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British Campaign for the Defence

of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia

TAPOL Bulletin No. 61

January 1984

New arrests in West Papua Paracommandos in Charge

There has been a sharp increase in the number of political arrests in West Papua in the past few months. The new wave of repression appears to be partly the results of activities by paracommando — Kopassandha — troops who now reinforce troops of the Irian Jaya XVIIth Divisional Command in their intelligence and repressive activities, performing a role similar to the one they perform in East Timor. The arrests are also related to a new upsurge in attacks on military posts by Free Papua Movement (OPM) guerrillas in many parts of the country. The military appear to be determined to discover and smash the links that must certainly exist between the OPM and Papuans living in the urban centres.

Kopassandha intelligence units are now operating from a building formerly known as the Panorama Bar in Batu Putih district, Polimak, Jayapura. At the end of December 1983, at least twenty persons were known to be in detention at this building.

Museum curator arrested

The curator of the Anthropology Museum at Abepura, **Arnold C. Ap** was arrested by Kopassandha on 30 November. He was taken from his home early in the morning by troops not in uniform who arrived in a vehicle not bearing a military number-plate. He was driven straight to the Panorama building. For several weeks afterwards, friends and family were unable to make contact with him. In December, the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute cabled the military commander of Irian Jaya protesting that it was illegal for a detainee not to be allowed to inform his family of his whereabouts. The LBH said that the detainee should be properly charged and tried if there was any case against him; if not, he should be released immediately. (*Sinar Harapan*, 16 December, 1983.)

Arnold Ap (38 years) is well known to students of the Cendrawasih University under whose direction the museum is run. He is also an announcer at Jayapura radio and co-ordinator of a popular Mambesak folk song and dance group that is endeavouring to keep Papuan cultural activities alive. Some contacts suggest that the military object to these cultural activities, yet find themselves in a dilemma because they themselves occasionally use traditional Papuan dance and music to lure guerrillas from the bush.

Arnold Ap was arrested and held for questioning for several days about a year ago; he was accused on that occasion of having

instigated the students who unfurled a Papuan flag in Jayapura on 1 July 1982. Nothing was proven and he was released; the students were brought to trial and sentenced to several years' imprisonment.

Provincial government officials and students arrested

Kopassandha troops have also arrested **Asser Demotekai** (60 years), who recently retired as Head of the Village Development Directorate of the provincial government. Two Cendrawasih University students were arrested at the same time: **John Romainum** and **Timo Kambu**. They were both held for questioning for several weeks. According to the latest reports, John Romainum is still under detention and, like Arnold Ap and Asser Demotekai, is still in Kopassandha hands.

Demotekai, who was arrested on the 18th October, comes from the region of Genjem, to the east of Jayapura, a region of heightened guerrilla activity. In the late seventies, he was chairman of a Traditional Land Rights Defence Committee in Nimboran which campaigned to protect Papuan land rights against expropriation by the central government in favour of Javanese migrants who are now being brought into the region in large numbers. Genjem is the centre of one of the larger transmigration projects in Irian Jaya. It was in this region that Kopassandha troops recently shot dead three OPM guerrillas who had surrendered to the Indonesian forces. Shortly before Demotekai's arrest his son Martinus died in suspicious circumstances. He was a well-known advocate of an independent West Papua. Some friends claim that he was poisoned by the Secret Service. (*Nederlands Dagblad*, 6th December 1983.)

Another provincial government official who is now in Kopassandha's hands is **Titus Dansidan** (50 years), Head of the Social and Political Affairs Department of the provincial government. In the early period of Dutch-Indonesian conflict over the future of West Papua, Dansidan is reported to have taken a pro-Indonesian position. Both Demotekai and Dansidan, senior civil servants, are now being accused of having pro-OPM sympathies.

Constant Ruhukail, a student at Cendrawasih University, is also under arrest; he has recently been engaged in doing fieldwork in Fakfak in connection with his studies. This is his second experience of arrest. Another student, **Yulianus Degei** was also arrested and held for questioning for several months, then released.

Inside: Six more pages of information from West Papua

Six women who raised the Papuan flag sentenced

Six women who unfurled the Papuan flag in defiance of the Indonesian government in 1980 have now been tried. The leader of the group, Persila Yakadewa, was sentenced to five years. Three other women were given four years each; the remaining two got three years. The last two have now been released (their names are not yet known), and the other four are required to serve their full sentences. They are all being held at the Abepura Prison, having been moved back some time ago from Wamena where they were transferred in 1982.

Human Rights protection in West Papua

Irian Jaya is the worst region in Indonesia for human rights abuse, said Mulya Lubis, chairman of the Association of Legal Aid Institutes (LBH), after making a visit to the territory. In an effort to help the victims of abuse in a place where virtually nothing is available for them, the LBH will soon set up a branch in Jayapura as well as a legal aid post in Merauke, in the south.

"The new Criminal Procedural Code might just as well not exist, for it has no reverberations in Irian Jaya", said Lubis. The only non-governmental social institutions functioning there are the missions, but they are more interested in spiritual affairs. If they do try to take up social problems, they come in for all kinds of accusations. The vast majority of people have no idea of their legal rights.

One of the most harmful effects of development is the expropriation of land for transmigration projects in complete disregard of the traditional land rights of the local population. Many local inhabitants are losing land that is absolutely vital to their well-being, and are receiving no compensation at all. The state grants formal land rights to foreign investors even though the land in question is subject to traditional usufruct by local

people (who have no formal documents to prove it).

The LBH is now gathering information about abuses in Irian Jaya, but Lubis warned that if something is not done, and quickly, things could deteriorate rapidly for the local population.

He was deeply disturbed too because of the harmful effect development is having on local culture. Development is destroying a whole way of life; if criticism and protest are regarded by the authorities as being anti-development and against the unitary state, things could lead to national disintegration. **Sinar Harapan**, 20 and 31 October 1983.

It is also reported that the Catholic diocesan bishops in the Asmat region on the south-east coast has set up a Human Rights Committee to try to protect local people against the rapacious activities of timber companies, particularly in the Asmat region. As part of their campaign, the Committee circulated questionnaires asking people to report their attitudes towards logging. The questionnaires were soon branded by the military as "subversive pamphlets", and the Committee was ordered to submit questionnaires that had been returned for scrutiny by the authorities. The only Papuan member of the Human Rights Committee, Yufen Biakai is known to have been beaten up in Sawa-Erma by local police on 7 October, in an attempt to intimidate him and other members of the Committee.

Murder and intimidation of villagers

On 22nd September Indonesian troops arrested a family named Mebri from the village of Bring, Jayapura District, as they were going to their garden plot early in the morning. The victims were interrogated and severely tortured. That same afternoon all the people from their village and from the two neighbouring villages of Yansen and Idjagrang were ordered out to watch the head of the Mebri family being shot dead by the soldiers. The villagers were then instructed to leave the body lying in the open without being buried as a warning to those who sympathised with the OPM.

Nederlands Dagblad, 6 December 1983.

Huge transmigration planned for Merauke

A report in **Mutiara**, (23 October 1983) the fortnightly magazine of **Sinar Harapan**, gives a comprehensive account of the rapid transformation taking place in and around Merauke on the south coast of West Papua (Indonesia's "province of Irian Jaya") not far from the border with Papua New Guinea. The three articles written by George Aditjondro show convincingly how this transformation is causing widespread distress and unrest among the area's native Papuan population.

Merauke district is in the process of becoming a major location for the resettlement of "transmigrants" from densely-populated Java. Aditjondro says Merauke which was left in sleepy neglect during the first two five-year plans (Pelita I and Pelita II) has sprung to life since 1980. It is now inundated with "survey teams, consultants, Inpres¹-project construction agents, journalists, doctors, and goodness knows who else. In just two weeks, Asmat Hotel has seen no fewer than seven teams come and go — a 'land team' a 'water team', a 'bird team', a 'topography team', a 'doctors team', a 'tifa-tifa (drums) team' and an 'Inpres-projects construction team'".

Whilst the visiting outsiders revel in the attractive facilities provided for their comfort and enjoyment, the local Mayu, Mandobo and Kimaam farmers who eke out a living in poor kampungs on the outskirts of the town, bemoan their worsening fate, unable to keep up with rising costs which affect the price of goods they need to purchase, the cost of education for their children and so on.

Two-thirds of the land for transmigration

No less than two-thirds of the total area of Merauke district which consists of altogether 12,630 square kilometres is being allocated as transmigration locations. Planned migration from

Java for Pelita III (1979/80 to 1983/84) envisaged an influx of 20,000 families or altogether 100,000 souls, but the target is not likely to be fulfilled. Up to early 1983, 2,590 families had been resettled, with an additional 3,350 families expected to arrive by April 1984, for a total influx of about 32,000 people. To judge by the heightened level of bureaucratic and construction activity now taking place as described in the **Mutiara** articles, it is apparently intended to eliminate the bottlenecks hampering transmigration so far, to achieve the Pelita IV target which has been put at a staggering 127,250 families for the district of Merauke alone.

Development of the transmigration locations has been accompanied by the construction of the Trans Irian Jaya Highway linking the capital, Jayapura, in the north with Merauke in the south, and running close to the border (in some places several kilometres across the border, until PNG officials protested) with Papua New Guinea. Aditjondro identifies the obstacles to a faster rate of resettlement as being delays and breakdowns in land clearance, the critical shortage of water in some parts of the district, the severity of the climate which frequently ruins crops planted by settler families, and the danger of wild animal attacks on the exposed perimeters of the transmigration locations.

Substantial government investment has gone into a number of projects that will provide the infrastructure for the new economic activity being planned for the region. These include a "Palapa" satellite station, a large oil terminal being built by the state oil company Pertamina, the construction of the Mopaa Baru airport and the building of roads from Merauke out to the various transmigration locations.

1. Projects funded by special presidential instructions.

Transmigration threatens land ownership

The following extracts from an interview with Yacob Patippi, the district chief of Merauke, reveal the extent to which local interests have been submerged by the determination of central government to promote transmigration. (Mutiara, 23 October, 1984.)

The first part of the interview deals with bureaucratic obstacles to achieving the transmigration target for Pelita III.

If that happened during Pelita III, how will it be possible to achieve the government's target to resettle 127,000 families in Merauke district during Pelita IV (1984/5 to 1988/9)?

I have not yet been officially informed. If that really is the target, I think it is far too high. I am frankly not optimistic that we will be able to locate such a large number of transmigrants in five years. In the first three years of Pelita III, we located only 2,070 families. At that rate, how many can we locate in the coming five years?

So, how then is the target fixed?

The Central Government fixes it and just informs us. Let's hope that if they see what is happening on the ground, they will revise the target. There's no way we can cope with those 127 thousand families.

Local inhabitants seem to be unenthusiastic about local transmigration. That would make it difficult to achieve the 10-25% ratio of local mix among the transmigrants from outside.² What are the reasons?

First of all, they aren't given any motivation for the future once they settle in a transmigration location. Then, the native inhabitants are afraid their land will be taken over by the government once they quit their kampungs. Thirdly, they can get plenty of water from the wells in their kampungs even during the dry season. Water supply is generally far better in the kampungs than in the locations. Then there is the fact that these local communities must adapt to new things if they go and live with the transmigrants. They must construct ricefields and grow crops that are quite new to them. In their kampungs they have plenty of sago, fruit, and so on. It's difficult for them to change their traditions and follow the new ways quickly.

It is evident that Marind people now living in transmigration locations are happier to be out hunting than to cultivate the fields. This being so, is there no alternative for the native inhabitants to become "translocals" in the midst of transmigrants who are mostly from Java?

We made a proposal to the former governor, General Busyri that local people should be allowed to develop their own kampungs. We asked that the money being allocated to finance the "translocals ratio" should be re-directed so that they could use the money to improve their villages and to provide them with the kind of facilities that are being given to the transmigrants. He agreed and promised to push the idea in Jakarta, but the fact is that the Central Government has not yet re-allocated these funds. . .

What are your arguments in support of that proposal?

We want the affairs of the local population to be handed over by the Centre to the local government so that we can build a local community in keeping with local conditions. This would prevent discontent spreading among people here because they fear that all their land will be taken away by the government and given to the transmigrants. I have tried many times to tell the people in the kampungs how the central government is trying to develop our region. I explain that a new airport has been built for Garuda to land its Fokker F-28s, that a Palapa satellite has been set up, that there is a new harbour, a new Pertamina terminal for petroleum, and that the Trans Irian Jaya Highway is under construction. But they only reply: "All those things can only be enjoyed by people like you and all those other gentlemen. We don't have any money. The only ones who have money are those newcomers with straight hair. We native inhabitants with curly hair haven't got the money to travel by plane, ship or taxi".

Such views are not difficult to understand. We don't say the government is not developing Irian Jaya, but the fact is that very little of it can be enjoyed by villagers. All they have is the Village Assistance Grant (*Bandes*) which amounts to a mere one million rupiahs for each village. What does that mean for 500 people? In any case, part of the allocation goes to buying nails, tin and screws in town; that leaves about Rp 500 a person. What's the use of that here in Irian Jaya?

Only recently Atar Sibero, Director-General for Regional Development reminded us that the Special Government Subsidy for Irian Jaya amounts to Rp 60 billions a year, but it is doubtful whether even ten per cent of that is enjoyed by villagers in Irian Jaya. A large part goes to paying people's air fares from Jakarta to Jayapura and back.

2. All transmigration locations in Irian Jaya are required to include a minimum proportion of inhabitants native to the region, the so-called "translocals".



Indonesian troops training in Jayapura.



OPM freedom fighters training in Wissel Lakes region. (Photos: A. Kentie)

A personal account of political detention in Jayapura

TAPOL interview with Celsius Wapai, formerly a political prisoner in Jayapura, who is now living in Papua New Guinea. This interview was conducted by post in October 1983.

Please give details about yourself, and the work you did before your arrest in 1979.

I was born on 3 June, 1949 in Jayapura; my family comes from the island of Kurudu-Kaipuri, district of Yapen-Waropen, an island in Cendrawasih Bay. My wife, Rika Runtuboy, also comes from there. We have six children; the youngest, Victor Sopasbye was born at our present place of refuge, in Sopas, Papua New Guinea.

From 1970 to 1975 I worked at the Forestry Research and Production project (also known as the Logging and Sawmill Project). The project was funded by FUNDWI (Fund of the United Nations for the Development of West Irian) and has sections in Holtekang (timber felling) and Hamadi (sawmill and sales). It was managed for several years by an official of the UN-FAO. The co-manager, Ben Philips Hasibuan of Indonesia completely ignored the original purpose which was to improve the economic climate in West Irian and open up new employment opportunities for local inhabitants. Under Indonesia management, this has become an empty slogan. Nothing is done to help and promote local employees, as I know from my own experience. It is important for me to stress this because the project was initiated and funded by the United Nations.

I then had several jobs, first at an inter-insular shipping company, then with the weekly publication **Teropong**, and then at a church office. On 1 November 1978, I got a job with the Agricultural Department of the provincial government, but on 10 July 1979 I was arrested after the authorities discovered that I was active in the Free Papua Movement in Jayapura. I was arrested by a unit from the Intelligence Section of the XVII Cendrawasih Division, under the command of Infantry Captain Djansirant Tandigau. I was held in detention without trial for three years though my case should have been dealt with within 6 months. I escaped on 3 July 1982 and managed to flee with my family in a small boat, reaching Vanimo in Papua New Guinea two days later.

The officer in charge of the unit which arrested me was involved in the disappearance of Mimi Fatahan (see **TAPOL Bulletin** No. 44, March 1981). He was also involved in the murder or disappearance of Louis Doom, an activist of the West Papuan independence movement, in 1969. Louis Doom died from poisoning when this officer was a medical orderly at the Army's "Aryoko" hospital in Kloofkamp. After being poisoned, the prisoner was removed from his place of detention by the officer, then disappeared without trace. Many others have suffered the same fate. This same officer once said to me: "Celsius, don't dream about independence. To achieve that, you would first have to step over 150 million Indonesians. If you are thinking of running away, go ahead, run to PNG. But just remember, we could overrun PNG in a day. How strong do you think they are?"

I was held for more than a year at the military intelligence office in Kloofkamp and was then transferred to Dok V, otherwise known as the Cendrawasih Mess or "Pati" Mess (senior officers' mess). This is a compound of several buildings on Dok V Street. In front are the buildings where the senior officers live, but behind are several rooms used for prisoners. I remained there for about seven months and was then returned to Kloofkamp. Later I was again transferred, this time to Military Police (CPM) headquarters, then back again to Kloofkamp which is where I managed to escape.

What were conditions like in detention?

I agree that if people are arrested as criminals, certain restrictions should be imposed, such as are to be found in corrective institutions. But people who are arrested because they are trying to achieve independence are not guilty of anything; any restrictions upon them, however trivial, are deeply offensive. I could describe literally hundreds of restrictions, many of which are incomprehensible. On the other hand, when facilities are granted there is usually a motive. Marthin Eusibius Tabu, for example, was given a radio, a television, special food



Celsius Wapai,(left) in PNG

as well as cigarettes, but then he disappeared without trace. And after he disappeared, I saw the television being moved away by the soldier who had been guarding his cell. Often special facilities are provided as a way of extracting information, and withdrawn as soon as the information is obtained. It could be that Marthin Tabu was given special facilities because he was a tribal chieftain, but in the end, he disappeared. They even tried getting information from him about the OPM leader Seth Rumkorem by offering him a woman to sleep with.

On arrest, prisoners are severely beaten straight away and arrive at the place of detention covered in blood. Yet this is nothing by comparison with what happens when prisoners are interrogated. The soldiers beat them with wooden clubs 10 by 5 cms thick, and kick them with their heavy army boots.

What kind of torture do they use?

In most cases, prisoners are beaten and severely tortured. One political prisoner, Johanis Yoku, was arrested in September or October 1981; he was an OPM agent in Jayapura, blind in one

"On arrest, prisoners are severely beaten and arrive covered in blood."

eye and more than 55 years old. Johanis Yoku was from Kerom, 200 kms from Jayapura, on the border with PNG. (Most people

called Yoku came from Sentani, but Johanis was not from there.) I saw this elderly man being beaten so badly that the flesh on his lips and cheeks looked like tomato pulp. Another prisoner named Musa, a member of the police force, had his skull cracked, and a friend of mine named Lukas Alwi was beaten brutally; his penis was kicked hard by an army sergeant, and his legs were struck hard with a piece of iron taken from a camp bed.

When you escaped from prison, plans were being made to transfer all the prisoners to Wamena. Why did they do this? Were the six women who raised the flag in 1980 among those transferred? We heard that they were going to be tried. Did that ever happen?

The reasons for the transfer were:

1. To hide the fact that there are activists of the Free Papua Movement struggling for an independent West Papua.
2. To deceive international organisations such as Amnesty, should they try to investigate reports about political detainees being held in Irian Jaya.
3. The Intelligence Section had just got a new command office and camp for detainees about 17 kms from Jayapura, at Waena-Sentani. From what we heard, the prisoners would be taken there and then further "screened". The "heavy cases" would be transferred down south to Tanah Merah, the pre-war concentration camp known as Digul.
4. To isolate the prisoners from their families and to make it easier to eliminate prisoners without any fuss from the families.

I don't know what happened following my escape but I think my escape did have the effect of forcing the authorities to abandon some of their more evil plans. Before my escape, we had all been told that arrangements were going ahead for us to be tried, but right up to the last moment, there was no sign at all that any trials were being prepared. I don't know whether the six women have been tried but I do know that if they are tried, the charge will be subversion because they have opposed the Indonesian government. If tried, they could get sentences of 15 years. In most cases, when people are tried in Jayapura, they are then transferred to a major prison, usually Kalisosok Prison in Surabaya, East Java.

“. . . transmigration, 60% funded by World Bank, aims to create a 'living fence' for military and strategic purposes . . .”

I could mention also the case of Clementz Hanggaibak, the subdistrict chief (*Camat*) of Timika, the copper-mining region, who was severely tortured by a member of the Armed Forces. He was given electric shock treatment and forced to make confessions, even though he was in no way connected with the OPM. The interrogator had his eye on Hanggaibak's sister, and thought that by implicating the man in the OPM, it would be easier for him to have his way with the woman. This is an example of how the Armed Forces violate our basic rights, and also expropriate our land for re-possession by transmigrants.

There are already about 13,000 transmigrant families from Java in Irian Jaya, many of whom have been settled in areas that are centres of OPM activity and along the border with Papua New Guinea. About 60 per cent of the funding for this transmigration comes from the World Bank, yet the objectives are to water down the OPM struggle, to create a "living fence" for military and strategic purposes, to facilitate the assimilation of our people by getting rid of the aboriginal Papuan inhabitants, and to prepare for a future war with PNG to secure its integration into Indonesia.

What about your own involvement with OPM activities?

Early in 1968, I was a member of the underground movement in Doyobaru, responsible for distributing pamphlets supporting the struggle for an independent Papuan state. We published a journal called *Melanesian Triumph*, and later another called *The Voice of Liberty*. We distributed these publications to places all the way from Doyobaru (Sentani, Jayapura) to Cendrawasih University in Abepura.

In 1969, I became secretary of *Pentana Muda*, the youth organisation of *Pencinta Tanah Air* (Lovers of the Motherland) which supported the OPM. I helped organise a demonstration on 11 April 1969 of youth and students in Jayapura, in front of the office of the UN representative, Dr. Ortiz Sanz. I was arrested and held at the prison of the Navy Department in Hamadi. I was beaten and given electric shocks at night while I was being interrogated, and my lips were burnt with a lighted cigarette. The man who arrested me then was a naval lieutenant named Soeharno.

I was very much opposed to the 1969 referendum (the "act of free choice"). I was arrested for this with all the members of my group. A friend of mine, Lodewijk Runtoboy had a flag-pole tied round his neck and was dragged across the flag-ceremony court by a naval officer. His mind went as a result of the way he was treated and he died a year later, after being released, in his home town of Serui.

At night when we wanted to sleep, a soldier would throw water on the floor of our cell making it impossible for us to lie down without a mat or blanket, neither of which we were allowed to have. I was released after a few months of this.

In 1972, I was again involved in the Free-Papua movement when I was still working at the Fundwi project in Hamadi. The movement had issued a clandestine document calling on students and government employees to take part in the independence movement. On this occasion I was arrested by Lieutenant Simandjuntak, a Batak in the Military Police (CPM), and I was kicked and beaten round the head so severely that I lost consciousness. In fact, on one occasion, I was about to be murdered. I was ordered into a vehicle and blindfolded. After reaching our destination, we were ordered out and taken into a forest where we were to be executed. We stood in line and heard our comrades being shot one by one, and their bodies falling into a grave. I was weeping as I held onto a soldier (I cannot walk without my crutches as I am a cripple), and with one foot, I could feel the wall of the "grave" which had already been prepared. I prayed fervently, and wept so much that the cloth covering my eyes became soaking wet. My prayers, it seems, were answered for I suddenly heard a motor-cycle approach. An officer alighted with an order that prisoner No.41 (that was me) should return to the prison.

My arrest on 10 July 1979 came after I helped prepare a memorandum taken by a West Papuan delegation to a South Pacific Conference in Canberra in September 1979. It called on the South Pacific countries to initiate steps with the UN to find a solution to the West Papuan question. We proposed that a referendum should be held under UN auspices.

I was appointed secretary of the Free Papua Movement branch in Jayapura by Seth Rumkorem, and was also a member of the National Intelligence Service for the Free Papua Movement, with the task of counteracting Indonesian intelligence activities.

I would like to end my interview with a quotation from a journalist who was in West Papua at the time of the "act of free choice" in 1969:

I witnessed that event and saw the hypocrisy of world politics and felt the numbing sadness of a people being taken over by another race. I lost count of the number of Papuans who, under cover of darkness, thrust letters under my arm or furtively into my hand. I lost count of the number of desperate, appealing letters left in my room or hidden in big shells given to me by Papuans so afraid that Indonesians might find out they had communicated with a journalist. Some of the letters were soaked in blood. One carried 5,000 names, and all spoke of living in fear of the Indonesian army.

Hugh Lunn, *Canberra Times*, 1 August 1969.

A glimpse of Indonesian policies at work

by A member of TAPOL who visited West Papua in August 1983.

Anyone who is aware of human rights abuses in a country might well be apprehensive about going there. Very few regimes put their repressive characteristics on display for visitors, so that you would leave the country knowing there were important things you could not see. In part, West Papua is no exception, since a visitor is unlikely to witness the killings and bombings by Indonesian forces which certainly do occur. But there is a general impression, that of an oppressed people, increasingly driven away from their land and customs, and suffering an army of occupation, which is widespread and immediately evident. It is true that Indonesian officials like to believe that visitors see only tourist attractions in West Papua; but it is their claustrophobic obsession with security which deters all but the most enthusiastic outsiders from going there. While travelling to parts of the area, the only Europeans and Indonesians with me were there for military or business reasons, the two factors behind most Indonesian thinking on West Papua.

I entered West Papua through Jayapura, as do most visitors. It is a likeable town, with a bright blue harbour and steep green hills, and officially the capital of the region. It is hard to think of it as such, because there are remarkably few Papuan people to be seen there. Shops, markets, buses and offices are all manned by a rich ethnic mix of Javanese, Sumatrans, Makassarese, and immigrants from other Indonesian islands. The only Papuans are a token few in the police force, and a number standing about on the streets. I did meet one or two who had found a niche in this immigrant society, as teachers of minor airport employees, but not one had a good word to say about Indonesia or the way it has treated West Papua. It was difficult to bring out an open response, because they all admitted a great fear of the army, which has a large and conspicuous presence in the town. But they all had stories to tell — from a teacher who had seen his friend dragged off the previous year by police and later beaten up, to an old man in Biak, who talked excitedly of younger men who had vanished into the bush to fight the army. But most of all, the Papuans I spoke to expressed bitter resentment at the flood of immigrants to the area who regarded the native people as unwanted intruders and had made the Papuans strangers in their own land. I was, unfortunately, unable to talk to those who had already been physically evicted by the Indonesians, but they represent perhaps most clearly what Jakarta has in mind for Jayapura.

Baliem

The Baliem Valley lies only a half hour's flight to the south, but appears to be in a different world, cool and mountainous, and inhabited by the Dani people, whose contact with the outside world has been limited and comparatively very recent. One could be forgiven for thinking that their customs and way of life have remained undamaged by the impact of Indonesian rule, particularly as they seem to be sublimely indifferent to the world of aircraft, soldiers and immigrants in the main town of Wamena. As it turned out, neither the Indonesians nor the Dani were indifferent to each other. I had to submit my travel pass to the police, and passed the time listening to the Javanese behind the desk telling me how the Dani could never be brought into Indonesian society, that he didn't like to touch them and was disgusted by their refusal to wear clothes. Something of a contrast to official ideas about "Indonesianisation", but the policeman's views were very typical. I found little else besides contempt and ridicule among the predominantly Indonesian inhabitants of Wamena, and official policy there seemed to be more directed towards ignoring the Dani rather than integrating them. Independence Day brought with it an abundance of flags,

faces and slogans straight from Java, as though the Dani did not exist. But the Dani villagers and educated mission staff I talked to felt humiliated and angry about the Indonesians' disregard for their customs, in particular the "operation" to force them into wearing clothes, even though the Dani in the mission wore clothes themselves. They talked bitterly about the destruction and looting by the army in 1977, and about its behaviour since, citing harassment and beatings of Dani people in Wamena. It was no surprise that they sympathised with the OPM, although the penalties for this are high if it is discovered. It is hard to assess accurately what the Indonesian administration intends for the future in the Baliem, but with the arrival of agricultural projects, family planning propaganda and Indonesian films, it is clear that they do not have the Dani people in mind, who have no need or use for such things.

Nevertheless, I was left with a sense of some hope, seeing that the Dani still adhere largely to the lifestyle which they have carefully evolved over thousands of years. Such hope collapsed when I arrived in Asmat, on the south coast. It is perhaps the least hospitable terrain in West Papua, a vast region of great rivers, rainforest and mud, which present the most formidable obstacles to survival; no firm ground exists on which to travel or build villages, and there is little to eat besides sago. The Asmat people have managed to give some meaning to their burdensome existence through a unique and complex culture, which includes some of the finest wood-carving in the world. This much has been known only in the past thirty years, yet during that time what was a strongly individual and hostile people, has started to lose its identity, shattered by the intrusions of a modern world which offers it nothing.

The vanishing culture of Asmat

Asmat villages present a striking picture on seeing them for the first time—not so much the dreary rows of thatch huts on stilts, as the haunting faces and swollen bellies of malnourished children. The old customs appear to have vanished, arousing only vacant disinterest when I asked about them, and with them has gone much of the life of the village, replaced by an overpowering sense of apathy. People no longer carve for ancestral feasts; they produce only trivial pieces, in the hope of selling them to satisfy their new found craving for tobacco, which brings to mind alcohol addiction among Aborigines in Australia. So perhaps it is inevitable that the Asmat must come to terms with the modern world, to enjoy the full advantages of good food, health and education, to compensate for the loss of their old life. I talked with a group of Javanese working with a timber company, and they told me local people had taken to the forest after the army had been brought in to persuade them of the strength of Indonesia's economic needs. In order to facilitate the transition of the Asmat into the Indonesian version of the twentieth century, there are now schools in most villages, Indonesian ones gradually superseding the original mission schools. The benefits of these for the Asmat are, to say the least, questionable. I was frequently able to hear the eerie sound of Pancasila or the national anthem over the top of the usual jungle sounds, but teachers told me that they were able to teach little else for lack of books, pens or paper. One chief pointed his school out to me with pride, but scowled when I mentioned government supervision; later that day, a Makassarese inspector paid a visit and administered a severe reprimand over some failure to comply with regulations, which humiliated him in front of the whole village. He (the inspector) told me that he had to discipline the chief in order that the villagers should respect Indonesian authority.

What are the Asmat receiving in return for tolerating interference by Indonesia? Their education, if it can be called that, is really to no purpose, as very few Asmat can leave their villages to use it, except as an insidious form of indoctrination. The prevalence of disease was shocking; malaria, dysentery and skin diseases were commonplace, and one village I was in had an outbreak of cholera. No medicine was available, which it would appear is far less important to Indonesia than schools. Maybe it is enough for the government to hear dying children sing the national anthem. The Indonesians are certainly content to move villages around, although this often has a serious detrimental effect on health and food sources. When I mentioned the plight of the Asmat to a government official, he was quite explicit. The Asmat were lazy and primitive, he said, and were an obstacle to economic interests in the area. My own impression is that they have had everything of importance to them destroyed, and been given nothing to improve their desperate situation by Indonesia. In case anyone should wonder how Indonesia is preserving the vanishing art of the Asmat, there is a project devoted to that end. I met the man who runs the project in Agats, but all he had to show for his efforts was a substantial collection of fine carvings lying broken and rotting in his attic. There is some Asmat art in the museum in Jayapura, but it is almost impossible to appreciate since so much is left in a heap in one corner, and the rest is appallingly laid out to the point of being incomprehensible. It seemed to me to be a distressing symbol of how Indonesia treats the Asmat themselves.

The high cost of development

A hydro-electric power station to be built in Abepura, 15 kms from Jayapura, will affect the livelihoods of at least 9,500 villagers whose sago stands will be affected and whose rivers will dry up.

The project, planned to use the waters of Lake Sentani, will dam the River Jafuri near Kampung Puai, as a result of which the waters below the dam will dry up leaving the villagers with nowhere to fish. Their sago stands are located all along the river banks, up to four hours rowing distance from the kampung, but these stands will dry up if the project goes ahead. It is extremely difficult for these tribespeople to find new sago stands because land usage is rigorously determined along traditional lines.

People say, of course, that the demand for electricity is increasing so fast that the natural resources must be harnessed as much as possible. Yet, who will benefit? Will these little people who are to be pushed aside be the beneficiaries? Will they be able to afford the electricity that is produced? A Canadian consultancy firm has estimated that electricity costs for users will come to at least \$100 a month. The people who lose their livelihoods will be paying a very high price for this hydro-electric plant, yet they have no need for electricity. This kind of development is very expensive indeed!

George Aditjondro, in *Mutiara*, 21 December 1983–3 January 1984.

West Papua: The Obliteration of a People

Price: £2.50 plus postage 50 pence (UK, Europe and overseas surface): £2.00 (overseas air). Please send payment with order.



Children in the village of Santamboor, Asmat. (Photo taken by the author.)

Three West Papuan guerrillas forced to leave PNG

Seth Rumkorem, the West Papuan guerrilla leader, and two colleagues, Fred Athaboe and L Nussy, were forced to leave Papua New Guinea at short notice at the end of November 1983, just days before the PNG Prime Minister Michael Somare left Port Moresby for a state visit to Jakarta.

Efforts to find the three men political asylum have been obstructed by fears in some capitals of "upsetting" the Indonesian authorities. The three men are now staying in Athens until such time as a permanent place of asylum can be found.

Prime Minister Somare was constantly pressed during his visit to Jakarta to give assurances that activities in support of West Papuan independence would not be permitted in PNG. This was the main talking point in his discussions with President Suharto and came up repeatedly at press conferences held during his visit.

Seth Rumkorem and nine others from West Papua reached PNG in September 1982 after being discovered in PNG territorial waters and forced to land in Rabaul. They had intended going to Vanuatu. (See *TAPOL Bulletins* No. 54, November 1982 and No. 55, January 1983.)

Killings and Disappearances

Murdani shifts blame and rejects "outside interference"

General Benny Murdani, Commander-in-Chief of Indonesia's Armed Forces, has categorically refused to take responsibility for the thousands of extra-judicial murders committed by Army death-squads since last April. In a statement which flatly contradicts all the evidence from many quarters, General Murdani told the Dutch Foreign Minister, Hans van den Broek that the murders were "the result of inter-gang clashes. If some of those murdered have been found to have died from gunshot wounds, this is because they resisted officials." (*Sinar Harapan*, 6 January 1984)

Murdani told the press after his meeting with van den Broek that his explanation differed from that given the day before by Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja. "Don't ask me," he told the journalists, "whether the Government can say when the killings will stop. If I were to say that the Government can stop them, this would mean acknowledging that the Government is committing the killings. They are not the work of the Government. It is the task of the press to explain this. People are dying everywhere in the world. Why is it that when people die in other countries, no one makes a fuss but when they die here, they make a fuss?"



Dutch Foreign Minister van den Broek and General Murdani after their meeting in Jakarta. (*Tempo*, 14 January, 1984.)

The extra-judicial murders became an issue during the Dutch Foreign Minister's visit to Jakarta in January because of a resolution passed by the Dutch Parliament in December 1983 expressing concern about the killings and instructing the Government to raise them at the forthcoming meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, the international aid consortium. The resolution was supported by all the main parties in the present Dutch coalition government.

During his meeting with van den Broek, Murdani also told the Dutch Foreign Minister to stop interfering in Indonesia's internal affairs. (*Tempo*, 14 January 1984)

The Dutch Minister received a different explanation the day before when he met Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja who explained the killings in terms of the rising level of crime "now bordering on terrorism", and the need to give people a greater sense of security (sic). Minister Mochtar also gave his Dutch counterpart an assurance that the problem would soon be resolved. These were explanations which the Dutch Foreign Minister found "acceptable" and "honest". (*Sinar Harapan*, 5 January 1984) His response to Murdani's "explanations" has not been reported.

Other Western Governments worried

Mochtar's approach, somewhat more cautious than Murdani's, stems from the fact that several western governments have expressed concern about the killings. Their feelings of embarrassment may have been heightened by the forthright statement by Buyung Nasution (see box).

Washington conveyed its anxieties about the killings several weeks ago, and now "welcomes the Indonesian Government's explanations to the Dutch Foreign Minister". US ambassador John Holdridge told the press after a meeting with Mochtar that "as a good friend of Indonesia, the US welcomes the fact that the issue has been openly discussed, and that the Indonesian Government has now given its assurances." (*Sinar Harapan*, 7 January 1984)

Unfortunately for Ambassador Holdridge, Murdani had by that time already openly contradicted Mochtar's assurances. Since the death-squads come from the forces under Murdani's command, what counts is what Murdani says, not what Mochtar says.

Extra-Judicial Murders Continue

Few people know about the grave marked "Mr X" in Denai Ujung Street, Medan which was set aside two months ago for unidentified corpses. Already twenty bodies have been buried there, says an official of the Pirngadi Hospital. From another source comes the estimate that there have been 150 murders in and around Medan in the past couple of months.

Police statistics for murders are evidently very unreliable. They put the number of murders in Jakarta from January to June at 93. The figure is challenged by the Criminology Institute at the University of Indonesia which carries out post mortems of the victims. Their records show that 181 people were murdered in that period, of whom 61 were shot dead.

Official statistics emphasise that there has been a fall in crime since the so-called "mysterious killings" began, but the Criminology Institute stresses that this has been accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of murders, particularly murders committed by firearms. They compare the 285 reported murders in Jakarta in 1982 (41 from gunshot wounds) with a disproportionately high number in the last few months of the year, with the figure of 369 in the first eleven months of 1983, of which 143 victims had been shot dead. (*Tempo*, 31 December 1983)



The packet with the human head received by *Suara Indonesia*.

Death-squads

Meanwhile macabre reports have appeared in the Indonesian press about people being sent corpses bearing intimidating labels. Several journalists working for **Suara Indonesia**, a daily in East Java, were sent a packet containing a severed head wrapped up in a plastic bag. The staff regarded this as a threat to their journalistic activities and unanimously called on the editor to make a formal complaint to the local military commander, and ask for assurances and protection against such intimidation. (Tempo, 26 November 1983)

The former chairman of Indonesia's Legal Aid Institute Buyung Nasution, has openly accused the Indonesian Government of carrying out extra-judicial killings, and has challenged President Suharto to stop them. He believes the total number of victims now amounts to double the figure of 2,000 given by the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute a couple of months ago.

The killings are done by the government apparatus, by the Armed Forces, in this case the military and the police in a combined operation. They call it a special task force.

Buyung Nasution made these remarks in Jakarta following a meeting of the Asian Regional Council for Human Rights, at which special attention was given to the question of extra-judicial murders throughout South East Asia. The Council came to the conclusion that the scale of killings in Indonesia far exceeded that in other countries of the region. Nasution is at present on leave of absence for academic work in the Netherlands; he went to Jakarta for a few days to attend the Council meeting.

Patriotism, Nasution said, had prompted him not to speak out while abroad but now his conscience demanded that he protest. He said he had warned the government that the killings were against the law, against the Constitution and also against humanity. The way to stop the killings was by pressure from other countries, particularly aid donors (the members of the IGGI). "Many Indonesians oppose the killings but do not dare to criticise them," he said.

Source: Reuters, in *The Guardian*, 12 December 1983

Disappearances

Reports are now being received of disappearances in various parts of Indonesia. The pattern is basically the same: a person is visited by a group of men in civilian clothing who claim to come from the Security Forces. They summon the victim to accompany them for reasons not specified. When the person fails to return home and the family ask the local police and military for information, they are told that no order for his arrest was ever issued and that nothing is known about his whereabouts.

In East Java

One case concerns a lawyer (possibly a "barefoot" lawyer) named **Simon Maro** who is a member of the Legal Aid Bureau of the Indonesian Peasants League (*Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia*). He was taken from his home in Sidoarjo, East Java last September. Four other men who happened to be with Simon Maro at the time of his abduction were taken and have also disappeared. They are his nephew **Immanuel**, a student at the Institute of Education in Ujung Panjang, **Mesak Aring**, a guest from Nusatenggara, and **Frangky Tasihjawa** and **Sukarman**, both chauffeurs.

Simon Maro's wife told the press that she has written twice to the District Military Commander for information about her husband but has received no reply. She said the two men who came to the house on 3 September claimed to be security officials. They gave the impression that Simon Maro would be

taken to the Sidoarjo Military HQ, but inquiries there have proved fruitless.

The Sub-Regional Military Commander, Lt-Colonel Sonny Baksono who now acknowledges that efforts are being made to find the missing men has warned people "not to exaggerate things and not to 'make an issue' of this incident".

Simon Maro was handling a land dispute involving a real estate company, Darmo Grande at the time of his disappearance. He had succeeded in winning re-instatement for 21 employees who were unfairly dismissed by the Surabaya Bowling Centre. (*Sinar Harapan*, 6 January 1984)

Another disappearance in East Java was reported in *TAPOL Bulletin* several months ago. (No.59, September 1983, page 21). The victim was also a lawyer named **Dahayu**. It was that event that prompted two other lawyers, Umardani and Santoso, to make a run for it when unknown men came to their homes to take them away for unspecified reasons.

In Bandung, West Java

In Bandung, West Java, no fewer than seven people have been reported missing. They include the popular *dangdut* music group leader "King Cobra" whose real name is **Hasan Baco**. He disappeared from his home on 1 November last. Hasan Baco seemed to be on familiar terms with the four men who came to drive him off to an unknown destination. Besides his musical activity, Hasan helps run a youth centre in Bandung and is the chairman of the association of *becak*-drivers, which has more than a thousand members in Bandung.

With the army death-squad killings still occurring in the government's so-called anti-crime campaign, the disappeared man's family stressed that Hasan has no criminal record or past convictions. They can offer no explanation as to why he was picked up in this way.

Other reported disappearances in Bandung include **Endung Effendy** who was taken from his home on 4 November by four unknown men in civilian clothes claiming they were from the police, and **Herman** taken from his home on the same day also by men claiming to be policemen. Both of these men have served short prison sentences.

Another victim is **Idji Hidayat**, karate teacher and black-belt holder who is widely known among karate enthusiasts in West Java. He disappeared after giving a karate training session some time in October last. (Tempo, 3 December, 1983)

In Central Java

Mochtar Sukidi, reporter for the weekly *Inti Jaya*, disappeared on 18 November after a friend saw him being bundled into a vehicle outside Police Headquarters in Kendal, Semarang. He had been visiting the police station with the friend and was kidnapped as he left the building while the other man was fetching his motorbike.

Mochtar had been warned by the local police commander not to publish an article exposing bribery in the police force. He had with him the tape of an interview about this when he was kidnapped.

The journal's bureau chief for Central and East Java, Djadian Simbolon has prepared a detailed report about Mochtar's disappearance. At the time he was working on three articles, one about a teakwood scandal in the Forestry Department, one about manipulations in Mororejo Village and one about the theft of fish. It was the person involved in the theft who told him he had bribed a member of the police force.

Simbolon described the kidnap victim as an excellent reporter. The day before he disappeared, he told Simbolon that because of police threats, he had decided to withdraw the offending article. The journalists' organisation, PWI in Central Java have said they cannot pursue the affair because Mochtar was not a registered member of the organisation, but Simbolon says he will do everything to find out what has happened to this journalist who has upheld the principle of investigative journalism.

Source: Tempo, 14 January 1984

A report from East Java

In an open letter to President Suharto on 6 December 1983 H. Princen, Chairman of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, expressed deep concern about recent public killings by death-squads in East Java. His letter was based on information from a lawyer who practices in the province:

- ★ Already hundreds of killings have taken place in East Java.
- ★ Many of the victims are people taken away "on loan" (*dibon*) from prisons or other places of detention by army or police officers (*Koramil* or *Kores*).
- ★ There is no mystery about the "mysterious" killers because at 7 every evening, in Kediri and Jember, Koramil officers don masks or hats and set out on their missions, carrying out executions without any court verdict, against recidivists, village bandits (*bromocorah*) or members of street gangs (*gali-gali*).
- ★ The military authorities hire "colts" or station-wagons to transport the victims to their place of execution. The person's identity is checked en route because mistakes are often made over names. Witnesses who have survived such frightening experiences provide testimony of this. The victims are stripped naked and trussed up in sacks.
- ★ Problems arise with the corpses because local hospitals and medical centres refuse to carry out a post mortem or bury the dead for lack of funds. A burial costs about Rp 50,000.
- ★ In October 1983, the corpse of one victim was crucified in the centre of Kediri, in front of a shop. Some passers-by took pity and lowered the body. They were then arrested by the military and taken to the Koramil office for questioning.

All the evidence proves, writes Princen, that the authorities are directly involved in this campaign against criminal elements in our country. Such methods are a flagrant violation of Indonesian laws and an affront to basic human rights.

Source: The letter is reproduced in full in *Berita Tanpa Sensor*, Year II, No. 5.

"Non Involvement Certificates" still required for journalists

Anyone wishing to join the Indonesian Association of Journalists (PWI) must still produce a certificate of "non-involvement in the 1965/PKI event", according to a statement by PWI chairman, H. Zulharman. The "non-involvement certificate" was introduced soon after October 1965, as a way of preventing members of any of the leftwing organisations banned when the military came to power from obtaining employment and enjoying many other basic civil liberties.

This means that journalism as a career is still closed to "1965 suspects", ex-political prisoners as well as those who may never actually have been detained.

Zulharman said that the PWI must do everything possible to prevent "PKI/G30S" remnants from infiltrating its ranks. It was a top priority, he said, for the organisation to maintain control over its membership. "PKI remnants" would use any opening, however small, he warned, "which is why we must always be vigilant".

Source: *Sinar Harapan*, 24 November, 1983.

Ex-PKI member on trial for murder

A former PKI member is on trial for murder after taking the life of his office chief who repeatedly taunted him because of his PKI past. Ngiso Adhiwahono was rehabilitated many years ago and given "C" classification, but his boss at the Labour Department stepped up his persecution recently when it was learnt that new anti-PKI purges were under way in the Department.

At the trial, the prosecution has demanded a sentence of 15 years for the accused man. (*Sinar Harapan*, 31 January, 1984.) See also *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 59, September 1983, page 24.

New Law on internal exile in preparation

The government has drafted a new law giving special powers to the President to order persons considered to be a threat to the Pancasila to be banished for up to ten years. The draft of the law is not yet before Parliament but a photocopy has been leaked and widely reported in the press. The leak comes from the Department of Justice where the draft was made. After days of embarrassed "no comments" from members of the government, the Minister of Justice confirmed on 17 January that such a law is in preparation. (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 January, 1984.)

Chairman of the Association of Legal Aid Institutes Mulya Lubis, was quick to condemn the new draft law as a piece of legislation that would seriously undermine the power of the judiciary and the safeguards of individual freedom still formally written into Indonesian law. His statement, reported in *Sinar Harapan* (13 January, 1984) provides a useful summary of the twenty articles in the draft law.

The law is entitled, "Prohibition and Orders Regarding Temporary Place of Residence in Indonesia". It gives the President, assisted by the Minister in Charge of the State Apparatus (currently the very

powerful Lieutenant-General Sudharmono, who was recently chosen to become Chairman of GOLKAR), special powers to order the banishment of anyone considered a danger to the Pancasila, the Constitution and national development.

The draft reflects a clear determination by those who rule to use law as a means of repressive power and to create new mechanisms outside those provided for in the Criminal Code. The vaguely-worded criteria used in the draft will mean a new attack on basic human rights, said Lubis.

The Lawyers' Association, Peradin, has also strongly condemned the draft law and warned that it undermines the rule of law and institutionalises a system of executive power over individual freedom. The banishment powers recall the powers exercised by the Dutch colonial administration or the powers used in Germany under Hitler. The Anti-Subversion Law is bad enough, but at least trials are required to bring convictions, said Peradin. With this law it will be possible for the Executive to order someone's banishment without any court procedures at all. (*Sinar Harapan*, 17 January, 1984.)



The "mystery" draft law?

Armed troops keep thousands away from trial

Armed troops prevented thousands of people from following the trial of a young Muslim activist who is charged with making inflammatory remarks about the government and spreading hatred. Several people were wounded when troops fired at large crowds outside the courthouse.

When the trial of Tony Ardie opened in Jakarta on 12 November, not only was the public gallery full; there were thousands in the streets outside following the proceedings through a loudspeaker. This occurred again at the second hearing, but when the third hearing took place on 23 November many people were prevented from getting near the court-house by armed troops blocking roads nearly a mile away. Those who reached the courthouse discovered that the proceedings could not be heard because the loudspeaker was not working properly. As people in the crowd began to express their anger, troops used violence to break them up.

In a protest to the commander of the Jakarta Military Command, Muslim leader Syafruddin Prawiranegara complained that a young girl fell unconscious when hit by a bullet and that three others were seriously wounded. The incident caused so much disquiet that the garrison commander, Major-General Try Soetrisno publicly accused Syafruddin of "spreading fabricated reports" and warned people "not to be stirred up by incitement and lies". (*Sinar Harapan*, 6 December 1983).

People had come to the courthouse in large numbers not only to show solidarity with the accused but also because, apart from brief reports of the first hearing, the press has not published anything about the trial. A.M. Fatwa, chairman of the Islamic Teachings Foundation (*Yayasan Da'wah Islamiyah*) pointed out

in a statement on 30 November that though many journalists attended the hearings, nothing had appeared in the media.

As a result of the events that occurred on 23 November, the team of Tony Ardie's defence lawyers refused to attend the fourth hearing on 30 November and issued an appeal to the chairman of the Court to take action to prevent such incidents from recurring in future.

Tony Ardie, at one time chairman of the Jakarta branch of the Muslim students organisation, HMI, is on trial for a speech he made at a Lebaran Festival gathering outside the Al-Azhar Mosque in Jakarta last August. The gathering, attended by many thousands of people, turned into a protest against a Ministry of Education decree prohibiting girl-pupils from wearing headscarves at State schools because "they do not conform with school uniform". The dispute over headscarves has already caused alarm and anger among Muslims. (See *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 59, September 1983).

Ardie faces two charges: spreading hatred, a charge based on the colonial "haatzaai" or hatred article, and insulting the government. The indictment read out at the first hearing complained that Ardie had declared in his speech that the alternatives for Islam in Indonesia were "being hit if we go forward, being hit if we go back". He said: "Often when we go forward, Pharaoh strikes us, but if we go back, Allah strikes us". (*Tempo*, 19 November, 1983)

Source: The 30 November statement by A.M. Fatwa, unpublished in Indonesia, was reproduced in full in *Berita Tanpa Sensor* No.5, Year II, 1983. Additional information about the trial is not available because of the press blackout.

Prices in the press



Huge prices have followed the government's decision in January to slice petroleum subsidies. Paraffin and petroleum used for public transport were especially hard hit.

Harga = prices. (*SH*, 21 January)



(The 15% wage increase for civil servants also announced in January has not yet been paid.) "Quick, help!" (*SH*, 1 February, 1984)

New offensive spreads death and disrupts food

When General Benny Murdan, Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), on a Christmas Day visit to East Timor, called upon "everyone in the hills, the forests, the caves and towns to halt their efforts and surrender to the authorities" (*Sinar Harapan*, 27 December 1983), he gave convincing evidence that resistance to the latest Indonesian offensive is very widespread indeed. His failure to announce any surrenders or indeed any victories over the forces of resistance means that four months after the offensive was launched in August last year, ABRI have nothing to show for their efforts apart from many more dead and renewed starvation in East Timor.

Murdani was accompanied by a team of top-ranking Army officers including Lieut-General Himawan Sutanto, ABRI Chief-of-Staff for Operations, Lieut-General Gunawan Wibisono, Inspector-General of the Defence Department and Lieut-General Bambang Triantoro, Deputy ABRI Chief-of-Staff. The generals visited several isolated Army posts, among others in Ossu (north of Viqueque), Natarbora (near Manatuto) and Alas (east of Same). The visits to these three places alone reinforce the conclusion that operations are spread over much of the country.

Military Operations Disrupt Food Production

An AFP report from Jakarta quotes church sources as saying that the current Indonesian military operations have completely disrupted the already precarious food situation and caused renewed food shortages and starvation.

Crops have been destroyed and farmers have been unable to get to their fields or to forage food in the forests, (church sources) said. In the central region of Viqueque and the eastern region of Los Palos, food shortages have been aggravated by a flood of refugees, with about 3,000 living around the city of Viqueque.

The serious scarcity of food in various areas has been confirmed by diplomatic and other sources here.

(AFP report in *The Australian*, 27 December 1983)

The present papal administrator of Dili, Mgr Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo (who replaced Mgr Martinhu da Costa Lopez, former Bishop of Dili last May) is reported by AFP to have sent a confidential letter to the Indonesian Bishops Conference

(MAWI) expressing concern over food shortages and hunger. Last October, Mgr Belo protested against arrests and violence in a sermon and has since been handed a written reprimand by the Army's chaplain in East Timor. He nevertheless took his concerns to the November meeting of MAWI, following which the Conference drew up a six-page letter to Timorese clergy "assuring them of their support and calling for the respect of human rights in East Timor".

Many Arrests

The AFP report also quotes well-informed sources in Jakarta as saying that many more arrests have been made. Six hundred people were brought in for questioning recently in Dili, 125 in Baucau, and 34 in Viqueque.

Eight schoolchildren aged 14-15 were arrested in Viqueque and held "for several days in a room so narrow that they could not sleep", said one Catholic source. Dozens of people, including three children, were hauled away by unknown abductors in civilian clothes, the sources said.

Disaffection is clearly growing among the Timorese who have been recruited into ABRI. AFP reports that 130 auxiliary Timorese troops were disarmed and arrested. Ninety were still in custody but the fate of the others was not known. In August, 86 militiamen (Hansip or civil guards) went over to Fretilin with their weapons.

East Timor is now even more inaccessible than ever. "It is completely cut off from the rest of the world and special authorisation is required to visit or even to telephone there."

AMX Tanks in Operation

From several sources it is known that AMX tanks are now in operation in East Timor. AMX tanks are manufactured in France and have for years been used by the Dutch Army. Since the late seventies, the tanks have been replaced by new versions or by a different class of tanks, whilst the discarded versions have been sold off, dirt-cheap, to the Indonesian Armed Forces. In the three years to 1981, no fewer than 285 AMX-LT-105 tanks have been sold. (The number denotes the mm width of shells fired by guns on the tanks.)

France is also known to have exported 15 AMX tanks direct to Indonesia in 1981, five of them with self-propelled guns and the remainder without.



General Murdani visiting an army post in East Timor on 25 December (SH, 27 December, 1983).

Concern grows in Washington and London

105 Members of Congress concerned over East Timor

A bi-partisan group of 105 members of the US Congress have called on President Reagan "to add the suffering of the people of East Timor to America's foreign policy agenda". The letter which was sent on 15 December 1983, expresses concern over the new large-scale military offensive launched by Indonesia in East Timor last August and over the absence of the International Red Cross (ICRC) from East Timor during a period when its presence is of crucial importance.

The 105 signatories represent the largest single expression of congressional concern to date over the plight of East Timor. Their letter expresses the view that:

the ICRC should have immediate access to all areas of East Timor in order to conduct unencumbered surveys of the food and medical situations; to visit all prisons in the territory under ICRC's guidelines which call for private meetings with detainees; to provide general protection to the population in ways that the ICRC deems appropriate; and both to continue and to expand its efforts in the area of family reunification.

British Parliamentarians want Fretilin to be drawn into UN Consultations

A deputation of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group was given an assurance by Richard Luce, Minister of State at the Foreign Office in London on 18 January, that the British Government would ask the UN Secretary-General whether he would visit East Timor or send an envoy there under the mandate given him by the General Assembly Resolution of 1982. The resolution requested the Secretary-General "to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem". It was the Secretary-General's delay in reporting these consultations for a year that led to the decision not to discuss a resolution on East Timor at the 1983 General Assembly.

The deputation, which consisted of Lord Avebury (Liberal Party, chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group), Sir Bernard Braine, MP (Conservative Party, vice-chairman of the

Group) and Robert Parry, MP (Labour Party), emphasised that to satisfy the requirements of the mandate, the UN should consult with Fretilin, the resistance movement, and could only do so if the Secretary-General or his envoy were physically present in East Timor. So far, only the Indonesian and Portugal governments have been consulted. It also asked the British Government to persuade the Indonesian Government to cease military operations in order to facilitate the work of the Secretary-General.

The deputation also called upon the British Government to suspend shipments of arms to Indonesia as a means of bringing pressure to bear on Indonesia in favour of a ceasefire.

The visit to the Foreign Office was a follow-up of an Early Day Motion signed by 128 Members of Parliament last December. Ten more signatories have been added to the 118 names listed in **TAPOL Bulletin** No. 60, November 1983. The additional names are:

Barry Sheerman	John Maxton
Sir Andrew Kershaw	Tom Clarke
Brian Sedgemore	Charles Kennedy
David Penhaligon	Nicholas Brown
Malcolm Bruce	Clare Short

Angolan minister gives press conference on East Timor in Jakarta

The Angolan Minister of Information who attended the recent Conference of Information Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries in Indonesia held a press conference in Jakarta specifically to talk about the situation in East Timor. Indonesian journalists were ordered by the Indonesian authorities not to attend, but many foreign journalists were there.

A proposal by the Indonesian Government to organise a visit to East Timor for ministers attending the Conference was turned down after strong opposition from African countries, mainly the former Portuguese colonies.



Fretilin has its own Red Cross. A health centre in Fretilin-controlled East Timor, 1983.

The war against East Timor

by Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong

A history of Indonesia's war of aggression in East Timor and of the stunning resurgence of the resistance movement under Fretilin's leadership following the heavy defeats of 1977/78. The book also analyses efforts to Indonesianise the military regime's "27th Province" politically, economically and socially, and describes conditions in the resettlement camps created by the forces of occupation for purposes of population control.

Nine secret counter-insurgency documents of the Indonesian Army are reproduced at length in an Appendix.

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Going against the stream

by Basuki Resobowo

What I wish to discuss here is a point that rarely crops up in the life of the Indonesian community, that is the question of going against the stream. World War II left the world in a state of flux: many countries were changing, putting themselves in order. It was in this sort of situation that an independent Indonesia was born, so that the Indonesian community also is in a state of flux.

The world of absolute thought and the world of relative thought

From age to age down through the history of Indonesia, two worlds of thought have come to emerge within the body of the community: absolute thought and relative thought. It has been the state of flux, together with these two realms of thought which have brought out many conflicts in community life in Indonesia. Unfortunately, those conflicts which appear as a source of vitality (vital force) in the development of the community have always become insipid and weak, and have then followed the same course as the old current. Why have they not broken through the old and given birth to the new? The majority of people in Indonesia are even now still shackled by a world of thought of an absolute nature, deriving from the orthodox truth of one's superiors or of those in authority. The thinking — which has long since become classic, and which gave rise to the "respected slave" mentality — still flourishes, especially in the middle classes, *menak* circles in Sunda,¹ *priyai* circles in Java. In this modern age of the community, these *menak* and *priyai* groups are used as the bureaucrats of authority, and become a tool for subduing the people, so as to keep them loyal to those in power. A large part of the middle classes not involved in bureaucracy, for example university graduates, businessmen and cultural figures, also adopt this official and orthodox thinking for security's sake, so as not to clash with those in power. In this way they can live safely, with the added possibility of making a living out of it all. Even more serious than that, they adopt a self-critical attitude as though it were better to ask oneself whether one were doing wrong to one's superiors than to come out with a few denials for the sake of seeking the truth.

1. Sundanese people inhabit West Java.

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Will the Indonesian community living in this day and age continue perpetually to act like this? Certainly not: some strata of the community are already restive. Ordinary people who from one day to the next face the reality of how difficult it is to feed themselves, as well as the younger generation currently scanning a gloomy horizon — both these groups certainly do not wish to be fettered by the thinking of "leave it to the authorities", and then await the arrival of change. They are attempting to act, in order to find a way in which this tragic and gloomy situation might be changed. A way of thinking is growing among these people which is not absolute, which is free and has the guts to react to the facts of their daily situation. Their thinking is becoming relative, and is derived from the social and economic condition of the community.

The Indonesian people and the ethics of power politics

In the reality of daily life, the emergence of relative thought is still sluggish and difficult because of the strength of the pressure exerted from above, imposed together with teachings and exhortations about maintaining a pleasant disposition and cultivating noble (refined) sentiments in accordance with the orthodox truth as defined by the people in power. The idea is imposed upon the Indonesian people that it is best to adopt the attitude that when faced with problems they will manage through somehow — so as to avoid any conflicts with the orthodox truth. The way to solve a problem is to provide alternatives (other possibilities). Thus it is that there is a continuity in the mental development (thought and mind) of the Indonesian people, proceeding via the preservation of harmony (consultation by means of compromise) to arrive at an agreed opinion which does not deviate from the course followed by those in power. These are the political ethics implanted in the heart of the Indonesian people.

Observation of community life in this day and age however, suggests that it is no longer possible to follow an agrarian and paternalistic way of life: "*ngawulo Kanjeng Gusti*" or "serving my king and master"; "*nderek Bung Karno*" or "following Bung Karno" (former president, Soekarno); "*ngandiko panjenengan Bapak Suharto*" or "whatever Suharto says", according to which one must remain loyal to whatever one's superiors say. Communication between people these days must be of a social, structural nature, in which there is freedom of the individual (as autonomous human beings) and democracy to declare and defend one's beliefs. Democracy requires dis-

ussion in all matters and cannot be destroyed by prohibitions; in fact, a government representing a state of law must be tolerant of discussion. But present-day Indonesia lies under the heel of a military power which has imposed the political order of an authoritarian state, and prohibits all thinking which runs counter to its concept. This is the chief obstacle at present preventing the Indonesian people from acquiring a new way of thinking.

Developing the points of orientation

But for those who are aware that present-day Indonesia is undergoing a social crisis in the form of the violation of human rights and the loss of democracy, alongside an economic crisis for the lower levels of society, for those who are thus aware, it is definitely not possible to keep silent, and feelings of alarm and restiveness grow. To keep silent would be equivalent to alienating oneself from the people's struggle for survival. As for doing something in order to overcome the crisis, there is as yet admittedly no clear way forward, since every effort, every attempt, dissolves in the face of the cruelty of those in power. Is this a dilemma? I say it is not. It is not yet possible to organise physical movements (demonstrations, protest actions) because a military jack-boot despot and his acts of cruelty still rule the roost. But one way or another, there must be points of orientation as a means to oppose this despot. These points are what must be taken up and developed even if only at the level of discussion, because there is as yet no unanimity in understanding and intentions. Dialogue (polemics and discussion) will give rise to the habit of facing up to other opinions and diminish the awkwardness felt in going against the stream. Going against the stream is the dynamics of progress. By progress we mean progress in political, social, economic and cultural life for the betterment of life together as a community. If we can put forward the image of some kind of ethos for action, we will have taken a step towards the future.

State and Democracy

Indonesia is classified as part of the Third World, an undeveloped country, still backward in social, economic and cultural life. The term "Third World" is the result of a classification according to economic status by those countries which consider themselves entitled to divide up the world. In brief, Indonesia is a poor country without wealth. The Third World must be ordered in such a way as to be of use and advantage to the advanced world, the First

World, particularly as regards capital investment and their strategy for world domination. Witness also how, throughout what is called the Third World, countries lie under the power of military dictatorships whose duty it is to safeguard the interests of the First World (ie. capital investment and strategy for world domination). In carrying out that duty, these military dictatorships oppress the aspirations and interests of the people. Political institutions are paralysed or transformed into support units for the violation of human rights and democracy.

History records that the people of Indonesia have never yet known a democratic life. Independent Indonesia with its Pancasila and its Constitution — which are said to be state goals for the achievement of happiness and prosperity — has not been able to inspire the people either. Political parties, at the time they were still allowed to exist with their own identities, did not bring democratic life. Each party and its ideology bound the people with promises and an image of happiness. With that sort of prospect, the people — who looked at things in an uncomplicated manner — were easily drawn, and put all their trust in them, to the point of voluntarily setting aside their personal freedom. Thus the people's participation was shaped with abstract concepts to the effect that ideology (national, religious, social) is the source and guarantee of happiness. This contradicts reality and concrete fact. We feel content when our needs and requirements have been met, and that happens as a result of our own exertions. But the people are at present still being forced to interpret things in an abstract way, to ascribe a symbolic meaning to them. For example, the state is still seen as something symbolic and mysterious, as aiming to be a source of happiness. So much mystery surrounds the attribute of the state known as Pancasila and the Constitution as the garb of the government that no questions can be raised and nothing can be discussed.

According to socio-political science, the state in itself does not contain any objectives. The state is a receptacle made up of laws and rules for the organisation and regulation of community life. What does have objectives and interests in life is the human being, and the state is nothing more than an accessory. Pancasila, which has become the national consensus, is an attribute of the community life of Indonesians which situates moral ethic in the necessities of life and spiritual development. Thus Pancasila does not have a power-political ethic. Politics represent an attitude, and concrete specific exertions for the attainment of an aim. Politics which have a moral impact can become a menace because they will emerge as a challenge and dangerous threat to the independence and beliefs of the individual.

The people and their lives are what requires the government to deal justly with issues which come to the fore in community life. Not the other way round, where

people are forced to bow before and go along with the government's behaviour. Without the people, there is no state, no government, and no president either.

Quo vadis, Mother Indonesia?

The ideas that lie behind my thoughts on the state philosophy, the Constitution, power, the shape of the party system and so on, which came into existence at the same time as Indonesia became independent, have forced me to reconsider all these things, because the development and tumultuous change in the history of the mother country raise a host of issues which have proved to be disputable. In order to clarify the understanding behind my thinking, let me conclude with some concrete examples.

Take for instance the laws which protect the individual's right of property (*hak milik*). These laws are set out in the 1945 Constitution in paragraph 27, article 2. If we follow the idea that has been implanted in the entire community, ie. that all laws are derived from Pancasila as the state philosophy which incorporates the aspect of social justice — and which has moreover become the national consensus, meaning that it has been accepted and acknowledged by the entire nation — then the pro-

tection of the right of property ought to apply to everyone. But in Indonesia these laws are only used to safeguard the property of the rich, since the ones who own property and material wealth are clever at "fishing in muddy waters", ie. manipulators and corruptors. And at the same time the half hectare or so of cultivated land belonging to the peasants is seized by the government.

What I ask is: where can the social justice represented in Pancasila possibly have got to?

Let us take another example of how the Constitution can be exploited as a power base for vested interests and how, because of that, it loses its function as the guarantee of and shield for the necessities of life for the people at large.

Independent Indonesia has experienced two periods: that of Soekarno, and that of Suharto. Both these men had or have the same personal interest, to become president for life and to keep tight control of power in their own hands. The method of capturing and bringing all political parties and institutions under the one umbrella of power is the same. The form and name differ, but the spirit remains the same. Soekarno used the name "guided democracy"; Suharto calls it the "one principle" (*azas tunggal*) — and both constitute totalitarian power. For the return to the 1945

Continued on back page

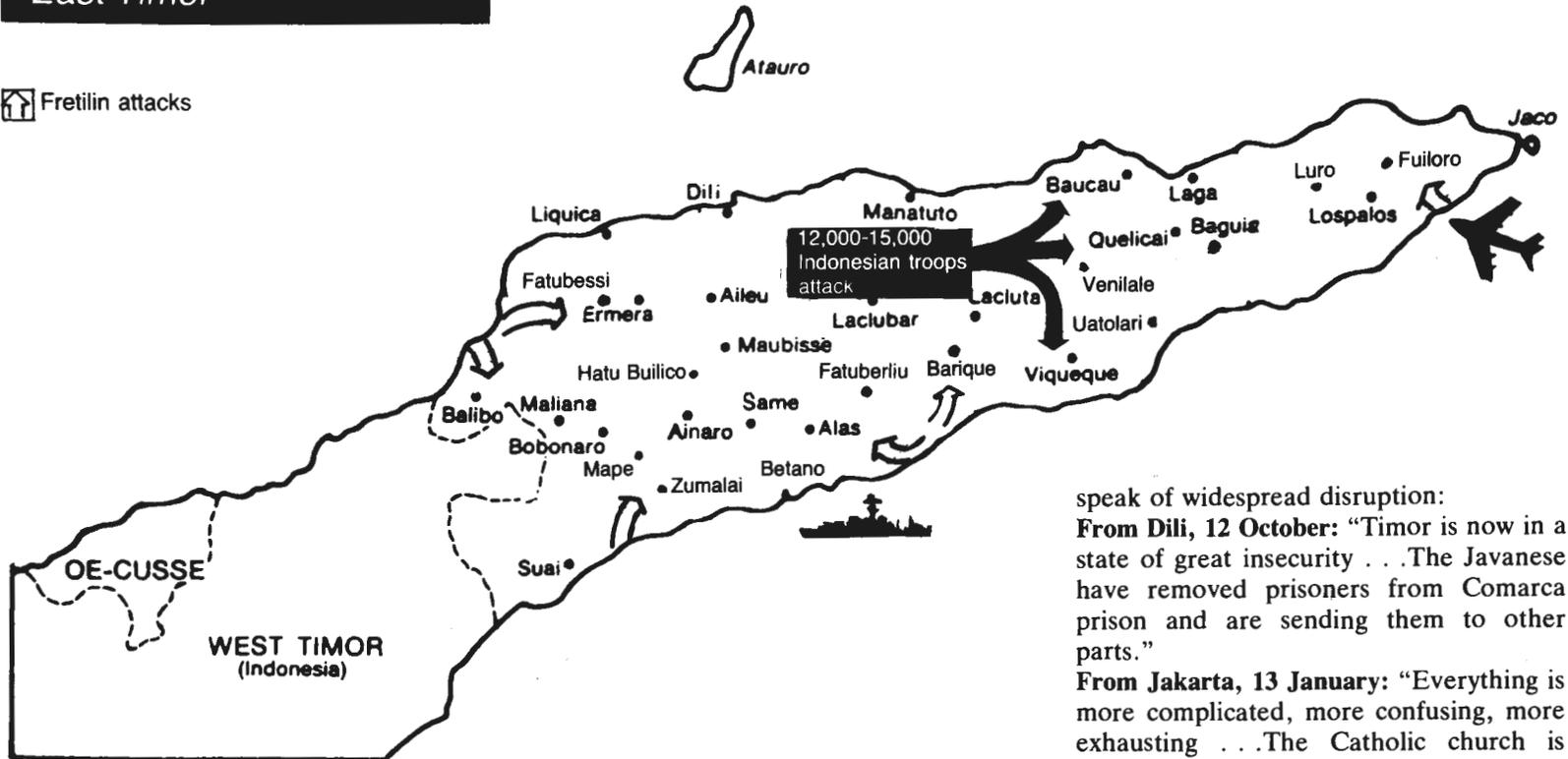


The "dual-function ideology":

Death squads against the people

The '83 wedding: a dynasty in the making.

 Fretilin attacks



More on the offensive

The Indonesian offensive now under way in East Timor has been concentrated on launching a massive attack from the central area of Baucau-Viqueque to the eastern sector which is where Indonesian forces believe most of the resistance is based. Fretilin reports, in a communique issued on 18 January, that 12,000 troops are being used in this attack. There has been indiscriminate shelling and bombardment of civilian and economic targets in Laga, Viqueque, Uatolari, Luro, Venilale and Fuiloro where the population living in concentration camps have been experiencing precarious food and health conditions for years.

According to the Fretilin communique, resistance units have made numerous surprise attacks in many other parts of the country, including an ambush of an

Indonesian convoy on the Fatuberliu-Alas road, another on a convoy travelling from Zumalai to Mape, in the west, and an attack on an Army post near Barique. Fretilin units are even active in areas along the border with West Timor around Balibo, and in the heart of coffee-growing territory near Fatubessi and Dare (Hatu Bulico). Fretilin claims to have captured a large quantity of war material including AR15 rifles and M16 submachine guns, and have put a number of armoured vehicles out of action. It also reports heavy shelling from land and sea-based artillery in areas where Fretilin guerrillas have taken the initiative.



Letters arriving in Lisbon, sent from East Timor in December and January

speak of widespread disruption:

From Dili, 12 October: "Timor is now in a state of great insecurity . . . The Javanese have removed prisoners from Comarca prison and are sending them to other parts."

From Jakarta, 13 January: "Everything is more complicated, more confusing, more exhausting . . . The Catholic church is passing through difficult times. The military are making life hell for them. Many prisoners are sent to Bali for interrogation. Some have returned but nothing is known of the others. Over 2,000 prisoners are still on Atauro. I point out that Bali is the tourist centre of Indonesia. If you start a campaign about the prisoners in Bali, maybe the Australian government will take this into consideration." The same writer, a week earlier writes: "In the mountain areas around Viqueque, Indonesian soldiers are "doing what they like" with 14-year-old girls. "Couples who are suspected are dying in each others' embrace in common graves, riddled with bullets. The least suspicion leads to liquidation."

6 January: "In the regions of Lospalos and Viqueque, there are about 12,000-15,000 soldiers concentrated with heavy arms (tanks, bombers, warships) continuing to kill civilians . . ."

(The Age, Melbourne, 28 January 1984.)

Continued from page 15

Constitution (the Constitution of the state of power), Soekarno was assisted by Gen. A H Nasution and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which was full of bureaucrats working as party cadres. Suharto uses the '45 Constitution too as his power base, and his assistants are also military men and bureaucrats who have banded together in Golkar.

There are of course differences between Soekarno and Suharto. Soekarno was not a military man and did not rush into using martial law. With his charisma, it was easy for him to arouse confidence and solidarity among the masses, so that they would set aside their individual freedom in order to make sacrifices for the Pancasila state — in his own private interests. As a military man, Suharto operates more easily. Drawing his pistol, he shouts: "There's only one commando, namely the one principle.

Others don't count and must all submit". All creatures line up to fall victim to the personal interests of one man.

Such is my picture, my view of Indonesia my mother-country, that has been 38 years independent, has been through two periods, plus the time of physical struggle in 1945-49 as the prelude to independence. Thus far there has not been any fundamental change which might transform a feudal society into a life-form that could meet the demands of its age.

There is no other way: we must have the courage to take a stand and make demands — even if it means going against the stream — in order to break through the stagnation of life and progress.

Quo vadis, Mother Indonesia, the land of my birth?

From *Demi Demokrasi* No. 1, 1983.

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