

Monthly Review

Acehnese hopes dashed

Reprinted from The Jakarta Post,
Editorial, 20 November 2004

The Acehnesse will have to endure yet another six months of suffering after the new government this week extended the state of civil emergency until May 2005. It's appalling to see a golden opportunity slip through the fingers of former general Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and prove to the nation that he is true to his word.

People are asking, why did Susilo make a decision that effectively froze investigations into corruption cases in Aceh province, and cut into efforts to organize direct elections for local government? Isn't this counter to his own image as a reformer? A lifting of the state of civil emergency would have boosted the government's credibility rather than reduced it, and would give some badly needed fresh air to our crisis-ridden archipelago.

It now looks as if Susilo's administration does not differ much from its predecessor, and Susilo seems to have forgotten the campaign promise he made a couple of months ago when he said he would bring change to Aceh once he became president.

So it was no wonder that on Thursday, the day the extension was made public, the Acehnesse demanded that the government pursue dialog with the separatist group to find a peaceful settlement. The Aceh Legislative Council also denied the President's claim that the extension decision was made after a hearing with Aceh councillors.

"If the interests of the Acehnesse people was one of the reasons behind the decision, what mistakes did we commit that we have to live under a state of emergency?" Aceh councillor Nasir Djamil asked.

One small consolation for the Acehnesse was Susilo's new promise to implement a monthly evaluation of Aceh's emergency status. If, in the eyes of the government, the situation improves then the status might be changed to one of civil order. Another promise made by the President was for an amnesty for surrendering rebel leaders and members, a pledge also made last year by the previous government, with little effect. Susilo said he would pave the way for the province to achieve a full, special autonomy status, but stopped short of giving a time frame. As such, one could be forgiven for failing to find new elements in Susilo's policy on Aceh, because there are no such new elements.

Unfortunately, the decision to extend the state of emergency came right after Ramadhan, when Muslims are traditionally expected to be more forgiving than usual. It would not have been unreasonable for people to hope that during the Ramadhan period the new government would give a respite to the long history of violence in the province, or even reactivate the peace talks that collapsed in 2003. It is indeed a great pity that this has not happened.

The Acehnesse lived under martial law from May 2003 to May 2004, and under a state of civil emergency from May 2003 until the present. But whatever the emergency status, the killings have continued unabated. It is not clear if the government has the intention of completely wiping out the remaining GAM members, now estimated at 2,500 guerrillas, down from 5,000 last year. What is clear is that a military solution will never work in Aceh.

For the 4.2 million Acehnesse, peace is the one thing most coveted. Susilo, in his former capacity as top security minister, was involved in the short-lived truce last year sponsored by the Geneva-based Henri Dunant Center, insisted on Friday that solving the Aceh problem required a spirit of brotherhood, without the interference of foreigners.

During the Soeharto era, a nine-year long military operation was launched that killed more than 10,000 Acehnesse and displaced thousands of others. When Soeharto was toppled in 1998, GAM's strength, which was estimated at 500 at the beginning of the operation in 1989, had increased to 3,000 men and women. This should be evidence enough that a violent approach to solving this problem is doomed to fail.

Subsequent governments have repeatedly broken their promises for peace in the province. When the first direct presidential election was held in September, many Acehnesse saw a glimmer of hope. But this week that hope has dimmed.

The Acehnesse have come to realize that most of the government's line of thinking has remained unchanged, with only the top leader being replaced. The extension of the state of emergency is a sign that their long wait for fair treatment and justice, economic or otherwise, accountability for human rights abuses, and recognition of their rights and dignity as citizens, may have to be extended as well. ■

Govt urged to review Aceh Autonomy Law

Reprinted from The Jakarta Post
Friday, December 3, 2004
Tiarna Siboro, Jakarta

A Working Group for Aceh called for a revision of the special autonomy for the troubled province, arguing that it had failed to address the roots of the problems.

Acehnese sociologist Otto Syamsuddin Ishak said the law, which authorizes the province to implement sharia, merely regulated "Islamic rules — such as the way people are to dress — instead of the implementation of the Islamic Law."

Contrasting it to the weakness of police and others in dealing with rampant corruption involving officials of the Aceh administration, Otto wondered aloud why the police remained silent over such cases, while on the other hand, the "sharia police arrest Acehnesse women who are not wearing Islamic attire appropriately or young couples flirting in public."

The group also called on the government to allow Acehnesse to set up local political parties and form their own government.

"The government should also create political freedom in the



Child soldiers: Some kids holding assault rifles at one location in Aceh before martial law imposed. In SEACUS' Global Report on Child Soldier 2004, it is reported that kids joined the armed struggle voluntarily to take revenge for their families. AcehKita magazine is reporting the involvement of children in Aceh conflict in its December 2004 edition (AcehKita.com). Prolonged conflict has made children more prone to violence. Yet, Indonesia once again failed the Acehnesse by extending emergency status on the region giving its military unlimited power mired in abuses, corruption and impunity (TAB).

province, including the setting up of local parties," Otto said.

"All Acehnesse should be allowed to vote in a local election and allow GAM to substitute their armed struggle with a political one. Let them monitor all the policies made by local administration and let them manage their own local administration. This what we call special autonomy," he added.

The activists' call came days after President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono stressed that the special autonomy was the best way to resolve the Aceh conflict, signaling that there would be no policy changes in dealing with the secessionist movement.

Under the special autonomy arrangements introduced on Jan. 1, 2001, Aceh is supposed to be free to run its own affairs except in the fields of defense, fiscal, foreign and religious affairs.

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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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The Institute also publishes *The Acehnesse Journal*

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Please circulate extensively

Govt urged... from page 1 col. 3.

GAM leadership, however, has rejected the arrangement, saying that they want full independence as they have stated that, "Indonesia's colonization of Aceh" was the main problem.

The working group also asked for additional articles in the autonomy law to regulate a mechanism to resolve human rights abuses in the province to promote justice for the Acehese.

The working group consists of several non-governmental organizations, including Imparsial, the Legal Aid Institute (LBH), Human Rights Watch Group (HRWG) and the Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (Kontras).

Human rights abuses were reportedly rampant during the decades-long military operation that ended in 1998. An inquiry team set up by the National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas HAM) found that at least 5,000 civilians were killed and thousands more tortured and maimed during the 10-year military operation. ■

No easy answer

Reprinted from DTE / Down-To-Earth, International Campaign for Ecological Justice in Indonesia.

Newsletter No. 63, November 30, 2004

Since resource destruction in Aceh is closely bound up both with the conflict and with Indonesia's general approach to natural resource use, it is difficult to imagine a strategy that is capable of reducing deforestation that does not involve conflict resolution in Aceh as well as fundamental change in forest policy in Jakarta.

There is no piecemeal solution to the problems in Aceh. Those interested in preventing forest destruction and loss of biodiversity should also support peaceful initiatives to bring an end to the war in Aceh.

A negotiated peace and military withdrawal from Aceh, would hopefully create better conditions for stopping the destruction of Aceh's forests. It would need to be underpinned by policy change which restores rights over the forests to those communities who have most interest in sustaining them - a move that is urgently needed throughout Indonesia as well as in Aceh. In the immediate term, the Ladia Galaska road project should be halted and alternative ways of developing Aceh's infrastructure properly considered. An Indonesia-wide moratorium on industrial logging, combined with better law enforcement and measures to tackle corruption, would help save the forests in Aceh.

The need for action is extremely urgent - to save lives in the short, medium and long term: to prevent more conflict casualties, to stop more deaths from floods and to maintain the natural resources which will sustain the lives of future generations of Acehese.

(This article is adapted from a longer report, *Logging a conflict zone*, prepared by DTE for the Australia-based NGO, *Eye on Aceh* - see www.acheh-eye.org.)

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Last year, *Kelompok Kerja Transformasi Gender Aceh (KKTGA)* or *Aceh Task Force on Gender Transformation*, held a letter writing contest entitled "Suara Anak untuk Perdamaian Aceh", or **Kids' Voice for Peace in Aceh**. The following is one of the letter submitted, reprinted without any editing in Acehese and its free English translation.

Buatnya Bapak Bapak
yang na di sinoe
di tempat yang that aman



Assalamu alaikum wr wb

Deungon melalui surat yang uloen joek atau uloen kireem keupada jaroe bapak-bapak. Seugohlom loen karang kata kata uloen suseun jeut keu saboh kalimat leubeh geut dilee uloen lake me'ah yang rayeuk rayeuk jieh mungkin kadang ciet na kata kata yang meunyinggong hatee bapak atau peurasan bapak.

Bapak, pakoen keuh jeut meunyo aceh lon sayang. Pakoen jeut kamoe tiep uroe sabee manoe iemata. Tam tum suebeude rata jeut sagoe sang rabtoe nangroenyoe kiamat donya. Tiep uroe takaleun rakyat yang teu tiek tiek akibat ulah manusia. Ya Allah ya rabbi beu nebrri acehnyoe bujuioeh dari malapeutaka. Rakyat that sep sayang leuthat takaleun yang kameulanglang dan leu ciet lom korban ureung yang tan dosa. Leubeh lom sudeh nasib lontuan tiep uroe lon hudeep merana. Ayah lontuan gadoh lam siklep mata, tinggai keu uloen deungon poma. Poma lon jinoo keureuja jak tueng upah, gop you seumeurah ngon semeula. Lon jak sikula deungon bajee beukah, kadang kadang meujajan pih hana. Kadang pajoe bue mejan na mejan hana peulom meunyo ke eungkot, ciet hana. Pih langeenyoe keuh hudeep lon jinoo.

Bapak bapak peujabat yang mantoeng na mata dengon hatee, hana kamoe lakee peng meujata juta. Yang kamoe dambakan hanya keudamaian dan bek lee bapak joek kamoe yang nan jih "perang". Ulon nyoe pak aneuk yatim yang hanalee ayah. Watee ulon kaleun aneuk aneuk yang na na ayah, rasajieh hatee lon meulayang layang hana meuhu. leubeh seudeh lom oeh watee uroe raya. Aneuk miet yang laen disoek bajee meu macam sari seudangkan lontuan meu uroe raya ngon bajee yang ka beukah beukah ngon laen yang bak siluweu ciet ka meutampai tampai ngon ija yang laen. Lagee nyan keuh bajee ulontuan jinoo. Keunek meulake bak soe lon lakee seudangkan ayah lontuan hanalee lam donya. Pakoen keuh naseb lon meuno ya Allah.

Bapak bapak peumimpin yang that lon banggakan. Jinoo neutem pieke keu naseb lon nyoe. Nesayanglah keu kamoe yang hana salah sapeu sapeu. Pakon keu jeut dianiaya that ureung aceh lon sayang. Jinoo yang leethat matee ciet ureung yang hana salah, ngoen ureung biasa.

Bapak, Leubeh lom seudeh aceh nyo watee masa dom. Leethat ureung mengungsi, ureung di poh tuha muda, diperkosa beu si manusia, aneuk miet yang tan dosa nyan pih sama di peusaree. Leethat gadis gadis yang hamil tanpa lakoe. Bapak, neu peuman keuh nangroee aceh nyoe, hana eklee kamoe then sabe sabe lagee nyo naseb kamoe dari yoeh jameun sampoe trok jinoo. Ureung acehnyoe peulom lagee lage lon ciet ka lagee tueloe lam reugam. Yang teurasa ciet teumakoet mantong bueken le takoet keu Allah ka takoet teuma manusia. Rakyat kamoe nyoe lae lagee bola disipak keuno disipak keudeh tamoeng lee lam gawang oeh leunyan nalee yang meuninggai. Meunan keuh ibarat jieh.

Bapak, lon kaleun aneuk gob cukup that seunang sabee lam bahagia. Sedangkan lontuan tuan sabee lam derita. Ulon tuleeh suratnyo peunoh dengan linangan iemata ingat keu naseb. Lon jinoo mantong siswa tetapi kameupikiran. Lon pieke rumah ka tireh, binteh peulepoh bak meuria. Dak na ayah hana meusampe lageenyo. Menyo mak pih ka tuha, teunaga hana kuat lee. oh bapak bapak yang na na pangkat, beu neutem kaleun hudeep lon jinoo karena ulon nyoe hanalee ayah.

Hanya eh nyo keuh ulon tuleeh surat nyo, ulon meudo'a semoga aceh aman ngon damai.

Wassalam
K (Siswa MAN Blangpidie)

Dear Sirs,
Who is here at a very safe place

Peace be upon you all (Islamic greetings)

Through this letter that I give you or I sent to your hands. Before I put together the words and develop them into sentences, I would like to first of all apologize should there be words that are not appropriate that might hurt your heart or feelings.

Sirs, why does my dearest Aceh become like this. Why do we have to tears-bath everyday? Bang..bang.. The noise of guns from all over places, as if this world is falling into pieces. Everyday we see bodies dumped by evil doers. Oh Lord, oh my God, please protect our Aceh from disasters. Poor are the people, many of them we saw wondering around, and many more of the victims are innocents. The even more saddening is my own fate as everyday I live a miserable life. My father was made disappeared in a blink, left behind are my mother and I. My mother is now a petty worker, working to wash other people cloth and farm other people land. I go to school in torn cloth, often with no pocket money (schools in Aceh do not provide food or snack). Sometimes we eat rice sometimes we do not, not mention what to eat the rice with, we do not have any. That is the way I live now.

Sirs of ranked officers who still have heart and eyes, we do not ask for money of millions. What we wish for is peace and please do not give any more "war". I am an orphan without a father. When I saw kids with their fathers, my heart flew away directionless. Even sadder is in 'Eid day (festival day). Other kids wore various new clothes while I was with my old torn cloth and my pants were mended with different patches. That is how I dress this day. Should I want to ask for (clothes), whom should I ask from? My father has perished from this world. Oh Lord, why do I have such a fate?

Sirs of leaders who I am proud of. Please bear in your mind my fate. Please love those of who are innocent. Why we are the Acehese have been humiliated? These days, many who die are the innocent and ordinary people.

Sirs, even more distressing was Aceh during DOM (Military Operation Zone) era. Many people have to take refuge, beaten are old and young ones alike, raped are women by yet human beings, and innocent kids got the same mistreatment. Many girls got pregnant without husbands. Sirs, please make it peace in Aceh, we can not endure more of this miserable life from the long past to this present. The Acehese people, especially the one like me are like a tiny bird in a big hand. That we feel are nothing but fear, not fear for God anymore, but fear for human being. Our people are like a soccer ball, being kicked here and there, and when it passed to a goal, then it means there are dead. That is our tragic analogy.

Sirs, I saw other kids are happy enough and always in happiness. While I am myself is always in misery. I wrote this letter with tears dripping my face remembering such a fate. I am still a student but have already a lot to bear. I have to think about my house leaky roof, and my walls are from sago palm trees. If my father were still around, it is not going to be like this. My mother is already too old, not as strong anymore. Oh Sirs of the ranked officers, please have a look at my life as I have no father anymore.

That is all I can write in this letter, with prayers that Aceh will be safe and peaceful.

Sincerely,
K (Student at MAN, an Islamic higschool, in Blangpidie, North Aceh)

For more information on Aceh visit:
<http://www.acheh-eye.org>
<http://www.acehkita.com/en>
<http://tapol.gn.apc.org>
<http://www.achehtimes.com>

Ka Geu Woë Bak Po

keunarang
Dian R.

Jaroë Bunda meuthot-thot watèe geudeungo musibah nyoë. Ban mantong Bang Lah geugisa dari sinoë, geu peutrôh haba Nyak Wa Ti ka abéh umu. Hana sakét, hana sapeuë...

Ya Allah...ië mata Bunda rhô trèp-trop. Musibah peu lom nyoë...Jeuôh that Bunda teuingat. Pikéran drouë neuh nyan yang dhaif, han ék geukaji peu meukesud Po Allah geubrië musibah nyoë. Saboh musibah rayeuk keu mandum ureuëng Mukém Makmu Beusaré yang na di Banda. Lawét nyoë, Nyak Wa Ti kon mantong sibagoë ureuëng tuha, nipat mandum ureuëng peugah hai maséng-maséng. Mulai dari haba mangat sampo'an lakée meu utang pèng. Han tom teudeungo na yang geu tulak. Gobnyan pih ureuëng tuha gampông yang geupateh lé mandum ureuëng sibago ureuëng tuha yang mat adat ngon reusam mukém.

Lheuh geu peugah bak Buk Husein, Bunda bagah-bagah geujak ék labi-labi meujak u rumoh Badriah, aneuk Nyak Wa Ti. Sakinah mantong di rumoh sikula, Hanif teungeut lam ayôën. Han geubrie mè lé Buk Husein, sabab Bunda meujak bak ureuëng abéh umu.



Rumoh Badriah ka peunöh. Kon ngon ureuëng saboh gampông mantong, le that ureuëng yang hana geuturi lé Bunda na disinan. Nyak Wa Ti dithèe sibagoë "aulia ureuëng", phui that hatèe bak geutulông ureuëng sosah.

Bunda geumeulangkah u dalam rumoh. Po Mah ka teuduëk bak seuramoë teungoh. Sigoe-goe geusampoh ië mata ngon ija sawak.

"Piyôh, Kher. Nyak Wa teungoh geu peumanoë," kheun gobnyan ngon su lam reukuëng.

"Bunoë Bang Lah jak bak lôn..." Bunda geuduëk siblah Po Mah.

"Si Badriah di talipon lôn, Nyak Wa hana sakét sapeuë. Gobnyan geu seumayang suboh lagèe biasa, man geu peugah, bak geutukui lam seumayang teurasa mumang. Geu duëk teuk bak kursi. Na siat ka hana lé. Buno yôh goh geu peu mano, na lôn cingeuk siat. Lagèe hana hai sapeu, lagèe ureuëng teungeut biasa..." narit Po Mah bak Bunda.

Na siat awaknyan peugah haba, mayèt ka keumah. Ka lheuh geu peumano dan geu peu kafan. Ka jeut geu mè bak kubu.

"Assalamu'alaiikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh..." Bang Baka geu mulai peutrôh haba keuneulheuh geu wakilah keluarga Nyak Wa.

"Wa'alaikumsalam Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh" seu'ôt mandum ureuëng ramè.

"Innalillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'un. Dari Allah asai geutanyoë, keudéh bak Po geutanyoë

ta gisa. Ka geu woë bak Po nibak uronyoë, Siti Atikah bin Muhammad Ismail, yang sabé geutanyoë heui Nyak Wa Ti. Lôn wakilah keluarga, lôn lakèe bak mandum ureuëng yang berhadir disinoë, neu peumeu'ah mandum salah, khilaf dan desya-desya Nyak Wa Ti. Bek na lé meusangkôt ngon geutanyoë di dônya nyoë. Pakiban, ka neu peumeu'ah...?"

"Ka..." Seu'ôt ureuëng ramè.

"Alhamdulillah... Lôn tuan keudroë leupah that seudéh ateh musibah nyoë, lôn tuan yakén, meunan chiet ngon mandum syedara yang na disinoë. Peue keuh lom waréh Nyak Wa Ti, teuntèe leubèh lom. Ta meudu'a bak Allah Ta'ala, beu geubrie keu geutanyoë mandum saba ngon ikhlas ateh musibah nyoë. Meunyoë na hai ngon utang-utang almarhumah yang peureulèe geu peuselesoë lé ahli waréh, neujak bak Badriah atawa Ayah Wa, bah jeut peu seulesoë ngon jroh pakiban yang patot....."

Lheuh nyan, meuiréng-iréng ureuëng jak intat Nyak Wa Ti keudéh bak seumiyôh gobnyan yang keunelheuh. Jaroë-jaroë teubeu'oet, du'a pih teudeungo, geu peu amien lé mandum ureuëng. Seumoga geumè lé malaikat keudéh u Arsy Allah, bak Geuteurimong mandum du'a... bak Geubrie Nyak Wa Ti teupat seunia, teupat yang paléng mulia sajan Allah,

Geu peu ampon mandum desya, geu teurimong mandum amalan shaleh gobnyan, Amien.

Tujôh malam meuturôt-turôt, na samadiyah di rumoh Badriah. Bak malam keunelheuh, mandum ureuëng Mukém, geu duëk rapat, geu meucok pakat. Lawet nyoë mandum adat ngon reusam geu peubut lé Nyak Wa Ti. Mandum urusan le that yang geu pulang lé ureuëng ramè bak gobnyan. Hana yang teupiké pakiban mè saboh watèe gobnyan hana lé, bak so mandum buët nyoë geu pulang.

Na yang lakèe Po Mah, sabab gobnyan le meuphom pasai reusam ngon adat. Tapi na yang hana pakat, sabab gobnyan sibôk that. Na yang lakèe Cut Po Khalidah. Leubeh le lom yang hana pah, sabab gobnyan ureuëng jih kreuëh that, hana geukira ureuëng teupèh hatèe meunyoë bak geu peusampoë saboh-saboh hai. Bah pih beutôi, meunyoë cara jih hana meukeunong bak ureuëng ramè, teuntèe payah chiet bak ta jak buët. Lheuh mandum geutimang keuno-keudéh, akhé jih mandum seupakat geulakèe Nyak Wa Salimah keu gantoë arwah Nyak Wa Ti.

"Lôn sibena jih brat that bak teurimong amanah nyoë, keu ganto Cut Akak..." kheun Nyak Wa Salimah. "Meusabab ureuëng ramè ka geulakèe ngon geu harap, lôn teurimong chiet amanah nyoë deungon Bismillah. Bak Po lon lakèe hidayah, bak gata mandum lôn tuan lakèe tulông lam lôn peujak amanah nyoë. Teuntèe bak lôn peutimang reusam ngon adat geutanyoë, ulôn hana sama

ngon arwah Cut Akak. Jeu'ôh that paneuk ilmèe lôn meunyoë ta banding ngon gobnyan. Neu tulông peu ingat meunyoë na salah bak lôn peujak amanah nyoë...."

Alhamdulillah, akhé jih na yang gantoë Nyak Wa Ti. Teuntèe hana mungkn ta mita yang sama, sabab manusia lam donya nyoë nakeuh meubagoë-bagoë. Bang Baka geupeutrôh teurimong geunaseh yang rayeuk that keu mandum ureuëng, sabab ka ikhlas geu tém cok saboh pakat, bah that na chiet yang hana meukeunong, tapi teutap geu pakoë hasé pakat ureuëng ramè sibago saboh pakat geutanyoë mandum.

Sira geuwoë u rumoh, bak jalan pikéran Bunda teuingat teuma narit Nyak Wa Ti jameun.... "Udep nyoë sigo sagai, leupah singkat keu ta peusia-sia... Bèk brat jaro ngon aki, ta peubuët peu mantong yang geutanyoë jeut keu ureuëng ramè. Ta peumudah urusan gob ngon geutanyoë, Insy Allah, Geu peu lapang udep geutanyoë lé Po teuh.... Bèk ta peu sosah buët yang mudah. Ta tulông ureuëng yang meukarat. Mandum urusan meunyoë ta lingka jeut keu panyang, meunyoë ta reuntang jeut keu paneuk...."

Ya Allah, neubrie bak luwah kubu keu gobnyan. Neu balah mandum amai gobnyan lawet udep lam dônya... Neubri kamoe bak saba, le that buët yang hana meusalén dari gobnyan. Seumoga musibah nyoë jeut keu i'tibar. Le that buët yang han jeut ta peu prèh singoh, sabab hana meusidroë yang teupeuë peuë teukeudie Allah brie singoh uroë.

Buët baroë tinggai calitra, buët uro nyoë ata geutanyoë... Ta useuha peubuët mandum hai uro nyoë bak jroh ngon senia, jeut keuh baroësa get ta deungo calitra. Sabab singoh kon ata geutanyoë, singoh uro Allah yang Po.

Droë keu droë teuh hai...

Keunira peng bulletin Juli-Desember 2004

Saldo per Juni 2004 **-\$ 18.64**

Peng tamong:

Juli	\$100.00
Agustus	\$ 70.00
September	\$ 25.00
Oktober	\$ 30.00
Nopember	\$ 00.00
Desember: (dengan rincian)	\$ 50.00
MZ, Astoria, NY	\$20
MA, Sayre, PA	\$20
AJ, Philadelphia, PA	\$10

Total peng tamong \$275.00

Peng teubiet:

Amplop (6 kotak x 0.99)	\$ 5.94
Volume 2 No. 3 (35 eks.)	\$ 33.95
Volume 2 No. 4 (35 eks.)	\$ 33.95
Volume 3 No. 1 (35 eks.)	\$ 33.95
Volume 3 No. 2 (35 eks.)	\$ 33.95
Volume 3 No. 3 (50 eks.)	\$ 48.50
Volume 2 No. 4 (50 eks.)	\$ 48.50

Total peng teubiet: \$238.74

Saldo per Desember 2004

\$275 - \$238.74 + (-\$18.64) = **\$17.62**
(Tujoh blaih dollar nam ploh dua sen) (TAB)

2005: A Year of Hope

At the beginning of every new year
No matter how gloomy was the past
There is always new hope
A hope to fight for...

Wish you all a happy New Year 2005! (TAB)

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



Tawaran Penyelesaian Aceh Secara Damai

Opini
Kautsar, Banda Aceh
Ketua Umum LNDR
(Liga Nasional Demokrasi
Rakyat Aceh)

Pengumuman perpanjangan darurat sipil yang dilakukan Presiden Indonesia yang baru, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono pada 18 November 2004 merupakan bukti bahwa Pemerintah Indonesia sama sekali tidak memiliki niat baik untuk menyelesaikan masalah di Aceh secara damai. Walaupun Susilo menambahkan bahwa upaya mencari metode baru penyelesaian damai akan terus dilakukan oleh pemerintahannya, namun hal ini sudah bisa dipastikan akan menjadi utopia saja, sebagaimana janjinya dalam kampanye presiden bahwa akan menyelesaikan kasus Aceh dengan damai.

Dalam keadaan yang utopis ini, saya mencoba memberikan beberapa pandangan sehubungan dengan bentuk dialog dengan masyarakat Aceh untuk penyelesaian damai di Aceh. Pandangan ini merupakan tanggapan atas pemikiran dan usulan yang mengharapkan perundingan ke depan tidak lagi hanya melibatkan pihak GAM dan pemerintah saja, tetapi juga melibatkan masyarakat sipil sebagai pihak yang paling banyak menjadi korban dalam perseteruan senjata di Aceh sejak tahun 1977.

Wacana pelibatan sipil muncul pertama sekali pada penghujung tahun 1998 lewat tawaran referendum yang memasukkan opsi merdeka. Model ini lahir sebagai refleksi sikap komponen sipil atas kemunculan GAM dan penghormatan atas sikap politik sebagian rakyat Aceh yang menginginkan kemerdekaan dari Indonesia. Sikap ini juga sebagai tawaran supaya perbedaan pandangan politik di Aceh tidak diselesaikan dengan cara kekerasan yang tidak akan menguntungkan pihak manapun juga.

Selain itu, referendum adalah bentuk penyelesaian dimana tidak menyerahkan keputusan tentang penyelesaian Aceh kepada pihak manapun, baik pemerintah RI, GAM maupun elit sipil yang tidak jelas keterwakilannya.

Pada tahun 1999 tuntutan referendum mendapat dukungan positif dari seluruh rakyat Aceh termasuk di dalamnya elit-elit politik dan pemerintahan Indonesia. Gus Dur sendiri sebagai Presiden Indonesia dalam pernyataan di istana kerajaan Kamboja pada 8 November 1999, ikut mendukung metode penyelesaian bentuk referendum (*Kompas* 9/11/1999). Metode ini kemudian menjadi simpang siur karena Pemerintah Indonesia kemudian mengklaim tuntutan referendum sebagai tindakan makar.

Keinginan masyarakat sipil untuk terlibat dalam dialog penyelesaian kasus Aceh kembali tercuat setelah sekelompok elit merencanakan menggelar Musyawarah Rakyat Aceh (MRA) yang sedianya akan dilaksanakan pada bulan April 1999 di Banda Aceh. Namun rencana ini gagal setelah ditolak oleh GAM dan berbagai pihak dari komponen sipil lainnya. Alasan penolakan ini adalah kecurigaan bahwa musyawarah tersebut sebagai upaya mengganggahi model penyelesaian referendum sebagaimana yang telah di sepakati oleh mayoritas rakyat Aceh dan juga dinilai sebagai upaya mengembalikan keterlibatan elit politik Orde Baru di Aceh yang telah kehilangan peran sosialnya setelah dicabut DOM.

Hal sama dalam bentuk KRA (Kongres Rakyat Aceh) yang rencananya akan digelar pada Maret tahun 2000 juga mengalami nasib yang sama seperti MRA karena konsep di antara keduanya yang tidak jauh berbeda.

Kalangan perempuan sebagai bagian dari komponen masyarakat sipil juga merasa "khawatir" jika proses penyelesaian kasus Aceh tidak diberikan "jatah kursi" pengambilan kebijakan yang seimbang dengan pihak laki-laki dalam memutuskan masa depan Aceh. Komponen ini

kemudian menggelar acara yang sama seperti MRA dan KRA yang diberi nama DPIA (Duet Pakat Inong Aceh) yang dalam bahasa Indonesia bermakna musyawarah perempuan Aceh.

Berbeda dengan dua musyawarah sebelumnya, DPIA—walaupun surat dengan kontroversi—namun acara tersebut sukses dilaksanakan pada Maret 2000. Sayangnya pertemuan ini tidak membawa perubahan yang signifikan untuk perdamaian di Aceh.

Ide pelibatan sipil kemudian terus menjadi wacana diskusi dalam proses penyelesaian kasus Aceh. Sebagian komponen sipil juga mengkritisi perundingan Jeda Kemanusiaan I antara pihak GAM dan RI pada Juni 2000 yang dinilai tidak memberikan porsi strategis bagi masyarakat sipil dalam perundingan tersebut. Komponen ini menilai perundingan tersebut hanya melibatkan dua unsur petikai saja dengan tidak melibatkan mereka.

Wacana ini secara terus menerus menjadi pertanyaan dalam setiap kesempatan perundingan antara pihak GAM dan RI pada masa-masa selanjutnya. Kini, di tengah gencarnya tuntutan penyelesaian kasus Aceh secara damai, isu keterlibatan sipil juga kembali menjadi bahan pemikiran dan diskusi oleh berbagai pihak yang berkepentingan.

Hal inilah kemudian membuat NGO-NGO (Non Government Organisation/Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat) non-Aceh yang tergabung dalam AWG (Aceh Working Group) membuat usulan agar perundingan ke depan melibatkan masyarakat sipil sebagai aktor utama dan bukan lagi pihak GAM sebagaimana perundingan-perundingan yang terdahulu. Semoga semua wacana tersebut bertujuan untuk perdamaian yang memberikan kemaslahatan bagi mayoritas rakyat Aceh.

Sebenarnya, istilah *pelibatan* tidak cocok dipakai di sini. Istilah yang lebih tepat dipakai adalah *keterwakilan* sipil dalam perundingan. Sebab, beberapa kali perundingan GAM dan RI yang difasilitasi oleh Hendry Dunant Centre juga ikut melibatkan pihak sipil baik dalam proses pengambilan kebijakan maupun dalam proses pelaksanaan isi perjanjian tersebut. Hal ini terus berlangsung sampai pada perundingan terakhir di Tokyo di mana keterlibatan masyarakat sipil dalam perundingan ini berdasarkan rekomendasi yang ditunjuk oleh pihak GAM dan RI.

Perundingan-perundingan terdahulu memposisikan GAM dan pemerintah RI sebagai aktor utama perundingan. Penandatanganan kesepakatan pun hanya dilakukan antara GAM dengan pemerintah saja dan tanpa ada tandatangan dari pihak sipil yang menghadiri pertemuan tersebut. Artinya, sipil yang hadir dalam perundingan bisa dikatakan "semi partisan" kepada dua kelompok tersebut karena utusan sipil yang hadir adalah konstituennya GAM dan RI, dan bukan konstituen yang langsung dipilih rakyat. Sehingga kemudian masyarakat sipil yang hadir memang seyogyanya tidak tepat jika membubuhkan tandatangan sebagaimana yang dilakukan oleh GAM dan RI.

Tiga Kondisi

Ada beberapa hal yang melatarbelakangi model dialog yang sudah berjalan tersebut. Pertama, berangkat dari kegagalan konsolidasi pihak sipil sendiri, dimana beberapa kali rencana pelaksanaan musyawarah yang akan diadakan oleh pihak sipil dalam rangka "penyelesaian" konflik dan mungkin juga dalam rangka menetapkan eksistensi representasi mereka sendiri, senatiase gagal.

Kedua, dalam konteks konflik di Aceh, posisi elemen rakyat sipil selama ini bukanlah sebagai pemain langsung dari konflik, namun lebih banyak memposisikan diri sebagai korban dari konflik. Jikalau ada yang menjadi pemain, maka ia akan tergolong sebagai supporter GAM atau pemerintah, sementara di luar itu tidak memiliki lembaga sosial politik yang jelas sebagaimana yang dimiliki oleh GAM dan pemerintah RI.

Ketiga, secara isu, di samping berbagai persoalan kemanusiaan dan HAM serta ketimpangan pembangunan, namun tuntutan paling besar yang menjadi perselisihan politik di Aceh adalah antara "Aceh Merdeka" dan NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia). Kedua tuntutan ini melembaga dalam struktur-struktur politik yang memiliki kekuatan riil sehingga perundingan sepatutnya hanya dilakukan oleh kedua belah pihak yang memiliki kekuatan di Aceh. Sementara komponen sipil tidak memiliki lembaga yang jelas untuk menampakkakan sikap politik mereka.

Bukan berarti kemudian pelibatan masyarakat sipil dalam penentuan masa depan Aceh tidak diperlukan. Malah sebaliknya. Penentuan masa depan Aceh tidak perlu dilakukan oleh GAM maupun oleh pemerintah, tetapi hanya dilakukan rakyat Aceh saja lewat referendum opsi merdeka. Karena dalam model yang seperti ini, telah mewakili semua kepentingan yang ada di Aceh. Namun sayangnya pemerintah Indonesia tidak menginginkan penyelesaian yang melibatkan masyarakat sipil secara demokratis tersebut.

Jikalau tidak melalui referendum, maka ada satu pendekatan lagi yaitu, melaksanakan pilihan langsung, di mana rakyat di setiap distrik memilih wakil mereka untuk kemudian melakukan dialog dengan pemerintah RI. Untuk menjamin bahwa pemilihan tersebut jujur dan adil maka pihak internasional harus memfasilitasi pelaksanaan tersebut. Dengan metode seperti ini dapat dipastikan posisi sipil akan menjadi aktor utama dalam dialog penyelesaian kasus Aceh ke depan.

Untuk memastikan konsep referendum dan pilihan langsung dapat terlaksana maka harus ada komitmen dari GAM dan RI dimana komitmen ini harus dibicarakan dalam perundingan tahap awal yang sudah pasti dalam perundingan ini akan memposisikan keduanya sebagai aktor utama dimana keduanya akan membicarakan proses gencatan senjata dan demilitarisasi sebagai syarat pelaksanaan referendum atau pilihan raya wakil-wakil dari masyarakat sipil. Pada proses selanjutnya—setelah fase demilitarisasi—baru kemudian pemerintah bisa melakukan dialog dengan masyarakat Aceh tentang proses penyelesaian konflik Aceh.

Jika, prosesi pilihan langsung disepakati, maka metode perundingan yang harus diterapkan pasca-pencabutan darurat sipil adalah setidaknya kembalinya ke masa CoHA (*Cessation of Hostilities Agreement*), dengan menambahkan beberapa item yang belum masuk dalam perundingan tersebut seperti yang berkaitan dengan program kesejahteraan rakyat secara langsung oleh kedua belah pihak.

Jika pemerintah Indonesia tidak membatalkan dialog secara sepihak pada tahun 2003, maka sudah bisa dipastikan saat ini sudah masuk ke fase *all inclusive dialogue* yang harus memakai metode pilihan langsung sebagai proses penjarangan peserta.

Di luar dua metode ini, maka tidak ada satupun cara lain yang bisa menjadikan masyarakat sebagai aktor dalam proses penyelesaian konflik dan penentuan nasib masa depan Aceh. Jikalau ada, maka sudah bisa dipastikan komponen sipil tersebut akan mewakili dua kepentingan GAM dan RI atau hanya akan mewakili kepentingan masyarakat kelas menengah dan perkotaan saja serta akan menutup kemungkinan keterlibatan keterwakilan komponen rakyat Aceh yang mayoritas adalah kelas bawah dan pedesaan.

Pemerintahan baru Indonesia yang masih dikomandoi oleh politik militer serta masih memiliki paradigma yang sama dengan pemerintahan sebelumnya sudah pasti akan menganggap tawaran penyelesaian kasus Aceh dengan melibatkan setiap lapisan masyarakat sebagai sebuah tawaran angin lalu atau bahkan sebagai tawaran ancaman bagi kelangsungan politik *status quo* Indonesia di Aceh.

Mengharapkan pemerintah menerapkannya hanya akan menambah utopia yang baru. Namun hal ini tidak akan utopis apabila diperjuangkan secara bersama oleh setiap komponen demokrasi yang ada. (Dari AcehKita.com, 9 Desember 2004)

Hot under the collar with spicy Acehnese food

Aceh has long been known for its fertile land. This attracted foreign traders to make its harbors their port of call when trading in Far Eastern commodities.

The interchange of products of those visiting Aceh is still very obvious in Acehnese daily fare today. With food known for having a very spicy and hot taste, Acehnese cooks make the foreign produce more suitable to their own tastes.

Take the noodles introduced by Chinese traders. Bearing no resemblance to mealy noodles with a fairly bland flavor, **mie guréng Aceh** (Acehnese fried noodles) will have the novice reaching for a glass of cool water to ease the burns of the extremely hot chilies of the region.

After a while, when tasting other hot and spicy fare, for example, in the region of Pidie, which was one of the mighty trading centers in Aceh, one will appreciate the culinary creativeness of the people.

After such an unforgettable spicy meal, a glass of **ië böh timon** (cucumber water) will refresh the palate and make one ready to taste other regional food options. Although curry is famous worldwide as a specific Indian food, the Acehnese, known for their pride in their heritage, would not admit that completely.

Many Acehnese contend that they played a great part in the fame of the curry spice mixture because Indian traders of yesteryear put down anchor at Acehnese harbors, waiting for the west wind to push their ships home.

To shorten the long wait, they married local women who knew their way around the kitchen, mixing and matching spices to please their husbands.

Acehnese are actually very proud that for centuries many foreign envoys visited and made trading transactions and many a story tells about those visiting Aceh.

One of them was **Marco Polo** on the way home to his native Italy. When served the **keumamah** (dried tuna) that was and still is Aceh's most traditional fish product, he was surprised because it was similar to **bacalao**, the much appreciated dried fish in his second homelands of Spain and Portugal.

Up to now the most renowned dish of many a coastal region is **gulai ikan kayu** or **gulèe keumamah**. Keumamah or ikan kayu (literally "wooden fish" in local terms) is as hard as its name suggests and has to be soaked overnight to be able to be prepared into an enjoyable dish.

But whereas bacalao has a dominant salty taste, the keumamah is rather salty and sourish because of its procedure of cooking the fresh tuna in salt and souring agents, like belimbing sayur. After the drying process, the keumamah can be stored for months and is a favorite food when one travels to distant places.

Another specific Acehnese ingredient is **u neulheue** or grated roasted coconut (or fried without oil until a dark brown color, and ground finely). It is said to be an interchange with Bugis culinary know-how, which also uses grated roasted coconut, because the sailors of South Sulawesi often threw anchor at Aceh's harbors.

The ultimate in Acehnese curry will be **ön teumurui** or curry leaf, and just a few leaves in the dish will make it distinctively Acehnese.

The Acehnese are a very sociable people and like to send fruit or sweets to their relatives and friends. For a more impressive effect, they cover the fare with a stunning food cover called **sangè**, which is different in every region.

Besides sending each other food, they are also quick to offer help, especially when a family event is planned and relatives (mostly the women) are asked if they could make a dish to complement the menu. Refusing to do so is a no-no, and one can even ask for a specific food item.

That's Acehnese food in a nutshell. Now have a taste of its cooking and be prepared for a very surprising experience! (Suryatini N. Ganie, JP)



III

Adat dan Upacara Sebelum Dewasa

Sunat Rasul (Khitanan)

Setelah anak-anak meningkat usia, bagi anak laki-laki berumur sekitar 10 tahun, dan anak perempuan sekitar satu tahun, akan diadakan suatu upacara lagi yang disebut upacara **meusunat** atau **bereles** di Gayo, dan **meukhatan** di Aneuk Jamee. Tetapi sunat rasul bagi anak perempuan tidak diadakan upacara seperti anak laki-laki. Kadang-kadang sunat rasul anak perempuan ini dilakukan diam-diam, hanya diketahui keluarga saja.

Pola upacara hampir bersamaan di seluruh daerah Aceh, hanya berbeda variasi saja. Anak yang akan menjalankan sunat rasul ini dalam upacara tersebut akan memakai pakaian adat seperti pakaian adat pengantin. Ia **dipeusujuk** (ditepung-tawari) oleh ahli kerabat yang mengunjunginya sambil mempersembahkan **bungong jaroe** (hadiah). Rumah penuh dengan hiasan adat Aceh. Tiap-tiap ruangan digantung **tirèe** (tirai) pada dinding-dinding, dan diatas direntangkan **neulangèt** (langit-langit) yang terbuat dari kerajinan khas masyarakat Aceh.

Dalam upacara ini hadir semua **kawöm**. Jiran setempat hadir juga, banyaknya tergantung pada besar-kecilnya upacara yang dilakukan. Akan tetapi bila seorang kawom tidak diberitahukan tentang upacara tersebut, maka akan menyebabkan retaknya hubungan kawom. Anggota kawom yang paling dekat hubungan darah biasanya membawa bungong jaroe berupa sebetuk emas, kambing dan lain-lain. Bagi jiran, cukup membawa berupa uang atau benda-benda lain untuk kebutuhan upacara.

Pada hari kedua setelah upacara atau beberapa hari berselang, barulah sunat rasul dilakukan. Kulit bahagian ujung pada alat kemaluan dipotong oleh modem atau khalifah, kemudian diobati dengan obat yang dibuat dari buat **puenteuet** yang telah dibakar dan jadi arang, dicampur dengan minyak kelapa. Ada juga yang memakai gambir sirih saja. Kemudian bagian kulit yang dipotong itu dibalut dengan kain putih.

Catatan Redaksi: dengan perkembangan teknologi kesehatan usia khitan tentu saja sudah semakin rendah. Saat ini, anak-anak di Aceh biasanya sudah dikhitkan pada usia 5-6 tahun, tidak lagi menunggu sampai 10 tahun seperti di masa lalu. Upacara adat menjelang khitan masih sering dilakukan dengan berbagai variasi sesuai perkembangan jaman. Namun kebiasaan seperti anak-anak di Amerika yang sudah dikhitkan sejak hari-hari pertama setelah kelahiran belum lagi umum di Aceh.

Fakta Perang Aceh Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia

September 2003-Oktober 2004:

Sedikitnya 129 kasus Pelanggaran HAM telah dilakukan TNI. Terbanyak terjadi di wilayah teritorial Kodam Iskandar Muda, Aceh, yakni mencapai 120 kasus alias 93 persen dari total kasus.

Dalam kurun waktu 13 bulan terakhir (akhir Darurat Militer I, Darurat Militer II, hingga Darurat Sipil), TNI terindikasi melakukan 76 kasus pembunuhan, 35 kasus penahanan, tujuh kasus intimidasi dan dua kasus penyiksaan di Aceh. (Sumber: Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan (KontraS))

Sajak-sajak Wiratmadinata

Puisi

Hujan turun berabad-abad

*Hujan turun berabad-abad dalam sejarah kami
Airmata langit yang meruah ingin dipahami
Hujan air mata yang tak mampu menembus
Kemarau cinta dan kasih sayang bagi bumi*

*Hujan turun berabad-abad dalam hati kami
Keringat Tuhan yang mengirim wahyu
Hujan keringat yang tak terbayarkan
Oleh cinta dan kasih sayang yang diberikan*

Hujan turun menderas berabad-abad dijantung kami

*Darah dari nyawa jelata yang tertumbalkan
Hujan darah yang direnggut berhalo ideologi
Merajam cinta kasih yang diajarkan kitab suci*

*Hujan air mata. Hujan keringat. Hujan darah
Yang turun berabad-abad dalam sejarah
Dari tubuh mereka yang tak berdosa
Dengan apakah ia akan terbayarkan?*

*Hujan yang turun berabad-abad itu, ya, Tuhanku
Turunkanlah ia seperti doa menghapus petaka
Turunkanlah bagai tangan para nabi yang suci
Yang membasuh kelam, dendam dan benci.*

(Dataran Qalb, 24 November 2004)

Katakan saatnya telah tiba

*Jika kau berikan aku keagungan puisi
Biarkan ia menjelma mantera dan jampi
Mengubah kebencian menjadi cinta kasih
Tak menyalak lagi senjata dan dendam pergi*

*Jika kau berikan aku keindahan
Izinkan ia menjelma harapan
mengisi mulut-mulut lapar
Yang mengais remah di jalanan*

*Tapi kau senantiasa berhasia
Membiarkan kata-jiwaku terluka
Sedangkan mulut telah berbuih dan penah
telah patah
Pintu yang kuketuk masih belum juga terbuka*

*Engkau tiupkan ruh kedalam segumpal darah
Engkau jumpat raga dari tanah lempung yang sama*

*Engkau urapi kasih sayang dari rahim kaum hawa
Engkau hidupi dengan berkah tiada batasnya*

*Tapi satu jiwa merenggut jiwa yang lainnya
Tangan siapakah yang menggerakkannya?
Tapi duka telah letih merangkaki arasyumu yang mulia
Tangan siapakah yang akan menghentikannya?*

*Katakanlah saatnya telah tiba
Dan kau akan bicara; kebenaran telah datang!*

(Dataran Qalb, 24 November 2004)



*a crying baby
in a refugee camp...
tangisan bayi
di pengungsian...*

Campaign Against Arms Trade statement

10 December 2004

Alvis bribery allegations (on the sale of Scorpion Tanks to Indonesia)

CAAT warmly welcomes the decision by Mr Justice Park to allow the Guardian access to the court file of the case Chan U Seek vs Alvis Vehicles Limited. Former Alvis agent, Singapore businessman Chan U Seek, had sued Alvis over the sale of Scorpion tanks and Stormer Armoured Personnel Carriers to Indonesia in the mid-1990s, claiming he was entitled to commission worth £6 million. The disclosure of the case documents has struck an important blow for the public interest against "commercial confidentiality" and has shed more light on the inner workings of the UK arms industry than anything since the Scott Report.

According to the witness statements Alvis employed a company called PT. SK, run by the daughter and two sons of a Brigadier General in the Indonesian Army to secure the sale of around 100 armoured vehicles to Indonesia in the mid-1990s. By Rini Soewondho's account her ability to secure the support of Suharto's "inner circle" enabled the Indonesian Army to gain the funds it needed to purchase the Scorpions and Stormers. The witness statements of Lionel Steele (Alvis's International Sales Manager) and Nick Prest (former Chairman and Chief Executive of Alvis and former DESO employee) show that a company owned by Suharto's daughter "Tutut", called Global Select, convinced the "inner circle" to buy Alvis. The Guardian has alleged that Global Select collected around 10% (£16.5 million) of the sale price. By Nick Prest's own account Alvis's hiring of PT. SK and Global Select was "crucial" in enabling it to secure the 1995 and 1996 contracts for armoured vehicles. From the published documents it appears that Chan U Seek was involved in attempting to sell Alvis vehicles to Indonesia in the 1980s but had been released by Alvis following his failure.

CAAT is unsurprised by these allegations. Allegations of corruption have previously surrounded arms deals to Indonesia. On Tuesday the Governor of Aceh, Indonesia, was arrested over allegations he personally profited from the purchase of a Russian Mi-2 military helicopter [1]. In early 2004 allegations were made of corrupt practices over the purchase of four Russian Mi-17 military helicopters for the Indonesian Army [2]. Current Indonesian Defence Minister Juwono Sudarsono has previously admitted that up to 30% of the money for equipment purchases is skimmed off the top by those involved [3].

The allegations against Alvis raise important questions:

—What did the Major Government, which licensed the deals, know about the alleged payments to relatives of the Suharto family and senior Indonesian military officers that were allegedly part of the deal? This is particularly pertinent given the deal was underwritten at the time by the Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD). Indonesia subsequently defaulted on the deal, potentially passing the bill to the UK taxpayer. CAAT believes an urgent enquiry into Government knowledge of the financing of the deal needs to be undertaken by the National

Audit Office (NAO) or the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) in Parliament to examine this.

—Both Rini Soewondho and Nick Prest refer to the 1996 contract being secured despite the competition from Daewoo of South Korea "who were offering a competitive vehicle on generous credit terms" (Prest). An enquiry by the NAO or PAC needs to establish whether ECGD cover was offered to Alvis with the purpose of enabling Alvis to secure the deal and, if so, whether this represents good value for money for the taxpayer.

—The other main UK arms deal to Indonesia in the 1990s was the then British Aerospace's sale of Hawk aircraft to Indonesia in 1993 and 1996. These two deals were for 40 Hawk ground attack aircraft and the deals were worth around £700 million. BAE Systems is no stranger to corruption allegations; currently the Serious Fraud Office is investigating allegations of slush funds surrounding its dealings with Saudi Arabia. Were Global Select, Basque or other companies around Suharto's "inner circle" involved in taking money from the Hawk deals? If so, what did the UK Government know about it at the time?

—Rini Soewondho's statement highlights the fact that from 1978 "the purchase of all defense equipment from foreign companies must be made through agencies owned by Indonesian citizens. These companies have to be owned by retired Indonesian military personnel (or a member of his family)". She confirms that her family's company was an agent for UK firms up until the 1990s, and from the statement of Nick Prest we know one of these firms was Royal Ordnance. What other companies had dealings with PT.SK? And what, if any, payments were made to agents or Suharto's "inner circle" to secure contracts? CAAT believes that this shows the need for a more wide ranging investigation into all sales of military equipment to Indonesia during this period.



A British made Scorpion tank on patrol in Aceh (Photo: Tapol). Aguswandi, a human rights activist from Aceh, has challenged the UK government since 10 December 2003 for its continued decision to license exports of military equipments to Indonesia where it is clear that the equipments have been used for internal repression. 36 Scorpion tanks have been used in Aceh since 2003 (Guardian).

how the interests of the UK arms industry ride roughshod over any considerations of human rights and promoting democracy can hardly be imagined. For the sake of 150 jobs and the MoD's self-interest, vehicles were exported which have been used in the war in Aceh (where hundreds of civilians have died) since 2003. Stormers were deployed in Aceh on election day on 5 April 2004 where "those who failed to register were visited and terrorized by [Indonesian Army-backed] militia groups. Those who failed to turn up on election day were forcibly escorted to the polling stations" [4]. No candidates critical of Martial Law enforced by the Indonesian Army were permitted to stand at the elections.

[1] <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4075035.stm> and *Jakarta Post*, 11 June 2004. [2] *Tempo*, 3-9 February 2004. [3] *Trifungsi: The Role of the Indonesian Military in Business* by Lesley McCulloch in *The Military as an Economic Actor* (ed Brommelhorster and Paes, 2003), and *Indonesia's Defense Minister Concedes Difficulty in Cutting Military Corruption*, *Wall Street Journal*, 8 December 1999. [4] *TAPOL Bulletin*, 176, August 2004, p21.■

TAPOL press release

Arms Bribe Must Fully Investigated

8 November 2004 - Today's decision by the High Court in London to allow the Guardian newspaper access to documents about the British arms manufacturer Alvis and its sale of Scorpion tanks to Indonesia in 1996/96 has been welcomed by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign.

It is alleged the documents show that Alvis paid a bribe to Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana (mbak Tutut), the daughter of former Indonesia dictator Suharto. "This decision must be followed by a full investigation by both British and Indonesia governments", said TAPOL spokesperson Aguswandi, a human rights defender from Aceh, Indonesia.

"The whole truth about the Scorpion sale has to be revealed. The deal was completed at a high cost to British and Indonesian taxpayers. The Scorpions and other Alvis vehicles have been deployed by the Indonesian army in the conflict-torn province of Aceh despite Indonesian assurances that the equipment would not be used for internal repression.

"The allegations further strengthen the case for a freeze on British arms sales to Indonesia. This immoral and corrupt trade will do nothing to promote democracy or development in the country. It will only serve to intensify conflict, poverty and the abuse of human rights," says Aguswandi.

The British government is continuing to licence the export of spare parts for the Alvis exports.

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The Guardian:

Contrary to repeated assurances by the Indonesians, the Scorpions were used to crush rebellions in East Timor and Aceh, two provinces fighting for independence.

The Indonesians also used Hawk fighter planes - controversially sold to them by BAE Systems - against the insurgents, despite the same assurances.

The Blair government was severely embarrassed last year when the Indonesians deployed 36 of the Scorpions to crush rebels fighting for independence in the Aceh province. The tanks were regarded as being particularly useful in towns and the forests of the region.

Sellers and users

1995/6: Alvis clinches deal to sell 100 Scorpions to Indonesia

1997: Robin Cook decides deal cannot be cancelled, citing advice from lawyers, as it had been approved by previous Tory government

1998: Scorpions used to crush protesters in Jakarta in May and November

2003: Indonesia deploys 36 Scorpion tanks against separatists in Aceh - an Indonesian colonel admitted that the British would probably "have a fit".

London, 7 December 2004