



Free trade union officially banned

The Indonesian authorities have announced that the SBSI, the Indonesia Prosperous Labour Union, has been banned. The announcement came ten days after tens of thousands of workers in Medan organised actions in support of a number of demands.

The ban was announced by Suryatna Subrata, secretary-general of the Interior Ministry, who declared that the SBSI is an 'illegal' organisation and 'is banned from carrying out any kind of activity'. Regional administrations throughout the country were instructed to comply with the ban, he said, adding that 'it is up to the security forces to act if the union ignores the ban'.

The Interior Ministry has also alleged that the SBSI has never tried to register with the Ministry. This is not true; the union made several applications to register since it was founded in April 1992 but these have all been ignored.

Under Indonesia's corporatist system, only a single trade union is permitted. It is this basic violation of the freedom of association that the SBSI is seeking to challenge. The only union recognised by the government is the SPSI. In those factories where SPSI units exist, they are distrusted

by workers for siding with the bosses. As labour conflicts and strikes have intensified in the last year or so, the SPSI's credibility has sunk to a new low.

On the very day the ban was announced, a high-level mission from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was in Jakarta to discuss with the SBSI leadership their application to join the ICFTU. The SBSI has been in contact with the ICFTU for some time and membership is expected to be approved within the next few months.

Ban follow-up unclear

The announcement of the ban has not been followed by moves to close down the SBSI office in Jakarta. SBSI leaders did not issue any statement when the ban was announced as they were not notified by the Ministry and therefore decided to ignore it. The government stand-off

Manila kowtows to Jakarta

After months of sustained bullying by Jakarta to prevent a conference on East Timor in Manila, the Philippines president General Fidel Ramos took the unprecedented decision to bar all foreigners from attending the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) in May. A palace statement said the presence of foreigners would be "inimical to the national interest". Eight persons were blacklisted: Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong from TAPOL, José Ramos-Horta of CNRM, Jose Guterres and Mari Alkatiri of Fretilin, Joao Carrascalao of UDT, and two other East Timor activists who work in Melbourne and Darwin.

Arm-twisting from Jakarta was unprecedented. When Ramos told Jakarta a ban would be unconstitutional, the bullying grew fiercer.

Indonesia's '28th province'

Reacting to the shock decision, the APCET organisers said:

The Ramos administration is acting as if the Philippines is Indonesia's 28th province.... We have repeatedly (said)

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may reflect the official view that the SBSI 'does not exist'. Another explanation for the lack of any follow-up is to avoid measures that could attract international attention.

Hesitancy over putting the ban into effect appears to have irritated some regional commanders. The military commander of Central Java has expressed extreme irritation at what he alleges are the activities of SBSI chairman, Muchtar Pakpahan. After a rash of strikes in many textile factories in and around Semarang, the provincial capital, which lasted for nearly two weeks, Major-General Soeyono said Pakpahan should be barred (*dicekal*) because the strikes had occurred immediately after he visited the province. He lamented the fact however that 'there is no legal basis to bar him' so that all that could be done was to keep track of what he is doing. [*Bernas*, 27.4.1994]

One of the strikes he accused Pakpahan of fomenting occurred at PT Dharintex, a textile factory that pays its workers Rp. 825 (about £0.25) a day.

SBSI anniversary celebration raided

A meeting scheduled for 24 April at the SBSI head office in Jakarta to celebrate its second anniversary was raided by security forces. A day earlier, police turned up at the premises and ordered the removal of tents and furniture that had been set out in readiness for the event.

On the day, many SBSI activists gathered at the premises, shared food and sang songs, but several personalities invited

to attend were unable to reach the building. The police said the celebration was banned because the organisers had not applied for a permit.

Muchtar Pakpahan decided not to attend as it was feared that he would be taken into custody if he turned up and delivered a speech. [*Editor*, 5.5.1994]

Pressure on the regime

Readers are urged to protest to the following about the banning of the SBSI:

General Yogie S. Memed,
Minister of the Interior,
Jl Medan Merdeka Utara, No. 7
Central Jakarta, Indonesia
Fax: +62-21 323 577

Mr Abdul Latief,
Minister of Manpower,
Jl. Gen. Gatot Subroto,
Central Jakarta, Indonesia
Fax: +62-21 840 2746

Please send copies to the SBSI:

Jl Kayu Ramin, 32,
Utan Kayu Utara,
East Jakarta 13120, Indonesia
Fax: +62-21 489-8465

STRIKES

A long hot week in Medan

For ten days in April workers in Medan and elsewhere in North Sumatra, dominated the streets to press for their demands. The Medan demonstrations were widely reported in the international press as things went out of control with looting of shops and rioting. Many reports focused on the anti-Chinese dimension but this is not the whole story.

For many weeks passions among workers at KIM, the Medan Industrial estate, were running high. In March, a young worker named Rusli was found dead in a river after taking part in a strike at his factory. The police refused to investigate the death, which only heightened the tension. The strike at Rusli's factory, PT Deli Karet, had erupted when the management decided to lay off nearly 400 workers without severance pay.

Medan, the largest city in Sumatra and Indonesia's fourth largest city, is the location of many manufacturing companies, processing plantation products like rubber, tobacco and coconuts. In the last twenty years, Medan has become an industrial boom town in the Asia-Pacific region and has profited enormously from the availability of cheap labour to manufacture electronics, textile and shoes. In January the minimum daily wage for the region was raised to Rp 3,100 (less than £1.00). Yet, many companies refused to pay this starvation wage, which became another source of discontent for the workers. In neighbouring Malaysia wages are three times as high.

Another burning issue was freedom of association. Ever since SBSI, the Indonesian Prosperous Trade Union, came into being two years ago, its Medan chapter has won

support and respect among the workers, in contrast with SPSI, the government-sponsored union which is regarded as an extension of the employers. The situation was ripe for action.

Workers' demands

On 14 April the workers left the factory gates and peacefully marched to the office of the provincial governor, ret'd General Raja Inal Siregar. At least 50,000 workers joined the march, bringing the city centre to a standstill. The four demands were: an inquiry into the death of Rusli, compensation for the fired workers at PT Deli Karet, freedom of association and a rise in the minimum wage to Rp 7,000 (£2.20).

The demonstration was organised by a broad front called *Forum Aksi Solidaritas Buruh* (Workers Solidarity Action Forum) consisting of representatives of 23 different factories. The Medan SBSI chapter together with 9 local NGOs helped with the preparations. Early on 14 April, huge crowds assembled at the Merdeka Square to start the march to the governor's office. The demonstration was lively but peaceful. After lengthy negotiations with security officers, a delegation of 23 representatives from the various factories

was allowed to enter the governor's building, but instead of meeting the governor they had an encounter with some middle-ranking officials and Colonel Latmono, the local *Bakorstanasda* (army security agency) officer. The delegation was allowed to present their demands but left feeling very dissatisfied after having achieved nothing. They were told to return the following day when they would meet the governor.

In the early afternoon, the demonstration headed back but was confronted by anti-riot squads who used tear gas. A clash became unavoidable.

Days of violence

That afternoon the first incidents happened when demonstrators started throwing stones at shops along the main roads. The first arrests were made and at 2am on 15 April Riswan Lubis, the *SBSI* Medan secretary, was seized from his home. Several hours later, thousands of workers from the industrial estates outside Medan were prevented by security forces from entering the city to meet the governor. They were met instead by thousands of fully-armed troops from the Police Mobile Brigade, the district military command, the military police and LINUD, crack airforce troops. Nine armoured vehicles were in use as army helicopters circled overhead. By the next day, the army deployed an additional four battalions, about 2,600 troops. Despite an official ban on all public gatherings issued by the regional military commander, Major-General Pranowo, strikes and demonstrations continued in Medan's satellite industrial regions and the nearby towns of Belawan, Pematang Siantar and Binjai.



In the following days skirmishes broke out in different places between the security forces and demonstrators. Demonstrations, street fighting and rioting went on until 20 April. Some 150 shops were looted, many cars and motor bikes were torched and some private homes wrecked. An Indonesian Chinese businessman Kwok Yoe Lip was beaten to death by a mob as he tried to enter his chemical factory. The army and police arrested more than a hundred people, but some were released after interrogation. According to the latest reports, 57 people are still under arrest, including *SBSI* leaders, and most likely they will go on trial. The number of detainees fluctuates as some are released and other are arrested.

Who is responsible?

The Armed Forces (*ABRI*) has accused *SBSI* of fomenting racial riots and vandalism. Lt. General Mantiri, Chief of

Staff of the General Staff told a news conference: "We have data indicating that the *SBSI*, which is not recognised by the government, masterminded the violent worker rallies". General Mantiri is concurrently head of *BIA*, the recently overhauled military intelligence body. *SBSI* does not deny responsibility for organising the workers' demonstration but blames the military for mishandling the tense situation. Agus Tiana, an *SBSI* investigator, said thousands of workers were enraged by the security forces who blocked their way to the governor's office for no apparent reasons. He says further that several protestors were beaten up and arrested by security officers.

A dangerous social mix

The Chinese community of Medan accounts for about one-third of the population. They are largely excluded from the bureaucracy and the armed forces and many make a living in trade and industry. Many factories are owned by Chinese, creating an ethnic dimension to the deep cleavage between rich and poor in the city. When riots like the ones in Medan occur, it is often the small Chinese shopkeepers who are the victims while the affluent shopping centres enjoy protection from the military and security guards.

In earlier cases of racial riots in other parts of Indonesia, similar patterns have emerged. There is a highly volatile mix of latent anti-Chinese sentiment harboured among certain sectors of the population and intentional provocation by third parties. Big demonstrations of any sort can easily be transformed into destructive mobs who turn to looting and robbing shops. Even soccer matches or rock concerts can explode into an attack on the rich.

The super-rich in Indonesia do not hide their affluence; it shows in the cars they drive, the houses they live in and the clothes they wear. It is also a fact that collusion between high-placed officials and Chinese businessmen has created a layer of super-rich Indonesian Chinese businessmen. These groups have huge economic influence but little political clout.

The Chinese can conveniently be used as scapegoats when things go wrong. The (military) authorities often use third parties to drum up anti-Chinese sentiments. These third parties, under instructions, deliberately provoke violence through looting and arson so as to blame peaceful demonstrators for disrupting security and order. During the workers actions in Medan, anti-Chinese pamphlets appeared out of the blue and circulated in great numbers. The racist slogans were totally at variance with the demands of the workers.

In big cities like Medan, gangster youth groups called *Pemuda Pancasila*, a nationwide organisation, and *Ikatan Pemuda Karya*, a local group, exist and flourish from extortion and protection money. The gangs enjoy the protection of the local military and have a history of doing the dirty work of the military in return for a free hand in their "zones of influence". *SBSI* Chairman Muchtar Pakpahan, himself from Medan, claims to have evidence that gang members were paid to cause trouble during the riots to discredit his union.

The role of these two gangs was highlighted by the London *Financial Times* [17.V.1994] which wrote that they 'are believed to have hundreds of members, are unofficially licensed by factions in the army and are implicated in almost every significant event that occurs in Medan... The

gangs are also accused by ethnic Chinese businessmen and trade unionists of acting as *agents provocateurs* during the April workers' demonstrations.'

An investigation team composed of lawyers and officials of the SBSI is at work in Medan to try to identify the causes of the riots. Their initial information from local union and NGO activists has already led them to believe that a third party was indeed instrumental in provoking the riots.

The aftermath

The situation in Medan has calmed down and gradually shops have opened their doors again to customers. But the hot week in Medan has created a new political image for

Indonesia. Reports have appeared in the international press under headlines such as: "Mayhem in Medan", "Doubts about Indonesia", "Days of rage". This image has begun to undermine the country's reputation as a haven for business because of its political stability.

Indonesia's free market advocates always brag about the availability of cheap labour and a stable political climate. Both claims are wearing thin because of the workers' strikes and demonstrations in Medan. Foreign investors and local businessmen have expressed concern over safety and political stability and the seemingly calm situation can explode like a volcano if justified wage demands are not met.

The Medan unrest did not spread like a prairie fire to other islands but at the same time, strikes for better wages continue to happen on a large scale (see separate item).

Trade unionists and workers under arrest

The strikes and unrest in Medan, North Sumatra have left over three dozen trade unionists and workers in detention and likely to face trial in the coming months.

SBSI branch leaders in custody

There are at least five officials of the SBSI Medan branch in custody and likely to go on trial. The first to be arrested were **Riswan Lubis**, secretary of the Medan branch and **Hayati**, the branch treasurer. They were among more than fifty people arrested during the first two days of the Medan unrest. Other branch leaders who knew they were being sought by the security forces went into hiding, among them the branch chairman, **Amosi Telambuana**.

Fears that the detainees would, as a matter of routine, be tortured were confirmed when Riswan Lubis smuggled out a letter complaining that he had been subjected to severe beating during interrogation and was having to urinate almost every hour. As far as is known, he has not been able to get medical treatment.

Formally speaking, the investigations are in the hands of the police but the regional police chief explained that the case as a whole is being handled by the regional military command. [*DeTik*, 4-10 May 1994] This means that much of the interrogation and accompanying torture is likely to be the work of army units.

Union leaders may be charged for 'incitement' under Article 160 of the Criminal Code and could face sentences of five years or more.

Veteran workers' leader, Amosi Telambuana

The case of Amosi Telambuana has become a focus of attention. Amosi is from a poor family in Nias island. He had to leave school after completing the first year of secondary education and got a job at *PT Korek Api Medan*, a match-making factory, in 1979. He was sacked four years later for setting up a union. He managed to obtain work at several other factories, gaining recognition in one of them as a 'model worker' and became chief of the local works unit of the government-endorsed union, the SPSI.

He was arrested while employed by a company called *PT Sumatera Rotanindo*, and became disillusioned with the SPSI because it failed to come to his defense when he was arrested for his union activity. This was in 1992. In all, he has been arrested three times by the security forces because of his union work, and every time, he has been beaten and



*Amosi Telambuana
Tempo, 14-05-1994*

tortured. In 1992, he joined forces with Muchtar Pakpahan and became active in the SBSI which was set up in April of that year. The Medan branch uses his home as its office.

Immediately after the first day's unrest in Medan on 14 April, his home was raided by security forces. His wife and two small children had left home. Two older daughters took refuge in a building of the Batak church – itself in a state of great ferment because of military interference (see separate item).

It was doubtful whether he could remain in hiding for any length of time so a decision had to be made on whether he should leave the country or alternatively whether he should surrender and take the consequences. The possibility of his seeking the protection of a foreign embassy was even considered.

Seeking assurances from the army

Consultations between the union leadership, lawyers of the

Legal Aid Institute and Amosi himself led to a decision that he should surrender but only after assurances had been obtained from the military authorities that he would not be maltreated.

Pakpahan was the one who sought these assurances. He told the fortnightly tabloid, *Detik* that he initially sought assurances from the Medan military command but they refused. He then turned to the army headquarters in Jakarta and obtained a written assurance on Amosi's treatment. So agreement was reached for him and two other activists who were in hiding with him, **Soniman Lafao**, 27, and **Fatina-lowo Zega**, 24, to give themselves up to the army in Jakarta. For this purpose, the three men were spirited out of Medan and flown to Jakarta where the surrender took place.

Pakpahan accepts that if the authorities believe they have formal grounds to bring charges against Amosi and his colleagues, the trials will take place in Medan, not Jakarta.

'I regard my meeting with ABRI headquarters as having reached a *gentlemen's agreement* because they promised that Amosi would not be tortured. If they break their promise, I will publicise the fact.' [*Detik*, 4-10 May 1994]

The Medan military authorities are clearly embarrassed by these developments. Intelligence assistant for the North Sumatra military command, Colonel Agus Utara, in the

same issue of *DeTik*, denied that any assurances had been given in Jakarta, and even denied that Amosi had travelled to the capital before surrendering. He insists that his men knew all along where Amosi was hiding. Pressed to explain why he was not grabbed, all he could say was 'we were waiting for the right moment'.

Strange as these events may appear, at the heart of the confusion in military ranks is a difference of approach on how to handle labour unrest. The regime is acutely aware that the international community and key world labour organisations are watching events, not to mention the US embassy and in Medan, the US consulate. While it is difficult to attach any credence to reports that Amosi was in hiding for a while at the US consulate, it is clear that the authorities in Jakarta are conscious of the need to tread carefully. While the military in North Sumatra appear to be at odds with their superiors in Jakarta, the SBSI leadership may have seen the advantage of using international attention to extract concessions, however flimsy.

A team of about two dozen lawyers has been formed to defend the labour activists who go on trial.

Army will continue to intervene

As the wave of strikes shows no sign of abating, a senior armed forces officer announced that the army's national stability agency, Bakorstanas will continue to play an active role in 'coordinating' the handling of labour disputes.

An end to military intervention in labour disputes is one of the key demands of all labour activists and was included among the reforms identified by Washington in deciding whether to renew trade privileges for Indonesia under the Generalised System of Preferences. A decision on prolongation of GSP has been postponed till August this year.

The announcement of the military's 'coordinating' role came from Lt. General R. Hartono, armed forces chief-of-staff for social and political affairs. 'If there is no coordination from the start, things could disintegrate into violence, making a solution even more difficult.' He alleged that 'coordination' by *Bakorstanas* was not the same as military interference, 'an issue that is often disseminated abroad in order to tarnish Indonesia's image'.

He criticised the government-sponsored union, the SPSI, for failing to defend workers' rights, making it difficult to achieve 'partnership' between employers and the workforce. General Hartono even admitted that unions such as the SBSI had emerged precisely because workers were unhappy with the SPSI. 'Even though the government does not formally recognise the SBSI, they have shown the courage to step forward and channel the aspirations of the workers by holding strikes and demonstrations which they themselves are incapable of controlling.' [*Kompas*, 11.5.1994]

Regime at odds

Hartono's statement makes it clear that the army has no intention of stopping its involvement in labour disputes. Indeed, many reports of current disputes make it clear that local army and police officers continue to play an active role in negotiations for the settlement of disputes.

Hartono's announcement reveals a growing split and confusion over how to deal with labour unrest. He also criticised the Manpower Ministry for failing to work hard enough to uphold *Pancasila* (ie, harmonious) industrial relations.

The announcement has made some members of parliament critical of the armed forces. One MP asked: 'Does the latest plan mean that the military wants to take over the functions of the Ministry of Manpower?' Another said: '(Military) intervention will only spread fear among labourers in their efforts for better well-being.'

Labour activist Teten Masduki described the statement as 'extraordinary'. 'Military meddling will only further complicate the already complex labour problems and spark international criticism,' he said. [*Jakarta Post*, 13.5.1994]

Actually there hardly seems to be any need for Hartono to



"Our wages are just enough for food !!"

find a new justification for the army's role. When *Bakor-stanas* was created in 1990, it issued decree No. 02/1990 which provides for the security forces to 'help resolve' strikes. This has not been revoked even though there was a great hue and cry some months ago when the Manpower Ministerial decree of 1986 which legitimised military intervention in strikes 'to prevent damage to poverty' was repealed. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*. No. 122, April 1994]

Some recent strikes

We report below a few examples of the strikes and disputes that are reported daily in the Indonesian press:

Garment workers take action in Semarang

Two thousand women workers at PT Rodeo Knitting and Garment Industry in Semarang took to the streets on 21 April ('Kartini Day' which commemorates the country's foremost advocate for women's emancipation who died nearly a hundred years ago) to demand better wages. Their letter to the employers demanded payment of the official minimum wage and also called for a scale of wages that takes account of the length of service. Rubinah, a 42-year-old woman who has worked for the company for 12 years and has two children, told reporters she earns Rp. 2,850 (about £0.85) a day for an eight-and-a-half hour day. The women carried banners saying, 'You need profits, we need money' and 'Don't force us, we are not animals'. [*Suara Karya*, 23.4.1994]

Thousands strike in Tangerang

5,100 workers at PT Mayora Indah, a food processing plant in Tangerang, West Java, took strike action to demand higher wages, better health care and decent praying facilities. Although the minimum wage for the region now stands at Rp.3,800 (about £1.25), workers who have been employed for more than three years get only Rp. 2,900 a day plus small allowances for food and transport, while those with more than five years' service get Rp. 3,200.

They also want the factory clinic to open for one hour every day instead of, as at present, only on Tuesday. When workers need medical treatment they often have to go to an outside clinic or local doctor and the factory refuses to reimburse the costs of the treatment. Another complaint is about the strict control of workers when they go to the toilet. Disiplinary action is taken if they stay away from the work place for more than 15 minutes.

The workers also want the leadership of the factory SPSI branch to be replaced because it has failed to defend the workers' rights. [*Republika*, 5.5.1994]

The strike continued for a second day with the two sides in the dispute locked in negotiations. Also in attendance at the negotiations were local police and army officers.

Women workers down tools in Batang

Hundreds of women workers at PT Naga Mas, a towelling factory in Batang, stopped work at the start of the early morning shift. Newly employed workers earn as little as Rp. 1,250 (less than £0.40) a day. They receive no food money even though they work a ten-hour shift from 7am till 5pm with one half-hour break. Workers often face deductions for reject products and sometimes lose Rp 1,000 from their pay-packet for throwing away a few metres of thread. [*Suara Merdeka*, 10.5.1994]

Protestors arrested by military

A group of forty workers representing workers at four textile factories in Majalaya, Bandung, West Java, took their demands to the Indonesian parliament in Jakarta, having failed to get any help from the provincial manpower office or their local SPSI branch. But before they could reach their destination, they were rounded up by security forces. Ten members of the group were taken into custody. Arrested along with them was a lawyer, Effendi Saman, who works for a legal aid institute based in Bandung.

Two solidarity groups, *Forum Solidaritas Buruh Majalaya* and *Forum Solidaritas Petani Majalaya*, immediately called for their release and called for a stop to the many arrests of workers and other repressive measures which reveal the extent of collusion between the government, business interests and the security forces. [*Pelita*, 3.5.1994]

The workers wanted to meet members of parliament to tell them of their starvation wages - Rp. 14,000 (about £3.50) a week - the lack of praying facilities at their factories, inadequate pregnancy leave, overtime pay, and unpaid holiday allowances for Ramadhan. In one of the factories,



"We are not milk-cows"

seventy-seven people were laid off simply because they had taken three days off for the Lebaran (end of Ramadhan) holiday when workers are normally entitled to a week's leave. (This is the holiday when most people return to their villages or home towns which often entails long journeys.) [*Republika*, 3.5.1994]

Hundreds sacked for protesting

More than two hundred workers who were sacked seven months ago without severance pay have been trying ever since to seek redress. They were sacked in September 1993 for pressing several demands about wages, payment of overtime and payment of social insurance. Although their

normal working day ran from 7.30am till 5pm, they were often required to work even longer hours without any extra pay. Nor were they given any sickness allowances.

At first three workers were dismissed on 27 September last year for pressing these demands; then, when other workers protested against these dismissals, another 209 were sacked, bringing the total to 212.

They have failed as yet to get a hearing into their grievances. Recently they were told the national arbitration board would issue a decision on their complaint in May, but when the hearing was due to take place they were told that no verdict would be passed until September.

Women's trade union needed

There is a pressing need for women to have a trade union of their own because existing unions have neglected their demands for equal treatment.

There are many problems facing women workers such as sexual harassment, wage discrimination and maternity leave,

which are not covered by existing unions.' Rita Serena, a lawyer at the Legal Aid Institute said that women account for about 46 per cent of the workforce and 32 per cent of industrial workers.

The most obvious form of discrimination is on wages although the law does not discriminate between men and women. 'Usually, companies argue that a woman's wage is supplementary to her husband's. This is no longer true because many women are the primary breadwinners in their families.' [Jakarta Post, 7.5.1994]

A major form of discrimination is that only male workers are entitled to an additional allowance on top of the minimum wage if they are married or an extra allowance if they have a child. A woman worker is only entitled to receive the minimum wage as a single person, without any allowances, regardless of her family situation.

More labour movement deaths

At a time when human rights and labour activists have been commemorating the first anniversary of the murder of Marsinah, the woman worker found dead after helping to organise a strike in Surabaya, there are reports of more martyrs to the struggle for better wages and working conditions.

Woman worker's mysterious death

Titi Sugiarti, a 23-year old worker at a textile factory in Bandung, West Java was found dead on 30 April. Her body was floating in an industrial waste pond on the factory grounds.

Titi Sugiarti worked for PT Kahatex, a very large factory which employs 8,000 workers, many of them women. It produces garments for export. She was last seen in the evening of 28 April at the dormitory where she lived; two days later, her bruised body was discovered submerged in the pond.

Her death has immediately aroused suspicions. Titi Sugiarti lived in a factory dormitory together with her younger sister. She was known to her co-workers as a pious woman who prayed five times a day. She was a quiet person with a quick mind. She left school when she was 11 years old and has worked ever since. At first she went into domestic service, then became a factory worker. Her colleagues said of her that she had shown a keen interest in the problems facing workers at PT Kahatex and adjacent factories, and at the time of her death, she was planning to take action to improve the social rights of workers.

She had worked for PT Kahatex since 1989 and become involved in actions two years ago, although appears not to have taken part in a strike and public protest that occurred at the factory earlier this year. Other workers often came to her for advice and only a month before her death, she talked to a close friend about plans to organise a strike in May to demand better conditions for women workers.

Murder inquiry

According to the local police, the circumstances of her death are highly suspicious. Initial investigations suggest that although she was found floating in a pond, she did not die of drowning. Drowning leaves the lungs and stomach full of water but when doctors examined her body and exerted pressure on her stomach, her mouth and nose

emitted blood, not water. Investigations have been hampered by the fact that when her body was found by a company official, important evidence about the state of the pond was cleaned up and the effluent and mud on her body was washed away. It was not yet possible to say how long her body had lain in the pond. [Kompas, 23.5.1994]

Fear of the company

An investigation team set up by a Bandung Legal Aid Institute interviewed many of Titi's co-workers. None was prepared to identify themselves by name and all were fearful of the company finding out what they had said.

Unrest at PT Kahatex

In January and February this year, PT Kahatex was shut down by a two-day strike over pay. The workers' complaint lay not only in the low rates paid but in inexplicable variations in their pay-packets from one two-week period to the next. On the first day, workers waited peacefully for the results of negotiations but on the second day, after being promised improvements, the workers became restive when they found the factory gates heavily guarded. They managed to enter the forecourt, destroyed several company cars broke many windows and destroyed some office furniture. The unrest was widely reported in the local press. There had been earlier disputes with the company and workers were unwilling to accept company promises because in the past many promises had not be fulfilled. [Pikiran Rakyat, 2.2.1994]

More mysterious deaths

Speaking to reporters about Titi Sugiarti's death, Rambun Tjajo of the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta said there had been several cases of labour activists disappearing; he could not say whether factory owners or the military were implicated.

In Medan, investigations are underway into the death of

Rusli; his death was one of the major issues in the actions that erupted there on 14 April. In addition, lawyers investigating the week-long street violence in Medan are also puzzled by the death of a worker named Ali M. Zeda. His body was discovered on 4 May; he was said to have been run over by an oil tanker on 16 April. This explanation is highly suspect, said Agus Tiana, leading the investigating team, because the dead man was known to be one of the coordinators of the action launched on 14 April. [Republika, 6.5.1994]

Sham Marsinah trials continue

The trials of nine people in East Java accused of involvement in the murder of Marsinah have dragged on despite mounting evidence that the trials are a cover-up, to distract attention from the role of the army in her death. Two men accused of inflicting the fatal wounds were given 13-year and 12-year sentences while others charged as accessories to the crime have been sentenced to shorter terms.

The credibility of the trials has been seriously eroded by the preliminary results of an investigation carried out by activists from the YLBHI in Jakarta who have produced



The Marsinah Case, HAM = Hak Azasi Manusia, Human Rights

convincing evidence that Marsinah died while in the hands of the local military command. Members of the National Human Rights Commission have also undermined the legitimacy of the trials by stating publicly that the trials could not be judged fair as all the accused had been subjected to torture and maltreatment while in military custody. [See TAPOL Bulletin, No 122, April 1994]

'Bang, bang !' is the name of the game

'Jakarta must be cleared of criminals," said police chief Major-General Hindarto. The military has been ordered to join ranks with the police in a large-scale anti-crime operation called Operasi Bersih 94 (Operation Cleansing 94).

'Bang, bang' or *dar der dor* is the term to be used, according to police chiefs in Jakarta, Central Java and West Java. The West Java police chief Major-General Rukman Saminuddin even introduced a new expression, *bakat* (*bahaya, sikat*, or danger, eradicate), the bottom line being: in case of emergency, shoot to kill. Another chilling new term is *petrang* (*penembakan terang-terangan*, public shooting), which of course is only valid for the police and the military. Earlier this year the Jakarta metropolitan police launched *Operasi Kilat Jaya* (Operation Mighty-Strike) which resulted in the deaths of dozens of alleged criminals [see also TAPOL Bulletin no. 122]. Apparently the operation was not successful enough and the new anti-crime wave has been given higher goals.

Cleansing for Clinton

One of the targets is, according to Major-General Hendropriyono, the Jakarta military commander, *'to make Jakarta the safest city in the world in the near future'*. Police chief Hindarto has pledged that the streets of Jakarta will be cleared of criminals before the Asia-Pacific (APEC) summit meeting in Jakarta in November. *'We will not only safeguard the area where US President Clinton will stay or pass through but the whole of Greater Jakarta as well, whether he goes there or not.'*

Mobilisation

Operation Cleansing 94 involves 16,700 police and military and was officially launched on 11 April. The high-powered campaign became even more hysterical when Operation Cleansing 94 organised a mass rally at the Persija soccer

stadium. Some ten thousand members of youth organisations affiliated to the government party *GOLKAR* attended the rally and made a solemn pledge to back up the ongoing anti-crime campaign. Many of the organisations are just fronts for organised crime gangs or para-military organisations [see also item on Medan]. Groups like *AMPI, Pemuda Panca Marga, Pemuda Pancasila, Baladika Karya, Warga Jaya* and the like are expected to do the dirty work of the authorities. The youth dress in military fatigues and roam the streets making blood-curdling yells. It is not yet clear how the youth gangs will be involved: many of them have criminal records themselves.



Major-General Hendropriyono at the mass rally

Stepping-up the operation

One month after the initiation of the operation, Jakarta military commander, Major-General Hendropriyono announced a further boost. The contingent of 16,700 police and military was inadequate and he would triple the number. Airforce and marine personnel would also be included. The general also issued orders to military personnel in their barracks to take responsibility for the security of their surroundings within a radius of five kilometers. Hendropriyono produced some new figures: more than 1,000 people have been arrested for various offenses. Ten firearms have been confiscated, 340 sharp implements, 403,000 alcoholic beverages and almost four million phials of illegal drugs. He did not disclose how many people had been wounded or killed.

Concern in society

It is a well-known fact that many affluent people in society strongly endorse firm measures against criminals, ignoring the fact that the best way to fight crime is to eradicate poverty. LBH, the Legal Aid Institute, has strongly criticised Operation Cleansing 94 and regards the military involvement as particularly dangerous.

One incident that heightened the army's involvement in the campaign was the stabbing to death of Brig.General Tampubolon, a tough red-beret officer. The hapless officer was stabbed by a group of youngsters when he alighted from his vehicle while driving in the capital. Human rights activists have compared the present wave with the *Petrus* (mysterious killers) operation a decade ago. The term *Matius* (*mati misterius*, mysterious death) is a more appropriate term, as the shooting is carried out and publicly acknowledged by security officers. Many innocent people were killed in the campaign ten years ago; it is feared the same will happen again. The English language newspaper *Jakarta Post* ran an editorial on 30 April called: *Return of the gunmen?* The editorial asked: 'Who is marked for elimination, who makes the decisions and what about the



Major-General Hendropriyono: "No Human rights for bandits!, Just shoot!"

presumption of innocence?"

Similar anti-crime waves in Latin America have had devastating results: many innocent people killed on the streets, extrajudicial killings of suspects at the whim of security officers while the crime rates remaining stubbornly high.

Conditional release for Bonar Tigor Naipospos

On 17 May Bonar Tigor Naipospos was conditionally released from Cipinang prison. While this is a relief, it raises many questions. Bonar's trial in 1989 was a typical show-trial. Accused of subversive activities, his only 'crime' was involvement in discussion groups. He got eight years and six months. The 21 students who challenged President Suharto have just received six-month sentences.

Bonar's release reflects the special situation in Jakarta. Bonar was required to submit a 'thesis' as a condition for his release. The initiative came from the high-profile Jakarta military commander, Major-General Hendropriyono, who some months ago arranged the release of several long-term Muslim prisoners from Cipinang in the same way. Such a gesture has no judicial foundation but as everybody knows, verdicts in political trials are decided outside the courts anyhow. Bonar is required to report regularly to the police.

Bonar was a founder of the *Pijar* Foundation. His release has been welcomed by his many friends but they stress that it leaves many questions unanswered. What about his friends, Bambang Subono and Isti Nugroho, held at Wiro

gunan Prison, Yogyakarta, Central Java? Tried a year earlier in the same court as Bonar and sentenced to 7 and 8 years, they have now served two-thirds of their sentences. But the Central Java military commander has refused to do what Hendropriyono has done for Bonar. Military commanders are also heads in their respective regions of the local *Bakorstanasda*, the powerful security agency. The fate of prisoners like Bonar, Subono and Isti is very much at the mercy of such people.

On his release, Bonar said his first move would be to go to Yogyakarta to visit his two friends and campaign for their release. He also intends to re-register at the University. [*Jakarta Post*, 18.5.1994]

People's Democratic Union set up

On 2 May a new political organisation was launched in Jakarta as a clear sign of the times. The announcement was made at the office of the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta and attended by many well-known public figures.

The founding congress of the People's Democratic Union or *Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik (PRD)* took place on 30 April and 1 May and was attended by more than 100 delegates from different parts of Indonesia including Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan and Manado. The launch of *PRD* is unprecedented in the New Order era of Suharto. Although not describing itself as a political party but rather as a group that wants to accelerate the process of democratisation, the *PRD* can be seen as a nation-wide political organisation or the embryo of a party.

Broad participation and support

The *PRD* participants come from different layers of society: students, academics, workers and farmers. At the official launch a broad range of people were present: Adnan Buyung Nasution, director of *YLBHI*, Mulyana W. Kusumah also from *YLBHI*, Dedy Triawan from *WALHI*, the environmental pressure group, Mughtar Pakpahan, *SBSI* chairman, Indonesia's most famous writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer and some other former political prisoners. According to *PRD* spokesperson Juli Eko Nugroho, the idea to launch *PRD* dates back to 1991. It has now ripened and everybody is ready to start. Aris Arief Mundayat, a lecturer at the Gajah Mada University and a member of the newly elected *PRD* board, said: *'Disgruntlement is everywhere but people can't express it and many activists are being arrested.'* Tumpak Sitorus, *PRD* Secretary-General put it like this: *"We are seeing dissatisfaction in society reaching a climax"*.

The general assessment of the *PRD* founders is that all existing political channels are clogged up and unusable.

The PRD programme

The *PRD* declaration calls for a return to civilian rule and demands free elections with direct presidential elections. It also calls for the restoration of the right to form political parties, to hold public rallies, demonstrations and other political activities, the restoration of freedom of speech and press freedom.

On contemporary issues *PRD* stresses the importance of the role of the workers' movement in the struggle for democracy and also calls for an end to monopolistic practices and collusion between big business and the authorities. The new organisation also calls for the restoration of civil rights for the hundreds of thousands of ex-political prisoners and calls for a peaceful solution to the question of East Timor with no military intervention and the recognition of the human and democratic rights of the East Timorese.

Recognition?

Although banning and restrictions on political organisations and trade unions have been a trademark of Suharto's New Order, only in the mid-eighties did corporatism become

enforcible by law. When the draconian Law on Societies (*UU Ormas*) was adopted, there was only place for state-backed organisations, a single trade union, a single women's organisation, a single youth organisation and so on. With the adoption of *UU No 3/85*, only three parties, referred to as 'social-political organisations', (*orsospol*) are allowed.

The director-general of social and political affairs of the interior ministry, Soetoyo, had this to say about the *PRD*: *'If indeed the PRD gets involved in political matters, this will mean it is violating the law.'* [*Kompas*, 3.5.1994]. Ret'd General Soesilo Soedarman, minister-coordinator for political and security affairs, has taken a stronger position. According to him, the *PRD* is a political organisation. Because the government only recognises three political organisations, he compares it to *'a car without a licence and we won't let it ride around'*. [*NRC Handelsblad*, 14.5.1994]. Many public figures have spoken sympathetically about the initiative and see it as a result of the widening democratic space. The situation in Indonesia today has created the need for the establishment of independent trade unions and political parties. Suppressing or banning these organisations is like Don Quixote riding against the windmills.



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Bulletin No. 122, April 1994] Writing in the fortnightly *Forum Keadilan*, Ghaffar praise Aditjondro as a 'man with guts'. He believes that there are three kinds of scholars in Indonesia: *irrelevant scholars* were those who stuck to teaching and research and were only worried about promotion; *consulting scholars* were those looking for the opportunity to win consultancy contracts; *relevant scholars* were those with a high degree of social consciousness who want their ideas to be heard. The first two categories accounted for the vast majority of academics while Aditjondro was one of the few in the third category.

What he has done is perfectly legitimate, Ghaffar wrote, and it is up to the academic world to assess the validity of his findings. The government should set up a representative team of scholars, politicians and activists to make an assessment of Aditjondro's investigations about East Timor, rather than hastily levelling accusations against him. [*Forum Keadilan*, 14.4.1994]

Church conflict turns violent

Government interference in the Batak Protestant Church (HKBP) has caused untold damage and even loss of life. It all started with a general synod stage-managed by the military who backed Reverend P.W.T. Simanjuntak to become head of the church. With three million members, the HKBP is the largest protestant church in Indonesia. The ousted leader, S.A.E. Nababan, still enjoys the backing of 85% of the congregation.

The Simanjuntak wing, with the help of the military, now has resorted to violence to gain control of valuable church property – church buildings, real estate, schools and university buildings. But Nababan, supported by most of the clergy and lay members, still controls most of the churches and schools. A fierce conflict is now underway and there have been casualties on both sides (see previous TAPOL Bulletins). The pro-government HKBP faction has recently switched to more brutal methods, using security personnel to intimidate and strike fear among HKBP followers.

The reason for the interference

Government, or more correctly, military intervention, in HKBP affairs can be explained as follows: the church has a huge following and is deeply rooted in Batak society which is a tight-knit community. Profound changes in the social-economic landscape of Indonesia has also affected the church congregation. The eviction of peasants from their land and starvation wages have become major issues. In social actions, involvement of individual church members or HKBP-related NGOs has become a significant aspect of life in North Sumatra. Although Rev S.A.E. Nababan, the ousted HKBP leader, is not known as a man with strong social commitments, he has given free-rein to grass-roots church-based NGOs to become active. This is at the heart of the army's decision to intervene, by convening an Extraordinary HKBP General Synod and forcing through the appointment of a government puppet, PWT Simanjuntak. Now the Simanjuntak wing is mobilising thugs and para-military gangs to undermine the social fabric of the HKBP community.

HKBP Task Force

Hundreds of families have fled their homes in the Northern Tapanuli District, one of the traditional strongholds of the HKBP. Reports speak of clashes that have resulted in many injured; police sergeant Pangkiriman Tambun, 26, is said to have been beaten to death by an angry mob. The police officer had apparently been assigned as an undercover agent to keep watch on the community. For weeks, villages in the district were raided by gangs calling themselves a HKBP Task Force, representing the Simanjuntak wing.

Clashes have occurred in Siborong-borong, Lumbanjulu, Laguboti, Porsea, Silaen, Balige and Tarutung. According to the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Medan, some villages have been deserted by their residents out of fear of the Task Force. Fifty-six families have sought the protection of the LBH, having lost faith in the impartiality of the police authorities.

Fierce fighting has broken out for control of church buildings and the Task Force is increasingly using violence in residential areas as well. On 23 April, 60 houses were

destroyed by the Task Force in Narumonda, Sitorang, Hutana-godang, Barimbing and Silaen. The next day it raided Sigumpar village in Laguboti and ransacked 109 homes. On 30 April another five houses were destroyed in Silimbat.

Pastors arrested and tortured

Three HKBP ministers and the teenage son of another minister are believed to have suffered serious bodily harm during interrogation and torture after they were arrested on 12 May. The men have been named as: Rev. Ramlan Hutahaean, head of the church's personnel bureau, Rev. Nelson Siregar, director of the church's community development department, Rev. Juaksa Simangungson, a pastor in Pakanbaru, and Samuel Sitompul.

They were arrested when some 150 troops raided the home of Rev. Ramlan in Tarutung, North Tapanuli.

After being tortured, they were taken to a local police clinic. Rev. Simangungson was said to be unable to walk and had to be carried into the clinic.

They are being held at a secret location and all attempts by relatives to visit them have been rebuffed. Their condition was only discovered when an eye witness who saw them being treated at the clinic conveyed the information to the relatives.

Incident on Samosir Island

Albiner Sitanggang, a theology student in Pematangsiantar, North Sumatra, was killed in a feud between the two wings of the church. In the same clash, four others were seriously injured and seven houses were destroyed. These tragic events happened on Samosir Island on Lake Toba, a popular tourist attraction. Here too, the Simanjuntak wing with help from the military forcibly took control of the Panguruan church on Samosir Island in October last year. On 30 January, 1,500 people belonging to the Nababan wing repossessed the building. Early next morning, 57 people from Pematangsiantar attacked the church at a time when it was guarded by only a handful of people. One of the guards managed to ring the church bells and church members mostly from the Nababan wing poured out in large numbers to defend the church. But they could do nothing because the pro-government people hid behind the guards. A large contingent of police stood idly by. In the

chaos, Albiner Sitanggang lost his life; his body was later recovered from the lake.

Four people killed in Riau

In another incident four people were killed in Duri, a prosperous oil-town in Riau. The violence erupted when pro-Simanjuntak supporters attacked a congregation in Duri and left two people dead. As on previous occasions, the Simanjuntak people wanted to take possession of the church building. The vast majority of the congregation, still supportive of Nababan, retaliated and in the clash two people from the Simanjuntak wing were killed.

In mid April, a 50-strong delegation from the Nababan wing headed by Reverend Robinson Butarbutar went to the National Commission of Human Rights to appeal for help in face of the violence that has intensified since Easter. The delegation complained about one particular incident which revealed the partiality of security officers. On 10 April

Reverend S.A.E. Nababan was scheduled to deliver an Easter sermon in the village of Narumenda in Porsea. Such is his popularity that more than 20,000 people turned out. But the Easter service had to be abandoned because security officers took control of the church premises and blocked people from entering the building. Road blocks surrounding the church prevented people from other villages getting anywhere near the church.

Ascension Day tragedy

The *HKBP* feud has also flared up in other parts of the country. On Ascension Day two churches in Bandung, West Java, became battle-grounds between the two wings. The pro-Nababan group dominates both churches and as in the other cases the church became the target of people from the Simanjuntak wing. Reports speak of both churches being seriously damaged and injuries sustained on both sides.

The local military command summoned representatives from both sides for a meeting to resolve the problem. For the time being, the military has emptied both churches and sealed them off.

Human rights briefs

Banning poets and lecturers from speaking as well as banning events and publications is the theme of human rights briefs this time. Banned events are also reported elsewhere in this issue. A new word has entered the lexicon of repression. At first, 'cekal' or 'dicekal' meant being preventing from entering or leaving the country. Now it has become established as the word for 'to ban'.

Primadosa author interrogated

Wimanjaya Liotohe, whose publication, *Primadosa*, (Prime Sin) was publicly condemned by President Suharto, has been interrogated several times by a special police investigation team. Police sources say the questioning is in preparation of charges under the Criminal Code for 'insulting the head of state' which is punishable by up to six years imprisonment.

A member of the investigation team said it was acting under a warrant authorising the police to detain the writer for questioning. It seems however that Wimanjaya is not in custody. His lawyers were present during the interrogation.

After the first session on 13 April, Wimanjaya told the press that the Attorney General was not entitled to ban his publication. He says it is not a book but a lawsuit against the government which he handed to the Attorney General's office. He denied he was in any way challenging the legitimacy of the state philosophy, *Pancasila* or the Indonesian Constitution.

During a second four-hour session a week later, the police wanted to know who else was involved in producing the book. Wimanjaya insisted that it was all his own work, with the exception of a large number of press clippings included in the last volume. [*Jakarta Post, Suara Pambuan and Pelita*, 14.IV.1994 and *Merdeka*, 21.IV.1994]

Wimandjaya's document only became public when Suharto called it a 'challenge' to him personally. One of Wimandjaya's many accusations is made against Suharto for masterminding the 1965 attempt to overthrow then President Sukarno, contradicting the official version which blames the outlawed communist party. According to *The Jakarta Post*, many officials have been reluctant to pursue the case "because such an action would give even greater publicity to the book". [27.IV.1994]

Meanwhile, Wimandjaya has turned the tables by filing a lawsuit against the government for banning his publication. His lawsuit is likely to be heard by a special administration court in May. [*Merdeka*, 27.IV.1994]

Student May Day seminar banned

The East Java police have banned a one-day seminar on human rights due to have been held by students at the Airlangga State University on Sunday, 1 May. Defending the ban, police chief Major-General Emon Rivai alleged that the conveners had contravene procedures by applying for permission only the day before.

The seminar was being held to mark May Day which 'Indonesia does not recognise' and he could think of many better things students could do with their time.

East Java governor Basofi Soedirman defended the ban. 'Let's not blow this out of proportion. We should also respect the police's right to observe procedures,' he is quoted as saying. [*Jakarta Post*, 4.V.1994]

Sanusi released after ten years

H.M Sanusi, a member of the dissident *Petisi-50* group who was given two lengthy prison sentences in 1985 and 1986 for allegedly funding bombings of bank in 1984, was released on parole in May 1994. He is required to report regularly to the police.

Now 73 years old, Sanusi insisted he had been unjustly punished. He was sentenced to 19 years in 1985, then to 20 years a year later, the sentences to run consecutively. The second sentence was later quashed by the Supreme Court 'on technical grounds'.

Sanusi, whose wife died a few days before his release, is convinced the real reason for his political persecution was his membership of the *Petisi* group. He told the press that

while he would not take legal action to clear his name, preferring to 'let bygones be bygones', he would re-establish links with his *Petisi* comrades and other pro-democracy groups.

'I have an obsession with fostering democracy in Indonesia,' he said, adding that this would remain his preoccupation for the rest of his life. [*Jakarta Post*, 9.V.1994]



Play banned in East Java

Pak Kanjeng, a play by the popular poet Emha Ainun Nadjib, could not be performed in East Java in March this year. Thousands of tickets for the performance in Surabaya had been sold. Performances in Yogyakarta attracted large crowds. The play relates the story of people victimised by eviction, the brutal way the security forces deal with them and the strength of grass-roots solidarity.

Emha Ainun Nadjib is known for his biting social criticism; this is not the first time one of his plays has been banned. The police said the ban was necessary to allow a *cooling down* because East Java has been the scene of a number of disturbances – the murder of labour activist, Marsinah, the opposition to the national lottery and the Sampang (Madura) tragedy. Police chief Major General Emon Rivai asked Emha to revise his script but this was flatly rejected by the poet. A few months earlier the East Java police banned an exhibition of paintings and sculptures of the late Marsinah using the same arguments.

Pak Kanjeng was banned despite assurances by Minister/Secretary of State Lt.General Moerdiono in Jakarta that the time for banning performances had passed.

Emha was also prevented from speaking at a discussion on 'Literature and Power' at the Faculty of Letters at the National University in Solo, Central Java. The ban was announced by the Social and Political Affairs directorate of the Central Java administration. [*Suara Merdeka*, 13.5.1994]

Two-poets get-together dispersed

A public meeting between two of Indonesia's foremost writers, the poet Emha Ainun Nadjib and the playwright W.S. Rendra, was dispersed by the local police after about one hundred people had gathered at Emha's home in Yogyakarta to witness the discussion.

The police broke up the meeting on the grounds that it

lacked the necessary authorisation. Emha said later in Jakarta that there was total confusion over which meetings need official permission; it was high time the authorities stopped using the security approach in their dealings with people. Rendra also complained that there are no guidelines. The evening before the meeting was dispersed, Rendra held a poetry-reading evening. On this occasion, the police had insisted on picking out the poems he would be allowed to recite. 'I have deep concerns about the limitations placed on my self-expression,' said Rendra. [*Jakarta Post*, 11.5.1994.]

Using a sledge-hammer to crack a nut

It all started with routine Initiation Activities for new students at ITB, the Bandung Institute of Technology. Two senior students Muhammad Meylana and Yosalfa Rinaldi, organised 'orientation days' (*perpeloncoan*) for new students. Six months earlier the university authorities had decided to scrap these activities. The university rector, Wiranto Arismunandar took the extreme step of suspending the two students. Most students sympathised with their two popular colleagues and started to demonstrate.

Things quickly escalated as the rector stood firm. Students from 44 universities all over Indonesia took solidarity actions. One hundred students went to Parliament in Jakarta to complain about the behaviour of the ITB authorities. Minister of Education Dr. Wardiman urged the rector to dialogue with the students but the situation only worsened.

ITB campus began to look like a fortress. A night curfew was declared and all students entering the campus were interrogated by some 300 security guards. With no end in sight to the deadlock, the students demanded not only the re-instatement of their colleagues but also the resignation of Wiranto Arismunandar.

Lecturer barred

Affan Ghaffar, a senior lecturer in political science at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Central Java has been barred from giving courses for government officials working for regional administrations. A member of the Magelang district assembly (DPRD) had sent a protest to the local press about a lecture he gave at an up-grading course, complaining that he was 'too blunt'. At first the prohibition only applied to courses for government officials in Central Java, but a tape of his lecture was later sent to the Interior Ministry in Jakarta which resulted in his being barred from giving courses for local government officials throughout the country. [*Bernas*, 22.4.1994]

Not long after, when the lecturer was about to deliver a talk to lecturers at Unitomo, a university in Surabaya, he noticed that two police officers had entered the hall. After announcing that he would not continue to speak until the two non-lecturers had left the hall, the police officers stood up and left. 'It's outrageous that the police should go so far as to interfere in scientific activities taking place on campus,' he said later.

The lecture he delivered was on the question of the presidency. It later became known that the local police had asked the university two days earlier for a copy of the talk he would be giving. [*Republika*, 7.5.1994].

Ghaffar is the only Indonesian academic so far to come out publicly in support of George Aditjondro for going public with his views about East Timor. {See *TAPOL*

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Protest at BAe AGM over Hawks sale

TAPOL recently joined forces with Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), British Coalition for East Timor (BCET), Active Resistance to the Roots Of War (ARROW), and other East Timor solidarity groups at a demonstration outside the British Aerospace (BAe) Annual General Meeting (AGM) at a hotel in central London, on 26 April.

About 150 demonstrators lined the road to protest against the sale of another 24 BAe Hawk trainer and combat aircraft to the Indonesian dictatorship. The very visible demonstrators chanted slogans as BAe shareholders arrived at the hotel. Campaigners said that BAe shareholders cannot ignore the end use of the product from which they hope to profit.

The shareholders

Meanwhile, the British Aerospace Shareholder Action Group, a group of activists who are also shareholders, came out in supportive numbers. This group arrived at the AGM early to distribute the *BAe AGM Alternative Report* published by BAe Shareholder Action Group and CAAT to each of the five hundred BAe shareholders and members of the BAe board. The *Alternative Report* points to United Nations and European Union condemnation of the Indonesian invasion and genocide in East Timor, and calls for conversion and ethical consideration about the destination and end-use of BAe products. Interestingly, Action Group members reported that many shareholders were seen avidly reading the *Alternative Report*.

Assailed on all sides by hostile shareholders who wanted

to know just why BAe was exporting weapons to a mass murderer like Suharto, the chief executive, Dick Evans, agreed to meet campaigners to discuss the evidence of the Hawk use in East Timor.

Press coverage

All the leading quality papers in Britain reported the protest inside and outside the British Aerospace AGM. According to *The Guardian*, the AGM was in uproar over the series of questions about the genocide in East Timor; the paper also ran a photograph of the protest. *The Independent* pointed out that the shareholders' action came as a complete surprise to the BAe board. *Financial Times* reported the demonstrators' opposition to Indonesian arms sale because of the East Timor conflict. *The Daily Telegraph*, usually supportive of business interests, carried a story and a photo of the demonstration in its business pages, as well as a supportive article about the East Timorese resistance in its foreign news pages. The paper also made reference to two non-violent direct action demonstrators who "had to be dragged out by security guards" after dashing to the front of the hall and raising a banner in protest against the sale of the Hawks.



Demonstration in front of the BAe AGM

Photo: E.P.Mulholland

All-Europe "Stop Arming Indonesia" campaign.

The European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAAT) which consists of anti arms-trade NGOs in many countries, have been meeting twice yearly for approximately eight years to discuss ongoing campaigning work against the arms trade in the different European countries. Up until now campaigns against arms trade have always been run at the national level only. In the case of Indonesia, any successful pressure on Suharto's arms build-up has led him to switch to arms suppliers elsewhere.

With this in mind ENAAAT has decided to undertake a coordinated European effort to tackle the issue of arms transfers to Indonesia. Together with many human rights and solidarity groups inside and outside Indonesia and anti-arms trade initiatives outside Europe, ENAAAT and its participants will concentrate through 1994 to stop all arms transfers to Indonesia.

Coordination

ENAAAT has assigned Martin Broek as coordinator of the "Stop Arming Indonesia" campaign. The office is at Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 HR Amsterdam, Netherlands. Tel/fax: +31 20 6164684. Martin is anxious to obtain information on military-industrial and arms trade news, if possible in English (please inform other interested people and organisations in your country).

During a weekend in April, ENAAAT members from Britain, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Spain, Denmark, Finland and Sweden discussed the roles of their respective countries in the arming of Indonesia. Groups formed four workshops to discuss the logistics of a European campaign. The practicalities of campaigning, public relations and the press, lobbying, and delegations to and from Indonesia, were worked out.

TAPOL activist, Liem Soei Liong, gave an overall view about the dominant position of the military in Indonesia, controlling society through its territorial doctrine and using its strike forces for punitive actions against regional rebellions. The military presence in the bureaucracy and legislative bodies is also structural, he said.

The final components of the ENAAAT 'Stop Arming Indonesia' campaign were decided. A brochure will be published in English, Indonesian and Dutch, and a group of witnesses from Indonesia will tour the ENAAAT countries; in addition, a delegation of European parliamentarians will tour in Indonesia.

Injunction against peace activists

Following several non-violent demonstrations against British Aerospace factories in protest at the Indonesian Hawk deal, British Aerospace, the company responsible for the deal, has taken out an injunction against two peace activists forbidding them to trespass on company property or instructing or encouraging others to do so. Milan Rai and Chris Cole, both members of the London-based ARROW (Active Resistance to the Roots of War) were served with the injunction at their homes along with eighty pages of 'supporting evidence'. The alleged 'evidence' contains newsletters and information about the deal put out by Chris's support group whilst he was in prison for protesting

about the deal last year; photographs of Milan at a demonstration outside the company; a chronology of 25 "events on or near BAe by protest groups relating to East Timor"; and statements from police officers and BAe employees including one from a security officer who attended incognito a talk given by Chris at Manchester Town Hall.

Neither Chris nor Milan attended the injunction hearing at the High Court on the 26th April. Milan chose to be with his family as his father was undergoing surgery that day, and Chris decided to take part in the protest outside the BAe AGM (see separate item). The injunction was granted. Following legal advice however, the pair are appealing.

France arms Indonesia

Le Monde [17.5.1994] reported that Indonesia had ordered twenty cannons of type 105 from the French company GIAT for 17 million dollars (97 million francs). The 105 LG will be partially mounted in Indonesia. The first instalment of twenty cannons will equip Indonesian Marine Rifles [fusilier marines].

US bans small arms sales to RI

The State Department, reacting to pressure from Congress to condition US weapons sales to Indonesia on improvements in human rights, has banned the export of small weapons to Jakarta. According to a Department official, the policy was adopted in early January and was 'a response to human rights violations not exclusive to East Timor'. While a formal list of banned arms has not been put together, automatic weapons, mortars, ammunition, and lethal crowd control weapons would be included. An official of the Department said they would look unfavorably at an application to export small to medium arms to Indonesia.

A State Department analyst said: 'We might consider the transfer of larger weapons systems, taking into consideration technology transfer, regional stability, and human rights issues'. The official stated that a sale will 'probably not [occur] in the current session of Congress due to opposition there'.

The 'low-key' policy, as it is called, is an attempt to 'balance' US concerns for human rights with its long-time ties to Indonesia. While praising the administration's ban, some human rights and arms control analysts are still wary of US policy.

Writing on the Wall

This is an 8,000 word analysis of British Aerospace as an arms trader, and its role in supplying Jakarta with Hawk ground-attack aircraft. The handsomely produced report shows that not only does the arms trade lead to repression in Indonesia and East Timor, but also creates unemployment in the UK. Part four, "Ethical Considerations", deals with BAe supplies to Indonesia and condemnation of such supplies by the UN and the European Union. Copies of the report are available for £2.50 (inc.p&p) from: CAAT 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ.

21 students given six-month sentences

The trial of twenty-one students charged with insulting the president, ended with sentences of 6 months for everybody. Compared with other political trials, these sentences are very mild. The authorities obviously decided to tone down its treatment of these activists.

The 21 students were tried in three separate trials. There were cheers and applause in the three packed courtrooms when the sentences were announced. The most outspoken four, Yenni Damayanti, Adi Kurniawan, Hendrik Sirait and Masduki, addressed the public after the sentences were handed down. They persisted in strongly criticising the administration of justice under the New Order regime. *'This trial shows how rotten this regime has become. Democracy and human rights are simply a nonsense for the ruling elite'*, they said. The 21 defendants wore black T-shirts with political slogans like 'The Marsinah tragedy is our tragedy', 'Is there justice for Sei Lapan, Rancamaya, Cimacan and others?' and 'Oppressor-free zone'.

The trials were consistently lively (see TAPOL Bulletin No. 122); the 21 defendants were in high spirits and used the court as a political arena. The division of the 21 into three groups according to their alleged degree of involvement in the end made hardly any difference. The student-defendants originate from many different cities and higher education institutions, organised under a loose umbrella organisation, FAMI, the Indonesian Student Action Front. Solidarity from outside was enormous; massive demonstrations were held in front of the court house as well as in other cities.

Demonstrations everywhere

Picketing in front of the Central Jakarta District Court became a regular feature of the trials. An average of 500 students were present, doing all kinds of performances, transforming the courthouse-yard into a free-speech zone. On 5 May two students were arrested while unfolding banners with the text: 'Keep on fighting for democracy' and 'Political student trials are no solution'. Andi Gembol and Syaefuddin Abbas were dragged away by security guards.

In other major university cities solidarity meetings were also held. In Yogyakarta, for example, an event called 'happening art' was organised by students of the ISI Art Academy, giving vent to the oppressive situation in contemporary Indonesia. In Surabaya, students organised in FAMI demonstrated in the main streets and circulated pamphlets demanding the abolition of *Bakorstanas*, the army's security body.

Weak judicial foundation

The articles under which the students were charged are among the so-called Haatzaai-Artikelen (Hate-Sowing Articles), still known by their Dutch name. They prohibit the dissemination of 'insults' against the head of state (formerly the Dutch monarch, now Suharto). Defence lawyer Frans Hendra Winarta blasted the prosecution for using this law inherited from the outdated Dutch penal code. This law was used in the colonial period to punish Indonesian freedom fighters. The article has been incorporated into the present Criminal Code, which prohibits

expressions of hostility, hatred and disrespect towards the President. Frans said: 'During the Dutch period that horrible and terrifying article was heavily criticised by our forefathers.'

Witnesses for the Defence

Unlike the trial of Nuku Soleiman which ended just prior to these trials, witnesses appearing for the defence were allowed. They included public figures like J.E.Sahetappy, Frans Magnis Suseno, Sri Bintang Pamungkas, Ali Sadikin, Abdurrachman Wahid, Sabam Sirait and several others. Without exception the witnesses stressed the innocence of the defendants. Professor Sahetappy noted that the government should not feel offended by posters, slogans or strongly-worded statements. The students were just lodging complaints, he told the court. 'Political complaints should be resolved through political channels and not through the courtroom', he said. Abdurrachman Wahid, chair of *Forum Demokrasi*, defended the students by stating: 'Their protests were obvious responses to unsolved problems'. He said the students had demonstrated because political communications are log-jammed. Frans Magnis Suseno, a professor in political philosophy, said that people should thank the students for having the guts to stage the demonstration. 'If nobody wants to express their point of view, people will become more and more apathetic towards the situation in Indonesia.'

Two well-known politicians, Sri Bintang Pamungkas and Sabam Sirait, told the court that the students' demonstrations were fully within their constitutional rights. Sri Bintang, a member of Parliament, said: 'It's natural for students to stage the protests. It's true that parliament has not fulfilled its duty effectively.'

Arbitrary sentencing

Political trials are from start to finish stage-managed affairs. The earlier trial of Nuku Soleiman ended in a 4-year sentence. The charges against Nuku were much the same as those used against the 21 yet he got eight times as much. Another stark contrast was that his defence team was refused permission to call defence witnesses, whereas the very same people were allowed to testify at the trials of the 21. Was it a case of re-thinking strategy and recognising the folly of meting out similarly harsh sentences against the 21? Or were the judges given greater leeway this time round? In any event, whether the sentences were long or short, there can be no justification for any of them. However lenient, these trials were unfair and intolerable.

It is difficult to conclude that the Indonesian judiciary has at last asserted itself, taking a more independent line than in the past. What is certain is that the results are arbitrary, making the judicial a laughing stock.

Xanana Gusmao rejects release and exile

East Timor's resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, who is now serving a 20-year sentence in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta, has rejected proposals by UN and Indonesian officials that he should agree to be released and go into exile.

Xanana's refusal to go into exile was announced in a letter smuggled from Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. Stories have been circulating for some time that Xanana's release could be imminent and that the former Portuguese colony, Guinea-Bissau, had made an offer to the Indonesian authorities to give the East Timorese leader asylum.

The reasons for Xanana's refusal are clear and very principled: 'I will not accept exile unless all Timorese political prisoners are freed. I will only agree to leave prison to take part in peace negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia.'

Xanana said that proposals for his release had come from Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Suharto's special ambassador for East Timorese affairs and from Francesc Vendrell, a senior official from the UN Secretary-General's office who visited Jakarta and met Xanana at the beginning of the year.

The fact that Lopes da Cruz tried to encourage Xanana to go into exile suggests that the Indonesian authorities would like to be rid of him and consider him too much of an embarrassment to them holed up in a Jakarta prison.

Xanana in need of protection

In another letter smuggled from his prison cell in April which reached Darwin in Australia a few days later, Xanana said he felt threatened by the circumstances under which he is being held at the prison.

'I ask humanitarian organisations for their protection by helping to get me transferred to another block. From morning till late at night, I have to put up with insults and provocations, both personal and political.'

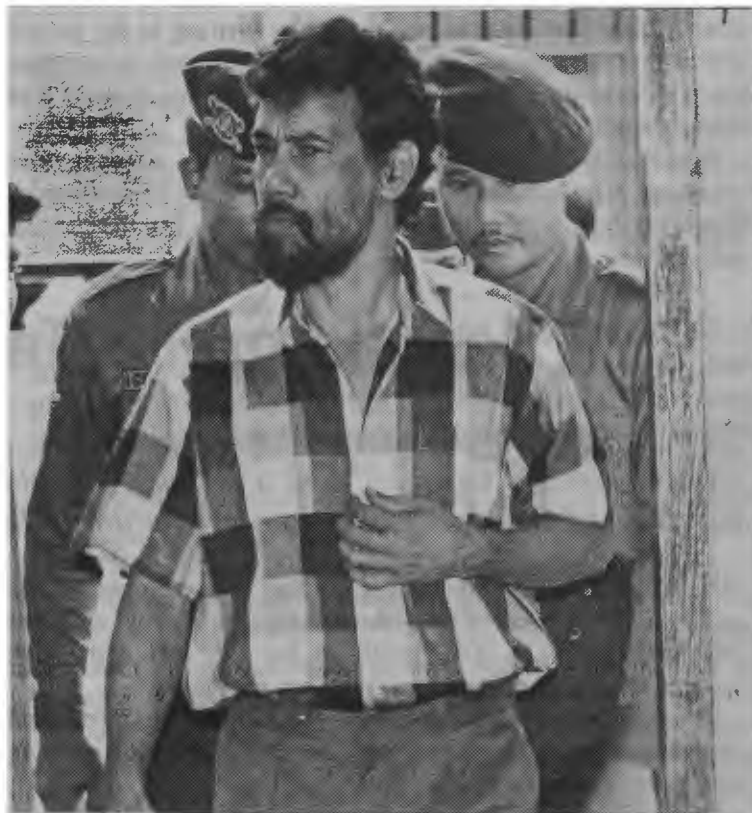
He is being held in conditions of isolation and duress and was even, for some time, made to share space with a sufferer of hepatitis B, a highly contagious disease. The man in question was a convicted criminal and was apparently put into the same cell so as to spy on Xanana.

Letter to LBH seized

In violation of international standards and the Indonesian penal code, the authorities have blocked his desire to be formally represented by lawyers affiliated to the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute, the LBH. On one occasion in March, when members of the National Human Rights Commission met him at Cipinang accompanied by LBH lawyers, the prison authorities seized a letter which he wanted to hand over to the LBH authorising them to handle of his case. (The Justice Minister insists that the lawyers have no standing to represent him even though he has specifically asked them to do so.)

Visiting restrictions are still in force; they were introduced last December as a 'punishment' after he succeeded in smuggling out letters to a number of international organisations. He is also kept in isolation from other East Timorese prisoners in Cipinang prison.

Although they are occasionally allowed to receive visits from East Timorese living in Jakarta (with the help of



Xanana Gusmao in Indonesian captivity

bribes to prison officers), Xanana is denied such visits. Foreign journalists have also been denied the chance to meet and interview him.

However, two East Timorese living in Portugal associated with the 'reconciliation talks' sponsored by the Indonesian government last December were brought to Jakarta especially by the Indonesian authorities to visit Xanana. The intention was to persuade him to come out in favour of this Indonesian ploy. The two men, Jose Belo and Father Constancio Gusmao, were apparently taken aback to discover that two tape recorders had been placed in the visiting room by army intelligence, to record their conversation. No publicity was given to the tapes suggesting that Xanana's comments were not helpful to his captors. [The transcript has been published in Lisbon. See page 22.]

The former Fretilin leader, Abilio Araujo, will also be going to Jakarta to visit Xanana Gusmao in prison. This visit, like the one just mentioned, will also be sponsored by the Indonesian authorities. Xanana's captors are going out of their way to exert influence over Xanana, and moreover, imposing visitors on him not of his own choosing while refusing to allow access to others whom he wishes to see. Any Timorese who collaborate in such schemes are only taking advantage of his status as a captive.

Virgilio Guterres on Xanana's state

An East Timorese student who spent two-and-a-half years in Cipinang Prison for taking part in a demonstration in

Jakarta in November 1991 was released in April. He confirmed that Xanana Gusmao has been subjected to 'psychological warfare tactics' in his prison block. Virgilio da Silva Guterres, who was able to meet the resistance leader briefly on the day of his release, said that common criminals in the same block had engaged in such activities as shouting at him all night long so that he would be unable to sleep. The intention was to provoke him into reacting in a way that would give the prison authorities a pretext to punish him. But Xanana responded by writing to the prison director and army *intel*, asking to be moved to another block. Up to the time of Virgilio's release, this request had been ignored.

Virgilio said that Xanana spends much of his time painting. Virgilio tried to bring out three of his paintings when he left prison but they were seized by the prison authorities.

Xanana greets Indonesian supporters

Shortly after his transfer to Cipinang Prison, Jakarta last September, the East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, sent a message to solidarity groups in Indonesia. The following extracts are translated from the Indonesian translation of his Portuguese text.

'The 32 questions you asked show that you see your efforts as an integral part of the international solidarity with the Maubere people.... The youth in the US had a decisive impact in ending the destructive war in Vietnam....

'We look forward to close ties with the fraternal Indonesian people, our brothers and sisters (this has nothing whatever to do with the 'family' concept used by ABRI, who see us as brothers and sisters not to be loved and respected but to be murdered, raped and exterminated by the foulest means....)'

'Echoes of the aspirations of the Indonesian people and youth reach me through the prison bars in Cipinang, your yearning for a new spirit... I am well aware that your activities to achieve democracy and a better future for Indonesia includes East Timor which you see not as something separate but as another aspect of the basic problem - the Indonesian political system. The fraternal people of Indonesia will not be able to enjoy complete democracy as long as the Maubere people are denied their right to self-determination and national independence.

'We people of East Timor call on you to help put an end to the oppression of the people of East Timor, free the political prisoners and stop the machinations of army *intel*.

The Indonesian government has been unable to go on deceiving public opinion and hiding the fact that the question of East Timor is still on the UN agenda. So I feel it is not too much to ask you to press the Jakarta government to stop dragging things out, playing for time and postponing the day of their defeat. The dialogue about East Timor should proceed in accordance with UN resolutions,

'I will continue to oppose integration!'

Virgilio told a Portuguese newspaper after his release that he would continue to speak out against Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor. 'I am always prepared to take part in any activity to raise the awareness of the Indonesian people as well as their government, about respect for the rights of the Maubere people.' Immediately after his release, Virgilio attended a seminar in Jakarta to discuss the situation in East Timor. [See separate time.]

Virgilio, now 28 years old, was studying in Salatiga at the time of his arrest. He spent the first six months of his incarceration in a police barracks in Jakarta, a year in Salemba Prison, Jakarta, and his final year in Cipinang.

He spoke of intense psychological torture in the course of some 'very rough' interrogation sessions during the early part of his imprisonment. [Jornal de Noticias, 29.IV.1994] Virgilio did not receive a single day's remission and served the full two-and-a-half years of his sentence.

universal principles and the principles underlying the Non-Aligned Movement.

Thousand of signatures!

'I hope it's not too much to ask you to collect thousands of signatures - I would not expect millions - in time for the meeting in May 1994 between Indonesia and Portugal, bearing in mind the achievements of last September's meeting when the UN Secretary-General expressed the wish to "seek a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor". The two foreign ministers, Durao Barrosa and Ali Alatas, also agreed to promote respect for human rights in all their indivisible aspects (civil, political, economic, social and cultural) and fundamental freedoms for East Timor.

'I feel certain that East Timor solidarity groups in Indonesia will play a decisive role in achieving this. It is part of the mission of our Indonesian friends to support our struggle. This is what I would like to suggest and I leave it to your innermost feelings to consider these ideas.

'Long live the solidarity of our Indonesian brothers and sisters!

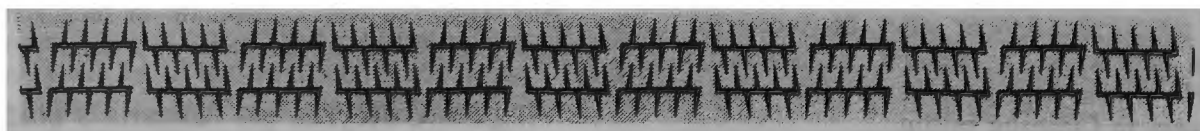
'Long live a Free East Timor!

'Long live the Maubere people!

'Forward in the struggle! Freedom or death!

'To resist is to win!'

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, Member of the National Council of Maubere Resistance and Commander of Falintil
Cipinang Prison, 28 November 1994.



Foreign journalists' visit backfires

In the second week of April, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry arranged for 26 foreign journalists not based in Jakarta to visit East Timor. This was the largest ever group of foreign journalists to visit East Timor and was clearly intended as a sign of 'openness', in advance of the fourth round of the UN-sponsored talks between Portugal and Indonesia scheduled to take place in Geneva on 6 May.

Whatever the intentions, this carefully-planned guided tour backfired, producing a string of highly critical accounts in newspapers across the world. It was an even worse publicity disaster than the visit to East Timor in February this year of Jakarta-based foreign journalists. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 122, April 1994.]

Young Timorese demonstrate

In a courageous move to breach the information blockade, a number of East Timorese took advantage of the journalists' presence to give expression to their opposition to Indonesian rule. Five youngsters suddenly appeared outside the hotel where they were staying to shout, *Viva Timor Leste* and other slogans. After a few moments, they threw their banners over the fence to the journalists, then fled, chased by security forces. One was certainly arrested later; we may have to wait some time to know the fate of him and his colleagues. Their demonstration was captured on film by the BBC's Jonathan Burchall and broadcast on the BBC's main news programme, *Newsnight* on 20 April.

A similar demonstration occurred the next day when the visitors attended early-morning mass at Motael Church. Both events were well-recorded in print-media accounts of the visit.

For several years until the Dili massacre on 12 November 1991, young East Timorese regularly staged demonstrations when foreigners were present and each time succeeded in drawing international attention to their plight. They have tried repeatedly to do so since the massacre but tight army security has always ruled it out.

Prisoners speak out

Another bold and, for the Indonesians, embarrassing breakthrough came when the journalists were taken to Becora Prison where a number of East Timorese are serving long sentences for attending – and surviving – the Santa Cruz massacre and for other political 'offences'. This too was recorded on film by the BBC. Burchall recorded an official saying, 'You can see for yourself but not make a film'. A security officer tried to prevent him filming in the lobby of the prison by putting his hand in front of the lens. But then, a voice rang through, 'I've been tortured, sometimes with electricity.' Burchall said that in all four political prisoners were able to shout messages to the journalists.

Other journalists recorded more of what they said. According to William Branigin in the *Washington Post* [27.IV.1994], Afonso Rangel (who is serving a 3-year sentence on a fabricated charge of sending 'secret' documents to Portugal) yelled 'Viva Timor Leste' as prison officials hustled him away. "Ask the world not to forget the people of East Timor who have been suffering for 20 years," Rangel shouted, as guards dragged him off." Branigin reported that Rangel also "complain(ed) of torture, before

the Indonesian authorities ended the impromptu interview".

Another prisoner named **Dominggus Pereira**, described by Branigin as a 28-year old prisoner arrested in 1992 (we have no record of his detention or trial), managed to tell the journalists that he had been tortured with electric shocks. "I do not accept the verdict of Indonesians because they are occupying my homeland."

Governor Soares accepts 200,000 death toll

Just as embarrassing for Jakarta was a remark by their loyal governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio Soares. When asked by journalists what he thought of the estimate of 200,000 deaths in East Timor since 1975, he promptly replied: "I think it's true." This was quoted in both the *London Guardian* [15.IV.1994] and the *Sydney Morning Herald* [15.IV.1994]. The latter quoted him as saying: "I think it is true. Maybe around 200,000 have died since 1975." The *Sydney* paper continued: "Later, when a journalist pointed out that the Indonesian Foreign Ministry had described the estimate as malicious and misleading, Mr Soares said, 'If the number is 100,000 or 200,000 we cannot say for sure'" and then went on to blame Fretilin for most of the deaths.

The *London Economist* [23.IV.1994] said of Soares' remark that it "must have caused a few wincings" in Jakarta. "Just a few days before, Ali Alatas, the foreign minister, had dismissed the figure of 200,000 dead as a 'canard' without a shred of evidence." The *Economist* also wrote: "The impact of the killing was underlined by a school-teacher who said that 70% of the children in his class had lost one or both of their parents to war or famine."

But even the military commanders interviewed by the



journalists were not helpful to the Jakarta propaganda mill. Major-General Adang Ruchiatna, who rules over East Timor from the headquarters of the Udayana regional military command in Dili, lamented that East Timor's youth were "ungrateful". "They don't understand what integration means... We need two generations to overcome opposition to integration."

Nor was Colonel Lumintang, commander of the Dili-based district military command, optimistic about ending armed resistance to Indonesian rule. Speaking to the journalists, as filmed by the BBC, he said, "The problem is, these 200 are not the remnant but the nucleus. That is why, even though we try to influence them to come down and join (us), it is extremely difficult. And I think maybe they will fight until they die." The *Sydney Morning Herald* [15.IV.1994] said he admitted: "It is true we have not got the sympathy of the people. The problem is not settled."

Pro-integration aid worker just as unhelpful

All reports we have seen so far also give considerable space to the words of Florentino Sarmiento, head of the Dili-based aid agency, *Etadep*, who said he supported integration in 1975 as "the most realistic option". The *Economist* quoted him as saying, "What we have now got is not integration but military occupation. And according to the *Guardian* in the second of two articles [16.IV.1994], he said, "If this is integration, it's only one aspect – territorial. Access to social and political rights has been denied.... spreading the seeds of disintegration. It's very paradoxical."

Meeting the clandestine resistance

Some of the journalists were able to break away from their

minders long enough to hold a secret meeting with members of the clandestine movement. Burchall took shots of them with their heads wrapped in Falintil and CNRM flags, saying: "Our struggle can be through many ways, in political struggle, by military resistance and also in clandestine in the towns."

Several journalists reported that secret documents were passed on to them from the resistance.

Amnesty seeks permission to visit Timor

Following a statement made by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas that Indonesia wished to establish dialogue with Amnesty International and would permit human rights organisations to visit East Timor, Amnesty wrote to the Minister saying that it hoped this would facilitate a visit to the territory by Amnesty International.

AI said it had made numerous efforts over the years to have direction discussions with the Indonesian government and to gain direct access to both Indonesia and East Timor 'to investigate its serious and long-standing human rights concerns there'. Up to now, it had been disappointed by the government's negative response.

It proposed that an Amnesty delegation should visit Indonesia and East Timor 'within the next two months in order to conduct human rights research without restriction.' [AI: ASA 21/WU 07/94, 6.5.1994]

UN Special Rapporteur to visit Timor

The UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings will visit East Timor from 5 to 15 June this year. This is the first step towards complying with a resolution adopted by the UN Human Rights Commission in March last year. The resolution required Indonesia to allow all the thematic UN special rapporteurs and working groups to visit East Timor.

East Timorese clandestine activists rounded up

Security forces in East Timor and Java have arrested a number of East Timorese in a move to strike at the clandestine movement. Among those arrested is the man who occupies a key position in maintaining communications between the clandestine movement and the world outside.

The first to be arrested were five young East Timorese who took part in a demonstration outside the Mahkota Hotel in Dili when more than two dozen foreign journalists were on a visit. [See separate item.] Their action had exposed them to the possibility of arrest; they were easily identifiable in a film of the protest shown on BBC television on 20 April. Later, five more demonstrators were arrested.

The next to be rounded up were ten men and women captured in early May. The security forces alleged that they were planning to demonstrate in Dili on 6 May to coincide with the Geneva talks between Indonesia and Portugal. This is unlikely as Timorese usually organise protests only when they are likely to be seen by outsiders because of the risks they have to take. The ten are: Nuno Corvelho, Rui Fernandes, Pedro Fatima Tilman, Octaviano, Rosalino, Miguel, Pantaleao, Marcos, Lucas Tilman dos Santos and Anibal. They were arrested on 1 – 3 May.

They have all been subjected to torture; the methods used were such as to ensure that the injuries were not visible to an ordinary observer.

Key activist arrested in Malang

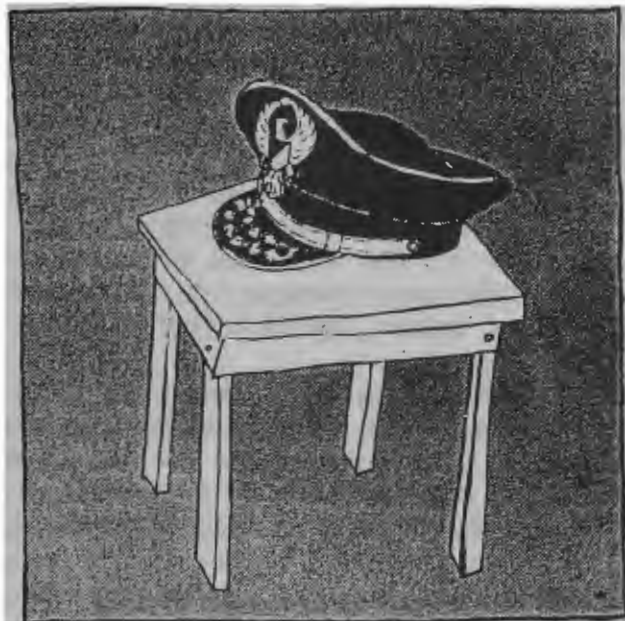
The clandestine movement has lost an important activist with the arrest in Malang, East Java of Jose Antonio Neves, a 22-year old student of theology, on 19 May. He is the secretary of the students' organisation, RENETIL, which keeps the outside world informed of the human rights situation in East Timor. Neves was arrested by military intelligence at the main post office in Malang while faxing a letter from the resistance leader, Konis Santana, to the Asia-Pacific Conference in East Timor in Manila.

Neves had recently returned to Java from East Timor where he had been gathering information about human rights abuses and political developments in order to pass the information on to the international community. According to reports, he was later transferred to the headquarters of the Udayana military command in Bali.

His arrest followed the arrest two days earlier in Malang two days earlier of Antonio Soares.

These arrests are totally in conflict with Indonesia's undertaking at the recent UN-sponsored talks to take

confidence-building measures. Such measures can only have meaning if they improve the situation in East Timor where tight security and terror continue to prevail. The illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor has forced East Timorese to organise themselves clandestinely and has even made it a criminal offence to channel information abroad about human rights abuses at home. In such circumstances, the mere faxing of a document becomes a criminal offence.



George Aditjondro, an Indonesian academic at Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, has roundly condemned the arrests. 'I deplore their arrest because it is against the spirit of the latest conclusions of the foreign ministers from Portugal and Indonesia and the UN secretary-general.' [Reuter, 20.5.1994]

Action needed

Readers are urged to write to the following officials, calling for the immediate and unconditional release of all these East Timorese activists and demanding that during their detention they should be treated humanely and not subjected to torture:

General Feisal Tanjung,
Commander of the Armed Forces,
Markas Besar ABRI,
Cilangkap, East Jakarta
Fax: +62-21 36 1471

EAST TIMOR

Major.Gen. (Pol) Banurusman Atmosumitro
Police General, Chief-of-Police,
Jl. Trunojoyo, 13,
Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan
Fax: +62-21 36 1471 (Mabes ABRI)

Seminar on East Timor disbanded

On 24 April, about a hundred people gathered at the office of *Yayasan Pijar* in Jakarta for a seminar on East Timor. The speakers were Virgilio da Silva Guterres, a Timorese student who had just been released from Cipinang Prison, and George Aditjondro, senior lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University. While Aditjondro was speaking, police came to disband the seminar because no permit had been issued. A Pijar activist engaged the police in dialogue long enough for Aditjondro to complete his talk.

The audience included members of many student and youth organisations who have had little chance to hear the truth about East Timor.

Aditjondro's theme was the de-mystification of East Timor. One Indonesian myth was that 'Fretilin is communist' whereas it was founded as a social democratic party with members holding a variety of political and religious beliefs. Another myth was the 'Balibo Declaration' which he described as 'pure fiction'. It would have been impossible for such a document (seeking integration with Indonesia) to be signed on 30 November 1975 in the presence of Indonesia's foreign minister in a place that was still in a state of great confusion and turmoil. This is why Xanana Gusmao, in his defence plea, called the 'Balibo Declaration' the 'fictitious Bali declaration'.

Another myth was that Xanana Gusmao is 'Fretilin/GPK'. The truth is that in the late 1980s, he left Fretilin to set up the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM), an umbrella organisation encompassing many parties and organisations.

Aditjondro also spoke at length about the many distortions in the Indonesian press regarding East Timor. [Source: Report from Aditjondro and *Editor*, 5.5.1994]

continued from page 22

of visits by overseas East Timorese to East Timor and a pilgrimage to the Fatima shrine in Portugal by Indonesian Timorese.

When Lopes da Cruz arrived at Lisbon airport in May for his pilgrimage, he was pelted with rotten eggs and excrement by a number of East Timorese. Others in the group were not pelted but given leaflets, asking them to 'pray for the 200,000 Timorese killed since the invasion'.

The anger of the East Timorese is based primarily on da Cruz's role as one of four Timorese who signed the so-called 'Balibo Declaration' in November 1975, asking for integration with Indonesia. Jakarta now uses this Declaration as justification for its intervention. da Cruz is seen as

the top Timorese collaborator and traitor to his country.

Several dozen Timorese who have been overseas for many years visited to East Timor, funded by Suharto's oldest daughter, Tutut. They were warned beforehand by the military authorities in East Timor not to engage in any 'political' activities or make any reference to the status of East Timor. The occupation forces in East Timor do not appear to endorse the reconciliation talks strategy. When the overseas Timorese arrived in Bali on their way to Dili, they were prevented from continuing their journey for five days. Their way was cleared after Tutut went to Dili to persuade the military to allow the overseas Timorese in.

Progress or stalemate in Geneva?

The fourth round of talks between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General was held in Geneva on 6 May. Although most commentators conclude that no real progress was made and even speak of 'stalemate', some interesting developments can be noted.

Cynicism is not out of place. Since 1975 the international community, despite numerous resolutions, has done nothing to force the Indonesian troops to withdraw from East Timor. But this is an issue like several others – Tibet, Western Sahara, Palestine – where tiny steps forward are perceptible. The Secretary-General's communique after the meeting is one of those tiny steps.

Political will

The most essential ingredient is the political will to find a comprehensive and internationally-acceptable solution. For years, political will was absent in Jakarta. East Timor is Jakarta's 27th province and that's an end to the matter. Indonesia entered the talks in the mid 1980s only to discuss family-reunification and social issues. The core issue of self-determination was not on the agenda throughout the time Perez de Cuellar was UNSG. But things have improved in the last two years.

Under Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN has been a little more helpful. UN officials have taken interesting initiatives to push East Timor up the UN agenda and seek a solution.

The international situation has also improved. The tragic Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991 brought East Timor to world attention. Indonesia's hidden war became public. In the second round of talks, a opening was created, confidence-building measures (CBM). At the same time, the CNRM launched its Peace Plan, showing a willingness to negotiate with the Indonesians.

Meanwhile, international pressure on Indonesia has

become almost unbearable. East Timor is raised at every international event, forcing Indonesia onto the defence. East Timor solidarity groups have strengthened and new groups have been born, keeping Indonesian embassies very busy. The end of the cold war invalidated differences between 'our' and 'their' dictators. Suharto is now in the same basket as Kim Il Sung, Saddam Hussein or Hastings Banda.

Confidence-building measures

These changes have made it necessary for Jakarta to be more flexible. A resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission in 1993 has forced the Indonesians to allow the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings to visit East Timor. Prior to the May meeting, foreign journalists were allowed to visit East Timor (see separate item).

Proximity talks

While most of the UN communiqué after the May talks is in the usual UN-speak, point 9 states that the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia had informed the secretary-general of their readiness to meet leading East Timorese supporters and opponents of integration respectively, an undertaking that can be far reaching. By agreeing to talk with representatives of the East Timorese resistance, Jakarta has admitted that East Timor is unfinished business. The next step, involving the Timorese resistance possibly in proximity talks, may now be closer to realisation. This is why there are grounds for cautious optimism.

Belo unhappy about reconciliation talks

Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Bishop of Dili, has responded negatively to the reconciliation talks held in London last December. The talks were between a team headed by Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Indonesia's special ambassador for East Timor affairs, the 'pro-integration' side, and one headed by Abilio Araujo, ousted head of Fretilin, the so-called 'anti-integration' side. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 121 February 1994]

Bishop Belo's remarks came in a letter to Abilio Araujo, a copy of which was sent to the Portuguese press. After saying that in East Timor, the London talks 'are still something of a mystery', the Bishop said many people believe the talks 'are inspired by economic interests and those who benefit will be Messrs Abilio (Araujo), (Portuguese businessman) Macedo and (ret'd general) Melo.' For this reason, the Diocese of Dili will not get involved in the buying and selling of East Timor.'

Bishop Belo said the Diocese would not get involved in the talks, even as an observer, while all the factions or different political tendencies are not involved. 'I am referring to Fretilin and its different factions, the CNRM,

the UDT, the *liurais* (village heads), the traditional leaders, pupils and university students.'

The Bishop wondered why these talks were going on when 'the people are still subjected to pressure. When Dili is gradually becoming a Javanese city. When waves of immigrants continue to occupy the south coast's fertile lands. When the young people involved in 12 November are still being hunted down.'

The letter was taken to Portugal by two emissaries from Abilio Araujo, Father Constancio and Mr Ze Belo, who had been sent to Dili to try to win the Bishop over to the talks.

Abilio's two emissaries also took back to Lisbon the tape of their discussion in Cipinang Prison with Xanana Gusmao. A transcript of the tape (which had been planted in the visiting room by Indonesian intelligence!) was published in the Lisbon daily *Diario do Noticias*. It records Xanana's strong denunciation of the reconciliation talks.

Lopes da Cruz gets angry welcome

Following the talks in London, there has been an exchange
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that the conference has invited international participants of different persuasion including Timorese groups from different persuasions including the Indonesian Timorese. This has obviously not diminished the extreme paranoia of Indonesia that will only be satisfied by complete silence.

TAPOL wrote to President Ramos:

We profoundly regret that you have bowed to pressure from the Indonesian government. You... have said repeatedly that you could not, under the Constitution, prevent the conference from taking place (and) stated your commitment to democratic principles. Yet... you are making it impossible for the aims of the conference to be achieved.

The CNRM said:

The East Timorese leaders in exile, who for so many years joined in support of the struggle of the Filipino people against tyranny, feel profoundly disappointed and betrayed by President Ramos' surrender to the latest blatant interference in Filipino affairs on the part of the Indonesian dictatorship.

Lord Avebury wrote to President Ramos, saying:

... history demonstrates time and again that appeasing bullies and dictators is counter-productive... and I fear you may live to regret your failure to stand up to Jakarta.

Under Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, restrictions on the right 'to receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, may only be imposed where it is necessary for the protection of national security and public order'. The reason you gave for barring foreigners was not within these limits and your action was therefore unlawful.

APCET's aims are to make East Timor better known in the region. It was convened by several Filipino NGOs and a wide range of organisations: CNRM, the East Timorese resistance movement; TAPOL; PP 21; ACFOD in Bangkok; the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor; ETAN-US, ETAN-Canada and others. Participants from Portugal and Indonesia were to take part.

Choosing a venue for a conference on East Timor in the ASEAN region was bound to be tricky. The long arm of Jakarta penetrates the region. Manila seemed the best place because of its more liberal traditions. It has often been the venue for international gatherings because of its NGOs which have taken many actions taken on East Timor. It hosted the Christians in Solidarity with East Timor Asia-Pacific meeting in 1987 attended by the late Bishop of Tonga, Patelisio Finau.

The Suharto-Ramos samba

The diplomatic blackmail took place at the highest level. Initially, Ramos said he could not ban the conference but sought to mollify Jakarta by reiterating his 'unswerving support' for Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

As the conference neared, it was clear it would attract wide publicity because Mme Mitterand of France and the wife of Portugal's president, Mario Soares, were due to attend. Then the Indonesian foreign ministry warned that the presence of the two first ladies could create a diplomatic incident. So, to avert a diplomatic row, the two women decided not to attend. Their reasons will be made

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public before the end of May.

Yet all this did not affect Jakarta's designs to sabotage the event. Jakarta threaten to withdraw as mediator between Manila and the Moro rebels in Mindanao. It withdrew from a business conference and trade fair in Davao, putting in jeopardy 12 joint ventures.

Having for years vented its fury on the Dutch and other western governments for 'intervening in our internal affairs' by linking human rights to aid, it was now Indonesia's turn to become the interventionist.

Upset over APCET

When Philippine Vice-President Joe Estrada met Ali Alatas in Pretoria, he was again warned that APCET would jeopardise bilateral relations. "Let us not invite unnecessary irritants to this relationship", he said. [*Manila Chronicle*, 15.5.1994] Senators Blas Ople and Santanina Rasul joined in, warning of the damage to 'good neighbourly relations'.

The Manila press lambasted such subservience. The almost unanimous view was that these politicians owed the Philippines public an apology for grovelling to Big Brother Indonesia. But the grovelling did not stop. A special envoy was dispatched to Jakarta, giving Alatas the chance to tighten the screw. Then came the decision to bar foreigners which led to even greater condemnation in the columns of the press. One commentator called Ramos a 'wimp', another reminded readers the Philippines was not a province of Indonesia.

Amando Doronila, (*The Inquirer*) wrote: '(East) Timor is Indonesia's version of Auschwitz. Indonesia does not want the rest of the world to know what is happening.... Indonesia wants us to collude in the cover-up.', while the *Manila Times* said the cave-in to the Indonesians was 'distressing' and asked: 'Are there any world leaders out there who can still respect Ramos now that he has demonstrated that he can easily be pushed around?'

Arm-twisting by Jakarta and kowtowing by Manila may have turned the conference into a Philippines rather than an international event, but the conference as originally planned could never have stirred such widespread media attention.

Aditjondro condemns decision

Interviewed by the fortnightly, *DeTik*, George Aditjondro, who was invited to Manila, said: 'Indonesia is trying to force its own political culture on the Philippines but this is unacceptable for the Filipino people.... It is very unfortunate that Indonesia has used the Moro issue to take revenge on Manila....'

Referring to moves under UN auspices for Portugal and Indonesia to talk respectively to pro or anti integration East Timorese, Aditjondro quoted Alatas as saying: 'How can I speak to one of our prisoners?'

'If the Indonesian government objects to dialogue with anti-integration East Timorese, then let us citizens have the dialogue. Princen or I could start the dialogue with them,' said Aditjondro.

Can these ailing men be left to die in prison?

Concern has been growing in Indonesia about the condition of ailing and very elderly political prisoners. Several are under sentence of death or have life sentences. The rules as they stand allow no possibility for release. Should they be left to die in prison of 'natural' causes?

After the death last year of **Iskandar Subekti**, who had languished in prison since 1968 and was sentenced to death in 1972, there are five death-row prisoners in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta, who were sentenced for their alleged involvement in the events of 1965, the so-called 'G30S-/PKI' prisoners. One other awaiting the death sentence is a Muslim prisoner.

Wijayasastra, now 74 years old is totally paralysed. Unable to move, he has to be fed and is doubly incontinent. **Ruslan** was leader of the peasants' organisation, the BTI. Arrested in 1968, he was charged with subversion for alleged involvement in the 1965 events because of his membership of the communist party (PKI) central committee and for 'staging armed rebellion in South Blitar in 1968'.

Asep Suryaman, now 66 years old, is suffering from rheumatics. He was arrested in 1971 and sentenced to death for subversion for being a member of the PKI's Special (intelligence) Bureau.

I. Bungkus, an army sergeant who is now 68 years old, has been in prison since 1965 and under sentence of death since 1971. Nothing specific is known about his state of health.

Sukatno, now 65 years old, was arrested in July 1968 and sentenced to death in 1971. He has been the subject of a persistent campaign by the Inter-Parliamentary Union as he was a member of Parliament in 1965.

The fifth death-sentence 'GS0S/PKI' prisoner in Cipinang Prison is **Marsudi**, a former soldier who is now 57 years old. He was sentenced to death by a military court in July 1976.

Another death-sentence prisoner who is ailing is **Ismail Pranoto**, who was found guilty of subversion in the late 1970s because of alleged involvement in Darul Islam activities. He is in his late sixties and is also paralysed. He has lost his memory and has been unable to get up from bed for the past two years.

Another prisoner for whom there is grave concern is former **Brig.General Sutarto**, now in his early seventies. His is serving life. He was chief of the state intelligence bureau under the pre-1965 foreign minister, Dr. Subandrio (also in for life). Sutarto is now gravely mentally ill. His mental disorder began when a close friend was released. He is now in a state of total mental disorientation.

Appeal from other Cipinang prisoners

The desperate circumstances of the elderly and ailing prisoners in Cipinang has become a pressing issue for many political prisoners in the same prison, including the East Timorese. The matter was raised with members of the National Human Rights Commission who visited the prison in March this year and met **Bonar Tigor Naipospos**, Colonel **Latief**, Dr **Tom Wanggai** and **Xanana Gusmao**. They made a point, in their discussion with the Commission, of stressing the extreme urgency of finding a quick solution for them. [*Kompas*, 21.3.1994]

TAPOL too has received an urgent message to help these men from an East Timorese prisoner in the same prison. He wrote:

'I implore you to give special attention to these men. Please make every effort to have them returned to their families so that they can be cared for properly during their final days. I think that the present political situation in Indonesia should make it possible for us to work hard for a solution for them.'

Last week, the Justice Minister responded to our plea through the intermediary of the National Commission on behalf of these men. He said he was trying to find a solution for these men. We here don't place any faith in his words and feel that only pressure for outside will produce results... I personally would not accept the idea that they should be released through clemency from Suharto. This would be a betrayal of all they have suffered over the last 25 years. They must be released unconditionally.'

BEBASKAN SEMUA TAPOL



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