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### Mossad links to Bali Slaughter

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by Dr George J. Aditjondro 5:52pm Thu Oct 17 '02 (Modified on 12:02am Fri Oct 18 '02)

Indonesia's military and business elites have maintained a close relation with the military and business elites in Tel Aviv, including Israel's notorious secret service agency, Mossad. Various Jakarta-Tel Aviv military links have now been exposed in Western and Indonesian sources. Jakarta under Suharto, had allowed a Mossad agent to operate in Jakarta under a British passport

As you already know by now, the most popular reason which Jakarta has used to oppose any frank debate about the plight of the East Timor people in the ASEAN member countries is ASEAN solidarity (Inbaraj, 1995: 132). Then, in the specific case of the Philippines, Manila has always been reminded by the Suharto regime and its supporters of the Philippines' moral debt, utang na loob, to Indonesia. Representing the largest Muslim country in the world, Jakarta has mediated between Manila and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), to solve the Moro problem in a peaceful way (Inbaraj, 1995: 130-131; Panji Masyarakat, June 1-10, 1994: 19, 24).

This diplomatic favour of Indonesia is supposedly based on Indonesia's sense of Muslim brotherhood towards the Bangsa Moro. However, as far as the Suharto regime is concerned, this Muslim brotherhood rhetoric is simply a myth. Yes, a myth. Or, in Karl Mannheim's term, an ideology, to cover up for the more mundane, material interests. The real reason for Jakarta's role in helping to settle the Moro problem is not necessarily Suharto's love for fellow Muslims in the South.

The real reason is the ASEAN-ization of businesses owned by the Jakarta oligarchy, pioneered by Suharto's closest and oldest business partner, Liem Sioe Liong, through the Salim Group. Suharto's half-brother, Sudwikatmono, is also a major shareowner in this group, while two of Suharto's children, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana and Sigit Harjojudanto, own thirty two per cent shares in the group's Bank Central Asia (BCA). Following the track of his older brother and sister, Bambang Trihatmojo, Suharto's second son, has also formed many joint ventures with the Salim Group, especially in the tourism and petro-chemical industries. Salim's patriarch Liem Sioe Liong himself is closely connected with other Chinese tycoons in South East Asia and Hong Kong (Soetriyono, n.d.; Swasembada, August 1995: 12-55).

After accumulating their capital from the Salim Group and from their father's patronage, the Suharto children themselves have ventured into the brave new world of ASEAN with their own business conglomerates. These ASEAN-ized Indonesian businesses have now spread their wings to the Philippines, from Manila to Cebu, and also probably to Davao and General Santos.

Of all these Suharto family businesses, the Citra Lamtorogung Group controlled by Suharto's eldest sibling, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, or Sister Tutut as she is popularly called, is the most ASEAN-ized. After her success as contractor of toll roads, airports and harbours in Indonesia, she has expanded her operations, with the blessings of her father and his Malaysian counterpart, to construct a 22-km portion of the 512-km North - South highway between Singapore, Johor,

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and the border of Thailand, through a joint venture with a company associated with the ruling Malay party, UMNO. She has also won a tender to construct Kuala Lumpur's second international airport at Sepang, claimed to be larger than Singapore's Changi Airport (Info-Bisnis, June 1994: 11- 13; Forum Keadilan, September 1, 1994; Warta Ekonomi, September 12, 1994 and November 20, 1995).

For the last two years, she has been involved in building the 45-km Metro Manila Skyway Project through her Citra Consortium, with a total investment of US\$475 million. This mega-project will involve a 12.5-km elevated skyway above the South Luzon Expressway (SLE) and a 14.5-km surface road portion of the SLE from Alabang to Nichols. Tutut's Citra Consortium has received exclusive authorisation from the Philippine National Construction Company (PNCC) to undertake the construction, financing and management of the toll road projects, through a 30-year built-operate-and transfer (BOT) contract with the Philippine government.

The share composition and construction schedule of this mega-project is as follows. PNCC will own twenty per cent of the shares of the Skyway project, a private Filipino entrepreneur, Cezar Qulambao ten per cent, while the Citra consortium will own the majority share of fifty five per cent. The remaining fifteen per cent of shares will be owned by a US finance company, American International Group (AIG), through its subsidiary, AIG Asian Infrastructure Fund, for providing seventy six per cent of the project's capital investment. The construction of this mega-project, which was finalised by President Fidel Ramos and his Indonesian counterpart during the APEC summit in Jakarta, two years ago, will be completed next year (Indonesia Business Weekly, November 25, 1994 and September 11, 1996; Warta Ekonomi, November 6, 1995: 9).

This mega-project is Tutut's first venture in the Philippines, which was in its preparation stage while Suharto was putting pressure on Fidel Ramos to prohibit the first Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET), two years ago. In the mean time, she was preparing for another joint venture in the Philippines. In October 1995, the construction of a US\$2.2 billion oil refinery at Nonoc Island, south of Manila, had started. This mega project, which will yield a maximum of 120,000 barrels of refined oil products per day, is a joint venture between PT Elnusa and the Philippine's Kaibigan Holdings. PT Elnusa itself is a joint venture between the Indonesian state oil company, Pertamina, and Tutut's Citra Lamtorogung Persada (Indonesia Business Review, November 25, 1994).

So, for the next 25 years, after the Metro Manila Skyway project is finished, all Filipino/a motorists who drive along these toll roads will contribute to the wealth of the Suharto family. During that time, the petrol used by the cars which will drive along the Skyway project may come from the Nonoc Island refinery. Which means that regardless of whether motorists choose to drive along the skyway or not, they will still contribute to the Suharto family's wealth.

In the meantime, a consortium of twenty Indonesian, Malaysian, Thai and Filipino companies has forged the biggest property deal in Asia so far. The Metro-Pacific Group won a US\$2.4 billion contract to rebuild the former army base, Fort Bonifacio, into a 117-ha commercial and residential complex, adjacent to Manila's Makati business district. Many of the people in this consortium are no strangers to the ASEAN ruling elites. It includes a subsidiary of the First Pacific Group, a subsidiary of Robert Kuok, the well-known Malaysian property and sugar tycoon, Thailand's Land & Houses Public Co., Ltd, the Filipino tobacco magnate, Lucio Tan, and the Filipino food and beverage company, RFM Corporation.

After the new Fort Bonifacio is completed, they will control fifty five per cent of its shares, while the remaining shares will be owned by Bases Conversion Development Authority (BCDA), a Philippine state company assigned to privatise former military installations (Warta Ekonomi, January 23, 1995: 68-69; Asia Business Review, March 1995: 53; Jawa Pos, March 8, 1996; The Australian, September 23, 1996). So far, I have heard no public debate or a serious assessment about the cultural impact of transforming this monument of Spanish colonialism, which had been a major tourist attraction in Manila, into a new monument of global Western consumerism. But I may be wrong and all the Filipino/a people are happy with this deal.

Prior to the Fort Bonifacio deal, Metro-Pacific has also bitten a big chunk out of the Philippines' telecommunication pie. Its subsidiary, Smart Communications, has become the second largest cellular telephone operator in the Philippines, in cooperation with NTT of Japan, with 113,000 subscribers (Indonesia Business Weekly, December 9, 1994; International Business Asia, June 23, 1995: 29; Jawa Pos, March 8, 1996; Asiaweek, August 2, 1996: 50).

Smart, indeed, were the communications between the Indonesian business interests and their Filipino/a counterparts. The leader of Metro-Pacific, namely the Hong Kong-based First Pacific Group is well-known to the Philippine business community. It manages the overseas operations of the Salim Group and one of its prime movers is a Filipino banker, Manuel Pangilinan. His father was the manager of the Traders Royal Bank in Manila, and Manuel himself graduated from the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania in the USA. After some

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initial work at the Bancom Development Corporation in Manila and the American Express Bank in Hong Kong, in 1979 he was asked by Liem Sioe Liong to prepare and head the First Pacific Group in Hong Kong.

Within two years time, the group was officially founded with Manuel Pangilinan as the managing director, two other Filipinos Ricardo Pascua and Vincente Tansay II and an American, Robert Meyer, as executive directors, in charge of 50 ethnic Chinese staff from Indonesia and Hong Kong. In ten years time, Manuel Pangilinan and his colleagues were able to build First Pacific into a business empire with US\$1 billion assets (Soetiyono, n.d.: 65-71; Schwarz and Friedland, 1991).

With his Filipino background, Manuel was instrumental in the Salim Group's forays into the Philippine economy. At one stage, he shuttled once or twice a month from Hong Kong to Manila. So, after five years, Manuel's attempts began to bear fruits. In 1986, four Philippine companies were brought into the First Pacific fold: Berli Jucker Industries, a producer of cosmetic products; Berli Jucker Philippines, the marketing network of cosmetic products; Holland Pacific Paper, the producer and distributor of Scott Paper products; and Tanduy Distillery, one of the top Philippine beverage producers (Soetiyono, n.d.: 80-81).

Since then, Pangilinan's Philippine connections became more and more beneficial to the Salim Group. In 1987, the First Pacific Group took Metro Drug over from its previous owner. But being a banker, Pangilinan did not forget his financial skills, by setting up some financial companies, namely First Pacific Capital Corporation, and First Pacific Metro. The latter one is an investment holding company (Swasembada, Jan. 25-Febr. 7, 1996: 37-38; Soetiyono, n.d.: 81).

In 1991, a thrust to expand into the Philippine market came directly from the Salim Group's headquarters in Jakarta: Salim's Bogasari Flour Mills (BFM) and its affiliate, PT Indofood Sukses Makmur, formed a joint venture with RFM Corporation, a large food and beverage company, owned by Jose Concepcion III, son of a former Philippine trade minister. This US\$3.5 million instant noodle factory is forty per cent owned by the Salim Group, while the majority shares, sixty per cent, is owned by RFM Corporation. This was the first step of the Salim Group to ASEAN-ize the production base of its food division, which was soon followed by the acquisition of shares in a flour mill in Kuantan, Malaysia, and the establishment of joint ventures with a state company in Vietnam and another instant food company in Singapore (Warta Ekonomi, March 2, 1992: 29; Sinar, December 3, 1994: 84; Economic & Business Review Indonesia, September 4, 1996: 28).

As simple as it may appear, this expansion of the Salim Group's instant noodle empire needs to be put in a political economic perspective. PT Bogasari Flour Mills (BFM) and its affiliated instant noodle producer, PT Indofood Sukses Makmur (ISM), are jointly a very important political economic institution for two reasons. First, BFM was set up during the beginning of Suharto's New Order to monopolise the milling of all wheat imported under the US government's PL 480 food aid arrangements. Backed by these flour mills, the Salim Group has also been able to dominate the instant noodle industry in Indonesia under the umbrella of ISM. It has even turned Indonesia, a non-wheat growing country, into the second largest instant noodle consuming country in the world.

Secondly, for 25 years, the Bogasari flour mills has been a major money maker for the Suharto family, the Indonesian army, and the family of another former general, Bustanil Arifin, legalised through Bogasari's share arrangements (Schwarz and Friedland, 1991; Shin Yoon Hwan, 1989: 354). Therefore, all Indofood instant noodle consumers have contributed to the wealth of the families of Suharto and other generals as well as to overseas wheat farmers, at the expense of Indonesian rice farmers.

Meanwhile, the First Pacific headquarters in Hong Kong had found an Australian partner, David Davies, with whom they formed a new group, First Pacific Davies, which specialises in real estate and property consultancy. This new group also has branch offices in the Philippines as well as offices in Australia, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam, with a total labour force of 5,500 people (Warta Ekonomi, September 13, 1983: 87-89; Australian Financial Review, May 19, 1995).

The newest 'kid on the block' is Bambang Trihatmojo, Suharto's second son, who owns a Singapore-listed company, Van der Horst, together with Johannes Kotjo, a former Salim Group manager. Van der Horst, in turn owns forty per cent shares of a Philippines-listed company, East Asia Power Resources Corporation. This company has entered China's infrastructure market by forming a joint venture with an Australian company, London Securities Ltd., called Asia Pacific Power and Light (APPL). This company has obtained a contract from the Chinese government to build a 28-megawatt steam power station in Jiangsu province, 60 km from Shanghai (The Australian and The Australian Financial Review, November 12, 1996).

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Apart from engaging in electric power generation in the Philippines, Bambang is also engaging a Philippine company in one of his newest infrastructure projects in Indonesia. The company concerned, International Container Terminal Service (ICTS), itself a consortium of Philippine, Australian and German companies, will manage the new Bojonegara container terminal port in West Java for thirty years. This new container port is currently being constructed by PT Bina Jasa Hartarindo (BJH), a joint venture between Bambang Trihatmojo and an Indonesian state company owned by the Department of Transportation, PT Pelindo (Kontan , October 7, 1996: 14). In this field, Bambang is simply following the steps of his older sister, Tutut, and his younger brother, Tommy, who are both involved in constructing container terminals in Jakarta and Surabaya, East Java.

In the near future, this aggressive Indonesian businessman may also dominate the Philippines electronic media and telecommunication industry from satellites in outer space. PT Satelindo and PT Pasifik Satelit Nusantara, two joint ventures between Bambang Trihatmojo and two Indonesian state companies (T Indosat and PT Telkom), own and operate two Hughes communication satellites, which were launched from Cape Canaveral and Guyana last semester, in mid-1996. These satellites hover over the ASEAN region. With Indonesia's experience of managing its Palapa satellites since 1976, these new Palapa-C satellites are serious competitors for the Philippines' Mabuhay satellite, especially after Satelindo has already formed a joint venture with a Malaysian telecommunication company, Celkom (Gatra , May 13, 1995 and February 10, 1996; Asiaweek , April 12, 1996: 34; Sinar, May 25, 1996: 33).

Closer to earth, the business interests of the Jakarta oligarchy in the Philippines are not limited to Metro Manila. The previously mentioned APPL company is negotiating to build a water treatment and supply system for the entire Philippines, beginning at Cebu. This Manila-based company has two important Filipino businessmen on its board: Jess Alcorido, former chairman of Philtel, former chairman of Salim Philippines, and currently CEO of East Asia Power in Manila; and his nephew, Eduardo Alcorido, chairman of the Sydney-based London Securities Ltd. They are the prime movers of APPL's foray into a chain of steam power stations in South-East Asia. One such steam power stations will be build in Bawen, Central Java, to provide power for Bambang Trihatmojo's new textile factory, acquired from a Chinese businessman who could not pay his credit to an Indonesian state bank (The Australian and The Australian Financial Review, November 12, 1996; Jawa Pos , November 15, 1996).

The Jakarta oligarchy may have even be pushing further to the South. In March 1994, a memorandum of understanding was formalised to set up a new growth area, called the BIMP EAGA (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, East ASEAN Growth Area). As reported by the Australian weekly magazine, The Bulletin, on May 16, 1995, economic development in this area was already happening two years ago. Two joint venture fish canneries, with Indonesian and Philippine capital, have been opened in the port of Bitung in North Sulawesi, using Filipino/a technical staff and 2,700 Indonesian workers. In General Santos City in southern Mindanao, five tuna canneries have been opened, employing more than 5,000 workers.

The major area of growth in fledgling EAGA is tourism. As an incentive, the Philippine government has dropped its travel tax for those visiting any EAGA member country, sparking a five hundred per cent increase in movement between Zamboanga, on the southern tip of Mindanao, and Sabah in the first semester of 1995. But the largest single project resulting from the EAGA agreement is a US\$120 million tourist resort and casino to be constructed on Samal island, just off the coast of Davao. Financed by the Malaysian conglomerate Ekran Berhad, the resort will boast 1,700 rooms, demanding an increase in international links with Davao. Ekran Berhad is also the main company involved in the construction of the notorious Bakun dam, which is going to flood the homes of thousands of Dayak people in Sarawak.

How will the Suharto oligarchy benefit from this new growth area? The answer is: in numerous ways. Sempati Airlines, owned by two of Suharto's sons, Tommy and Sigit Harjojudanto, three charities headed by Suharto, and an Army-owned foundation already flies regularly between Jakarta and Manado, Taipeh, Christmas Island, and Rangoon (Swasembada, August 12, and August 22 - September 11, 1996). So, Sempati could easily flex its political muscle, to obtain the right to fly to Davao and Bandar Seri Begawan as well. In the mean time, Sigit Harjojudanto has recently acquired a fifteen per cent share in another Army- owned airline, Mandala Airlines, and bought two former Lufthansa jets and eight Boeing 737 jets (Indocommercial , January 1995: 2). He too might be interested to enjoy a bit of the EAGA pie.

Tourism, is also not a new field for the Suharto clan. All the Suharto siblings, their uncle Sudwikatmono and Suharto's favorite grandson Ari Haryo Wibowo, dominate Bali's tourism industry through the luxury hotels, golf courses, travel agencies, and airlines they own (Aditjondro, 1995). Expanding into the EAGA tourism sector, is thus only a logical consequence of their business expansion. Tutut herself already co-owns the five-starred Nusa Dua Beach Hotel in Bali with the young, rich and flamboyant Sultan of Brunei - Darussalam, Hassanal Bolkiaah (Warta Ekonomi , May 27, 1996: 68).

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In defence of all these business opportunities in the Brunei East ASEAN growth area, following Jakarta's official rhetoric of Muslim brotherhood, one could argue that it may be beneficial to the Bangsa Moro in Southern Thailand, as well as to other Malay Muslim groups in Brunei-Darussalam, East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak), East Kalimantan and Eastern Indonesia.

Unfortunately, Philippines' history has already shown how the influx of migrants from the North to exploit the natural resources in the South has been one of the decisive factor in marginalising the Moro people on their ancestral land. Will this not be aggravated further with the big push to develop this new growth area?

Apart from that, if Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur really wishes to respect the cultural rights of the Bangsa Moro, why do they support the development of the large tourist resort with its casino on Samal Island, just off the coast of Davao? The Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur rulers certainly know that gambling is strictly forbidden by Islam.

Or is this huge casino on Samal Island just another case of closing casinos in front of Muslim eyes in the capital city, while reopening an even larger casino behind close doors in a remote place, where the Muslim children of the ruling elite can lavishly spend their people's money? This has been the case of the Copacabana casino in Jakarta, which has been re-opened in a much larger form on Christmas Island by its former owner, Atang Latief. It is a favourite gambling place of Tommy Suharto whose Sempati Airlines has the exclusive right to fly between Jakarta and the casino island.

This hypocritical policy towards oppressed Muslim groups has also been shown by Jakarta towards the Palestinian people. On one hand, Jakarta does not recognise Israel, and has strongly supported the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. During his recent visit to Jordan, President Suharto again reiterated Indonesia's support for an independent Palestinian state. On the other hand, Indonesia's military and business elites have maintained a close relation with the military and business elites in Tel Aviv, including Israel's notorious secret service agency, Mossad.

Various Jakarta-Tel Aviv military links have now been exposed in Western and Indonesian sources. Jakarta under Suharto, had allowed a Mossad agent to operate in Jakarta under a British passport. This has been admitted by former security chief General Soemitro in his biography. He had assigned three generals Sutopo Yuwono, Kharis Suhud, and Nicklany to deal with the Mossad agents. He justified the cooperation with Mossad, because Mossad and the British MI-6 secret service were anti-Communist and much more effective than the US CIA (Hoy and Ostrovsky, 1990: 67, 123; Ramadhan KH, 1994: 250-251).

Apart from cooperating with Mossad, the Indonesian army special force Kopassus, which is currently commanded by Suharto's son-in-law, Mayor General Prabowo Subianto, has been equipped with Israeli Uzi guns. These Uzi machine guns were reportedly used in the massacre of hundreds of Muslim activists in Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, on September 12, 1984, as well as in the assassination of the West Papuan artist and freedom fighter, Arnold Ap, on April 26, 1984 (Ramos-Horta, 1987: 148; Djopari, 1993: 129; Ramage, 1995: 37).

The Indonesian army special force has not been reluctant in exposing their admiration for the Israeli army. Two years ago, during their 42nd anniversary, the Indonesian army special force distributed their publication for the media, which included a brief history of Kopassus and the translation of a long chapter from a book extolling the virtues of a typical Israeli Army commander.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian air force has also not hesitated from using second-hand US Skyhawk fighters, bought from Israel, which may have been used in the massacre of Palestinian refugees and Hizbullah freedom fighters in the Bekaa Valley in South Lebanon (Hoy and Ostrovsky, 1990: 123; Leifer, 1985: 156; Peacock, 1987; Warplane , No. 6, Vol. 1, pp. 101-105).

Recently, in the military operation to release European and Indonesian hostages taken by an OPM faction in the highlands of West Papua, the Indonesian military was not ashamed to accept the assistance of Israeli anti-guerilla devices again. Israeli-made Mazlat Scout pilotless drones, that had been supplied to Singapore three years ago, were used to locate the hostages. The drones, developed in the 1980s to track Palestinian and Hizbullah guerilla movement in the heavily defended Bekaa Valley, were brought in after the mediation of the International Committee of the Red Cross failed (Far Eastern Economic Review , May 30, 1996).

And although there are officially no diplomatic ties between Jakarta and Tel Aviv, a number of hi-tech Israeli companies have had business deals with a number of well-known Indonesian companies. The powerful Salim and Tamara Groups and the state-owned telecommunications

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company PT Telkom are among those which have forged business ties with Israel, albeit indirectly. Through these companies, Indonesian plywood, fine quality textiles and electronics are well-known in Israel (Indonesia Business Weekly , March 11, 1994: 20).

Hence, in conclusion I want to say to my fellow ASEAN brothers and sisters, especially to my Bangsa Moro brothers and sisters, please take Jakarta's pro-Moro rhetorics with a lot of grains of salt. The Jakarta oligarchy has as much interest in upholding the Bangsa Moro right to self-determination as it does in upholding the Maubere (East Timorese) people's right to self-determination.

The Jakarta oligarchy mainly wants peace in the South, to enable their business operations to expand to the beautiful waters, cities, and mountains of Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan, undisturbed by the fighting between the indigenous people, Moro and others, against the offspring of migrants from the North.

In the wake of this ASEAN-ization of the Jakarta oligarchy, whose business interests override all human rights concerns and long term environmental concerns, what should be our response?

My suggestion is strict and simple: before all political prisoners in Indonesia and East Timor have been released, before democracy in Indonesia has been restored and before the East Timorese people have exercised their right to self-determination through a UN-supervised referendum, boycott all the Suharto-related businesses in the Philippines. To be more specific, I urge you to:

Boycott all Berli Jucker cosmetics!

Boycott all Scott Paper products!

Boycott all Tanduay beverages!

Boycott RFM instant noodles!

Boycott all other Indofood products in all the Philippine supermarkets!

Boycott all First Pacific banks and other financial institutions!

Boycott Sempati Airlines!

Boycott the forthcoming Fort Bonifacio shopping and residential centre!

Boycott the forthcoming Metro Manila Skyway Project!

A luta continue em todos frentes!

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