



EDITORIAL

# THE HAWKS AND THE EAST TIMOR WAR

In June 1978, when the British government was under pressure to justify the sale of Hawk ground-attack aircraft to Indonesia at the height of Indonesia's war of aggression in East Timor, it claimed in a letter to the Catholic Institute for International Relations:

"... the aircraft in question are of the trainer version; equipment for their ground attack role has not been included in the sale and therefore they cannot be used in East Timor..."

At the same time, it was claiming in a letter to MP Russell Johnston:

"We do not have any first-hand knowledge of the situation in E. Timor. . . Certain foreign observers have reported that the scale of skirmishing there has been greatly reduced."

This was quite untrue. On the contrary, saturation bombing was driving hundreds of thousands out of the mountains and causing widespread famine, disease and death.

In December 1980, in a debate in the House of Lords, a government spokesman again described the Hawks sold to Indonesia as being "for training purposes only and not suited to operational use in East Timor".

In April 1981, the British Prime Minister, on a visit to the Middle East, stressed that the Hawk is suitable for both combat and training. Keen to sell the plane, she added that in these times of stringency, it was a "good buy" because the same version could be used for both purposes by the simple expedient of adding bomb and rocket pods.

Following this statement, several MPs drew the government's attention to reports of increased military activity in East Timor (see pages 4-5) and raised the possibility that

Hawks supplied by the UK could be used in East Timor. The replies now show a subtle change of tune. Joan Maynard MP has been told:

"Although (the Hawks) *are indeed versatile* we do not think their use in East Timor would make operational sense, especially now that conditions there *seem to be relatively peaceful*." (Our emphasis.)

The government is only too anxious to accept reports that understate military activity in E. Timor, so as to conceal the possibility that the planes it has supplied are being used in combat. It is high time it stopped ignoring information from those who really care about what goes on in E. Timor, admitted that British-supplied planes could well be being used there, and proceeded to review its policy of selling weapons to a country engaged in aggression, and known to be employing torture on a wide scale as we have also been able to show in several items in the present issue.

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# EX-TAPOLS DOOMED TO BECOME PARIAHS

by an Ex-Tapol

Witnessed by foreign ambassadors the Indonesian Government announced at a mass ceremony of the release of G30S prisoners from the island of Buru, that the problem of political prisoners in Indonesia had been solved once and for all. Many reporters from overseas, especially Mr. David Jenkins of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, wrote long articles in praise of the military regime of President Suharto claiming that with one stroke criticism levelled at the Suharto government for violating human rights, would cease immediately.

However, starting from 1980 it became apparent that the freed tapols were in reality not free. The word "free" (*dibebaskan*) is not mentioned anywhere in their notice of determination. In the notices of determination received by tapols, it is clearly stated that they are "returned to society" but are still under the custody of local military commanders. Tapols still have to report, are not free to

choose their residence, have no rights to belong to a political party, and are also not permitted to found organisations, and are subject to many other restrictions. In other words, they have not regained any of their civil rights. By being tapols, they are left in limbo.

Many superficial observers were of the opinion that those restrictions would only be temporary in nature. However, the contrary is true. Since the beginning of 1981 conditions have become more restrictive. The word "ex" may be dropped, for they are treated as tapols. The Indonesian Archipelago, which was poetically referred to as the Girdle of Emerald, has been turned into a gigantic prison camp for the political dissidents of Indonesia. Personal details of all the tapols are now registered on computers. For the purpose of registration tapols were instructed to report to the authorities between January and March and were asked to give all their personal data.

## *Translation*

### TEACHERS INVOLVED IN G30S/PKI WORRIED BECAUSE THEY ARE TO BE BANNED FROM TEACHING

**Merdeka**, 20 February 1981

More than 200 teachers in the Municipality of Semarang have suddenly become very worried following an unexpected instruction from the head of the provincial (Central Java) Office of the Department of Education and Culture to school heads to carry out an inventory of all teachers who have ever been classified as C2 or C3 category of involvement in the G30S/PKI.

This instruction is among others mentioned in a letter dated 10 February 1981, No. 189/1.03.5/C.a/81 and signed by Ekat Soeparno, head of the Supplies for Vocational Secondary Schools Division in Central Java. The letter states that school heads must, within two days, complete an inventory of teachers in their schools who have been classified as C2 or C3, together with relevant documents. Basically, all teachers who have ever been classified as C2 or C3 will, within a short space of time, no longer be permitted to teach. They will be shifted to administrative jobs. They will be placed in the same school provided the administrative formation of that school makes this possible. If not, they may be transferred to another school that requires administrative staff. In the case of those who are over 50 years old, they will be advised to apply for early retirement. Those who have already reached Grade IIIc will be transferred to a departmental office in a municipality or a district capital.

Many teachers, especially those who will be directly affected by this instruction from the head of the Central Java Office for Education and Culture, greeted the news with amazement. "I thought that

sanctions for (involvement in) the G30S/PKI were now over", said one teacher who is likely to be affected, while recalling that those who were classified as B and C1 had now been released and were back in society. Regarding those classified as C2 and C3, one should remember their history, said another **Merdeka** source, a teacher at a vocational school for technology. According to this source, no fewer than 200 senior teachers will be affected by this measure in vocational schools in the Semarang Municipality alone. "Just imagine how many will be affected throughout the whole of Central Java. This (figure) is only just for vocational schools", said this person, who also warned that the measure could disrupt the smooth running of education as well as the curriculum in the schools.

At vocational schools in Central Java, which have already been informed of this instruction of 10 February 1981, teachers who feel that they will be affected have begun to lose their enthusiasm for teaching; some of them are even frankly no longer willing to teach any more because of the frustrations they feel.

But quite a few of them intend to submit a request for this decision to be reviewed. "We shall write to the commander of KOPKAMTIB. If B-category people have already been released, why should such a brutal measure be taken against those of us in the C2 and C3 categories for something that happened 16 years ago? We ourselves don't remember it any more. And anyhow, what then has been the purpose of all that re-indoctrination that we have been receiving?" they said.

Continued from page 2

Tapols were also informed that they need a certificate of "good behaviour" from the police when looking for a job. A certificate of non-involvement in the G30S affair is indeed not required any longer, but the certificate of good behaviour must list all the vital information regurgitated by the computer. A person who has ever been detained and been suspected of being involved in the G30S movement, will automatically have this fact recorded on his certificate of good behaviour. This new policy is nothing but a variant of the former requirement of needing a certificate of non-involvement in the G30S movement. One must not forget that the new policy was instituted by the military regime following strong protests from the International Labour Organisation on the grounds that a certificate of non-involvement was contrary to human rights.

The new policy requiring certificates of good behaviour does not alter the effect of certificates of non-involvement. It still makes it extremely difficult for tapols to find decent work.

The situation for tapols is particularly bad in the smaller towns. From the beginning of this year, tapols who live in villages but want to look for jobs in the nearest towns need to get the following papers:

1. a declaration from the KODIM (District Military Commander) under whose custody they are, stating that he does not object to them going to another KODIM.
2. a declaration from the receiving KODIM stating that he has no objections for the tapols to come to his district.
3. the second declaration is only issued when the tapol

can show a statement from his prospective employer. A classical Catch-22 situation. Many who had already found work were fired when this new regulation came into force, for many employers do not want to be identified as tapol sympathisers—a label which may have adverse consequences.

Freedom of movement of tapols is severely restricted by the fact that permits to move from one district to another take at least 6 to 7 months to process. This restriction reduces the chances for tapols to find decent jobs. They consider themselves fortunate whenever they can earn some money. The economic situation of tapols is generally very sad, because not every one is capable of starting his own business.

Tapols are further handicapped in the business world by the unwritten policy which debars them from obtaining credits from state banks. Not a single bank would dare to lend money to enterprises run by tapols, even if they were economically feasible. A bank employee has alleged that there are strict instructions not to extend any loans to tapols and to other political dissidents opposed to the military regime. These instructions are obeyed without questioning for fear of being fired.

It is clear that in Indonesia tapols have become pariahs in their own country. These facts do not come to the attention of the ministers who deliberate at the IGGI meetings when loans to Indonesia are being discussed. These gentlemen seem to think that the pressure they exert against the Suharto government behind closed doors in the conference chamber is effective. Will the IGGI countries resort to more drastic means, expressed in dollars and cents, in order to alleviate the conditions of tapols?

**I**

**SUARAHARAPAN 6 FEBRUARI 1981**  
Sebuah Perusahaan Negara yang berbentuk Perusahaan Umum.

**MEMBUTUHKAN SEGERA**  
Nomor : Dir. 4/0315.10/I 1981.

Beberapa tenaga lulusan Sarjana / Sarjana Muda Teknik jurusan

**1. SIPIL**  
**2. ARSITEKTUR**  
**3. PLANOLOGI.**

A Syarat-syarat :  
a Usia tidak lebih dari 35 tahun.  
b Berbadan sehat  
→ c Berkelakuan baik dan tidak terlibat G.30.S / P.K.I.  
d Tidak berkedudukan sebagai Pegawai / Calon Pegawai Negeri  
e Tidak pernah diberhentikan dengan tidak hormat, dan tidak pernah dihukum.  
f Bersedia ditempatkan di seluruh Wilayah Republik Indonesia  
g Diutamakan yang belum berkeluarga

B Surat lamaran ditulis dengan tangan sendiri, yang dilampiri dengan  
1 Daftar Riwayat Hidup.  
2 Salinan Ijazah Negeri / Swasta yang dipersamakan yang telah dilegalisir.  
3 2 (dua) buah pas photo ukuran 4 x 6

C Ketentuan lain :  
1 Pelamar yang memenuhi syarat akan dipanggil untuk mengikuti testing.  
2 Testing meliputi: Pengetahuan Umum, Pengetahuan Teknis, Psikotest, test kesehatan dan wawancara

D Alamat  
Surat lamaran ditujukan kepada  
— Direksi Perusahaan  
c/q. Kepala Bagian Kepegawaian & Organisasi  
P.O. Box - 137/KBT. JAKARTA.

E Batas Waktu Lamaran.  
Surat lamaran paling lambat diterima tanggal 28 Februari 1981 (berdasarkan stempel Pos)

F Harap dilampirkan disertakan prangko secukupnya

Jakarta, 27 Januari 1981.  
DIREKSI.

**II**

Sebuah perusahaan Joint Venture yang bergerak di bidang Perikanan Industri Perikanan di Pangkalanbun, Kalimantan Tengah, memerlukan beberapa tenaga untuk segera ditempatkan, untuk jabatan-jabatan sbb.:

**I. ASSISTEN CAMP MANAGER:**  
Syarat:  
— Sarjana Muda Kehutanan - Pimpinan Perusahaan.  
— Pengalaman di bidang Kehutanan - Industri Perikanan minimal 3 tahun.

**II. ASSISTEN SAWMILL MEKANIK:**  
Syarat :  
- Sarjana Muda Teknik Mesin, atau sederajat.  
— pengalaman di bidang mesin - Perbengkelan minimal 3 tahun.

**III. ASSISTEN KEPALA BAGIAN EXPORT:**  
Syarat :  
— Akademi Maritime atau sederajat, SMA-SMEA Kursus Boom-zaken.

**IV. URUSAN PEMBIBITAN, PENANAMAN KEMBALI DAN PEMELIHARAAN HUTAN:**  
Sekolah Kehutanan Menengah Atas atau kursus Kehutanan.

Syarat2 umum:  
1. Sanguin ditempatkan di Pangkalanbun.  
2. Berbadan sehat (dengan sertifikat Dokter).  
→ 3. Bebas G.30.S. dan kelakuan baik (Surat Keterangan dari Kepolisian).  
4. Usia maximum 30 tahun.  
5. Surat lamaran dilampiri dengan pasfoto, copy ijazah, dan riwayat hidup dan gaji yang diminta.  
6. Surat lamaran dialamatkan pada MENTENG AGENCY P.O. BOX 3695/Jkt, dibawah No. 185.  
7. Lamaran ditutup tanggal 10 Juli 1980.

*kompas 26/5/80*

Both these press announcements of job vacancies include (see arrows) the conditions: "Not involved in the G30S/PKI and of good conduct".

# NEW MILITARY OFFENSIVE MAY BE UNDER WAY

There is strong evidence that Indonesia has recently launched a new military offensive in East Timor aimed at wiping out continuing resistance to Indonesia's occupation of the country.

The offensive appears to have been launched following large-scale military manoeuvres held in several parts of eastern Indonesia at the end of March. The manoeuvres were heavily concentrated in the eastern sector of East Timor, around Baucau, Laga and Los Palos, where resistance is known to be fiercest. (West Irian, another major trouble-spot for the Indonesian army, was also included in the manoeuvres.)

The manoeuvres which according to UPI, involved some 35,000 troops, or 10,000 in East Timor alone, included amphibious landings, parachute landings from Hercules transports and the deployment of OV-10 Bronco counter-insurgency jets. Quite apart from any subsequent offensive operations, such a show of strength would clearly be intended to intimidate the Timorese.

From sources in East Timor as well as in Jakarta, channelled mainly through the Australian Council for Over-

seas Aid (ACFOA) which has an excellent record in monitoring developments in East Timor, it is learnt that some 6,000 troops engaged in the exercises were scheduled to stay behind to reinforce troops already there and conduct a "general clean-up". This would bring the total complement of combat troops in East Timor up to 18 battalions or about 18,000 men. ACFOA points out that the departure from East Timor, in April this year, of the only effective outside agency, the International Red Cross, has cleared the way for the Indonesian Army to conduct an offensive free of foreign constraint. The Red Cross's third 6-month contract expired in April and the Indonesian government refused to prolong it any further. News of the offensive would be consistent too with many reports of renewed resistance, mainly in the eastern sector but also in other parts of the country.

We have also received a number of reports of political persecution. The information comes from two sources, ACFOA in Australia and **Informacoes**, a bulletin published monthly in Lisbon by GATIMOR, office of the UDT (Timor Democratic Union) and quoted extensively in the

Indonesian paratroopers over Los Palos, East Timor, 25 March 1981. (This photograph appeared in the Jakarta daily, *Kompas*, 26 March 1981.)





March-April issue of **Timorese Newsletter**. The following is compiled from these two sources:

### Three Prison Islands

Three islands off the north coast of East Timor are now being used for political prisoners: Atauro, Alor and Lira (identified by ACFOA as Liran). There are between 5,000 and 7,000 prisoners on Atauro alone. No aid agency personnel were allowed to visit Atauro. **Informacoes** quotes its source as saying that Atauro is crowded

with thousands of deportees, including many women and children who have been imprisoned and sent there for purely political reasons because they opposed the means used by the Indonesian authorities to impose the integration of Timor. Given the characteristics of the island and the poverty of the soil, we can predict terrible consequences for the health . . . of all these political prisoners.

In Dili itself, Comarco prison is still accommodating a number of "very important" political prisoners. Among them are Fretilin leaders, Aleixo and David Ximines who was previously reported to have disappeared or been shot after the 10th June 1980 incident in Dili. Other Fretilin members caught recently have reportedly been summarily executed, including Central Committee member, Vanancio.

### One Thousand Arrested

On 7th December 1980, the fifth anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of E. Timor, the Indonesian intelligence chief in Los Palos received a letter from "people in the bush" which provoked "agitated and uncontrolled" reactions from him. His immediate response was to round up about 1,000 people in Los Palos and Baucau and have them transported away, reportedly to Dili. Fifteen days later, they still had not arrived. It is feared they may have been executed or taken to one of the three prison islands. Among the people arrested were a number of teachers and ex-seminaries.

On 21-22 February this year, about 90 people were arrested in Liqueca, including teachers, civil servants and members of Parliament. All were transported away. Up to 25 March, when the letter reporting this incident was sent, only very few had been released.

### Five Heads Impaled

In February 1981, a teacher named Margerida fled to the bush from Venilale because the army was killing people with whom she surrendered two years earlier, one by one. A few days later, she was captured along with four Fretilin members. All five were beheaded and their heads impaled in Laga for three days.

### Pressure on People to Adopt Indonesian Nationality

A new decree issued on 7 January 1981 has defined as "foreigners" any Timorese who registered with the International Red Cross two years ago to leave East Timor, meaning that they may not obtain employment and suffer other restrictions. A year ago, the Indonesian authorities

enacted a measure sacking such people from public positions, ordering their property to be seized by the state and stripping them of their civil rights. This measure was apparently later modified because of the difficulty of running the civil administration without them. The only way they can be restored their rights is by adopting Indonesian nationality. (The fact that they opted to go to Portugal was equivalent to abjuring Indonesian nationality as they would have required Portuguese passports. In actual fact, almost all those who registered to leave never obtained the chance to do so.)

From another source, it is reported that 80 people who refused to adopt Indonesian citizenship by the end of 1980 have been sacked from the civil service. They are prohibited from engaging in business, from seeking employment in the private sector without government permission, and are subjected to special taxes and duties.

### Red Cross Departure Dismays Refugees

The cessation of International Red Cross operations in East Timor in April this year has caused dismay among Timorese refugees in Lisbon. A spokesman of the Vale do Jamor camp said that its presence had helped check Indonesian military excesses. "Now that they are going, have pity on the Timorese", he said. (*Canberra Times*, 11 April 1981.) Red Cross activity was also needed, he said, to help people in E. Timor who desperately want to be reunited with their families and whose only hope of leaving rests with the Red Cross. Many are waiting to leave including seriously ill people, the elderly and young children who have been separated from their parents for a long time.

### Refugees Imprisoned

The plight of people trying to leave E. Timor is highlighted by another report from ACFOA regarding a group of some 50 refugees who managed to bribe their way out of the country and reached Bali, Kupang and other places in Indonesia. When their whereabouts were discovered by the Indonesian authorities, they were rounded up, returned to Dili and imprisoned.

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### FORMER EDITOR DIES UNDER HOUSE ARREST

Soemarso Soemarsono, editor-in-chief of **Abadi**, the Muslim daily, until it was closed down in 1974, died in March this year while still under house arrest. He was arrested in 1978 and accused of being involved in the "20 March incident" when a group of Muslims are alleged to have attempted to prevent members of the People's Consultative Assembly from attending the session at which President Suharto was due to be re-elected for a third term of office.

A co-prisoner of his, Saleh Iskandar, has stated (**Tempo**, 28 March 1981) that an old affliction of his, haemorrhoids, became active again after he underwent interrogation following his arrest at the Gang Buntu Cidodol detention centre in Jakarta. This was the illness that eventually caused his death.

# WOMEN UNFURL PAPUAN FLAG IN JAYAPURA

On 4 August last year, six women, all under 20 years of age, made an attempt to raise the Papuan flag on the flagpole that stands in the forecourt of the Indonesian governor's office in Jayapura, the capital of West Irian.

More details about this daring attempt (reported briefly in *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 41/42 September/November 1980, page 22) have now become available, mainly from secret police documents that recently came into the possession of TAPOL.

The six women, who were arrested, are:

Persila Yakadewa  
Merry Yarona  
Pony (or Vonny) Yarona  
Lina Ikary  
Minggas Yakadewa  
Reny Toto.

At the end of January this year, they were all still in custody, and were being held at the Military Police post in Kloofkamp. They all come from a village named Ormu, on the outskirts of Jayapura.

When they approached the Governor's Office at 7.00 am on 4 August, they were carrying a table, a Papuan flag wrapped up in a plastic bag, and copies of the New Testament. They were all wearing headbands bearing the words, "God is with us!" It was reportedly their intention to stand vigil by the raised Papuan flag for 24 hours. Had they succeeded, this would have been taken as a sign that the Papuan state had become a reality.

One contact in West Irian has explained that the village of Ormu is well known as a centre of messianic beliefs where people often perform daring acts of political protest in the firm belief that they enjoy supernatural protection. Young boys there often try to pester Indonesian troops, armed only with sticks or by digging simple booby-traps.

## Secret Police Documents

The secret police documents that have been sent to TAPOL include a police report written on the same day as the incident. It refers to an earlier report dated 31 July 1980 which had warned of increased activity by the Free-Papua Movement (OPM). The report, numbered 02/VIII/1980/Siop 1701, states that Mrs Persila Yakadewa, who took charge of the flag attempt, was visited by a friend of her husband's on 20 July who told her that men fighting in the bush as well as the people in general were suffering greatly and were very anxious for the Papuan flag to be raised. He visited her again on 1 August, this time bringing her a flag. He told her that a flag-raising attempt in Abepura on 22 July had been unsuccessful. (On that occasion, the people involved had tried to set up their own flagpole, but were caught before they had got the pole in place.) He told her that while she and her friends were standing vigil over the flag, more than a thousand men, armed with 65 weapons, would muster on the out-

skirts of Jayapura and launch an attack.

The police report ended with a warning that other attempts to raise the Papuan flag may well occur, and that the danger of physical violence should not be ignored.

The other documents sent to TAPOL are statements made by the two officers who arrested the women. The statement of one of the officers claims that he happened to be approaching the Governor's office when he noticed that a large crowd of people were gathered there, including a group of women who were standing near the flagpole. He then heard people clapping and saw some women raising the Papuan flag. He quickly made for his patrol car, approached the spot again, seized the women and took possession of the flag, the table and the other things they had with them.

The other police officer said nothing about the crowd of people present nor about the clapping, and claimed that the women had only managed to pull down the Indonesian flag before being arrested.

## CRI DE COEUR FROM TEMBAGAPURA

On 25 May last year, community leaders, including students and youth leaders from Tembagapura-Akimuga, which lies in the heart of the region where Freeport-Sulphur, the US mining company is exploiting copper, sent a letter to the Governor of West Irian vigorously complaining about their worsening living conditions. The complaints they make include the following:

- Papuans are treated like dogs who must scavenge from garbage bins in order to survive;
- no services are provided for them either by the government or by the company;
- they have a strong desire to make progress, but neither get the opportunity to work nor to go to school;
- in Tembagapura, local inhabitants are not permitted to buy anything in the shops, even the simplest, basic commodities;
- they are treated like foreigners in their own land;
- although Indonesian law recognises private ownership rights and traditional community rights to land, these rights are being totally ignored in their region;
- the land being exploited by Freeport-Sulphur is the property of the people of Tembagapura-Akimuga, handed down to them over the generations by their ancestors.

The letter contains a number of demands and warnings, such as:

- that the government and Freeport should set aside land and build cheap housing for the local population;
- that the people should be given the opportunity to work and to shop;

*Continued on page 13*

# REPRESSION IN ACEH

Aceh, the most north-westerly province of Indonesia, situated on the northern tip of Sumatra, has today become a region of widespread political persecution, following the establishment in October 1976 of the **National Liberation Front of Aceh-Sumatra (NLF)**, known also as the **Aceh-Freedom Movement**—and its proclamation, on 4th December 1976 of Acehnese independence.

Reports are now being received of numerous summary executions, mass arrests, prolonged detention without charge or trial, and the systematic use of torture. Already the names of well over 700 political prisoners have been received, together with information about other forms of restriction, such as house arrest, town arrest, district arrest and village arrest.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Aceh is the most devoutly and solidly Muslim region in Indonesia. It was the last region to be subjugated by the Dutch colonialists. In fact, the NLF argues that the process of subjugation was never completed.

The Dutch made their first assault on Aceh, then an independent sultanate, in 1873. There followed a 40-year war against a people whose courage and militancy have been generally acknowledged as contributing an outstanding chapter to the history of resistance to Dutch colonialism. It is estimated that some 100,000 Acehnese out of a population of one million were killed during the Acehnese War. Although virtually all traditional local chieftains or sultans had capitulated by 1913, resistance continued under the *ulama* (Muslim religious scribes) and went on intermittently up to 1942 when the Dutch abandoned their East Indies colony to the Japanese invaders. Although, following the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Dutch troops returned to Java and other parts of their former colony, they never resumed control of Aceh.

After the Indonesian Republic was formally recognised at the end of 1949, Aceh was included within the Republic and made part of the province of North Sumatra even though Republican leaders had previously promised that it would be granted autonomy with 'special territory' status.

Guerrilla activity, this time directed against the Indonesian government, was resumed in the early 1950s under the religious leader Daud Beureuh, who pursued the cause both of independence as well as the establishment of an Islamic state. In response, Aceh was granted 'special territory' status, but this did little to appease the opposition.

The recent revival of resistance to government from Jakarta dates back to the early 1970s. In addition to the traditional yearning for independence that inspired earlier conflicts, renewed resistance has in the main been inspired by two factors:

1. Growing opposition among Muslims (not only in Aceh but also elsewhere in Indonesia) to repressive military rule from Jakarta. Muslim discontent intensified following the

1971 general elections when the Army-sponsored party, GOLKAR, won an overwhelming victory by means of widespread intimidation and ballot-rigging. Aceh was one of the few places where the Muslim party, PPP, secured a majority. But frustration and anger quickly followed as the PPP was systematically excluded from power at the centre as well as in the regions, and unable to function effectively within Parliament which consists overwhelmingly of GOLKAR representatives and presidential appointees from the Armed Forces. Aceh's regional assembly and government administration reflect the same balance of power despite the PPP's popularity in the province.

2. Intensified exploitation by transnational corporations of natural resources, in particular natural gas exported in liquefied form, with little direct benefit to the region. The export of liquefied natural gas (LNG) is rapidly overtaking oil as Indonesia's major export. An example of opposition to the exploitation of LNG was the attack on LNG installations in 1977 when a foreign engineer was killed and another seriously injured by local guerrillas. The incident was never reported in the Indonesian press; it came to light following a report in the Singapore *Straits Times* that the injured technician had been brought to Singapore for medical treatment.

## NOTE ON SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The Indonesian press publishes virtually nothing about the Aceh-Freedom Movement except for Army-controlled reports of military actions and very occasional news items about arrests and trials.

The first major document received was the text of a Defence Plea presented during the trial in July 1979 of an alleged Aceh-Freedom Movement activist, Jaelani Abdullah. Besides refuting the charges made against him, the defendant exposed the systematic brutality and torture used against himself and other political detainees.

Since February 1981, additional information has become available, supplied by persons who are in direct contact with the NLF in Aceh. It includes descriptions of many kinds of restrictions, including political imprisonment and the mass confinement of villagers to their villages. It also provides lists of people who have been executed, people being held as hostages, and people under detention in many parts of the region. Altogether more than 700 names are listed.

Finally, the *Indonesian Chapter* in the US State Department's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, published in February 1981, devotes an unusually long paragraph to human rights abuse in Aceh. It reports "at least eight trials" of Aceh-Freedom leaders and claims that more trials are likely to take place "resulting in relatively lenient sentences, (except for those with *uncompromising separatist attitudes*)" (our emphasis). It also talks of new arrests in 1980, but claims that verifiable data of the number of people in detention is not available.

# TORTURE EXPOSED BY ACEHNESE DEFENDANT

*Some of this information was reported in TAPOL Bulletin No. 40, July 1980. We are including it again to provide a comprehensive survey of information now available about repression in Aceh.*

## DEFENCE PLEA OF JANELANI ABDULLAH

Janelani Abdullah, a student at the Finance and Banking Academy in Banda Aceh, was arrested on 4th January 1978 and tried in mid-1979. He was accused, under the 1963 Anti-Subversion Act and the Criminal Code, of:

- distorting and undermining State ideology, seeking to overthrow or undermine the authority of the lawful government, spreading hostility, etc.;
- committing acts in sympathy with an enemy of the Republic;
- engaging in rebellion to place Indonesian territory under a foreign power;
- opposing the lawful government by joining in armed revolt.

The charges were based on interrogation reports drawn up under extreme duress. The specific crimes the defendant is alleged to have committed involved the delivery of letters and packets of material on several occasions, and his attendance at a public meeting when the members of the Aceh-Freedom Movement's provisional government were announced and sworn in. While admitting that these incidents occurred, the defendant insisted that he was unaware of the contents of the things he had delivered, and had been present at the meeting quite coincidentally. He strongly denied that he was a member of the Aceh-Freedom Movement.

The defendant gave a detailed account of the torture he suffered. "Confessions" extracted from him under such conditions were nevertheless accepted by the court as formal evidence even though he also told the court that he spent 34 days in hospital for the treatment of wounds and organic disorders resulting from this torture. He named no fewer than 16 co-detainees who were also tortured and gave the court details of the treatment:

### His own experience of torture:

- he was stripped naked and left all night in his cell; (his personal belongings were stolen);
- he was threatened with death, his finger-nails were pulled out, his body trampled on, he was kicked, punched and beaten with wooden and iron objects, his hair was pulled and he was lifted by the hair causing his head to bleed as his hair came out, his body, head, nose, shoulders and feet were beaten "to a pulp".

These acts of torture took place during three separate interrogation sessions, one lasting two days in January 1978, one lasting 6 days also in January 1978 and one lasting five days in April 1978. Following this treatment, he frequently spat blood and suffered disorders of the heart and lungs. He

was not hospitalised till a year later, from 13th February-17th March 1979.

### Torture inflicted on other detainees:

Mass interrogations took place from 20th August to the end of November 1978. Torture was repeatedly used, reaching a climax on the 18th day of Ramadhan (the fasting month) which he described as a "night of hell". Nine co-detainees were tortured together with him on that night: Anwar Amin, M. Kasem Karo, Abuni, Tengku Hasbullah Lamlo, Drs. A. Wahab Tiro, Haji Adam, Ramli Hamzah, Tengku Idi and Tengku Harun Mahmud. They were forced to drink strong spirits, to beat each other, they were burnt with cigarettes, beaten with a variety of implements, and forced to eat their own vomit.

- Saleh Pakeh, from Meunasah Bungong Garot Njong Pidie, arrested July 1977, was stripped naked, his pubic hair pulled out one by one, and his testicles and penis burnt and pummelled till sperm ejected;
- Abu Said, from Meunasah Panjoe Aron Pidie, arrested July 1977 and released May 1978, was subjected to the same torture as Saleh Pakeh;
- Kecik Hasan Ibrahim, from Meunasah Jerat Mayang Jambo Aye Panton Labu, arrested 15th July 1977, was stripped naked, forced to crawl on all fours, kicked, beaten, trampled on, his penis tampered with; on a later occasion he was so severely beaten that he lost control of his senses and has since been in hospital;
- M. Daud Ali, from Aron GIp Tiga Pidie, arrested 30th July, 1977, was stripped naked, beaten and tortured till his whole body was injured and bleeding;
- Tengku Usman Harun, from Jeunieb, arrested 7th December 1977; was handcuffed, stripped naked, then beaten till he fell unconscious;
- Hasbullah Lamlo was beaten about the face, his spectacles were smashed making his eyes bleed, his face pummelled and both his ears pulled;
- Drs. A. Wahab Umar Tiro was slapped and punched, and his moustache was pulled out, hair by hair;
- Ramli Hamzah was forced to behave as if he were crazy;
- M. Kasem Karo was beaten and forced to drink strong spirits;
- Anwar Amin was burnt with cigarettes;
- Abu Ni was forced to drink strong spirits;
- Tengku Abdul Manaf (Tengku Idi) was stripped naked and tortured;
- Tengku Harun Mahmud was burnt and beaten. He was forced to fight a fellow prisoner, his left eye was badly damaged, almost all his hair was pulled out, and his toe-nails were smashed;
- Hasballah Hasan, from Lhok Seumawe, an employee of the US company Bechtel Incorporated, arrested 30th November 1977, was severely beaten.
- Ramli Hamzah, arrested 8th December 1977, was stripped naked, slapped, whipped, kicked, punched, trampled on, scalded with boiling water and threatened with a sword. Two ribs were broken, his scalp was split open, and he suffered breathing difficulties.
- T. Hasan Yusuf, from Lhok Kaju, was kicked, beaten with a club, and threatened with a knife and a pistol;

Later, in prison, these prisoners were forced to do push-ups and scot-jumps in the blazing midday sun, causing many of them to faint.



## SOME FACTS ABOUT POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT IN ACEH

TAPOL has now received detailed information about political persecution in Aceh. More than 700 names are included in the various lists supplied, though our informants make it clear that these lists are far from complete. Most names are given together with age, place of origin and present place of detention; in some cases, the detail provided is more comprehensive.

**Executions:** Thirty men have been shot dead in public, without due process of law. These executions, obviously intended to intimidate the population, took place between August 1977 and August 1980. The date of each execution is supplied. The men executed include **Tengku Sjamaun** who was Governor of Temiang district (presumably an official of the Indonesian administration), executed on 3rd October 1977, and three Aceh-Freedom leaders: **Dr Zubair Mahmud**, NLF's Minister of Social Affairs, and his assistant, **Zakaria**, both executed on 25th May 1980; and **Dr Muchtar Hasbi**, NLF's Prime Minister, executed on 12th August 1980. Dr Zubair Mahmud and Dr Muchtar Hasbi were named on an Indonesian Government poster, widely displayed throughout Aceh, calling for the capture of ten Aceh-Freedom leaders, "Wanted Dead or Alive".

**Hostages:** 25 women, some together with their children, are named as being held as hostages for their husbands who have so far evaded arrest. There are 12 children in custody

with the women; two others have died since being arrested, due to the lack of medical care. Indonesian officials have publicly stated that these women will be released when their husbands surrender, thus confirming their status as hostages. They are held under appalling conditions, sleeping on concrete floors, given starvation diets and provided no medical care.

Many other women are being held as hostages in prisons in Lammeulo, Sigli, Lueng Putu, Kuta Raja (Banda Aceh), Lhok Seumawe, Bireuen, Peureulak, Lhok Sukon, Langsa, Panton Labu, Jeunieb and elsewhere.

Nine of the men listed as political prisoners are also hostages. Two are brothers of Dr Husaini Hasan, an NLF leader named on the "Wanted, Dead or Alive" poster, whose wife and children are also being held as hostages. The brother and father of Dr. Zaini Abdullah, a member of the NLF's Cabinet, and his wife and three children (the youngest 8 months old) are also hostages. Another NLF leader, Tengku Hasan di Tiro, has two relatives in prison, a nephew and a cousin, and his uncle, Tengku Tjihik Umar di Tiro, aged 79, died in prison on 26th July 1980 of illnesses contracted after being arrested. Another hostage is Tengku Mahmud Ranto Panjang, the father of Dr Zubair Mahmud who was executed in May 1980. It is not yet known whether the father has since been released. Another NLF leader, named only as Saleh, has two sons and his wife in prison as hostages. One of the sons, Markuzi Saleh, was tried and sentenced to one year's imprisonment in 1977 but was not released after serving his sentence, and must now be presumed to be a hostage.



This poster is being displayed widely throughout Aceh. The text reads:

### APPEAL

If you want your region to be safe and tranquil, search for and arrest, alive or dead, the men shown below who are leaders of the Hasan Tiro Gang of Trouble-shooters\*). They could be in your kampung, meeting you. Hand them over to the nearest Army command post.

Thank you.  
Divisional Commander, Division I/Iskandarmuda.

\*The government has renamed the National Liberation Front of Aceh-Sumatra the *Hasan Tiro Gang of Trouble-shooters*. Hasan Tiro is chairman of the NLF.

## Political Imprisonment by District

The following is a summary of the lists of persons in custody in a number of districts throughout Aceh:

### 1. District of Pidie

4 men and 1 woman have been jailed and subjected to torture since 1977. One of the men, Geutjihik Hamzah, was barbarically tortured and died of his wounds in prison in 1978.

### 2. District of Batee Iliak

4 men jailed (2 in March 1978, 1 in March 1980 and 1 in July 1980), all of whom died after being tortured.

1 man tortured and shot. The bullet is still in his body and no medical treatment has been allowed.

10 men in Kuta Radja Prison. All held since 1978, and all described as having been 'badly' or 'barbarically' tortured.

82 men in Jeunieb or Lhok Seumawe, all without exception badly tortured. One is described as having been strung upside-down in public. A few have been allowed home under 'town arrest' after payment of bribes ranging from Rp. 1,000 to Rp. 1 million. This list includes two members of the N. Aceh District Assembly, presumably the elected representatives of the Muslim Party, PPP.

### 3. District of Lingga (Takengo)

1 man shot and killed in Pulo Sange Bintang in 1977.

4 in Kuta Radja Prison. All were tortured. One was shot and not permitted medical treatment.

15 men under town arrest, and required to report weekly to the military authorities.

2 women are being held and are being forced to help the Army search for their husbands.

### 4. District of Samudra Pase

67 men in Alue Ie Mirah. 5 are village heads. 2 were shot and wounded by soldiers.

43 men in detention in Rampah Bineh Krueng.

17 men in detention in Djambo Aje.

4 men in detention in Kuta Piadah.

14 women, 4 men and 6 children in detention in Kulam Deelat. One of the women was shot and wounded.

2 men in detention in Lhok Entjien.

27 men in detention in Tanah Data/Peutoe; one is a village head.

26 men in detention in Ulle Gle.

### 5. District of Peureulak

15 men and 8 women in Nurul A'la.

31 men in Benda Chalifah, including one village head.

23 men in Rambong Pajong, including 3 village heads and 1 mayor.

14 men in Peureulak Kuta.

13 men in Kuta Dajah.

14 men in Alue Nirah, including 2 village heads.

21 men and 1 woman, pregnant at the time of her arrest, in Langsa Tunong.

4 men in Langsa Lama.

4 men and 2 women in Langsa Kuta.

9 men and 1 woman in Idi Kuta, including 1 village head.

4 men in Dama Puteh.

8 men in Idi Tjut.

3 men in Seutia Muda.

2 men in Alue Ie Mirah.

1 man in Djulok.

5 men in Simpang Ulim.

7 men and 1 woman in Kuta Buloh.

4 men in Pante Budary.

2 men, 1 a village head, in Darul Falah.

2 men, 1 a village head, in Blang Seunong.

**Political Trials:** Four trials are mentioned.\*

**Muh. Usman Lampoih Awe**, Minister of Finance in the NLF's cabinet. Captured in Medan in August 1977. Sentenced to 20 years. The severity of his sentence has publicly been acknowledged by the authorities as being because he refused to use the Indonesian language during court proceedings.

**Muh. Nuh Usman**, chairperson of the Pidie Regional Assembly. Arrested in 1977, he refused to denounce the NLF though insists that he is not a member. Sentenced to 13 years.

**Ahmad Arif**, head of the Pidie Religious Affairs Department. Refused to denounce the NLF. Sentenced to 13 years.

**Markuzi Saleh**, sentenced to one year in 1977, but not released and is presumably being held as a hostage for his father who is in hiding.

### Village Arrest

There are many villages whose entire populations are under village arrest, and may not leave their villages without permission. One such place is Jeunieb, a fishing village with a population of about a thousand. Many of the inhabitants are under arrest in Lok Seumawe and Kuta Radja. The village head, **Geutjihik Hasan ben Abdurrahman** and his deputy **Waki Tjut Hasan Aly**, were shot and killed on 23rd March 1978.

The report about Jeunieb continues as follows:

"If you visit Jeunieb on Mondays, you will find the sleepy town full of people and lively. Your first impression may be that this is a 'feast-day'. But upon enquiry, you will discover that the people are being gathered not because of a feast-day but because they are all under village arrest and are obliged to report themselves to the Indonesian authorities every Monday."

(This form of restriction indicates a security need to isolate the NLF from considerable local support.)

### Certificates of Non-Involvement

People applying for jobs need "certificates of non-involvement in the Aceh-Freedom movement", just as certificates of non-involvement in the G30S/PKI have been required throughout Indonesia since 1965.

\*See TAPOL Bulletin, No. 44, March 1981 for a report of eight Aceh-Freedom trials.

# HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA, 1980

... the state of human rights in our country is not healthy. The situation is sombre. Bitter indeed. Unfortunately, we do not entertain many hopes for the future. This sombre state of affairs is going to remain with us.

This is the depressing final paragraph of a very depressing Annual Report published this month by the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Jakarta, on the subject of basic human rights in Indonesia during 1980. It is the second year running that the LBH has produced a report. That five thousand copies have been printed by comparison with the one thousand printed last year suggests that the publication has generated a good deal of interest. This at least augurs well for the future.

The Report deals not only with the more obvious manifestations of human rights abuse such as political imprisonment, political repression and press censorship but also with what Adnan Buyung Nasution, LBH Director, refers to in his Introduction as "a continuing process of becoming less human". This process is seen as being the result of an economic development strategy which is summarised elsewhere in the following words:

... the role of foreign capital will become more and more instrumental in impoverishing the people with the help of a bureaucratized and repressive government.

The dehumanising aspects of economic policy are described under a number of headings such as the fate of small peasants, the pressures on traditional fishermen, the forceful expropriation of land rights, workers in industry and the minimum wage, and the employment of women and under-age children. In some of these sections, the material is scant and not particularly original but the principle of incorporating these aspects into a report on human rights is a very important one to establish. In some cases, striking facts are provided, such as that 80% of the country's fish-catch is now caught by modern, and presumably foreign-owned, fishing companies. Traditional fishing communities involving many millions of people are suffering grave consequences from this massive takeover, and there have been many clashes, notably in Muncar, East Java and Bagan Siapi-api, East Sumatra, between local fishermen and trawler-owners or government officials who protect them.

Children under the age of 15, we are told, now comprise 50% of the total labour force. Although child labour abuse is known to be very widespread, it is hardly possible to believe that the figure could be so high. One wonders why, though, the LBH includes women and child labour under the same heading and refers to them collectively as "secondary" labour. The definition is surely wrong in both cases. Children should not be employed at all, whereas women have exactly the same rights as men to enter the labour market. It is hardly fitting for a report on human rights to indulge in such a discriminatory and sexist definition. The point that really needs to be made is that the economic disruption caused by present-day development strategies

is hitting women hardest of all, especially in the countryside, and causing them to drift into the urban areas in search of new livelihoods. It has now been established that more than 50% of migrants into the big towns are women. Nowhere in the whole Report is any attention paid to the rights of women. Even the section on the so-called informal sector of labour fails to mention one major segment of "informal" labour, namely the women forced by desperation into prostitution.

The material provided about labour disputes is very substantial and reinforces the impression provided in INDOC's recent publication (see page . . .) that workers are becoming increasingly emboldened to take action, at great risk, in defence of their rights and for an improvement in their conditions. An important point is made concerning workers in the state sector, namely that whereas workers in the private sector are permitted to have a union, albeit only an FBSI branch, and have a disputes machinery at their disposal, albeit pretty ineffective, state sector employees may not unionise, have no disputes procedures and may take no action at all whilst civil servants must belong to the Army-sponsored civil service association, KORPRI which is an adjunct of GOLKAR, the Army's close political ally. However, the references to the FBSI fail to expose the true nature of this military creation, complaining only of its weaknesses and ineffectiveness. For a more thorough analysis of the FBSI, we have to turn to INDOC's publication.

The information on political prisoners is hardly adequate. It is very surprising that the LBH cannot produce more than 29 names of tried G30S/PKI prisoners throughout the country. There are far more than that in Jakarta alone. As for Muslim prisoners, the information is largely confined to a list of names. Aceh and West Irian are only mentioned in passing whereas East Timor, where political imprisonment has now reached quite horrendous proportions, is not mentioned at all. Is it because material of this nature is far too sensitive for inclusion? Or is it because material that certainly flows abroad (TAPOL receives plenty of it, as our readers will testify) simply does not circulate inside the country?

## Press Censorship

The sad plight of the press comes in for some very strong analysis:

The function of the press has been further restricted in 1980 in line with the government's tightening control of political activity . . . Press freedoms depend greatly on the limitations set by the government, based on what it sees as the interests of security and order . . . This situation is likely to continue up to the 1982 general elections and the presidential election in the following year. And there is no reason to hope that after these events, any improvements will occur.

The Report speaks of the deleterious effect of self-censorship that has grown out of a fear-psychosis resulting from the mass censorship measures taken since 1974. In



that year 11 dailies and one journal were closed down. Then came the two-week suspension of seven dailies in January 1978 and the closure of seven student papers. For the record it is important to reproduce (see box) the texts of two letters the editors of the seven dailies were required to send, one to the President and one to Information Minister Ali Murtopo and KOPKAMTIB Commander Admiral Sudomo, as the precondition for resuming publication.

As the Report states, these two documents have set the tone for the atmosphere of fear that has dominated the press in the past few years. It strongly berates the government's practice of imposing news blackouts on major political events and describes at some length the way in which certain foreign news media have been driven from the country. Elsewhere the Report commends the Indonesian press for its substantial coverage of labour disputes. But the fact that it does indeed report quite extensively on social issues of this kind (probably to a far greater extent than the press in any other S.E. Asian country) should not conceal the heavy hand of censorship which is so thoroughly described in the Report's chapter on the press.

Hopefully, the Report will also appear in English, and hopefully too, the standard of translation will be an improvement on the one produced last year.

### Editor's Letter to President Suharto, January 1978

We understand the measures taken by KOPKAMTIB to prevent the continuation of a situation that could disturb dynamic stability, and we are conscious that this is also the responsibility of the press and all other social institutions. Fully aware of this responsibility, we resolve to carry out introspection at all times.

On this basis, we hope that you, Mr. President, will graciously grant the opportunity for the newspapers concerned to be allowed to re-appear whilst abiding by, complying with and implementing all the regulations laid down by law, by the Press Council, the Journalists' Code of Ethics and in other stipulations.

### Editors' Letter to Information Minister and KOPKAMTIB Commander

... (we shall) join in taking responsibility for preserving national stability, security, order and the public interest. We shall not aggravate the situation and will play our part in calming things down if tensions occur in society. We shall restrain ourselves by giving priority at all times to the interests of society and the state above personal interests and the interests of our newspapers. We shall at all times guard the good name and authority of the government and the national leadership and will not engage in slanders or other forms of insult directed towards the national leadership and members of his (sic) family.

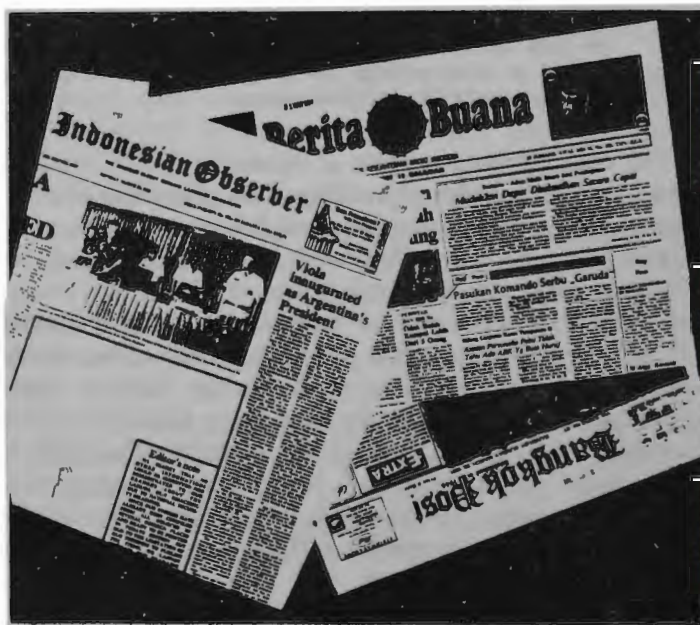
## PRESS CENSORSHIP AND THE HIJACK

Strict control over media reporting of the hijacking of an Indonesian plane in Bangkok Airport was imposed by the authorities in Jakarta. There was some confusion, though, among editors because whilst the Information Minister, Ali Murtopo was forbidding any reporting whatsoever, Admiral Sudomo, Commander of KOPKAMTIB told editors that reporting was permitted, provided it was confined to official handouts. (*Tempo*, 11 April 1981.)

The English-language daily, *Indonesian Observer* appeared on 30 March with several blank columns and an Editor's Note saying:

"We regret that no other information could be submitted or disseminated to our readers about the Garuda DC-9 hijacking due to national security measures . . ."

Foreign newspapers carrying stories about the hijacking were only allowed onto the newsstands after these reports had been blacked out.



*Tempo*, 11 April, 1981

### Papers Reprimanded for Reporting Attack on a Police Station

Earlier in March, two dailies, *Mandala* (Bandung) and *Suara Indonesia Baru* (Medan) were severely reprimanded for reporting an attack on a police station in Cicendo, Bandung during which three police officers were killed. They were accused of publishing news that had been supplied "off-the-record" by KOPKAMTIB Commander. The Editors however had felt justified in publishing their stories as they had obtained information from other sources as well as from KOPKAMTIB.



## THE HIJACKING

Although it is not easy to piece together the known facts regarding the hijacking in March of an Indonesian DC-9 plane, we would like to offer a few points that may help explain the event:

1) The five hijackers were apparently all Muslim fundamentalists, representing a growing movement among Indonesia's large Muslim community that is impatient with what they regard as the harmful social and cultural effects of current development policy.

2) Of the five hijackers, four were killed when Indonesian troops stormed the plane. The fifth was captured alive and apparently unharmed, but he was dead by the time the contingent of captives and captors left Thailand for home. This would appear to suggest that the Indonesian authorities were anxious to ensure that none of the hijackers remained alive to testify in any way.

3) There appears to have been a close connection between the hijacking and an incident two weeks before when a group of men attacked a police station in Cicendo,

*Continued from page 6*

- that job opportunities should be provided;
- that health clinics and schools for the local population should be provided;
- that a new contract between the government, Freeport and the local community should be negotiated.

The letter points out that "the unrest that has occurred in Tembaga-pura-Akimuga has been aimed at pressing the government to improve conditions . . . Year after year, complaints have flooded the desks of local officials yet conditions have never been investigated." The actions that students have recently taken locally, it says, have been in response to the numerous empty promises given to the people and also to the fact that the people have suffered only disadvantages from the extraction of copper by Freeport without receiving any compensation, even though they are the rightful owners of the land.

"Regional development here means absolutely nothing for the local people. If these matters are not speedily resolved, it will soon be difficult to keep control over the disorders that occur in Tembagapura-Akimuga."

### Another Case of Torture and Death

A male nurse from Serui, named **Rawyai**, was recently arrested and accused of supplying medical equipment to the OPM. During interrogation he was severely tortured and became paralysed as a result. Shortly afterwards, he died from his injuries.

Another Papuan, named **Waburi**, was recently brought before a military court and tried for pro-OPM activities. During one of the hearings, the defendant, a civilian, jumped up and shouted: "What military rank do I possess for me to be tried here before a military court?" Soon afterwards the trial was adjourned and has not been resumed. The contact who informed us about this case and the case of Rawyai adds that Waburi was pro-Indonesian at the time of the Indonesian takeover, but has since radically changed his views.

Bandung, demanding the release of people being held in detention there. Three police officers were killed. Some of the hijackers are believed to have escaped from detention or to have evaded arrest after this incident. The hijackers were apparently demanding the release among others of people held in connection with this incident.

4) KOPKAMTIB imposed tight reporting restrictions on both the hijacking and the Cicendo incident, reflecting an extreme sensitivity on the part of the security apparatus regarding both events.

5) **Tempo** (23 May 1981) reports that Imran, the man alleged to have been behind the hijacking, is now under arrest with about 20 other people. Admiral Sudomo has stated that Imran set up an "Indonesian Islamic Revolutionary Council" six years ago, on 7 December 1975. **Tempo** contests this in view of the fact that Imran is known to have been studying in Saudi Arabia from 1971 to 1976. **Tempo** also reports that rumours are circulating in Jakarta that Imran is connected with "the government intelligence apparatus", though what precisely is meant by this is not explained. He is also said, again according to **Tempo**, to have connections with General Nasution whom he has visited quite frequently, and another retired army general, Ishak Djuarso, former ambassador to Kampuchea and Yugoslavia. **Tempo** also reports that Imran and the others in detention with him will be brought to trial after Lebaran, that is, some time in August.

## IN MEMORIAM

TAPOL mourns the death of Peggy Duff who passed away on 16th April after a long illness.

Peggy was well known and widely respected in the British labour movement for her active participation in many of the major campaigns in this country since the early 1940s. Most outstanding of all was her leading role in organising the Aldermaston Marches and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which set the pattern for similar campaigns in many other countries. She left CND to concentrate her energies on the campaign against US aggression in Indo-China, and also became closely associated with solidarity groups in Britain concerned with repression in other South East Asia countries. One of her most recent initiatives was to help set up the Conference for Basic Human and Democratic Rights in the ASEAN Alliance (COBRA), an organisation in which TAPOL has been active since its inception. A year ago, she became a sponsor of TAPOL.

Peggy threw herself wholeheartedly into everything she did. She always worked under very arduous conditions, lived simply and never regarded any type of work as unworthy. Many of the numerous bulletins she produced were written, typed, duplicated, collated, stapled together, stamped and mailed by her. Throughout her long illness, she never gave up her work and remained active almost to the day of her death.

All of us in TAPOL as well as in the groups in London working on East Timor, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore will deeply miss her presence at our meetings and activities.

# BOOK REVIEW

**Indonesian Workers and Their Right to Organise**, published by the Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre (INDOC), PO Box 11250, 2301 WG Leiden, Netherlands. Price: 15 guilders.

The total destruction of democratic trade unionism and of the powerful peasant movement in Indonesia has undoubtedly been the most crucial achievement of the military government that came to power in 1965. It was this that created the necessary conditions for the unbridled exploitation of the country's resources and for a major shift in the concentration of land ownership. Until the Army took power, the 9-million-strong peasants' union, BTI, and the 3½-million-strong trade union federation, SOBSI, had vigorously prevented such things from happening. When these two organisations were outlawed, and other less militant organisations were forced to acquiesce under Army pressure to purges and mergers, the way was clear for the Army to launch its new development strategy in close alignment with the multinational corporations.

For the peasants, the Army did not bother to create a new organisation but simply designated them a "floating mass", denied any political or organisational allegiance and thus free to "devote themselves wholeheartedly to the noble task of development". For the workers, however, something was needed to replace the long tradition of trade unionism. Pressure for this came from international agencies, notably the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), the West-German-based Fredrich Ebert Foundation and the AFL-CIO in the USA. This need, as the Army saw it too, grew out of an awareness that a docile workforce was crucial to the policy of attracting foreign capital, and that an organisation imposed from the top was the most effective way of preventing independent, grassroots action by workers in defence of their rights.

For well over a decade following the Army takeover, labour conditions received scant attention in Indonesia, but things changed significantly in the late 1970s when labour disputes became a major aspect of social and political conflict. The book published this month, in English, by INDOC is clearly a response to this new development. It provides for the first time a comprehensive analysis, backed up by well-documented factual material, both of working conditions in the industrial sector of the economy and of the bogus trade union organisation that has been fostered by the Army.

This study reveals that there are two basic elements in the Army's plan to control and subdue the labour force. One is the creation of the FBSI (*Federasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia*, or All-Indonesian Workers' Federation). "... the mission of the new Indonesian trade union movement (that has been) restructured (is to) guarantee that manpower will be humble, obedient and exceptionally cheap." Although the chapter on the origins of the FBSI is somewhat less coherent and well-argued than the rest of the book and suffers moreover from a rather stilted linguistic style, it

provides substantial evidence of the way in which persistent military intervention guided the creation of the FBSI, helped along by the ICFTU, the Fredrich Ebert Foundation and the AFL-CIO.

The role of the ICFTU's Asia Bureau is particularly striking. As long ago as October 1966 it sent a delegation to Jakarta to re-establish contact. That was a time when the blood of tens of thousands of trade unionists, killed in the 1965-66 massacres, had hardly dried, and when tens of thousands more had been thrown into prison where they were to be held for many years without charge or trial. Yet neither then nor later did the ICFTU ever raise its voice in protest against these flagrant violations of trade union rights. On the contrary, it has welcomed to its ranks an organisation, the FBSI, that is the very antithesis of democratic trade unionism. **It is high time that Britain's TUC and other ICFTU members took serious note of the FBSI's true colours and stopped collaborating with an organisation that has no basis whatever to claim to represent Indonesia's working class.**

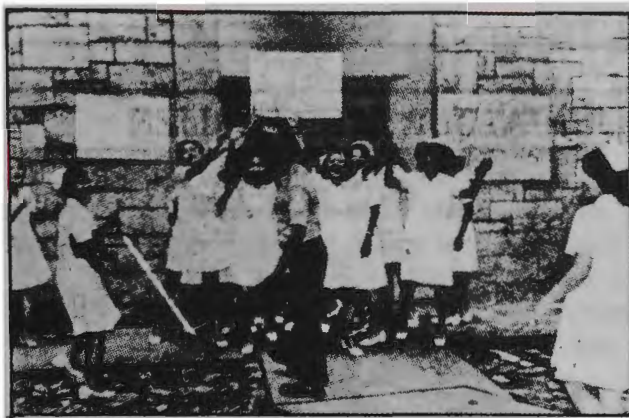
The second element in the Army's plan of control is its formulation of so-called *Pancasila Labour Relations*,\* a set of principles that has been superimposed without any legal basis onto a largely progressive code of labour law, fashioned before 1965, which provides significant statutory protection for workers. These laws (providing for job security, guarding against child labour exploitation, guaranteeing effective regional and central arbitration of disputes, enforcing severance pay, providing statutory paid leave and many other benefits even including paid leave for women during menstruation) have not been repealed. But they have been rendered worthless by the system of Pancasila Labour Relations which proclaims that workers and management "are partners in production, partners in the division of profits and partners in responsibility". This is the ethic that is used time and time again to smother workers' actions in defence of their rights. And although the right to strike is still enshrined in the statute book, this ethic totally rejects the strike weapon which has therefore become *de facto* illegal. The FBSI, supporting this line and arguing that strikes are a "luxury that Indonesian workers cannot afford", invariably refuses official backing for any strikes, thus making them "subversive".

The INDOC publication provides a mass of factual information, most of it taken directly from the Indonesian press, showing the extent to which workers have tried, with little success, to organise for their rights, and how they have had to contend not only with intransigent management but also the combined forces of the police and the Army, plus urgings from their FBSI "protectors" to make peace with the bosses, all of course in the name of preserving Pancasila Labour Relations. The most interesting case study is a blow-by-blow account, written by the workers themselves, of a dispute lasting throughout most of 1980 at PT Textra, a textile factory about 25 kilometres from Jakarta. (See

*Continued on page 16*

\**Pancasila*: the five-point catch-phrase that has been promoted to the status of state ideology. The five points are: belief in one God, nationalism, democracy, humanitarianism and social justice.





Nurses at the Sumber Waras hospital, Jakarta, on strike in support of a demand for higher wages and lower hostel fees. This is the first time nurses have gone on strike in Indonesia. They have pressed their claim because of rising living costs and in the knowledge that the hospital is making excessive profits and people in management are involved in corruption and promoting capital expenditures unrelated to care of the patients. (*Tempo*, 2 May, 1981.) (The photograph appeared in *De Waarheid*, 22 April 1981.)

## PT TEXTRA 1980 DISPUTE

PT Textra, a textile plant 25 kilometres from Jakarta, employs 500 workers, mostly women. They are called "trainees" and given "pocket-money" not wages, even though they have worked at the factory for years. This deprives them of basic rights regarding wages, sick-leave with pay, and other statutory benefits.

**9 February** Management presents a works contract and insists that all employees sign it even though it binds them also to "future terms which management may impose". Confused by clauses in the contract, many refuse to sign. Intimidation used: dismissal threats and demotions, while some are transferred to less agreeable jobs.

**20 February** After unsuccessful talks with management, workers ask FBSI to set up a factory branch, and also complain to Department of Manpower.

**3 March** Workers send complaints letter to Parliament. Minor improvements occur, but their status remains unchanged. With police support, management renew intimidations, aimed particularly against those who signed the letter to Parliament. Many workers interrogated by the police.

**3 April** FBSI branch set up at a meeting attended by the police and by the factory director who delivers a tirade against those who signed letter to Parliament. Intimidation against signatories continues.

**18 April** Elections for FBSI branch committee held. Management protest against election of "extremists" and get them removed.

**22 April** A second election held by the FBSI is rejected by the workers because procedures originally announced by the FBSI were breached.

**23 April** A small fire is reported to the police as "sabotage". Workers' documents seized and later, workers arrested for "sabotage" and for signing letter to Parliament. Officers from the "Vital Projects" Section of the Metropolitan Police start investigations.

**3 May** A worker arrested and held for 20 days for "wilful neglect of duty". Police investigations continue and some workers denied entry onto premises.

**19 May** 170 workers go to Parliament to repeat earlier complaints and complain about police interference.

**26 May** Delegation visits FBSI head office to complain about branch committee composition, saying it takes sides with management.

**27 May** Workers placed under house arrest for police interrogation.

**16 June** 500 workers go to Parliament to repeat their complaints.

**17 June** First shift refused entry, and second and third shifts down tools in protest. The factory is "swarming with police and troops".

**18 June** Talks between workers and district military commander. Results not clear but agreement is reached between FBSI and management, and workers say they will return to work provided no one is dismissed.

**19 June** Three workers denied entry and six required to "give evidence" to Army about events at the factory. One is placed under house arrest.

**24 June** 34 workers dismissed in a letter delivered to workers by military officer. Dispute then taken to Central Arbitration Board which decides that management should reinstate the workers and pay back-pay to workers under house arrest. This decision ignored by management.

**3 October** At a further hearing, the Board reiterates earlier decision, but management again refuses to comply.

**29 October** Workers press management to implement Board's decision, and are confronted by an Army officer who rejects their request and uses threatening language if they refuse to leave the premises. When asked, the FBSI say they are "unable to do anything". When the military commander is later asked why Army intervened, he said in order to "safeguard security".

**6 November** Workers' complaints published in daily, **Pos Kota** with statement by a member of Parliament criticising the Army's interference. Further efforts to secure implementation of Board's decision unsuccessful, and finally workers told that Department of Manpower has declared decision "null and void".

**10 December** Workers who visit FBSI head office to seek help are told "not to be too rigid" and "make peace with the management".

# PEASANTS ARRESTED AGAIN IN JENGGAWAH

Eight peasants have been arrested this month by the army in Jenggawah, Jember District, East Java after resisting attempts to fence off their lands for tobacco cultivation by the state plantation company, PTP-27. Four of the men arrested were involved in previous attempts to protect their land-use rights and stood trial for this last year. They have since appealed against the court's verdict.

*Continued from page 14*

summary in box.) Unfortunately, the translation fails to show that the majority of workers involved in this dispute were in fact women.

The chapter on the Indonesian economy and employment is perhaps the most valuable and original one in the book. It shows the way in which the Indonesian labour force, "the cheapest in the whole Southeast Asia region", is exploited by foreign capital, domestic capital as well as "fly-by-night" operators intent only on quick returns of their investments. It gives a picture of a labour force composed largely of young women under 20, easy to exploit and subdue. It is a transient labour force with relatively few people who can be described as family heads. Many children are employed illegally or work unofficially and unpaid, just to help their parents fulfil difficult workloads. An alarmingly high percentage of workers are kept on as a non-permanent workforce, with no job security; this makes it possible for management to avoid giving statutory allowances and benefits and to sack people at will.

All in all, the chapter is a depressing litany of sub-human conditions about which all too little has been written until now. It also shows convincingly that nearly 15 years of industrialisation has failed to absorb the huge increase in the labour force, now expanding at more than a million persons a year. Post-1965 foreign and domestic investment combined has provided only two million new jobs altogether, not to mention the numerous small-scale, labour-intensive industries that have been forced to close in the face of competition from imported manufactures. Nor has industrialisation created a trained work force, apart from a tiny handful of technicians. The workforce is highly mobile with many people shifting jobs, confronted always by huge numbers of unemployed ready to take their jobs whenever management confronts protest or even just simply wants to cut wages. It is not unusual for companies to replace their entire workforce with new, lower-paid and more pliant workers.

Although publication of this excellent document has been timed to coincide with this year's meeting of the ILO and is intended to provide trade unionists with factual evidence on the ways ILO conventions are being violated in Indonesia, it is a document of lasting and general significance. It should be read not only by trade unionists interested in trade unionism and exploitation in a typical Third World country, but also by anyone wishing to understand the dynamics of conflict in Indonesia and the harmful nature of that country's present policy of economic growth.

Following the latest arrests, about one hundred people, mostly women, marched on the military post in Jember where the men are being held to demand their immediate release. After they had been forced to leave Jember and return home, the news spread that mass arrests would take place in the four villages involved in the dispute. So dozens of peasants fled their homes and have taken refuge in homes and mosques in nearby villages. (*Tempo*, 16 May 1981)

Jember's military commander told *Tempo* that arrests had been made "to enforce the government's authority". The men are accused, he said, of inciting others to refuse to surrender their lands for tobacco cultivation.

The dispute involves land cultivated by the peasants under land-use rights since 1918 according to an agreement which required the peasants to cultivate tobacco for five months out of 24, and sell the yield to the local tobacco company, formerly Dutch-owned but now a state-owned company. In 1977, these land-use rights were arbitrarily handed over to the company which then proceeded to redistribute the land for cultivation, limiting each holding to only 0.3 hectares. This led to angry protests, especially by those who had cultivated larger areas for many years. Clashes with troops trying to enforce re-distribution occurred and many peasants were arrested in July 1979, leading to the trials a year later.

Although subsequently a decision was taken withdrawing PTP-27's land-use rights over the land, efforts by the peasants to have the land formally made over to them again, thus restoring the status quo, have been turned down by the government. Recently, the company announced plans to fence off parts of the land for tobacco cultivation. The peasants made it known that they would resist, and started pulling out fence-posts as soon as they had been set up despite warnings by the Army that armed force would be used to ensure implementation of the company's plans.

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