



**VICTORIA UNIVERSITY**  
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

*Tapol bulletin no, 39, May 1980*

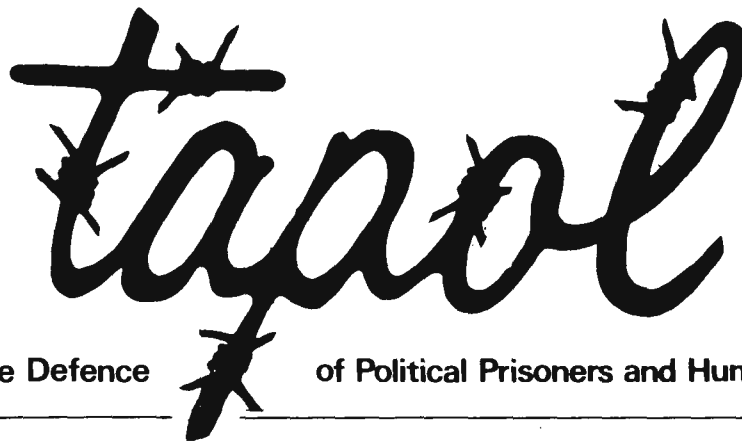
This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1980) Tapol bulletin no, 39, May 1980. Tapol bulletin (39). pp. 1-12. ISSN 1356-1154

The publisher's official version can be found at

Note that access to this version may require subscription.

Downloaded from VU Research Repository <https://vuir.vu.edu.au/26344/>



EDITORIAL

# THE DISAPPEARED

## In East Timor . . .

A report issued by Amnesty International on 29 April 1980 contains details of a number of East Timorese who have disappeared in the last year or so, after being held or captured by Indonesian troops.

These comprise only a tiny fraction of the people who have disappeared in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in 1975. Amnesty quotes a priest who said, commenting in a report on the situation in Dili in early 1979:

No one who had links with Fretilin is safe; at any time, they can be taken without their family knowing and put somewhere else, put in a prison camp, or sometimes, they just disappear.

Moreover, disappearances represent only one aspect of the massive abuse of human rights to which East Timorese people have been subjected, at the hands of the Indonesian invaders, in the past five years. But the publication of detailed cases like this is to be welcomed as it provides the basis for pressing the Indonesian government to account for people known to have been in their custody, in a situation where not many people live long enough in detention for there to be a sizeable number of political prisoners.

Amnesty also notes that a pattern seems to be emerging in the disappearances: a person is held in detention, is interrogated and tortured, but is then released, only to be taken again a short while afterwards, following which he or she disappears without trace.

## . . . and in Indonesia

Disappearances have been a feature of human rights abuse in Indonesia ever since the military came to power in 1965. In the late nineteen sixties, literally tens of thousands of persons disappeared after being taken into custody by army personnel or other officials. Many of those included among the victims of the early massacres were not killed in their homes or villages by troops or fanatical civilians but dis-

appeared, and must be presumed to have been killed whilst in detention.

In some cases, families heard nothing more from the moment a person was arrested; in others, families were at first able to keep in touch (to visit or send food parcels) but were later told that no food could be accepted as the person had "been transferred", and attempts to discover his or her whereabouts proved fruitless. Only now that all B-category prisoners are said to have been released are the families having to accept the bitter realisation that the person was probably killed many years ago.

## The UN and Disappearances

In February this year, the UN Human Rights Commission set up a Working Group "to examine questions relevant to enforced or involuntary disappearances of persons" and instructed the Group "to seek and receive information from governments, intergovernmental organisations, humanitarian organisations and other reliable sources".

Addressing the Commission in support of this decision, the Amnesty International representative said:

No government should be left alone until the last case of a disappearance on its territory has been cleared up. Even if in

*Continued on page 4*

### In this Issue:

Disappearances in East Timor . . . . . p. 2

Disappearances in Indonesia . . . . . p. 3

Forced Repatriation for  
West Papuan Refugees . . . . . p. 6

Notes by a Blind Man . . . . . p. 8

# DISAPPEARANCES IN EAST TIMOR

*At the end of April, Amnesty International wrote to President Suharto about human rights abuses in East Timor.*

*The following is from "Statement of Amnesty International's Concerns in Indonesia and East Timor", 29 April 1980.*

During 1979, Amnesty International received a number of reports that Fretilin members who had surrendered to the Indonesian forces had subsequently disappeared. Amnesty International has been able to investigate these reports and has collected the names of more than 20 individuals who surrendered or were captured and whose present whereabouts are unknown. There are strong grounds for fearing that these individuals may have been executed by Indonesian forces. Moreover, almost immediately after surrender, the majority disappeared after a period of detention and subsequent release spanning up to eighteen months. This latter group were picked up from their homes and have not been seen since. All cases of this pattern of disappearance known to Amnesty International occurred in 1979, suggesting the possibility of eliminating Fretilin members in that year.

**Leopoldo Joaquim**, a member of the Fretilin Central Committee, surrendered in Same in the Southwest of the territory in early 1978. The event was considered sufficiently important by the Indonesians for them to draw up a propaganda leaflet bearing his photograph and announcing his surrender. He was detained for several months after his surrender in San Tai Ho prison, a converted warehouse in Dili. After his release he was required to report daily to the local military command and Indonesian officers were frequently seen eating at his house. In April 1979, he was taken by Indonesian troops and escorted to the house where his 17-year-old niece, **Maria Gorete Joaquim** lived. Maria Gorete Joaquim had been detained for six months in 1976 for her role in the Fretilin student organisation, UNETIM. Both Leopoldo and Maria Gorete Joaquim were then taken away, purportedly to work in Baucau. Neither has been seen or traced since.

**Dulce Maria da Cruz** was captured in March 1979 with her three-year-old child. She was taken to Dili and detained. Nothing has been heard of her since, though her child is believed to be living with relatives in Ostico. A former student in Lisbon, Dulce Maria da Cruz had been appointed principal of a primary school in Dili in October 1974. In January 1975, she was selected by the Portuguese administration to sit on a Commission for Education Reform. She was the Fretilin Minister of Education and Culture and helped institute Fretilin's popular education program. She would now be 29 years old.

A number of Timorese members of the Portuguese army including approximately 100 sergeants joined the Fretilin forces. Many are believed to have disappeared after surrender. They include Sergeants Sebastiano Doutel Sarmiento, João Bosco Soares, Joao Baptista de Jesus Soares.

**João Baptista de Jesus Soares** was held for six months in San Tai Ho prison after his surrender in early 1978. He remained at conditional liberty until April or May 1979 when he was picked up from his home by Indonesian soldiers and probably executed. He had surrendered with

another Fretilin leader, Anibal Aranjó. (Both were members of the Fretilin Central Committee.) Aged about 40 years old at the time of his disappearance, Soares fought with the Portuguese army in Portuguese Guinea (now Guinea Bissau). A younger brother, Paulo, was still in the bush at the time of Soares' disappearance.

Neither **Filomeno Alves** nor **Manecas Exposto** was a leading figure in Fretilin. But, before the events of 1975, both had been known in Dili as members of a popular musical group, the Cinco do Oriente. Prior to the invasion, the two were students at the Lyceo in Dili and members of the Fretilin student organisation, UNETIM. They surrendered together in Maubisse in January 1979. They were taken to Dili and held in San Tai Ho prison. In April 1979, shortly after being released from San Tai Ho, they disappeared. Both would now be approximately 23 years old. Both Filomeno Alves and Manecas Exposto had relatives in Fretilin. Alves' mother, Maria Periera, was herself held in San Tai Ho for a period after the Indonesian invasion. His cousin, Marita Alves, surrendered in mid-1978 and as of November 1979 was still in San Tai Ho prison. Manecas Exposto's father, Manuel Cornelio Albino Exposto, who also fought with Fretilin, surrendered in June 1979 and was, as of November 1979, at conditional liberty after two short periods of detention. Manecas Exposto was also a cousin of former Fretilin President, Nicolau Lobato.

Not all disappearances known to Amnesty International occurred in Dili after a period of detention. Some, including Sergeants **Sarmiento** and **Ribeiro**, disappeared almost immediately after surrender. Others were permitted to return to their homes and disappeared some time later. **João Andrade Sarmiento**, a member of the Fretilin Central Committee, surrendered in Uato-Carabau with his wife and eight children in October or November 1978. He and his family were escorted on foot the 40 kilometres to their home town of Los Palos. There, Sarmiento resumed work as a nurse. In June 1979, he was summoned by the Indonesian military authorities and is believed to have been executed.

The most recent known case of a Fretilin member disappearing after surrender was that of Sergeant **João Basco Soares** who disappeared from Dili in November 1979 three months after surrender.

## AN ACT OF GENOCIDE: INDONESIA'S INVASION OF EAST TIMOR

By Arnold Kohen and John Taylor  
With a Foreword by Noam Chomsky

Price: £1.75 plus postage (UK 25p; Europe 65p; overseas  
airmail £1.00; overseas seairmail 20p)

Order your copies NOW from:

TAPOL,  
8a Treport Street  
London SW18 2BP

# DISAPPEARANCES IN INDONESIA

**Wikana** had been active in the Indonesian independence movement since pre-war days and after independence became a leader of the socialist youth organisation, *Pesindo*. At the time of the 1965 events he was a member of Parliament and the Provisional Consultative Assembly. He went to Peking in September 1965 to attend the 1 October celebrations but unlike some others in the delegation decided to return home after the October events. At the end of October, he was taken from his home by a group of men in Army uniform and driven away in an Army jeep. All efforts by his family to discover his whereabouts were unsuccessful and he was never heard of again.

**Kang Ing Gwan** was a lawyer in Surabaya, East Java. He had frequently defended peasants on trial for taking part in unilateral actions to implement the land reform law. About a month after the October events, according to his wife, some men in Army uniform came to the house and ordered Kang to go with them for questioning. They gave him time to pack some clothes in a small bag before taking him away. Since then, nothing has been heard from him, nor have the many authorities approached given any information about what happened to him.

**Tan Soen Kung** was on the West Java provincial committee of *Baperki*, an organisation mainly of ethnic Chinese Indonesian citizens. In late November 1965, some men in Army uniform came to his house in Bandung and took him away by Army jeep. Another *Baperki* official, Gouw Tiauw Liong, was also on the jeep. While still on the jeep, the two men were bound up; sacks were put over their heads and ropes tied round their necks. Assuming they were both dead, the men in the jeep threw them onto the road near the town of Garut. They were able to untie themselves and make their way to a nearby police station. They were then allowed to return home to Bandung. Soon afterwards, Gouw moved to Jakarta where he lived until his death in 1976 from asthma. But Tan Soen Kung reported to the military authorities in Bandung and was taken into "protective" custody and held at a detention centre in Jatiwaru, Bandung. Some time later he was "*di-bon*" (taken on loan) to another place and never returned to Jatiwaru. His family never heard anything more about him.

**Soedjak, Liem Tjim Lay, Phoa Tjong Ho and Koo Yong Tjay** all disappeared after being "*di-bon*" together from Kalisosok Prison in Surabaya. **Soedjak** was a member of the *People's Youth* and was arrested in Surabaya in 1967. He was interrogated by a special team of interrogators from Jakarta, headed by the notorious Atjep. He was severely tortured. Later, he was transferred to Kalisosok Prison, and it was from there that he was subsequently taken away "on loan", never to return. **Liem Tjin Lay** was a member of the Jakarta committee of *Baperki*. He too was arrested in Surabaya in 1967 and interrogated by Atjep's team, then transferred to Kalisosok Prison, and afterwards taken away

"on loan", never to return. **Phoa Tjong Ho** was also from Jakarta, but he left Jakarta and went to Surabaya after the 1965 events. He had been employed by the *Pembaruan* Publishing Company which published progressive literature. He too was interrogated by Atjep's team, transferred later to Kalisosok Prison, and later disappeared after being taken away "on loan". The fourth man in the group, **Koo Yong Tjay**, was director of the *Indonesian Raya* Printing Works which, in its later days, printed the Communist Party's newspaper, *Harian Rakjat*. Like Phoa, he left Jakarta after the 1965 events and settled down in Surabaya. There, he was arrested in 1967, interrogated by Atjep's men, then transferred to Kalisosok Prison, and disappeared after being taken away "on loan".

Other prisoners who were at Kalisosok Prison at the time report that these four men were all taken away together, and that nothing more was ever heard of them.

Atjep is a name widely known to political prisoners in Indonesia. He was one of the most vicious interrogators, and supervised the most brutal forms of torture. Reports of people who died while being interrogated by Atjep and his men are legion. These people too must enter the list of the disappeared, if their names can be obtained.

**Tan Hwie Liong** had a university education in the USA. After returning home, he worked for an organisation of *kretek* (clove) cigarette manufacturers in Malang, and later helped establish the Malang branch of *Baperki*'s university, *Res Publica*. He was arrested in 1966, and the last place of detention where he was known to be held was Lowokwaru Prison, Malang. His wife sent food and clothing to him there for several months, but one day the things she brought were turned back, and she was never able to discover what had happened to her husband. She made many enquiries at military offices but without success.

**Hasan Subekti** was a teacher at a private school in Sukabumi. He was arrested in December 1965, released the next June, but re-arrested in December 1966 and transferred to the Bogor Military Resort (*Korem*) in December 1966. Thereafter, the family were only allowed to keep contact by letter. The last letter received from him was dated 26 February 1967. After that, letters and food parcels from his wife were refused as *Korem* officers told her he had been moved elsewhere. The facts about the disappearance of **Hasan Subekti** came to light in a letter from one of his sons which was published by the Jakarta daily, *Sinar Harapan* on 11 January 1979 (see *TAPOL Bulletin*, No 32, February 1979). The son, Apriandani, described how his mother has visited military offices in many parts of the country but without success. "Where is our father being held or is he now dead? The problem is that mother is still convinced that he is alive . . ." wrote Apriandani.

**Trubus Sudarsono** was a well-known sculptor. Several of his major works are on display in Jakarta streets. The

family lost touch with him shortly after his arrest in late 1965. He is known to have been held for a time at one of the main Jakarta prisons. Shortly afterwards, his wife was sent his watch and some clothing but was told nothing about what had happened to him. Since 1970, his two daughters have made extensive enquiries, even writing letters to prisoners on Buru to find out whether Trubus was there. In December 1979, they attended the final release ceremony, hoping against hope that they would find their father, but they were disappointed. (See **TAPOL Bulletin** No 38, March 1980.)

**Daulay Porkas** was an employee of the Ministry of Labour and a trade union activist. He also worked part-time on the foreign affairs staff of SOBSI, the All-Indonesian Trade Union Federation. He was arrested shortly after the 1965 events. His last known place of detention was a prison in Bogor, West Java. His wife travelled frequently from Jakarta to take him food, but one day in 1967 she was told he had been moved. She began to search for him, but many months of enquiries proved fruitless. Ex-tapols believe that he was one of several hundred tapols who were taken from detention camps in Bogor in 1967 and shot dead in some isolated plantations in the districts of Subang and Sukabumi.

### Disappearances of PKI Leaders

Four of the five top leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) disappeared after being taken into custody. The fifth, Sudisman, was the only one to be brought to trial in 1966. He received the death penalty and was executed in 1967. **D. N. Aidit**, Chairman of the PKI's Central Committee, was arrested in a village near Solo, Central Java in November 1965. From there, it is reported that he was driven away in an armoured vehicle which drove in the direction of the Merapi-Merbabu mountain complex. While



**D. N. Aidit just before his execution**

on the journey, interrogations are thought to have occurred. According to a report in a Japanese newspaper, **Aidit** was murdered soon after arriving at the Merapi-Merbabu complex. A number of defendants in subsequent political trials have asked for **Aidit** to appear as a defence witness but the courts have simply declared that he could not appear "for technical reasons". There has never been any official confirmation or denial that **Aidit** was arrested.

**Njoto** was a Second Deputy-Chairman of the Central Committee and a minister without portfolio in Sukarno's last cabinet. According to **Didi Soekardi**, his personal secretary and chauffeur, on the day of his arrest, **Njoto** had just left the office of Deputy Prime Minister **Subandrio** after a cabinet meeting when his car was intercepted and ordered by an Army jeep to go to the Military Police headquarters, opposite Gambir Station. There, he was taken into the building, then driven by jeep to the Military Detention Centre in **Jalan Budi Utomo**, off **Lapangan Banteng**. People who were being held at the Centre at the time say that he was placed in an isolation cell, but remained there for only a few hours. He was then taken out "on loan" by a military police colonel, and was never heard of again.

**Sakirman**, a member of the PKI's politbureau, is reported to have been arrested in Solo, shortly after the 1965 events. Then, according to some reports, he was taken to Jakarta by train though he does not seem ever to have arrived in the capital. Some people say he attempted to escape while on the train and was shot dead.

**M. H. Lukman**, the Party's First Deputy-Chairman, was discovered while taking refuge in the home of a friend in **Kebayoran**, a suburb of Jakarta, towards the end of 1965. Both he and the man with whom he was staying were taken out and never heard of again. It is widely believed that they were both shot dead.

---

*Continued from page 1*

some countries many of the disappeared are now dead—and Amnesty International has no proof of this, the international community must insist that the government be held responsible for the fate of every disappeared person.

The Working Group will initially work for a year and should be urged to place Indonesia and East Timor high on its agenda. We call upon our readers, especially those in Indonesia, to provide us with more names and details or to amend or correct the information we are publishing, so as to ensure that more complete dossiers can be prepared.

### HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN INDONESIA

February 1979 to March 1980: A Chronology

The third of TAPOL's annual chronologies is now out. Price: £1.50 plus postage (UK 20 pence; Europe 35 pence; Overseas 35 pence seairmail, £1.25 airmail).

Order your copy now from: **TAPOL**  
8a Treport Street,  
London SW18 2BP

A limited number of copies only available.



# THE NEW ORDER AND THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS\*

*The following is taken from Chapter X of Annual Report of Fundamental Human Rights in Indonesia 1979, published by the Institute for Legal Aid, Jakarta. Please see the review of this Report in TAPOL Bulletin No 38, March 1980. This chapter was written by the lawyer, Yap Thiam Hien.*

It would be untruthful to say that the New Order is a respecter of law and human right. To deny this would be untruthful. And untruthfulness would not serve anybody. Only truthfulness about oneself and about the things one values may lead to better times and conditions. However, truth is a sharp scalpel, it cuts deep and painfully. Lies, hypocrisy, arbitrariness, inhumanity shun truth, because they are children of untruth.

No, the New Order is no respecter of law and human rights. On the contrary. Since its birth and through the course of its life till the time of this writing, many infringements of the law and many violations of human rights have been committed. The truth of these facts glares from the pages of every newspaper: unlawful arrest, manhandling, even killing of suspects, torture, extortion, exploitation, abuse of power during pre-trial interrogations and hearings in courts, to mention just a few, are the order of the day.

## 1. The case of the G30S Tapols

This is the most terrible violation of human rights ever perpetrated by Indonesians against fellow Indonesians, perhaps in the whole known history of the Indonesian people. It has shocked, numbed and terrified the country. The indiscriminate massacre of hundreds of thousands of Indonesians throughout the country in the weeks following the bloody murders of seven Army Generals, the subsequent mass arrest of men and women, their prolonged detention and maltreatment, the doubtful trial proceedings and severe sentences meted out, all these cumulated human rights violations are well known, widely published and condemned internationally.

Before the New Year of 1980 all surviving G30S political prisoners, except some scores belonging to the A-group who will be brought to trial, will be freed, thus official reports say. They have been detained and freed without trial. And in certain officials' minds the G30S prisoners case seems to be then regarded as closed. Some Government spokesmen have been reported as having declared that the ground for the liquidation of the unhappy and protracted tapol issue has been: humanity! It could not have been more cynical, to say the least. One could ask: What about the humanity of lost years of their lives, of physical and mental sufferings, of broken and lost homes, jobs and careers, of lost love and friendship? What about morality, justice? Could this gigantic issue of inhumanity and injustice be closed just like that? Without consideration of any compensation whatsoever that still will never be able even to make good all the nightmarish experiences??? It would not to be believed that a government of the people that has accepted the responsibility, by repeated declarations or by implication, to govern the people according to the Pancasila, would shrug off so lightly its responsibility towards a part of the people whom it has for years and years deliberately detained without trial, and then leave them to their own devices to scratch for their own living. Even the thought of it would be unbearable. Here lies a good opportunity for the government to make the necessary humanitarian and moral amendments.

---

\*The translation of the original Indonesian text was provided by the Institute for Legal Aid. Only minor spelling and punctuation mistakes have been corrected.

---

## TAPOL'S NEW LIST OF SPONSORS

With the change in TAPOL's sub-heading to **British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia**, announced in **TAPOL Bulletin No 38** (March 1980), we now have a new list of sponsors. Seventeen of our original sponsors consented to continue their sponsorship, and to these have been added another ten sponsors.

The three sponsors who decided to resign are Lord Gardiner, Professor John A. Rex and Han Suyin. Lord Gardiner, now eighty years old, has decided to reduce his commitments, and also felt, with Professor Rex, that with the release of most of the prisoners, he had served his purpose. Han Suyin did not seem happy with our broader focus and said that, while she does not question our aims, TAPOL "is no longer a totally humanitarian concern".

We take this opportunity of thanking the three retiring

sponsors for their valuable support and encouragement in the past.

Our list of sponsors is now as follows:

Lindsay Anderson	Glenda Jackson
Hamza Alavi	Russell Kerr, MP
Dame Peggy Ashcroft	Alf Lomas, MEP
Tony Benn, MP	Joan Maynard, MP
Roland Berger	Sybil Morrison
The Rt. Rev. Bishop B. C. Butler	Dorothy M. Needham, FRS
The Rt. Hon. The Lord Caradon	Dr. Joseph Needham, FRS
Lawrence Daly	FBA
Peggy Duff	Stan Newens, MP
Robert Edwards, MP	Paul Rose
Lady Fleming	Alan Sapper
Altaf Gauhar	Jim Slater
Stuart Holland, MP	The Rev. The Lord Soper
	Edward P. Thompson
	Jack Woddis

## FORCED REPATRIATION FOR REFUGEES

In Australia the *National Times* reported (2 February 1980) that the new border treaty between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea has prompted the announcement in the Indonesian Embassy (Canberra) newsletter that Papua New Guinea will repatriate to Indonesian hands "more of the people who had fled from there (West Papua—ed.) for political or other reasons and stayed in PNG". On this point the Embassy reasons "only a few of them could be called intellectuals, most were fellow travellers with no convictions of their own". Amongst the refugees is Eliazar Bonay, a former governor of West Papua New Guinea.

The recent change of government in Papua New Guinea gives no cause for hope that PNG will reverse its policy of appeasing Indonesia. The West Papuan community there is in some danger as the PNG government has often issued warnings about possible repatriation if they engage in any political activities. This includes publicising Indonesia's offences against West Papuan people in WPNG. PNG's complicity has been a sensitive domestic and diplomatic issue and the government has done its best to cover up the repatriation of refugees.

A report about the repatriation of refugees from Papua New Guinea in 1978 has recently come to light. It raises serious issues about the protection of refugees in Papua New Guinea and the observance of international conventions. The report was made by a well-informed and reliable church source, but was unpublished for some time because of the attitude of the Papua New Guinea government towards anyone publishing such reports. It is fitting to quote the report here, although it is almost two years old because it is essential that the rights of future refugees be protected.

In mid-1978 the informant who was based in the Vanimo area of Papua New Guinea, heard of 100 refugees who had fled to PNG following heavy Indonesian bombing raids along the border. It was believed that the refugees were villagers and not members of the Free Papua Movement. A senior PNG government official ordered the refugees to return, but they demanded political asylum, saying that they feared for their lives if they were sent back. "They feared the Indonesians. They were afraid that they would be burned by the bombing of their villages". A few refused to return while the rest returned on foot. The next week 343 refugees crossed but they too were rounded up by the PNG Defence Force. The informant, along with other church workers, "demanded that they be put into quarantine. Against the government officials' wishes, we set up a quarantine camp and during that time we were able to contact UN officials and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Robert Sampat Kumar, actually visited the camp". He interviewed the refugees and decided that they were genuine refugees and were not to be sent back. A week later another 355 refugees came across the border and a second quarantine camp was established. The UN supplied food.

The PNG government seems to have ignored its responsibilities of providing the basic needs of the refugees. The in-

# WEST

A press ban imposed by Indonesia has effectively denied the world news of large-scale racist repression by Indonesia in West Papua New Guinea (WPNG), known by Indonesia as Irian Jaya. The Melanesian population of WPNG is callously dismissed as "wildlife" by Indonesian officials, and villagers are forced to move from traditional lands and fishing grounds to make way for Indonesian transmigrants. In Indonesia's attempts to quell the long-standing West Papuan resistance to integration with Indonesia, West Papuans are harassed, arrested, shot and bombed. The few reports that do reach the world outside WPNG are consistent in telling a tale of the vicious subjugation of a hostage population.

A report compiled in December 1979 by a reliable source reveals that there are about 500 West Papuan prisoners in various prisons—140 in Jayapura, 50 in Manokwari, 150 in Biak and 125 in Serui. They were almost all detained illegally, without the arrest-warrant

formant has informed the UNHCR that during the visit of Sampat Kumar another 500 refugees in the Kamberatoro had been asking for two weeks to speak to the UN representative, but their requests had been blocked in Vanimo. A priest in the area became alarmed at the condition of the refugees and reported to the government official in the area that the refugees were dying of starvation. The message relayed back on the radio was, "They are to be given no food or medical help. Let the buggers die. They are to be sent back".

In September 1978 the informant heard with surprise, a report on the National Broadcasting Commission (PNG) that the refugees had decided to return. A letter sent to the UNHCR states:

I cannot believe that these people had voluntarily agreed to return. I was present when Mr Sampat Kumar asked some of the camp leaders whether they would return when the trouble was over. Their reply was that they would return to their land when the trouble was over, but only their land on the Papua New Guinea side of the border; they would not return to their villages on the West Irian side of the border. The answer to this question was incorrectly translated from Pidgin into English by the official translator, deleting the proviso that they would only return to their land on the PNG side of the border. I and several others fluent in Pidgin pointed out the incomplete translation, which was then corrected by the official.

The 700 refugees were reported to have been escorted back to the border by PNG government officials. "When they neared the border, they saw an Indonesian platoon waiting for them", states the report. The platoon was supposedly to escort the refugees back to their (razed) villages, but they did not believe this and broke away and fled into the bush.

# PAPUA

(*surat penangkapan*) required by Indonesian law. The military authorities give a "cultural" explanation for such breaches of the law and of human rights; i.e. that "marginal law" is in force in West Papua New Guinea. The majority of the prisoners have been imprisoned for defending their basic rights, including traditional land rights.

A document prepared by one of the prisoners confirms a report in **TAPOL Bulletin** No. 38 about the death of Baldus Mofu, and adds that in Serui two men and a woman have died in prison recently, while a medical student, Leonard Rawayai died in the Jayapura military prison. Several prisoners have stated that prison food is inadequate, and is often rotten.

Indonesian troops continue to stamp on any signs of social unrest. In March this year a village in the Unurum Guay area near Jayapura was burned down by Indonesian troops, and the entire population of 100 people was slaughtered.

The informant believes that the PNG government sent the refugees back because there were fears that PNG officials might be taken as hostages by Indonesian troops if they supported the refugees. The West Papuans, however, had more reasons to fear, and the informant describes their terror:

I have seen refugees being returned against their will. I have actually seen them being loaded into canoes and into planes at Vanimo. I have seen grown men crying like babies. They had an intense fear of being killed. I have been told by refugees coming over, of people being carted out to sea in canoes and dropped overboard in copra sacks; of people being forced to dig their own graves and being shot into them. I have seen people who have had their eyes torn out by the Indonesians. I have heard of people being beaten and sent back to their villages as examples.

It is likely that refugees will continue to cross into PNG despite tightened border security since 1978. The PNG government still insists that the refugees are "border crossers", "illegal immigrants" or "opportunists". In a letter to TAPOL dated 4 February 1980 Sampatkumar, Chief of South and South East Asia Regional Section of the UNHCR says:

We have been assured by the PNG authorities not only of their full adherence to the sacrosanct nature of the principle of non-refoulement but also of their full co-operation in ascertaining that genuine refugees from Irian Jaya would not be returned to Irian Jaya against their will. We are presently working out a mutually agreeable procedure in order to ensure the above.

It is to be hoped that the observance of UN principles will not revolve upon the PNG government's definition of "genuine refugees". . .

## WEST PAPUAN LEADER DIES AFTER BEATING

Baldus Mofu, the West Papuan freedom fighter whose death we reported in our last issue, is now known to have died as the result of injuries inflicted by a group of men who picked him up from his home, took him to an isolated spot and severely beat him.

The **West Papuan Observer** (Volume 4/5, January-February 1980) reports that, according to new information, Baldus was arrested in May last year for continuing to support West Papua's independence from Indonesia. He had had been arrested on a number of occasions previously. Then in October 1979, he was unexpectedly released though others held with him were not. The reason for his release appears to have been that his wife was known to be away from home for several weeks, attending her mother's funeral in another part of the country; this left their home occupied only by small children and aged relatives. On the night of 7 December, two unknown men came and took Baldus away. Early next morning, he was returned home, covered with swellings and bruises. Within a few hours he was dead.



The tortured body of Baldus Mofu (*West Papuan Observer*, Vol. 4/5, January-February 1980).



## NOTES BY A BLIND MAN by Holla\*

Rain is falling. I can hear the rain squelching through the gaps in our cracked roof, and dripping onto the wooden bench where we sleep. I can hear the drips, clearly and distinctly, but I cannot see the rain-drops or the overcast sky above because I am blind. Like my dark fate, my feelings are mixed and grim. Sometimes in this darkness, I feel anger, then sadness. Yet, strangely, I never despair, nor do I become confused by such confusion. The world has changed, yes, changed. I confidently anticipated that it would change and I struggled more than thirty years for change.

I am blind. I would like to tell the story of my blindness but no-one seems to care. Is it that everyone knows why I am blind? Or is it that my blindness is of no consequence to anyone except my family and me? Can it be that my years of struggle from 1950-1965 when I fought for my rights and for the rights of my fellow aviation workers have come to nought? The fact is that I have been forgotten.

The men in uniform said I was guilty, they said I had sinned because I was a trade union activist and that I would naturally have to pay for this, even with blindness. That's why I went blind. I should consider myself lucky, they used to say, that they didn't finish me off altogether like so many of my comrades in the regions. I don't regret being blind but what I do regret is being powerless, that we became paralysed ourselves even before they paralysed us. What then was the use of that trade union? We failed to turn our revolutionary tradition into a culture, and I went blind.

Like many others from my native Bangkalan on the island of Madura, I used to be a sailor. Then I switched to aviation—not of my own choosing but through the efforts of a friend. Madura has boats, coastlines and bull-races and they all remain memories for me, stored away in my rich consciousness. I cannot enjoy the sight of the beautiful countryside where I was born any more. My recollections of the world's great harbours remain as I saw them forty years ago, in the way my eyes recorded them. I shall take that vision with me to the grave even though a thousand and one changes have taken place.

A friend who has been very good to me, who helped me all the time I was in prison and who still helps me now, says—goodness knows if he is right!—that with proper medical treatment and good healthy food every day, my sight could be restored. Yet, I am not completely blind. I can see things clearly in my heart.

It is important for me to explain that blindness has made my heart see things more clearly. The sound of the hand-driven sewing-machine that is as old as Indonesian independence, worn by age and use, grinding on with great difficulty. My wife's fatigue as she sits there sewing, night and day, when there is work. When orders come, our stove burns, but when things are quiet, we have to pull our belts tighter. There is no alternative. I feel the struggle of this woman, armed with nothing but her sense of responsibility as wife and mother, fighting alone in the front-line of a merciless battle, the battle for life. I can see the profile of

this Srikandi<sup>1</sup> clearly in my blindness. No, I'm not blind.

A longing for the three children we had to send off to relatives in East Java often breaks through my paternal feelings, but I must suppress this. Better to suffer this longing than for our children to starve in our midst. I can only hope, within my heart, that our children will find a better path in life, but there are times when this hope wavers.

Sometimes, when I meet friends in the street, they ask me where my house is. I don't know how to reply. Do I really have a house? Not being a civil engineer, I don't know what the definition of house is. But clearly, the place we use as a shelter could hardly be called a house. The walls are made of thin bamboo slats, patched in many places with bits of paper of many different colours. It measures only two-and-a-half metres by two-and-a-half metres and three of us live here. There's no bathroom or lavatory, well or pipe-water. No kitchen. We cook, sleep and receive visitors in this one room. We have to go two hundred metres for a place to bath and to relieve ourselves. This adds to our sufferings when one of us falls ill.

Yet these are the lesser of our worries. The worst thing of all is the anxiety which continually haunts us because the "home" of ours is a squat, built on a pavement behind the Public (Moslem) Cemetery. There are plans to remove us, and if this actually happens, I shudder to think what will become of us. How will we be able to save anything? It is difficult to portray our constant anxieties and fears as we anticipate the catastrophe, see it coming closer and closer, driving us down a dead-end. Our hearts are always ill at ease. How long can this last? Shall we have the strength to cope? I am blind so I can't see the anxiety of my wife's face.

My only consolation is to listen to the news from a radio in a neighbouring house. Every day, when news bulletins are broadcast, I hear the world news—news about war and peace, about inflation and world recession, about modernisation in China, and—the thing that excites me most of all—about workers on strike, transport workers in France, post-office workers in Britain, causing chaos for the governments in power. The news of workers' actions is like a tonic, a stimulant, making my heart beat faster, making my blood tingle, giving me warmth. I always say in my heart: victory to you, comrades! We shall certainly win because our cause is just and these are our rights! Keep up the struggle and unite, comrades. Your victories are my victories, too. I am blind and can't lead strikes or demonstrations any more, but the nostalgia revives every time I hear news from abroad. My unfortunate fellow-workers here in Indonesia don't yet have the chance to speak out for their rights. But never mind! History is not yet finished, nor will it be finished as long as the workers remain conscious and go on with the struggle. Workers' solidarity is an invincible weapon!

---

1. Srikandi: A legendary figure in the *Mahabharata* epic tales. She was a skilled and courageous fighter.

## CONFUSION OVER REMISSION FOR CONVICTED POLITICAL PRISONERS

Early this year, it was officially announced that all convicted political prisoners would enjoy the same remission rights as other convicted prisoners. Prior to a presidential instruction issued in November last year, remission was denied to all political prisoners as a matter of principle.

Although the new regulation is said to be universally applicable, there is clear evidence that widespread anomalies are occurring, particularly outside Java where law authorities are injecting some very strange interpretations. In one prison outside Java where about 60 convicted prisoners are being held, numerous anomalies have been reported.

In the first place, prisoners who appealed against their sentences are not being allowed remission until the appeal has been heard. This applies too in cases where the prosecutor has appealed against the sentence. Appeal courts in Indonesia are notoriously slow, and many appeals have been pending for years. It is understood that in Jakarta some prisoners were advised to withdraw their appeals in order to enjoy remission rights, but in this prison such "concessions" are not permitted. (The authorities insist that while an appeal is pending, the person in question is not yet a convicted person but remains a "political prisoner" and is not therefore entitled to remission.) This even applies in cases where the full sentence has already been served. Two cases are mentioned where the prosecutors appealed against sentence; the sentences expired in 1976 and 1978, yet the two men remain in prison because their prosecutors' appeals are still pending.

Further anomalies have arisen because some sentences allowed deduction for pre-trial detention while others did not. As a result, the convicted person ends up serving many more years than the court's sentence. There is also confusion over the date from which sentences are calculated. The prison authorities insist that the sentence can only start

on the day when it was formally notified by the court of the sentence. In one case, the court delayed sending the notification for three years as a result of which the prisoner finds himself serving an extra three years!

## EX-TAPOLS SUBJECTED TO ARMY CHECK-UP

Ex-tapols in the eastern sector of Jakarta were recently ordered to remain home for one day in order to enable Army and government officials to check-up on what they are doing. It is not known whether this sudden check-up took place in other parts of the capital or elsewhere in Indonesia, but TAPOL has obtained a copy of an "urgent" and "secret" cable sent by Major Firdaus Hasyim, commander of the East Jakarta Military Command, to all his subordinates on 18 April instructing them to ensure that all ex-tapols in their districts would remain in their homes from midnight till 3pm on Sunday, 20 April for purposes of this check-up. Local officials were ordered to visit every single ex-tapol, and to report their findings to local army, police and government offices.

The instruction highlights once again the vulnerability of ex-tapols to sudden and unwarranted interference in their daily lives. The cable was sent out less than 36 hours before the check-up was to begin and must have caused great consternation among the ex-tapols in question.

### THREE DEMANDS FOR JUSTICE

Have you responded yet to the letter sent to you with **TAPOL Bulletin** No 38? If not, please do so without delay. The article on this page shows how necessary it is to push for the immediate release of all convicted prisoners.

## PAPUAN POP GROUP AND ELDER STATESMAN SEEK POLITICAL ASYLUM

A former chairman of the Regional Assembly in Irian Jaya (West Papua New Guinea) after its absorption into Indonesia and a well-known Papuan pop group are seeking political asylum in the Netherlands. The former chairman, Dirk S. Ayamiseba, and his son Andy, who is the leader of the pop group, **The Black Brothers**, arrived in the Netherlands in January, together with all the other members of the group plus their wives and children. They consist altogether of 22 people.

After announcing their decision to seek political asylum, the group explained that they had been opposed to Indonesia's absorption of their country for many years and had been planning to make a getaway for a very long time. The chance eventually came when **The Black Brothers** were invited to tour Papua New Guinea, and took their families with them, claiming that they intended to go to Manila for a holiday.

Speaking at a press conference in Delft on 20 March, Andy Ayamiseba made a strong plea for international action to stop the killing of Papuans by Indonesian troops.

*Continued from page 8*

When night falls and the news bulletins have ended, I lie here alone, without a mattress, on this hard wooden bench. I know it is night-time not because the sun's rays have disappeared but because of the calmness that descends. I think back to those sombre days. And before I fall asleep, I tell myself: "Never stop believing that tomorrow, a red sun will rise in the east, clear and warm. Be ready to welcome it!"

Jakarta, 24 October, 1979.

\*Holla, an ex-tapol, was a leader of *Serbaud*, the Union of Aviation Workers.

### Editor's note

Last month, we received news that Holla's home was demolished during demolitions of squatters' houses carried out by the Jakarta Municipal Government. He, together with other ex-tapols whose families had built shacks in the same district of Jakarta, is now completely homeless.

# EAST TIMOR

## SELF-DETERMINATION SOUGHT IN US CONGRESS

A bi-partisan group of 55 members of the US House of Representatives has tabled a resolution calling for self-determination for East Timor and unrestricted access to the territory. Introducing the resolution on 16 April 1980, **Congressman Tom Harkin** said that the sponsors "believe a strong gesture of congressional concern is needed about the continuing presence of Indonesian troops in East Timor, the restriction of international aid personnel, the restrictions on East Timorese emigration and continuing human rights violations on the island". The resolution reads as follows:

A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the President should take certain actions with respect to East Timor,

Whereas an estimated 100,000 East Timorese have died from starvation, disease and fighting resulting from the invasion and occupation of East Timor by the government of Indonesia;

Whereas an estimated 400,000 East Timorese have been displaced from their homes;

Whereas the majority of the East Timorese people have suffered from malnutrition and hunger;

Whereas the government of Indonesia refuses to permit the free emigration of East Timorese people;

Whereas the government of Indonesia has not allowed free access to East Timor by the United Nations, relief agencies, humanitarian organisations, journalists or church groups;

Whereas the United Nations, the Interparliamentary Union and the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations have repeatedly condemned the government of Indonesia for its invasion and unilateral annexation of East Timor; and

Whereas the people of East Timor have not been permitted to freely exercise their right of political self-determination: now, therefore, be it resolved,

That the House of Representatives calls upon the President to immediately –

- 1) Increase humanitarian assistance to East Timor by providing to East Timor through non-governmental organisations, more food commodities, medical supplies and funds;
- 2) Encourage the government of Indonesia to allow the free emigration of those East Timorese wishing to leave the country and to allow international relief personnel and journalists free access to East Timor;
- 3) Establish a United States presence in East Timor to monitor the distribution of relief aid and the emigration of East Timorese; and
- 4) Encourage the government of Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor and to allow an internationally supervised election in which the East Timorese can freely exercise their right of self-determination.

---

## MORE EXECUTIONS REPORTED

A letter from East Timor, dated 8 March 1980 and smuggled out to a Timorese priest in Lisbon has supplied

more names of resistance fighters who have recently been executed by Indonesian troops after surrendering. He writes:

The majority of (resistance fighters) who came down from the mountains have now been eliminated. Concrete cases I know of are Lino da Costa and Jacolidos Reis, both of Ossu. They were dragged out at midnight before another group was also dragged out: Lito Gusmao, Panteleao Metan junior and his wife Alexandrina, Moises da Costa of Ossu with his wife Mariazinha Lobato, sister of Nicolau Lobato, ex-president of Fretilin. According to eye-witnesses, these last two were burnt to death with petrol at Viqueque.

People about to be executed are told they have been summoned to Quelicai to study Indonesian. "They have executed many people in Quelicai. People's hearts beat faster when Quelicai is mentioned because it represents terror and certain death".

The writer speaks of intensified resistance against the background of maltreatment and terror by Indonesian troops. "There is sporadic fighting in all areas . . . owing to mal-treatment . . . Many Timorese soldiers have left Indonesian ranks to join their compatriots in the bush".

---

## FAMILY REUNIONS CANCELLED

In 1978 following long negotiation, Australia and Indonesia worked out a family reunion agreement involving some 600 East Timorese who were to rejoin family members in Australia where they had fled soon after the Indonesian invasion of December 1975. This number represents a shortlist which the Indonesian government cut back from 2,668 applicants. A group of 100 refugees arrived in Darwin in January 1979, and Indonesian and Australian officials said at the time that the remaining 500 would probably arrive in Australia under normal immigration laws some time in 1979.

So far, less than half of the refugees have arrived, and those who have are all of Chinese descent. Since September 1979 even the ethnic Chinese have been prevented from leaving. Most have got to Jakarta but have not been granted exit permits. The agreement seems to have broken down completely, but Australian and Indonesian officials are reluctant to comment. Some Australian observers feel that the breakdown results from Indonesian annoyance at continuing criticism in Australia about Indonesia's actions in East Timor. Indonesia is plainly reluctant to allow any more East Timorese to add to the shocking stories already circulating about Indonesian abuses.

Sources: **Star** (Northern Territory, 27 March, 1980, **Northern Territory News**, 22 March 1980; **The Australasian**, March 1980).

---

## SUSPENDED TEACHERS HAVE WAITED 15 YEARS

Many dozens of teachers in Central Lampung who were suspended from work in 1965 because they were members of the PGRI, the teachers' union that was banned after the military came to power, are still now, fifteen years later,

## ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS

Last April saw two serious anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia. In Ujung Pandang (South Sulawesi), following the death of a woman employed by a Chinese store-keeper, crowds rampaged through the streets in two days of anti-Chinese riots. The woman died of kidney failure, but rumours of torture and sex murder by her employer flew around the city. As tension grew the Chinese community prepared for trouble and the riots erupted less than 48 hours after the death.

Troops were apparently prepared for the rioters, but little effort was made at first to contain the rioters who numbered thousands. It is estimated that 1,123 houses and stores, 29 cars and 42 motor-bikes were damaged, worth Rp. 318 million (more than US \$509,000). Later the South and Central Sulawesi army commander took charge and sealed the area off. Among the 170 arrested were eleven students and the campus was closed for several days.

The Medan (North Sumatra) riots left one dead and involved fighting between rival gambling gangs, one of which included Chinese youths. Again students were involved in the racial tension which flared up. Around the campus of the University of North Sumatra, there were notices saying, "For the time being, Chinese are forbidden to enter the campus". Dozens of students circled the city on motor-bikes bearing signs that said "Exterminate Chinese gamblers".

There was a third anti-Chinese incident in Java. In the impoverished area of Gunungdedel (near Tasikmalaya), graves in a Chinese cemetery were damaged on 4 April, just before the Chinese observance of the day of *Ceng Beng* (visiting the ancestors). *Ceng Beng* ceremonies had to proceed under civil defence guard.\*

The incidents are serious enough in themselves, but there is more than a hint that they are not isolated incidents, and could represent the prelude to a major onslaught against the Chinese population of some three million. The

*Continued from page 10*

awaiting a decision regarding their status. No fewer than 188 teachers were suspended at the time for PGRI membership, but their suspension order stipulated that pending a final decision, they were entitled to receive 50 per cent of their salaries. In fact, not only do they remain suspended but none of them has received a single cent in salary for the past fifteen years.

Three of the teachers, representing forty of those affected, decided in desperation to visit Parliament in Jakarta to register their complaints and press for a speedy settlement. "We've tried everything, and we're at a loss to know what to do", one of the teachers told the Jakarta daily, *Suara Karya* (18 March 1980), "so we decided to come to Parliament".

They pointed out that they had been screened in 1966 and cleared of involvement in PGRI and PKI activities, yet this had not led to their re-instatement.

KOPKAMTIB executive officer in Ujung Pandang did not see the riots as being merely in sympathy with the deceased woman. He marked them as "aimed clearly at subversion and sabotage". In the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (2 May, 1980) David Jenkins observes that the government is taking the disturbances very seriously:

Since then, the government has put the clamps firmly on anything that might exacerbate antagonism in the field of Sana, an acronym distilled from the Indonesian words for ethnic groups, religion, races and inter-group activities. *With feeling running high in some quarters, no one is taking any chances* (emphasis added—ed.).

This spells great danger for the Suharto government. Indonesia is very anxious now to restore diplomatic and direct trade relations with China. But it is likely that a number of groups who oppose Suharto see the advantages in uniting around the Chinese issue. The Chinese are a well-trying target as they have long been a pariah group towards which popular grievances have been directed by those in power. The signs are that opposition groups within the military realise that the Chinese issue could well supply the flash-point that would provide the excuse for the imposition of a state of emergency. Suharto's security apparatus KOPKAMTIB would then become redundant and power would shift to those who command the state of emergency. If the upheaval were massive enough it would also cut off Suharto's ties with his Chinese financiers, whose activities have caused trenchant criticism from the student movement. Suharto and his associates have funds salted away overseas against such a day of reckoning.

Those who will not be able to escape unscathed are hundreds of thousands of ordinary Chinese whose sacrifice will probably be deemed a necessity by those who have much to gain in the toppling of the Suharto regime.

\*Sources: *Tempo* 19 April and 26 April 1980 and *Far Eastern Economic Review* 2 May 1980.

## RENDRA DENIED PERMIT TO VISIT AUSTRALIA

The well-known Indonesian poet and playwright, Rendra, has been refused an exit permit to visit Australia where he is due to undertake an extensive tour to speak at specially-arranged seminars and to give lectures and poetry readings. The tour, which is scheduled to last from 2 June till 3 July, is organised by CARPA (Committee Against Repression in the Pacific and Asia).

News of the Indonesian Government's refusal to allow Rendra to travel abroad for this tour has led to many protests from Senators, academics and artists in Australia.

Last year, Rendra made a very successful tour of several West European countries.



# BOOK REVIEW

Torben Retbøll (ed.), 1980, *East Timor, Indonesia and the Western Democracies: A Collection of Documents*. Copenhagen, International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs. 138pp.

“... misrepresentation facilitates the pursuit of dangerous and harmful programs without the constraints that an informed public opinion might, and sometimes does impose.” (Noam Chomsky.)

Torben Retbøll has produced an important collection of documents. Important because they record both the ruthless massacre and subjugation of the East Timorese, and also how governments jockeying in the big power struggle, with security and arms sales as their over-riding concerns, have duped people into becoming the passive parties to a genocide.

Even more disgraceful than the suppression of information, the governments of the United States, Britain, Holland, France, Germany and Sweden have been supplying Indonesia with counter-insurgency aircraft, corvettes, helicopters, submarines and guns, all in the interests of so-called regional security. Jim Dunn's careful interviews with some 200 refugees give a horrifying exposition of the cost of all this in terms of Timorese suffering, and his account is confirmed by letters from priests who were in East Timor.

While a wide range of sources, including even some Indonesian officials, testify to the continuing resistance of the Timorese liberation movement, Fretilin, the Indonesian UN representative Purbo Sugiarto, stated in August 1978 that “order has been restored in the territory”. J. Herbert Burke is quoted as saying in the US Congress in July 1977 that the “relatively insignificant question of East Timor” was a “cat-spaw of communist conspiracy, designed to embarrass and weaken the government of Indonesia...”. Congressional hearings, he said, encourage the “remnants of Fretilin forces... to continue killing other Timorese.”

And if the logic seems warped, and principle lacking here, perhaps the answer is supplied by the Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Richard Woolcott who urged early in 1976 that Australia accept “the inevitability of East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia”. Why? “It is a choice between Wilsonian idealism or Kissingerian realism. The former is more proper and principled but the longer term national interest may well be served by the latter”. And we might well ask—whose national interest? With the publication of William Shawcross' *Sideshow*, and Kissinger's memoirs, it has now become better known that Kissingerian realism means that lying can be used to serve pragmatic ends. Woolcott is a fervent disciple. On 31 May 1976 the *Canberra Times* reveals that,

A Ministerial statement was altered last year to conceal the fact that Australia knew Indonesian troops were active in East Timor, more than a month before the all-out Indonesian invasion of the territory on December 7. The Australian ambassador, Mr Dick

Woolcott, advised that though Australia knew Indonesia was lying in its insistence that Indonesian forces were not operating in the territory, it should not say so publicly.

If it were revealed, says Woolcott, “we would invite a hurt and angry reaction”. Later, in 1976, the United States cautioned Australia about jeopardising its relations with Indonesia, “if Australian relations with Indonesia worsened it could hinder the US strategy for balancing Russia's military might”.

The voting pattern in the United Nations presented in this collection shows how the US, Western Europe and Pacific countries have opted for the “realistic” stand—abstaining or voting with Indonesia on issues concerned with East Timor. The United States' ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel Moynihan, is quoted, “... the United States wished things to turn out as they did, and worked to bring this about. The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried forward with no inconsiderable success.”

Thanks to the laws of Kissingerian realism, we live today in the shades of a world whose leaders move in ruthlessness and duplicity. Their minions apply themselves to sophistry and apologetics. The breakdown of international law and the corrosion of principles now threatens us all, while the sacrifice of a population is considered a small price for a “security” that has made people live in fear of the next move the leaders will take in its name. Is this Alice in the 1980s, an Orwellian nightmare? It's a true story and one that should be read.

Obtain from: The International Secretariat of the IWGIA, Fiolstrade 10, DK-1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

One year's subscription (6 issues):

UK and Europe: £4.50

Overseas (airmail): £6.00

### To all subscribers outside the UK:

Please make payments by a *cheque drawn on a London bank*, by *mail payment order* or by *National Giro transfer*. In case of cheques drawn on foreign banks, bank charges amounting to about £1.50 are deducted from the value of the cheque and represent a serious loss on the small denomination cheques received by TAPOL. If you cannot make payment by methods suggested above, please add the equivalent of £1.50 to the value of your cheque. Thank you.

Please address all correspondence and enquiries to:

TAPOL  
8a Treport Street  
London SW18 2BP, UK

Printed by Calvert's North Star Press Ltd, 55 Mount Pleasant, London WC1X 0AE (01-) 278 7177.