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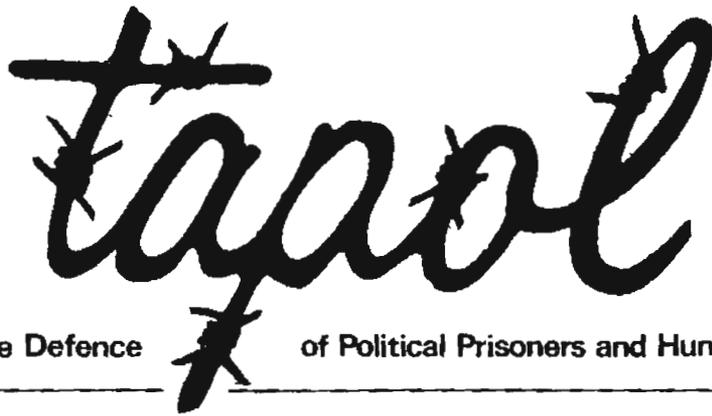
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British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia

TAPOL Bulletin No 41/42

September/November 1980

NO FREEDOM YET FOR RELEASED PRISONERS

By an Ex-Tapol

This year as always, the Indonesian people celebrated Indonesia's independence day on 17th August, the day in 1945 when they proclaimed their independence. Immediately afterwards, they took up arms against the Japanese army of occupation, then fought the Dutch Army in its attempt to recolonise the country. In the end, the Dutch government was forced to recognise Indonesia's independence.

In those days, everyone was involved in the struggle; national independence was the cause of the entire people. They all had the same rights and duties to safeguard national independence. But things are not like that today, 35 years later.

Some Indonesians, many of them freedom fighters, no longer enjoy full citizenship rights. They suffer discrimination and restrictions imposed by their own government, a government whose existence they fought to establish. After being imprisoned without trial in different places such as the remote Buru Island and the prison island of Nusakembangan, some of them for as long as 14 years, the so-called C and B categories were released by the end of 1979 and returned to their families. But hundreds are still in prison. They are the ones who have been tried: some got death sentences, some got life sentences and some 20 years' penal servitude. These verdicts, many of which were taken by military courts, lack any proper foundation and are based on political prejudice. Defence pleas delivered in the courts, like that of former Colonel Latief who was tried by a military court, are banned from being published because the military regime fears disclosure of its crimes against the people.

Although C and B categories tapols have formally been released, they do not enjoy the same rights as other people. This not only includes those who were held for 14 years but even those held for only six months and released in 1966. The restrictions they face are as follows:

1. They are not allowed to take part in political activities; they may not join parties or mass organisations.

2. They are not allowed to write articles or anything even remotely dealing with politics.
3. At the next general elections in 1982, they may be allowed to vote but they will not be allowed to stand for election. In villages, they are not allowed either to vote or be elected, nor may they be appointed as village secretaries, water regulators, security officers or to any other official position.
4. If they want to leave the place where they live and move elsewhere within the same province or to a different province, they must obtain a permit from the military authorities. Other citizens do not need such permits.

Please turn to page 9.

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DOUBLE ISSUE

We apologise to our readers and subscribers for not issuing a Bulletin in September. This followed the delay in publishing the July issue which did not come out till the end of August because of the indisposition of one of our two staff persons. The present issue is therefore a double issue, in both name and size. Our next issue will appear in January as usual.

YAP THIAM HIEN:

EX-TAPOLS SHOULD BE PAID COMPENSATION!

On 20th October, Yap Thiam Hien, the noted Indonesian human rights lawyer, is to be awarded an honorary degree by the Free University in the Netherlands in recognition for his outstanding advocacy of human rights. Interviewed by the Dutch radio station, VARA, on 7th May this year, Mr. Yap had the following to say about the rights of released political prisoners in Indonesia:

Mr. Yap: . . . As I have already said, the former political prisoners are like "non-citizens" . . . I hope the government will recognise the abuses being committed against them and will move to rectify things.

In my opinion, by releasing the tens of thousands of prisoners without trial—admitting, in other words, that they have always been innocent—the government was not bestowing any favours on them. Rather, it was simply restoring them their rights. And it is not enough just to release them. They must be rehabilitated and paid compensation for the great harm they have suffered. Many have lost jobs, positions, professions. Some have even lost their families, their wives and their children.

VARA. When Admiral Sudomo speaks about these people, he says they are all communists or communist sympathisers and must be kept under supervision as they represent a danger to the Republic.

Mr. Yap: This is what I oppose most of all. I myself spent eleven months in a military prison where the majority of prisoners were said to be communists or fellow travellers. The thing that struck me was that only a small number were in fact communists. Most of them didn't even know why they had been arrested. But even if they were communists, is it right that they should have been arrested? Was it because they were members of lawful, recognised political parties? I can see no reason for this. In those days (before October 1965, *editor*) the Communist Party was not banned. Why were they arrested? Did they have any-

thing to do with the coup? This has never been proven. It was proven in only a very small number of cases. On the basis of which law were they arrested, detained and held for such a very long time? I regard this as a grossly inhuman act of injustice. The people, and the government in particular, will have to realise that justice must be done to these people.



Yap Thiam Hien

LEGAL AID BUREAU:

GIVE EX-TAPOLS THEIR FULL CIVIL RIGHTS

The following press statement was issued by the Legal Aid Bureau (Jakarta) on 8 September 1980.

We have received a number of reports that although the government has released the G30S/PKI political prisoners, they are not truly free. These former tapols continue to face restrictions that place them at a disadvantage as citizens who should enjoy equal rights before the law.

For example, the letters ET are put on their identity cards, to distinguish them from other citizens. The Legal Aid Bureau regards this as an act of discrimination which cannot be justified by law. The majority of them were never even tried in court but were detained, then released without due process of law.

We have also received reports that the families of these former political prisoners face obstacles. In North Sumatra, for instance, the sons and daughters of ex-tapols are not allowed to apply for jobs in the civil service or with the

Armed Forces. They are being punished without any court verdict. The Legal Aid Bureau regards this as an act of discrimination which violates the law, which violates the principle of the presumption of innocence, and violates the basic right to enjoy equal opportunities in employment.

If these reports are correct, we are actually creating a new social problem by giving birth to feelings of revenge among the families of the ex-tapols. The sons and daughters of ex-tapols are made to feel that they have inherited the sins of their parents. This is not the way to secure a proper solution to the political prisoner problem; on the contrary, it can become a time bomb which will explode later on. We should be conscious of the fact that we are creating a new social class with a sense of revenge and indignation.

The Legal Aid Bureau calls upon the Commander of KOPKAMTIB and all other government bodies to treat the ex-tapols and their families in the same way as all other citizens, in accordance with the principle of equality and equal treatment before the law.

EX-TAPOLS THREATENED WITH "FURTHER RESTRICTIONS"

In September, released political prisoners were given renewed cause for anxiety by a threat from the Interior Minister that even sterner measures than before would be taken against them. He alleged that some ex-tapols were re-organising themselves and planning a "PKI comeback".

Some politicians have greeted the Minister's claims with scepticism. There have been suggestions that his allegations that PKI "remnants" plan to infiltrate Muslim organisations is intended to intimidate Muslims and provide new justification for a further wave of persecution against them.

Whether or not this is the case, the September events again prove that ex-tapols are particularly vulnerable and defenceless, and can easily be used by the government to keep all forms of political opposition in check.

The following press reports are typical of the coverage given by Indonesian newspapers to Amir Machmud's statement:

Ex-tapols are "... resuming political activities"

The government has received indications that some former G30S/PKI C and B category prisoners who have been released are resuming political activities. Their political activities can be interpreted as efforts to revive the PKI.

This was said by Amir Machmud, Minister for the Interior, after being received by President Suharto to report the names of candidates for governorships of Riau, South Kalimantan and Central Sulawesi.

"In this matter, the government will take even firmer measures than those taken before they were arrested previously", said Amir Machmud.

The Minister was not prepared to say what indications there were of activities being undertaken by former C and B category G30S/PKI prisoners who have been released. "The fact that I have discussed this with the President means that the indications do exist", he said. "I am certainly not fabricating things. The government will definitely take firmer measures against B and C category G30S/PKI prisoners if they undertake political activities that could disturb state stability", the Minister said.

Kompas, 8 September 1980

"... publishing anonymous books"

The Director-General for Security Affairs at the Department of Foreign Affairs, an Army Brigadier-General, stated that there are many books circulating among the general public which talk about the class struggle, the principle communist doctrine. Some of these books which do not bear any title and are published anonymously have been written by former political prisoners. Such books, he said, could arouse a spirit of rebellion and develop contradictions, and could be the stepping-stone for the "come-back" of the PKI. He did not explain the steps that had been taken to overcome this.

Merdeka, 10 September 1980 (abridged)

"... holding discussions"

Minister of the Interior Amir Machmud has again been in

the news. Speaking before Commission II of Parliament two weeks ago, he again warned of the danger of a PKI comeback.

"I am not fabricating things", he said at the beginning of his statement. All the information received has been obtained, he said, from interrogations of former PKI members. "We have obtained information that remnants, former G30S/PKI prisoners, have recently been in communication and holding discussions, among others in the region of Solo and in the capital, Jakarta", the Minister went on. He said he considered that these activities pointed to a "strategic pattern".

Amir Machmud explained at length the PKI's "new strategy" as follows: the Panca Sila banner should be upheld . . . because it has been widely accepted by the Indonesian people. If the PKI wins, the national flag will not be changed; the important thing is, who gives content to the flag. In addition, each Party member and cadre must become a Muslim because 95% of Indonesians are Muslims. Therefore the PKI must struggle through the Islamic religion. "I draw the attention of the PPP (Islamic party) parliamentary fraction and the Muslim community in general to this", the Minister said. On the other hand, General Norman Sasono, Commander of the Jakarta Military Command, had told the press that there were no indications that former G30S/PKI prisoners were again involved in activities. . .

Admiral Sudomo himself, speaking before Commission I of Parliament last week, gave the following guarantee: the security situation is good. "The Defence Ministry and KOPKAMTIB possess complete data, and the public need not feel troubled", Sudomo said.

The KOPKAMTIB chief is presumably referring to the supervision of the former G30S/PKI prisoners. There are about 30,000 former G30S/PKI prisoners throughout the country, released since 1975. Some 540,000 C-category prisoners were released before 1975. Most of the former prisoners live in Java. According to Assistant Territory II (Java and Madura) Commander, Colonel Soemanto, there are 21,575 former B-category prisoners in his territory; 88 of them are required to report regularly.

Supervision over their activities is exercised by the social and political affairs directorates of respective local governments. "Supervision by military commanders is restricted to controlling their mobility only", said another Territory officer, that is to say when they travel or move to other places.

Tempo, 4 October 1980 (Cover story, abridged)

STOP PRESS

There are reports from Jakarta that, following Amir Machmud's threatening statement, some ex-tapols who were lucky enough to obtain jobs have been dismissed, whilst some have been thrown out of their lodgings.

TAPOL AND THE MAN FROM HONG KONG

In December 1977 we wrote a letter to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, a weekly news magazine based in Hong Kong and edited, then as now, by one Derek Davies. We criticised a piece by David Jenkins, one of its reporters ("Inside Suharto's Prisons" FEER 28.10.77) saying that although Jenkins had obviously made great efforts to discover the truth about the prisoners' situation, on several points he had not succeeded. For example, he appeared to have accepted the military's statement that the women in Bulu prison had been abandoned by their relatives, whereas in fact permits to visit them had been refused.

Our letter was published, but with a lengthy editorial comment. This noted that our letter-head named sponsors such as "milords Caradon, Gardiner and Soper" and that few of the sponsors named were "noted for a close knowledge of Indonesian affairs". It directed readers' attention to a "spirited Indonesian reply to such arguments" on page 22 of the same issue.

This reply was indeed a spirited defence of Indonesia's policies, and directed mostly at Amnesty International, which had recently published its Report on the Indonesian prisoner situation. The author of the article Jusuf Wanandi, is Deputy-Director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta. The article attacked both Amnesty and TAPOL and referred to Carmel Budiardjo as "a member of the British Communist Party, whose husband is still detained in Indonesia as a member of the PKI". (Suwondo Budiardjo was never charged or tried and was not released until the summer of 1978.) The article accused TAPOL "under the leadership of the above-mentioned Carmel Budiardjo" of conducting a "smear campaign against Indonesia. In fact", it went on, "the themes and charges which are contained in the Amnesty report are exactly the same as the smears advanced by Tapol".

TAPOL's secretary at that time, Sarah Leigh, wrote immediately to the *Review*, dealing with the points made about TAPOL in the editorial comment and in the Wanandi article, and Carmel also wrote pointing out that she had not been a member of the Communist Party since 1946 (when she was 21), and that such lies about her could endanger even further her husband, still in detention in Jakarta. In a later issue the *Review* corrected its description of Carmel by stating that she was a "former communist".

During the course of 1978 and 1979, TAPOL wrote a number of letters commenting on the *Review's* reporting of the release programme which was then in full swing. These were published, sometimes abridged but never without an editorial rejoinder or yet more spirited responses from the redoubtable Mr. Wanandi.

In April this year one of our sponsors showed us a most extraordinary letter he had received from Davies, written apparently in his capacity of letters editor, in which he suggested that we had "shifted ground" and "were using other grounds upon which to criticise the Indonesian government". This move was apparently prompted by a letter written by Carmel questioning the *Review's* inter-

pretation of Indonesian policies towards the ethnic Chinese minority. As Davies later summarised his letter, "I asked the sponsors if they felt that TAPOL should not now wind itself up, if they were willing to go on sponsoring Mrs. Budiardjo's activities and on what sources of information they based their knowledge of contemporary Indonesia which enabled them to continue lending their names to such a campaign... Of the 17 sponsors to whom I wrote only eight replied." One, John Rex, had already resigned; Lord Gardiner, who had previously written to endorse our broadening of focus, now decided to resign but told us that he was doing so mainly because of increasing age. Han Suyin also resigned and wrote to us objecting to our using her name on our new letter-head without her consent; we pointed out to her that we had not done so, and that we had kept her fully informed of all developments; she had apparently been away in China during the relevant period.

In its issue of September 12 1980 there appeared in the *Review* a lengthy article headed "New titles, new sponsors" from which it appeared that our sponsors had been dealing not so much with the conscientious letters editor as with the doughty investigative journalist. The article contained a number of slurs on both Carmel and Suwondo Budiardjo which were quite untrue and with which neither had ever been charged during their years of detention without trial in Indonesia, and described Carmel as "a lady with an interesting history". It recounted the history of Davies' correspondence with our sponsors and went on: "Thus Tapol, instead of quietly congratulating itself on the disappearance of its raison d'être when the prisoners were released, has redefined its aims and changed its name, evidently determined to continue its attacks on Jakarta."

Oddly enough, the same issue of the *Review* contained an item (on page 8), headed "Indonesia hints at Communist come-back" which reported the Indonesian Minister of Internal Affairs as saying that there were indications that "some of the thousands of prisoners recently released had resurfaced as local political agitators. If this were true, the government would take harsher measures than in the past". (Harsher than in 1965?)

Following publication of Davies' tour de force eight members of TAPOL's working group signed a lengthy and detailed letter dealing with the *Review's* attacks on the organisation and its sponsors, and Carmel wrote a personal letter, on plain paper, dealing with the allegations about herself and her husband. The two letters were posted on the same day.

The 17 October issue of the *Review* published Carmel's letter, but with one remarkable amendment; the letterhead on which TAPOL's letter of the same date had been written was reproduced in the middle of it, and the whole letter was headed "The Tapol reply". There followed yet another editorial comment complaining that Carmel's letter did not deal with "the main thrust" of Davies' article. The real TAPOL reply, which did, was not published.

Since then the most recent issue of the *Review* has appeared, and published two letters on the affaire TAPOL,

one supporting the *Review* and one supporting us, from one of our sponsors, Stan Newens. In the inevitable comment by Derek Davies he complains of a "minor deluge" of letters protesting "that the *Review* should have the effrontery to question the conduct of a political campaign". (Hardly a fair summary, as is plain from that part of the "deluge" which came our way and which we reproduce below.) Interestingly enough, although his comment paraphrases a statement signed (individually, for convenience) by our sponsors confirming their support of us

which was sent to the *Review* in a "batch of identically worded letters", it failed to quote that part of the statement which referred to TAPOL's detailed reply being sent under separate cover. Could it be because this would suggest that we had in fact answered "the main thrust" of his article?

In his April letters to our sponsors Davies criticised Carmel Budiardjo for "what I consider to be her propensity to discredit unfairly those with whom she disagrees".

Now who does that remind us of?

TAPOL'S LETTER TO FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

The Editor,
Far Eastern Economic Review,
GPO Box 160,
Hongkong.
Dear Sir,

29th September 1980

In your article, "New Title, New Sponsors" (*FEER*, 12th September 1980), you pose as an objective commentator and claim that TAPOL's human rights work is politically motivated. You seek to substantiate this by a personal attack on its secretary, Carmel Budiardjo, and her husband who has no connection with the organisation. In fact, your ad hominem attack contains many misrepresentations. This letter will not deal with these; our purpose here is to answer your attack on TAPOL as an organisation.

You claim that the *Review* has been "in sympathy with" TAPOL's campaign for the release of political prisoners and imply that you as editor have maintained an impartial position. It is true that you have published (sometimes abridged) letters from TAPOL commenting on your journal's reports about political prisoners, but never without editorial comment or the parallel publication of a rebuttal from an Indonesian government spokesman. To cite the most glaring example: on 2nd December 1977, when publishing a letter from TAPOL, you ran a major article by Jusuf Wanandi, a prominent proponent of the Suharto government. He sought to discredit Amnesty International, whose *Report on Indonesia* had appeared two months earlier, by claiming that Amnesty was largely influenced by TAPOL and specifically by Carmel Budiardjo. In much the same way as you now do, Wanandi engaged in a personal smear campaign against Carmel Budiardjo.

In case your readers are not familiar with your campaign to discredit TAPOL and its sponsors, we want to draw attention to the step you took in writing on 19th April 1980, as the editor of a journal, to all those of our sponsors whose addresses you could track down. You complained to them about a letter from TAPOL criticising a *Review* article on the new procedural regulations for naturalisation of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. You made a number of disparaging remarks about the secretary of TAPOL and then invited the sponsors to indicate whether they agreed that TAPOL "should now wind itself up", whether they were willing to "go on sponsoring the political activities of Mrs. Budiardjo", and requested them to specify their source of information about Indonesia which enables them "to go on

lending (their) name to such a campaign".

Some time before you sent this extraordinary letter, TAPOL had reviewed its work following the mass release programme which ended in December 1979. A decision was taken to change the subtitle of the campaign. All sponsors had been notified of this and had been asked whether they wished to re-confirm their sponsorship before new headed note-paper could be printed. Almost all had agreed to continue as sponsors. A statement explaining the reasons for the change was publicised in *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 38 (March 1980), a copy of which was available to you at the time you wrote your letter.

You claim in your article that TAPOL's *raison d'être* has disappeared and accuse it of changing its subtitle because it is "determined to continue (its) attack on Jakarta". You ignore the fact that hundreds of tried G30S political prisoners are still serving long sentences unjustly imposed. You ignore the fact that hundreds of Muslims are being held; many have been tortured and with few exceptions, they are being held without trial. In July, the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta called for their immediate trial or release, and TAPOL has made a similar demand through the British government. You ignore the trials of some three dozen student leaders charged with insulting the head of state, and the Indonesian government's ban on the publication of their defence pleas. You ignore the appalling difficulties faced by tens of thousands of released G30S political prisoners who are being denied their civil rights. Their precarious situation was highlighted in a report published in the very same issue of the *Review* which contained your attack on TAPOL. Your Jakarta correspondent quoted Indonesia's Interior Minister, Amir Machmud, as threatening "harsher measures than in the past" against recently released political prisoners who have "surfaced as political agitators". On 23rd September, a UPI report from Jakarta quoted Admiral Sudomo, Commander of KOPKAMTIB, the special security command, as announcing a "tough new security" programme, including what other officials described as "new restrictions" on former political prisoners.

You choose to ignore the widespread political persecution in West Irian where there are some five hundred persons being held as political prisoners. You say nothing about East Timor, a country now occupied by the armed forces of Jakarta's "benign authoritarian regime", as you call it. People in that country are suffering political

imprisonment, torture, summary executions and disappearances, and some 300,000 have been forcibly resettled in an attempt to isolate resistance and control the population by making it dependent upon outside aid for basic needs. Estimates of people killed since the Indonesian invasion vary greatly. Your correspondent (FEER, 16 November 1979) said that the population "appears to have fallen by as much as 100,000 or 15%".

The letter from TAPOL dated 20th March 1980 which you did not publish dealt with yet another form of human rights abuse. It contained well-researched criticisms of a report from your Jakarta correspondent welcoming the new regulations on naturalisation procedures for ethnic Chinese. TAPOL was concerned that procedural obstructions had not in fact been removed and that if they continue, hundreds of thousands of people may face deportation for failing to acquire Indonesian nationality through no fault of their own. Since that letter was written, several articles have appeared in the Indonesian press substantiating the criticisms we made.

TAPOL's new subtitle, British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia, acknowledges the connection between political imprisonment and human rights abuses in general. It does not mean that a campaign for the release of political prisoners is no longer necessary. Far from it. As well as campaigning for the release of those currently in detention, TAPOL must also defend ex-prisoners from the injustices to which they are still being subjected.

Your campaign to impugn the integrity of TAPOL's

sponsors as a way of discrediting the organisation did not begin with your letter sent in April this year. Nearly three years ago, in your issue of 2nd December 1977, you commented editorially on a letter from TAPOL dealing specifically with releases and already spoke disparagingly about some of our sponsors.

There is nothing unusual in campaigns like TAPOL having the support of sponsors who uphold the principles for which it works, who trust its integrity and who are perfectly capable of making independent judgements about what it and many others say about human rights abuses in Indonesia. You dismiss the sponsors as being "not collectively remarkable for their knowledge and interest in Indonesian affairs", yet when Dutch academics write to you in defence of TAPOL, you question their right to be "exercised about a British society", omitting to mention that they are all very knowledgeable about Indonesian affairs.

Your readers may wonder why you have singled out TAPOL for such a sustained and vitriolic attack. There is no doubt that TAPOL has ample reason to continue its work. Clearly, the principle beneficiary of its disbandment would be the Indonesian government.

Yours sincerely,

Carmel Budiardjo	Roger Hibbitt	Tari Hibbitt
Sarah Leigh	Tom Soper	Julie Southwood
John Taylor	Keith Woolcock	

SOME OF THE LETTERS NOT PUBLISHED BY THE FEER

Amsterdam, May 16th, 1980,
Keizersgracht 73.

To Mr. Derek Davies
Editor Far Eastern Economic Review,
GPO Box 160
HONG KONG

Dear Sir,

The undersigned, being academics well acquainted with Indonesian affairs and possessing detailed information regarding recent developments there, were shocked taking cognizance of your letter to Mr. Stan Newens, MP, House of Commons, of 19 April 1980. An Editor of a periodical, receiving a Letter to the Editor, is of course entitled to refuse publishing it, in case it does not contain a defence against accusations levelled in the periodical at the writer personally or the organisation he or she represents. But according to the norms accepted both in the academic and the journalists' world in Western Europe, it would be unthinkable that an Editor would send copies of the letter *without publishing it and without having got permission from the writer*, to third persons with comments intended to smear and damage the writer as well as the case he or she espouses.

Your campaign against Mrs. Budiardjo and against TAPOL—for we are aware that you wrote similar letters to other sponsors of TAPOL—is the more repellent since her criticism of the Indonesian government's naturalisation policies and of Mr. David Jenkins's praise of them expressed in the 14 March issue of your Review, is fully justified. Your innuendo, in your letter to Mr. Newens, regarding

the anti-Chinese measures taken by the Vietnamese government is, in this respect, completely irrelevant: no one among the undersigned is prepared to condone these Vietnamese steps, and we dare add without hesitation: nor is Mrs. Budiardjo.

The only argument which you advance for your campaign is a purely formal one, namely that Mrs. Budiardjo signed, in her Letter to the Editor, for TAPOL and wrote her letter on TAPOL stationery. Even if the argument would be correct, of course it cannot excuse your breach of trust towards Mrs. Budiardjo by handling her letter as you did. But even this argument actually does not hold. At the time when she wrote her letter all the sponsors had already been informed that the subheading of TAPOL was to be changed into British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia. At the time when she wrote her Letter to the Editor not all the positive replies had yet come in, and we are sure that *this* was the only reason why she had to use the old stationery. It is a fact that, even though the great majority of political prisoners have been released now, the *human rights* problem is still a highly urgent one in Indonesia, if only in view of the present social and political position of the thousands of ex-Tapols. In the Netherlands recently even a foundation has been formed for assisting the ex-Tapols who are still victims of their illegal confinement for many years under the Suharto regime, and as a name for this foundation has been chosen: Freedom for Those Released. Maybe this will make you and others realise why the TAPOL organisation has still a great task to fulfil in connection with human rights. We would like to add that nobody could deny that the problem of the ethnic Chinese dealt with in Mrs. Budiardjo's Letter to the Editor is certainly part of the human rights problem in Indonesia, which according to the new formulation is a legitimate concern of TAPOL.

Please turn to page 8.

The letter sent by Derek Davies to 17 of TAPOL's sponsors:



FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW LIMITED

Editorial: 8/F, Centre Point, 18, Gloucester Road, Hong Kong • GPO Box 180 Hongkong
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Miss Joan Maynard, MP,
House of Commons,
Westminster,
London, SW1.

19 April, 1980

Dear Miss Maynard,

For several years now, this magazine has been giving regular space to the letters written to me by Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners. I have done this despite the fact that in my opinion her own political views are biased, and that she - ignoring evidence to the contrary - has regularly called into question the intellectual honesty and integrity of the REVIEW's correspondents, particularly David Jenkins in Jakarta. I have given her this space because, despite what I consider to be her exaggeration and propensity to discredit unfairly those with whom she disagrees, the REVIEW has also been exhorting a slow-moving regime into releasing its political detainees.

Now that Indonesia has - however belatedly - released all but a handful of those not convicted of subversive activities during the Peking-backed attempted coup of 1965, Mrs. Budiardjo in my view has shifted her ground and is using other grounds upon which to criticise the Indonesian Government. You will see from the enclosed letter that she is now criticising the bold and generous steps taken to grant citizenship to Indonesia's overseas Chinese population, apparently on the grounds that she suspects that there will be financial and bureaucratic obstacles. (Jakarta's policies towards Indonesia's Chinese community contrast strongly with those of countries, like Vietnam, to which Mrs. Budiardjo as a former member of the British Communist Party and also from the tone of her correspondence would appear more ideologically attuned).

As she is writing on "TAPOL" stationery, I wonder whether this activity falls within the articles of association or aims of the Society to which you lend your name as a sponsor. I should be most grateful if you would let me know whether, following the massive release of political detainees in Indonesia, you feel -

- (a) that the Society should now wind itself up;
- (b) that you are willing to go on sponsoring the political activities of Mrs. Budiardjo; and
- (c) on what source of information you base your knowledge of contemporary Indonesia which enables you to go on lending your name to such a campaign.

I look forward to hearing from you and should be most grateful for the courtesy of a reply in view of the fact that I have, as Editor of the REVIEW, given the campaign you sponsor a great deal of space in the past.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Derek Davies'.

Derek Davies
Editor

Continued from page 6.

Our conclusion is that you owe an unqualified written apology to both Mrs. Budiardjo and the TAPOL organisation, a copy of which should be sent to all those to whom you sent letters like the one addressed to Mr. Newens. We trust that our letter will be sufficient to convince you of the seriousness of the matter, as well as of the necessity to restore the good reputation of the Far Eastern Economic Review in academic circles in Western Europe.

Dr. C. Baks, Senior Lecturer, Institute of Agriculture, Bogor;
Dr. J. Breman, Professor of Sociology, Erasmus University of Rotterdam;
Dr. Go Gien Tjwan, Senior Lecturer, Institute of Modern Asian History, Amsterdam;
Dr. P. J. Klenburg, Senior Lecturer, Institute of Political Science, Free University of Amsterdam;
Dr. J. M. Pluvier, Professor of Modern Asian History, University of Amsterdam;
The Siau Giap, Senior Lecturer, University of Leyden;
Dr. W. F. Wertheim, former Professor of South East Asian Sociology, University of Amsterdam;
Dr. Benjamin White, Research Fellow Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

The Editor,
Mr. Derek Davies
Far Eastern Economic Review
GPO Box 160
HONG KONG

25th September, 1980

Dear Mr. Davies,

Your article "New Title, New Sponsors" in the September 12th REVIEW, on Tapol, the London-based group that has long campaigned about Indonesian political prisoners, calls for sharp questioning on several scores. I write with concern, as I know the REVIEW as an intelligent and normally very fair comment on Far Eastern affairs, with a record of compassionate regard for human rights. Three elements in your attack on Tapol require challenging as I read it:

1. You think Tapol should quit now, because the Indonesian political prisoner situation, in the words of your sub-headline, "is no longer a problem". One must first say that serious reasons remain to continue a public campaign about the prisoners/ex-prisoners. A residual number are still held without adequate accountability; those released are cruelly restricted in their employment and mobility; and in the same September 12 issue of the REVIEW Guy Sacerdoti's Regional Briefing witnesses the Indonesian government's continued readiness to start a new repression of political opponents. He reports Internal Affairs Minister Amir Machmud as threatening on September 6th that "the government would take harsher measures than in the past" should former members of the Communist Party try to revive their *political* activities.

But even apart from this remaining serious question about prisoners/ex-prisoners, an organisation like Tapol with human rights concerns can quite legitimately broaden its scope. I have long gone about urging various very specific pressure groups to do exactly that, to take a wider human rights point of view, precisely to avoid their becoming one-sided bias-merchants such as your article complains of. Tapol has to my knowledge, before and quite independently of your article and the letters to its sponsors, changed its title and programme statement, and so informed its sponsors, with an inquiry whether they still wanted to be associated with it.

2. Much worse than your quibble about Tapol's continuance at this stage of the saga of political imprisonment in Indonesia is the personal attack you launch on Mrs. Carmel Budiardjo, Tapol's secretary.

I did not know Mrs. Budiardjo during her years in Indonesia, about

which you comment, but I know and respect her and her work here in London for many years now. Your attack on her, besides saying she was a Communist, which she makes no attempt to conceal, amounts to a guilt-by-association charge linking her with Dr. Subandrio. There are Communists who persecute their political opponents and there are Communists on the receiving end of such persecution, as in Chile or Indonesia. I have learned myself, in the course of becoming as uncomfortable a critic and opponent of Communist as of anti-Communist oppressions, to be wary of Communist associates in such work on one score in particular. This is that they often incline to subordinate the human-rights or anti-oppression stand they ostensibly take to the propaganda interests of the Soviet bloc. In this they do not altogether differ from their anti-Communist opponents. Of Carmel Budiardjo I can say, without reservation, after knowing her work for many years now, that her integrity as a human rights campaigner is extremely high. I have never known her to exploit a human rights issue for propaganda value.

However, the really questionable element in your personal attack on Mrs. Budiardjo is that you kept silent over the years on your suspicions, charges, grievances against her, while she waged a campaign with which you had sympathy. Now, when you judge (I believe mistakenly) that that issue is settled, you try to tear her down with all these charges you ignored before. That has to be faulted.

3. Not your September 12th article only, but the preliminary letters you wrote to all Tapol's sponsors amount to an anti-Tapol campaign, not simply a reporting enterprise. The REVIEW has a deservedly high reputation for investigative journalism, an element for which I myself most value it. This venture, though, a campaign for the destruction of Tapol, strays quite outside the bounds of investigative journalism and I don't believe it should be treated as a journalistic initiative. The initiative is strictly political. In effect, your own article in the REVIEW reports on this extra-journalistic task you have undertaken. Is it in favour of the Indonesian government? Do you pursue some anti-Communist vendetta? Or for what reason do you try to destroy Tapol? I believe, as I have argued above, that your attack is based on quite mistaken premises, and does a definite disservice to humanitarian concerns.

I hope you will publish this letter. I lay a claim on an amount of valuable space in your REVIEW, a paper I highly respect, by writing at this length. But you have already given a large measure of your space to an article which, although written by yourself, the Editor, cannot be described as simply journalism but is a political campaign on your own part. As a journalist, you now owe it to your public to give space to the political response.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond G. Helmick, S. J.

8th October 1980

The Editor,
Far Eastern Economic Review,
Centre Point,
181-185 Gloucester Road,
HONG KONG

Dear Sir,

Derek Davies's attack on Carmel Budiardjo and Tapol, the British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia ("New Title, New Sponsors" FEER 12.9.80) is scurrilous and misleading. He seems to assume that Mrs Budiardjo's past as a Communist and a one-time aide to Dr. Subandrio is evidence of insincerity in her concern for human rights in Indonesia. Why does he not tell his readers of her organisation's long-standing and consistent concern with the Suharto government's *non-communist and anti-communist political prisoners*, the students and intellectuals

arrested in January 1974, the Muslims and students and intellectuals arrested in early 1968 and the people who have been jailed at various periods and places for their involvement in ethnic and regional movements?

Mr. Davies is concerned that the Indonesian government be given due credit for releasing the 29,000 communists and pro-communists who were till recently its long-time political prisoners. But is he really arguing that the systematic violation of human rights in Indonesia has come to an end with their release? Could he deny that the shadow of post-1965 political vengeance continues to hang over millions of Indonesians who once had a connection with the Communist Party or one of its affiliated organisations? Could he deny that these people would be suffering still worse forms of pariahhood if it were not for the vigilant monitoring of overseas groups like Mrs. Budiarjo's Tapol?

The inaccuracies in Mr. Davies's piece are many, but I will limit myself to pointing to two. It is not true that Dr. Subandrio was named head of the Revolutionary Council set up by Colonel Lieutenant

Untung on 1st October 1965. More important, it is highly misleading to write of Untung's attempted coup as "the bloody abortive PKI coup". The question of who instigated that coup is the subject of a large and growing literature. Academic specialists continue to be locked in controversy on the character of the PKI's connection with the men who instigated and planned it and on the theory of army provocation. It is irresponsible for a journalist who knows of the existence of this scholarly controversy to write as if the Suharto state's version of the coup is not seriously contested.

As I see it, the breadth of support and continuing sponsorship of Tapol reflects the fact that the organisation has achieved an impressive reputation for accuracy, scruple and freedom from stereotyping generalisations.

Yours Faithfully,

Herbert Feith,
Department of Politics,
Monash University, Melbourne.

Continued from page 1.

The process for getting a permit to move is very complex, and often involves a number of visits to the military office. As a result, some ex-tapols have had to move before obtaining a permit. Then, when they get to the new place, they are told they have to go back again for a permit.

5. Their identity cards bear special markings, distinguishing them from other citizens. In Jakarta, the letters ET for ex-tapol are used; in Semarang (Central Java) code-numbers are used (01142 for men, 01141 for women); in North Sumatra, black cards are issued. Elsewhere, other, less conspicuous marks are used.
6. It is very difficult for them to get jobs. Job applications must be accompanied by a certificate of non-involvement in the G30S/PKI, something which it is impossible for them to obtain. Any enterprise or business which employs an ex-tapol must report this to the military authorities, so employers usually prefer to hire other people rather than take any risks. In cases when ex-tapols are employed, they get second-class treatment: lower wages and less *in natura* payments than others doing the same work. Their chances of promotion are also far worse.
7. Many ex-tapols who are entitled to pensions as former civil servants or military personnel, having worked up to pensionable age, now find that their pension rights have been denied. This includes former members of Parliament or members of the Central National Committee (KPN1) set up in the early days of the Republic.
8. They are liable to be summoned by military authorities and subjected to interrogations about virtually anything. A while ago, many ex-tapols were required to answer questionnaires from the Army.
9. It is extremely difficult for ex-tapols to get exit visas to go abroad.

There are other discriminations too which cause a great deal of aggravation. They are in fact second-class citizens even though they may have participated in the struggle for national independence.

Concrete Examples

* Some ex-tapols who moved from Medan in North Sumatra to Java were ordered to go all the way back to Medan because they had not yet obtained a permit to move. The procedure for obtaining such permits is particularly bad in Medan.

* Medan Estate PT IX which mainly grows bananas is prepared to take back workers who were arrested but only at a lower wage than other workers. The ex-tapols are also given less *in natura* payments such as rice and cooking oil.

* Ex-tapols who got married in Buru are required to remain there for ten years. They had to sign pledges that they would do so before they were allowed to get married. There are about fifty ex-tapols still on Buru.

* In January this year, a group of ex-tapols living in Surabaya, East Java managed to get jobs in nearby Malang. But the military authorities in Surabaya refused them permission to move to Malang or to travel there every day.

* In Semarang, Central Java, a well-known *dalang* (shadow-play puppeteer) was refused permission to do a performance. Many teachers have also been refused permission to return to their profession.

* There are many doctors who have not yet been granted permission to practise. They include Dr. Sutanti Aidit, Dr. Sumanto, Dr. Sumiarsih and Dr. Djajus. The same applies to lawyers such as Suprpto and Astrawinata, to economists such as J. Pity, to engineers, paramedics and people from other professions.

* In all parts of the country, ex-tapols are not allowed to testify as witnesses in court because in order to do this, a person must have a certificate of non-involvement.

We appeal to your humanitarian conscience to help us secure our human rights against these inhuman acts. You could help us to get rid of these discriminations by writing letters to President Suharto (address: Jalan Cendana, Jakarta). It is perfectly reasonable for ex-tapols, many of whom were held without trial for 14 years, to get back their full civil rights, and for those who are still imprisoned to be released immediately.

Central Java, July 1980

"CLEAN-SWEEP" OPERATION GIVES KOPKAMTIB NEW POWERS

The Army's security command, KOPKAMTIB, has acquired new powers with the launching of "Clean-Sweep Operation" early in September in the four provinces of Jakarta, West Java, Lampung and South Sumatra. The Operation which has led to widespread street and house-to-house searches in Jakarta and many other places, confers new powers upon those in charge "to arrest and examine anyone involved and to make procedural preparations for persons to be brought before the courts". (Tempo, 20 September 1980) In each province, the joint forces of "law and order"—the Army, the Police, the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Regional Government—have been placed under the command of the Army divisional commander. KOPKAMTIB's chief, Admiral Sudomo, described the Operation as being to "fight crime and subversion". Asked why his command should now take charge of duties that are normally handled by the police, Sudomo said: "When crime causes casualties, this leads to unrest in society, and it is because of this that KOPKAMTIB has stepped in." He

was also quoted as saying that persons found in illegal possession of arms could be charged under the Anti-Subversion Act of 1963, in addition to the laws in the Criminal Code.

Some of the "excesses" of the Operation were reported in Tempo two weeks later (4th October 1980). In the first eight days, more than 1,700 people had been rounded up for not having their identity cards with them. Although Admiral Sudomo had said that the Operation was directed at discovering people in illegal possession of firearms, sharp weapons, explosives and Citizen Band radios, people being hauled in for not having their identity cards were told when they protested: "We're only carrying out orders. Save your protests till you meet our officers." One lawyer, Albert Hasibuan has pointed out that failure to carry one's identity card was only an administrative mistake, not a matter for the police. Another lawyer, Yap Thiam Hien was quoted by Tempo as saying: "The medicine is worse than the illness!"

ARMED TROOPS DISRUPT MOSQUE SERVICES

For the first time in Indonesia's history, armed troops have disrupted mosque prayers, censored sermons and arrested praying Muslims. The incidents, which have aroused widespread indignation among the country's Muslims, occurred on Lebaran, which this year fell on 12th August, the Holy Day which ends the Ramadhan fasting month.

The worst incident occurred at a large mosque in Jatinegara, a suburb of Jakarta, where the preacher, A. M. Fatwa was denied permission to preach. He had refused to comply with an order from Alamsyah, the Minister for Religious Affairs, requiring all sermons to be submitted for official approval. The mosque committee was then prevailed upon to replace him by a preacher from the Army's "spiritual affairs" division. When the Army man rose to preach, he was shouted down by the 18,000-strong congregation calling for Fatwa. When many people tried to throng the rostrum, troops who were present in considerable numbers held them back, firing rifles into the air. (Tempo, 23 August 1980)

Another preacher prevented from preaching was Sjarifuddin, who was once Prime Minister. He too had originally refused to submit his text for approval. When he did submit it, the Army refused him permission to deliver it, claiming that it was "80% concerned with politics". He woke up on Lebaran morning to find his front drive blocked by a tank, preventing him from going to the mosque.

Arrests

A number of arrests were also made on Lebaran. Bung Tomo, a well-known Muslim leader was taken into custody for a few days. The secretaries of Ali Sadikin, former Governor of Jakarta, and General Nasution were also arrested.

Anwar Haryono, a Muslim leader interviewed by Radio

Nederland (16 August 1980) declared that after curtailing academic and press freedoms, the military regime was now intent upon curtailing religious freedoms. It was the first time ever, he said, that people had been forcibly removed from mosques. Nor had preachers ever previously been required to submit sermon texts for official approval.

The Dutch daily, NRC Handelsblad (15 August 1980) sees these incidents as the beginning of a "cold war" between Muslims and the military. "The Armed Forces regard a powerful Islamic party as a serious threat, and they have a strong interest in destroying the forces of Islam in Indonesia before the next general elections in 1982."

MUSLIMS ARRESTED IN WEST JAVA

A number of Muslims have been arrested in Sawangan, a village in the Bogor Kabupaten of West Java. They are accused of "conspiring to set up an Islamic state". But Tempo (30th August 1980) reports that the arrests followed efforts by local Muslim leaders to unify different social and political groups in the village by holding joint Koran-reading sessions. This was opposed by the local GOLKAR representative on the Bogor Regional Assembly who claimed that it was inspired by "ulterior motives".

The resulting conflict in the village which is entirely inhabited by Muslims became so serious that many people were afraid to attend regular mosque services. In the last week of July, five people were arrested and twenty others went in to hiding. They had all been served with summonses which made reference to the Anti-Subversion Law of 1963. (Pelita, 9 August 1980)

A Muslim member of Parliament who met representatives from Sawangan in Jakarta said that the government's allegation that efforts were being made to set up an Islamic state was reminiscent of the claim made a few years ago about the existence of a "Jihad (Holy War) Command". Such fabrications can be expected to precede general elections, he said. (Tempo, 30th August 1980)

THE "TRIAL" OF D. N. AIDIT

D. N. Aidit was Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). After the October 1965 events, he went to Central Java where he later disappeared. There has never been any official explanation of what happened to him. During a number of political trials, defence lawyers have asked for him to be called as a witness, but have usually been told this cannot be done "for technical reasons".

The following article appeared in Kompas Minggu on 5th October 1980, under the title, "Use a Thief to Catch a Thief". The writer of the article was not named.

For two months, the IVth Infantry Brigade of Kostrad,¹ under the command of Colonel Yasir Hadiboroto, had been stationed in Kisaran for the *Dwikora*.² This was the brigade that was to be air-dropped into Malaysia and Singapore. But by October 1965, nothing had yet happened. The troops spent their days exercising and were kept in a state of combat readiness.

On 2nd October Col. Yasir was informed about the murder of the generals in Jakarta. With the assistance of Daryatmo, Commander of the Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra) Division, (now chairman of Parliament and the People's Consultative Assembly), he found a ship to transport his troops back to Java. This ship, says Yasir (now governor of Lampung), flew the Panamanian flag. He had no idea who owned it but all the troops in the two battalions, E and G, under his command were able to get on board and they set sail, escorted by two British warships.

It was not until the ship had reached Jakarta Bay, near Tanjung Priok, that the British ships left them. I don't know why these British ships escorted us, says Yasir, nor do I know whether it was because of the presence of these British warships that Police patrol boats intercepted us and refused to allow us to land the troops. But eventually, I together with three of my men were able to come ashore in Tanjung Priok. The troops remained on board. The harbour was deserted. Fortunately, Yasir found a jeep. He didn't know who it belonged to, but the four of them used it to drive to Kostrad headquarters in Merdeka Square East.

Deal With Them All

After arriving at headquarters, he went straight to report to Major-General Suharto (now Indonesia's President) who was Commander of Kostrad. After he had reported, he was asked: "Where were you at the time of the PKI Madiun rebellion in 1948?"

"I had just moved from West Java. My company was ordered to confront three communist battalions in Wonosobo", answered Yasir.

"The people rebelling today are the offspring of the Madiun PKI. Go and deal with them all (*bereskan itu semua*).³ D. N. Aidit is in Central Java. Take your troops there", ordered the Kostrad commander.

"Ready to carry out your order!" replied Yasir.

Then he met Lieutenant-Colonel Suprpto, Assistant II (Operations) of Kostrad who asked him: "Do you need anything?"

"Go and tell my troops to sail to Semarang. I'll go by land", replied Yasir.

"Who should I give the order to?" asked Suprpto.

"Major Dullah", replied Yasir. "And one thing more.

Please return the jeep I found to Tanjung Priok. I don't know who it belongs to. I just took it."

"Okay. Use my jeep to go to Semarang. And here's something to keep you safe." The Assistant II gave him two sets of ribbons, some red and some white. "If you encounter troops wearing white ribbons, wear these white ones. If you encounter troops wearing red ribbons, wear the red ones. Do this and you'll reach your destination safely."

With little further ado, Col. Yasir left Jakarta together with his three officers. Before leaving they went to Senen Market to get some food. For the three days on board, they hadn't eaten any rice. The only food on board the Panamanian ship was fruit, so the troops had lived on a diet of fruit for three days.

The red and white ribbons from Lt.-Col. Suprpto did indeed ensure their safety. When they reached Semarang, the city looked very quiet. Things were also very quiet at Central Java divisional headquarters. The only soldiers hanging about were RPKAD⁴ officers who had arrived earlier. Yasir went straight to Semarang Harbour; there too everything was quiet. The ship had arrived but couldn't dock, so the troops were still on board. They found some coolies and with the help of a few boats, the two battalions were eventually able to land. By this time, it was 13th October 1965.

The next day, Col. Yasir was called by Suryo Sumpeno, Commander of the Diponegoro (Central Java) Division, who told him that Kostrad's Battalion F which had not gone with him to Kisaran and was in Gombong, had been given orders to start operations in Klaten. With Battalion F in Klaten, Yasir was told to take his two battalions to Solo. RPKAD troops had already arrived there too. Yasir took one of his battalions to Solo and placed the other one in the border region with Madiun.

A week later, discussions were held to coordinate things with RPKAD. Till then, there had been no coordination. The discussions resulted in an agreement to divide areas of operation. A KKO (Marine Corps) battalion had arrived in the region following Yasir's battalion, so there were now the following troops in Central Java: one Kostrad brigade, two RPKAD battalions and one KKO battalion. According to the agreement worked out, RPKAD would operate in Jogjakarta and Kedu, the KKO battalion would operate in Banyumas, and the Kostrad troops would operate in the whole region from Solo to Pati. All operations were directed at annihilating the PKI.

Use a Thief to Catch a Thief

During the operations to crush the PKI, Col. Yasir constantly remembered his order from the commander of Kostrad:

that he must deal with things (*bereskan*), and that D. N. Aidit was in Central Java. He had an idea. If the best way to catch a thief is to use a thief, then the best way to discover Aidit's hiding-place would be to find someone who was very close to the PKI boss. So he started looking for such a person. After gathering information from various sources, he discovered that someone by the name of S. Har had been one of the people closest to Aidit. But where was he now? The search for S. Har began. He was eventually found in a detention camp in Solo where PKI people were being held. S. Har turned out to have been one of Aidit's personal bodyguards. When he was brought to meet Yasir, he told him that he had been infiltrated into the PKI in order to watch Aidit's movements. He still had his letter of instruction, kept in safe place.

"Go and fetch the letter", Col. Yasir told him.

"Do you trust me?" asked S. Har on being told to do this.

"Yes", replied Yasir, but of course he told some of his men to follow S. Har from a distance. When the letter was given to Col. Yasir, it turned out that S. Har had been working in PKI ranks on the orders of General Nasution. He was not prepared to believe this just like that, so he made a trip to Jakarta to check things up with the person who had issued this instruction. On receiving confirmation that the instruction was authentic, Yasir began to act again. He told S. Har to go and meet the fugitive. A few days later, S. Har met Yasir and told him that Aidit had asked to move to Kleco, to a place at the back of the headquarters of Battalion L. The Kostrad Infantry Brigade commander realised why this was because he had received information that there were many red sympathisers in Battalion L.

After further information it was known that Aidit would stay in Kleco only for a week, but after being there for just one day, S. Har told Col. Yasir that the fugitive wanted to move to a place at the back of Balapan Station in Sambeng. The move would take place on a Vespa scooter driven by S. Har. S. Har made it known that he would wear a head cover that would also partially conceal his face. He asked Col. Yasir to watch the move from a distance, standing under a tree by a road in the district of Purwosari.

Meanwhile, Col. Yasir made plans to convince the local population that the situation there was completely under military control. That same afternoon, all members of his Brigade operating in Solo were ordered to assemble on one of the busy main streets. This was intended as a move to control the situation, so that the general public would feel secure. In this way, the plan to capture the PKI fugitive would be assured of success.

When the troops assembled, Yasir announced that they were to be given a week's leave as the situation in Solo was under control. The officers knew that what this announcement really meant was that they should be in a state of constant readiness, but the public who heard it would interpret it as meaning that everything was now under control.

An officer from Section I reconnoitred the house where, as reported by S. Har, Aidit was hiding. That night, S. Har came to report that Aidit was still there in the house. Col.

Yasir now made up his mind. He would capture Aidit that very night. S. Har was told to leave the house but said this was not necessary as it might make the fugitive suspicious.

Before the assault was launched, a Section I officer came to report that another unit of troops had arrived in town. They were *Kopasgat*⁵ troops who were also hunting for Aidit. But Yasir was relieved when this unit left the area where they had been carrying out a search.

The Assault

The assault was planned for 22nd November 1965, at crack of dawn. One unit of troops was ordered to surround the house whilst a Section I officer and his men were given the order to break into the house being used as a hiding-place. The command to break down the door would be given by the noise of a jeep starting up its engine very loudly, and the jeep would also turn on its lights.

At the fixed hour, all troops were ready in their appointed places. The surprise effect which was intended to startle the people inside the house was almost ruined because Lieutenant N. Prayitno and the two corporals who were to make the first move by breaking down the door moved too soon. They had apparently become impatient because no sooner had Col. Yasir started up the engine of his jeep than they broke down the door and yelled: "Hands up!"

Lieut. Prayitno from Battalion 6⁶ of the IVth Kostrad Infantry Brigade was rather disappointed not to see Aidit. The only people they found were two guards, fast asleep, with carbines by their sides. One of the two guards was S. Har. The two men were taken into custody and their weapons were seized.

"Search underneath", ordered Prayitno. They searched



This photo and the others published with this article were sent to TAPOL about a year ago by an unidentified person in Indonesia. Only since reading this article has it been possible to understand how they were taken.

everywhere with their torches but did not find the person they were looking for.

The one piece of furniture they had not yet searched was a cupboard. When they turned their torches on it, they saw a pair of shoes sticking out from underneath. The unusual thing was that the toes were pointing outwards. It seemed strange for a pair of shoes to be put away that way round. Normally the backs of the shoes would be facing outwards, making it easier to get hold of them. Seeing this, Lieut. Prayitno shouted: "Come out, quick, and put your hands up!"

A man came out who turned out to be Aidit. All the shelves in the cupboard had been removed to provide enough space for someone to hide, but the shoes pointing outwards told the men doing the search that the wearer of the shoes was certainly inside, standing facing the door.

The moment he came out of the cupboard, Aidit who was then still a minister-coordinator and Deputy Chairman of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly began trying to assert his authority.

"What do you lot want?" he shouted to the soldiers.

This put Lieut. Prayitno on the alert. Guided by his reflexes, he behaved in a correct fashion and showed respect. As part of this pattern of behaviour, he said: "We're only carrying out orders, sir."

"Who gave you those orders? You know that I am a minister and that I must soon go to attend a cabinet meeting with His Excellency the President", the minister protested.

Infantry Brigade Commander, Col. Yasir was able to watch as Aidit has this dialogue with his troops behaving in this correct fashion. The drama stopped when the minister "was invited" to get into a vehicle waiting for him. Aidit was driven from Sambeng to Loji Gandrung. By the time they reached their destination, Aidit realised how things stood for him. He was no longer reprimanding the troops and protesting as he had done in Sambeng.

The Confession of D. N. Aidit

Coffee and cigarettes were supplied. Col. Yasir respectfully told the "minister" to keep calm. He then explained his intentions, saying: "As you are a minister-coordinator, it is not appropriate for us to interrogate you. The best thing is for you to write down your experiences up to the present." Aidit was given a supply of paper and a pen.

He sat thinking for quite a long time, and smoked several cigarettes. He had finished the coffee but still wrote nothing. Then he asked for some more coffee. For about an hour, he did nothing, just sat there thinking and smoking and looking up at the ceiling most of the time.

Afraid that Aidit was deliberately dragging things out, Yasir decided upon a new initiative. He said: "To make things easier, say what you want to say and we'll write it down." Aidit accepted this suggestion.

Major Sugeng M was ordered to write down everything Aidit said. What they needed was a statement about his experiences while in hiding and about the plans he had made for the future. While this was going on, a lieutenant with a camera took photographs for documentary purposes.

The main points in the confession of Aidit which was written down here were as follows: that he was the only

person bearing the main responsibility for the G30S/PKI event which was supported by other members of the PKI and mass organisations under the PKI. That he had investigated various districts in the vicinity of Solo and had provided leadership up to 21st October 1965. That Solo had been chosen as the focal point of forces in Central Java and that a decision had been taken to launch a strike with them on 23rd October. That PKI cells had been told to cut down trees along the roads leading into Solo so as to set up barricades, and to call a general strike and arrest leaders of right-wing groups.

This confession was then signed by Aidit. Only after this



had happened was the fugitive asked to get onto a jeep. He sat in the back. Col. Yasir ordered his troops to shoot if Aidit made an attempt to escape.

Everything Dealt With

Infantry Brigade Commander Col. Yasir then tried to make contact with Kostrad headquarters in Jakarta. It was very difficult to get a connection. His intention was to make a report to Kostrad Commander and to ask for further instructions on what to do with the fugitive.

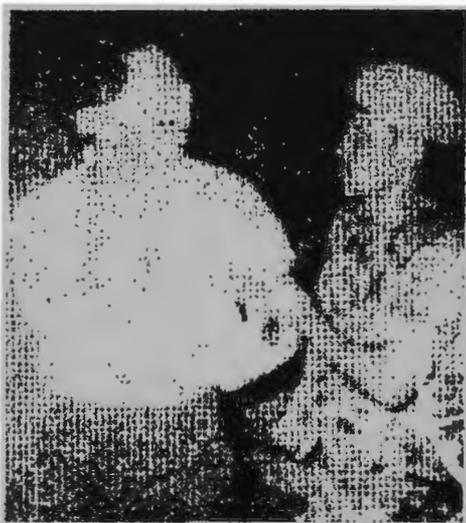
Before leaving Loji Gandrung and after Aidit had signed his confession, a CMP (Military Police) major arrived. Behaving in a very friendly manner, he asked that he should be allowed to take care of the documents relating to this important incident. "Let the CPM handle everything. As for the photographs, we know a place where they can be de-



veloped and printed", he said. Suspecting nothing, the camera was given to him. And indeed, three days later, Col. Yasir received three photographs, but no negatives.

The major also asked to be allowed to hand over the fugitive together with his written document (*proses verbal*)⁷ to the Commander of the Diponegoro Division. But Col. Yasir insisted that he was the one who would do this. "If that is the case, then I shall come along to Semarang", replied the major. Col. Yasir did not object to this. The CPM major was asked to drive in front and behind him would come Col. Yasir's jeep, with Aidit inside.

When the convoy of jeeps entered the district of Boyolali, the jeep being driven by Col. Yasir turned off without the jeep in front knowing. The jeep with the fugitive then



This photo was published in TAPOL Bulletin No 39 with the caption, *D. N. Aidit just before his execution*. The sequence of events described in the accompanying article shows that this could not have been so. It must have been taken when he was blindfolded before the end of the journeys he made together with the soldiers.

quickly drove to the place where the Kostrad battalion was located.

Some officers and men woke up. "What's going on?" they asked.

"I've got the sant-eyed PKI guy", replied Yasir. Then he asked: "Is there a well anywhere?"⁸

"Yes, over there", said the men.

The fugitive was taken straight to the place indicated. He was told to stand there. He was given half an hour before being dealt with. Aidit made use of this half-hour to deliver a speech. The passion with which he spoke made all those who heard him very angry and they were unable to control their emotions, so the rifles went off.

The IVth Infantry Brigade's operator was again ordered to make contact with Kostrad headquarters, but this time too he was unable to get a connection.

The jeep being driven by the CPM major which had got separated from the convoy in Boyolali finally reached the place where they were, maybe because he heard the shots being fired.

"Where is he?" asked the major.

"Already dealt with!" answered Yasir.

"Goodness! There could be trouble over this."

"Why trouble? He's been dealt with. It's a time of war."

"Where's his body?"

"It's been dealt with."

"Goodness. There could be lengthy repercussions."

"So what! I'll be the one to face it. I'm going now to make my report."

"Let me be the one to report."

"Let's do it together", replied Yasir.

23rd November 1965. Col. Yasir was only able to meet Col. Widodo, Assistant IV (Logistics). At his home. He reported that he had carried out the order of the Commander of Kostrad. As he was having difficulty making contact with the Commander, he asked Col. Widodo to help him report this to Pak Harto.⁹

After making his report and handing over the written document (*proses verbal*), Col. Yasir returned to his brigade headquarters in Solo.

15.00 hours, 24th November 1965. Col. Yasir was received by Pak Harto at the State Palace in Jogja. He reported everything that had happened concerning the arrest of the PKI fugitive and the way he had been dealt with. After making his report, Col. Yasir took courage to ask:

"When you said that we were to deal with things, is this what you meant?"

The Commander of Kostrad only smiled.

At the same time, Col. Yasir handed over to the Kostrad Commander the three photographs taken of Aidit under arrest.

Two weeks later the Commander of the VIth (Diponegoro) Division issued an order that the *proses verbal* which had been signed by Aidit should be burnt. Yet, strange to say, a Japanese newspaper was later able to publish a report about the capture of the PKI leader, together with photographs.

Footnotes

1. *Kostrad*: The Army's Strategic Command.
2. *Dwikora*: The "Dual People's Command", the name given to Indonesia's policy, in the last years of Sukarno's presidency, of confrontation with Malaysia.
3. *bereskan*: to deal with, to clear up or finish off (though not in the sense of "to kill"). It was not easy to select the correct English word to use here. In any case, as used in the article, the word has a heavily loaded meaning.
4. *RPKAD*: The paratroops command of the Army.
5. *Kopasgat*: The paratroops command of the Air Force.
6. *Battalion 6*: probably a misprint for Battalion G.
7. *proses verbal*: verbatim report. The name usually given to interrogation reports. In this article, the term refers to the document described as Aidit's "confession".
8. The question about a well has an added meaning here. The bodies of the generals murdered in Jakarta were deposited in a well. By asking such a question, Col. Yasir was apparently telling his men what he intended to do with Aidit.
9. *Pak Harto*: a familiar form of address, in this case for General Suharto.

TRUBUS, WHERE ARE YOU?

Trubus, a leading Indonesian sculptor, whose works still adorn many public places in Jakarta, disappeared shortly after his arrest in 1965. (See TAPOL Bulletin No. 38).

Trubus, Dimana Engkau? (Trubus, Where are you?) is a book which relates the plight of his family as seen through the eyes of his second eldest daughter, Daryati. The following are two extracts.

(Trubus left home in Jogjakarta early in October 1965 as killings and mass arrests rapidly spread. His pregnant wife and nine children left Jogja for Wates to stay with relatives. Soon afterwards, she was arrested as a hostage, and the children were ordered by the Army to return to their home in Jogja in the hope that Trubus would reveal his whereabouts by trying to contact them. One day, Daryati went to a local government office to apply for permission to visit her mother after reading about the birth of her baby sister in a local newspaper. At the office, she unexpectedly met her father who had apparently just been arrested. They spoke to each other briefly, then she left to visit her mother. She never saw him again.)

SOME OF FATHER'S BELONGINGS ARE RETURNED

As I have said, I never knew what the date was. But this happened not long after I had met Father at the *kecamatan*.¹ Possibly the second or third week of December. The chief of our hamlet came to the house with a letter from *Kodim*.² It was a summons for me to report to the *kecamatan* at nine the next morning.

"What for?"

"I don't know", he replied. "I'm just acting on the orders of the *lurah*."³

My sisters and brothers crowded round me, tears streaming down their faces. They, like me, remembered the time when Mother was arrested. She too had been summoned to give some information only "for a while".

"*mBak*,"⁴ they all said, speaking at once. But none of them could continue.

"It's nothing. Don't worry. *Bulik*⁵ Ni will be here with you." I was astonished at my own fortitude. But my tears had already dried up completely.

The following day, I arrived at the *kecamatan* a few minutes before the appointed time of nine o'clock. When a *kodim* officer greeted me at the front door, my heart began to pound. But like feet that had already crossed down into an abyss, there was no turning back. I handed him the summons I was holding. He examined it for a moment, and then took it into the *Camat*.⁶ leaving me standing in the doorway. I could see the *Camat* inside, sitting down, with a second lieutenant sitting next to him, and other civilian and military officials of the *kecamatan*.

I was called in to appear before the *Camat*. He checked everything mentioned in the summons, asking me questions on each point. Then I was told to wait out in the porch. There were a few benches. Tired of sitting, I stood up. Fed

up with standing, I walked up and down. As the time passed, it seemed to drag more and more slowly. My stomach began to rumble; I'd only had a cup of hot tea before leaving home. Worms inside began to writhe, and nothing could stop the aching. It smarted. I was hungry. And so, I thought, were my sisters and brothers at home. When I left that morning, there was not even a small tin of rice. I only hoped that *Bulik Ni* had managed somehow to cook them some porridge.

"Daryati!" A voice from inside called out.

At last, whatever I was waiting for had now come. I went in without the slightest flutter in my heart. It was 2.30 by the electric clock on the wall which I saw as I entered.

"Sit down!" ordered the *Camat*.

I sat down. The prospect that I was perhaps going to be arrested didn't frighten me at all. On the contrary, it had opened up a new and attractive possibility: they might put me together with Mother, or perhaps with Father . . .

"Are you the daughter of Trubus?" The question quickly brought me back to the present.

"Yes, I am."

A plastic bag was put on the table, in front of us. There were a few things inside, wrapped up in paper.

"If what you say is true, I shall give you the things in this bag", said the *Camat*. "But first, I must check it. Are you willing to answer some questions?"

"Yes, I am."

"Can you remember", he said, his hand groping round inside the bag, "what did your father have with him when he was arrested?"

"Oh, several things", I replied. "Some rings. A wedding ring and a ring with a stone."

"Where did he buy them, and when?"

I made up some answers to these stupid questions. But whatever I said seemed to satisfy him and all the others.

"How heavy was the ring with the stone?" He showed it to me, hiding the stone with his finger and thumb.

My answer seemed to correspond with his notes.

"What kind of stone is it?"

Again they were satisfied.

"Good", said the *Camat*. He uncovered the two rings, the wedding ring and the ring with the stone, and put them on the table where I could see them.

"What else was there?" he went on.

"A Titus watch", I replied, and without waiting for any more stupid questions, I rattled off everything I knew about the watch. And so too with the other things, after we had finished with the watch. The ten thousand rupiahs were there too, the money Father told me about in a whisper when we met a few weeks before.

Then all the things were put back into the plastic bag and handed over to me.

"But that's not everything." Now it was my turn to ask. "There were other things too. Where are the . . . ?"

"What was that?" The *Camat* cut me short.

"Among others, a transistor and a camera."

The *Camat* turned his head, and it was the lieutenant who answered.

"We've put those away. We'll return them later, when your father is released. . ."

The lieutenant looked at the *Camat*. The pingpong ball had been thrown back to him.

"So, there you are, Dar. Just take the things here, for the time being." Having caught the pingpong ball back from the lieutenant, the *Camat* was now trying to get round me. But a moment later came a lion's roar, to strike fear in the rabbit.

"Would you dare swear an oath that what you say is true?"

"Yes, I would." I threw back the challenge.

"An oath is a very serious matter!" The lion was baring his claws.

"I know", I replied fearlessly.

I took the oath on the Bible. The text was read out by the *Camat*. I repeated it word for word, after him. Then he pushed it in front of me and told me to sign it, witnessed

by himself, the *Kodim* officer, and all the other officials in the room.

"You've done very well." With these words of praise, the *Camat* patted me on the shoulder, again trying to get round me. "You took your oath calmly and you have shown courage with officials."

I made no reply. His words fell flat on my ears.

"Can I take these things home?" I didn't want to hang around any longer.

"Yes", replied the *Camat*. "You can go home now, and take the things belonging to your father which we have just returned."

About two yours later, I arrived back home. As soon as my sisters and brothers saw me coming, they all rushed out to welcome me, each trying to reach me first. The tension that was gripping their hearts had snapped. I kissed them all one by one and took them back with me into the room.

I carefully put the plastic bag with Father's belongings into the trunk where we kept our clothes, as mementos . . .

MOTHER IS RELEASED

After seven hellish months behind iron bars, Mother was released in July 1966. She returned to our midst safe and sound. That she was safe and sound was due only to her own physical and mental fortitude. Perhaps God's protection had something to do with it as well, unless He too believes that people afflicted with the Gestapu-plague must be condemned to purgatory.

At the time of her arrest, the reason for it had been made quite clear by the authorities: she was taken as a hostage for her husband who was still at large. Although she was nearly at the end of a pregnancy, this did not prevent her interrogators from torturing her in a variety of ways to extract confessions from her. For fifteen days without stop, she was tortured with electricity and beaten until on one occasion she fought back. Without realising what she was doing, she kicked one of the torturers standing in front of her, and he fell. Then she too collapsed, and when she came to, she was back in her cell.

When the time came for the baby to be born, Mother was taken to Wates General Hospital. Only one day after my baby sister was born, she had to return with Mother to the cell. When the baby was fifteen days old, Uncle—Father's older brother—went to ask one of the officers for permission to take the baby home. It would be wrong, he felt, to leave the baby in the unhealthy atmosphere of a dank cell even though this would mean separating it from Mother. Uncle faced two alternatives: to leave the newborn baby with its mother with little prospect of surviving or to care for it outside prison where its chances of survival were far greater. At three weeks, this tiny baby was little more than a bundle of bones covered with skin, red, flaccid and skinny.

"If I am to die, let it die here with me!" Mother's voice could be heard from behind the bars. Uncle kept a good dis-



tance away; he couldn't bear to get any closer.

Mother's argument with the officer was eventually resolved. She knew that her breasts were empty. And if she was to die, there was no reason why the baby should die with her.

When Mother was released, my baby sister was nearly seven months old. She was fat and healthy, and had wavy hair and big, round eyes, just like Father's. Sri Lestari, as she was called, had become Uncle's child. When I had met Father at the *kecamatan*, he had forgotten to give her a name, and I had forgotten to ask him for one.

"Trubus has been arrested." This is what Mother was told when she was summoned by an officer to come and sign her release document. "It means that you can go home . . ."

"Where is my husband?" asked Mother after signing the document.

"I don't know. That's not within my competence", he answered. "You can probably make enquiries at the *Kodim* or *kecamatan* in Pakem."

He said goodbye, and then another officer accompanied her out of the office to the prison gate. On the way out, she stopped for a moment and looked round to say goodbye to the soldier in a red beret standing on guard. But all of a sudden, the soldier addressed her with words that stung her to the core.

"Trubus has been found. He's been *dimangkubumi*"? he said without any expression.

"What does it mean, *dimangkubumi*?" asked Mother, abandoning her intention to say goodbye.

"*Dimangkubumi*? It means, well . . . *dimangkubumi*" he replied with a sick grin on his face as he shut the gate behind her.

And that was how they bade farewell to a woman who had been held as a hostage which by definition means that the person is completely innocent.

Mother walked away from the prison gate which was now closed tight. The memory of that moment stood out in her mind: the soldier wearing a red beret, the sick grin on his face, and the stinging words he had uttered: "Trubus has been *dimangkubumi*".

Behind those walls, the prisons are full of secrets. Beyond the walls, there are many secrets too, but there is a modicum of freedom to seek the truth from beneath the mountain of secrets. My Mother, my sisters and brothers and I will not stop looking for Father. Trubus, where are you?

Footnotes

1. *kecamatan*: the sub-district level of government. As used here, it means the office of the *kecamatan*.
2. *kodim*: Army command for the region equivalent to the *kecamatan*.
3. *lurah*: village chief.
4. *mBak*: term of address for an older sister.
5. *Bulik*: term of address for an aunt who is younger than the parent whose sister she is.
6. *camat*: chief executive of the *kecamatan*.
7. *dimangkubumi*: this word is typical of the linguistic perversions created by Army personnel as euphemisms. *(me)mangku* means to place on one's lap; *buni* means earth; *dimangkubumi* is therefore intended to convey the meaning of "buried".

LEGAL AID DRAFT LAW REJECTED

Indonesian lawyers are strongly opposed to the draft law on legal aid which was recently submitted to Parliament by the government. (The law would among other things prevent lawyers from discussing legal matters in the press. See TAPOL Bulletin No. 40.)

The decision to reject the law was taken at this year's national conference of *Peradin* (Indonesian Lawyers' Association). Reporting this, *Sinar Harapan* (8th September 1980) states that it was pointed out during the conference that as much as 30 per cent of news now being reported in the Indonesian press concerns questions of law and justice. Almost every day, lawyers are being asked for their opinions about such questions. This shows that public awareness about law and people's rights is far greater now than it has ever been.

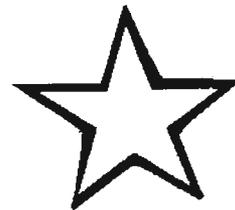
This is not to say that the principle of law as the basis of the state has been realised. But people, including those of the very lowest social status, are becoming conscious of their rights. They are not prepared to accept the way they are treated by people in power. When their rights are abused, they take their complaints to the press or to members of national and regional assemblies. They frequently seek help from legal aid organisations or professional lawyers so that their problems can be taken to

court so as to challenge government officials who behave in ways contrary to the law.

Peradin does not agree that a law on legal aid is required at all, but would favour the introduction of a law on the legal profession as a whole.

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BOOK REVIEW

PRAMOEDYA'S FIRST BURU NOVEL IS PUBLISHED

Bumi Manusia (The Earth of Humankind—provisional translation) by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, 340 pp. paperback. Published by Hasta Mitra, Jakarta-Amsterdam, 1980. Price Rp. 2,700.

Editor's Note:

Shortly after the publication of *Bumi Manusia*, the directors of the Hasta Mitra Publishing Company were summoned to the Attorney-General's Office for interrogation three times.

There is no law requiring publishers to obtain permission for the publication of books. However, on a number of occasions recently, the authorities have banned books or issued orders for distribution to cease. There is no indication yet whether either step is being contemplated in the case of *Bumi Manusia*.

Meanwhile, the first 10,000 copies printed were sold out within a few days of publication. A second impression is now in preparation.

*

"In a single blow, Pramedya has, with this novel, shaken Indonesian literature out of its paralysis, its self-centred interest in technical innovation, its twisted emphasis on personal dilemma and meaningless characters, its isolation from burning social problems, its decline into cheap, vulgar pop-fiction."

Thus wrote *Kompas* (29 August 1980) in a review of *Bumi Manusia*, the first of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Buru manuscripts to be published. The comment is typical of the enthusiastic Indonesian press reviews that have greeted the appearance of this masterly novel written during the last 4 years of Pramoedya's 14-year long detention as a political prisoner. In all he wrote eight full-length Buru manuscripts, plus essays and encyclopaedia entries.

At the end of *Bumi Manusia*, Pramoedya gives two dates for its creation: "Told orally in 1973. Written down in 1975." In 1973, he was still forbidden to write, a prohibition strictly enforced for all political prisoners ever since 1965. Pramoedya recently explained that from 1971 to 1973, he and a small group of Buru tapols were held in isolation from other Buru prisoners (something he was never able to tell visiting journalists who were allowed to interview him during the time). As a way of keeping each others' spirits up, he would spend the evenings telling his fellow prisoners stories, he had been planning to write for many years, not knowing whether he would ever be able to do so. *Bumi Manusia* was one of the stories he told, later to be retold to other Buru prisoners by those who had heard it from him.

It was during a visit to Buru at the end of 1973 that General Sumitro, then the commander of KOPKAMTIB,

decided to single Pramoedya out for a very special 'privilege': he alone was to be allowed to write. The gesture was clearly intended to impress international public opinion, for Pram had always been Indonesia's best-known tapol. He began writing in 1974 on an old, broken type-writer mended by friends (the machine promised by Sumitro never turned up) and helped by fellow-prisoners who undertook to care for his sustenance.

Bumi Manusia is the first volume of a four-volume work which will cover the years 1898 to 1918 (the other three volumes are expected to appear soon). This was a period when fundamental political, economic and social changes were taking place in the Dutch East Indies. These were years of awakening national consciousness, when the anti-colonial struggle was beginning to take root.

The novel describes a mood of growing opposition to feudal traditions and colonial laws which both served to keep the "natives", or *pribumi* in a state of abject subjugation. The romance which unfolds takes place against the background of conflict between Javanese feudal values and

BUMI MANUSIA BANNED IN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES?

A circular sent on 27th September to all education authorities, including universities, by the Secretary-General of the Education Department has prohibited the purchase and use of *Bumi Manusia*. All copies already acquired, including those in libraries, must be surrendered to the authorities. The circular declares that *Bumi Manusia* has been "examined" by the authorities who have "found it to contain the concept of class conflict". Although the book has already been circulated, "it has now been banned by the Attorney-General", claims the circular.

But a statement issued on 17th October by the Hasta Mitra Publishing Company declares that they have received no notification of any ban by the Attorney-General, and stresses that the 27th September circular is without legal foundation. "The Attorney-General's Office is now studying the book and has not yet taken a final decision. Our most recent information from the Attorney-General's Office is that *Bumi Manusia* is now being handled directly by KOPKAMTIB," the statement says. It also quotes Vice-President Adam Malik as saying he believes that the entire younger generation should be encouraged to read *Bumi Manusia* in order to appreciate how their parents and grandparents faced up to colonialism. "The Vice-President has urged us to disseminate *Bumi Manusia* as widely as possible" declare the publishers.



Pramoedya Ananta Toer

the values being imposed on Java by Dutch industrial capitalism which brought a new form of colonial exploitation to the Indies in the last decades of the 19th century. And on each side of the conflict, there were inner conflicts. The emphasis is on the conflict within Javanese society as some people began to reject long-established feudal values and relationships. Pram told an interviewer recently that *Bumi Manusia* has been written with the intention of treating Javanese culture to a dose of "shock therapy", a remark which shows that he believes his book has a direct relevance to present-day conflicts too.

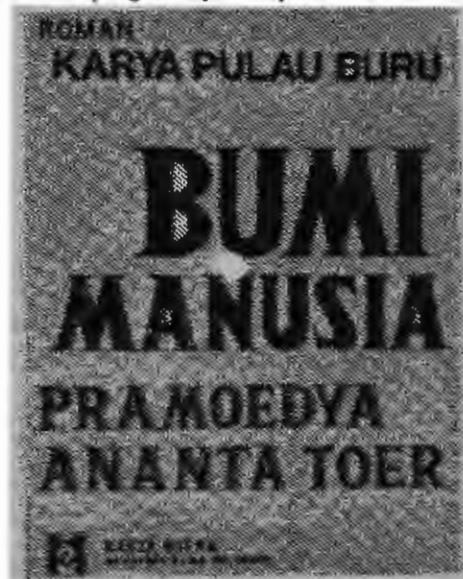
The central character, Nyai Ontosoroh, is a Javanese woman who, by sheer dint of will-power turns a deeply humiliating personal tragedy to her own advantage. Sold by her father as a 14-year-old illiterate girl to a Dutch businessman, Herman Mellema to become his concubine, she uses every opportunity to educate herself and eventually becomes the successful manager of their cattle farm. Her "master" moves in a different direction, becoming a lecherous degenerate, which leaves her in sole control of the business. Finally he dies from poisoning in a brothel. The *Nyai* (a pejorative title for concubine or "mistress" which she insists on being called) is greatly admired for her exceptional achievements (particularly her business acumen and her fluency in Dutch) but is nevertheless a social outcast; Dutch and Javanese alike treat her, a "kept" woman and unmarried mother, with contempt. This is an attitude reserved for her; the man who enslaved her and the father who sold her lose nothing in social prestige. Is it believable that such an outstanding *pribumi* woman could possibly have existed? Pram clearly thinks so, for he told one reviewer who asked him this very question that there were not one but many women like Nyai Ontosoroh.

The other central character is Minke, the person who tells the story. (His true identity is made into something of a mystery, and will apparently be revealed in the fourth volume.) Minke is a young Javanese from a *priyayi* (upper feudal) family who enjoys the privilege, rare for a *pribumi*, of a Dutch high school education. Under the influence of a liberal-minded Dutch woman teacher and a French artist friend, he begins to question the attitudes of his own people and decides to reject the *bupati* career mapped out for him by his father. He meets Nyai Ontosoroh, falls in

love with her daughter Annelies, and soon himself becomes the object of contempt and persecution for the "immoral" company he keeps. After marrying Annelies and graduating with high honours from school, the family is stricken by tragedy. The death of Annelies' father, Herman Mellema provides his abandoned Dutch wife and son with a chance to take revenge on the Nyai and her family. They successfully claim all his—in actual fact, her—property and even take possession of Annelies as their ward, after her Islamic marriage to Minke is declared unlawful.

Nyai Ontosoroh and Minke, despite all their personal achievements and the support and sympathy of Minke's liberal Dutch friends, are powerless to fight the colonial laws which legalise this plunder. They even mobilise support from Muslims who are infuriated by the way an Islamic marriage is desecrated. In the end, the two of them, in a house surrounded by Dutch troops, stand helpless as Annelies is led away to a strange and revengeful family in Holland.

A central theme in the story is the grossly distorted legal system imposed by the Dutch colonial administration. Dutch people living in the Indies enjoyed the protection of a separate body of law, known as "white" law, whilst *pribumis* were subjected to different and far more onerous laws and courts. This added to the problems faced by Nyai Ontosoroh, already a social outcast by any standards, and made her powerless to prevent complete ruination. The legal injustices are highlighted in two episodes. The first is the trial of the brothel-keeper accused of murdering Mellema. The judges try to pin the murder on Nyai



The words at the top read: *A Novel Written on Buru Island.*

Ontosoroh (wouldn't a "mistress" be a likely suspect?), and then accuse her of "immorality" for allowing her daughter to sleep with a man (Minke) to whom she was then not yet married. (For her answer, see box.) The second is the legal battle over Annelies. She, being the daughter of a Dutch father, falls under "white" law, which makes it easy for the Dutch family to claim her as a ward until she is old enough

Please turn to page 21

NYAI ONTOSOROH'S SPEECH IN COURT

"Your Honour, Honourable Prosecutor,

"Since you have begun to interfere in my family affairs", (the judge struck his gavel and reminded her to confine herself to answering the question) "... I, Nyai Ontosoroh alias Sanikem, have a different opinion about the relationship between my daughter and my guest. I, Sanikem, am nothing more than a concubine, and out of my concubinage, my daughter Annelies was born. No one challenged my relationship with Mr. Mellema for the simple reason that he was a full-blooded European. Why has my daughter's relationship with Mr. Minke become an issue? Only because Mr. Minke is a *pribumi*? Why don't you say something about almost all parents of Eurasians? I was tied in slavery to Mr. Mellema yet the law courts did nothing. My daughter and Mr. Minke are tied to each other in sincere mutual love. Indeed, they are not lawfully tied to each other. But my children were born outside such ties and no-one raised any objections. Europeans can buy *pribumi* women like me. Is this kind of trade more acceptable than true love? If Europeans are allowed to do such things because of their superior wealth and power, why does a *pribumi* become the target of scorn because of true love?"

There was consternation in the court. Nyai went on, ignoring the judge's gavel.

"My daughter Annelies is only a Eurasian, so is that why she may not do the things her father did? I brought her into this world, reared her and educated her without a cent of help from you honourable gentlemen. Am I not the person who has been responsible for her all these years? You have never shown the slightest concern about her, so why all the fuss now?"

She disregarded the authority of the court. An official was ordered to remove her from the courtroom. She was dragged from her place, given no chance to resist. But from her mouth still poured words that expressed her deep sense of grievance.

"Who turned me into a concubine? Who turned us all into *nyais*? Those European gentlemen who have become masters. Why are we laughed at and treated with contempt in an official forum like this? Do you want my daughter to become a concubine too?"

Her voice rang through the courtroom. Everyone else was silent. The official who was dragging her away moved faster to finish the job. This *pribumi* woman had become the unofficial prosecutor, the accuser of the European nation who were laughing at their own deeds. She went on speaking all the time they were dragging her away ...



Child of All Nations

From a review of *Bumi Manusia* by Dr. A. Teeuw, professor of Indonesian Literature at the University of Leiden, in *Volkskrant*, 25th October 1980:

"It was once suggested, when Pramoedya was still a prisoner on Buru, that he should be nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature. I do not consider that a person should be proposed for such a prize, however great the suffering he may be going through. Nor do I think that his former writings, fascinating as they are, would make him eligible for the Prize. But if the forthcoming volumes maintain the standard of *Bumi Manusia*, then I think that he should be seriously considered as a candidate. In any case, it is to be hoped that translations of the work, into as many languages as possible, will soon be published."



Strides Forward



The Glasshouse

CENSORSHIP OF FOREIGN MEDIA INTENSIFIED

Since the beginning of September, all news agencies in Indonesia receiving wire services from international agencies such as UPI, Reuters, AP and AFP have been prevented from reproducing reports about Indonesia published in other countries. Equipment to sift out such reports and exclude them from being transcribed has been installed on all telex machines operated by foreign news agency offices in Jakarta.

The chief editor of Antara, Indonesia's national news agency, believes there is every justification for such a measure. "Indonesia has plenty of good media of its own to write about Indonesia", he said, according to *Tempo* (27th September 1980). "The way they write is frequently not suitable for the Indonesian climate."

Tempo also quotes an Information Ministry source as complaining that foreign journalists frequently base their "negative, inaccurate" reports on non-government sources. But Guy Sacerdoti, the correspondent in Jakarta for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, told *Tempo*: "We often have great difficulty getting interviews with government officials." He regretted that foreign journalists were sometimes excluded from press conferences and so had to obtain their information secondhand.

American Journalist Told to Leave

Paul Zach, a freelance American journalist who has been working in Jakarta for two years, was ordered to leave Indonesia immediately because his articles are considered to have been aimed at discrediting Indonesia, according to an AFP report quoted by *Merdeka* (11th September 1980). An official was quoted as saying that his articles contain "more sensation than facts".

Zach writes for a number of US news outlets, including the American Broadcasting Company, the *Washington Post*, McGraw Hill and the British news agency, *Reuters*.

It is understood that his expulsion was precipitated by an article he wrote for *Washington Post* which described the corrupt business practices of Mrs. Suharto, wife of the Indonesian president.

ABC Journalist Refused Work Permit in Singapore

Warwick Beutler, the Australian radio journalist who headed the ABC's team of reporters in Indonesia until his expulsion earlier this year, has now been refused permission to work in Singapore. He went to Singapore three months ago and was reporting on Indonesia from there until the Singapore authorities refused to grant him a work permit. It is widely believed that this followed pressure from Indonesia. Australian journalists fear that all member countries of ASEAN may be closing ranks to prevent journalists not wanted in one ASEAN country from operating in any of the others.

"ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN" BANNED IN INDONESIA

The Hollywood film, "All The President's Men", featuring Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman as the journalists who exposed the Watergate scandal, has been banned from being shown in Indonesia. It was to have been screened during an American film festival held in Jakarta in September. (*Winscheter Courant*, 4 September, 1980.)

Continued from page 19

to inherit her own share of the legacy. Nyai Ontosoroh on the other hand is subject to "pribumi" law and is moreover an unmarried mother, which leaves her without any claim on the wealth she helped to accumulate and the daughter to whom she had given birth. Faced with an impregnable legal blockade, she urges Minke to join her in seeking other forms of struggle.

Pramoedya has repeatedly stressed that the conditions under which he wrote the book made it impossible for him to check historical facts. But, as he also said, he has written a novel, not a history book, and it would be wrong to fault him for any historical inaccuracies. Far more important to the reader is this portrayal of a society riven by contradictions which bring untold human tragedy in their wake and which strengthen the hand of colonialism. His comment on Javanese society is frequently bitter, but it is a society he knows intimately and is in a very good position to judge.

Shining through the novel is his strong concern about women, and his determination to expose the disregard and injustice with which they are almost universally treated.

Perhaps, the most glaring example of this is the detailed account, given by one of the women brought from the brothel to testify in the murder trial, of the dehumanising exploitation of prostitutes by brothel-keepers. But the point is most poignantly made in the description of the Nyai's own thoughts as she watches Annelies being taken from her. She who never forgave her father for selling her off as a concubine nor her mother for doing nothing to prevent this, suddenly realises that her mother, watching a similar event years before, must have felt just as powerless, and just as grief-stricken.

Pramoedya is a writer with a great talent for storytelling and his book will be very readable even to the most unsophisticated of readers. He draws his characters with enormous conviction and clarity, and spares his readers nothing in his determination to depict without any concealment the reality he sets out to create. Those who cannot read Indonesian will have to wait a while for English, French and Dutch translations that have been promised. Those who can must surely be eagerly awaiting the publication of the other three volumes. The sooner they all appear, the better.

SIX JENGGAWAH PEASANT DEFENDANTS FOUND GUILTY

Six of the seven peasant defendants tried in connection with the land dispute that erupted in Jenggawah, East Java last July (see TAPOL Bulletin, No. 36, October 1980) have been found guilty and given suspended sentences. They were also ordered to pay costs. The seventh man was acquitted:

"Illegal" Meetings were "Political"

Five of the sentenced men were found guilty of holding illegal meetings--meetings held without official permission--and were therefore deemed to have violated the 1963 Anti-Subversion Law. The sixth man was found guilty of compelling officials to release two peasants being held in custody, and of using the threat of force to secure their release. This verdict was also based on the Anti-Subversion Law, in conjunction with articles in the Criminal Code. The first five men received suspended sentences of one month each, while the sixth man was given a suspended sentence of three months.

The judges upheld the contention of the prosecution that the Anti-Subversion Act was applicable in the case of the illegal meetings held by the defendants since they had been held "for political purposes", as defined in Article 1 of the Law. They rejected the defence argument that the meetings did not constitute "political acts". (Source: Kompas 27th August 1980).

593 Land Disputes in 1979

Defence lawyers, pleading on behalf of their clients before the verdicts were announced, urged the court to recognise the critical importance of land to all peasants. Numerous land disputes had occurred in Indonesia over the years, culminating in a record 593 disputes during the course of 1979, most of which had occurred in Java and North Sumatra. It was wrong, defence counsel argued, to separate the legal aspects of such disputes from the social and cultural aspects. They also argued strongly against the claim being made by the prosecution that the defendants could be charged on the basis of the 1963 Anti-Subversion Law. By so doing, the prosecution were turning the actions of the peasants into "political crimes". Nor was it correct to use articles of the Criminal Code to charge the defendants with pressing for the release of their colleagues from custody. On the contrary, their actions had been directed towards ensuring that the laws in force should not be violated (by those who had arrested the peasants).

The defence counsel also argued that if such charges were to be levelled, then the courts should be consistent and make them against the persons who had caused the dispute in the first place, rather than bringing before court peasants who had only acted in response.

Land Reform Law Violated

Each of the defendants also spoke in their own defence. One pointed out that the method of land re-distribution

which had been imposed on the peasants in Jenggawah by the No. 27 State Plantation Company was in contravention of the provisions of the 1960 Land Reform Law which set a maximum size on land-holdings of two hectares, not the 0.3 hectares fixed by the Company. Another defendant argued that it was quite unfair to bring him and his colleagues before court whilst the village officials, security officers and employees of Company 27 who had beaten the peasants, tried to blackmail them and committed other criminal offences were allowed to go scot free. Another defendant strongly denied that the meetings they had held were "illegal" nor had they been held for political purposes.

All hearings throughout the trial were attended by large crowds, inside and outside the courtroom. The crowd remained to the end, even when one hearing, at which the defence statements were present, lasted beyond midnight. (Source: Kompas 21st August 1980.)

WEST IRIAN:

5 KILLED, 15 ARRESTED AFTER W. PAPUA FLAG HOISTED

Five Papuans were killed, three were injured and fifteen were arrested on 21 July last when Indonesian troops raided villages in the district of Abepura, West Irian. The incident followed a successful attempt by Papuans the day before to penetrate into Sentani where they unfurled the West Papua flag, much to the enthusiastic welcome of the local population.

Sentani is the place where the main airport in the province is located, just outside the capital of Jayapura.

Reporting this incident, the Papua New Guinea daily Wantok said that Indonesian troops in Sentani had been caught unawares and were fast asleep at the time. As soon as they were woken, they grabbed weapons and left immediately for Abepura where the raid took place. Many villagers fled into the jungle. The fifteen people arrested were taken to 'Dok V' prison, a special place of detention for both men and women who are in opposition to continued Indonesian rule in West Irian. (Wantok, 23rd August, 1980.)

Six Women Arrested for Pulling down Indonesian Flag

Meanwhile, the Jakarta daily, Merdeka reported on 22nd August 1980 that on 21st July, a group of six women succeeded in pulling down the Indonesian flag flying over the provincial governor's residence in Jayapura and replacing it with the flag of West Papua. The source of this report, says Merdeka, was an official who had recently arrived in Jakarta from Jayapura but who did not wish to reveal his/her identity.

The West Papua flag only remained aloft for a few minutes before being hauled down. The six women were arrested and "are now under intensive investigation in the hands of the XVIIIth (Cendrawasih) Division".

"PETITION-OF-50" SIGNATORIES LOSE UNIVERSITY JOBS

Several of the signatories of the "Petition-of-50" have lost their jobs at universities, either through dismissal in the case of one person working for a state university or through enforced resignations in the case of others working at private universities.

The most bitterly contested case involved Chris Siner Key Timu, head of the Bureau for Student Affairs at the Catholic Atma Jaya University. In July, Dr. K. S. Gani Rector of the university, was summoned to the Education Ministry and told by Daud Jusuf, the Minister, that the government would stop further subsidies if Chris Siner was not dismissed. The Rector insisted that he had no power to dismiss a university official for political reasons. "Chris Siner signed the Petition not on behalf of the university in his personal capacity. He was exercising his rights as a citizen", he told *Tempo*, (13 September 1980).

It was only after the university was officially notified by a senior official of the Education Ministry that further subsidies would stop if no action was taken that Chris Siner himself announced that he would be resigning "in the interests of the university". But following the resignation, the Rector still insisted that Chris Siner though no longer head of the Student Affairs Bureau, would remain on the university staff. "If he is forced to leave the staff altogether, then I will resign as Rector", he said.

The Islamic university IAIN (Jakarta) has apparently been under similar pressures, as two lecturers, both signatories of the Petition, have recently announced that they would no longer be serving as lecturers. They are Dr. Kasman Singodimedjo and Dr. Anwar Harjono. The university rector gave the impression that there had been no move to prevent them from lecturing but that they had resigned. On the other hand, Dr. Kasman said he had no intention of resigning, "but efforts were made to force me to do so".

The other casualty of this officially-inspired discrimination is Dr. Judil Hery who lost his job at the Public Health Institute of the Medical Faculty of the University of Indonesia, the state university in Jakarta. Dr. Judil was a student leader in January 1974 and spent several months in prison then, after the crack-down against the student movement. He was a signatory of the "Petition-of-50". The only reason given for his dismissal, which was signed by the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Education, was "redundancy". "Why don't they say that I have been dismissed because I signed the Petition? Only recently, it was decided that the section for which I worked was suffering from a shortage of personnel", he said. (Source: *Tempo*, 13th September 1980.)

STUDENTS INJURED WHEN TROOPS BREAK UP UNIVERSITY MEETING

A number of students were injured on 25th October when they tried to prevent soldiers from breaking up a meeting being held on the campus of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. The meeting was to have been addressed by General Nasution, one of the signatories of the "Petition-of-50", but had to be abandoned after the raid by armed troops.

Within hours of the incident, editors of Indonesian newspapers were being told not to publish anything about it. (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 31st October 1980.)

DGI CALLS FOR AMNESTY

The Grand Assembly of the Indonesian Council of Churches (DGI), meeting in July this year, called for an amnesty for all tried political prisoners who are still being held. It also urged the government to restore pension rights to released political prisoners who are being denied the pensions to which they are entitled.

The Section of the Assembly at which these matters were discussed also heard an appeal from a church minister from West Irian urging that the hundreds of people now in detention in that province for alleged support for or sympathy with the Free Papua Movement (OPM) should be regarded as political prisoners. However, this point was not included in the Section's final report.

The Dutch missionary journal, *Hervormd Nederland* (11/10/80), reporting the results of the Grand Assembly, stated that for "tactical reasons", demands concerning

political prisoners and other 'sensitive' problems were kept out of the Grand Assembly's Final Resolution and relegated to the reports issued by the Sections.

DGI Imposes Its Own Censorship

The Assembly, held under the slogan "Thy Kingdom Come", was held in conditions of lavish and expensive spectacle. *CCA News* (August 1980), the bulletin of the Christian Conference of Asia, regional organisation of the World Council of Churches, said that at the opening ceremony, "there were massed choirs, several thousand strong, in resplendent array... a spectacular pyrotechnic display... illuminated [by] a huge cross made of steel..."

Not everyone present was happy about the extravaganza. One delegate, Dr. Fridolin Ukur, who works on the

staff of the DGI, ended his contribution by reciting a poem he had just composed. It reads, in rough translation:

Your name we wrote in the evening sky,
a splendrous display of fireworks—
costing five million rupiah;
and our lips prayed,
thousands of arms folded,
Your Kingdom Come.

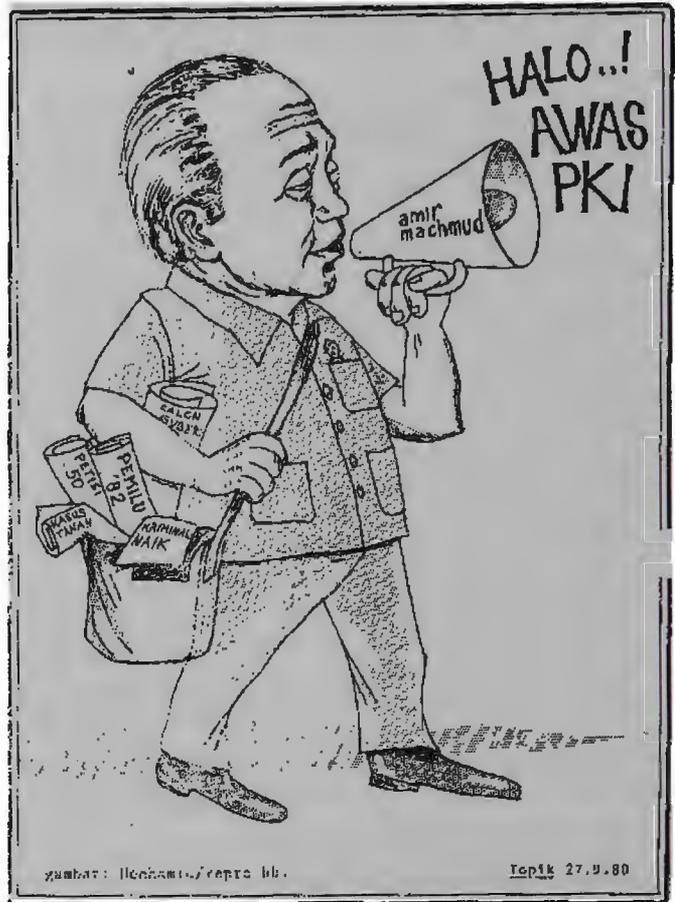
Lustrous in many colours
they depicted, young people in their thousands,
a vision of your kingdom, Father,
and of your self-giving love, Jesus.

Out of my anguish I ask, O Lord;
are you not troubled by the struggles of the poor—
of Nis, Mur, Jum and Sri
girls who labour all day through
for three hundred rupiahs a day?

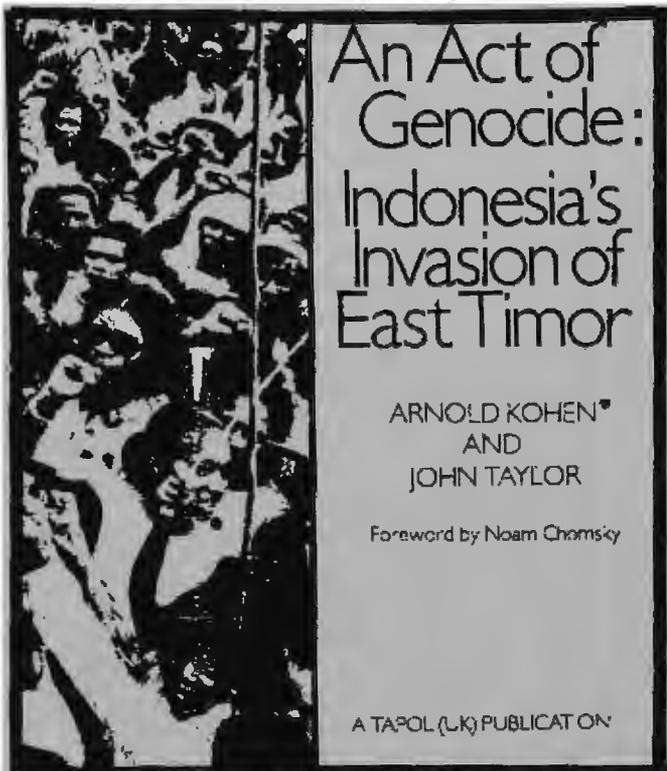
How my heart cries when, this cool Tomohon evening,
I see wealth scattered for passing pomp,
on the altar of vanity!

Is this the sign
of Your Kingdom coming?

The CCA News concludes its report of the Grand Assembly by stating that "it was decided to leave out all references to the poem from the minutes of the meeting and to suppress the criticism in publicity releases".



Hallo...! Beware of the PKI! (Papers in bag carry the words: 1982 elections; Criminality rising; Petition of 50; Land disputes; Governor candidacies.)



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