. Since 1977 Dompus has been flooded by (local) transmigrants. Five transmigrant villages have been established in the last few years with a total population of almost 14,000. The authorities in Dompus admit that rapid population growth has created problems over land and public services. [*Kompas*, 27 March 1989]

#### The iron fist

Because of the news blackout, we cannot give a full account of the Dompus incident. General Rudini called it "an ethnic problem", usually a euphemism for a local rebellion. The population of Bima are by and large devout Muslims and not surprisingly, the alleged leaders of the revolt were local Muslim elders. A well-known religious leader, Kyai Haji A. Gani Masjkur, chair of the local Muhammadiyah branch, lecturer at the Muhammadiyah University and previously member of the local assembly (DPRD), was

arrested as one of the 'organisers'. Allegedly, Gani brought in people from outside like Fauzi (still at large) and two men called Zainal. Soon after, the two preachers, Zainal Rachman and Zainal Arifin, developed quite a following, especially the latter, due to the high-spirited sermons he gave. It is said that Zainal Arifin originates from Rawa Badak in Tanjung Priok where he was a dockworker until 1982, and "once lectured around Tanjung Priok with Amir Biki" (who was gunned down by the military during the blood-bath in September 1984).

Both Zainals are portrayed as leaders of the movement. Zainal Rachman was arrested around midnight on 17 February at the home of Abdul Majid Samad, the imam of the mosque in Toltangga. During the same raid, the military picked up Abdurrachman Ali, 40 years, a religious teacher in the same village, along with Achmad who works as a campaigner for the Family Planning Agency. 45 people were arrested and reports say there are many 'walaps' (*wajib lapor*), people required to report regularly to the authorities.

To complicate matters, Gani Masjkur is said to be the foster father of Anwar aka Warsidi, the mysterious leader of the Lampung affair. This same Anwar, now being named as Anwar Sidik, is said to have lectured in Roi village in Bolo sub-district, about the illegitimacy of the Indonesian declaration of independence because the text was not preceded by *bismillah* ('in the name of Allah, the Almighty').

Visits by top military after the rebellion was quelled indicates the seriousness of the situation. Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the NTB region (covering Bali, Lombok and East Timor), briefed 150 local officials and religious leaders in Bima. Chief-of-Staff Lieut-General Edi Sudradjat flew in from Jakarta to investigate, and Major-General Warsito, the present governor of NTB province filed a report to the government. All three generals are members of the elite para-commando unit Kopassus, specially trained for crushing revolts and rebellions.

Major-General Panjaitan hardly inspired confidence when he said: "The security situation in Bima is no worse than in other regions". As everybody knows, the political climate is not that good in many parts of Indonesia. •

## Environmentalists protest outside US embassy

A small but determined group of environmentalists demonstrated outside the US embassy in Jakarta on 2 May during the visit of Vice-President Dan Quayle. As a delegation of four people from the Group of Environment Advocates in Indonesia (Greindo) entered the embassy to deliver a letter, a dozen others suddenly unfurled banners in the street with slogans like: 'Quayle + US MNCs = Our DSR (debt-service ration); 'Quayle and Scotties No, Equal Rights Yes; and 'Dan Quayle, your Aid is our Aids'.

The embassy was heavily guarded and security officers tried to pull down the banners and stop the distribution of pamphlets, threatening to make arrests. During a tussle between police and demonstrators, one of those who was in the embassy compound ran across the road to help his colleagues and was almost caught by the police. He ran back to the compound but was chased and caught by the police, arrested and taken to police headquarters. LBH lawyers intervened and, under pressure from the demonstrators, an embassy official also intervened, asking for the man's release but without success. After intense interrogation, the activist was released

late the next night.

#### Scott Paper project condemned

In its letter to Dan Quayle, Greindo complained in particular about Scott Paper plans, with US government blessing, to set up a project in the Digul Watershed of Merauke where 36,000 indigenous people rely on sago and fish for food. With the announcement that Darwin will be used as the base for Scott's supplies, it is even more doubtful whether the project will bring any benefits to the area.

Greindo compared Scott plans with Freeport copper, gold and silver-mining activities further west which has created an industrial estate like New York City in the jungle, alienating local people and causing water pollution. Greindo also condemned US plans to increase defense aid for Indonesia and reports that a US ship recently dumped toxic waste in the Lombok Straits.

Finally it condemned the secrecy surrounding Freeport which operates behind tight security, and the fact that Scott "have not been open to us about their pre-feasibility studies and their real intentions". •

# Concessions in Kedung Ombo

The government has now made major concessions to many of the families who refused to quit the Kedung Ombo dam site after waters began to flood their homes in January this year.

According to *Tempo*, 400 hectares taken from Perhutani, the state forestry company, (according to *Kompas*, 350 hectares) has been allocated for re-settlement by 600 families. They have been promised 1,000 square metres of land each, plus additional land in a nearby location to make up the land they originally owned. This is vindication of the demand of land-for-land made by the families throughout their conflict with the authorities. They have also been promised compensation for their houses and fruit trees. [*Tempo*, 20 May and *Kompas*, 16 May]

However, this solution does not resolve the problem of the other 800 families still in the area. About 360 of these families who, under pressure, took the very meagre government compensation money but refused to quit the area, as well as another 400 or so families who apparently owned no land, have been excluded from getting any of the Perhutani land. As one of these peasants said, "The money we received is not enough to purchase land in this area". [*Tempo*, 20 May] There is a danger that the concession could split the unity between the 1,400 families who remained in the area despite intense pressure from the authorities.

## Resistance and solidarity

The Kedung Ombo campaign is the first to have forced the military regime to make what appears to be major concessions in the face of resistance by the victims and a solidarity movement both at home and abroad. At home, students from many parts organised protests, while the initiative by the Catholic priest, Romo Mangun, to assist the children of Kedung Ombo did more than anything to shame the military authorities into making concessions. It has now become clear that the government, embarrassed by the conflict and under pressure from the World Bank, was forced to accept the fact that transmigration was not an acceptable option for the families.

Following the open letter to the World Bank signed by a number of organisations including TAPOL (see *Occasional Reports no. 10*), others made protests. Réseau Solidarité (France) and APPEN and Third World Network (Malaysia) launched urgent actions while INDOC (Holland), ILSA (Colombia), the Canada Asia Working group, INGI, Trocaire (Ireland) and the South East Asia Information Centre in West Germany sent protests to the World Bank.

World Bank acknowledgement that the single solution offered by the authorities, transmigration, could not solve the problem and that it had persuaded the government to offer other solutions, was explained in a Note from the Bank, prepared late March 1989:

*Regardless of the benefits of transmigration it is now accepted that many families, or parts of families, will wish to stay in those parts of their home villages which will not be inundated or in other villages in the vicinity of the reservoir. The Government, with World Bank cooperation, is making revised plans to provide these families with opportunities for livelihood, to the maximum degree possible, whilst ensuring protection*



*New modes of transport in Kedung Ombo. Once a road connected Sadang and Ngrakum, now the distance can only be covered by a bamboo or banana-trunk raft.*

*of the watershed for the reservoir.*

[Background Note on "The Kedung Ombo Multipurpose Dam and Irrigation Project, World Bank"]

Hence, both the Government and the Bank recognised the rights of the resisters to remain in the area. In place of the original 22 villages there are now six 'islands' (hills surrounded by water) where people from Kemusu sub-district have sought refuge. The combination of resistance and solidarity forced the Government to accept that the majority of resisters were determined to stay. These temporary locations have become makeshift villages; the villagers tore down their old homes and carried them to the new locations some of which now have names. Recently, Ngrakum villagers, now living in Ngrakum Baru (New Ngrakum) gave a ketoprak (traditional musical drama) performance, reflecting their determination to make the place their new home.

In answer to TAPOL on 16 March, the World Bank showed a willingness to find other solutions:

*In view of the apparent reticence of many households to transmigrate at this stage, and the limited availability of alternative agricultural land in the area, it is necessary that all possible means of non-farming income-earning potential are investigated and made accessible to the area population. The issue is consequently broader than compensation per se. As indicated earlier, the Bank is currently reviewing with Government what income earning possibilities can be made available to these families.*

Although there seems to be a growing willingness among decision-makers in Jakarta to give in to the just demands of the Kedung Ombo people, obstacles could still lie ahead, not least because of the position of the major decision-maker, President Suharto.

**The Mrica speech**

In a hard-hitting speech on 23 March 1989, when opening the Mrica dam, Suharto revealed his attitude towards the 'recalcitrant' villagers. "I know this Kedung Ombo area because I was divisional commander of Central Java and regimental commander in Solo and know this region to have been a base for the PKI". A few years back, such a speech from the President would have been enough to lead to tough action in Kedung Ombo. This time Suharto's speech fell on deaf ears, and even worked like a boomerang. Two days after the speech Lieut-General Saiful Sulun, Deputy Chair of the DPR criticised the provincial administration of Central Java, blaming officials for lack of information and for taking the wrong approach towards the villagers. This former commander of East Java praised efforts by Romo Mangun and others to administer spiritual and material aid to the many children still living in the area. [See TAPOL No 92] General Murdani, now Minister of Defence and formerly close to Suharto, also showed his hand. Brig. General Ibrahim Saleh was sent to Central Java to investigate the situation in Kedung Ombo. He met Romo Mangun and later expressed admiration for his noble efforts. Sources in Jakarta state that virtually the entire general staff are dissatisfied with the way the government is handling matters and pressure is growing for a change in the attitudes of civilian and military administrators. Even Colonel Hasbi, the notorious bupati of Boyolali has begun to mellow. Though he too used the PKI spectre against the



Going from Sadang to Ngrakum. There are few rafts so those who cannot wait, swim across with the help of a banana trunk.

villagers, now, under pressure from army headquarters, he invited Romo Mangun for talks and says he wants to open dialogue with the victims.

**Governor Ismail, palace mouthpiece**

One of the main actors in the tragedy is Lieut-General Ismail. Since becoming governor in 1983 he has often behaved like an oriental despot, banning pop concerts, forcing civil servants to wear Javanese lurik and forbidding officials from using Javanese gentry titles. Like Suharto, making money is left to others in the family. His second son, Ganang Ismail is one of Indonesia's major entrepreneurs, in the contractor business and real estate. He was the major contractor in the Kedung Ombo dam. It is a matter of prestige for the Ismail family to make a 'success' out of the dam.

Strong pressure from army headquarters trapped Ismail in between loyalty towards the President and loyalty as part of the extended ABRI family. His counterpart, Major-General Wismoyo Arismunandar, commander of Central Java, has shown little interest, making no strong statements against the villagers or the students in solidarity with the Kedung Ombo victims. Although a cousin of Mrs Tien Suharto, he is known to disapprove of the way the matter has been handled and is following the more lenient guidelines of army headquarters. He was known to be reluctant to provide troops for the military checkpoints which now seal off the area. Wismoyo and other officers don't feel the need to seclude the Kedung Ombo resistors from the outside world.

**Jer Basuki mawa bea**

Time and again this Javanese proverb is quoted as the philosophy for Development. The President has stressed this in the Kedung Ombo case. According to Suharto and other developmentalists, it means, "In order to achieve a high ideal, one has to make sacrifices", or, *some people* have to make sacrifices. Defenders of the Kedung Ombo victims like Romo Mangun and Arief Budiman of Satya Wacana University reject this kind of thinking. "Why", they argue, "is it

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Occasional Reports no. 10 contains the Open Letter to the World Bank and the full correspondence between Tapol and the World Bank

always the *orang kecil* (the common people) who must be sacrificed for the sake of development?" On the contrary, Romo Mangun argues, a project can only fulfil just criteria if the authorities include the population into the whole process of negotiation, the impact of the project, alternatives and proper compensation. This process costs time and delays the project, Romo Mangun argues, but it is the only way to proceed. Involuntary sacrifice, or *tumbal* in Javanese, was a custom in the old barbaric days when even human lives were sacrificed. Following the arrival of Christianity and Islam, this *tumbal* tradition

was replaced by the more humane *kurban* tradition which embodies a strong element of *sukarela* or voluntariness in contrast to *tumbal* which focuses strongly on compulsion. If the World Bank's criteria for safeguards regarding the social implications of development projects are to be properly implemented, Romo Mangun's philosophy should be taken on board.



The village of Kedung Pring has been totally submerged, so now the villagers have settled into a new Kedung Pring where life goes on. This is reported to be one of the locations where the resister-families will now be allowed to settle.

## TAPOL asks IGGI to support human rights

In a letter to the President-Director of the World Bank and the Foreign Ministers of all IGGI countries on the occasion of the 1989 meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia on 13-14 June, TAPOL said the decision to allot land in the vicinity of the dam to the 600 Kedung Ombo families which refused to take any compensation money was final recognition of the justice of their demands. However, those who decided, under pressure, to collect the compensation but remained in the dam area because the money was inadequate to purchase land in the area, are excluded as are the families who owned no land and refused to move from the dam area.

"It is not enough to respond to the demands of only 600 families. The needs of all 1,400 families remaining in the dam area must be dealt with as a whole; only when *all* families have been adequately compensated, can the dispute over compensation and resettlement at Kedung Ombo be considered resolved."

### A high-risk economy

IGGI members fail to enforce criteria that safeguard the interests those whose land is seized to make way for projects, said TAPOL. Those who promote such development "claim that they are essential for the healthy growth of the Indonesian economy but the contrary is now happening. According to the World Bank's 1989 Report on Indonesia, the social costs of this development are rising unemployment and lower earnings in real terms. Indonesia's foreign debt

stands at \$47.6 billion, and is projected to rise to \$53.3 billion by the end of next year. Indonesia is now the world's fourth largest debtor nation, after Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. Moreover, according to the Comparative Country Risk Study published by Political and Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd, of all countries in Asia, Indonesia is most severely criticised by potential investors because of the pervasive red-tape, corruption, bureaucracy, cartelisation of business and the impact of government policies."

"Governments and world financial institutions which agree year after year to pour yet more money into the Indonesian economy should realise that these policies solve nothing. Not only do ordinary people like the Kedung Ombo victims suffer the consequences; the Indonesian people as a whole are being dragged deeper and deeper into the morass of debt and gradual impoverishment.

### Support human rights, not top-down development

"The Kedung Ombo tragedy calls this whole policy into question. Countries who until now have financially assisted Indonesia in pursuit of top-down development should call a halt to this support and turn their attention instead to the human rights abuses - in particular, unlawful land expropriation and compulsory uprooting of whole populations - that follow in the wake of such policies."

# 'Illegal' miners imprisoned

Twenty-eight gold-miners, found guilty of possessing electric generators and mining equipment, are serving sentences of between three and seven months in Muara Teweh jail, North Barito. They were among the dozens of 'illegal' miners arrested during a government clamp-down on miners operating in a foreign joint-venture mining concession between December 1988 and February 1989. Hundreds of homes and mines were destroyed by a team sent to clear a gold-rich concession held by PT IMK in the North Barito district of Central Kalimantan. Local police chief Sitompul feared that if the company's US, Australian and New Zealand share-holders got to hear about the 'illegal' miners, Indonesia's reputation among foreign investors would suffer. The miners were arrested, he said "for the good name of the nation". [*Kompas* 17/2/-89]

The government has pledged to protect traditional miners - local residents who do not use sophisticated equipment - yet *Kompas* described those arrested as "traditional gold prospectors" and, according to the local police chief, all are local residents.

The evicted miners are not giving in without a fight. Three miners representing 15,000 traditional miners, forcibly evicted from the PT IMK concession over the past year, took their complaints to Golkar in Jakarta last month. They challenged the North Barito district chief's instruction ordering miners to leave the area, claiming that in the contract signed by PT IMK and the government, the company was responsible for compensating the traditional miners. They also pressed for replacement land, outside the concession, to continue their mining activities as they had no other means of support.

According to vice-governor Victor Phaing, there are an estimated 4,000 'illegal' gold-miners in Central Kalimantan (this figure must then exclude the 15,000 traditional miners represented by the miners who went to Jakarta). He claimed that a 1987 Home Affairs Ministry directive issued to governors of gold-rush



*A family of 'illegal' gold-miners' in Central Kalimantan, driven from their traditional land in a concession area, have re-settled in Ampalit to continue their activities. Even small children seem to be involved. [Jakarta Post, 2 August 1988]*

areas to rid their provinces of 'illegal' miners by July 1, 1988 had reduced the number from 20,000. Many 'illegal miners' come from outside areas, hoping that gold will alleviate their poverty. They include transmigrants who cannot produce enough to feed themselves from the land they have been allocated. The government is hungry too - for foreign exchange to service its ever-increasing debt, and multinationals have been welcomed with open arms. Many traditional miners, including indigenous groups, find that areas they have been mining for decades are now out of bounds. These people do not trouble the consciences of the companies, still less when they are classified as 'illegal' by the government.

The government has promised to set up 'peoples' mining areas' but only 9 hectares have been prepared in Central Kalimantan so far. The foreign investors in the province want 'illegal miners' cleared off the land and the promise of exclusive rights fulfilled. •

## Lampung: 14 tried for subversion

Fourteen people are due to appear at Bandar Lampung district court on charges of subversion for alleged complicity in the Lampung revolt of February this year. On 7 February, armed troops attacked and destroyed the village of Talangsari III, killing dozens of people. [See *TAPOL Bulletin No. 92*]

The names of the accused have been made public but the *Merdeka* report [31 March] gives only thirteen names. These are described as the 'leading figures' (*pelaku utama*). They are to be tried individually or in groups and will appear as both defendants and witnesses. This is reminiscent of the many trials in the wake of the Tanjung Priok massacre in September when people were required to testify against each other and to appear in a number of different trials.

The public prosecution office in Bandar Lampung has also announced that 'dozens of people' will be tried on ordinary criminal charges in connection with the Lampung incident. A figure of 'about fifty' was mentioned casually. They are all under detention.

There is yet another category of detainees, an unspecified number of people described as 'ordinary' or 'innocent participants' (*ikut-ikutan*) who are not allowed to go home but are being detained at the Social Affairs Department in Lampung. This is a new form of detention not evident before. It suggests that the area of revolt is still very volatile, hence the need to prevent suspected sympathisers from returning. •

# Sakai tribal people arrested

The elected head of Kandis village, a government resettlement site in Riau, was arrested on February 26, along with his village secretary, Syufri Nasution and charged with unlawfully issuing instructions permitting the sale of land and passing an anti-government resolution. A police and military team trapped the two men by inviting them to a meeting at another villager's house, where they were waiting to arrest them. Two other villagers sought by the team evaded arrest. Kani and Syufri were then taken to the Mandau sub-district capital of Duri.

## The background: resettling tribal people

426 Sakai were resettled in Kandis by the Department of Social Affairs in 1981 as part of a scheme to "develop" Sakai and other tribal groups practising shifting agriculture in the area. This is in line with central government's Java-centric policy to sedentarize all shifting agriculturalists and hunter-gatherer groups and teach them to become "civilised Indonesians". The resettled "ex-alienated people" live and work as sedentary farmers on two-hectare plots, in government resettlement sites in easy reach of agents of government monitoring and control. Traditional shifting cultivators who have exploited forest resources on a sustainable basis for centuries are not profitable for the government; their agricultural system is therefore maligned; they are resettled and "developed" by the Department of Social Affairs, while their land is parcelled off to mining, forestry and plantation concessionaires. The original Sakai territory is located in a concession held by Caltex.

The dispute at Kandis began last year when a local government official demanded Kani's resignation as village head on the grounds that he was too old, often sick and illiterate. In February a public meeting was

held to organise a selection board. In December however, officials from Pekanbaru announced that Kani had resigned and installed Kana G., former village secretary, as the new village head. Kani claims he was tricked into signing the letter of resignation.

The Sakai villagers rejected the government intervention and thumb-printed a letter of protest to the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Social Affairs, the Riau Governor and the Riau Assembly saying that unless Kani was immediately reinstated as village head, they would return to the jungle to resume their former way of life. When it became clear that their demands would not be met, the majority sold their homes and land and returned to the forest. It was at this stage that the authorities intervened by sending in an "investigative" team. While the sub-district head claimed Kani had been removed because he was selling off land allotted to the Sakai, *Merdeka* reported [2/3/89] that poverty had forced them to sell up and the failure of the resettlement project had prompted them to return to their former way of life.

Governor Soeripto, blamed the dispute on outsiders who he claimed were manipulating the Sakai and "taking advantage of Kani's ignorance" to acquire land in the village. [*Suara Karya* 20/3/89] But according to a report in *Panji Masyarakat* [1-10 April 1989], "certain parties" sought to seize the village headship in order to benefit from the future settlement of a compensation claim of Rp 78 million to be paid to Kandis by PT Ivoman, an oil palm plantation company.

Meanwhile, several Sakai villagers have sought legal aid at the Pekanbaru Legal Aid Institute (LBH). According to LBH lawyer A.B.Purba, the arrest and detention of Kani and Syufri clearly transgresses the criminal procedural code. •

## TRANSMIGRATION

# 80 per cent of sites fail

A survey by a French consultant which found that 80% of transmigration sites had failed to improve the standard of living of transmigrants prompted Transmigration Minister, Lieut-General Soegiarto to argue that the findings were based only on the economic aspect whereas political, socio-cultural, national defence and security aspects must also be taken into account. [*Kompas* 6 May 1989 and *Merdeka* 3 May 1989]

He told the press bluntly: "Newly opened transmigration areas are not always fertile". He criticized the failure of village cooperatives (KUD) to meet the needs of transmigrants and admitted that the scheme to extend credit to transmigrants could not yet be introduced because banks had difficulty deciding the form and size of security required.

Despite major cash injections from the World Bank, the FAO and others, transmigration is chronically short of funds. One indication is the sorry state of access roads - less than a fifth of funds needed to repair roads and bridges was available in 1988/1989. Transmigrants often find themselves stranded in

isolated resettlement sites with no access to markets. Many are forced to abandon agriculture and join the throngs of "illegal" loggers or gold-miners, or drift to the nearest urban centre to search for work.

Transmigrants have been abandoning the new style PIR (nucleus estate/smallholder) projects too. One case given press coverage recently involved hundreds of transmigrants from two sites in Pasir regency, East Kalimantan, who left to find work elsewhere because the wages at the plantation were not enough to live on. Minister Soegiarto admitted the first he knew about this case was what he read in the press.

He urged transmigration site heads to be more sensitive to difficulties faced by transmigrants, but deplored the dependency of transmigrants on government support. Suggesting that the present way of "developing" transmigrants by "only giving" needed rethinking, he exhorted transmigrants to overcome every problem that arises, like non-transmigrants. [*Merdeka* 27 March 1989] •

# Arrests and trials in Jayapura

Further details of the flag-raising incident of December 14, 1988 in West Papua [see *TAPOL Bulletin 92*] have emerged in a document received from church sources in Irian Jaya. The incident took place at Mandala Square, Jayapura and those arrested include a vicar from the Pentecostal Church. The document states that Dr. Tom Wanggai, together with his wife and daughter plus 70-100 Irianese - male and female - consisting of government employees, youths, school-pupils, students, fishermen, farmers representing all sections of Irianese society made a political declaration of the Irianese people for the freedom and independence to manage their own affairs without the interference of outsiders, or for independence for their country.

After this declaration they were attacked by Indonesian troops. At the time of this attack, they did not show the least fear, they stood calmly and waited for whatever the troops were going to do. They were forced to strip to their underwear, then beaten and kicked repeatedly; inevitably the majority of them were wounded.

When the report was made [early 1989], some 26 West Papuans were still being held in police custody. They included Dr Tom Wainggai, his wife and daughter; Watopa, a primary school teacher; Roby Fonataba, Yustus Manori; Mrs. H. Suabra-Arwam; Anton Animan; Lamberthus Pouw; Mrs. Herman Rewan, Rev. Wamea (from the Pentecostal Church).

*The Times of PNG* published the names of six of those arrested at the time of the incident who were due to be tried in early February before the Jayapura district court on charges of inciting a riot: Dan Istry, T. Wamera, Yang Ionatapa, Jerry Marany, Martinus Marany and Roby Fonataba. A further seven were to appear before the court the following week. According to reports from Vanimo cited in the *Times* account, the remaining 53 detainees were released. [*The Times of PNG* January 26-February 1, 1989]

There has still been no word of the incident in the Indonesian press.

## Church under pressure in Irian Jaya

It appears that the main Protestant church in Irian Jaya, *Gereja Kristen Injili (GKI)*, is becoming increasingly concerned about the human rights situation in the territory. Efforts by the Legal Aid Institute to set up a branch in Jayapura were unsuccessful and information about arrests and detention is extremely sparse.

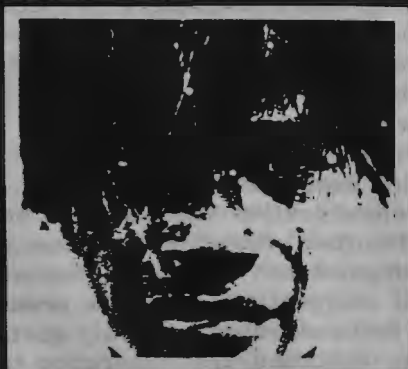
However, the GKI itself is likely to be wary about maintaining contact with outside bodies; when the 11th General Assembly of its Synod was held last July in Nabire, representatives at the Synod from churches overseas which have relations with the GKI - coming from Holland, Switzerland, West Germany, Japan, Australia and the US - were all expelled by the police.

## The death of Gustaf Tanawani

The tragedy of West Papuan political prisoners is highlighted by news that a West Papuan died in prison in East Java in January this year. Gustaf Tanawani had been in Madiun Prison, East Java, too far from home to receive visits from his family. After his death on 8 January 1989, his family received formal notification but were told nothing about the cause of death. They received no autopsy report or death certificate.

Gustaf, along with his brother Agus, were among a group of West Papuans arrested in 1982 in Serui, accused of engaging in anti-government activity. They were protesting against the Yapen Waropen district government policy of expropriating people's land with no consideration for their traditional rights. They were tried in Serui and sentenced to 4-7 years. After a year in Abepura jail they were transferred to Kalisosok prison in Surabaya. Gustaf Tanawani was then moved to Madiun where he fell ill and died. •

## West Papua: The Obliteration of a People



*tapol*

## West Papua: The Obliteration of a People

Published by: *Tapol, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign*

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

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

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

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Price: £3.50, plus postage  
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# POISONED ARROWS

## An Investigative Journey through Indonesia

George Monbiot

Michael Joseph £14.95 hardback 16pp b&w photos

The sub-title of this book, "An Investigative Journey Through Indonesia", is misleading. It is not Indonesia George Monbiot and photographer Adrian Arbib went to investigate, but West Papua. And West Papua is not Indonesia. If you have any doubts about that, this book will dispel them. There are already several good books which show how Indonesia, with the tacit approval of western governments, is destroying West Papua and its people. But these are based largely on the erratic flow of information coming out of the country under very difficult circumstances. No-one else has been there with the specific aim of bringing back first-hand accounts of how transmigration, logging, military occupation and general 'Indonesianization' are affecting West Papua. George Monbiot has done us a valuable service by making the effort, and what he reports is at least as alarming as anything I have heard so far.

### Taking risks

And it certainly was a tremendous effort. Indonesia has a lot to hide in West Papua, and the authorities allow visitors to see only a handful of places there. George and Adrian had to impersonate development consultants to reach transmigration sites in West Papua; they had to bluff their way past local policemen demanding to see their non-existent travel passes; and they even stole a sheet of headed note-paper from a top official in Jakarta and faked their own general travel pass. They took a considerable risk in doing this. In some of the more remote areas with trigger-happy army garrisons, they might have been killed had they been found out. No-one undertaking such a journey in Indonesia should forget that six journalists were deliberately killed by Indonesian troops in East Timor in 1975.

Then the terrain proved almost as big an obstacle to their investigation. Covered in tropical rainforest, and divided by a huge mountain range gouged out by impossibly fast rivers, West Papua is one of the most inhospitable places in earth. The West Papuans have adapted themselves well to this environment, but for George and Adrian, an epic journey from the mountains of the Baliem Valley to the swamps of the Asmat, starved of nutritious food and plagued by tropical sores, was almost unendurable. Anyone who has been to West Papua will understand that they were not exaggerating.

### Refugees and the OPM

But the discomfort of their travels didn't stop them trying to answer every question about conditions in West Papua that occurred to them. They managed to reach Mindiptanah, and confirmed that the threat of army operations and incoming transmigrants has indeed driven thousands of refugees over the border into Papua New Guinea, though there was a lot of fear stoked up by OPM guerillas as well. Not content with what they discovered in Mindiptanah, George and Adrian took the risk of trying to contact the OPM in Jayapura, always watched by military officials. They paint a depressing picture of the independence movement which, from their discussions with dozens of people, is evidently still looked to by most West



Logs being loaded onto a ship for export, at Ats, Merauke, West Papua. [Photo: Adrian Arbib]

Papuans as their main hope for independence from Indonesian rule. To find out how West Papuans live free of the oppressive presence of the Indonesians, George and Adrian left the soulless oil town of Sorong, and followed a local man on a riotous jog through the forest to see his sago patch, in an idyllic setting which made a painful contrast with the Indonesianized towns. Indeed, in this book everything West Papuan the Indonesians touch seems to be destroyed, as is so often the case when outsiders occupy a country they have little respect for and wish merely to exploit for whatever riches it will produce. And yet the riches are illusory, as George and Adrian discover when they see the transmigration sites near Merauke. Several days away from the nearest town, the transmigrants are starving, their crops washed away, dried out or consumed by a climate they don't understand. For, as George notes in the book, just about the only thing that will grow in rainforest soils in rainforest, something the West Papuans probably discovered several thousand years ago. But this isn't stopping Indonesia from plundering the timber of the Asmat forests, callously wiping out a fragile society as they go. George Monbiot writes that he set out doubting the terrible reports from human rights groups of what's happening in West Papua, only to discover that it is worse than he'd heard.

This is a readable book, combining the necessarily grim subject matter with a light-hearted account of the journey itself. On one memorable occasion, George is convinced he has been fatally stung by native wasps, and runs panicking into the nearest village babbling - only mixing up his Indonesian nouns - that he's been attacked by a swarm of watermelons. He is also affable and affectionate towards his subjects in the book, Indonesians and West Papuans, and he is commendably open-minded, bringing greater power to his conclusions by starting his trip without an expert's knowledge of Indonesia. This is by no means a comprehensive account of the situation in West Papua. It is as much a travel book as an expose of human rights violations. As such though, it will entertain you, it will sadden you, but most of all, it will make you feel very angry.

Jeremy Smithers



# Call for Suharto award to be rescinded

On June 8, 1989 President Suharto will collect a UN Population Award in recognition of his "important work and international influence in population". Having already won the Population Institute's 'Global Statesman' award in population last year, Suharto's aim is to be seen as a world hero of development.

Suharto's population activities have been important in more ways than one. Between half a million and one million people were killed when Suharto came to power in 1965; nobody has been punished and there have been no inquiries. Since the invasion of East Timor in 1975, his armed forces have obliterated almost a third of the population. West Papuans opposing the Indonesian colonization have been slaughtered. Now there are plans to repopulate rebellious areas with Javanese transmigrants, outnumbering indigenous Papuans by four to one.

Birth control complements these atrocities by reducing even further the already depopulated areas of resistance. Birth control is therefore a tool of territorial control.

A prestigious reputation in population assures Suharto aid from foreign donors (some of whom make aid conditional on birth control successes). This is a major incentive for the President. It follows that the women on whom his reputation depends (for there is very little male contraception), must also be given incentives. Where there are incentives there is little room for genuine choice.

## Injectables and implants

More sinister is the practice of sterilizing women, temporarily and permanently without their knowledge or consent. Depo-provera, banned in the US and used only in exceptional circumstances in Europe, is used increasingly in Indonesia. According to the World Bank (who support Indonesia's family planning programme), 20% of acceptors now use Depo-provera.

The side-effects of recently developed contraceptive implants are even less predictable than those of the injectables. Yet half the world production of implants is used by Indonesia. [*Jakarta Post* 11/3/89] Contraceptive methods which take little time to administer are favoured in Indonesia because more women can be

handled more cheaply and - unlike the pill or condom - sustained contraception is assured.

In West Papua, medical personnel believe that injectables are preferable to the pill, a view frankly expressed by Dr Boyke Dian Nugraha, an obstetrician and member of a research team investigating conditions of the Asmat people. [*Suara Karya*, 12/1/1989]

## Territorial Control, East Timor

The UN condemns Indonesia's unlawful occupation of East Timor yet rewards the man responsible with a population prize. Birth control in East Timor is like rubbing salt in the wounds of East Timorese so many of whom have died at the hands of Suharto's military. They wish to rebuild their population, not limit it.

As a predominantly Catholic people the East Timorese are also opposed to contraception on religious grounds. In his Pastoral Letter on Responsible Parenthood, issued in Dili on 3 March 1985, the Bishop of Dili rejected family planning government-style because it "consists simply of distributing pills to ignorant people or giving injections to unaware women with the intention to "conquer the largest number possible of people" and because it "does not have the minimal consideration for the doctrines of the Catholic Church".

There is a remarkable disparity in the number of women using injectable contraceptives. In Indonesia, 29.1% of new acceptors were using injectables; in East Timor - a higher percentage than any Indonesian province - the figure is 64.4%. The advantages of Depo-provera are translated into disadvantages for the East Timorese. Popular and religious resistance to state-sponsored family planning leads the officials to tap the potential for deception offered by the drug. An IUD insertion is not easily mistaken for anything unrelated to reproduction, but the purpose of an injection is less easy to tell.

TAPOL has protested to Xavier Peres de Cuellar, UN Secretary General, Dr Mario Paya-Palencia, UN Population Award Committee Chair and Dr Nafis Sudik UN Population Fund Director, about the population award to Suharto and has called for the decision to be rescinded.

## Asmat - show-piece of the government?

As part of a publicity campaign to counteract foreign criticism of Indonesian tribal policies, the Asmat Progress and Development Foundation, headed by House Speaker Kharis Suhud, has organised an exhibition of Asmat culture, touring the UK, the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria this June. A glossy information leaflet on the Foundation's work with the Asmat only reconfirms what has been long understood: that Indonesia's tribal policies in West Papua are inherently racist. Describing the "social conditions" of the Asmat, the leaflet states: "The Asmat community sociologically can be classified as a primitive tribe, being backwards of all aspects of human life" and that their "ignorance of hygiene and nutrition" results in "a lack of mental alertness and concentration, and reduced intelligence".

An outline of the Foundation's future activities in Jakarta including "attending to the marketing of Asmat products" and "organising tours to the Asmat area" reveals the true motive behind the "development" of the Asmat: profit. The Asmat are regarded as another means of earning foreign exchange whose potential needs to be exploited to the full.

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