

# The Acehnesse

For Peace,  
Freedom & Justice  
in Aceh

The Acehnesse Society of North America

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## Monthly Review

**Sidney Jones:  
Democracy will prevail**

10 June 04

On Sunday morning, my colleague from the International Crisis Group and I left Jakarta - expelled, apparently, for being a threat to Indonesia's security and damaging its image abroad.

One Indonesian friend said that it was a testament to how far Indonesia has moved from its authoritarian past that we lasted as long as we did. She may be right. When I joined ICG's Jakarta office in 2002, after decades of working on human rights in Indonesia, I thought it was a miracle that I got a residence permit at all.

Over time, I got so used to the post-Suharto political space that I felt no inhibitions about writing and speaking on topics that would have been taboo six years ago, including the dynamics of the conflicts in Aceh and Papua, communal tensions and radical Islamic movements. ICG reports were picked up by the local print and broadcast media, and fed into a lively public debate - unthinkable a short while ago.

Our expulsion doesn't presage a return to dictatorial controls. That a leading Jakarta daily could publish a cartoon on its front page of me with my mouth taped shut is only one indication that sardonic commentary on government actions is here to stay. If we didn't get a fair hearing from the National Intelligence Agency known as BIN, which set this whole train of events in motion, we certainly got one in the Indonesian press. Another newspaper even published a comic strip showing the head of that agency as the evil villain, going back into his cave after ordering us out.

But our expulsion does expose some troubling aspects of today's Indonesia. We clearly crossed an invisible limit in terms of what was acceptable to say or investigate. If we can be branded a security threat as a result, so can many other organisations, domestic and international, that challenge or inadvertently stumble against powerful political and economic interests.

Some officials in the Indonesian Government obviously feel more comfortable with the old system than with the new; what they don't realise is that the old system is gone for good. BIN officials, for example, gave different explanations of our sins to different audiences behind closed doors. We were variously said to have spread slander about Aceh and Papua, sold information abroad and pitted the army against Islam. They conveyed nothing to us directly.

But word leaked out and when it did we sought - and got - a hearing with a key parliamentary committee and were able to challenge the accusations through the press. It didn't stop our deportation, but it does suggest that there are beginning to be checks on the use of power.

Our expulsion is also symptomatic of what seems to be a growing suspicion of foreigners, linked to a strong sense of Indonesian nationalism. When BIN presented its case against ICG to an Indonesian parliamentary committee, the discussion reportedly turned to how deporting us was an appropriate response to the indignities suffered by Indonesian citizens at the hands of US and Australian immigration authorities.

Shortly after ICG's difficulties exploded in the local press, I was invited to a discussion by the international relations division of the Indonesian

Muslim Students organization. Almost all the questions during the course of that lively session focused on the malicious intent of Westerners to do to Papua what they did to East Timor, to weaken Indonesia through support for separatist movements more generally or to undermine Islam through the war on terror.

One young man asked why so many foreigners were doing research on Indonesia, as though they must have had some evil purpose in doing so. I asked him in return how many Indonesians were studying in Australia, the US and Europe, and drew applause as if I'd scored a point. No question that conspiracy theories in Indonesia run rampant, but they seem to be reflective less of some innate hostility than of a lack of information to challenge widespread rumour-mongering.

A third source of concern is what our expulsion reveals about the sensitivity of the Aceh and Papua issues. Both areas have armed guerilla movements and strong pro-independence sentiment. ICG has been studiously neutral in reporting on the conflicts there, not supporting independence. If anything, we have suggested that a properly conceived and implemented autonomy package could be the way forward. That stance alone has brought protests from the Acehnesse rebel movement GAM, as has our repeated reference to GAM's own abuses.

But we have also said that failure to implement autonomy in any meaningful way has contributed to the ongoing conflict and that, in both places, Jakarta was losing the battle for hearts and minds. We have also suggested, based on detailed investigation, that there are people within the political elite who have strong economic interests in both places. Does this then make us a threat to Indonesian security? The larger threat comes from closing down a debate on the sources of these conflicts, a debate that, if allowed to continue, could throw up creative ideas for how to resolve them.

Finally, Indonesia is in election mode, with the first round of presidential elections scheduled for July 5. The moves against ICG began in late 2003, but everything has come to a head just as the presidential campaign gets under way.

On the one hand, we are accused of being potentially disruptive of the democratic process. On the other hand, our expulsion has become so politicised that it's difficult to know whether it would have happened anyway, given the cumulative effect of our reports, or whether a decision was made somewhere that deporting us could be used politically to play into a nationalist agenda.

When the issue of ICG's imminent expulsion first broke, an official accused me of seeking martyrdom through publicity. The BIN director said I was the kind of person the Indonesian people don't like. But I was deluged with messages of support from across the country from people who wanted the issues we raised to be out in the open.

We may now be in temporary exile. But, ironically, it's the reaction to our expulsion that has made us optimistic about the prospects for Indonesian democracy.

*Sidney Jones is South-East Asia project director for the International Crisis Group.*

<http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/printpage/0,5942,9795053,00.html>



*Different from the rest of Indonesia population, Acehnesse are required to have a "red & white" ID card by martial law authority in Aceh. Despite the change of Aceh status to "civil emergency", the policy is still continued by infamous Abdullah Puteh, the governor and civil emergency ruler. A protester showed samples of the ID in a rally against militarism in Jakarta, medio May (Photo: KCM)*

## ACEH: Martial law ends but troops remain

By Pip Hinman

Jakarta's decision to lift martial law in Aceh, in favour of an "emergency status", won't change the lives of ordinary Acehnesse for the better, according to a leader of the Acehnesse community in Australia. Nurdin, who was once imprisoned and tortured by the Indonesian army, said that Jakarta's troops must be forced out of Aceh.

On the May 19 anniversary of the imposition of martial law in Aceh, Nurdin told *Green Left Weekly* that President Megawati Sukarnoputri's Indonesian government is sending up two more battalions to Aceh, which is on the northern tip of the island of Sumatra.

## The Acehnesse Bulletin

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Redaksi menerima tulisan menyangkut masalah Aceh dalam *tiga bahasa*. Tulisan dalam bahasa Aceh dan berbagai bentuk tulisan dari kalangan perempuan Aceh sangat dianjurkan. Kirimkan tulisan Anda lewat e-mail. Max. 2 hal, 1,5 spasi ukuran font 12. Bulletin welcomes articles related to issues on Aceh in English, Acehnesse, or Malay. Articles in Acehnesse and articles from Acehnesse women are especially encouraged. Please send articles in e-mail attachment. Max 2 pages, 1.5 space, font size 12.

Suggested participation: \$0.97 (fotocopy \$0.60 + stamp \$0.37), more generous participation, however, is welcome. Please make participation payable to Abdul Jalil and send it to the Bulletin address.

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**Please circulate extensively**

"Megawati's announcement [that martial law would be lifted at midnight on May 18] is really an admission of defeat. She said she would crush the Acehese rebels in three months, but she hasn't done it in 12", Nurdin said.

"With the first round of the presidential elections due in July, she's keen to make it look like the war's over. In fact, it's not. She's spent some A\$6.2 million fighting Free Aceh Movement (GAM) over the last year, sent more than 50,000 troops in and still the rebels have not been crushed, because Aceh's population of some 4 million want their freedom."

The Indonesian military claims to have killed 2000 GAM rebels, arrested another 2100 and forced about 1300 to surrender over the past year — more than the military's own estimate of GAM's strength. Human rights groups, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and Tapol, report that many of those killed were civilians.

Martial law was imposed on May 19, 2003, following the collapse of talks between the Indonesian government and GAM. Rebel negotiators were arrested and Jakarta sent troops to crush the estimated 5000 rebels in the largest Indonesian military operation since the invasion and occupation of East Timor in 1975.

The government's shut-down of the province to reporters and human rights groups has kept this dirty war largely hidden from the world. But on May 12, Amnesty International reported that "nearly all aspects of the lives of ordinary citizens are adversely affected by the military emergency. People are terrorised by the numerous killings and the ever-present threat of arrest, torture and ill-treatment."

The US-based Aceh Center reported on May 6 that Indonesia's armed forces top commander General Endriartono had admitted that soldiers had committed human rights violations against civilians, including rape and torture, and that more than 400 cases had been brought before military courts. Some prisoners, including Mohammad Nazar, a leader of the Aceh Referendum Information Centre (SIRA), have been moved to prisons in other parts of Indonesia.

Nurdin told *GLW* that the Acehese people have little hope that a new president, due to be elected on July 5, will end the war in Aceh. He said that neither the Golkar candidate, former general Wiranto, nor Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, another former general and leader of the Democrat party, were likely to withdraw the troops and start talks with GAM and Aceh's democratic organisations.

"[Wiranto and Yudhoyono] are reliant on the Indonesian military to back them and the military make a lot of money from corruption in Aceh", Nurdin explained. Not only that, the province is rich in gas and oil, and the government's new autonomy law still allows Jakarta to appropriate substantial revenue from the sale of Aceh's natural resources.

(From *Green Left Weekly*, May 26, 2004.)

<http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2004/583/583p17.htm>



The number of troops is not reduced in Aceh, leading to profiteering, rampant corruption, and oppressive atmosphere, especially in rural areas.

**Padum keuh na buet ma bidan  
Meunyo hana tran keudroe**

## "PLUèNG!"

Keunarang: Dian R.

Bagi geutanyoë bansa Aceh, sue beudé mungken kôn sue yang aséng lé. Peu lom syedara-syedara geutanyoë yang tinggi di daerah yang dipeunani lé saboh keulompok uréung sibago "daerah rawan". Sue nyan rap tiép uro teudeng. Watée sue nyan meu tai-tai, uréung gampông duék seungap lam rumoh, atau pat yang menurot awaknyan "aman". Meunyoë teungoh seumuela di blang, payah éh lam leuhóp. Meunan keuh kira-kira phét jih udép di Aceh. Lam hatée mandum meudu'a simoga teutuléh lam naséb, untóng geutanyoë uronyoë hana malang.

Lheuh sue beudé seungap, pakiban hatée uréung gampông? Meurasa lapang? Hana teuntée! So teupeu lheuh nyan mandum keunông baréh lam lapangan, nyan keunông tanpa pré. Mantong mangat meunyoë cuma keunong tanpa, ladóm leubèh brat dari nyan. Dum nan brat jih, meunyoë ta teuoh bak bansa laen, sang bansa geutanyoë peuna-peuna narit.

Al kisah, dari haro-hara nyoë, na sidroë syedara geutanyoë yang tinggi di daerah konflik. Dum nan han ék geu theun lé udép lam haro-hara, geu publoë peu yang na di gampông, teunté jih deungon yum yang jih dari yum sibena, geu beudòh man saboh keluarga geu minah u teumtap laen. Jino gobnyan geutinggai di Jakarta. Alhamdulillah, gobnyan sikeluarga ka jeut udép leubèh lapang. Syedara geutanyoë nyoë ka jeut geu jak mita raseuki bacut-bacut.

Bak ta kalón sigo roën, sang syedara geutanyoë ka bahagia, naséb gobnyan leubèh untóng dari syedara-syedara geutanyoë yang laen yang mantong tinggi bak tempat asai. Peu keuh betoi lagée nyan?

Dari pada lôn kira-kira lam hatée, bak siuro lôn jak meuen teuk u rumoh gobnyan. Sabab macet bak jalan, lôn teulat trôh u rumoh gobnyan, rap watée seumayang Meugreb.

"Assalamu'alaikom..." kheun lôn sira lôn thok-thok pintò.

Deuh uréung cingéuk bak tingkap yòh goh geu buka pintò.

"Wa'alaikumsalam...Droë lagoë..." Porumoh syedara geutanyoë nyan yang buka pintò. "Tamong, hai. Abang hana geu woë lôm," kheun gobnyan.

"Aneuk miet ho, Kak? Sengue that lagoë..."

"Na...tengoh dimeu ulang di dalam. Aulia...Dek Nong...keuno siat. Na bang Ma'e nyoë."

Meunan lôn deungo gobnyan kheun nan lôn, langsung hatée lon dipo u gampông. Nan lon sibena jih Ismail, tapi man saboh gampông heui lôn Ma'e. Yang heui lôn Ismail teuntée ngon yang hana that meuturi.

Aulia ngon dek Nong déuh ka meutamah rayeuk. Meutuwah keudeh aneuk miét duanya dijak saleum com jaroë lôn.

"Peu haba? Mantong jeut basa Aceh peu han..." kheun lôn meugura ngon awak nyan.

"Mantong jeutlah..." seutòt Mak awaknyan. "Pat pih mantong geutanyoë panè jeut tuwo keu basa indatu teuh."

Watée kamoë tengoh peugah-peugah haba, rap tiép minet mata porumoh syedara geutanyoë nyoë geu kalón u jalan tamông.

"Pakôn ilée abang hana geu woë-woë?" akhe jih han ek geutheun hatée teubit ciet narit gobnyan.

"Kon biasa kak, uréung mè moto siwa woë agak malam. Peu lom lam kuta rayeuk." kheun lôn bah gobnyan teunang.

"Ooh, lôn han tom lôn brië abang woë teulat. Gobnyan sabée ka trôh u rumoh sigohlom Meugreb. Lôn mantong takòt meunyoë abang malam hana di rumoh."

"Assalamu'alaikum..." syedara geutanyoë rupa jih ka teudong diekeu pintò. "Hai, na si Ma'e lagoë...Ka trep trôh?" kheun gobnyan sira geu suët sipatu.

"Na siat, Bang." Seutòt lôn.

"Bak lapangan blah déh na tandeng bola. Get that macet bak jalan, sampo teulat lôn woë seupòt nyoë."

"Peu hana tarek siwa sampo malam? Kon disinoë



mantong rame uréung sampoan teungoh malam, Bang," kheun lôn lheuh syedara geutanyoë nyan geu piyòh hék.

"Lôn han lôn jeut sampo malam-malam, mantong teumakòt..." Dari ie muka gobnyan deuh that gobnyan hana galak peugah haba pasai nyan. Kamoë pih tuka peugah pasai laen-laen.

"Pakon hana peugèt kuepie?" tanyong gobnyan bak porumoh.

"Meu'ah, Ma'e. Kamoë teungoh habeh kuepie. Lôn hana mangat hatée yuë Aulia jak bak keudè malam-malam." Syedara geutanyoë nyan meulang-ulang lakée meu'ah. Gobnyan hana mangat hatée seubab ka jeut keu adat geutanyoë bansa Aceh untuk peumulia jamée.

Lheuh seumayang Meugreb ngon pajoh bu malam, lôn beudòh jak woë. Sipanyang jalan lôn teungat keu syedara geutanyoë ngon keluarga gobnyan. Ya Allah... ka trôh bak tempat aman pih, trauma untok bek teubit malam mantong na. Padahai gobnyan rap dua thôn disinoë, di Jakarta nyo, tapi rasa takòt lam hatée hana gadòh lom.

Kon gobnyan mantong mungken, leu syedara geutanyoë laen yang lagée nyan. Na ngon lôn sidroë, panyang langkah gobnyan jeut geujak sikula u luwa nangroë. Geu cerita lé gobnyan bak email, porumoh gobnyan laen lom hai. Ho mantong geujak, meunan ka seupòt, perumoh gobnyan langsung lakée wo. Peu teungoh geu belanja bak Mall, peu teungoh geu jak maen bak taman kuta, bahkan teungoh bak Meusejid pih meunan.

Man geu kheun bak porumoh gobnyan: "Hai Dek, nyoë kôn lé di gampông. Disinoë hana sapeu pih. Sigo-go woë teulat kon hana peu..." Peu pih alasan geu peutròh lé gobnyan teutap kôn ciet. Seubab sabée geu seutòt, "Pokok jih lôn hana galak malam-malam tanyoë mantong diluwa."

Meunyoë sikada bek wo malam mantong hana peu, kadang-kadang abeh susu aneuk pih, hanjeut teubit bak keudè jak blo. "Hana peu blo susu malam-malam. Hana jep susu simalam kon han sakét."

Get that sakét ulé ngon lôn peutimang porumoh gobnyan. Ka trôh u luwa nangroe pih hana beda ngon di gampông. Teutap peurumòh gobnyan teumakot kon wayang. Padahai sigoë sagai watée di gampông na kontak senjata pah ikèu rumoh gobnyan. Hana meusidroë yang teupeh. Kaca seuramo ukeu mantong yang bukah.

Cerita laen lôm kejadian ngon aneuk syedara geutanyoë yang laen. Aneuk manyak umu lhèe thôn. Jih han jeut dikalón baje teuntra. Tiép deuh uréung sók bajè teuntra, dikliek sampo jih meukheup-kheup lagée manok kalón ceurape.

Lôn teudek sidroë malam nyoë. Tingat u gampông... Haro-hara nyoë hana deuh tanda-tanda akan seuleuso untok uréung gampông. Ka udep memang susah, jinoë meutamah susah karna teujak-teudong bak jak mita raseuki. Pat teumtap ta meu piyoh meunyoë lam rumoh pih hana teuntée lom geutanyoë seulam? Ta minah u teumtap laen pih lagée syedara geutanyoë bunò, rasa takòt mantong geu peusitòt gobnyan barang kahò gobnyan geujak.

Sigohlom lôn leubèh seudéh hatée, lôn peudep TV keu peugadóh sengu. Yang leu berita pasai pemilu. Meubago-bago topik. Nyan na acara tanyong pendapat para pengamat politek, sosial-ekonomi, mamandum pakar lah... Lam ulé lôn teupiké...pakon hana ahli ekonomi yang geucuba mengamati padum rugo yang haroih ditanggong bansa Aceh meusabab konflik? Pakon hana pengamat sosial-budaya yang jak kalón u Aceh dan peugèt laporan, padum thón peradaban bangsa Aceh surot u likot ditheung konflik? Peu kheuh na meu chréh lam hatée psikolog terkenal, padum yum yang haroih ditanggong le bangsa Aceh meusabab meuthôn-thôn udep sabée teumakòt?

Jeum bak ruweung tengoh dimeusue "teng-teng" ka pòh dua malam rupa jih! Nyoë hana lôn éh ajuh, na can ditinggai lé bes jak u kampus siong beungòh.

## Berdamai dengan Aceh (suatu pengalaman sejarah)

Bag. 2

Oleh: Nab Bahany As

(Artikel pernah dimuat dalam Serambi Indonesia)

Tidaklah mengherankan, kalau kemudian Belanda terpaksa harus menukar strateginya dalam menghadapi rakyat Aceh, dengan melibatkan konsultannya Snouck Hurgonje untuk mempelajari seluruh seluk-beluk sifat dan adat-istiadat budaya masyarakat Aceh untuk diketahui bagaimana sebenarnya mendekati hati rakyat Aceh sehingga mudah menaklukkan Aceh dalam kekuasaan penjajahannya.

Pengalaman Belanda itu membuktikan, menghadapi masyarakat Aceh ternyata memang tidak bisa dengan kekerasan. Lebih-lebih kalau kekerasan yang dilakukan telah mempengaruhi tatanan hidup mereka yang akrab dengan nilai-nilai Islam.

Jika wilayah keislaman yang mereka yakini sudah merasa diganggu, ini dapat menimbulkan kemarahan besar bagi orang Aceh. Dalam mempertahankan keyakinan agama inilah orang Aceh terkadang bisa suka nekat, diajak berperang pun rasanya tidak keberatan.

Lebih-lebih perang melawan ketidakbenaran, bagi orang Aceh sangat meyakini kalau mati dalam perjuangan menegakkan sesuatu kebenaran maka kematian itu adalah meraih fahala syahid dan balasannya di surga. Itu sebabnya, mengapa Belanda dulu melarang keras hikayat prang sabi beredar di kalangan masyarakat Aceh. Karena pengaruh hikayat itu bisa membuat orang Aceh nekat berperang melawan Belanda.

Menurut sebuah cerita, pernah sekali waktu ketika sekelompok rakyat Aceh begitu selesai membaca hikayat prang sabi ini—sebuah hikayat yang memang sengaja dikarang oleh seorang ulama Besar Aceh Tgk Chik Pante Kulu (lahir 1836 M) untuk membangkitkan semangat jihad rakyat Aceh—mereka langsung mendatangi markas Belanda yang berkedudukan di Taman Sari Kuta Raja (sekarang Banda Aceh) untuk membunuh Belanda yang dianggapnya sebagai kafir penjajah. Sekelompok rakyat Aceh ini tidak memperhitungkan kalau nekat mereka itu akan sia-sia (mati koyol). Karena yang mereka bayangkan, seperti yang dikisahkan dalam hikayat prang sabi, kalau mereka mati dalam melawan Belanda mereka akan mati syahid.

### Bagaimana sekarang?

Apa yang terjadi sekarang, terutama sepuluh tahun terakhir ini, tampak kita belum memiliki apresiasi untuk memahami "jati diri" masyarakat Aceh yang sebenarnya. Sehingga kita lebih mengandalkan kekuatan-kekuatan politik yang sama sekali belum bersentuhan dengan pendekatan kultur dan karakter masyarakat Aceh itu. Karenanya jika itu menjadi "jurus" bagi berdamai tanpa belajar dari pengalaman sejarah tersebut, rasanya akan sulit terwujud penyelesaian.

Kalau pun apa yang kita lakukan sekarang ini terhadap Aceh akan membuahkan hasil sebagaimana yang diharapkan, mungkin keberhasilan tersebut akan menjadi sangat temporer sifatnya dalam membangun dan menata kembali Aceh, karena tidak didukung konsep yang jelas yang benuansa kultur dan karakter atau "jatidiri" tersebut. Bukan tak mustahil kemudian persoalan baru bakal muncul dalam format lain di Aceh, sehingga pengorbanan yang selama ini sudah begitu banyak, akan menjadi catatan sia-sia. Inilah perlu kesepahaman semua pihak.

Sejarah juga harus memberi pelajaran, bahwa

persengkataan dan konflik di Aceh sudah berulang kali dan kemudian diselesaikan, namun tetap meninggalkan kekecewaan. Misalnya, tahun 1950 tentang penghalangan pelaksanaan Syariat Islam untuk Aceh baik melalui perubahan "Piagam Jakarta", maupun lewat keputusan politis Mr Assaet selaku Pemangku Jabatan Presiden PDRI (sebelum Kabinet Nasir) tahun 1950. Belum lagi pembubaran Divisi dan Territorium Aceh tahun 1951 yang kebanyakan anggotanya adalah putra-putra Aceh diperkecil perannya tunduk dalam Divisi dan Territorium Sumatra Utara.

Semua itu adalah bentuk kekecewaan dan kelukaan rakyat Aceh yang akibatnya dulu tidak hanya mengacu pada munculnya peristiwa pemberontakan DI/TII yang dipimpin Tgk. Muhammad Daud Beureueh mulai 1953, tapi akibat kekecewaan itu telah meninggalkan parut sejarah yang sangat membekas yang membuat rakyat Aceh

selalu hilang kepercayaan. Pertanyaannya, apakah itu akan terus berulang setelah saat ini diselesaikan? Dan jika itu terjadi, maka Aceh tidak pernah aman sepanjang kita tidak memiliki komitmen yang tulus dalam menyelesaikan masalah yang terjadi.

Mungkin apa yang sering diucapkan orang bijak dalam menyelesaikan setiap persoalan hampir tak dapat dibantah kebenarannya, "Untuk memadamkan kobaran api janganlah kita tergesa-gesa langsung menyiram dengan minyak. Tapi carilah air sebagai penyejuk dan penawar kobaran".

Sebab perang jika harus diselesaikan dengan perang, berarti kita melupakan catatan sejarah, bagaimana orang Aceh menghadapi "mesin perang" Portugis, lalu Belanda, selanjutnya Jepang. Peristiwa dalam negeri antara lain peristiwa DI/TII, telah menjadi pengalaman orang-orang Aceh menghadapi berperangan. Bertahun-tahun hidup di belantara dengan bergerliya, bertahan dalam penderitaan telah menjadi bagian dari filsafat hidup

manusia Aceh.

Sehingga kalau kita memiliki apresiasi pula bahwa mereka itu bagian dari diri dan tubuh kita sesama anak bangsa yang dulunya sama-sama mengusir penjajah dari nusantara ini, kenapa harus menggunakan bahasa "pemusnahan?" Sebab senjata tidak akan pernah dapat menciptakan damai. Bukankah sejarah telah mengajarkan kita bagaimana tokoh-tokoh Indonesia dulu menyelesaikan persoalan Aceh tidak harus dengan perang? Apa yang pernah diucapkan mantan Pangdam Iskandarmuda Mayjen TNI M Djali Yusuf, yaitu menembak "hati" orang Aceh (bukan dalam arti fisik), maksudnya melalui pendekatan hatinurani dan kultural dan karakteristik masyarakat.

Dan itu sudah pernah dilakukan ketika pemerintah pusat kita menyelesaikan perdamaian pada masa Abu Tgk Daud Beureueh tahun 1953. Bagaimana peran Kolonel M Jasim selaku Panglima Kodam I/Iskandar Muda berkomunikasi dengan tokoh pemberontak DI/TII dalam salah satu suratnya bertanggal 7 Maret 1961, dengan komunikasi sangat menyentuh dan bijaksana:

"Sesuai amanat yang diberikan oleh Atasannya atas nama Pemerintah Republik Indonesia kepada saya, maka menyampaikan kepada Ayahanda Teungku (panggilan Jasim kepada Daud Beureueh) bahwa Pemerintah Indonesia masih tetap mengharapkan Ayahanda Tgk. Muhammad Daud Beureueh kembali ke pangkuan Republik dengan cara yang sangat layak demi kebahagiaan rakyat dan daerah Aceh... ". Mungkin ini dapat jadi inspirasi.

(Nab Bahany As., pemerhati Budaya, tinggal di Banda Aceh)

*Mungkin apa yang sering diucapkan orang bijak dalam menyelesaikan setiap persoalan hampir tak dapat dibantah kebenarannya, "Untuk memadamkan kobaran api janganlah kita tergesa-gesa langsung menyiram dengan minyak. Tapi carilah air sebagai penyejuk dan penawar kobaran".*

*Bunda ngon Ayah, teu lhee ngon guree  
Ureung nyan ban lhee tapeumulia  
Pat-pat na salah meu'ah talakee  
Dudo meuteuntee neubri syiruga*

Ibu dan Ayah, ditigakan dengan guru  
Mereka bertiga kita muliakan  
Dimana ada salah, maaf dipinta  
Akhirat nanti diberi syurga

Kiriman SM, NY

## Droë keu droë teuh hai...

### Rumoh baro Abdul Jalil/Tjut Zahara

Kruuuu seumangat! Alhamdulillah, saboh teuk keluarga kawom Aceh di Amerika Utara ka na rumoh dro. Syedara geu tanyo Abdul Jalil dan Tjut Zahara ka geu ek rumoh baro bak uro buleun 15 Juni 2004 di Philadelphia. Ta meu do'a rumoh nyan beu jeut keu "baiti jannati", rumoh lon syurga lon, keu keluarga Ampon Jali. Beu meutamah raseuki, beu seujahtera lahee ngon baten. Beu jeut keu teumpat rayeuk aneuk meutuawah Nidal Barizki Jalil. Amin.

Man pajan ta peu reubah kameng?

TAB

### Akeuses Bulletin On-line

Bulletin ubiet meutuawah nyo, Alhamdulillah, ka jeut ta akses on-line nibak website KINAD.ORG, Komunitas Intelektual Nanggroe Aceh Daruusalam:

<http://www.kinad.org>

Meunan chit nibak The Aceh Times:

<http://www.community.achehtimes.com/>

Syedara-syedara bansa Aceh ban sigom donya jeut neu baca, cetak, sipreuk Bulletin nyo sibago alat campaign Aceh tanyo ban mandum. Bulletin nyo di format lam bentuk Adobe (pdf) format, na keuh beu mudah ta cetak dan sipreuk ho-ho na peureulee.

TAB

### Kaih Bulletin

Peng tibiet:

1. Amplop (6 kotak x \$0.99)	\$ 5.94
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Total	\$188.64

Peng tamong:

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3. WS, Norfolk, VA	\$ 20.00
4. BU, Harrisburg, PA	\$ 20.00
5. AK, Philadelphia, PA	\$ 50.00
Total	\$170.00

Saldo: \$170.00 - \$188.64 = -18.64

### Jak ta jok donation keu Bulletin!

Silahkan neu peuntronk infaq/sumbangan keu bulletin lewat Manajer Bulletin: Tgk. Jali, supaya jeut ta peu panyang umum Bulletin meutuawah nyo. Mee hana sumbangan yang melanjut, kali ukeu Bulletin akan ta peu teubiet lam edisi online (internet) mantong. Hana le edisi cetak. Sayang syedara-syedara tanyo yang that-that sibok "geu ceu matok" ngon hana akses internet, hana jeut geu ikuti haba dari Nanggroe, bak la'an ta peu gah untok peu panyang resistensi.

TAB

Silahkan sampaikan berita keluarga atawa komunitas Aceh lewat e-mail/ surat untok dimuat dalam Bulletin kita ini. Free!

## Otoritas Intelektual versus Otoritas Politik

Otto Syamsuddin Ishak\*

Kasus perizinan Direktur International Crisis Group (ICG) Indonesia, Sidney Jones, sangat tergantung pada para pihak melihatnya. Bagi Menlu Hasan Wirayuda, itu adalah masalah administratif. Bagi Kepala Badan Intelijen Negara (BIN), AM Hendropriyono, merupakan masalah politik. Apalagi BIN membawa kasus ini ke Komisi I DPR dan memohon DPR untuk mengeluarkan rekomendasi yang dapat dijadikan landasan kebijakan pemerintah, khususnya BIN.

BIN juga mengelompokkan NGO lainnya sebagai 20 NGO yang merugikan negara, karena menjual bangsa demi uang. Menkopolkam ad interim Hari Sabarno justru memperluasnya lagi agar ada sikap resmi dari DPR. Namun, jika dilihat dari basis alasan yang dibangun, yakni laporan-laporan yang dipublikasi oleh ICG Indonesia maka hal itu menjadi masalah akademik. Menurut Jubir Menlu Marty Natalegawa, Menlu tidak menyatakan report ICG itu bias, melainkan soal otoritasnya. Laporan yang dianggap tidak otoritatif tersebut, khususnya berkenaan dengan realitas konflik di Aceh dan Papua.

Sebenarnya BIN juga membangun sikapnya atas dasar sejumlah laporan yang telah dipublikasi sehingga timbul kesimpulan informasinya tidak benar. Meskipun ada alasan yang tidak diungkap secara langsung, yakni berkenaan dengan laporan pelanggaran HAM yang secara langsung menohok para petinggi militer Indonesia.

Dalam konteks Indonesia memang sukar untuk memilah antara kritik dan laporan yang bias; pemerintah (rezim) dengan bangsa; bahkan antara pemerintah dan faksi-faksi yang memiliki interestnya sendiri di dalam tubuh pemerintahan.

Dalam kesempatan ini penulis hanya hendak memfokuskan pada konteks akademik. Kembali ke persoalan siapakah yang memiliki otoritas untuk menilai sebuah report yang memenuhi standar metode akademik di Indonesia ini?

\*\*\*

Ada sebuah keunikan dalam periode transisional ini jika dibandingkan dengan periode Orde Baru. Karya-karya bernilai akademik yang kritis justru dilahirkan di luar kampus. NGO merupakan salah satu wadah bagi kelompok kritis.

Dalam periode ini, NGO kritis lebih terfokus pada aktivitas advokasi untuk soal-soal kebijakan dan perilaku aparat negara. Hal ini menuntut dua hal yang harus dimiliki oleh NGO tersebut, yakni membangun database yang baik serta memiliki kemampuan metodologis yang tinggi untuk menganalisis sebuah fakta sosial. Di lain sisi, informasi yang akurat juga muncul karena adanya kesadaran dari para saksi untuk menyusun kronik kejadian dan adanya keberanian dari para korban untuk melakukan testimoni.

Di samping itu, kemudahan yang diberikan oleh teknologi merupakan peruntungan lain yang diperoleh NGO. Teknologi memberikan peluang bagi aktivis NGO untuk memiliki perspektif yang komparatif, baik menyangkut hal kebijakan di negara lain, juga pola kejahatan kemanusiaannya, serta solusi yang dilakukannya.

Kita dapat mengatakan bahwa laporan-laporan yang dibuat oleh NGO advokasi menjadi laporan yang berlandaskan pada informasi yang akurat, berasal dari para saksi dan korban, bukan atau hanya sebagian kecil dari sumber negara karena untuk kebutuhan komparatif. Laporan tersebut disusun dengan perspektif teoretis dan metode ilmu pengetahuan tertentu.

Kita bisa melihat ada kontradiksi antara laporan NGO tentang semua peristiwa pelanggaran HAM di Indonesia dengan laporan pemerintah, terutama dari pihak militer, jika itu pun ada. Suara pemerintah cenderung mengabaikan suara saksi dan korban,

mengkambinghitamkan pihak lain, serta tak disusun atas dasar perspektif dan metode ilmu pengetahuan tertentu.

Laporan demikian memberikan gambaran yang lugas tentang konstruk peristiwa. Hal ini juga berarti menerang-benderangkan keterlibatan para aktor negara yang merugikan rakyat di dalam sebuah peristiwa. Laporan tersebut juga membangkitkan kesadaran solidaritas antar-individu dan kolektif rakyat serta masyarakat sipil internasional tentang apa yang dilakukan negara dan apa yang seharusnya dilakukan oleh negara.

Singkatnya, laporan tentang fakta sosial yang disusun oleh NGO cenderung bertolak belakang dengan interest politik penguasa. Inilah yang menjadi masalah antara NGO advokasi dan penguasa.

\*\*\*

Jika demikian karakter laporan yang disusun oleh NGO, apakah penguasa atau sebuah lembaga politik memiliki otoritas untuk menilai bias tidaknya sebuah laporan yang memenuhi kaidah ilmiah? Sudah barang tentu pemerintah tidak memiliki otoritas itu.

Apalagi peristiwa itu melibatkan aparat pemerintah sebagai aktor utamanya, serta lembaga itu tidak memiliki otoritas ilmiah. Hal ini terlihat dari ketiadaan laporan yang metodis dari pihak pemerintah tentang berbagai peristiwa konflik, pelanggaran HAM, serta proses pengambilan kebijakan yang partisipatoris.

Memang, otoritas ilmiah tidak berada atau melekat pada sebuah institusi politik. Jika institusi tersebut menyikapi sebuah laporan ilmiah, maka cenderung laporan tersebut ditarik ke ranah politik. Hal ini tercermin dari penggunaan istilah-istilah yang politis dan abstrak, seperti: kedaulatan negara, menjual bangsa, merugikan rakyat.

Saya kira, keputusan untuk tidak memperpanjang izin direktur ICG, serta mengelompokkan 20 NGO sebagai pengkhianat bangsa bukanlah karena laporannya bias atau informasinya tidak akurat. Alasannya, lebih dikarenakan laporan tersebut telah merugikan faksi-faksi politik tertentu di dalam tubuh pemerintahan Presiden Megawati. Jadi, apa yang sedang terjadi adalah penyerangan dari pihak yang memiliki otoritas politik terhadap mereka yang memiliki otoritas intelektual.

\*Penulis adalah peneliti di Imparsial (The Indonesian Human Rights Monitor), Jakarta. Seperti yang dimuat dalam Sinar Harapan, Rabu, 09 Juni 2004  
<http://www.sinarharapan.co.id/berita/0406/09/opi02.html>

## Sidney Jones

Goenawan Mohamad

Saya mengirim sepucuk e-mail kepada beberapa teman Amerika, setengah meledek, setengah mengingatkan: bila nanti George W. Bush dipilih kembali, rakyat Amerika harus menjelaskan kepada dunia kenapa hal itu bisa terjadi.

E-mail itu saya kirimkan pada 22 Mei 2004, setelah dunia membaca dan melihat potret penyiksaan di Penjara Abu Ghuraib oleh tentara Amerika, dan setelah berita kematian sekitar 40 orang (termasuk anak-anak) kena bom tentara pendudukan di sebuah dusun di perbatasan dengan Suriah. Jika sebabnya bisa diperpanjang: setelah AS tak berhasil membuktikan sahnya

*Tindakan terhadap Sidney adalah sebuah tanda, bagaimana Indonesia kembali gelap-justru ketika perkembangan demokrasinya disambut hangat di mana-mana. The Economist, misalnya, ketika menulis tentang proses demokrasi di Asia sebagai "mukjizat yang lain lagi", mengomentari hasil Pemilu 2004 dengan kata-kata: Indonesia is one bright example. Kini apa yang akan tampak dari contoh yang gemilang ini? Jawabnya: gerak kembali ke ketertutupan dan tindakan yang sewenang-wenang*

---Goenawan Mohamad

alasan menggempur Irak. Semua tahu, tapi Washington membisu, bahwa informasi intelijen tentang senjata pemusnah massal Saddam itu hanya isapan jempol atau cerita para penipu.

Bagi banyak orang, kian lama pemerintah Bush kian angkuh dan kian bodoh. Doktrin "pukul-saja-dulu" dalam menghadapi potensi konflik internasional ternyata tak didukung oleh informasi yang akurat. Dengan Project of New American Century yang pernah disusun oleh Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, dan lain-lain yang ingin memonopoli kekuatan di muka bumi-AS kian terasing. Orang Amerika sendiri tahu, belum pernah AS begitu dipandang negatif di mana-mana seperti kini. Maka bagaimana bila nanti rakyat memilih Bush kembali?

Menjawab e-mail saya, pada 23 Mei 2004 Sidney Jones menulis pendek: "Hi, Mas Goen-If Bush gets re-elected, I become an Indonesian citizen!"

Saya kira Sidney Jones setengah bergurau. Tapi kalimat pendek itu menggambarkan pandangan hidupnya. Pertama, tali kesetiannya yang pokok bukanlah kepada Amerika Serikat, apalagi pemerintah Bush. Baginya ada yang lebih penting: penghormatan atas manusia, apa pun bangsa, agama, dan jenisnya.

Ia melihat bahwa AS kini bukan lagi pembawa semangat seperti itu. Penahanan sejumlah besar orang di Guantanamo yang tak melalui proses hukum yang patut, berkurangnya kebebasan berekspresi dan civil liberties lainnya di dalam negeri Amerika atas nama "keamanan", perlakuan yang kadang sewenang-wenang kepada minoritas muslim, dan akhirnya apa yang terjadi di Penjara Abu Ghuraib, menunjukkan bagaimana merosotnya AS dalam soal hak asasi. Bagaimana Sidney Jones, yang hampir seumur hidupnya bekerja untuk hak-hak itu, akan cocok dengan orang Amerika lain, bila mereka nanti memilih Bush kembali?

Saya ingat, saya ketemu Sidney di New York pada tahun 2002, setahun setelah "11 September" dan "perang melawan terorisme" yang dilancarkan Bush mulai naik sunuhnya. Saya berkunjung ke kantornya, di Human Rights Watch di Fifth Avenue Nomor 350, di tingkat ke-34.

Saya sering ke sana jika saya sedang berada di New York. Sidney saya kenal sewaktu dia di Indonesia, tak lama setelah dia riset dan hidup di sebuah pesantren di Jawa Timur, dan kemudian ketika pada 1977-1984 ia bekerja di Ford Foundation di Jakarta (saya ingat fotonya ketika kantornya, waktu itu di Kebun Sirih, kena banjir). Selama ia aktif di Amnesty International terkadang kami bertemu dan berbantah dalam



Lailah haillAllah  
Kalimah thaibah payong pagee  
Sou nyang afai kalimah nyan  
Seulamat iman di dalam hatee

Lailah haillAllah  
Kalimat thaibah payung kiamat  
Siapa yang hafal kalimat ini  
Selamat iman di dalam hatinya



seminar, dan kami terus berteman. Dia juga yang mendorong saya agar memperhatikan nasib pekerja Indonesia yang diperlakukan sewenang-wenang di Malaysia. Saya ingat, pada 1996, ia mengetuk pintu hotel saya yang sempit di Riverside, New York, untuk memperkenalkan saya dengan seorang advokat Malaysia yang membantu buruh Indonesia.

Pada pertengahan 2002 saya sudah mendengar desas-desus bahwa ia akan berhenti dari Human Rights Watch. Seorang teman kami bersama mengatakan bahwa Sidney letih setelah sejak 1989 bekerja dalam organisasi itu, ditambah dengan beberapa tahun lamanya aktif dalam Amnesty International saya mengerti kenapa ia capek. Ia orang yang intens, dan masalah hak asasi manusia, terutama di Indonesia, baginya bukanlah hanya persoalan abstrak. Jika ia prihatin akan satu atau sejumlah orang yang kena aniaya, ia akan menolong sampai mengorbankan bagian dunia pribadinya; di apartemennya di New York, kadang-kadang orang Indonesia yang sedang terdesak diberi tempat menginap.

Itulah agaknya alasan kedua, kenapa ia bergurau hendak "jadi warga negara Indonesia": tak jauh berbeda dari kita, ia "terjerat" oleh ikatan batin dengan negeri ini, betapapun pelik dan pedihnya.

Saya tak bertanya lebih jauh kenapa ia berhenti dari Human Rights Watch. Sambil berjalan dari kantornya ke sebuah restoran di sudut Jalan ke-34, ia setengah tertawa mengatakan sesuatu yang mungkin menjelaskan kegundahannya: "Lama-lama saya hanya akan mengerjakan 'Hypocrisy Watch'."

Waktu itu pemerintah George W. Bush berumur satu tahun lebih. Tapi, setelah Menara Kembar runtuh oleh hantaman dua pesawat teroris pada pagi 11 September 2001, sudah mulai terasa bagaimana slogan dan nyanyian patriotik Amerika bisa memabukkan. AS mulai tampak terkena sindrom "keamanan-nasional-adalah segala-galanya". Media massa mulai diimbau menyensor diri sendiri; tokoh TV Dan Rather bahkan mengatakan, kurang-lebih, "saya siap berdiri di belakang Bapak Presiden". Dan para pejabat pun sudah mulai bicara tentang perlunya peradilan luar biasa, semacam "mahmilub" di Indonesia dulu, terhadap mereka yang dianggap "teroris". Di sebuah ceramah di Asia Society di New York saya pernah mengatakan, "Amerika sudah mulai terasa seperti Orde Baru".

Kami berpisah hari itu. Seperti biasa, tak ada korespondensi. Kemudian saya mendengar kabar baik: Sidney akan kembali ke Indonesia, bekerja sebagai wakil International Crisis Group (ICG).

Benar, ia datang. Beberapa minggu setelah dia di Jakarta kami berjumpa, dan saya tanyakan apakah dia sudah mulai betah. Dia menjawab, dalam bahasa Indonesia: "Seperti di surga". Dia tak bergurau.

Kini dia harus dipisahkan dari Indonesia, oleh sebuah kekuasaan yang menuduh tapi sembunyi tangan. Izin kerja dan visanya tak diperpanjang, setelah Kepala Badan Intelijen Negara memberikan informasi yang ganjil kepada DPR dan aparat pemerintah.

Saya sedih, bukan hanya karena Sidney pergi. Dengan mudah diketahui bahwa yang rugi adalah Indonesia sendiri. ICG bukanlah sebuah lembaga yang sepele. Organisasi bukan-pemerintah yang bersifat multinasional ini berkantor di lima benua, dengan anggota dewan yang terdiri dari empat mantan presiden (antara lain Fidel Ramos dari Filipina), empat mantan perdana menteri, antara lain dari Belanda, India, dan Tanzania, delapan mantan menteri luar negeri (antara lain Gareth Evans dari Australia yang menjadi presiden direktornya), seorang pemenang Hadiah Nobel, sejumlah duta besar dan pejabat tinggi dan anggota parlemen, baik dari AS, Kuwait, maupun Turki. Didirikan untuk memantau terjadinya konflik dan kekerasan di sebuah wilayah-dengan membuat penelitian lapangan dan menulis laporan untuk para pembuat keputusan di dunia, untuk mencegah meluasnya krisis itu-hasil kerja ICG disarkan terbuka.

Tindakan terhadap Sidney adalah sebuah tanda,

bagaimana Indonesia kembali gelap-justu ketika perkembangan demokrasi disambut hangat di mana-mana. The Economist, misalnya, ketika menulis tentang proses demokrasi di Asia sebagai "mukjizat yang lain lagi", mengomentari hasil Pemilu 2004 dengan kata-kata: Indonesia is one bright example. Kini apa yang akan tampak dari contoh yang gemilang ini? Jawabnya: gerak kembali ke ketertutupan dan tindakan yang sewenang-wenang.

Indonesia juga terpukul di persoalan informasi. Di mana ada satu informasi yang dikekang, di sana ada 100 informasi lain yang tak lagi dipercayai. Indonesia kini perlu dunia mempercayai informasi yang disiarkannya ke luar. Tapi tindakan terhadap Sidney Jones adalah ibarat menembak jari tangan sendiri. Kita tak bisa lagi menunjuk, dengan meyakinkan mana yang benar dan mana yang keliru.

Apa boleh buat. Rupanya ada selalu orang-orang yang berkata, "untuk sang Merah Putih", tapi yang mereka lakukan adalah mencoreng muka kita bersama.

Den Haag, 1 Juni 2004

(Seperti yang dimuat dalam Kolom Tempo - 07 - 13 Juni 2004)



### 'AneukDot'

#### Di Akhirat

Konon, di akhirat kelak, para tentara dikumpulkan di kawasan tersendiri, dipisahkan dari profesi lain. Mereka harus mempertanggungjawabkan setiap butir peluru yang ditembakkannya ketika bertugas. Terutama menyangkut nyawa warga sipil, aktifis kemanusiaan atau organisasi non bersenjata lainnya.

Semakin sedikit dosa mereka, semakin bagus fasilitas mobil yang mereka kendarai untuk melintasi neraka menuju surga.

Setelah 6 bulan bertugas di Aceh dan tewas, Kopral Jono mendapat BMW. Menurut catatan malaikat, Kopral Jono tidak pernah menembak warga sipil. Kepada gerilyawan yang tak bersenjata pun, Kopral Jono tak pernah main tembak dan menyerahkannya kepada pengadilan untuk diadili.

Lain lagi dengan Sersan Herman. Setelah 4 bulan di Aceh, di akhirat, ia hanya mendapat sepeda motor. Sersan Herman memang suka menembak gerilyawan, entah dia sudah menyerah, atau yang tidak bersenjata. Pokoknya diyakini sebagai anggota gerilyawan, dar der dor.... Komnas HAM menyebutnya *extrajudicial killing* (membunuh di luar pengadilan).

Sepeda motor Sersan Herman itu pun berkali-kali bannya meletus karena tak tahan dengan panas api neraka. Tetapi, Sersan Herman justru tersenyum-senyum.

Ketika ditanya malaikat mengapa tersenyum-tersenyum, dia pun menjawab:

"Tadi saya ketemu Jenderal Bambang, dia naik sepeda gunung, hehehe...." (Acehkita.com)

#### Negara Besar

Seorang wartawan bertanya kepada kepada seorang petinggi GAM. "Bapak telah melanggar Undang-undang tentang tidak bolehnya ada negara dalam negara ini di dalam republik ini. Apalagi negara kecil."

"Sayang, saya tidak diundang ketika Undang-undang itu dibuat," jawab panglima GAM itu berkelit.

"Kalau semisalnya diundang, apa pernyataan Bapak?" tanya wartawan itu tak menyerah.

"Saya akan katakan, GAM punya cita-cita mendirikan negara besar, bukan negara kecil. Kalau begitu, bukan negara dalam negara. Tetapi kita jadi negara tetangga," jawab panglima GAM. (Acehkita)

## Untuk Sidney Jones

## Puisi

*Auf Wiedersehen Sidney!*

*Orang-orang kampung kehilangan lagi  
Orang yang peduli  
dan bicaranya mewakili*

*Sayonara Sidney!*

*Tanpamu luka mereka akan semakin menganga  
Terbiar bungkam  
Tak sampai ke telinga dunia*

*Adios Sidney!*

*Kepergianmu diantar ribuan pasang mata  
Pada binarnya ada harap  
Semoga langkah-langkah cepatmu tak henti  
Suarakan duka mereka*

*Good-bye Sidney!*

*Kepergianmu semoga tak padamkan asa  
mereka  
Yang tak berdaya  
Terjepit  
Dan dipaksa berada diantara...*

*Cepat kembali Sidney!*

(DR., Ithaca, Medio June 2004)

### We don't blame on unity

*Different but one is unity  
Based on unity we lived in harmony  
We are brothers and sisters as if in family  
Share things together cause we are unity*

*Once we were strong, giving hand helping you  
Did not think ourselves, just caring for you  
Once we were rich, we're always there supporting you  
Proud of unity, happy together with you*

*Our life was so simple and slow  
Time went on we stayed poor and low  
Our strength decayed and wealth as well so  
The heavy unity was there for us to go*

*We hoped the unity look at us a little bit  
(but it did not...)  
It is a hard life, share with us just part of it  
(but it did not...)  
Now we are weak, hold us and do not cheat  
(but it did...)  
Come here see us but not to exploit (but it did...)*

*With the unity our land is also yours  
When our life is simple you are glad that it is a resource  
We struggle for peace life, we work here, the land is ours  
You are welcome to enjoy it though we have never enjoyed yours*

*Suddenly unity stands there above everything  
You are free to come, to take and do many things  
Either poisoning, burning, beating or killings  
Just last few weeks when he said: for the sake of unity you can do anything!*

*We do not blame on unity but we do not want it anymore  
It is our house, it is our land, but you come and kill us more and more  
It is time for struggle, that is our only task, nothing more  
We are tired of hypocrit people, no..., no more..!*

*Enschede, Oktober 27, 2000  
S. Arif*

**'If a man empty his purse into his head, no man can take it away from him. An investment in knowledge always pays the best dividends.'**

**Benjamin Franklin, an American statesman and inventor**

TAPOL Press release

## INDONESIA'S CIVIL SOCIETY UNDER THREAT

29 May 2004 - In a move reminiscent of the repressive practices of the Suharto era, senior Indonesian political and military figures have declared that measures will be taken against NGOs, both Indonesian and international, which are deemed to be a threat to the country's national interests.

One of the country's leading human rights organisations, the West Papua based ELSHAM, has been named as being on a government 'watchlist' of twenty NGOs for issuing statements detrimental to national interests. The highly-regarded International Crisis Group (ICG) has been told that its staff will no longer be allowed to remain in the country. A similar threat was issued recently by BahrumSyah, the chief of police in Aceh, against NGOs active in the province, alleging that they are functioning as a 'front' for the pro-independence movement, GAM.

The authorities appear to regard such activities as being unwarranted interference in Indonesian internal affairs. They also claim that they are acting in the interests of the so-called war on terrorism.

TAPOL is gravely concerned at this attack on peace-loving groups which are dedicated to making legitimate assessments of social, political and economic developments in the country.

'This is a serious setback for democracy and freedom of expression in Indonesia', said Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL.

The attack has been spearheaded by General (retired) Hendropriyono, chief of BIN, the State Intelligence Agency, and a ranking member of the government of Megawati Sukarnoputri. His words have been echoed by Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda.

TAPOL sees this as yet another sign of the military's increasingly influential role, undermining the principle of civil supremacy. It wishes to alert the international community in general and NGOs devoted to promoting human rights and peace around the world in particular, to the danger now threatening Indonesian civil society. It regards such actions by Jakarta as being the death knell of the reform era which took root at the time of the downfall of the Suharto regime in May 1998.

Human rights organisations around the world are urged to call on their governments to exert pressure on the Indonesian authorities to halt this assault on Indonesia's thriving civil society.

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### Excerpts from Amnesty International Annual Report 2004 entry on Indonesia

INDONESIA REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA  
Head of state & government: Megawati Sukarnoputri  
Death penalty: retentionist  
UN Women's Convention: ratified with reservations  
Optional Protocol to UN Women's Convention: signed

The human rights situation deteriorated in some areas as the government resorted to increasingly repressive methods against independence movements. Increases in the number of cases of extrajudicial executions, "disappearances", arbitrary detention, torture, sexual violence, forced displacement and destruction of property were reported following the declaration of a military emergency to combat the armed independence movement in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) in May. Military operations against both armed and peaceful independence activists in Papua also

resulted in human rights violations, including arbitrary detention and torture. Elsewhere, the police employed excessive force against protesters. At least 30 prisoners of conscience were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Trials of prisoners of conscience and political prisoners did not meet international standards for fair trial and there were reports that some detainees were tortured. Efforts to hold perpetrators to account for human rights violations suffered a major setback as the trials of individuals charged with committing crimes against humanity in the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (formerly known as East Timor) ended without having delivered either truth or justice.

#### Background

Indonesia enjoyed a year of relative political and economic stability, but a lack of political will and pervasive corruption inhibited progress in key areas, including reform of the law and the judiciary. The decision to resort to military operations in NAD was regarded as a reflection of the growing confidence of the military and its renewed influence on government policy.

#### Security legislation

Legislation on Combating Criminal Acts of Terrorism was adopted. AI was concerned that the act of "terrorism" was not adequately defined and that the rights of suspects were not fully guaranteed under the law.

Over 100 people were arrested under the legislation. The majority were alleged members of Jemaah Islamiyah (Islamic Community), an organization which has pledged to use violent means to set up a pan-Islamic state in Southeast Asia and has allegedly been responsible for a number of bomb attacks in Indonesia, including at the Marriot Hotel in Jakarta in August 2003. Those arrested included three men who were sentenced to death for involvement in the bombings in Bali in October 2002 in which over 200 people died.

Others arrested included five senior members of the armed group, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). The five represented GAM in peace negotiations with the government and were arrested in May on their way to talks with the government. All were found guilty of rebellion and acts of "terrorism" and sentenced to between 12 and 15 years imprisonment. One complained of receiving death threats and suffering ill-treatment in police custody. AI was concerned that their trials may not have been fair.

Other concerns about lack of protection for suspects under this legislation were raised after reports emerged that a number of Islamist activists held under the security legislation had been tortured or ill-treated and that their families were not initially informed of their whereabouts.

#### Repression of pro-independence movements

A marked deterioration in the human rights situation in NAD followed the imposition of a military state of emergency on 19 May after the collapse of a peace process between the government and GAM. Tight restrictions on access to NAD by international human rights monitors, humanitarian workers and international journalists, as well as intimidation and harassment of local human rights activists and journalists, effectively prevented independent monitoring of the situation. According to official sources, over 1,100 people had been killed by the end of the year, including some 470 civilians. Local human rights organizations claimed that many more civilians were among the dead. Members of the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) publicly stated that both government security forces and GAM were responsible for human rights abuses and that they had documented cases of extrajudicial execution including of children arbitrary detention, torture, sexual violence and "disappearances".

Tens of thousands of people were displaced by the military operations, some by force. There were serious concerns for the security and well-being of

internally displaced persons, including those in government established camps where there were unconfirmed reports of sexual violence by the security forces.

The government claimed that 2,000 members of GAM had surrendered or been captured by the end of the year and several hundred brought to trial. Detainees were denied access to lawyers. There was concern that they were at risk of torture or ill-treatment, apparently routine in military and police custody.

GAM was responsible for human rights abuses, including kidnapping. Over 150 people were alleged to have been abducted by GAM after May, including local government officials and journalists.

Peaceful expressions of support for independence in Papua were prohibited. Several trials of individuals involved in flag-raising ceremonies or other symbolic actions took place. Three people were sentenced to imprisonment for up to two years for participating in a peaceful pro-independence ceremony in Abepura in December 2002. Nine others who participated in a similar ceremony in Manokwari in late 2002 were also sentenced to terms of imprisonment of up to 15 months. Other ceremonies in late 2003 resulted in the arrest of over 40 people, seven of whom were subsequently charged with rebellion.

#### Prisoners of conscience and unfair trials

Thirty prisoners of conscience were sentenced to terms of imprisonment during the year. Nineteen people were charged under provisions in the Criminal Code that forbid insulting the President or government. The provisions contravene the right to freedom of expression.

Prisoners of conscience included labour and political activists and peaceful supporters of independence in NAD and Papua. Journalists were also put on trial. AI was concerned that trials of journalists represented a serious threat to press freedom in Indonesia.

Prisoners of conscience and political prisoners were convicted after unfair trials. Irregularities included incommunicado detention and denial or restriction of access to lawyers and family members. Cases of torture or ill-treatment of suspects were also reported.

Six members of the Governing Front of the Poor were arrested after participating in a demonstration in Kendari town, South Sulawesi, in January during which portraits of the President and Vice-President were burned. The six were reported to have been beaten, punched and slapped and had objects thrown at them while in police custody in Kendari. Access to legal representation was restricted. All were found guilty of insulting the President. They were sentenced to four months and 15 days' imprisonment, the time already spent in pre-trial detention. It appeared that there was no investigation into the allegations of torture and ill-treatment, although one police officer allegedly involved in the beatings was reportedly transferred to another police station.

#### Human rights defenders at risk

Human rights defenders continued to be at risk, particularly in NAD where human rights organizations were among those publicly accused by the security forces of links to GAM. Two members of human rights organizations in NAD were believed to have been extrajudicially executed and three others "disappeared" during the year. At least 11 human rights activists were briefly detained under the military emergency. A workshop on human rights monitoring organized by Komnas HAM in NAD was broken up by the security forces in October. There was no progress on resolving the cases of 18 other human rights defenders believed to have been extrajudicially executed or who had "disappeared" in NAD since 2000.

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