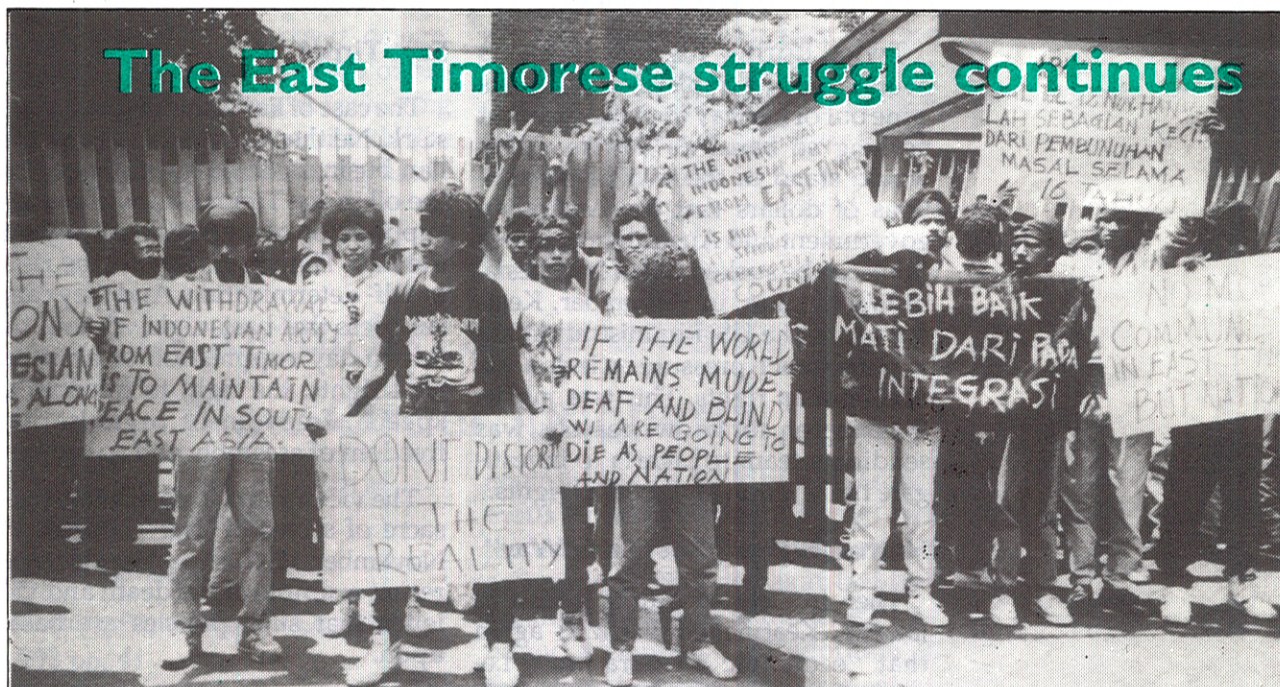


# SUARA AKSI

Indonesia Solidarity Action

Price \$2.00



## The East Timorese struggle continues

During the last three years, more and more Indonesians, especially youth and students, have begun speaking out against the Suharto regime's occupation of East Timor. During a demonstration against the US war in the Persian Gulf, Indonesian students used the opportunity to make the first public demand for a referendum on self-determination in East Timor.

Since then other activists have made their views known. A series of highly critical articles by Indonesians were published in the banned dissident magazine, *Progres*.

This year at a major conference in Lisbon, Portugal Indonesian activists, representing the Indonesian Democratic Front (FDI) and the Indonesian International Solidarity Forum (FISI) issued a statement rejecting the Suharto's regime suggestion of talks between the puppet Timorese leaders and the independence movement under the CNRM banner, including FRETILIN.

This week *Suara Aksi* contacted democratic activists in Indonesia to get their views on the situation in East Timor as the anniversary of the November 11 1991 Dili massacre approaches.

Nainggolan, a spokesperson for FISI, told *Suara Aksi* "It is two years since the Indonesian occupation forces slaughtered more than 50 people attending the funeral of one of their comrades, a freedom fighter of East Timor. People in East Timor are still suffering and continue their fight for freedom."

According to FISI, more and more activists in the democratic movement "stand against the Indonesian military occupation in East Timor, which obviously violates the rights of the self-determination of nations. The protest in Dili two years ago was a sign that the East Timorese people have not given up their struggle, and this statement is a sign that we activists of the democratic movement in Indonesia are still on their side."

*Jakarta protest by East Timorese, November 1991, to the Dili massacre.*



# Foreign policy for people not profits

Twice during his recent jaunts overseas prime minister Keating has gone out of his way to make sure that nothing so banal as human rights would stand in the way of the millions of dollars that the Australian government and Australian business think can be sucked out of Indonesia. In Washington, in September, Keating urged the US administration not to put so much pressure on Indonesia over human rights. This was just as Washington, for its own reasons, was sending a team to Jakarta to investigate trade union and worker rights.

## Human Rights "Get in the Way"

Then in October during a visit to Jakarta, Keating emphasized again that "economic cooperation", i.e. profit chasing, should have priority over such things as human rights. Human rights should not "get in the way" of the relationship between Australia and Indonesia.

There is little doubt that Australian business has targetted Asia, including Indonesia, as a main area for activity. The reason for this targeting is not just that there are big markets but because the regimes in many of the region's countries provide ideal conditions for maximising profits: anti-trade union laws, no effective implementation of minimum wage policies, cheap land for industry, no effective environmental regulation, no real monitoring over natural resource extraction.

These kinds of policies require the neglect, indeed the suppression of human rights. Cheap labor and land and no environmental protection has to be carried out in the face of resistance from workers and farmers and other affected citizens. That's why the military is intervening in industrial disputes in Indonesia all the time and why farmers and students protesting over no land compensation are beaten. That's why there is a human rights problem.

## East Timor

The case of East Timor is even more stark. Neither Indonesia nor Australian business could so easily exploit the oil in the Timor Gap without the suppression of the most basic right of the East Timorese, namely, the right to self-determination. And they can't suppress that basic right without the day-to-day suppression of all other civil rights: the right to freedom of speech, freedom of organisation, freedom of assembly and so on.

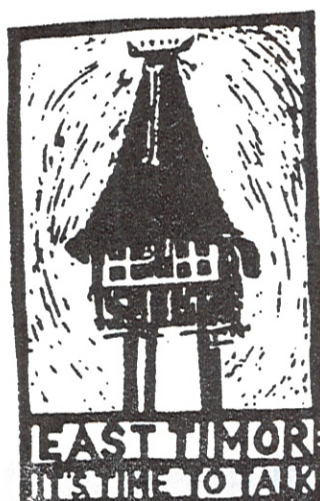
The vicious and unforgivable massacre of scores of East Timorese on November 11, 1991 is just the most recent example of the death and violence that such policies are based upon.

## Economic Co-operation.

The future economic development of Indonesia, an independent East Timor and Australia will and should be intertwined. But the fundamental purpose of that co-operation should be to help solve the economic, social and environmental problems of the three countries. It should not be based upon Australian business taking advantage of the problems faced by the Indonesian and East Timorese people.

Such a genuine process of economic co-operation requires the full involvement of the peoples of the countries deciding what form and what direction such cooperation should take. This means all the people must be able to exercise their full political and civil rights. There certainly must be an end to all repressive laws and policies and a growth in the power and strength of all peoples organisations.

In other words, it is the neglect and down playing of human rights that is getting in the way, getting in the way of real people-to-people co-operation.



# Rock Cassette Gaoled

News

A rock cassette by pop rock female singer Atiek C B has been "placed in custody" by military in several cities because it has the PKI hammer and sickle symbol in the cover design. [Photo shows dense graphics of human figures, one of whom is wearing the symbol as a neck pendant]. The seizure did not result in a big haul -

most of them had been sold. Academic Ariel Heryanto said this showed the security apparatus had a "psychological disorder". It showed the psychological gap between the ordinary people and security officials. "This is serious. This is a very clear illustration of the New Order dynamics", he said.

New Publication

## Authoritarian state unionism in New Order Indonesia

Authoritarian state unionism in New Order Indonesia

By Rob Lambert

Working Paper No. 25 October 1993 pp. 41

Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (SPSI), the state recognised trade union federation in Indonesia, is currently striving to present itself as a 'free, democratic and autonomous organisation' respectful of International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions on freedom of association and collective bargaining rights, whilst simultaneously maintaining the organisation's central role in disciplining labour. The primary objective of SPSI's attempts to control labour is the enhancement of Indonesia's comparative labour advantage in export oriented industrialisation (EOI). The rigorous, all embracing control of information and analysis by the authoritarian state has ensured the obfuscation of the wide chasm between the liberal demo-

cratic image of SPSI as an autonomous entity presently being projected and the practices of an organisation that exists as an integral, organic component of the state's economic apparatus. The adoption of this liberal mantle over iron discipline and repression in the workplace is reflective of more general tensions and contradictions within newly industrializing societies and should form part of a wider debate over the issue of capitalist development and the changing character of authoritarian regimes in Asia. This paper seeks to explore these contradictions and their wider significance through analysing the evolution of authoritarian state unionism in New Order Indonesia.

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# AKSI opposes links with SPSI

Members of AKSI leafletted a conference on International Trade Union Rights organised by a number of Sydney based trade unions and held at the Novotel Hotel on the edge of Botany Bay on 29 October. Below is the leaflet issued by AKSI:

The Australian trade union movement is being confronted with an important decision: will it involve itself in the attempt by the Indonesian military regime of General Suharto to give credibility to its puppet "trade union", the All Indonesian Workers Union (SPSI)?

## Puppet Union

The SPSI was established by the Indonesian regime and not by Indonesian workers. It has a record of supporting the bosses against the workers. SPSI officials often a part of a management-military-department of labour-SPSI team that confronts striking workers who are demanding their rights and tells them to stop their protests.

The existence of the SPSI and the claim that it is a genuine union is the main justification used by the regime to refuse to recognise other organisations trying to do the real work of unions: the defence of workers' rights and conditions.

The regime has recently ordered the SPSI to restructure itself so that it now consists of a number of supposedly independent industry sector unions. This so-called restructuring is a central part of the regime's attempt to gain international credibility and recognition for the SPSI.

Another key tactic of the regime is to involve international and foreign

trade union organisations in face-to-face contact which in itself begins to lend credibility to the SPSI.

## ACTU's role

Surely, for example, the ACTU would not allow one of its staff officers talk to SPSI people if the SPSI was not a genuine union? so say Indonesian government circles, after the visit there of ACTU national office staffer, Peter Duncan, who proceeded to submit a report arguing for support and assistance to the SPSI. The ACTU Executive international committee "noted" the report.

And we can expect similar comments from the Indonesian regime regarding the planned visit by an Australian tripartite delegation, including the ACTU, to meet their counterparts in Indonesia. And now there are reports that a Mr. Phil Drew from the Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA) has also recently visited Indonesia and is recommending assistance to the SPSI? Is this true and if so what will the ACTU, TUTA and the Australian Government decide?

Already the ACTU leadership has gone too far in allowing its staff to make contact with the SPSI, to contemplate tripartite visits, and to be acquiescing in TUTA visits to SPSI without a word of protest.

The ACTU leadership, in particular Martin Ferguson, blocked the discussion of a resolution at the recent ACTU Congress that would confirm a policy of non-recognition and non-cooperation with the SPSI. The public reason given was that there were to be no international policy issues discussed at the Congress. No doubt



such discussion of Indonesia, of Bouganville and of East Timor would have been too embarrassing for the ACTU's ALP government friends.

### Develop independant unions

If the ACTU and Australian trade unions truly wish to help Indonesian workers and the newly developing Indonesian workers movement, then the ACTU should:

(1) cease all contact with the SPSI and the Indonesian Department of Labour, including all official and so-called "unofficial" visits to Indonesia to meet with Indonesian regime or SPSI officials;

(2) help build a public campaign to pressure the Australian government to link the provision of economic aid and military cooperation to advances in human rights in Indonesia, includ-

ing trade union and workers rights; and

(3) offer special recognition and material assistance to the range of independent workers' organisations, trade unions and worker support groups now developing in the country.

If you wish to help build solidarity with the Indonesian workers' movement, then:

\*get your union to pass resolutions calling for a policy of non-cooperation by the ACTU with the SPSI and the Indonesian government;

\*get personally involved and keep up-to-date with recent information by joining AKSI (Indonesia Solidarity Action) and subscribing to *Suara Aksi*, an English language information bulletin.

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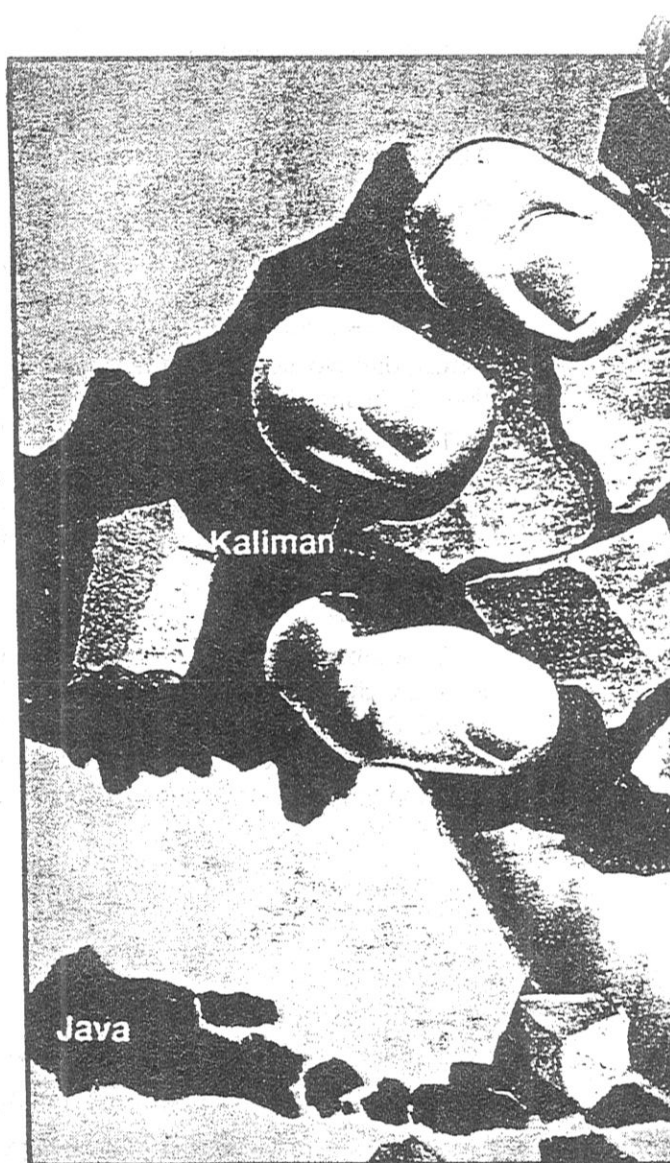
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# the hidden costs of mining in Indonesia

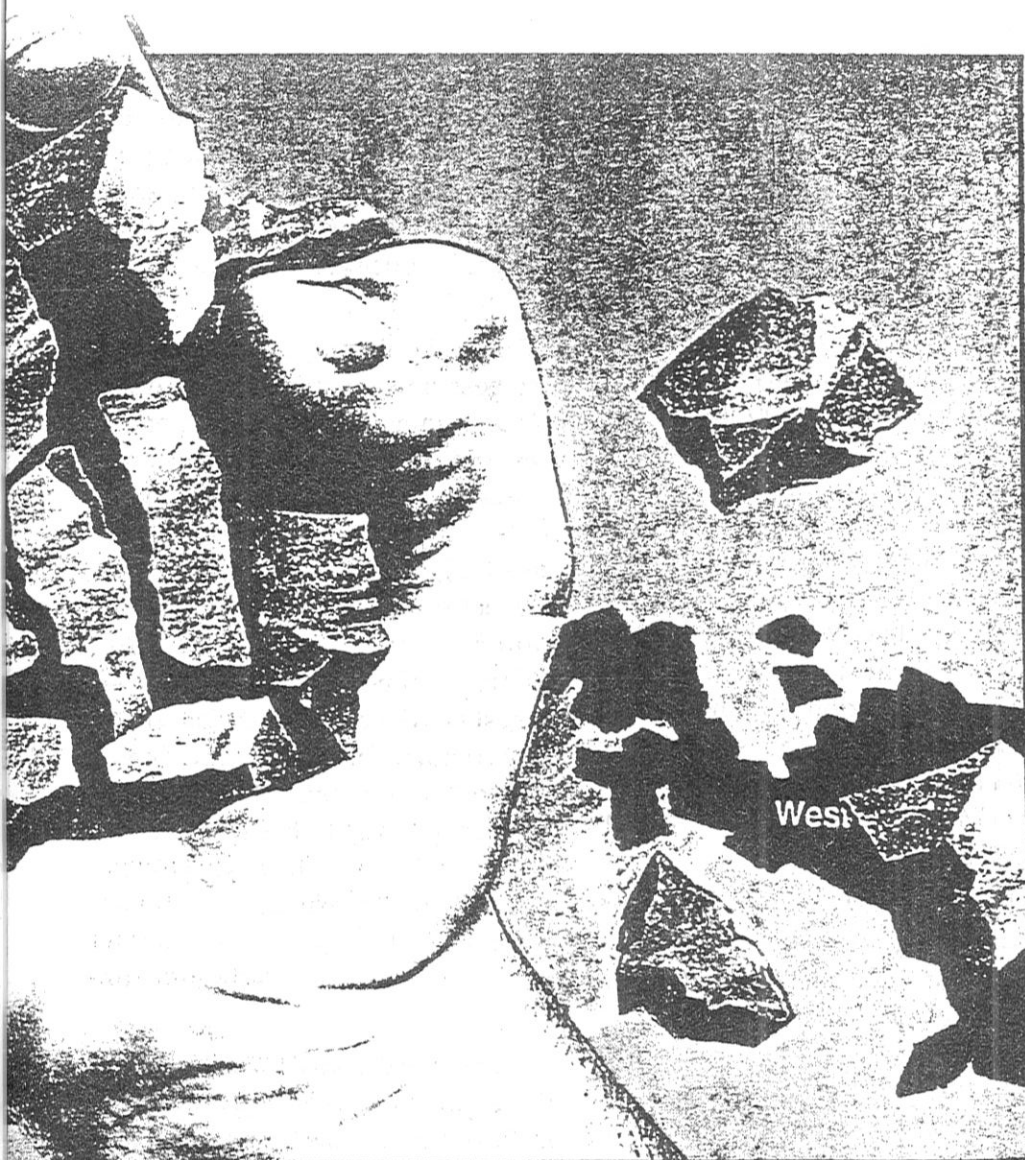
**T**he last decade has seen the rapid increase in mining activity throughout Indonesia. Eager to reduce Indonesia's foreign debt of around \$US80 billion dollars, the Suharto regime has taken steps to allow foreign investors easier access to mineral resources. The result has been a flood of multinationals keen to exploit some of the world's biggest reserves of coal, gold, copper and mineral sands.

A recent report, 'Digging Deep - the hidden costs of mining in Indonesia', conducted by Minewatch and Down to Earth (International Campaign for Ecological Justice in Indonesia)



clearly details the activity of these companies. While there is very little official information made publicly available on the social and environmental impacts of mining in Indonesia, the ongoing destruction of rain forests, waterways, nature reserves, peasant and indigenous communities is of a grand scale.

There is no system of independent monitoring of mining impact and often it is not until a major event occurs that mining projects, let alone their impact, are mentioned at all. Laws concerning the guidelines for mining operations are lax and easily abused. In fact, they are designed to make it as easy as possible for mining companies to carry out activities



without stringent government control or interference. In this respect the Suharto regime has been more than willing to comply by continuing the relaxation of environmental regulations since the late 1980s.

Furthermore, government decrees passed in 1992 allow 100% foreign ownership of companies in Indonesia.

Another factor in growing investment is a cheap and easily exploitable workforce. Wages and conditions are extremely poor. The situation faced by mine workers is similar to that under other authoritarian governments elsewhere, such as in Latin America. With no independent un-

ions to represent their interests, any strikes or militant activity is met with harsh measures by the security forces.

#### **Effects on indigenous peoples**

Dissent from small-scale traditional miners and indigenous people has also been dealt with ruthlessly. For example, in 1977, Suharto responded to protests by the Amungme people against the Freeport mine operation in West Papua by bombing and strafing villages and forcibly resettling entire communities away from the mine.

As the report points out, "Accord-  
*Continued on page 8*



*Continued from page 7*

ing to a survey by Hawaii's East-West Centre, geological potential, more generous investment incentives and perceived political stability all contribute to Indonesia's increasing popularity among the world's mining elite. Unfortunately the third of this 'political stability' can often be a coded term for authoritarian government or political oppression..."

#### **Australia's role**

Australian mining companies have been major operators in taking advantage of these conditions - Australia is the ninth largest foreign investor in Indonesia and mining companies account for some 60 percent of this - with cumulative investments of some \$A518.7 million dollars.

BHP conducts one of the largest coal mining operations in Indonesia. They have reported that 2 million tonnes of coal was produced in 1991, in mines managed by BHP, with a projected increase to between 8 and 10 million tonnes by the end of the decade. CRA also has a 50 percent share in Indonesia's largest coal mine, the Kaltim Prima coal mine, which has an estimated deposit of over 150 million tonnes. Along with China, increased Indonesian coal production and consumption will be the greatest of any area in the world.

According to the Australasian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, over the next ten years more than \$A5000 million is expected to be invested in equipment, supplies and services in the region - much of this in Indonesia.

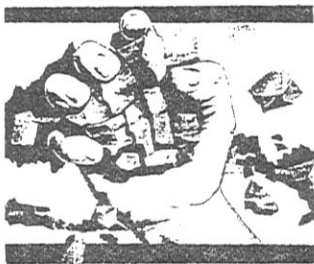
Through the Australian Mining Industry Council (AMIC), the 43 companies with concessions in Indonesia form a powerful mining lobby in maintaining Australia's weak hu-

man rights stance, thereby securing "favourable" business links. The recent statements by Paul Keating in Jakarta, down playing human rights issues, is reflective of the push by Australian business to promote investment.

Gold mining and exploration has also been a major attraction for Australian mining interests. CRA operates some of the largest concessions, especially on the island of Kalimantan. The Kelian gold mine is Indonesia's biggest and newest. The huge 400 metre deep open pit mine has an annual output target of 264 000oz/year and is expected to be the largest gold mine in South East Asia. CRA, renown for its total lack of concern for the environment and indigenous peoples rights, has come under fire from Indonesian environment groups for the destruction of rain forest areas and the pollution of water systems with toxic waste and runoff.

The general manager of Kelian is Jim Holt, whose prior appointments include a post at the now suspended Bougainville Copper mine - forced to stop by the Bougainville people in their struggle for compensation and self determination.

The report provides useful and informative data through company case studies, giving detailed description of their activities and relationship to the Suharto regime, the role of the World Bank and other financial bodies, and the overall significance in a regional context. It gives accurate information on the Australian connection and is above all an extremely useful guide for environmental and solidarity activists. Sydney AKSI hopes to acquire copies in the near distant future, or inquiries can be sent to Down to Earth, PO Box 213, London SE5 7LU, England. ●





# Brisbane's Indonesian trade bazaar

Feature

Brisbane's annual Warana festival, this year taking up an Indonesian theme, has become more than an arts festival. Brisbane AKSI member, Nick Everett, gave his report at an AKSI and Green Left sponsored forum held during Warana. The forum examined this year's Warana slogan; "Indonesia: Unity through diversity?"

Warana '93, according to its chairperson Trevor Redacliff, "features a balanced program of artistic, cultural and special events which are accessible and appealing to the widest cross-section of the community."

"It is an event which reflects so well the spirit and lifestyle of the Sunshine State", proclaimed premier Wayne Goss.

Warana '93 was in fact a facade behind which backroom deals were being struck between the 'Sunshine State's' corporate high-flyers and trade delegates from a country with one of the worst human rights records in the world. "The celebrate Indonesia component of the festival is specifically designed to generate trade opportunities with our north-western neighbour, with a three day trade mission coinciding with the entertainment, and Warana organisers unashamedly admit the influence of the state government's priorities in this kind of programming."

The publicity brochure emphasised to the captain's of industry that "the festival meets the generic needs of leading Australian businesses who enjoy long-term associations with Warana. Increased public awareness, recognition and recall, plus a high community regard for Warana's sponsors, strengthen corporate im-

ages and brands. Additionally, Warana provides unrivaled opportunities for you to be involved with Queensland's key decision makers."

## Trade

The pace of trade negotiations that happened in Brisbane in the lead up to Warana was quite frenetic. Between the 38 Indonesian associations and businesses that hit town and the 95 Queensland companies more than 382 half-hour meetings were organised.

The Indonesian trade delegation, in town for a three day trade seminar prior to Warana, was the third trade mission between Central Java and Queensland following what was described as "a highly successful" mission from Brisbane in January. It was this last mission that brought about the signing, by Brisbane Lord Mayor Jim Soorley, of a sister city agreement between Semarang and Brisbane.

At the forefront of the most recent trade discussions have been representatives of the Goss Labor government, who just prior to Warana signed an agreement with Queensland's sister state to promote increased agricultural business between the two regions.

This state to state collaboration is part of a broader collaboration involving both business interests in the two countries and the Suharto and Keating governments. It extends to military co-operation and Australian government assistance in a planned nuclear program in central Java.

## Australian collaboration

Crucial in this collaboration has been the role of Gareth Evens, minis-



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ter for foreign affairs and trade. Recently the federal government signed the Australia-Indonesia Nuclear Science and Technology Agreement to enable Australia to provide uranium and technical assistance for 12 nuclear reactors to be built in Indonesia over the next decade.

Evans has defended the agreement claiming that Indonesia has a "cautious and responsible approach to the development of its nuclear program". Co-operation between the two countries, he claims will "provide Australia with assurance that high safety standards continue to be maintained."

Indonesia's decision to go nuclear, Evens argues, "could ultimately put it the forefront of regional development in terms of modern nuclear technology and the range of activities and expertise involved ... it is in Australia's interest that there be close contact and co-operation in this area."

#### Australian investment

The real reason behind the signing of this agreement is however to pave the way for greater Australian investment in Indonesia and to protect this investment through an extension of the capacity for military co-operation between the Keating government and the Suharto regime.

Phillip Flood, previously Australia's ambassador to Indonesia and now director-general of AIDAB, outlined the extent of this collaboration in an article in the Financial Review in July called "At last, a real rapport with Indonesia". (If you ever thought there was anything progressive about AIDAD note his wholehearted embracement of Australian foreign policy.)

Since 1980, according to Flood, Australian investment in Indonesia has more than trebled, now at \$1.3 billion. Flood outlines a number of factors he observed in Indonesia that

have made this possible:

At the government level, "for the first time there was a real rapport between the Indonesian and Australian cabinets. Nearly half the members of the 1988-1993 Indonesian cabinet visited Australia and a similar proportion of Australia's cabinet Indonesia ... The two foreign ministers became close friends. Heads of government on both sides strongly promoted co-operation."

#### Timor Gap treaty

"The second highlight has been the way we co-operated in important foreign policy issues, especially Cambodia ... and the progress made in addressing complex bilateral issues, including the Timor Gap treaty ... We benefited from Indonesia's intimate feel for the nuances of the region and sensitive cultural understanding of the key political players inside and outside Indonesia," claims Flood.

"Our defence forces are now co-operation closely in training, modest naval exercises, marine surveillance, survey and mapping, ship visits and aircraft transits."

"Finally the Australian business community has changed its attitude to Indonesia. There is now better appreciation of the opportunities and a more serious effort is being made to exploit them."

While Flood acknowledges that "we do have differences of view as to how to approach individual and collective human rights," he claims:

"Wise neighbours, however, do not allow differences in outlook and culture, or differences on political issues, to dominate a relationship."

AKSI begs to differ. Now more than ever is the time to distinguish the interests of our governments from those of our peoples and to build solidarity with all those in struggle against the Suharto regime. ●





# Join AKSI:

## Indonesia Solidarity Action

AKSI is Indonesian for action. It is an Australian organisation building support and understanding for Indonesians fighting for social justice and democracy and an end to the current military dictatorship.

### Against destructive tourist development

In Bali, Lombok and elsewhere, farming communities are being driven from their land to make way for developments such as seaside resorts and golf courses - as well as dams, supermarkets and luxury housing.

### Build links with new workers' groups

Tens of thousands of workers have taken industrial action against their appalling working conditions and are establishing worker organisations..

### Solidarity with student movement

The Free the Students Campaign demands the release of all imprisoned students in Indonesia, including East Timorese students.

### Expose Australian complicity

Cyanide dumped in rivers, reports of appalling safety conditions, open support for Suharto's occupation of East Timor; betrayal of the East Timorese for the sake of the Timor Gap oil dollar both Australian big business and government are complicit in exploitation, oppression and environmental carnage in Indonesia. AKSI wishes to make available more information about these involvements.

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### Send to your nearest group:

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PO Box 781, Adelaide 5001. Phone Adam or Chris on (08) 231 6982 (BH)

#### Brisbane:

PO Box 1293, Fortitude Valley 4006. Phone Nick on (07) 358 4875

#### Canberra :

c/- 103 Scrivener St, O'Connor, ACT 2601. Phone Steven on (06) 257 3195

#### Melbourne:

PO Box 4345, Melbourne Uni, Parkville 3053. Phone (03) 392 1320

#### Perth:

c/- Room 4, 193 William St Arcade, Northbridge 6000.

#### Sydney:

PO Box 458, Broadway 2007. Phone Jon on (02) 690 1977.

# AKSI Protests Warana



*Activists protest BHP's sponsorship of Warana's "Celebrate Indonesia" concerts.  
Photo by Geoff Heller.*

**By Ben Reid**

Brisbane AKSI staged a number of successful protests and actions in response to the Brisbane Warana festival's "Celebrate Indonesia" theme. Warana, which claims to be an artistic and cultural festival adopted this theme and received over \$1 million from the Indonesian government.

Using the slogan "Unity through Diversity" (the slogan of the Indonesian Republic which is often invoked by Suharto and the New Order Regime to justify the suppression of independence struggles in East Timor, West Papua, and Aceh) the festival claimed that it was appropriate given that it was the year of indigenous peoples.

The festival coincided with a trade fair at which numerous government and business figures discussed ways of developing trade between Indonesia and Australia. At no time was the issue of human rights raised.

In response AKSI, and other concerned groups, organised a protest at the opening evening on September

24. The protest highlighted human rights abuses in Indonesia and pointed out the need to place these above the commercial interests of Australian business.

On Wednesday October 22 a forum titled "Indonesia: Unity Through Diversity?" was held featuring prominent Australian author Humphrey McQueen as well as speakers from AKSI, the East Timorese Community, and Artists for Human Rights. The following evening a Green It Up fundraising night was held.

The local East Timorese cultural group was originally denied to perform at the festival. However on Friday October 1 they were allowed a short segment. While others held banners proclaiming the need to remember the Timorese struggle for independence, despite harassment from officials, the cultural group performed a number of indigenous Timorese dances.

Following this a picket was held at Lord Mayor Jim Soorley's Brisbane day address. The picket pointed out that Brisbane's sister city, Semarang in Central Java is where Timorese Resistance leader Xanana Gusmao was being held in jail. ●